

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI BULLETIN

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JOURNALISM SERIES, NO. 49

Edited by Robert S. Mann

The History of Mexican Journalism

BY HENRY LEPIDUS



ISSUED FOUR TIMES MONTHLY; ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER AT THE
POSTOFFICE AT COLUMBIA, MISSOURI—2,500

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Preface

No continuous history of Mexican journalism from the earliest times to the present has ever been written. Much information on the subject exists, but nobody, so far as I know, has taken the trouble to assemble the material and present it as a whole. To do this within the limits necessarily imposed upon me in the present study is my principal object.

The subject of Mexican journalism is one concerning which little has been written in the United States, but that fact need not seem surprising. With comparatively few exceptions, Americans of international interests have busied themselves with studies of European or even Oriental themes; they have had little time for the study of the nations south of the Rio Grande. More recently, however, the importance of the Latin American republics, particularly Mexico, to us, has been increasingly recognized, and the necessity of obtaining a clearer understanding of our southern neighbor has come to be more widely appreciated in the United States than it formerly was.

On the theory that a history of the journalism of any nation is, in a sense, the reflection of its contemporary life and its development through various epochs, the present writer hopes that his study may help American readers to obtain a more complete idea of what Mexico has accomplished in the past and what are the conditions under which she is struggling at the present time.

The history of journalism in Mexico fails to offer more than three definite dates on which the nature of journalistic theory and practice has undergone a general change. The earliest forerunners of the periodical press were news pamphlets issued at irregular intervals during the first two centuries of the Spanish régime. The first change in the form of journalism came in 1722, with the establishment of Castorena's official gazette devoted chiefly to news and issued at regular intervals, which was the forerunner of a series of similar publications.

Shortly before the outbreak of the Mexican revolution of 1810, the polemical element gained some importance in journalism; and when in that year the rebel Hidalgo established at Guadalajara "El Despertador Americano," he set a fashion in the Mexican press, which continued to be predominantly political and polemical until the triumph of modern journalistic theories about 1896. Thus the second change came with the adoption of polemical journalism in 1810, and the third with that of modern practices in 1896.

The respective periods of the news pamphlets and of the official gazettes divide themselves conveniently into material suitable for separate chapters, but that of the polemical press is too long for a single one. Because of the large amount of significant material available on it, the present writer has thought it advisable to divide it arbitrarily into three chapters, the first dealing with the journalism during the wars for independence from Spain; the second, with the first period of independent Mexico; and the third, with the time from the establishment of Maximilian's ephemeral empire to the triumph of Spíndola's theory that the press should be primarily a source of news and should relegate opinionated articles to a place of secondary importance. Since 1896, the principal newspapers of Mexico have generally followed his lead, and their activities and achievements are discussed in the sixth and final chapter, entitled, "Modern Journalism."

Appreciation for help in the collection of material for this study is gratefully acknowledged to Rafael Heliodoro Valle, journalist, poet, and educator, who is chief of the department of bibliography and reviews for the federal secretariat of education of Mexico; José de J. Núñez y Domínguez, Mexican journalist, poet and

historian, the secretary of the National Museum of Archeology, History and Ethnography at Mexico City; Luis González Obregón, an officer of the General Archives of the Nation, and a noted author; Joaquín Méndez Rivas, director of the National Library; Dr. Alfonso Pruneda, president of the National University of Mexico; José Gómez Ugarte, director of, and Antonio Vargas, a writer for, "El Universal"; Rodrigo de Llano, director, and Eduardo I. Aguilar, manager, of "Excelsior"; Ángel Pola, who founded and published one of the first penny dailies in Mexico City at the end of the past century, and was one of the nation's first great reporters; Carlos Díaz Dufóo, dean of practicing newspapermen in Mexico; Gonzalo Espinosa, director of "Jueves de Excelsior"; Julio Jiménez Rueda, writer and educator; the composer and musician Marcos Jiménez, in charge of the archives of "Excelsior"; Manuel León Sánchez, who after a notable journalistic career is now one of Mexico's leading publishers; Tomás Montaña, director of the International Summer School of the National University of Mexico; Victoriano Salado Álvarez, editorial writer and historian; J. García Pimentel, a scholar who owns one of Mexico's finest private libraries; Eduardo Gómez-Haro, whose newspaper and magazine articles have furnished a valuable source of information for this study; Dr. L. S. Rowe, director-general of the Pan-American Union; and my friends Ramón Alexander and Francisco Lomelí of the staff of the National Library.

Editor's Note: This history was written in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts while Mr. Lepidus was a graduate student in the University of Missouri.

The History of Mexican Journalism

I. *Introduction of Printing into Mexico and the Forerunners of Journalism*

Although Mexico was conquered by the Spaniard Cortés in 1521, it was not until 1722 that the country had a periodical published at a fixed place and at regular intervals.

In a country in which, as one historian puts it, "the days ran serene as the crystalline waters of a tranquil brook under a sky without clouds and upon a bed without sinuosity; where exuberant nature delighted itself in prodigally providing man with its rich fruits; where the benign climate sweetens the character of the people; where, in effect, civil discords had not established themselves,"¹ the periodical press which lives of exciting scenes and events, of the agitation of the passions in strife, could not have any objective nor awaken interest. For this reason there did not exist in this epoch in New Spain (as Mexico was called until 1821), periodicals of a political nature. A periodical of news would have died, because it would not have had any to communicate. Everybody knew what happened from one end of the country to the other; that is, that nothing strange happened. The younger generation, instead of devoting itself to the reading of newspapers, occupied itself in the study of good authors.

But it is not to be thought that in Mexico the profession of journalism was entirely neglected during the first 201 years of Spanish rule. Although no newspapers were published at fixed places at regular intervals, news pamphlets known as "hojas volantes" or flying sheets, each giving details of some one extraordinary event, did appear from time to time.

In two or four pages, in quarto or folio, edited or written by the printers of that day, these publications contained news of unusual happenings in all parts of the world, now brought by the galleons and fleets which from time to time or periodically came from the Iberian Peninsula; now by the "avisos" or maritime mails from the same place; or by the "naos de China", boats that came from the Philippine Islands.²

In these flying sheets, which date from the sixteenth century, Mexico made the first attempts at journalism in the Western Hemisphere. The United States made its first attempt in 1690 with the "Boston Gazette," but it was immediately suppressed by the colonial authorities. The same year and by order of Governor Fletcher, in New York was reprinted a copy of the "London Gazette," giving news of a victory of British troops over the French.³

That Mexico was the pioneer in New World journalism is probably due to the fact that the first printing press in this hemisphere was established at Mexico City in the first half of the sixteenth century. Writers agree that the first printer was Juan Paoli, or Pablos, an agent of the house of Cromberger of Seville, Spain, but they differ as to the year in which he first set up his press in the colonial capital.

Writing in 1819, Isaiah Thomas, a learned American of his day, expressed his belief that the art of printing was first introduced into Spanish America "as early as the sixteenth century," and that the first press erected in America was at Mexico City. He was able to "state with a tolerable degree of certainty that the press was

1. Zamacois, *Historia de México*, V, p. 547.
2. González Obregón, *México Viejo y Anecdótico*, p. 112.
3. Agüeros, *El periodismo en México*, p. 361.

established some years before 1569," and it was his personal judgment that "printing was introduced into Mexico previously to the year 1540, and probably as early as 1530."⁴

The comments of Thomas are obviously guess-work, and are quoted to illustrate the ignorance prevalent on this subject little more than 100 years ago.

Various other historians declare that printing was introduced into Mexico in 1532, and that credit for its introduction is due to the first viceroy, D. Antonio de Mendoza. However, Mendoza did not come to Mexico until 1535.⁵

According to Dean Walter Williams of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri, printing was first established in Mexico in 1535.⁶ His view coincides with that of Prof. Herbert Ingram Priestley of the University of California.⁷ Vicente G. Quesada, a recently deceased Argentine scholar, believed that printing was brought to America in 1538⁸; and uncertainty as to the exact date has been expressed by José Toribio Medina, Chilean bibliographer, who says that there is no positive proof that the art was carried on in Mexico before 1539, "although some persons have cited and affirmed the existence of three or four books of anterior date."⁹ M. Cadwalader Hole of Columbia University, New York, fixes the date as 1539¹⁰; and Manuel León Sánchez, president of the Association of Industrials of Graphic and Kindred Arts of the Federal District of Mexico, as "the middle of 1537."¹¹

In his treatise on colonial journalism in New Spain, Agustín Agüeros de la Portilla publishes a little-known contract by which Juan Pablos, the first printer of America, agreed to come to Mexico to establish a branch printing shop for Juan Cromberger, a printer of Seville, Spain. The document, which was discovered by Sr. D. José Gestoso y Pérez in the Archivo de Protocolos at Seville, is dated at Seville, in the office of a notary public, Thursday, June 12, 1539.¹²

Nevertheless, as Agüeros says, the most generally accepted date for the introduction of printing in Mexico has been 1536.¹³ This was the date which was believed authentic by the historian J. García Icazbalceta, one of the most learned men Mexico ever produced, and his investigations have been generally accepted as accurate by modern Mexican scholars.

Both the first book and the first printing press of America have disappeared. But the building in which Pablos did his pioneer work still stands. It is located in Mexico City at the corner of the streets of Licencia de Verdad and la Calle de la Moneda across the street from the National Palace, and is now occupied, fitly enough, by a modern printing establishment. On the side of the building facing on the Calle de la Moneda is a carved gray stone plaque placed there by the provisional city government of México, D. F., in 1917, calling attention to the fact that here was established the first printing plant in America. Since the plaque may not be clearly read except by one standing very near to it, the owner of the shop, who takes great delight in the historical significance of his building, has had the fact reproduced in black paint,

4. Thomas, *History of Printing in America*, I, pp. 1-4.

5. Lara y Pardo, *Diccionario*, p. 462.

6. Williams, *Lectures on Journalism*, I, p. 3.

7. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, p. 157.

8. Quesada, *Vida Intelectual*, p. 190.

9. Medina, *La Imprenta en México*, I, p. v.

10. Hole, *The Early Latin American Press*, p. 1.

11. León Sánchez, *La Imprenta en México*, p. 2.

12. Agüeros, *Op. Cit.*, p. 365. Cf. also: Lara y Pardo, *Diccionario*, p. 463.

13. Agüeros, *Op. Cit.*, p. 363.

immediately below the carving, on the side of the structure. The painted message says simply: "In 1536 was established here the first printing press in America."¹⁴ The carving reads as follows: "The viceroy Don Antonio Mendoza established here in the year 1536 the first printing press in America. The printers were Esteban Martín and Juan Paoli. C. Venustiano Carranza being president of the Republic, the provisional city government of the City of Mexico placed this plaque December 31, 1917."¹⁵

The first printer in Mexico was Juan Pablos, who came at first as an agent of the house of Cromberger, but later established himself in business on his own account. He was an Italian by birth, a native of Brescia, Lombardy. His name in Italian was Paoli, the plural of Paolo, which in Spanish means Pablo, or in English, Paul. Therefore, his name was translated into Spanish as the plural of Pablo, that is, Pablos, following the custom of that day. On February 17, 1542, he was accepted as a citizen of Mexico. Shortly afterward, on receiving news of the death of Cromberger, he decided to set up in business for himself. The printing establishment of Pablos passed to Pedro Ocharte in 1560.

It would seem that the business of printing was a prosperous one, says García Icazbalceta, for otherwise nobody would have disputed the monopoly which Pablos at first enjoyed. In 1558, Antonio de Espinosa, a citizen of Mexico, together with the printers Antonio Álvarez, Sebastián Gutiérrez and Juan Rodríguez, appeared before the royal court of Spain and asked the king to abolish Pablos' prerogative of monopoly.¹⁶ The petitioners achieved their object. On Sept. 17, 1558, the king issued a decree that the right to engage in the printing business in Mexico should be free to all, as it was in Spain proper at that time.

The introduction of printing into Mexico was brought about by an agreement between the first viceroy of New Spain, D. Antonio de Mendoza, and the first bishop, D. Fr. Juan de Zumárraga; but the government tended to hinder the development of the industry by maintaining a strict control over it throughout the colonial period. Writers found it difficult to publish their books, for they had to submit copies to the censors in Spain, and have their works approved, before the latter could circulate. This entailed great expense, and indolence on the part of censors often caused much delay before the authors were informed as to the fate of their volumes.¹⁷

The lack of a large reading public, the high price of paper and printing utensils, the tyrannical and irresponsible rigor of both the ecclesiastical and civil censure, and the isolation and poor facilities for communication of Mexico, all tended to discourage whatever stimuli for intellectual tasks the country might have had. This resulted in a low demand for books; and since few such works could find a market, the printing industry, which was chiefly dependent on the revenue from book publishing for its support, suffered in its development. The large amount of illiteracy and the

14. "EN MEXICO SE ESTABLECIO AQUI LA PRIMERA IMPRENTA DE AMERICA."

15. "EL VIRREY DON ANTONIO MENDOZA ESTABLECIO AQUI EL AÑO DE 1536 LA PRIMERA IMPRENTA DE AMERICA. LOS TIPOGRAFOS FUERON ESTEBAN MARTIN Y JUAN PAOLI. SIENDO PRESIDENTE DE LA REPUBLICA EL C. VENUSTIANO CARRANZA EL AYUNTAMIENTO PROVISIONAL DE LA CUIDAD DE MEXICO COLOCO ESTA LAPIDA EN 31 DE DICIEMBRE DE 1917."

16. Agüeros, *Op. Cit.*, p. 368, quoting Icazbalceta: *Documentos para la historia de la primitiva tipografía mexicana*. Sevilla, MCMVIII.

17. Quesada, *Op. Cit.*, p. 16.

other factors that hindered printing also retarded the growth of journalism, which finds it hard to thrive where the reading public is small, the official censorship severe, and the physical costs of newspaper production high.

Of the books that were printed in Mexico during the colonial régime, many were of a religious nature. Since the government was a joint hierarchy of the Spanish Crown and of the Catholic Church, and the priests were responsible for most of the education the Mexicans at first received,¹⁸ it was only natural that, as Priestley says, "the way to heaven" was the theme of most of the books printed in Mexico during the first half of the sixteenth century.¹⁹ Nearly eighty religious works of that epoch and imprint still exist. They were published in Latin and Spanish, and in Aztec, Tarascan, and other native tongues.

Later, however, Thomas points out, in addition to religion the books covered a wide range of subjects. "The press being under the absolute control of government," he writes, "we might expect to find the catalogue of Spanish American publications confined within narrow limits; but the fact is, that the works which treat of religion, history, morals, and classical works, which in that country have been printed, are numerous."²⁰ Agüeros adds that other books dealt with medicine, law, and the military and naval arts.²¹

As the printing industry of Mexico slowly developed, printing presses brought from the capital were installed in Puebla, Guadalajara, and Veracruz. In Mexico City, there were six of them in operation in 1761, but by 1800 these had been reduced to three only. Printers were permitted to work only under government licenses, and the Inquisition limited the character of the works that might be printed at all. In the Jesuit missions throughout Mexico and the rest of Spanish America grew up a widespread and clandestine system of printing presses. Priests who were expert in the art of printing were imported from Germany. They taught the Indians to make presses out of rude materials, and to use the machines skillfully. These presses, however, were used only to print books and other material which circulated solely in the missions. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, this clandestine industry was in a flourishing condition.²²

But although the majority of the presses of the early colonial period were used to print books and other treatises of a religious, scientific, or academic nature, there were those employed to record topics of a more popular interest and in a more popular style, through the medium of the "hojas volantes" or flying sheets. The first example of these news pamphlets known to have existed does not strictly belong to Mexico, for although printed at Mexico City, it was written in Guatemala, and relates an event of that colonial viceroyalty. It is entitled: "Relation of the Earthquake in Guatemala" on Saturday 10 and Sunday 11 of September of 1541,²³ and was printed by Juan Pablos. Later, it was reprinted in Spain.

The pamphlet furnishes an example of the reporting of that day, and is not devoid of merit. In narrative style, such as that still largely used in Latin America and on the continent of Europe, the author carefully enumerates the details and cir-

18. Burner, *Spanish Colonial System*, p. 74.

19. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, p. 157.

20. Thomas, *Op. Cit.*, I, p. 7.

21. Agüeros, *Op. Cit.*, p. 371.

22. For a detailed description of this clandestine industry, cf.: Quesada, *Vida Intellectual*, pp. 161-168.

23. "RELACIÓN DEL TERREMOTO DE GUATEMALA." Imp. de Juan Pablos, México, 1542.

cumstances of a natural calamity which occurred in Guatemala—a volcanic eruption, accompanied by great rains and floods—and paints a vivid picture of the disaster. That being done, he deviates from the ethics of modern reporting by seeking to show that the calamity was due to the wrath of the Deity, who was angered by the ungodliness of the Guatemalans. However, he returns to a more impersonal news style, and toward the end, in true reporter fashion, gives a complete list of the dead, and their occupations and families; and as far as can be determined, an account of how each victim met his or her end. The writer again deviates from the methods of



The building in Mexico City where the first printing plant in America was established. (Courtesy of El Universal.)

modern reporting by stopping to sympathize with the sufferers, saying that it was painful to see such misery and such destruction.²⁴

The seventeenth century is very prolific in flying sheets, which for the most part treat of foreign affairs. It was customary for such a pamphlet to confine itself to one topic, and the titles in many cases give a good idea of the contents of the publications. The oldest one of this century is entitled: "True Relation of a masquerade, which the silversmiths' guild of Mexico and devotees of the glorious Saint Isidore the Patron Saint of Madrid, held in honor of his glorious beatification."²⁵ It was written by the silversmith Juan Rodríguez, and was printed at Mexico City in April, 1621, by Pedro Gutiérrez.

Various "relations"—this being another name for flying sheets—were published by Diego Garrido, and later by his widow, who like several other women of her day,

24. Cf. *México Viejo y Anecdótico*, for complete text of the pamphlet copied from a facsimile by González Obregón.

25. "Verdadera Relación de una máscara, que los artifices del gremio de la platería de México y devotos del glorioso San Isidro el Labrador de Madrid, lucieron en honra de su gloriosa beatificación." Compuesta por Juan Rodríguez Abril platero. México, por Pedro Gutiérrez, en la calle de Tacuba, 1621. 2 hojas en folio.

took over the business on the death of their printer husbands. One such pamphlet, dated 1621, deals with the last will and testament of King Phillip II of Spain; another, dated 1626, tells of a flood of the River Tormes, which did considerable damage in the city of Salamanca, Spain.

Probably more flying sheets were issued from the printing establishment of Bernardo Calderón—which after his death was taken over and ably conducted by his widow—than from any other publishing center. The oldest known news pamphlet published by him relates various miracles attributed to a nun of Valladolid.²⁶ Among those published by his widow are accounts of the letter which the Great Turk wrote to the King of Spain; the letter which General Pedro de Mata wrote to the Governor of China; the state of Christianity in that barbarous kingdom; and the happenings which had befallen Archduke Leopold since the beginnings of 1649 in the States of Flanders.

In addition to the historical type of flying sheet, others were published which dealt with miracles or other phenomena of a supernatural nature. For example, in 1640, Juan Ruiz published the: "Brief Relation of the Miraculous and Celestial Image of Saint Dominick, Patriarch of the Order of Preachers, Brought from Heaven by the hand of the Virgin Our Lady. To the Convent that the said Order of Preachers Has in the Villa of Soriano, in the Kingdom of Naples. And Some of the Events in Mexico."²⁷ Nor did the widow of Calderón confine herself to printing contemporary historical accounts. In 1649, she published the "true relation" of the capture of a monster in France, with a human face with a long beard, the beak of an eagle, the body of a dragon, legs of an eagle, and the hands of a man. According to the account in the pamphlet, the fabulous animal prognosticated all sorts of happiness, abundance of crops to the farmers, peace to the nations, and that there would not be any more hurricanes nor tempests.²⁸

In the flying sheets is found the beginning of "crime" news, which at the present day plays such an important part in Mexican journalism. One especially notorious

26. "Copia de Carta, que el Licenciado Don Francisco del Ballejo y de la Cueva, Corregidor de Carrión, escribe a Su Magestad, en su Consejo Real de Castilla, en tres de Abril, de 1631." Con licencia, en México, En La Imprenta de Bernardo Calderón, Impresor de Gobierno. En la calle de San Agustín. 2 hojas en folio.

27. "Breve Relación de la Milagrosa, Y Celestial Imagen de Santo Domingo Patriarca de la Orden de Predicadores, Trayda del Cielo por mano de la Virgen Nuestra Señora. Al Convento Que la dicha Orden de Predicadores Tiene en la Villa de Soriano, en el Reyno de Nápoles. Y Algunos de los sucedidos en México." En México. Con licencia del Illustríssimo señor don Diego de Guevara, Chantre de la S. Iglesia de México, Juez, Provisor y Vicario general de la Ciudad de Santo Domingo, Primado de las Indias. En la imprenta de Iuan Ruyz, Año de 1640. 6 hojas en folio.

28. "Relación Verdadera En que Se Da Cuenta De La Presa Que Se Ha hecho de un animal monstruoso, en el Foso del lugar de Loyes, junto a la villa de la Rochela en Francia. Y el maravilloso descubrimiento de vnas Centurias que se han hallado escritas en vna plancha de cobre, debaxo de vna piedra, que los vientos recios de este año, de 1648, arrancaron de la torre de Garot de la dicha Rochela, todo a un tiempo: que pronostican el descubrimiento deste animal". Con licencia, en Madrid por Alonso de Paredes año de 1648. Y en México, Por la Viuda de Bernardo Calderón en la calle de San Agustín, este año de 1649. 4 hojas en folio.

pamphlet of this nature was that issued by the widow of Calderón in 1651, containing the confession of a wretch who died on the gallows, Gabriel Marín.²⁹

In the pamphlet, the criminal confesses his offenses against society, repents of them, and asks pardon for the calumnies he caused other people who received the blame for his misdeeds. He admits that he committed 68 robberies, with the aid of false keys and picklocks, making the owners of the stolen things suspect that the thieves had been their friends, neighbors, servants, and slaves.³⁰

Most of the news for flying sheets, especially in the earlier part of the colonial period, came from foreign lands. Each time that a boat arrived, the printers would gather the news received, or reproduce that already published in Spain, and in one or more leaves of paper, in quarto or in folio, give it to the public with diverse titles, preferring that of "account" or "relation" of such and such a thing, or of "news" or "events."³¹ But whatever their given titles, these pamphlets were of so similar a nature that they might all be classed safely under the general category of flying sheets. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they were the chief sources of news and the principal bulwarks of what journalism may be said to have existed. But during the eighteenth century, although they continued to be published in considerable numbers, they lost their importance, as "Gazettes," "Mercuries," and other periodicals, published at fixed places and at regular intervals, made their appearance.

But they did not entirely disappear. As they diminished in favor, they degenerated in tone; indeed, so much so that Luís González Obregón, at the beginning of the present century, was moved to write³²:

They are now the popular "Leaves" that have come down to our day, written in prose that is not prose, or in verses which seem prose, and which were printed or are printed by such as Sixto Casillas or Aurelio Vanegas Arroyo, on heavy white paper or paper of brilliant colors, illustrated with abominable engravings and containing, as their chief feature, "news of sensation" for the mob: earthquakes and floods, comets and fearful monsters; a father who devoured his sons or an infamous son who killed his mother; the death of a bullfighter or the execution of a murderer or famous thief....Dramatic and childish news, which now as in all times, has awakened and entertained the nervousness or the credulity of readers either ill or curious.

Despite their later degeneration, the flying sheets, in their earlier years, served a worth-while purpose, before the establishment of the regular periodical press in Mexico furnished competition that they were ill able to meet. In their crude manner, they presented much that is now of historical and sociological interest. In such pamphlets as those dealing with the burial of King Phillip II of Spain, and the Guatemalan earthquake, the modern investigator may find presumably accurate material concerning historical events; and for the sociologist such accounts as that of the criminal Gabriel Marín's confession are of value. Even in their more exaggerated features, the flying sheets are of historical importance, for if they sometimes pandered to the supernatural, as in the story of the French monster, they only reflect the general superstition of the times. Handicapped by strict censure, they made no attempt to indulge in editorial opinions for the improvement of local conditions; but they did perform the other principal function of a modern newspaper by acting as mirrors of the contemporary life and foibles of their day.

29. "Declaración que dió en la horca Gabriel Marín, al Licenciado Francisco Corchero Carreño, Presbytero, su Confessor: A quien pidió por amor de Dios la publicase, en ella después de su muerte, para descargo de su conciencia." Vda. de Bernardo Calderón, México, 1651.

30. González Obregón, *Op. Cit.*, p. 126.

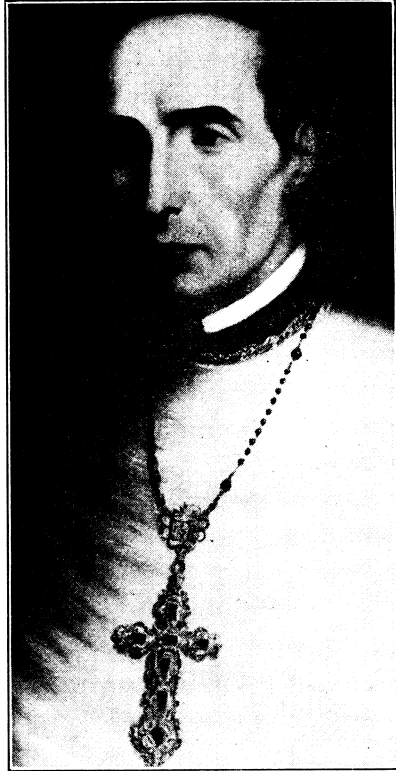
31. Agüeros, *Op. Cit.*, p. 378.

32. González Obregón. *Op. Cit.*, pp. 135-136

II. Colonial Journalism

At the beginning of the previous chapter it was stated that Mexico's first periodical published at a fixed place and at regular intervals appeared in 1722. This fact has been disputed by some writers, who seek to place the date as 1693. One of them, writing for the Pan-American Union, says that "the first newspaper was published

*Mexico's first journalist,
D. Juan Ignacio María de
Castorena Ursúa y Goyen-
eche, who, in 1722, founded
at Mexico City the first news
periodical published at regu-
lar intervals. (Courtesy of
National Museum.)*



in Mexico in 1693, but it is hard to trace in history and harder still to compare this first effort with the press of modern life."³³ It is probable that the writer means to refer to the "Mercurio Volante," or "Flying Mercury," written by the scholar Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora. If so, he has fallen into a rather common error in considering that publication a newspaper. Sr. González Obregón, who made a careful study of its now rare issues before the article in the Bulletin of the Pan-American Union was written, pronounced it not a newspaper, but a historical account published in instalments, and its author not a journalist but a historian. His opinion is now generally accepted by authorities on the subject, including Sr. Gómez-Haro, who calls the "Mercurio Volante" a pamphlet rather than a newspaper.³⁴ The pamphlet

33. Anon. "Bulletin Pan American Union," XXXIII, p. 147.

34. Gómez-Haro, "El Universal," Sept. 1, 1921. Section 7, p. 5.

tells of the recovery of the provinces of New Mexico by Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Luxán Ponce de León.

Although Sigüenza y Góngora was not, strictly speaking, a journalist, he deserves mention as one who helped to foster the beginnings of journalism in Mexico through the medium of the flying sheet. In 1691, he wrote a news pamphlet describing the victory of Spanish arms over the French in Santo Domingo.³⁵ In 1691 he also wrote a book on the same subject, entitled, "The Triumph of Spanish Justice." Since he was probably the most distinguished intellectual in Mexico during the seventeenth century, the association of his name with the forerunners of journalism is an honor to the profession.

Sigüenza y Góngora was born at Mexico City in 1645, and was educated there. In 1660 he entered the Jesuit order, and took the first vows in 1662; but he shortly afterward separated from the organization, not returning to it until 1700, a few days before his death. In addition to being a writer on current events, he was also a poet, philosopher, historian, antiquarian, critic, and astronomer, and a man notable in his public and private life for his integrity and his great services to science and letters.

Like Góngora, the first real journalist in Mexico was a priest. The Zacatecan, Dr. D. Juan Ignacio de Castorena y Ursúa y Goyeneche, then "chantre" or precentor of the Church of Mexico and later Bishop of Yucatán, was the first who substituted for the news pamphlets a periodical, his monthly journal being known as the "Gazeta de México y noticias de Nueva España."³⁶ The first number appeared on January 1, 1722, and the last one on June 1 of the same year—six issues in all. Each of them is composed of four leaves in quarto, so that the entire collection has only 48 pages.

In his introduction to the first issue, addressed to his reading public, Castorena y Ursúa says³⁷:

The happy duration of this court begins its third century, with which it commences to give to the presses its events worthy of great publicity, recorded in these "Gazettes," for to print them is a policy so rational that it is authorized by all the Courts of Europe, giving to the press the news that occurs in the short time of seven days, throughout the district.

The custom being diffused, it has come to imperial Lima, the celebrated court of Peru, and practicing this plausible diligence, that court prints each month its chief happenings; and not being inferior, the very Illustrious Mexico, Crown of these Kingdoms, commences to implant the custom with the license of the Most Excellent Sr. Marques de Valero, thus making more memorable the doings of the government. . . .

It does not lack utility, for besides the general motive of the Gazettes, which is a very faithful relation of what happens in these regions, any discreet man, with the diligence of gathering them together, can without difficulty form some Annals in the future, in which, without the trouble of investigating the facts, he may attain the applause of writing them, and of pleasing his correspondents who from Europe ask news of America in order to enrich their histories with novelty. . . .

In some respects, Castorena anticipated the makers of modern newspapers in Mexico, the United States and other countries. His custom of printing "exchanges" from other papers has been carried on through the centuries, although at present it is the expression of editorial opinion rather than the account of news that finds a place in such a "column." The development of news gathering associations and of reports by correspondents stationed abroad has made the reprinting of news from

35. "Relación histórica de los sucesos de la Armada de Barlovento a fines de 1690 y fines de 1691." Imp. en México por (los herederos de la viuda de) Calderón. 1691. En quarto.

36. "Gazeta de México y noticias de Nueva España." Tomo I, Núm. 1. 1 de enero de 1722. Imp. de los herederos de la viuda de Miguel de Ribera Calderón.

37. Agüeros, *Op. Cit.*, p. 400.

European or other foreign papers practically unnecessary; but the opinions of influential newspapers and magazines published in foreign lands or in other cities of one's own country continue to interest the local reader.

But it was foreign news and not foreign opinion that appealed to Castorena, for in his "exchange" department he reprinted European news published by the "Gazeta de Madrid." And in the physical make-up of the Mexican gazette, the influence of the Spanish paper was noticeable. Following the custom observed in Madrid of placing the news of each court separately, Castorena separated the news of each city, dividing it by capitals of bishoprics, provinces, and ports, so that it could be read more easily. He published a great amount of official, religious, commercial, social, and marine news, and in addition some very curious bibliographies of the works printed in Mexico and in Spain, in a section which he called "New Books."

By publishing the latter list, Castorena recognized the interest of newspaper readers in literature, and made an attempt in his limited amount of space to satisfy it. Later journalists have developed the idea, until now it is the custom—and it has been for some time—not only to give the bibliographical reference but also a summary or even an elaborate literary review of an important book.

In his day, Castorena was able to segregate the news by cities, and run it with no headlines but the names of the places where it originated. His paper was small, it had no competition, and appeared only once a month; so no matter what it contained or how it was "made up," it was sure to be read with interest by those thirsty for news. Today, the great amount of news in the papers is so large that the information must be arranged according to importance or intrinsic interest, and headlines of various sizes must be used for the convenience of busy readers who have neither time nor patience to read everything in a large journal.

Castorena appealed only to the small educated class that administered the affairs of New Spain; and so his paper was devoted largely to accounts of official civil and ecclesiastical functions and decrees. But the modern newspapers of Mexico, appealing largely to the general public, have developed for their readers a news service touching on an endless variety of subjects, and special features such as fashion hints, sporting sections, art departments, comic strips, and numerous other attractions to draw subscribers of all classes.

Like many innovators who are opposed because of the newness of the things they introduce, the founder of the first regular periodical in Mexico drew much censure upon himself, though he spent his own money on his gazette without hope of reimbursement, according to Agüeros.³⁸ Another writer also makes the point that after six issues had appeared, Castorena was appointed Bishop of Yucatán, so that thereafter he had no time to devote to journalism.³⁹

On January 1, 1728, the publication of Castorena's gazette was resumed by D. Juan Francisco Sahagún de Arévalo Ladrón de Guevara. It was printed in the shop of D. José Bernardo de Hoyal, in the street of San Bernardo.⁴⁰ The first issue of Sahagún's periodical, which I examined at the National Library in Mexico City, has the title of "Gazeta de México."⁴¹ Like his predecessor, the new journalist, who was a presbyter in the Archbishopric of Mexico, followed the custom of segregating

38. Agüeros, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 400-402.

39. León Sánchez. *Op. Cit.*, p. 6.

40. Núñez y Domínguez, *Un Virrey Limeño en México*, p. 12.

41. "Gazeta de México Desde primero hasta fin de Henero de 1728." Con Licencia, y Privilegio del Excmo. Sr. Virrey. En México. Por Joseph Bernardo de Hoyal. En la Calle nueva. Año de 1728.

the news by cities. In the first number of the revived gazette, Sahagún placed on the front page, under the title, a crude wood-engraved sketch of an eagle sitting on a cactus and devouring a serpent—an emblem of historical significance which is now used on Mexican coins.⁴² For many years, such wood engravings were the only means of newspaper illustration known, for it was not until the nineteenth century that the “metal cut” now in general use was invented.

Under Sahagún’s engraving is the simple headline, “México,” followed by a news story which relates in narrative style the doings of the city council of Mexico City. This article is long, continuing through most of page four. The next story is from Puebla de los Ángeles; and then in order follow articles from Guadalajara, Guatemala, Zacatecas, Querétaro, Nueva Vera-Cruz, and Acapulco. The last story tells of the arrival of a galleon from the Philippines. At the bottom of the eighth and final page is a paragraph giving the names of new books, as Castorena had been wont to do. Under this, at the very last, is the customary legend giving the date, the printer, and notice of the license of the colonial viceroy.

Until 1731, the gazette continued to be printed by Bernardo de Hogal. Starting with the fiftieth issue,⁴³ it was printed by the heirs of the widow of Miguel de Rivera Calderón, until No. 60 appeared in November, 1732, with the signature of Doña María de Ribera; and from No. 122, of November, 1738, until the end of its existence the periodical was again published by Hogal. It contains 145 numbers in all. Up to October, 1739, each issue has four leaves, and is in quarto; but the issues for November and December of 1739 are of but two leaves each. In the next issue which appeared, in January, 1742, the title of the publication had been changed to the “Mercurio de México”; and it was no longer printed by Joseph Bernardo de Hogal, but by his widow.

In order to give the news of the two years that had elapsed since the publication of the last gazette, an unusual device was used in the “Mercurio”. In each issue, not only was the news of the past month given; but also that of the corresponding month of the two lost years.⁴⁴ For example, No. 146 of the paper—the first issue which appeared under the title of “Mercurio”—has this headline: “For the Months of January of 1740, 1741, and 1742.” In the same issue, the editor explains that the “sharp scissors of the expensiveness of Paper cut the thread of the old and modern

42. The story is that an Aztec god told the Indians, in the days before the Spanish conquest, to build their capital where they should find an eagle sitting on a cactus and devouring a serpent. So they traveled about until they found this place, and here built their capital, which they called Tenochtitlán, but which is now México, D. F.

43. Up to that time 49 issues had been printed, for in July, 1728, two numbers of the “Gazeta de México” were published.

44. In my opinion, this device is not connected with the present fad for running columns with such captions as “Ten Years Ago Today,” as found in American papers. The object of the “Mercurio” was to give news of what had elapsed since the last appearance of the “Gazeta,” for in the meanwhile Mexico had had no periodical to give that information. The use of the “So Many Years Ago Today” column is to give older readers a chance for reminiscence, to afford an opportunity for comparison of the present with the past, and in the majority of cases, if not all of them, to advertise the newspaper printing the “column” as an established institution, for the paper usually emphasizes that the material is republished from its old files.

News....."⁴⁵ which was but a polite way of saying that the "Gazeta" had been forced to suspend at the end of 1739 because of the high cost of paper. After one year's existence, the "Mercurio" ceased publication, and never again appeared.

An examination of the various numbers of the "Gazeta" and the "Mercurio" shows that both are devoted almost exclusively to news. This may sound strange to those who are accustomed to think of our Latin neighbors as continually engaged in hot-blooded polemics, but it is nonetheless true, and it was to continue thus until the end of the Spanish régime. The foregoing journals contained a great deal of political and religious news and many official announcements. Numerous are the accounts of religious functions, the descriptions of processions, consecrations of churches, beatifications of saints, festivals, and autos de fe. News of commercial affairs crept in occasionally, and from time to time the papers printed accounts of battles, and even of crimes.

An important innovation which was introduced by the "Mercurio" was the publication of verses, which practice in later years became mutually beneficial to both the Mexican newspapers and the poets.⁴⁶ Because of the expensiveness of publishing their works in book form and the comparative ease of having them printed in newspapers and periodicals, many Mexican poets, including some of the best, have chosen the latter medium for initial publication of even their finest poems. Later, many of the poems have been collected, and published in separate volumes.

After the suspension of the "Mercurio" in 1742, Mexico did not have a regular periodical until March, 1768, when Father D. José Antonio Alzate brought out his "Diario Literario." The paper died in May of the same year, and for four years the country was again without a periodical.

In the latter part of 1772, the need was remedied by the appearance of the "Mercurio Volante", with "important and curious news of physics and medicine."⁴⁷ Its editor was D. José Ignacio Bartolache, an illustrious mathematician and a doctor of medicine of the Royal University of Mexico.

Bartolache was born in the city of Sante Fe, Mexico, on March 30, 1739. He came of a poor family. Although his parents could not afford to give him even a primary education, Bartolache, with the aid of a generous person who had discovered the youth's great ability, succeeded in obtaining good academic and scientific training, and was accepted as a doctor of medicine by the University. Having attained fame in his profession, he was appointed to the faculty of chemistry in the Academy of Natural Sciences, founded in Mexico in the epoch of the viceroy Marqués de Croix. The institution failed, and Bartolache entered the treasury department in a humble capacity. By his knowledge of chemistry, he worked up to an important position. Until his death on June 9, 1790, he also continued his studies, and published several works on astronomy, botany, medicine, chemistry, physics, and similar topics.

45. León, Nicolás, *Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVIII*. First section, part two, p. 875.

46. In the United States, as in Mexico, the periodical press has also aided the development of poetry by the publication of original compositions.

47. "MERCURIO VOLANTE/CON NOTICIAS IMPORTANTES I CURIOSAS/SOBRE VARIOS ASUNTOS/DE FISICA I MEDICINA." Por D. JOSEF IGNACIO BARTOLACHE, Doctor Médico, del Claustro de esta Real Universidad de México. Núm. 1. México, Sábado 17 de Octubre de 1772. En México con las licencias necesarias, i Privilegio concedido al Autor por este Superior Gobierno en casa de D. Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, calle de la Palma.

The first number of the "Mercurio Volante" of Bartolache appeared in Mexico City on Saturday, October 17, 1772. It consists of four leaves, each printed on both sides. At the top of the first page, under the heading of "plan of this periodical," is a quotation in Latin from Ovid's "Metamorphoses." The remainder of the issue is given over to an editorial essay discussing the handicaps to having the cultural attainments of New Spain rival those of Europe. Part of this essay is as follows⁴⁸:

Mercury, according to the Fable, was the Messenger of the Gods, in whose service he flew with great celerity to whatever part to which they might send him. All the Sciences, and the knowledge useful to the human race, were believed by the most sensible Philosophers to have, like the rational soul itself, an origin celestial and divine.

The Arts were always esteemed as other such precious gifts of Providence, conceded by special grace in benefit of the mortals; and no important news came to the world, according to this just and reasonable mode of thinking, from another part than from the high heavens, or from men worthy of being placed there. Thus, then, for a species of allegory in no way reprehensible, I have wished to call "Mercurio Volante" a loose Leaf, that will carry news to all parts, as a messenger that goes at full speed. It will go out every Wednesday, the day on which all the Mails of the Kingdom depart from this Capital.

I shall always try to place at the front some passage from a good Author, pertaining to the topic, and translated in case of necessity. I say in case of necessity, because I shall not omit those of Spanish Authors, when they occur to me. In other Periodical Papers which I have seen, the respect for the Latins and Greeks is superstitiously guarded. There is no reason for this; I will glory in having been born Spanish.

It was Bartolache's custom to announce at the end of each issue the subject of his next number. An examination of the eight issues found at the National Museum at Mexico City would indicate he kept pretty well to his original plans as outlined. The "Mercurio Volante" was published regularly from October, 1772, to February, 1773.

Although between 1742 and 1768 no periodicals were published at stated intervals in Mexico, there was a series of "Calendarios" or calendars which deserves mention because of its journalistic attributes. It was published by the distinguished printer D. Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, from 1761 to 1792, under the title of "Calendarios y Guías de Forasteros en México."

The series, one issue of which appeared regularly at the beginning of each year, was composed and printed with a high degree of perfection for that time. As a printer, Zúñiga y Ontiveros spared no expense in improving his establishment. A colleague, D. José Antonio de Hoyal, said that so complete was the equipment of Ontiveros' shop that any work could be printed there with great ease and perfection.⁴⁹ The "Calendarios" contained a great abundance of information, including chronologies of viceroys and prelates, news of the military status of the country, statistics and notices of marriages, deaths, and illnesses, notices of the arrival and departure of mails, and news and announcements concerning the royal lottery. Upon the death of Ontiveros in 1793, the printing establishment was taken over by his son, D. Mariano José de Zúñiga y Ontiveros, who also continued the issuance of the "Guías de Forasteros," until his own death in 1825.

The failure of Father Alzate's first journalistic venture did not discourage him. Indeed, it was destined that he should fail in other attempts before he finally attained success. Of short duration were his "Asuntos varios sobre ciencias y artes," which lasted from November, 1772, to January, 1773; and his "Observaciones sobre la física, historia natural y artes útiles," published from March to July, 1787. But finally, with his "Gazetas de Literatura," Father Alzate was to win recognition. Because of his work on the latter paper, which appeared regularly from January 15, 1788, to June 17, 1795, he deserves a place among the leading pioneer journalists of Mexico.

48. Bartolache, *Op. Cit.*, p. 6.

49. Medina, *Op. Cit.*, I, p. clxxvii.

In a rather brief magazine article in 1925 on the reviews which Mexico has had, a modern Mexican critic mentions Alzate's periodical first among the few he includes in his list of the most important. He is probably right in his judgment of the "Gazetas," which he terms good enough for their day, but not anything to brag about from a modern standpoint. "For the easily satisfied public of the end of the eighteenth century," he writes, "there sufficed the spiritual food which was served by the 'Gazetas de Literatura' published by Sr. D. Antonio de Alzate y Ramírez. They contained curious and useful news, rarely verses, and sometimes illustrations, in the form of copper engravings which Agüero and Águila signed, with motives of aboriginal architecture, insects, and vegetables, colored by hand."⁵⁰

A tribute, as much deserved as the criticism of Sánchez, is that of Garcia Icazbalceta, who wrote concerning Alzate's gazettes: "The 'Gazetas' would suffice to create the reputation of a sage; their reading is very interesting, in spite of their disarranged style, a defect which one forgets in order to admire the ardent desire of being useful to the fatherland and to humanity which all those pages respire."⁵¹

D. Joseph Antonio Alzate y Ramírez was born in the town of Pueblo, Province of Chalco, in the Archbishopric of Mexico, in 1729. He was a blood relation of the famous nun and poetess Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, one of the greatest writers of poetry that Mexico has ever produced. After being received as a priest, he turned his attention to the study of other subjects in which he was interested, such as physics, chemistry, mathematics, astronomy and the natural sciences. His non-sacerdotal studies later served him well in his journalistic work and in many learned treatises of a scientific nature, of which he is the author.⁵²

Of a reserved disposition, he was an acrid and severe critic. On this account, he had more enemies than friends and more unpleasantness than gratifications; but nevertheless, he accomplished much good. He developed a taste for good literature among his countrymen; he unearthed and ridiculed grave errors and vulgar superstitions; he made important innovations in the applied sciences, now studying the manner to introduce the necessary air into the mines abandoned for the lack of it, now perfecting better means for extraction of silver from the ore; in personal controversies, which now began to creep into Mexican journalism, he made his adversaries study and meditate, and he succeeded in putting to precipitate flight the flowery orators who spoke much but thought little. Like his American contemporary Benjamin Franklin, he was a powerful force for intellectual and scientific development in his own land, and received many honors abroad.

Viceroy, archbishops, and corporate bodies distinguished Father Alzate with highly honorary, but not at all lucrative, commissions; and even abroad he received great honors. When, in Mexico, he was attacked by envy and gossip, the Academy of Sciences in Paris and the Basque Society honored him with the title of "corresponding member" and published, with flattering introductions, some of his works. The Botanical Garden of Madrid also made him a corresponding member, and the Botanical Expedition of Peru dedicated to him, because of his achievements in the natural sciences, a plant which it called "alzatea". Fatigued by his work, Father Alzate in his later years fell into profound melancholy, in which he continued until

50. Sánchez, Sancho, "Revista de Revistas," Año XVI, Núm. 768, p. 23.

51. Quoted by Agüeros, (*Op. Cit.*, p. 419) without a bibliographical note.

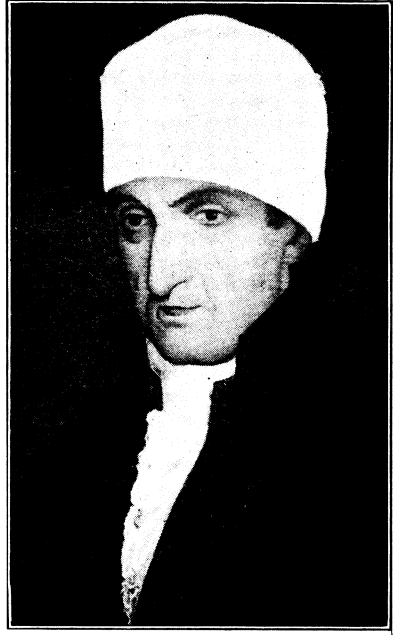
52. For a list of the twenty-five most important works of Alzate, including his four journalistic publications, cf.: Castillo Negrete, *México en el Siglo XIX*, I, pp. 319-320.

his death. He died at Mexico City on February 2, 1799, at the age of 61 years.⁵³

The next important name in the history of Mexican journalism is that of D. Manuel Antonio Valdés Murguía y Saldaña, born in Mexico City July 17, 1742. In 1784 he founded another "Gazeta de México," which became the outstanding gazette of the colonial period, the first issue being dated January 14.⁵⁴ Valdés' gazette, which enjoyed the distinction of being the first official periodical published in Mexico as the organ of the colonial government, continued as "Gazeta de México" until the end of 1809. It then announced itself as frankly official, and changed its name to that of "Gazeta del Gobierno." Under this title, it first appeared January 2, 1810, shortly before the revolution of Hidalgo broke out. During the war, it was an effective weapon of the Spanish government against the rebels. It lasted until September 29, 1821, when its title was again changed. On that date, the colonial government having been overthrown and Iturbide having set himself up as emperor, it changed its name to "Gazeta Imperial" and its policies to correspond with those of the new political administration.

Valdés' journalistic theories are illustrated in the prospectus for the gazette, which he issued January 2, 1784. On the first page he writes: "A gazette is nothing more than a collection of the day's news, now of some strange events and now of some ordinary happenings: which are not written for a determined Place, but for an entire Kingdom, where it is morally impossible to find one single person entirely informed of what is going on." He then emphasizes the importance of a gazette as a source of information for future historians. On page two, he expresses his intention of seeking to make his periodical just such a source of help for them.

During the twenty-six years of its existence, Valdés' journal appeared usually twice a month—sometimes more and sometimes less often, as conditions varied. The collection of all the issues, which he preserved as he had promised, forms twenty volumes in quarto.



Manuel Antonio Valdés, who in 1784 established the outstanding gazette of the colonial period. (Courtesy of National Museum.)

53. The "Gazetas de Literatura," which made him famous, are divided into four volumes in quarto, which in turn are subdivided into "subscriptions" composed of specified numbers. (Agüeros, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 418-419.)

54. "GAZETAS DE MEXICO" / COMPENDIO DE NOTICIAS DE NUEVA ESPAÑA. Desde principios del año de 1784. Dedicadas al Exmo. Señor D. Matías de Gálvez, Virrey, Gobernador y Capitán general de la misma, etc. etc. etc. Por D. Manuel Antonio Valdés. Con Licencia y Privilegio. México. Por D. Felipe de Zúñiga y Ontiveros. Calle del Espíritu Santo. 14 de enero de 1784.

In the able hands of Valdés the gazette was a serious and interesting periodical. In its pages were many articles on scientific subjects, such as chronology, geology, archeology, botany, medicine, and other topics. Valdés wrote a large part of the journal. As authors of the scientific articles, Antonio León Gama, Andrés del Río, Mociño, Dr. Rodríguez Argüelles and other collaborated with him. Some of the articles of the "Gazeta de México" were reproduced in the "Gazeta de Madrid," a number of them drawing the praise of the Spanish sovereign. Many of them were illustrated with metal engravings, and others with illustrations inserted in the text by other methods, according to Agüeros.⁵⁵ In the illustrations, the editor displayed a fondness for pictures of human monstrosities. He also published engravings of various plans, including one of the Alameda, a park in Mexico City; and of new surgical instruments and industrial and agricultural implements.

The price of subscription was at first 22 reals per year in Mexico City; and outside the capital, three pesos for all the gazettes and supplements published from the beginning of January to the end of December.⁵⁶ These prices later varied in proportion to the number of gazettes each year. The "Gazeta" published supplements when news of extraordinary interest occurred, or to make public edicts or royal orders, make corrections and publish letters, replies, and so forth, which were of special interest. Sometimes persons writing letters to be published in the supplement paid for the printing of that section, which was then distributed free to the readers.

In the latter part of its existence, the "Gazeta" began to publish literary works. Some of them are valuable to the sociological historian in that they reflect the spirit of their time. The paper had its periods of prosperity and its periods of decay. At the end of the eighteenth century, the editor complained that he was receiving very little news from outside the capital. Many "practical jokers" added to Valdés' troubles by sending him false news. To recognize this chaff and separate it from the body of authoritative material fit for publication was a task that must have taxed his patience quite often.

So far as I have been able to find out, the next important journalistic enterprise in Mexico is unique. It consisted in the establishment of a daily of information, without paper, ink, or printing presses, and was the project of Lic. D. Juan Nazario Peimbert y Hernández, a lawyer of the Real Audiencia of Mexico. His plan was to open a "warehouse of news," in which items of public interest would be collected, written up and sold. Meeting with the approval of the viceroy D. Félix Berenguer de Marquina, Peimbert inaugurated his unusual business on May 2, 1803. The present writer has been unable to determine how long it continued in operation, but that it attained considerable importance is agreed upon by the two leading writers on Mexican journalistic history, Agüeros and Gómez-Haro.

Three classes of information were sold at this establishment, which was called "Mexican Seat of News Important to the Public," and occupied the first floor of Peimbert's home at Montealegre 12, the street now being known as 5a. de Donceles. The first class concerned quirements, exchange of bills, sales and leases of farms and other rural property, sale of houses of the capital and its vicinity, employments saleable and transferable; sale of jewelry, clothing and other movable goods; sale of slaves, horses, mules, cows, oxen, and other livestock; transfer of shops and houses of commerce; sale of sugar, indigo, grain, chile, wheat, corn, and other seeds, by wholesale; and renting of coaches and other vehicles.

55. Agüeros, *Op. Cit.*, p. 429.

56. A real in Mexico was worth 12 1-2 centavos, or 6 1-4 cents in American money. A peso at par is 50 cents in American money.

The items of the second class were: Freights of droves of mules, burros and horses; renting of houses in Mexico City and near-by places; finding of papers, jewels and other lost articles; papers, jewels or other things, thought to have been stolen; cashiers of both sexes; amanuenses, superintendents of bakeries or other businesses; administrators and superintendents of farms; nurses and seamstresses.

In the third class were listed: Porters, embroiderers, housekeepers, cooks of both sexes, nurses of both sexes, servants for journeys, laundresses, coach drivers, lackeys, and other servants of both sexes.⁵⁷

In the establishment was a counter, over which were sold the news or notices listed above. The price for the news of the first class was two reals; second class, one real; and third class, one-half real. These notices being largely in the nature of our modern advertisements, those who brought them paid the aforementioned prices, as well as those who received them. In the shop was a directory of lawyers, notaries public, doctors, surgeons, and midwives, which could be examined by anybody without charge. News of the weather, of medical observations, of baptisms, or of "events worthy of memory, and discourses conducive to the general good," were also furnished free.

On October 1, 1805, the first issue of the first daily newspaper ever published in Mexico appeared at the capital. The "Diario de México," as it was called, was founded by Carlos María de Bustamante and Jacobo de Villaurrutia, judge of the criminal court. It was printed until April 30, 1807, by Doña María Fernández de Jáuregui; from May, 1807, to June, 1809, by Mariano de Zúñiga y Ontiveros; from June, 1809, to December, 1812, by Juan Bautista Arizpe; from December, 1812, to December, 1813, by Doña María Fernández de Jáuregui; in January, 1814, by Juan Bautista Arizpe; and from January, 1814, to January, 1817, by José María de Benavente, who rented the printshop of Arizpe. Each issue consisted of two leaves in quarto.

Light literature and political articles figured prominently in the columns of the "Diario de México".⁵⁸ Mailboxes were put up at the twelve stands at which the paper was sold, and in them the public was free to deposit the articles, poems, news, or advertisements that it wanted published, with the knowledge that no charge would be made for their publication. Among the literati who became famous in the early nineteenth century, and whose earliest works were printed in the "Diario," were Tagle, Lacunza, and Navarrete. The paper conducted two prize contests for writers of *sainetes*,⁵⁹ the respective winners being Antonio Santa Ana and José Escolano. Some of the poems published in the "Diario" failed to please the archbishop, who forbade that the nuns read them.

The editorial chiefs of the "Diario" were Villaurrutia, Bustamante, and José María Wenceslao Barquera. Among the prominent collaborators were Manuel Navarrete, José María Lacunza, J. Victoriano Villaseñor, Andrés Quintana Roo, and Pomposo Fernández de San Salvador. All these writers signed their articles with pseudonyms, of which some of them had more than one. Less important writers for the "Diario" were Sartorio, Beristain, Larazábal, Del Acebo, Guido, Quintana, Rodríguez del Castillo, and Uribe. The newspaper lasted twelve years, for its final issue bears the date of January 4, 1817.

From the time that the colonial government granted permission for its founding on September 10, 1805, even before the appearance of the first issue, Juan López

57. This list is translated from that given by Agüeros, *Op. Cit.* p. 437.

58. Priestley, *Op. Cit.*, p. 168.

59. A "sainete" is a short musical comedy sketch, in the nature of a farce.

Cancelada, editor of the "Gazeta de México," planned a bitter campaign against the new periodical. Cancelada was a Spanish adventurer who had joined Valdés in the management of the now decadent "Gazette" early in 1805. From the time its first issue appeared, the daily was the object of a savage attack by the jealous Cancelada. Determined to put it out of existence, the latter succeeded in persuading his friend the viceroy Iturrigaray, to suspend its publication temporarily in the latter part of 1805. When it reappeared, it was harassed by censorship, the viceroy himself taking over this task, which was customarily exercised by one of his officials. Cancelada went so far as to accuse Villaurrutia of sedition to the King of Spain, but the latter step led to his own downfall. When it was proved that the accusation was entirely false and a calumny, the editor of the "Gazeta," who had spent such efforts in opposing the founding and development of a non-official paper, was sentenced by Iturrigaray to pay a fine of 500 pesos or go to prison for two months. Later, he was exiled to Spain. From his native land he wrote many fierce articles and pamphlets against Iturrigaray, who was now viceroy no longer. With Cancelada out of the way, the "Diario" continued on its road more smoothly, and became more and more a medium for publication of liberal ideas, until during the revolutionary period it was a powerful organ of the rebels.⁶⁰

The beginnings of daily journalism outside the capital date from 1806, when at Veracruz was published the "Jornal Económico Mercantil de Veracruz," edited by Manuel López Bueno, a native of that place. The first number appeared March 1, and the paper lived until July 31. Its pages were devoted chiefly to commercial and mercantile news, though freight and shipping advices were also published. From time to time, articles on agriculture and industry crept in, but those of a literary nature invariably found a permanent lodging in the editor's wastebasket. Each issue of the "Jornal" consisted of four pages in quarto.

On July 1, 1807, José María Almansa, a native of Mexico City, renewed the publication of this commercial daily under the title, "Diario Mercantil de Veracruz." Under his editorship, the paper attained some prominence, even attracting the attention and venom of Cancelada, who at that time was busy in his diatribes against the "Diario de México." The Veracruz daily continued until 1808, its final number being published on July 6 of that year.

Before closing this chapter, it might be well, for the purpose of setting forth somewhat more clearly what had been accomplished in Mexico, to give a few facts concerning the beginnings of journalism in the other countries of Latin America.

To Peru goes the honor of having published the first periodical in South America, namely, "El Mercurio Peruano," the first issue of which appeared at Lima in 1791. Previously, ever since a printing press was taken from Mexico City to Lima, in 1594, news pamphlets and sheets similar to those of Mexico had appeared intermittently, but the "Mercurio" was the first regular periodical in Peru. The oldest Peruvian paper which now exists is "El Comercio" of Lima, founded in 1839.

Guatemala was the fourth Latin American city to have a printing press, and the first Central American city to have a newspaper. The "Gaceta de Guatemala" was established there in 1801. Cuba's first daily paper, the first in Latin America, was "El Papel Periódico," founded at Havana in 1790. The oldest existing paper on the island at present is the "Diario de la Marina," which dates from 1832. In Panama the oldest paper is "La Estrella de Panamá," founded in 1849. In Costa Rica, the inception of journalism dates from the appearance of the "Noticiero Universal" at San José in 1833.

60. Castillo Negrete, *Op. Cit.*, I, p. 329.

Brazil, which was a Portuguese dominion until it gained its independence, can claim the honor of publishing the oldest newspaper in South America, "O Diário do Pernambuco," established in 1825. This is two years older than the "Jornal do Comercio" of Rio de Janeiro and "El Mercurio" of Valparaiso, Chile, both of which were founded in 1827.

In Uruguay, the first newspaper was a bilingual publication in English and Spanish, "La Estrella del Sur," or "The Southern Star." It was published by the English during their occupation of Montevideo in 1807. The first national paper was the "Gaceta de Montevideo," founded in that capital in 1810. In Buenos Aires the first newspaper, the "Telégrafo Mercantil," was established April 1, 1801, by Col. Francisco Antonio Cabello y Mesa, who had acquired a taste for journalism in the office of the "Mercurio Peruano" of Lima.⁶¹

Although journalistic progress in Mexico was slow in comparison with that of some other countries more free from foreign interference, the foregoing investigations of Mr. Hole show that it could compare favorably with that of any of the other countries of America that were under the strict domination of the Spanish or Portuguese thrones. Mexico City was the first in Latin America to have a printing press, the second to have gazettes, and the third to have a daily newspaper. Though only the latter publication may be said to have had worth-while opinions, the gazettes foresightedly recorded many of the principal political and social occurrences of their day, and their potential faculties as treasure-houses of historical data have been tested—and not found wanting—by many a modern investigator.

61. Hole, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 1-4.

Núm. 2

II.

EL DESPERTADOR AMERICANO.
CORREO PÓLITICO ECONÓMICO DE GUADA-
DALAXARADLE JUEVES 27 DE DICIEMBRE DE 1810.

..... *Ergo fungar vice cotis, acutum
reddere quae ferrum valet, exsors ipsa secandi.*

Horat.

Américanos. El Cielo se ha declarado por vosotros, la voluntad de Dios se manifiesta cada día con indicios nada equívocos de la mas decidida y señalada aprobacion de vuestra Causa. Los enemigos, sobrecogidos de un terror profundo, y poseidos de aquel Espíritu de vertigo que el Señor (a) embia á la Tierra, como precursor de la ruina de las Naciones que han provocado su justicia inexorable, pierden el tino en sus acciones y discursos; toman vuestras armas para herirse á si mismos, y alegan en su favor testimonios que los condenan. Leed la carta Inglesa que contra vosotros citan en su Gazeta de 4 de Noviembre último, leed, y pasmaos.

Cádiz 16 de Agosto. El Sr. D. Enrique Wellesley, ministro de S. M. B. ha pasado al primer secretario de estado la copia que acompaña de la carta que el conde de Liverpool, ministro de la guerra, ha dirigido al brigadier general Layard.

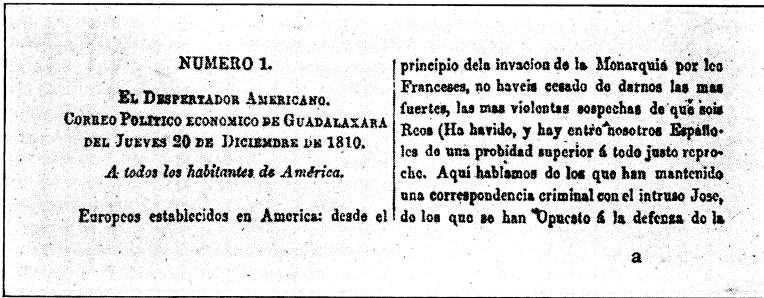
(a) *Miscuit Dominus Spiritum vertiginis in medio eorum, & errare eos facit, sicut errat ebrius.* Isai. cap. 19. v. 1.

B

First page of the second issue of "El Despertador Americano" ("The American Awakener"), founded in 1810 to aid the revolution. (Courtesy of National Museum.)

III. Revolutionary Journalism

On the night of September 15, 1810, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, a parish priest of Dolores, called upon the Indians to rebel, thus starting the revolution that was ultimately to result in the freeing of Mexico from Spanish domination after an eleven-year struggle. In the midst of his early successes, he saw the necessity of an organ of propaganda to gain more followers for his cause. This organ he established at Guadalajara, appointing as editor the learned Dr. D. Francisco Severo Maldonado. The first issue of the publication, known as "El Despertador Americano," or "The American Awakener," appeared December 20, 1810.⁶²



Part of the first issue of "El Despertador Americano," dated December 20, 1810. (Courtesy of National Museum.)

Although the earliest organ of the revolution was short-lived, it occupies a place of great historical significance. The first issue, addressed "to all the inhabitants of America," tells of the wrongs suffered by the Mexicans at the hands of Spaniards and other Europeans, and calls for rebellion. The second number, dated Thursday, December 27, 1810, is of similar theme and tone, as are the remainder of the six issues which circulated, and the seventh, which did not circulate for reasons to be explained later. In the second and third issues, which I examined at the National Museum in Mexico City, news accounts of insurgent successes are used to support the editorialized propaganda urging Mexican independence. López-Dóñez states that the periodical also printed answers to the edicts of the ruling powers, and a proclamation urging the creoles who fought under the Spanish flag to take up arms on the side of the rebels.⁶³

62. "El Despertador Americano"; Correo político económico de Guadalajara. Número 1. Jueves 20 de Diciembre de 1810.

63. López-Dóñez, "Las Artes Gráficas en México", Año III, Núm. 40, p. 11.

Five regular issues of "El Despertador Americano" appeared, one each Thursday, and in addition two extra editions were published. The last issue is dated January 17, 1811. Shortly after it was printed, and before it had time to circulate, the royalist general Félix Calleja captured Guadalajara and seized all 500 copies of it. Of these, all but twenty copies fell into the power of Juan de Souza, judge of the Real Audiencia of Spain in Mexico. On February 4, 1811, all copies of "El Despertador Americano" which could be gathered together were publicly condemned and burned, by official order of the court.

When the royalists recovered Guadalajara, they found in possession of the priest-editor Maldonado a manuscript which he had written, entitled, "Organic Constitution for the Government of Mexico," which reveals the liberal nature of his ideals. Nevertheless, he received as a punishment the order to write and issue a royalist newspaper, "El Telégrafo de Guadalajara," which made its appearance May 12, 1811, and continued until February 15, 1813. In it Dr. Maldonado was forced to attack bitterly the ideals of his old friend Hidalgo. The latter was captured by royalist troops in 1811, shortly after the "Telégrafo" commenced publication, and was executed by a firing squad.

After Maldonado in order of time, Andrés Quintana Roo and Dr. José María Cos became the leading journalists of the insurgent cause. With the aid of Ramón Rayón, they founded at Zitácuaro in 1811, and published during that year and the next, a weekly newspaper at first called "El Ilustrador Nacional," but whose title was later changed to that of "El Ilustrador Americano."

Lacking type at the outset, Dr. Cos made with his own hands wooden characters with which to print the paper, indigo being used in lieu of ink because the latter was not available. The paper, which was of a historical nature, drew upon it the wrath of the royal authorities, but nevertheless it attained a wide circulation.

About the middle of 1812, the editors' agents succeeded in buying standard type and utensils for printing from some Spaniards in Mexico City. Pretending to be going on a picnic in San Ángel, now a suburb of Mexico City but then three leagues distant from it, three married women of high social rank succeeded in smuggling the equipment out of the metropolis to a place from which it was delivered to Dr. Cos. The women were the respective wives of a doctor Díaz and of the lawyers Guzmán and Guerra, chiefs of the Guadalupes, a revolutionary organization. The carriage in which they carried the typographical material concealed in picnic baskets and covered with edibles was stopped by royalist guards at the city gate for purposes of search. Because of the small space in the coach, the baskets were set on the floor under the cramped legs and long dresses of the women. When the guards attempted to search the baskets, the ladies raised a great hue and cry, accusing the soldiers of unworthy motives. The latter were shamed into merely pressing the tops of the baskets with their fingers, and with this summary inspection the carriage was allowed to pass on.⁶⁴

Shortly before this incident, the Guadalupes had contracted for the services of a printer named José Robelo. The utensils having reached Zitácuaro, he betook himself to that place and commenced to print "El Ilustrador Nacional," leaving the writing part to Dr. Cos, Quintana Roo, and others. On June 1, 1812, the colonial government by official proclamation prohibited the reading of the newspaper, on pain of severe punishment. Two days later, the Church issued an announcement

64. Olavarría y Ferrari, *Episodios Históricos Mexicanos*, Tomo I, Segunda parte, p. 1126. For another description of the same incident, cf.: Zamacois, *Historia de Méjico*, Tomo V, p. 227.

that all who possessed copies of it must give them up to the bishop, or run the risk of excommunication. With the arrival of the typographical material and the new printer, "El Ilustrador Nacional" greatly increased its circulation, copies of it even being distributed throughout Mexico City, which was not far from Zitácuaro. Later, the name was changed to "El Ilustrador Americano." In the same year, and in the same town, Dr. Cos and Quintana Roo published "El Semanario Patriótico", another revolutionary journal.

Like Maldonado, Quintana Roo was a learned and talented man, besides being a distinguished poet. He was born at Mérida in 1787. On completing his studies, he was received as a lawyer in Mexico City. He affiliated himself with the insurgents, becoming a member of the Junta of Zitácuaro and later a deputy to the Congress brought together at Chilpancingo by the rebel general Morelos, who met the same fate as Hidalgo. The revolutionary writings of Quintana Roo, both journalistic and otherwise, are many and varied. It was he who organized the "Guadalupe" society. One of his most notable bits of writing is the Manifesto which he was appointed to write for September 16, 1812. After the revolutionary period, he figured in the political life of Mexico by holding important government posts. At one time he was appointed undersecretary of relations by the emperor Iturbide, but was discharged later because of his political views. To Quintana Roo was due the publication of one of the first and best newspapers of the first half of the nineteenth century, "El Federalista Mexicano."⁶⁵ He died in 1851, shortly before the introduction of the electric telegraph into Mexico. This was an improvement for which he worked earnestly, a progressive to the last.

It would be impossible at the present day to enumerate all the newspapers and periodical pamphlets which were published just before or after the revolution of 1810. They were usually suppressed as soon as they appeared. As the revolution progressed the press increased; but for years the publications retained the character of pamphlets and partisan political sheets rather than of newspapers in the modern sense. While the viceroy and bishop were centering their attack on "El Ilustrador Nacional," the many ephemeral periodicals, though of little importance, were persecuted also when the occasion offered, for freedom of the press in Mexico was yet unknown.

But in the latter part of 1812, it appeared that conditions were to change. On September 30 of that year was promulgated in Mexico the first constitution of Spain, by decree of the Cortes or parliament at Cádiz. One of the most precious rights that the document contained was that of freedom of the press. This, of course, did not please Francisco Xavier Venegas, who was at that time viceroy, governor and captain-general of Mexico. So fearful was he to give rein to the press that he delayed the proclamation whereby its full liberty was to be secured. All the authorities feared the measure, and opposed it successfully until its promulgation was forced upon the viceroy by Miguel Ramos Arizpe, a Coahuiltecan who represented Mexico in the Cortes of León which framed the Constitution. He knew that the freedom of the press was being held back, and insisted that the measure be made known. It was proclaimed on October 5, 1812. The new liberty was used as license, the press becoming an agency for promulgating revolutionary ideas and for insulting officials with much vituperation.⁶⁶

With freedom of the press established for the first time in Mexican history, the printing establishments of the capital, such as those of Juan Bautista Arizpe, Manuel Antonio Valdés, Mariano Ontiveros, Doña María Fernández de Jáuregui,

65. Anon. "Excelsior," Sept. 16, 1927. Article on "El Periodismo Insurgente."

66. Priestley, *Op. Cit.*, p. 230.

and others, issued a veritable flood of small newspapers and periodicals poorly printed and not admirably written. The walking venders of these papers, a few days after liberty of the press was proclaimed, shouted their wares freely in the street, the following being among the newspapers they offered for sale: "La Gaceta," "El Pensador extraordinario," "El Juguetillo," "El Papel nuevo de ahora," "El Diario," "El verdadero Ilustrador," "El Aristarco," "El Filópatro," "El Juguetón," "El Vindicador del Clero," "El Perico de la Ciudad," "El sastre elogiador de la niña juguetera," "El Amigo de la Patria," "El Censor extraordinario," and so forth.⁶⁷

Some of these little papers made ferocious warfare on certain others; some in coarse style, others with insulting provocations; several with moderation, few with talent. Sixty-three days the press enjoyed freedom, before the viceroy could find an excuse to suspend not only freedom of the press, but the entire Constitution as well, by executive decree.

The immediate excuse of Venegas for his action consisted in his being offended by one of the few really worthy journalists who published newspapers after restrictions on the press had been officially removed on October 5, 1812. This man was José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, better known to posterity by the name of his periodical, "El Pensador Mexicano," or "The Mexican Thinker," a title now applied to him as a nickname. As Thomas Paine, thirty-five years before, had greatly helped the cause of American independence from England with political pamphlets and through other journalistic media, so "El Pensador," by the use of similar weapons, played an important part in the freeing of his country from Spain.

Lizardi was born in Mexico City in 1774, and was the son of a doctor in moderate circumstances. In Mexico City the boy began his elementary studies, but because of financial difficulties of his father, he was forced to move with the family to the village of Tepozotlán. Later, he returned to the capital to continue studying. His biographer, González Obregón, believes that he wrote for "El Diario de México" of Villaurrutia and Bustamante, but admits that he cannot offer proof of this.⁶⁸ When 16 years old, Lizardi received the degree of bachelor in the National University of Mexico,⁶⁹ and at the age of 17 years devoted himself to the study of theology. In the autumn of 1812, he founded "El Pensador Mexicano," which rescued him from obscurity and made him famous. The remainder of his stormy life was spent in writing and publishing periodicals, novels and pamphlets in great number, which attest his fecundity as a writer, his skill and forcefulness as a polemist, and his zeal and foresightedness as a reformer. He died in 1827, a pauper; his friends had to solicit alms with which to bury him.⁷⁰ In his lifetime he was persecuted by church and ate; today he is venerably referred to as a Mexican Cervantes.

But in 1812, when he offended the viceroy Venegas, he was as yet practically unknown. On December 3, 1812, which was the viceroy's birthday, Lizardi congratulated him in "El Pensador Mexicano." But to his felicitations he added a daring attack on the colonial ruler, in these terms⁷¹:

But, oh force of truth! Today your Excellency will see yourself, by means of my pen, a miserable mortal, a man like all, and an atom contemptible to the sight of the Almighty. Today Your Excellency will see yourself as a man who, by reason of being one, is subject to deceit, to prejudice and to the passions. . . .

67. Olavarría y Ferrari, *Op. Cit.*, p. 1259.

68. González Obregón, *D. Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi*, p. 7.

69. In Mexico, the degree of bachelor is now given at the end of two years of university study. One may feel sure that the degree Lizardi received was inferior to that awarded to a graduate of a four-year college in the United States.

70. Anon., "El Universal," June 21, 1927, p. 1.

71. "El Pensador Mexicano." Año de 1812. Tomo I, Núm. 9, p. 68.

Núm. 9.

Pag. 67.

EL PENSADOR MEXICANO.

AL EXCELENTISIMO SEÑOR

DON FRANCISCO XAVIER VENEGAS.

VIRREY, GOBERNADOR Y CAPITAN

GENERAL. DE ESTA N. E.

EN EL DIA 3 DE DICIEMBRE DE 1812.

EL PENSADOR MEXICANO

DEDICA AFECTUOSO

EL SIGUIENTE PERIODICO.

¡Qué brillantemente hermoso aparece á mis ojos el sol, dorando con sus luces el triste valle de la gran *Tenaxtilan* en este dia! dia fausto, dia benigno, y dia lisonjero, no solo por que recuerda el del feliz nacimiento de V. E., sino per que baxo este auspicio, apadrina al *Pensador* para que pueda con la respetuosa confianza de un hijo rendido á un padre protector manifestarle ciertas verdades.

56.

In this issue of "El Pensador Mexicano" ("The Mexican Thinker"), Lizardi insulted the Spanish viceroy. The insult furnished a pretext for the latter to suspend freedom of the press in Mexico (1812). (Courtesy of National Museum.)

Several months earlier, on June 25, 1812, the viceroy had issued a proclamation that all who aided or participated in the revolution, including "authors of incendiary gazettes or other publications," should, if captured, be sent to him in case circumstances permitted; but that if this was inconvenient the federal official who held the rebels as prisoners could do with them whatever he saw fit.

Believing the decree bloody and tyrannical, Lizardi, in the December 3 issue of "El Pensador Mexicano," heatedly asked the viceroy to abolish it. The latter was highly displeased by the various things Lizardi had written in his "birthday number." Also, he was offended by an epigram in a daily of Mexico City saying that many federal soldiers were poor when they went to fight against the rebels, and rich when they returned.⁷² On December 5, 1812, the viceroy suspended the liberty of the press and ordered Lizardi jailed. He also issued an order for Bustamante, evidently for the epigram to which Zamacois refers, but Bustamante escaped to Oaxaca, where he commenced to publish another influential revolutionary paper, "El Correo del Sur." When the Junta of Cádiz heard of the viceroy's action, it brought a protest to the Cortes. The latter appointed a commission to investigate the matter. By a majority vote, it upheld the viceroy and expressed the opinion that what Mexico needed was a military régime.

For seven months, Lizardi remained in jail. When he was released in 1813, he continued the publication of "El Pensador Mexicano" through the remainder of that year and 1814. In the paper he fought for free and compulsory education in Mexico. In 1813 he ran many articles on the pestilence afflicting Mexico City at that time. In 1815 he issued the periodical, "Alacena de Frioleras," to the extent of one volume in quarto; and in 1819 a periodical, "Ratos Entretenidos," composed of various writings previously published, and which reached two volumes. His later periodicals are: "El Conductor Eléctrico," 1820, in twenty-four issues; "El Hermano del Perico que cantaba la victoria," 1823; and "Conversaciones del Payo y el Sacristán," 1824. Of less importance than any of the six mentioned was his first periodical, published in 1812 before freedom of the press was established. It was entitled, "Pensamientos Extraordinarios," and reached five issues.

In the "Alacena de Frioleras," a periodical of miscellanies, Lizardi published for the first time some of his verses, his fables, and articles on Mexican customs. In "El Conductor Eléctrico," one finds interesting articles in defense of the Constitution of Mexico. "El Hermano del Perico" was devoted almost entirely to pointing out the advantages of a federal republic over the centralized type, and over all other forms of government.

An outstanding characteristic of Lizardi was his fearlessness in a time when caution would probably have proved more convenient to his personal safety. For a short time he actually fought on the battlefield as a volunteer; and in his writings, he said what he thought, regardless of consequences. Several times he was jailed. He was the first Mexican writer who dared to defend the slaves and urge their freedom; and he attacked bull fighting, which is still Mexico's national sport, as barbarous and uncivilized. He also engaged in many polemics with other writers.

Liberty of printing having been restored in Mexico in 1820, the Thinker commenced to publish a multitude of pamphlets, which total well over 100—not all have been collected yet. One of them, the famous dialogue entitled, "Chamorro y Dominiquín," earned him a jail sentence, but he was out again in a few days and back to work. His most famous pamphlet is his "Defense of the Freemasons,"

72. Zamacois, *Op. Cit.*, VIII, p. 731.

dated February 13, 1822. For this pamphlet,⁷³ consisting of eight pages in quarto, he was excommunicated by the Pope. Later, he issued from his own printshop his "Second Defense of the Freemasons," in which he supported his earlier defense of the Masonic order. Lizardi was an advocate of freedom of religious worship, and also wanted the clergy under secular control.



José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, the outstanding journalist of the revolution against Spain. (Courtesy of National Museum.)

In addition to his work as a journalist and pamphleteer, he was a novelist of distinction. His two most famous novels are "El Periquillo Sarniento," of a picaresque nature, which first appeared in 1816; and "La Quijotita y Su Prima," in 1819. Of the first edition of "El Periquillo Sarniento," which today is extremely rare, only three volumes were printed in 1816, because the colonial government denied Lizardi permission to publish the fourth and last. This appeared later. The "Periquillo" ran into nine editions, an enormous number for a novel printed in Mexico in that epoch.

Another great insurgent journalist was Carlos María de Bustamante, who had helped found the liberal "Diario de México" in 1805 in spite of the opposition of the colonial government. Born in Oaxaca Nov. 4, 1774, he spent his youth studying law, theology, and French. In 1801 he was received as a lawyer; and in 1805, became editor of the "Diario de México." In 1812, when freedom of the press was established, Bustamante founded and published at Mexico City the "Jugueteillo." This short-lived weekly is remembered chiefly for an article, "¿Conque podemos hablar?"⁷⁴ On December 5, 1812, when Lizardi was jailed by Viceroy Venegas, a warrant was also issued for Bustamante, who had insulted the ruling powers in an epigram in the "Diario de México." Bustamante escaped to Oaxaca, then recently captured by

Morelos, insurgent general, and commenced to issue almost immediately "El Correo del Sur," in co-operation with José Manuel de Herrera. Because of the contingencies of the war, the paper was of short duration. Being the official rebel organ, it published many articles from revolutionists in Mexico City who were unable to issue their incendiary writings in the capital because of the stifling of the freedom of the press.

After the capture of Morelos in 1815, Bustamante fled in an English ship, but was taken from it by royalist soldiers who boarded the vessel. Convicted of revolu-

73. "Defensa de los Francmasones," por el Pensador Mexicano, o sea, Observaciones críticas sobre la bula del Sr. Clemente XII y Benedicto XIV contra los Francmasones," dada la primera a 28 de Abril de 1738, la segunda en 18 de Mayo de 1751, y publicada en esta capital en el presente de 1822. Febrero 13 de 1822.

74. López-Dóñez, "Las Artes Gráficas en México," Año III, Num. 44, p. 11.

tionary activities, he was sentenced to a jail term at Veracruz, which lasted until 1821, when Iturbide overthrew the colonial government and established a regency to rule Mexico. Bustamante returned to Mexico City October 11, 1821. Shortly afterward, he established "La Avispa de Chilpancingo," a weekly political paper, consecrated to the memory of Morelos and the principal leaders of the first insurrection for independence.

"La Avispa" was of Republican character, and opposed the Plan of Iguala, which proposed a monarchical government for Mexico under a Bourbon prince, and the imperialistic tendencies of Agustín de Iturbide. The fifth number was condemned by Iturbide, who threw the director into jail, but only for a few hours. In 1822, Bustamante issued a new paper, "El Cenzontle"; and in 1831 another, "La Sombra de Moctezuhzoma Xocoyotzín," both at Mexico City. From 1824 until his death on September 21, 1848, he was a deputy for Oaxaca in the federal Congress, held various other public offices, and wrote many books of history. In 1827 he was jailed for a writing of his; and in 1833 was at the point of suffering a new persecution, so he issued a pamphlet entitled "Hay tiempos de hablar y tiempos de callar." His principal books are: *Cuadro histórico de la Revolución de América*, in six volumes; *Galería de antiguos príncipes mexicanos*; *Campañas del General Don Felix Calleja*; *Historia del emperador Don Agustín de Iturbide*; *Apuntes para la Historia del Gobierno del Gral. Santa Ana*; *El nuevo Bernal Díaz del Castillo*; *Crónica Mexicana*; and *Mañanas de la Alameda de México*.

José Manuel de Herrera, who collaborated with Bustamante on the "Correo del Sur," was a priest. After the suspension of the paper, he, like many other Mexican curates in the period from 1817 to 1818, accepted the pardon of the Church, and took charge of a parish at Cholula, in the province of Puebla. In 1821, Iturbide called him to establish a newspaper, the "Mexicano Independiente," which became the organ of the revolution headed by the future emperor. In the second issue, dated March 17, 1821, appeared the "Plan of Iguala." When Iturbide made himself emperor of Mexico in 1822, he appointed Herrera Minister of Foreign Relations. Herrera had had previous diplomatic experience in the time of the second revolution, when General Morelos sent him to New Orleans to try to establish relations with the United States.

The first newspaper published at Puebla was "La Abeja Poblana," whose first issue is dated November 30, 1820.⁷⁵ An examination of its files preserved at the National Library in Mexico City shows that, although it includes news articles, poetry and advertisements, the editorials are of chief importance, as was customary in that day. Its slogan, printed on the first page, was: "A newspaper is a sentinel, that never ceases to guard the interests of the people. Doctor Jebb." To "La Abeja Poblana" fell the honor of publishing the Plan of Iguala before anybody else, an honor which resulted in the imprisonment of the proprietor, Juan N. Troncoso, and of the editor, by the colonial authorities. Troncoso was of insurgent sympathies.

Many newspapers of minor significance appeared during the period of the revolutionary struggle. They included: "El Fénix," 1811; "El Ateneo," 1811; "El Despertador de Michoacán," 1812; "Correo Americano del Sur," 1813; and "El Eco de la Justicia," 1815. In 1811, the newspaper "El Español" was published at Mexico City in opposition to Quintana Roo's "Semanario Patriótico." Another royalist paper was the "Centinela Contra los Seductores," the so-called seducers

75. "La Abeja Poblana," Puebla, Imp. Liberal de Moreno Hnos. Tomo I, Núm. 1, 30 de noviembre de 1820.

being the insurgent leaders who "seduced the people of New Spain to rebel."⁷⁶ In 1820 were published at the capital "La Canoa," "El Duende de los Cafés," and the "Gaceta de Cayo Puto." Here was issued also, from January 1, 1817, to December 29, 1820, "El Noticioso General." At Veracruz, the "Diario de Veracruz" appeared in 1820; at Puebla, "El Farol," in 1821 and 1822; and at Mexico City, the "Diario Político Militar Mexicano," in 1821. Because of the efficiency of the Spanish colonial government in hunting down and destroying many copies of insurgent newspapers, together with the negligence of the Mexicans themselves in saving those that escaped the royalist clutches, only a small porportion of the numerous periodicals and pamphlets of the revolutionary period exists today.

Although during the period of the revolutions little progress was made in journalism along mechanical lines, the need of making a newspaper more than a mere gazette of news was recognized. If some of the writers swung the pendulum a little too far and made of their periodicals nothing more than vituperative and blind party organs, it is nevertheless true that for the first time in Mexican history, the duty of newspapers to interest themselves in civic and social improvement was noted and emphasized. Outside of his brilliant political writing—and perhaps, even, eclipsing it—the greatest contribution of Mexico's leading revolutionary journalist to his country was his campaign for free and compulsory education. In the latter respect, many following writers have followed in the footsteps of "El Pensador Mexicano," one of the greatest polemicists and most fearless and foresighted reformers that Mexico has ever produced.

76. Hernández Barrón. "El Heraldo de México," Tomo III, Núm. 883, Sección Colonial, p. 8.

IV. From Iturbide to Maximilian

The history of Mexican journalism from the time of the First Empire in 1822 to the beginnings of the modern press in 1896 is a complicated one. As the government during that period was successively in the hands of a long list of rulers, so the press, largely dependent on political exigencies, was even more ephemeral than the power of the two emperors and the numerous presidents. The many papers that appeared during that time were chiefly partisan political journals, which consisted almost entirely of editorial matter, and attached little or no importance, as a rule, to the gathering and presentation of news.

It is not rare in Mexican journalistic history to find subsidized newspapers, established for the support of some political objective, discontinuing publication when that end is attained or definitely lost. Most of such periodicals have been ephemeral and of little individual importance. The development of the press until 1896 was rather slow, for the political papers of the polemical school were able to withstand successfully the competition of the few adventurous men who dared to attempt innovations in the journalistic "status quo." Because of the general sameness in the nature of journalism from the establishment of Iturbide's empire to the founding of "El Imparcial," this period in the history of the profession in Mexico really forms a single epoch, one of political and of personal polemics.⁷⁷ Numerous papers sprang up, fought each other bitterly in their editorial columns, and usually within a short time breathed their last. Of the important polemical journals published in Mexico during the last century, not one is still active.

The Spanish constitution, extended to Mexico in 1812, provided freedom of the press, but was suspended by the viceroy Venegas, and his action was upheld by the Cortes. In 1820 the constitution was again proclaimed in Spain, and being extended to Mexico, the latter country for the second time in its history enjoyed freedom of the press. In 1821, Iturbide, with the federal troops entrusted to him to fight the revolutionists, turned traitor and overthrew the viceroy, establishing in Mexico a regency which should govern while an emperor was being chosen. On May 18, 1822, Iturbide, himself a member of the regency, proclaimed himself as Augustín I, Emperor of Mexico, and sustained his claims by military force. One of his first imperial acts was effectually to throttle the press by the establishment of a rigid military censorship. The reason for this was that many journalists, including Bustamante, were hostile to the establishment of an empire in Mexico.

77. In the United States, the earlier part of the nineteenth century was also devoted to personal journalism, in which the editorial likewise predominated. In the days of Col. Watson Webb of the New York "Courier and Enquirer," editors published vitriolic attacks upon rival editors and political enemies, which often led to armed encounters between the polemicists on the streets. Concerning this period of American journalism, Prof. T. C. Morelock of the University of Missouri has written a study, as yet unpublished, entitled, "The History of Personal Journalism."

Although Iturbide stifled the opposition journals, he saw the advantages of an official government organ. To that end he took over the "Gazeta del Gobierno," and converted it into the "Gaceta Imperial de México." In 1823, the imperial party established "El Águila Mexicana," a daily newspaper, at Mexico City. Its program as outlined in the first issue, dated April 15,⁷⁸ and carried out in subsequent editions, was to give an account of the sessions of the sovereign congress, political news and comment of the world, to defend the Catholic Church against critics, to tell of scientific discoveries and other cultural achievements, and to print poetry and other material of outstanding literary merit. The newspaper recognized the importance of appealing to women readers, for whom it provided light literature, and articles on fashions. A few months after Iturbide established the First Empire, Santa Ana began a revolution to make Mexico a republic, and on October 4, 1823, the constitution of the Republic was proclaimed. "El Águila" continued to urge the return of the exiled Iturbide to power, until the following year, when he returned, and was executed soon after landing at Padilla.

Near the end of 1823, the Scottish Rite Masons, who had been growing in power and developing many new lodges in Mexico, decided not to limit themselves to working in secret, and to come out and work in the open, in spite of the dangers which such a policy might entail. On December 5, 1823, therefore, they established at Mexico City a daily newspaper, "El Sol," defending liberal principles and combating the influence of the clergy. "El Sol" was edited by a Spanish doctor, Manuel Cordoniu. It fought many bitter polemics against "El Águila Mexicana." Another paper opposed to Iturbide was the "Diario Liberal," under the direction of the jurisconsult Mariano Miranda. Established on April 1, 1823, it contained the chronicles of the Congress which was united after the emperor had dissolved the Assembly.

"La Mosca Parlera," a small political and literary semi-weekly, began publication at Mexico City on June 5, 1823. It was devoted largely to discussion of political happenings, with the news relegated to the "Gacetilla," a section of secondary importance, in accordance with the journalistic practice of that day. It explained its curious title by stating in its first issue that a fly, because of its many eyes, sees many things, and added that the paper proposed to have as good vision as any fly.⁷⁹ A curious feature of "La Mosca," as of "El Despertador Americano" and other early periodicals, was the use of footnotes to supplement the regular reading material.

In 1825, José María Heredia, a noted Cuban poet and journalist, came to settle in Mexico City.⁸⁰ There, in partnership with the Italian writers Linatti and Calli, he founded a review, "El Iris," the first number of which appeared February 4, 1826. The magazine lived but a short time, its last number being that of August 2, 1826. In its columns were published excellent lithographs of fashions, water-color pictures,

78. "El Águila Mexicana"; periódico cotidiano político y literario. México, D. F., 15 de Abril de 1823. Tomo I, Núm. 1.

79. "La Mosca Parlera"; pequeño periódico político y literario. México, Imprenta de la ciudadana Herculana del Villar, calle de las Capuchinas Núm. 1.

80. The Heredia who came to Mexico was the great-uncle of another José María de Heredia, a Cuban poet who wrote in French, and who is ranked among the world's greatest writers of sonnets. The American poet Bryant translated "The Hurricane," a poem by the Heredia who came to Mexico, into English.

pages of music from pieces then in vogue, caricatures, and portraits of various revolutionary heroes, such as Morelos and Hidalgo.

In 1829, Heredia published at Tlalpan "Miscelánea," a periodical which was much in demand throughout Mexico because of the talent and learning of its writer. Later in the century another journalist, José María Vigil, the founder of the National Library of Mexico, spent much time and effort in collecting the outstanding writings of Heredia in prose and verse, but the collection was never published.

Among the more notable of the papers that appeared in Mexico City during the earlier years of the Republic were: "Oriente," 1824; and in 1828, "El Cardillo" and "La Voz de la Patria." In 1828, another "El Águila Mexicana" was established, and became a powerful organ of the York Rite of Masons. Another powerful paper of the York Rite at this time was the "Correo de la Federación," one of its principal writers being Lorenzo Zavala. The Scottish Rite published a newspaper, "El Observador," on whose staff were such excellent journalists as Molinos del Campo, Quintero, Tagle, Florentino Martínez, Dr. Mora and others. Later, the York Rite established "El Amigo del Pueblo," written by José Manuel Herrera, José María Tornel and the licentiates Agustín Viesca, Bocanegra, Ramón Pacheco, and Domínguez Manzo. "El Observador" was noted for the forcefulness and logic of its editorials. "El Amigo del Pueblo," for its inculcation of independent doctrines and popular ideas.

In Veracruz, the few members of the York Rite there published a paper, "El Mercurio," edited by Ramón Ceruti. Ceruti, threatened with death at the hands of the authorities, had to abandon Veracruz. He moved to Mexico City, where he re-established his paper under the name of "El Noticioso," which had a hard and rocky existence.

At Puebla, in 1828, the newspaper "La Minerva" was established; and in 1829 "La Minerva Guanajuatense" appeared at Guanajuato. At Mexico City was published in 1830 "El Atleta," which was combated by the government paper, "El Gladiador," in a royally vitriolic fashion.

An important newspaper which appeared at Mexico City on January 3, 1831, was "El Federalista." It announced itself as a daily of opposition to the government of President Anastasio Bustamante, with the avowed purpose of "breaking the shameful bonds suffocating the press."⁸¹ The first director of "El Federalista" was Sabino Ortega, and the appearance of the paper was a source of alarm to Bustamante, who saw in it a rebel against the absolutism of his government. One of Bustamante's first acts after assuming office in 1830 had been the complete suppression of freedom of the press, which was provided for in the federal constitution proclaimed on October 4, 1824.⁸²

Although "El Federalista" declared that it would present all facts fairly and impartially, the government announced the second epoch of "El Gladiador" to fight the new paper as it had previously fought "El Atleta." "El Gladiador" launched scurrilous attacks against "El Federalista," and so did the other pro-government papers, stooping to personal scandal about Andrés Quintana Roo, the chief writer on its staff. They insulted the noted revolutionary journalist with constant references to the illegitimate love relations which he had had with the patriot Doña Leona Vicario during the revolutionary wars, although she later became his wife. Nevertheless, "El Federalista" continued to fight back bravely, and was continually

81. Quoted by López-Dóñez, "Las Artes Gráficas en México," Año III, Núm. 40, p. 12.

82. Gutiérrez de Lara, *The Mexican People*, pp. 74, 75, and 88.

feared by the government. The attacks on Quintana Roo indicate the low standards of journalistic morality then prevalent at the national capital.

"La Aurora de la Libertad," of a semi-official nature, was printed by Ignacio Cumplido, later one of the leading journalists and publishers of Mexico in the nineteenth century. In addition to news of the States of the Republic, it contained extracts from the other Mexico City papers, as "El Telégrafo," "El Demócrata," "El Ayo del Pueblo" and "La Columna." "La Aurora" lived nearly three full years, from 1831 to 1833. At first a biweekly, it later became a daily newspaper.

In 1832, three newspapers of some contemporary importance were established at Mexico City, namely, "El Monitor," "La Marimba," and "El Duende del Sur." At Puebla, in 1833, was published "El Plagiario de Puebla," and in the same year, at Mexico City, "El Telégrafo" and "La Verdad Desnuda." In 1834 appeared at the capital "El Fénix de la Libertad" in 1835, "El Crepúsculo," "El Anteojo" and the "Revista Mexicana;" in 1838, "El Momo," a humorous publication; and in 1840, "El Duende" and "La Opinión."

"El Telégrafo," the first issue of which appeared on January 11, 1833, announced itself as an official newspaper of the Mexican government.⁸³ It was published seven days a week, and consisted of four pages of three columns each. In its program, printed in the first issue, it announced that it would be "the official paper of the Supreme Government, without becoming its defender or apologist." The columns, it continued, "which in previous official dailies have been occupied by useless commentaries and polemics, will be used by us in communicating to our subscribers news of public interest." After stating that it would seek to ascertain the exactness of all news before publishing it, the paper asked the readers to call to the attention of the management any errors that occurred in its columns.⁸⁴

An analysis of the contents of the first number, which was similar to later issues except that in these the volume of advertising increased, may be of interest in illustrating the careful segregation of material in "El Telégrafo" and many other papers of that epoch. As has been said, "El Telégrafo" consisted of four pages, each having three columns. The first page and three-fourths of a column on the next were devoted to the "parte oficial," giving interpretative news of the federal government and the administration of the federal district. Then came the "parte no oficial," divided into "interior," "esterior" (sic) and "variedades." The greater part of this section was devoted to "exterior," which consisted of a long scientific article on cholera cure and prevention, for an epidemic of the disease was then raging in Mexico. The paper used conservative "label headlines." Six volumes of "El Telégrafo" were published, the last number listed in the card catalogue of the National Library of Mexico being that of December 31, 1834.

At Puebla, in 1836 the governor, Rincón, permitted the establishment of the liberal newspaper "La Fuerza de la Opinión." It was edited by José María Lafragua, and crossed lances from the start with "La Estrella Poblana," a conservative paper edited by Javier de la Peña.

83. "El Telégrafo"; periódico oficial. México, Imprenta del Águila, dirigida por José Ximeno, calle de Medinas Núm. 6. Tomo I, Núm. 1, Viernes, 11 de Enero de 1833.

84. Requests of newspapers that readers call attention to errors have not been infrequent. In the United States, recently, a prominent New York newspaper conducted a contest along this line, and awarded a prize to the person who found the most errors in a single edition of its publication.

The present writer has chosen to say that Rincón "permitted" Lafragua to establish his paper because, although freedom of the press was a provision of the federal constitution, its exercise depended largely on the indulgence of the ruling powers. In fact, the latter condition has been true in Mexico ever since liberty of the press was first provided for in the constitution of 1824. In 1838, the government journals called for suppression of freedom of the press, aiming particularly at the suspension of "El Momo," "El Voto Nacional," and "El Cosmopolita," which were liberal in politics. These three papers, according to a Mexican historian, "well deserve to be remembered for their audacity and patriotic attempts to open to their country the path of liberty which the multitudes sought."⁸⁵

From 1840 to the time of the revolution of Ayutla, the press gained special distinction as a medium for publication of poems and other works of literature by Mexican writers. Indeed, a later historian enthusiastically exclaimed that "the entire history of the intellectual and literary movement of the time is to be found in the pages of the religious and literary papers of that day which were published at Mexico City."⁸⁶ Because of the greater facility in having one's writings published in newspapers than in book form—the financial factor being important—even the leading men of letters generally sought the newspapers as a medium for their productions.

In the latter part of 1840, by the initiative of the Conde de la Cortina and of Ángel Calderón de la Barca, minister of Spain in Mexico, and with the aid of Dr. Gómez de Navarrete, Luis G. Cuevas, Quintana Roo, Moreno, and others, the "Ateneo Mexicano," a literary organization, was formed. The association collected a good library, established professorships, gave public readings and founded a weekly paper, "El Ateneo Mexicano." In it were published the discourses, poems and articles read at the meetings of the organization by such notable writers as José María Lafragua, Casimiro Collado, Mariano Otero, José Lacunza, Juan Navarro, Joaquín Navarro, Cortina, Arango y Escandón, Carpio, Francisco Ortega, Eulalio Ortega, Alcaráz, Escalante, Tornel, Díaz Mirón, Prieto, Manuel Payno, and many others.

Other papers of the period which published good literature included: "El Año Nuevo," "El Recreo de las familias," "El Museo Popular," "El Repertorio," "El Semanario de las Señoritas Mexicanas," "El Apuntador," "El Panorama," "El Liceo Mexicano," "El Mosaico Mexicano," "El Album Mexicano," and "La Ilustración Mexicana." In these journals appeared an immense amount of verses, legends, novels in instalments, articles on customs, accounts of travels, biographies, critical and historical articles, and studies of archeology, jurisprudence, and literature, many productions being signed by writers who were later to become leading literary men in Mexico. In the States, the literary movement followed that of the capital, the press being a valuable literary medium.

Of the foregoing papers, "El Semanario de las Señoritas Mexicanas" is significant because it was the first periodical in Mexico entirely devoted to the interests of women. It was printed at Mexico City in 1841 and 1842 by Vicente García Torres, and was devoted expressly to "scientific, moral, and literary education of the fair sex."⁸⁷ Its director was Isidro Rafael Gondra, who later became editor-in-chief of

85. *México a través de los siglos*, IV, p. 415.

86. Agüeros Victoriano, *Escritores Mexicanos Contemporáneos*, pp. XXV-XXVI.

87. "Semanario de las Señoritas Mexicanas"; educación científica, moral y literaria del bello sexo. México. 1841-1842. Imprenta de Vicente García Torres. 3 Vols. en octavo.

the "Diario Oficial" of the Mexican government. Gondra's dominant passion was for public education, to which he lent many important services. He had a varied knowledge of science and literature. As director of the Museum, he distinguished himself by collecting important manuscripts, making valuable archeological studies and gathering much material which later proved very useful to students of Mexican antiquities.

On October 8, 1841, appeared at Mexico City the first issue of "El Siglo XIX," founded by Ignacio Cumplido. A political newspaper of liberal sympathies, it continued with various interruptions until 1896, when it fell before the competition of newspapers which gave more news and less opinion, and sold at lower subscription rates. It was suspended on December 31, 1845, to reappear on June 1, 1848, continuing then until July 31, 1858. On account of the war of three years, it suspended publication until January 15, 1861; and on May 30, 1863, was again suspended because of the French invasion. From July, 1867, it enjoyed uninterrupted publication until 1896, when it was permanently discontinued.

Although "El Siglo XIX" was essentially a partisan political paper, following the traditions of its day in emphasizing polemical writing, it also published material of other types. For example, it published foreign and national news, articles on science, history, and literature; various poetical and literary contributions, and decisions of the Supreme Court of Justice. It also had a mercantile and financial section. Throughout its existence, it was a brilliant exponent of liberalism. For a long time its director was Francisco Zarco; and in 1896, when it was discontinued, it was in charge of the licentiate Luis Pombo.

Ignacio Cumplido, who himself directed the paper for some time, came of a prominent family of Guadalajara. He was one of the three most distinguished printers of his time, the other two being García Torres and Rafael Rafael. Cumplido first achieved distinction as an ordinary pressman on "El Cosmopolita," where he drew the notice of its editors Juan Rodríguez Puebla and Manuel Gómez Pedraza by his ability at his work, his genial vivacity and his good manners. These men were of great aid to him in the establishment of "El Siglo XIX," and obtained government printing contracts for him. Cumplido was an indefatigable worker, and his labors netted him a comfortable fortune.

Founding his printshop in 1832, he issued from it such literary reviews as "El Mosaico Mexicano," directed by Victoriano Roa; "El Museo Mexicano," "El Album," and his famous calendars which gave his works much vogue. For the "Museo," the chief writers were Rosa, Payno, and Prieto. Cumplido also printed many books. At one time, he established a school for printers. According to Prieto, it was of short duration; but Leon Sanchez says it lasted 12 years.⁸⁸ Most of Cumplido's attention was centered on "El Siglo XIX," for the publication of which he brought to Mexico in 1845 the first cylindrical printing press ever seen in that country.

The excellent connections which Cumplido knew how to make with a tact peculiar to himself not only gave him entrance into the best society and a notable place in the liberal party, but also invested him with a certain political importance which gained him much honor and profit. In his intimate dealings he was friendly and obliging. His family, however, mingled little in society, and it was whispered about that he was harsh toward his wife, who was of obscure birth and of a social standing inferior to the rank which he occupied. Nevertheless, his unhappy domestic life did not interfere with his public usefulness or popularity.

88. Prieto's opinion on the subject is found in his book, *Memorias*, p. 335. For that of León Sánchez, cf.: "El Libro Mexicano," Año I, Núm. 3, p. 5.

"El Siglo XIX" became so famous that to write for it was an honor. On its staff at various times it had such brilliant writers as José María Castera, Victoriano Roa, Guillermo Prieto, José María Iglesias, Francisco Zarco, Cortina, José María Lafragua, Orozco y Berra, Joaquín Cardoso, Luis de la Rosa, Agustín Franco y Carrasquedo, Manuel Payno, José T. de Cuéllar, José Sebastán Segura, Luis G. Ortiz, Ángel Pola, Emilio Rey, and Juan B. Morales, who achieved fame under the pseudonym of "El Gallo Pitagórico," as Prieto did under that of "Fidel" and Ramírez under that of "El Nigromante." Some of the staff writers for "El Siglo XIX" were ministers of President Juárez, and its contributors included various presidents of Mexico.

In spite of its excellent writers, the paper paid poor salaries, which, however, were no worse than those of its contemporaries. When "El Siglo XIX" was at the height of fame, according to Prieto,⁸⁹ no member of its staff earned more than 100 pesos a month, with the exception of Zarco. The latter spent most of his life on the staff, and in his later years was drawing 500 pesos a month. Payno and Prieto, who wrote political articles and theatrical criticism at the time, received 20 pesos a month each. These figures are not quoted to detract from the prestige of "El Siglo XIX," but to illustrate, by citing the case of one of the greatest nineteenth century newspapers, the small pecuniary rewards held out to those who entered the profession of journalism. Rather than high salaries, the writers gained fame or political advantage. Many of them were politicians. Following the journalistic practice of the time, the name of the writer was generally signed to his article.⁹⁰

In 1841 was begun the publication of the "Boletín de Noticias," official organ of the government of Anastasio Bustamante. Oddly enough, the printing was entrusted to Ignacio Cumplido, whose liberal newspaper "El Siglo XIX" was naturally opposed to such absolutism as was represented by Bustamante. This enigma is hard to explain, unless it was due to the fact that at the time, Cumplido's printshop was the best equipped in Mexico. In the same year, only a few days later, appeared the first issue of the "Boletín Oficial," the appearance of which coincided exactly with the coup de'état headed in the Citadel by General Valencia against President Bustamante. At the Citadel, the rebels issued an anti-government paper, "Boletín de la Ciudadela," devoted to giving news of the victories of the revolutionists.

On December 21, 1844, appeared the first issue of "El Monitor Republicano," which came to occupy a place in the ranks of liberal newspapers equal to that of "El Siglo XIX." It was founded also by a famous printer and journalist, Vicente García Torres. Like Cumplido's paper, it had various suspensions. Each new appearance constituted an epoch of the paper; up to December 31, 1862, it had counted four epochs. Its fifth began on September 19, 1867, continuing until December 30, 1896, when "El Monitor Republicano" went out of existence for the same reason as did "El Siglo XIX"—the competition of Rafael Spíndola's newspapers "El Imparcial" and "El Mundo."

García Torres was a native of a small town near Pachuca, and came to Mexico City as a servant of the Marqués de Vivanco. Later he traveled abroad, and in Europe married a Swiss woman who by her diligence and economy was later instrumental in helping him gain financial success. According to Prieto, who wrote for "El Monitor Republicano," the character of García Torres was open and sincere.

89. Prieto, *Op. Cit.*, p. 335.

90. In Cumplido's day, most newspaper articles were signed by the writer, irrespective of merit. At present, "by-lines" are given to the few who most deserve them.

"He was a spendthrift, a lover, a fighter, and a liberal. Such fine qualities could not be obscured by the bad customs of his early education, nor his supine ignorance, nor the sudden outbursts of a disposition that was impetuous, but at bottom full of goodness. He always participated in the principal dangers of the press, as his imprisonments and exiles prove. His conduct in the American war was truly heroic, and when the defense of his principles was at stake, he forgot as did no other publisher his life and his interests in order not to degrade nor deform his opinions. However high the person with whom he treated and however compromised his situation, García Torres did not play false to his own sentiments. For example, he once said to President Juárez with much respect: 'Sir, I do not come to see you, because what you are doing seems very wrong to me.'"⁹¹

"El Monitor Republicano" was directed at first by García Torres, and later by his son; its last director was Luis del Toro. Under García Torres the elder, the paper had a notable set of Mexican and foreign writers. One of them, Ignacio Ramírez, sustained a polemic with Emilio Castelar, the famous Spanish tribune who wrote for "El Globo" of Madrid, with the result that the Spaniard presented "El Nigromante" with a picture of himself on which in writing he acknowledged himself defeated.

A feature of "El Monitor Republicano" was its "Gacetilla" or news section, which was larger and more comprehensive than that of any other Mexican newspaper. In it appeared articles dealing with even the most out-of-the-way parts of the provinces. However, García Torres followed the custom of his day by emphasizing the importance of the editorial or signed opinionated article over that of the news. Although there were many able polemicists in Mexico at this time, not until the end of the century did great reporters appear on the scene. This was not due to the inability of Mexican newspaper men to be good reporters, but to the fact that their editors preferred opinionated articles.

"El Republicano," a daily, made its appearance April 1, 1846, and continued until July 11, 1847. On the latter date it was suspended, in company with all the other newspapers except the "Diario Oficial," by General Manuel María Lombardini, who acted on orders from the Minister of War. When the order was withdrawn, many papers resumed publication, and new ones sprang up, but "El Republicano" was not among them.

During this period, the Catholic Church was a powerful influence in politics, and was ably represented in the journalistic field by a group of newspapers that combated the liberal journals, of which the chief ones were "El Siglo XIX" and "El Monitor Republicano." One of the earliest important church newspapers was the clerical official organ, "El Tiempo," which appeared at Mexico City on January 24, 1845. It was edited by the learned conservative historian Lucas Alamán, and by several other prominent ecclesiastics. In the third issue of "El Tiempo" was published a call to the Mexican people for the election of an extraordinary Congress for the purpose of framing a monarchical constitution for Mexico.

The invasion of Mexico in 1846 and 1847 by American troops as a part of the United States' program in the war with our southern neighbor led to the establishment of the first English language newspaper in Mexico. "The American Star,"

91. Prieto, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 335-337. Lest the too serious reader should criticize "Fidel" for applying the adjective "fine" to the qualities of being a spendthrift and a lover, it should be remembered that the liberal spender is generally beloved by his poorer associates, and that, as an old proverb says, "All the world loves a lover". "Fidel" himself spent most of his life in poverty.

as it was called, was founded at the capital in 1847, and lived but a short time. It was suspended when the American troops were withdrawn. The "Star," which was the organ of the American expeditionary force that established it, was printed in the shop of V. Cerralde y Cía. The latter establishment was one of the best in the country, its history dating back to 1821, when it was founded by Juan Gómez Navarrete. Because of its excellent productions and the political connections of Navarrete with the governments, it had acquired in the following years a semi-official character, which was strengthened when the property passed to Cerralde.

The American army having withdrawn, President José Joaquín de Herrera on June 23, 1848, re-established his seat of government at Mexico City. The demoralized and exhausted condition of the Republic, following the disastrous war, favored the clerical agitation for a monarchical form of government. Under the capable leadership of the journalist-statesman Alamán, the campaign gained momentum. The ably conducted clerical journal, "La Patria," was already in the field, and now another newspaper, "El Universal," was established to further the movement. The latter was founded in November, 1848, by Rafael Rafael, a talented and well-educated Catalan who was not only a journalist but also a fine printer. It continued publication until 1855, being printed during its entire existence at Rafael's shop in Mexico City. Among the principal writers of "El Universal" were Tagle, Rafael, Alamán, Portilla, Díaz de Bonilla, Elguero, José Dolores Ulibarri, Padre Nájera, and Ignacio Aguilar y Marocho.

Rafael Rafael was born in Catalonia, Spain, where he spent his early years and learned printing and engraving, at both of which arts he became extremely proficient. News of his ability having come to the ears of Ignacio Cumplido, the latter sent for Rafael and gave him a position as an engraver in wood. He is described by Prieto, a talented colleague of "El Siglo XIX," as having "bristly hair, a coarse beard, a Roman nose, wide shoulders, stout legs, and agile movements."⁹² Shortly after his arrival at Cumplido's printshop, Prieto relates, extraordinary improvements were noted in the typographical art of the establishment, and Rafael's fame increased. In 1846, after two years in Cumplido's service, Rafael established a small printshop of his own in the Calle de la Cadena. There his services were solicited by Lucas Alamán, the conservative leader, who befriended him the rest of his life.

In "El Universal," Rafael took an active part in the political and religious controversies of his day, his journalistic activities causing him many unpleasantnesses and even a period of exile in 1851, which separated him from his business, bringing to an end his love for the art of printing.⁹³

Ignacio Aguilar y Marocho, one of the writers for Rafael's "El Universal," later became one of the leading conservative journalists in Mexico, appearing in posts of responsibility on other important clerical newspapers. He began his career as a writer for "El Siglo XIX," leaving that paper and the liberal party to attach himself to the clericals and to write for their organ, "El Universal." For this he was denounced by the liberals as a traitor, and was harshly attacked in their newspapers, though they recognized him to be a man of much ability. In politics he was as fearless, sincere, and capable as in journalism, and throughout his life held many political posts of importance. During the period of the Second Empire he was imprisoned, but on being released several months after Maximilian's fall, he returned to his political and literary tasks, founding "La Sociedad Católica," and in union with other writers, the religious newspaper, "La Voz de México." In his later years,

92. Prieto, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 338-339.

93. León Sánchez, "El Libro Mexicano," Año I, Núm. 3, p. 6.

he engaged in many bitter polemics in defense of the Catholic religion and the rules of the church.

One of the outstanding journalists in the ranks of the liberal party was Guillermo Prieto, who was also a poet, politician, and historian. He was born at Molino del Rey, in the Federal District, in 1818. For about fifty years, he was the most popular poet of Mexico,⁹⁴ many of his poems being published for the first time in newspapers and reviews, and later collected in book form. Politics is one of the favorite themes of his poetry. In the press, Prieto was a fighter for liberal ideals, and suffered imprisonment several times when he offended conservative rulers. In 1858 he became Minister of Finance for Juárez, and in the same year saved the life of the future liberator of Mexico when the latter was to be executed in Guadalajara by a firing squad. Prieto's speech to the soldiers caused them to let Juárez go free. During his lifetime, Prieto held many high political positions, compiled a valuable history of Mexico, and wrote constantly for the press. He was on the staff of "El Siglo XIX," "El Monitor Republicano," and other papers of lesser importance. He died at Tacubaya on March 2, 1897.

The electric telegraph was established in Mexico on November 5, 1851, when the first line, which connected Mexico City and Nopalpán, was opened for service. Much of the credit for this is due to Andrés Quintana Roo, the revolutionary journalist; but as he died April 15, 1851, half a year before the project was carried out successfully, the greater credit goes to Juan de la Granja, who worked with Quintana Roo and established the telegraph in Mexico after his friend's death.

Granja, a Spaniard, was born in 1785 in the town of Valmaseda, in the Province of Vizcaya, Spain. At the age of 15 he went to Madrid, where he became a merchant, and in 1814 came to Mexico. In 1826 he went to New York, where he established a Spanish-language newspaper, "Correo de Ambos Mundos," in which he sought to correct false impressions of Americans concerning Spain and Mexico. On returning to Mexico City, he was chiefly instrumental in establishing the first telegraph line there, after overcoming many difficulties. In October, 1851, this line was extended to connect Puebla with Mexico City. On April 25, 1852, the line from Veracruz to Orizaba was ready, and on May 4 it was opened for use of the press and public. The line between Mexico City and Veracruz was completed on May 19, 1852, and others commenced to spring up elsewhere. After the war of the French intervention, Granja having taken out Mexican citizenship papers, he was elected to the General Congress, and became noted for his tolerance of others' opinions, his liberalism and his wide range of knowledge. He died March 6, 1853.

In spite of the good printing turned out in this period of Mexican journalism by some establishments, the methods used were still essentially primitive. Most of the presses and other printing equipment were imported from the United States. Although Mexico City continued to be the publishing center of the Republic, many printing plants were established in other parts of the country. Newspapers, periodicals and pamphlets were their chief products, a lesser amount of attention being paid to book publishing. In 1854, one or more printing establishments existed at each of the following places: Aguascalientes, Campeche, Chiapas, Chihuahua, Ciudad Victoria, Culiacán, Durango, Guadalajara, Guanajuato, Guaymas, Jalapa, León, Matamoros, Mazatlán, Mérida, Mexico City, Monterrey, Morelia, Oaxaca, Orizaba, La Paz, Puebla, Querétaro, Saltillo, San Luis Potosí, Tabasco, Tampico, Tixtla, Toluca, Ures, Veracruz, Zacatecas, and Zamora. The scarcity and expensiveness of paper continued to retard the development of newspapers. The native

94. Agüeros, Victoriano, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 117, 118 y 122.

paper was generally of poor quality, and when not, it was sold at very high prices. Foreign paper was usually better and cheaper.⁹⁵ Another handicap to the development of journalism was the widespread illiteracy among the Mexican people. Because of their small circulations on this account, the newspapers could not charge high advertising rates. Therefore, they had to depend largely on circulation revenue for their sustenance, and accordingly their subscription rates were high. The high price of the papers naturally cut down further the number of copies sold.

An organ of the government, "El Constitucional," was established at Mexico City on September 16, 1851. It was printed at a typographical office located in the National Palace, and was in charge of J. Farine and later of I. Piña. It lasted until October 15, 1852, when it was replaced by "El Archivo Mexicano." On March 1, 1852, a small semi-official daily was established by President Lombardini, namely, "El Instructor del Pueblo." It dedicated itself to working for the return of the exiled Santa Ana to Mexico.

After his return from exile, Santa Ana again became president of Mexico, taking the oath of office on April 20, 1853. His cabinet, selected by the clerical party, consisted of Lucas Alamán, a journalist, secretary of state and president of the cabinet; José María Tornel, a journalist, secretary of war; Antonio Haro y Tamariz, treasurer; and Teodosio Lares, secretary of justice.

In accordance with the policy outlined by Alamán, the first act of the new administration was the promulgation of a measure dictated by Minister Lares, and hence called the "Lares Law", by which every publisher of newspapers, books or pamphlets was compelled to place with the government a bond of not less than three thousand pesos to be confiscated by the government at discretion for offenses against the ecclesiastical and civil authority. The law proceeded to define such offenses as: Attacks upon the dogmas of the Church, or expressions of doubt in regard to her creed; and criticisms, however slight, directed against the government, or its officers. It likewise established a secret tribunal similar to the star-chamber of the Stuart régime in England to deal with violations of its provisions. The operation of the measure immediately suppressed the liberal newspapers "El Monitor," "El Instructor del Pueblo," "El Telégrafo" and the "Biblioteca Popular Mexicana," as well as a number of smaller publications. "El Universal", the Catholic organ, on the contrary, greatly increased its size and circulation. "El Siglo XIX" survived the Lares Law.

It should be understood clearly that the "El Telégrafo" and "El Instructor del Pueblo" mentioned in the preceding paragraph are not the papers with the same names discussed earlier in this history, nor is "El Universal" the same that exists today. Throughout Mexican journalistic history, names of many newspapers have recurred repeatedly. As in the United States many papers have borne such names as the "Times," "Star," "News," "Press," "Standard," "Herald," "Sun," and "Tribune," so in Mexico there have been many papers with the name of "El Universal," "El Monitor," "La Gaceta," "El Diario," "El Observador," "La Verdad," and "La Voz" of some place, party, group, or institution.

In 1855, the revolution of Ayutla proving successful, Santa Ana was overthrown. Shortly before the liberal troops under Comonfort captured Guadalajara, a group of rebel sympathizers, in August, 1855, established at that city a newspaper called "La Revolución." In it were published and defended the radical ideas which later were embodied in the constitution of 1857 and the Laws of the Reform.

95. *Diccionario Universal de Historia y de Geografía*, V, pp. 974-976.

The principal writer for "La Revolución" was José María Vigil, later one of the leading journalists, politicians, poets and dramatists of Mexico. Vigil was born at Guadalajara October 11, 1829, and made his early studies there in Latin and philosophy, later studying jurisprudence in the university. He never completed his law studies, which he abandoned to join the liberal ranks against Santa Ana. Throughout his life he was an ardent exponent of culture and liberalism, and he is especially famous as the founder of the National Library. While at Guadalajara, he wrote for "La Aurora Poética de Jalisco," "La Mariposa," "El Ensayo Literario," and "El País," the official daily newspaper of the State of Jalisco. In 1865 he founded at Guadalajara the "Boletín de Noticias," in defense of the republican cause, and in it fought fourteen months against the imperial authorities before Maximilian had the newspaper suppressed. In 1866, he became editor of "El País." In 1869, he came to Mexico City for the first time, as a representative of Guadalajara in the Fifth Congress. In November, 1870, he began to write for "El Siglo XIX," and in January of the following year appeared as chief writer for that paper. In 1873 he left it to found "El Porvenir," a daily which lasted until the middle of 1876. In August, 1878, he entered the employ of "El Monitor Republicano," for which he wrote two years.⁹⁶

With the slogan of "liberty and reform," another newspaper called "Boletín de Noticias" appeared at Mexico City on December 25, 1860. Liberal in politics, it was headed by Francisco Zarco, Manuel M. Zamacona, and Pantaleón Tovar. It featured plethoric articles of advanced ideas, and severely lashed the conservative party. It also printed general news. "La Opinión Liberal," founded September 5, 1861, was published daily until October 4 of the same year. It was written by Zarco, Esteban Morales, E. D. Polanco, J. Bulman, Manuel Gordillo Reinoso, and Nicolás Pizarro.

"El Constitucional," a Mexico City newspaper, lived from 1861 to 1865. It was directed by Isidor Guerrero, and its editor-in-chief was Gregorio Pérez Jardón. Among its writers were Juan A. Mirafuentes, Vicente Riva Palacio, Gerardo M. Silva, Juan Muñoz Silva, and Jesús María Condés de la Torre.

"La Unión Federal" appeared June 5, 1861. It was written by Gilberto Morera, Juan de Dios Arias, Manuel Gordillo Reinoso, and Rafael G. de la Peña. Omitting the political discussions of the day so common in the press, and devoting itself merely to giving news of Mexico City and the States of the Republic, "El Noticioso," edited by Francisco Leon Carvajal, commenced publication October 13, 1861.

On December 1, 1861, appeared the first issue of "El Rayo," a small daily of the capital edited by Jesús Delgado. At first it merely gave local and general news, and published some poetry; but later, in 1863, it showed itself hostile to liberalism. Its chief writer was M. del Valle.

"El Cronista de México," a daily, was founded at Mexico City by José Sebastián Segura, aided by Vicente Reyes. It became one of the most widely read newspapers of its day, and reached what was then an enormous circulation, 8,000 copies. It sold for six reals, or about 38 cents in American money, for a month's subscription. Conservative in politics, its excellent literary style, due largely to the pen of Segura himself, and its timely treatment of important topics, gave it an important place in the journalistic world. It lasted through the period of the French intervention and the Second Empire. Because of the siege which Mexico City suffered in 1867, it had to decrease the size of its pages greatly on account of the scarcity of paper. But

96. For a biographical account of José María Virgil, cf.: Sosa, Francisco, *Los Contemporáneos*, I, pp. 211-219.

although small, the paper retains much historical interest because of the tasteful and vivid manner in which it chronicled the events of the siege.⁹⁷

In 1863 a French expeditionary force sent by Napoleon III took over the government of Mexico, and in 1864 Archduke Maximilian of Austria was induced to head the Second Empire in the war-torn North American country. This political incident did not change the nature of Mexican journalism, which continued polemical and personal to the end of the century. It did, however, sharpen the political alignment of the various Mexican newspapers, and raised the French language press to a position of great political importance.

97. Gómez-Haro, *Op. Cit.* in "El Universal."

V. *From the Second Empire to "El Imparcial"*

"It seems impossible," says one Mexican historian, "that freedom of the press was allowed during the régime of Maximilian. But that it was, is nevertheless true."⁹⁸ Another states that the press was free during the period of the Second Empire; but he adds that this liberty was restricted by certain provisions.⁹⁹ A third writer on the subject goes farther, and declares that although freedom of the press was specified in a decree by Maximilian, the list of offenses that could be interpreted as abuses of that liberty was so imposing that freedom of the press "was seen to disappear as if by enchantment."¹⁰⁰

The decree referred to was issued by the emperor on April 10, 1865. On the surface, it apparently established freedom of the press by stating that nobody could be molested because of his opinions, and that anyone had a right to print and circulate them without prior qualification or censure. However, it defined as abuses of the privilege writings that attacked the form of government, the person of the archduke, or the members of the reigning dynasty; false or alarming news; maxims or doctrines designed to excite rebellion or to disturb the public tranquility; dissension from or disobedience to some established law or authority; the provocation to that disobedience by means of satires or invectives, or protests against the law or the acts of the authority; the publication of writings against morality, the religion of the State and private life.¹⁰¹ Notwithstanding the restrictions placed upon the press, several papers dared to criticise Maximilian's decree in their columns.

From the confused mass of conflicting evidence as to whether or not the emperor desired the press to be free, three chief facts stand out. First, during his reign, powerful opposition papers flourished; second, many newspapers of various political creeds sprang up in Mexico; third, on the day the decree was promulgated, Maximilian released the journalists who had been arrested for daring to speak of the iniquities committed by the military courts—although first, realizing that his tenure of office depended principally on the French forces under Marshal Bazaine, he thought it wise to ask the permission of that officer before he let the newspaper men go free.

In the opinion of the present writer, the emperor, who was somewhat of an idealist, had visions of making the press free; but in actual practice he faltered from his ideal at times when he saw the government undergoing too hot a fire from opposition newspapers. A weak and irresolute ruler, he liked to flatter himself with thinking his dominions enjoyed a free press; but he was unable to bear gracefully journalistic attacks on the authorities. Therefore, while the press under Maximilian had some measure of liberty, that freedom was subject to the temperamental whims of the Austrian archduke.

During his ephemeral régime, many new papers were established in various parts of Mexico. In the capital alone, in addition to those already existing, thirty-one

98. Hernández Barrón, *Op. Cit.*

99. Gómez-Haro. *Op. Cit.* in "El Universal."

100. *México a través de los siglos*, V, p. 700.

101. *Ibid.*

journals of various sizes, dimensions and political creeds were published. Throughout the empire, many papers sprang up, some appearing regularly, others at irregular intervals.

In considering this period of Mexican journalism—and the same condition is true even today to a comparatively small extent—one should remember that, to put it figuratively, the on'y requisites to starting a newspaper were a political cause, a roll of paper, and a pot of ink. Few newspapers in that day could be considered as great institutions. Throughout the nineteenth century, many journalists wrote for different papers at the same time, and the latter custom is continued, probably to a much smaller degree, at the present day. Not only in Mexico, but in the United States as well, many a writer drawing a regular salary from one paper earns extra money by contributing articles to other journals which do not compete with the paper employing him regularly. In the nineteenth century, it was hard for the majority of Mexican newspaper men to earn a decent living by writing for one paper only, so the practice of contributing to others must have been quite common.

Those who have read the previous chapters of this study may have noticed that during the period of the Second Empire, "El Siglo XIX" and "El Monitor Republicano," leading liberal dailies, had suspended publication. "La Orquesta," a humorous semi-weekly, now became the leading exponent of the liberal cause, and many were the witty shafts which it loosed at the ruling powers.

"La Orquesta" was founded at Mexico City on March 1, 1861, by Constantino Escalante and Carlos Casarín, both of whom were then young men. It called itself an "omniscient periodical, of good humor and with caricatures."¹⁰² The first issue, typical of the following ones, contains eight pages of three columns each. Two pages are occupied by full-page cartoons, the other side of the sheet being blank. The remainder of the paper is made up of caricatures, light verse, and prose articles which deal chiefly with politics. In the program, on page three, the editors explained that their paper was called "La Orquesta" because they hoped to "soften" the supreme government, "insensible to the tunes and petitions being recited to it." Music, it reminded its readers, "has incontestable influence over animals." The editors also promised to make contemporary customs, and not politics, their chief stock in trade; but it was for its political sayings that the paper was to achieve its greatest fame. It is also notable for being the first periodical that effectively introduced into Mexican journalism the subtle and ironic caricature.¹⁰³

During the reign of Maximilian, "La Orquesta," in addition to attacking its political enemies, the Mexican conservatives, turned its guns on the government itself. On July 8, 1865, it became so boldly republican in an article entitled, "El Duelo de la Patria," that it received an "advertencia" or warning from the government. As was the obligation imposed by the emperor, it printed the notice in the "preferred place" in a following issue.

102. "La Orquesta"; periódico omniscio, de buen humor y con caricaturas; redactado por el ciudadano Roberto Macario, elector elegible. Imprenta de la Paz, callejón de la Cazuela. Tomo I, Núm. 1, Marzo 1 de 1861.

103. The founders of "La Orquesta" had previously established "Mi Sombrero," but this paper of caricatures was of short duration and very little importance.

The writing of the periodical was at first undertaken by Casarín, and the caricatures were drawn by Escalante. Casarín's writings led to his death in 1863, when he accepted and fought a duel with an expert swordsman who wounded him in the liver, causing his death a few days later. The occasion of his challenge was a violent attack in "La Orquesta," in which Casarín accused the other, a Sr. Errazo, of being unpatriotic because at a Fifth of May celebration at the National Theater Errazo was the only person present who did not stand when the orchestra played the national anthem. During the period of the French intervention, Escalante was imprisoned in a cage as a punishment for his caricatures against the authorities; and thus confined, he was brought from Pachuca to Mexico City.

In the forefront of the Mexican conservative papers appeared "El Pájaro Verde," which had been forced to suspend in 1860 on account of political exigencies.¹⁰⁴ The first number available at the National Library of Mexico, and what is generally, though erroneously, thought to be the first in the paper's history, is dated at Mexico City on July 17, 1863. The revived daily was edited by Mariano Villanueva y Francesconi, who was also its proprietor. Affiliated with the imperialist party, it had on its staff the leading conservative writers, chief of whom was Ignacio Aguilar y Marocho. Francesconi was accused of wanting to exterminate the liberals, but this he denied.

"El Pájaro Verde" survived the heated polemics of the Second Empire and of subsequent periods, living until August 31, 1877. In 1872, when the talented liberal reformer Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada succeeded Benito Juárez in the presidency, "El Pájaro" opposed Lerdo strongly. In 1876, General Porfirio Díaz led a successful military uprising against Lerdo, and established himself as president. "El Pájaro" was an ardent supporter of Díaz's cause.

In the ranks of the French language press, "L'Estafette des Deux Mondes," founded at Mexico City in 1859 by the Frenchman Charles Barrés, rose to a position of importance during the Second Empire as a defender of the reign of Maximilian. Barrés was not only the proprietor of the paper, but he was also its editor and chief writer. In 1861 he attempted to maintain a neutral position on the question of the French intervention, which even then appeared probable. Being pressed for his stand, however, he finally decided to post himself definitely on the side of the interventionists. During the period of the Empire, "L'Estafette" engaged in many controversies with the anti-imperialist papers. It also printed European correspondence and news of the capital and of the States of Mexico, and its owner aided the cause of literature by publishing novels in its feuilleton. A Mexican contemporary of "L'Estafette" said of it: "Our French colleague, 'L'Estafette,' has made itself notable by the brilliance of its style and the clarity of its appreciations."¹⁰⁵

Another important French language daily of the metropolis, which found itself in the same position as Barrés' paper on account of the intervention, was "Le Trait d'Union," established in 1862 with René Masson as editor. It likewise faced the problem of whether it should patriotically favor the invading expedition of its countrymen or whether, as a guest in Mexico, it should repay the hospitality and patronage of the land in which it was published by opposing the intervention. At first, it opposed the intervention and burlesqued the plan for establishing a monarchy; but later, the force of circumstances finally converted it to the imperialist cause. A third important French paper published at Mexico City during the time of the in-

104. "El Pájaro Verde." Segunda época, Año segundo. México. Tomo I, Núm. 1. Viernes 17 de Julio de 1863. Cf. p. 1.

105. Ruiz Pedro, "El Pájaro Verde," 2a. época, Año II, Tomo I, Núm. 1, p. 2.

tervention was "L'Ere Nouvelle," which styled itself a "journal des idées et des intérêts franco-mexicains." The three volumes of it which appeared, from 1864 to 1867, are now preserved in the National Museum in Mexico City. "L'Ere Nouvelle" was published by Andrade y Escalante; and "L'Estafette," by its own printing establishment.

Among the leading liberal papers of the Second Empire were: "El Clamor Progresista," "El Año Nuevo," "La Sombra," "La Voz del Pueblo," "La Rabia," "La Cucharra," "La Bandurría," and "El Payaso." Those of the conservative party included: "La Sociedad," "El Cronista," "La Nueva Era," "El Universo," "El Espíritu del Pueblo," "La Tós de Mamá," "La Monarquía," "El Franco-Mexicano," "El Palo de Ciego," "Le Petit Journal," "Doña Clara," "Mi Mujer," "La Constitución Social," and "La Razón de México." "El Diario del Imperio" was the official organ of Maximilian. An outstanding conservative daily was "La Sociedad Mercantil," founded at Mexico City by Agustín Eges, and for the most part written by the popular historian, Zamacois. It was established in 1867, and crossed lances frequently with "El Siglo XIX," when Cumplido's paper resumed publication. "La Sociedad Mercantil" was a defender of the Catholic Church, and favored the return of the fallen monarchy.

In the early part of 1867, Napoleon III ordered the French troops withdrawn from Mexico. Maximilian refused to flee while the opportunity was good, for he thought he could rule the Mexicans without military force. Under this illusion, he tarried too long in Mexico City. Seeing his mistake only when it was too late to escape to Europe, he fled to Querétaro, where he was captured June 13 and executed by a firing squad June 19. Shortly afterward, Benito Juárez, who had served as president from 1861 to 1863, entered Mexico City, where Congress again elected him president. During his rule, which lasted until 1872, notable progress was made in the field of education, the development of which naturally reacted on journalism by enlarging the field of prospective readers of newspapers and magazines.

After Juárez assumed office, Mexico's intellectual renaissance found expression under a regime of complete freedom of speech and of the press. "Never," says an enthusiastic historian, "has the intellectual heritage of Mexico given such proof of its vitality and power as during these years. Then there sprang from the genius of the race, as it were, in a night all those splendid creations of the field of science, art, and literature which have won for Mexico her rightful place among the intellectual nations of the earth."¹⁰⁶

While this picture is exaggerated, it is nevertheless true that the year 1868 witnessed an important revival of letters in Mexico, which was closely interwoven with the development of the press. Newspapers were established, literary societies formed and literary evenings held when poems, prose articles and addresses were read to enthusiastic listeners.

One of the leaders in the renaissance was Ignacio Manuel Altamirano, who like President Juárez himself, was a full-blooded Indian. By order of Juárez, a large sum of money which Altamirano had spent during the war against Maximilian to free Mexico from monarchy was refunded to him from the public treasury. With it, Altamirano established the liberal journal "Correo de México," which he edited in company with Ignacio Ramírez and Guillermo Prieto. From then on, Altamirano was a prominent figure in Mexican literature, editing various periodicals and founding or encouraging literary societies. He also conducted classes of law, of history and of literature. In his journalistic work he was rather a stern censor of morals.

106. Gutiérrez de Lara, *Op. Cit.*, p. 281.

During the seventies, the production of ballads dealing with various periods of revolutionary history assumed large proportions. The most assiduous producer of them was the journalist Guillermo Prieto. Several newspapers vigorously encouraged writing ballads, so that some are found among the poems of nearly every writer of the period.

Among the talented journalists and literary men of the time were José Rosas Moreno (1838-1883) Justo Sierra (1848-1912), General Vicente Riva Palacio (1832-1896), and Manuel Sánchez Mármol (1839-1912). As a journalist, Rosas Moreno was connected with various papers. He was a successful poet, and also essayed the drama. The American poet Bryant made a good translation of one of his poems, "The Elm and the Vine." Riva Palacio was the author of a successful historical novel, *Calvario y Tabor*. He was an important personage in the journalism of his day, and was also known favorably as a poet. A more fertile novelist was Mármol, a newspaper man who served with the Republican forces at the time of the French intervention.

Justo Sierra was a diligent and prolific man of letters, a poet and a critic as well as a successful lawyer. In journalism he introduced the light and gracefully satiric French style of writing, which pleased his readers.¹⁰⁷ Sr. Carlos Díaz Dufóo, who knew Sierra personally, characterized him in an interview with me as "a journalist, poet and versatile literary man, a great historian and educator, who served as minister of public education under President Díaz and at the time of his death was minister of Mexico in Spain."

An interesting literary magazine published outside of the capital was "La Ilustración Potosina," established at the small city of San Luis Potosí in 1869 by José María Flores Verdad and José T. de Cuellar, the latter being an ingenious writer on popular customs. This weekly announced itself as one devoted to "literature, poetry, novels, news, discoveries, varieties, fashions and advertisements."¹⁰⁸ It was printed by Silverio María Vélez, and several issues of it are preserved at the National Museum at Mexico City.

On April 17, 1870, was founded at Mexico City the mouthpiece of the Catholic Society, "La Voz de México."¹⁰⁹ It lived until 1909. While "El Siglo XIX" and "El Monitor Republicano" lasted, "La Voz de México" proved itself a worthy opponent of these and the other liberal newspapers with which it engaged in combat. On its staff were included some of the leading conservative journalists, such as Ignacio Aguilar y Marocho, José Joaquín Terrazas, Agustín T. Martínez, Juan N. Tercero, Lic. Gutiérrez Otero, Manuel Filomeno Rodríguez, Rafael Gómez, Joaquín María Castillo, Trinidad Sánchez Santos, and Pbro. Jesús García Gutiérrez. Its director for a long time, according to Ángel Pola, was Lic. Miguel Martínez. Sr. Pola also mentioned that Terrazas, besides being a journalist, was a noted mathematician who had thirty original discoveries in mathematics to his credit. The last editor of this clerical organ was José María Mellado.

The year 1871 is memorable for two notable innovations which were to affect the Mexican press appreciably. The first was the introduction of the first typesetting machine into Mexico; and the second, the establishment of the first Mexican newspaper that was distinctly an organ of the laboring classes.

107. Coester, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 345-355.

108. Robelo, *Catálogo*, p. 25.

109. "La Voz de México; diario político, religioso, científico, y literario, de la "Sociedad Católica." Imp. de Ignacio Escalante. Tomo I, Núm. 1, México, Domingo 17 de Abril de 1870.

The typesetting machine was established by Manuel León Sánchez, who has had a notable career as a printer and journalist, and who is now one of Mexico's leading publishers. To Sr. León Sánchez is due also the introduction of the color press into Mexico, this machine first being used by the newspaper "El País," in 1911. After 1871, the typesetting machine steadily gained favor in Mexico, but it remained for Lic. Rafael Reyes Spíndola at the end of the century to introduce into the country the first Mergenthaler linotypes, the direction of his mechanical department being in the hands of Sr. León Sánchez.

The second innovation of the year 1871 was a weekly founded by a group of artisans on July 9, 1871. It bore the name of "El Socialista." Sr. Pola, who was one of its writers, explained to me that the Great Circle of Workers of Mexico, of which it was the mouthpiece, was not a socialistic organization in the modern sense, but practiced "mutualismo," a policy similar to that of trade unions in the United States. The director of "El Socialista" was Juan de Mata Rivera. The writing staff consisted of six men: Vicente Segura Reyes, Edmundo Rivero y Rico, Miguel Montiel, Aurelio Garay, Miguel Portillo and Sr. Pola,¹¹⁰ whose productions were supplemented by those of many contributors. The contents of the paper included articles on politics and customs, fiction, poetry, and news.

Another workingmen's paper, established five years later, was "El Hijo del Trabajo."¹¹¹ It was smaller than "El Socialista." Both papers, which were pacific in tone, were devoted to bettering the condition of the working class. Rather than embrace the illusive phantom of revolution as a remedy for the laborers' ills, they encouraged such practical means of alleviation as co-operative organizations and workmen's pension funds. "El Socialista" reported meetings and festivals of workers' organizations, marriages and baptisms, and appropriately expressed sorrow at the death of any member of the Circle. Unjust employers were pointed out and criticised in its columns. Its last issue is dated December 30, 1888.

On January 2, 1871, "El Federalista," an important literary and political paper, was founded at Mexico City. On its staff were Justo Sierra, Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera, Alfredo Bابلot, and many other intellectuals. In 1877, "El Federalista" opposed President Díaz, while the press favorable to the government was attacking a previous president, Lerdo de Tejada. Later, however, the paper adopted a policy favorable to Díaz.

After a lapse of nearly thirty years, the "revistas," or reviews, again came to occupy a place of importance as a class of publications in Mexico. In 1869 was founded "El Teatro," which lasted until 1872. In 1873, "El Búcaro" was established. It was written by Srta. Angela Lozano, Guillermo Prieto, Justo and Santiago Sierra, Manuel Acuña, Agustín F. Cuenca, Francisco Sosa, and Gerardo Silva, and counted among its collaborators such eminent literati as Altamirano. Through its columns the Liceo Hidalgo and the Sociedad Netzahualcoyotl gained great prestige. In 1874, "El Artista," directed by Hammeken and Villela, was established. It published large lithographed engravings, with classical representations, the delight of the readers and painters of that epoch. Among the literary publications were the "Juventud Literaria," published in 1877; and the "Violetas del Anáhuac," from 1887 to 1889. "La Orquesta" continued to be the leading humorous magazine.

110. Pola. "Gil Blas," 2a. época, Año XX, Núm. 3,324, p. 2.

111. "El Hijo del Trabajo"; periódico destinado a la defensa de la clase obrera y propagador de las doctrinas Sociales de México. México, Imp. de la Asociación Artística e Industrial. 1 de Mayo de 1876 hasta 28 de Diciembre de 1884.

The field of the daily press in Mexico City was enriched in 1874 by the establishment of "La Tribuna," edited by Ignacio M. Altamirano. Other notable men of letters wrote for it, among them Justo Sierra, Julio Zárate, Eduardo Ruiz, José Hammeken y Mexía, M. Peniche and Eduardo Zárate. "El Bien Público" and "La Legalidad," both of which later gained fame in the political field, were founded in 1876. "El Bien Público" distinguished itself by its savage attacks on Lerdo de Tejada and its eulogies of President Díaz. "La Legalidad" defended the revolution of 1876, in which Díaz overthrew Lerdo and assumed the presidency of Mexico after a dispute over the office with José María Iglesias, president of the Supreme Court. "La Legalidad" attracted considerable attention by publishing the entire series of official documents which passed between Iglesias and Díaz to give a peaceful solution to the problem of the presidential succession.

The year 1877 saw the end of "El Pájaro Verde," which was discontinued by its owner and editor, Mariano Villanueva y Francesconi, to be replaced by "La Bandera Nacional." The latter paper was little more than a metamorphosis of its predecessor. "El Monitor" and other contemporary papers considered "La Bandera Nacional" to be the organ of Porfirio Díaz, but Francesconi denied this. His denials are supported by Sr. Gómez-Haro, who says that from the start, "La Bandera Nacional" severely censured the revolution of Tuxtepec, with which Díaz routed Lerdo and assumed power.¹¹²

In 1877 were established at Mexico City, in addition to Francesconi's new paper, "El Monitor Constitucional," "El Mensajero," "El Espectador"—and most important of all, "La Patria," of Ireneo Paz. Paz had been a newspaper man in Guadalajara, where he edited "El Payaso" during the Second Empire; and later at Brownsville, Tex., where he edited "El Progreso." Coming to Mexico City, he established "El Padre Cobos," which initiated a strong attack against President Lerdo de Tejada. Two volumes of this paper, covering the period from 1869 to 1871, are preserved at the National Museum of Mexico.¹¹³ In 1877, Lerdo having been overthrown, Paz announced that "El Padre Cobos" served no further use, for its only mission had been to help in the removal of Lerdo from power. On March 15, therefore, he instituted publication of "La Patria," which appeared on all days except those following holidays, until its decay and death in 1912.

In its first issue, Paz announced that as the mission of "El Padre Cobos" had been destructive, the purpose of "La Patria" would be to suggest and further constructive policies for the good of the Republic. Frankness, it announced, would be its outstanding characteristic. Asserting that the contemporary press "seldom confined itself within the limits of the truth,"¹¹⁴ since some papers criticised every act of the administration in power and others praised everything, "La Patria" declared that it would seek to fill the need of an impartial, unbiased, constructive newspaper. Following the journalistic custom in Mexico, the correspondents of "La Patria" outside the capital were also its subscription agents.

In its earlier years, Paz's newspaper was friendly to President Díaz, but at the same time showed a certain trait of independence. Later, it became the standard-bearer of a political doctrine called "anticorralismo," and its activities in this field earned its founder a lodging in the penitentiary. Powerful for many years, "La Patria" later commenced a steady decline, and in 1912 it was discontinued. Paz

112. Gómez-Haro. "Arte Gráfico," Vol. I, Núm. 12, p. 13.

113. "La Patria"; diario político, científico, literario, comercial y de anuncios. Tomo I, Núm. 1, México, Jueves 15 de Marzo de 1877.

114. *Ibid.*, p. 1, col. 5.

then retired from active journalism, and until his death on November 4, 1924, he was known as "the dean of Mexican newspaper men."¹¹⁵ He was also a novelist, being the author of more than twenty historical novels.

The first evening paper in Mexico, which was devoted to theater news and comment, was "El Espectador," founded November 8, 1878. It was written by Antonio Navarro Martín and Eduardo Freissinier, and appeared at 7 o'clock each evening. It served chiefly as a publicity organ for the Teatro Principal, whose musical comedies it lauded over those playing at the rival Arbeau theater.

When Díaz gained the presidency, one of the chief planks in his platform was that no president should serve more than two terms successively. In 1880 he stepped aside, therefore, to let his right-hand man General Manuel González govern until 1884. Probably the most powerful journalistic supporter of González's cause was "La Libertad" of Mexico City, which had been established January 5, 1878, and which continued to be published until December 30, 1900. "La Libertad" was founded by Telésforo García. Among its writers were Francisco Bulnes and Gutiérrez Nájera. At the end of González's administration in 1884, when the presidential office was again occupied by Díaz, the retiring ruler was the object of much criticism. To defend González's régime against attacks, "El Pacto Federal," a daily newspaper, was established by Ignacio Ramírez in 1885. The latter paper was strongly anti-clerical.

The first commercial daily in Mexico City was "El Boletín Comercial de México," which commenced publication on February 15, 1877. It far surpassed the ephemeral commercial daily that had been issued at Veracruz in the first decade of the nineteenth century. In addition to giving news and comment concerning the financial affairs of Mexico, the United States and other parts of the world, the metropolitan paper distinguished itself by aiding the development of commerce. Largely through its efforts, several unjust taxes and duties which had hindered that development were abolished. "El Boletín Comercial," which enjoyed the large circulation for that day of 10,000 copies, made the first steps in the lowering of newspaper subscription rates.¹¹⁶ It sold for four reals, or 25 cents in American money, per month. Its advertising cost one centavo, or one-half of an American cent, per line. From the newspapers I have examined, I should say that six reals was the usual subscription price previously in Mexico.

In 1880 two notable papers were established at Mexico City. "La Prensa" joined Gerardo N. Silva's "La Tribuna," founded the previous year, in the defense of the González presidential administration. The former was directed by José María Vigil, who had as his secretary the noted poet Juan de Dios Peza. At first "La Prensa" was a semi-weekly, but it later became a daily. In 1884 Díaz returned to power, and ignoring the "no re-election" policy which he had formerly supported, he ruled until 1911. In that year he was tumbled from the presidential chair by the Madero revolution. During Porfirio's long reign, one of his staunchest friends in the journalistic world was "La Prensa."

The other notable paper established in 1880 was "El Nacional," founded by Gonzalo A. Esteva. In its columns, José López Portillo y Rojas developed his theory of liberal Catholicism, which was officially supported by the paper itself. "El Nacional" was one of the first Mexican newspapers to emphasize the importance of reporting; Manuel Caballero, a member of its staff, is considered the first great re-

115. Rigel, Arturo. "Revista de Revistas," Año XV, Núm. 765, p. 31.

116. Anon. "La Evolución del Periodismo Mexicano." In "Excelsior," México, D. F., 18 de Marzo de 1927.

porter of Mexico. Some writers believe that he introduced sensational reporting from the United States, where he had gone in 1882; but Caballero himself says he did this previously in "El Noticioso," which he founded at Mexico City "about the end of 1878 or the beginning of 1879."¹¹⁷ In addition to being a newspaper man, Caballero was a talented poet, who sometimes chose journalistic topics as poetical themes. When Esteva left Mexico to be Mexican minister in Italy, "El Nacional" passed under the direction of Gregorio Aldasoro, in whose hands it died.

A rival of Esteva's paper which evidently won the services of Caballero away from him, for Caballero later appeared on its staff, was the Catholic organ "El Tiempo," founded at Mexico City July 1, 1883.¹¹⁸ It likewise contained sensational reports. The editor and proprietor was Victoriano Agüeros, and the staff included José María Roa Bárcena, Lic. Augustín Rodríguez, José Sebastián Segura, Dr. Manuel Peredo, Lic. Francisco de P. Guzmán, Pbro. Lic. Tirso Rafael Córdoba, and I. Acaico. The paper appeared every day except Monday and the days following religious holidays. A monthly subscription cost six reals, or 38 cents in American money, in Mexico City, and one peso, or 50 cents American, in the States. "El Tiempo" contained good foreign correspondence and abundant reading matter. It later added to its staff Francisco de P. Covarrubias; Francisco Montes de Oca, afterwards founder of "Gil Blas" and "El Popular"; and other notable journalists.

"El Tiempo" was the first newspaper in Mexico City to erect its own building, this being completed in March, 1903. On the fifteenth of that month the edifice, which stood at what is now 3a. Calle de Mesones Núm. 61, was blessed by the archbishop, and on January 1, 1904, it was opened for use. The last issue of "El Tiempo" is dated August 3, 1912.

The addition of Manuel Caballero to its staff gained for the newspaper great circulation. A notable instance of his obtaining an important and difficult "scoop" is related by Sr. Gómez-Haro as an illustration of his remarkable ability as a reporter. The occasion was a duel between Generals Rocha and Gayón, both old chiefs of the Mexican army. Since utmost secrecy had been maintained concerning the time and place of the duel, it was thought that nothing about the combat would find its way into the press.

Imagine, then, the surprise of the duelists and of the reporters of other newspapers who had vainly tried to ascertain the place of the combat, when on the following morning "El Tiempo" published an exclusive and detailed account of the affair written by Manuel Caballero. According to Sr. Gómez-Haro, only Caballero had had "a sufficient sense of smell"¹¹⁹ to find the place where the duel was held. Pretending to be a member of the police force, he gained entrance to a certain house and climbed to its flat roof. From this vantage point he calmly watched the contest which was going on in the yard below, and wrote a vivid and detailed account of it for "El Tiempo."

117. Caballero, Manuel, "El Entreacto," Año XXXV, Núm. 1, 776, p. 8. This article by Caballero is in part a correction of a statement made by José Juan Tablada in "El Universal" of Mexico City to the effect that Caballero introduced sensational reporting into Mexico after his return from his first trip to the United States. Gómez-Haro and Hernandez Barrón are among those who believe Caballero brought sensational reporting from the United States.

118. "El Tiempo." Imp. de "El Tiempo," México, D. F. Tomo I, Núm. 1, Domingo 1 de Julio de 1883.

119. Gómez-Haro, "Arte Gráfico," Vol. I, Núm. 24, p. 14, says that only Caballero "tuvo olfato suficiente para dar con el lugar del desafío y sorprender a los duelistas en el momento en que el lance de honor se iniciaba."

In the ranks of the liberal press of this period, Filomeno Mata's "El Diario del Hogar" occupied an important place. This daily, styling itself the "newspaper of the families,"¹²⁰ was founded September 16, 1881. It enjoyed a wide circulation not only in the capital, where it was published, but also through the States of the Republic. Because it printed kitchen recipes, "El Diario del Hogar" received the nickname from other newspapers and from a portion of the public of "the daily of the kidney beans."¹²¹ In later days, the publication of such recipes has become a common practice of Mexican newspapers and reviews, though at that time it was quite an innovation. But it is not to be thought that Filomeno Mata's paper was merely a journalistic cook-book, for it took a decided stand on political questions. Because of his strong opposition to President Díaz, the indefatigable Mata was imprisoned frequently. After a long and useful life, he died suddenly in July, 1911. The last issue of "El Diario del Hogar" appeared on June 30, 1912.

According to a writer for the Pan American Union, papers were first sold on the streets of Mexico City in 1884.¹²² This statement is not entirely true, since walking vendors had cried papers on the streets of the capital as early as 1812, as was shown previously in this study.¹²³ It probably would be more correct to say that not until 1884 was the selling of papers on the streets resumed to an appreciable extent. Since that time the practice of street sales has steadily grown, and is now carried on to a fairly large extent in various Mexican cities—but it is not nearly so widespread as in the United States. Even in Mexico City, which has a million inhabitants, papers are rarely cried on the streets outside of the downtown district. In the capital, as well as in the interior of Mexico and generally throughout Latin America, many papers are sold at "kiosks" or street stands; but the majority doubtless go straight from the publishing plant to the homes of regular paid subscribers.

According to López-Dóñez, the first newspaper sold in Mexico for one centavo, or half a cent in American money, was "El Noticioso" of Ángel Pola and Federico Mendoza y Vizcaíno.¹²⁴ Sr. Pola told me that it is commonly thought his paper was the first centavo publication, but that that honor really belongs to "El Monitor del Pueblo," founded at Mexico City in 1885, by Juan de Mata Rivera. Sr. Pola has described Rivera as "entirely a gentleman in his conduct. He was short and fat; from 10 a. m. on, the color of his face was kindled; his whiskers gave him a rather English aspect."¹²⁵ At first a weekly appearing each Sunday, "El Monitor" became a daily with its thirteenth issue, dated April 1, 1885. From that time until its suspension in 1893, it appeared on all days except Mondays. Like most of the other papers of the nineteenth century, "El Monitor" consisted of four pages each day. It printed world news, poetry, editorials, history, advertisements and other material. A monthly subscription cost 25 centavos. The correspondents were authorized to sell

120. "El Diario del Hogar"; periódico de las familias. México. Tip. Literaria. 12 v. f4, 1 v. f5 and 85 v. f6. Oct. 2, 1881, to June 30, 1912. These volumes are at the National Library of Mexico, Dept. of Periodicals.

121. In Spanish, "El Diario del Hogar" was called "el diario de los frijoles." "Frijoles," or kidney beans, are a staple food on most Mexican tables, from those of the wealthiest homes to those of the poorest.

122. Anon. "Bulletin Pan-American Union," XXXIII, p. 149.

123. Cf. Chapter III of this study.

124. López-Dóñez, "Las Artes Gráficas en México," Año III, Núms. 45 y 46, p. 15.

125. Pola, *Op. Cit.* in "Gil Blas."

advertisements at three centavos a line for each publication, receiving a commission of 12 1-2 per cent.¹²⁶

With the avowed intention of being the most solid support of the liberal party, and at the same time a defender of Díaz's government, "El Partido Liberal," a metropolitan daily directed by José Vicente Villada, was established on February 15, 1885. Its writing staff included Luis G. Bossero, Julio Reyes, Alberto Arellano, Felipe Castillo, Ricardo Domínguez, Vicente Ramírez, Aurelio Horta, Andrés Mateus, Agustín García Figueroa, Ángel de Zayas Enríquez, Adalberto Esteva, and J. Castellón. Later, Apolinar Castillo became director of the paper, which was suspended October 15, 1896.

In this epoch were established at Mexico City several daily newspapers which became notable organs of the Spanish colony in Mexico. On July 1, 1883, was founded "El Pabellón Español," which announced itself as "a newspaper exclusively dedicated to the defense of Spanish interests."¹²⁷ Its last issue is dated April 30, 1890. "La Nueva Iberia," which called itself simply "Spanish newspaper,"¹²⁸ was published from February 2, 1887, to December 29, 1888. More influential than either of these was "El Correo Español," which lived from November 9, 1889, to December 31, 1914. In the latter years of its existence, it found a worthy competitor for the favor of the Spanish colony in the daily metropolitan newspaper "La Iberia," edited by Anselmo de la Portilla, of whom one historian wrote: "He is remembered with affection for his contributions to journalism in Mexico."¹²⁹ The last issue of "La Iberia" is dated June 27, 1911.

A curious story of the loyalty of the French colony to the Mexican government has to do with a small well-written daily founded at Mexico City by Louis Lerroux, a Frenchman who before coming to the capital had lived in Santo Domingo. His paper, "Paris dans México," first appeared on August 20, 1887. It was written in French, German, English, Italian, and Spanish, and was well received by the foreign colonies in Mexico on account of its good material. Because Lerroux's cousin, who owned the printshop which issued "Paris dans México," failed to receive certain concessions he had solicited from the Mexican government, rude attacks on the administration commenced to appear in the columns of the newspaper. This angered the members of the French colony, who denounced the attacks, boycotted the paper, and did everything possible to put it out of business. They succeeded when only fifteen issues of it had appeared. Louis Lerroux, heartbroken, went to Havana, where he died the same year. His cousin sold the printshop, and the following year returned to France.

On July 1, 1888, Lic. Rafael Reyes Spíndola, who was later to become known as the father of modern journalism in Mexico, established at the national capital a daily newspaper, "El Universal." Like its great namesake of 1848, Spíndola's organ was conservative in politics; but in journalistic theory and practice it was radical. The "gacetilla," or news section, was moved to the front page—a radical innovation. Spíndola astounded the conservative papers by saying that a newspaper should be

126. The first issue available at the National Library of Mexico is No. 9, dated March 8, 1885. The title is "El Monitor"; in smaller type, under it, appears the legend: "Periódico del Pueblo." The paper was known as "El Monitor del Pueblo."

127. "El Pabellón Español"; periódico exclusivamente dedicado a la defensa de los intereses españoles. México. Imp. El Pabellón Español.

128. "La Nueva Iberia; diario español. México. Imp. La Nueva Iberia.

129. *Enciclopedia Universal Ilustrada*, XXXIV, p. 339.

an institution, and promptly did away with all signatures to editorials and other articles. Economically the paper did not prosper, and Spíndola had to sell "El Universal" to Ramón Prida with the condition that Spíndola would not publish another paper in Mexico. From Prida, "El Universal" passed to Eusebio Sánchez, an old Spanish editor who was very active and hard working; but in his hands the paper failed. One of its writers near the end of its existence was José Manuel Villa, who on June 29, 1902, founded at Zacatecas, the "Correo de Zacatecas," a weekly newspaper of political and social information.

During the régime of Díaz, two publications flourished at the national capital whose mission it was to consolidate the friendship among all Spanish-speaking countries. The first, "Revista Latino-Americana," was a fortnightly magazine which appeared from March 15, 1885, to December 20, 1903. It was founded by Francisco de la Fuente Ruiz, who introduced himself to the Mexican public as a "lawyer of Spain and the Argentine Republic, former deputy, former president of the 'Convención de la Prensa' of Buenos Aires, and a member of various scientific and literary associations of Europe and America." The magazine sought to forge chains of friendship between the Latin American peoples and unite them with Spain.¹³⁰ It emphasized the development of science, literature, the industries, and the fine arts in the Spanish-language countries.

The second publication, a daily newspaper, was "La Raza Latina," established by José Gándara de Velasco in 1891. Unlike the review of Fuente Ruiz, the daily took an active part in Mexican politics. Because it displeased Díaz, "La Raza Latina" had to suspend; but it reappeared January 5, 1895. The Cuban revolution against Spain was then gathering intensity, and "La Raza Latina" set about to combat the uprising. When the Spaniard Ramón Rodríguez Peña bought the paper he continued its policy, and went to Cuba himself to write articles from the theater of combat, leaving "La Raza Latina" in charge of the engineer Severiano Galicia. Within a few days the latter resigned, and E. Cajigal became director. In his hands the paper was suspended on July 19, 1896.

The suspension of "La Raza Latina" in its first epoch because of politics displeasing to President Díaz was nothing unusual during the régime of that dictator. Díaz has been lionized as Mexico's saviour and cursed as its darkest villain by opposing elements among historians, journalists and the public. His influence upon the Mexican press was not entirely baneful, for he liberally subsidized "El Imparcial," the first great modern newspaper of Mexico. His generosity in that respect seems less altruistic, however, when one remembers that "El Imparcial" was paid to be his semi-official paper—which it was. Although generous and tolerant to newspapers supporting him, Díaz had little patience with the opposition press. Many were the outrages against newspapers and journalists perpetrated during his reign.

According to Gutiérrez de Lara, a liberal journalist in Mexico during the latter part of the Díaz régime, the president destroyed freedom of speech and of the press a few years after his accession to power,¹³¹ and then launched a severe campaign against those who offended him through the press. Gutiérrez de Lara writes¹³²:

Imprisonment or death awaited the man or woman who wrote or spoke the truth about the conditions obtaining in Mexico. Newspapers which dared to express even a mild protest against the actions of the government were raided, their printing plants wrecked, and their editors and writers were thrown into dungeons of

130. "Revista Latino-Americana." México. Imp. Francisco de la Fuente Ruiz. Tomo I, Núm. 1, 15 de Marzo de 1885.

131. Gutiérrez de Lara, *Op. Cit.*, p. 331.

132. *Ibid.*, pp. 332-333.

filthy horror, there to rot, go blind, or mad. Radical writers left their homes never to return, kidnaped or stabbed to death in the dark.

In the fall of 1892, at Pachuca, Hidalgo, the governor of the state Simon Cravioto, arrested a newspaper man named Santa Maria, who had dared to attack the policies of the government, and burned him alive at the stake. Olmos y Contreras, another liberal publicist, while walking on the street with his wife and children was killed in broad daylight by policemen acting under the instructions of the governor of Puebla, Mucio Martinez.

Scores of newspaper men who had gallantly protested against the wholesale butchery of people were walled up in the noisome dungeons of Belem in Mexico City, to rot in mud and excrement. That magnificent intellectual, Jesus Carrion, a noted cartoonist of the day, was one of these. When finally released he came forth blind, dying of pneumonia, and with whole portions of his body gnawed away by the rats. Thousands of brave men and women, the very flower of the nation, and the intellectual leaders of the mass, suffered unspeakable torture and death for endeavoring to save the light in the eyes of the people. Were we so minded we could fill hundreds of pages with these recitals. Let this be sufficient.

One of the important periodicals which suffered many persecutions from the Díaz administration, but which nevertheless was published for a long period of years, was the liberal weekly of caricatures, "El Hijo del Ahuizote," of Mexico City. It was the legitimate heir of a famous predecessor, "El Ahuizote," which had rivaled "La Orquesta" with its caricatures for many years in an earlier epoch, becoming a strong enemy of Lerdo de Tejada during his presidential administration. According to the catalogue of the National Museum of Mexico, "El Hijo" was published from 1885 to 1903, by various printing establishments. It was, as López-Dóñez says, "essentially political, with bloodthirsty caricatures and cutting literature attacking those who supported the administration of General Porfirio Díaz."¹³³ Its director, Daniel Cabrera, suffered frequent persecutions and imprisonments. He was the uncle of Luis Cabrera, Minister of the Treasury under Carranza.

In 1892 the Pan-American Union, then known as the Bureau of the American Republics, issued a list of the newspapers and periodicals published in Mexico and in the other countries of Latin America.¹³⁴ It is unfortunate that the regularity of publication of many of the papers—whether dailies, weeklies, etc.—is not specified; but those concerning which the information is lacking, appreciably form a minority of the entire list. Eight cities of Mexico are listed as having daily papers in 1892. Chihuahua, Chih., had one, "El Chihuahuense." Guadalajara, Jal., supported the "Diario de Jalisco"; Mazatlán, Sin., "El Correo de la Tarde"; Mérida, Yuc., "El Alva" and "El Telegrama"; Monterrey, N. L., "La Defensa del Pueblo"; San Luis Potosí, S. L. P., "El Estandarte"; and Veracruz, Ver., "El Diario Comercial" and "El Ferrocarril." In addition to these, there were several official dailies in various states not listed, but an official daily in Mexico rarely has held an important place as an example of journalistic enterprise. Twenty daily papers are listed as being published at Mexico City in 1892, though several others in the section of those "not specified" were also dailies. The twenty listed as dailies are: "Diario Oficial," "El Anunciador Mexicano," "El Diario del Hogar," "El Liberal Español," "El Monitor Republicano," "El Mundo," "El Municipio Libre," "El Nacional," "El Partido Liberal," "El Tiempo," "El Universal," "La Bolsa Mercantil," "La Caridad," "La Patria," "La Política," "La Voz de España," "La Voz de México," "El Siglo XIX," "The Two Republics," and the "Trait d'Union."

Of the 665 Mexican newspapers and periodicals listed in this directory, 28 are classified as dailies, 147 as weeklies, 81 as semi-monthlies, 6 as tri-weeklies, 32 as

133. López-Dóñez, "Las Artes Gráficas en México," Año III, Núm. 43, p. 16.

134. *Newspaper Directory of Latin America*, Bulletin No. 42 of the Bureau of the American Republics. January, 1892. Government Printing Office, Washington D. C.

monthlies, and 119 as "not specified." Aguascalientes is listed as having 5 newspapers and periodicals, Chihuahua 9, Guadalajara 26, Guanajuato 7, Mexico City 96, Mazatlán 10, Mérida 14, Monterrey 5, Morelia 7, Orizaba 10, Oaxaca 2, Pachuca 8, Puebla 15, Saltillo 6, San Luis Potosí 11, and Veracruz 7. Outside of the federal district, journalism was practiced in all the states and territories of the Republic.

Under the Díaz régime, presidential elections were elections in name only, for bullets and not ballots determined the occupant of the chief executive's chair. Although he recognized the fact, Díaz believed in certain formalities, so in 1892 he graciously accepted the nomination of the presidential convention. It was at this convention that Justo Sierra, noted journalist and statesman, uttered the oft-quoted phrase, "This people is hungering and thirsting for justice."¹³⁵ The election was once more "nearly unanimous." There was insignificant opposition by a small metropolitan paper, "La República," the editors of which were driven out of the country for their temerity.

In 1893, "El Monitor del Pueblo," Mexico's first centavo newspaper, was driven out of business by "La Política," a rival publication which sold for the same price. "La Política," in turn, was forced out of existence by "El Universal." Refusing to be daunted by the example of previous failures of centavo newspapers, Federico Mendoza Vizcaíno and the veteran journalist Ángel Pola launched, in 1894, "El Noticioso," another metropolitan daily which sold at the same price. The earliest issue of this paper available at the National Library of Mexico is No. 117, dated September 1, 1894.¹³⁶

In addition to editorial articles, poetry, literature, exchanges from other papers, and advertisements, "El Noticioso" published a large volume of news, for which it became famous. In accordance with the journalistic custom of the time, the news of "El Noticioso" was colorfully written, with plenty of the writer's opinions and comments sandwiched in among the facts. The director, Sr. Pola, was himself one of the first great reporters of Mexico. An English-language contemporary, "The Mexican Herald," said of his paper, "'El Noticioso,' which is the great penny morning paper of the city, and crammed full of news, is, we hear, a profitable venture. The editors and reporters sit up all night to make a lively paper of it, and they succeed."¹³⁷ Single copies of "El Noticioso" sold for one centavo; back numbers, three centavos. A subscription for three months cost 75 cents American; for six months, \$1.25 American; and for one year, \$2.00 in American money. The paper appeared daily except on Mondays, until its suspension in 1897.

An afternoon contemporary of "El Noticioso" was "El Globo" which also sold at one centavo a copy. It was owned by Eusebio Sánchez and Carlos Roumagnac. "Gil Blas" sold for two centavos in Mexico City and three centavos in the States. The favor enjoyed by these papers indicated that the cheap press was gaining a foothold in Mexico.

In the field of the weekly press, the leading periodical was the literary magazine, "Revista Azul," published at Mexico City from May 6, 1894, to October 11, 1896.¹³⁸ It was founded by Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera and Carlos Díaz Dufóo, and concerned

135. Priestley, *Op. Cit.*, p. 386.

136. "El Noticioso"; diario de la mañana. Primera época. Núm. 117. México, Sábado 1 de Septiembre de 1894. Imp. El Noticioso.

137. This is an editorial paragraph in "The Mexican Herald," Vol. I, No. 34, p. 2.

138. "Revista Azul"; el domingo de "El Partido Liberal." México. Imp. del Partido Liberal. Tomo I, Núm. 1, 6 de Mayo de 1894.

itself only with works of literary art in prose and verse. According to Coester, the names of nearly every writer interested in the "modernista" movement in literature appear in its pages.¹³⁹ Among its staff writers were José Juan Tablada, Luis G. Urbina, Balbino Dávalos, Jesús Urueta, Federico Gamboa, Justo Sierra, Salvador Díaz Mirón, Manuel José Othón, Juan de Dios Peza, Ignacio M. Altamirano, Dr. Manuel Flores, Amado Nervo and Ángel de Campo. The South American contributors, says Miss Nell Walker,¹⁴⁰ included Rubén Darío—really a Nicaraguan—José Santos Chocano, José Asunción Silva, and N. Bolet Peraza. The two outstanding Cuban contributors were Julián del Casal and José Martí. The review also printed productions by literary men of France, Spain and other countries, and the names of older authors, as well as contemporary ones, are to be found in its columns.

Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera, who was a capable newspaper man by vocation and a notable poet by avocation, was born at Mexico City December 22, 1859, and died there February 3, 1895. At the age of 15 years he began his journalistic career, which lasted until the time of his death. He wrote poems, theatrical criticism and other signed articles, news items, and short stories, for many papers, including "La Iberia," "La Voz de México," "El Liceo Mexicano," "El Federalista," "Revista Nacional," "El Partido Liberal," "La Libertad," "El Nacional," "El Mundo Literario Ilustrado," "El Noticioso" of Caballero; and the "Revista Azul," which he himself directed. Among the various pseudonyms with which he signed his articles, the most famous is "El Duque Job," which has come to be applied to him as an affectionate nickname.¹⁴¹

According to Rafael Heliodoro Valle, Nájera introduced the artistic feature story into Mexican journalism. Nájera's journalistic work in prose was marked by grace and good taste. He abandoned the heavy Spanish type of writing for the lighter French style. As a prose writer, his clear logic and vehemence stand out in sharp contrast with his vague sentimentality as a poet. Sr. Heliodoro Valle, who places "El Duque Job" on a plane with Lizardi as an intellectual force in Mexico and Spanish America, says that Nájera understood very well the economic and spiritual condition of his people, and even converted the press into a rostrum from which, in lay sermons, he discussed such important problems as feminism, divorce, pulque, and the Indians.

In 1895 "The Mexican Herald," an English-language paper, was founded at Mexico City. It superseded "The Two Republics," established in 1867, which under the able direction of M. Clark had been outstanding for many years among the English-language papers in Mexico, as an organ of the American colony in the national capital. The earliest issue of "The Mexican Herald" available at the National Library of Mexico is No. 34 of Vol. I, dated October 4, 1895.¹⁴² It was issued seven days a week until its suspension in 1913, since which time no English-language daily has been published at Mexico City by Americans.

"The Mexican Herald" was a newsy, liberal paper with a conservative but readable make-up. Its first editor was F. R. Guernsey, F. E. Young being manager,

139. Coester, *Op. Cit.*, p. 365.

140. Walker, *The Life and Works of Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera*, p. 21.

141. Nájera chose this pen name because he was enthused with a Spanish play, "Lo Positivo," by Tamayo y Baus, which was based on a French comedy, "Le Duc Job," by León Laya. For a fuller discussion of the pen names used by Nájera, cf. Miss Walker's study, pp. 18-19.

142. "The Mexican Herald." Herald Building, Coliseo Viejo 17, Mexico City. Published by the Mexican Publishing Company, Limited. Vol. I, No. 34, Friday morning, October 4, 1895.

L. C. Simonds assistant editor, T. C. Graham city editor, and M. J. Foran night editor. The paper received full Associated Press service daily. It was delivered by carriers throughout Mexico City for \$1 a month, and single copies sold for 5 cents. The paper in its announcement of its price did not specify whether the price was in Mexican or in American money—but it probably meant Mexican, as American money does not circulate in Mexico City. This would indicate that a monthly subscription cost 50 cents American, and a single copy the equivalent of 2 1-2 cents American.

The independence and open-mindedness of the Herald's editorial policy is illustrated by an editorial which it published on October 6, 1895, in answer to charges that it was favoring the Catholic Church against the Protestant missionaries in Mexico. Part of the article, which is entitled, "The Herald Offers a Fair Field to All," is as follows¹⁴³:

Some of the friends of the Protestant missionaries here have, we regret to say, felt that The Herald was not inclined to give them as fair treatment, and as much space in its columns, as has been accorded to their antagonists. The missionaries are too retiring; The Herald has equal space for whatever they may choose to say as for their rivals of the Elder Church. We offer to all Catholics and Protestants, and to all Agnostics of the Huxley type, an ample arena wherein they may fight out their disputes, and will act merely as an umpire to see fair play! This journal has no distinctive set of religious opinions to maintain, for it is a public newspaper . . . There is ample room in Mexico for the labors of all good and Christian men and women, and even the Agnostic, swayed by a love of humankind, can accomplish much.

In addition to representing the interests of the American colony in Mexico, the Herald, as "The Two Republics" had done previously, sought to consolidate the feeling of friendship between Mexico and the United States. The Herald printed much news from the United States, the states and territories of the Mexican Republic, and from other parts of the world. Its editorial policy was intelligent and independent. Its columns were devoted to clean, fresh, interesting material, written simply and clearly.

The life of Mexican newspaper men in the latter part of the last century sometimes offered much fame; but rarely, appreciable pecuniary rewards. Poverty was the one attribute common to all, unless they had some outside source of income. No matter how influential or how obscure, few received decent salaries—and this applied not only to the writers, but also to the cartoonists, printers, and other employes. Salaries were so low that many journalists, including Gutiérrez Nájera, were buried in paupers' graves. Working hours were long. An eight-hour day for Mexican newspaper men was not even thought of at that time; and, as in the United States, the typewriter had not yet come into use. Referring to the Mexican journalists of that time, a modern writer picturesquely exclaims: "They flew, from sheer thinness, on wings of glory."¹⁴⁴

Like the journalists of modern times, those of that day were highly versatile. Many were poets, historians, fiction writers, politicians, and educators. In their newspaper work, of course, they were expected to treat a great variety of subjects. Moved by this truth, Gutiérrez Nájera wrote an article entitled, "Su Majestad el periodista", in which he exclaimed¹⁴⁵:

There is no torture comparable to that which the newspaper man in Mexico suffers. The carpenter, the tailor, or the painter can adjust himself by knowing the principles and rules of his trade, but the newspaper man must be not only the 'homo duplex' of whom the Latin used to speak, but the man who, like the gods of Valhalla,

143. "The Mexican Herald", Vol. I, No. 36, p. 2.

144. Vindex. "Excelsior," México, D. F., Marzo 18 de 1927.

145. Walker, *Op. Cit.*, p. 20.

can divide himself into a thousand pieces and remain whole. Yesterday he was an economist, today he is a theologian, tomorrow he will be a Hebraist or a miller. He must know how good bread is made, and what are the laws of evolution; there is no science with which he is not obliged to be acquainted, nor art with whose secrets he should be unfamiliar; the same pen with which last night he sketched the account of a dance or a show, will serve him tomorrow for writing an article on railroads or banks. And all this without time to open a book or consult a dictionary.

According to Coester, further details of the life of Mexican journalists of that day are given by Emilio Rabasa, born 1856, in a four-volume novel on his native land. Sr. Rabasa, himself a newspaper man, represented Mexico at the A. B. C. conference at Niagara in 1914. His novel also portrays the devious ways by which men rise in Mexican politics and the eagerness for disorder and revolution prevailing among the lower classes of Mexico.¹⁴⁶

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, before the triumph of modern journalism, the press of Mexico showed a marked development over its status at the beginning of the polemical period in 1810. Progress had been slow, but its presence was apparent. During the successive revolutions for independence from Spain, the gazeteer had given way to the pamphleteer and the polemist, and the news was almost entirely neglected in favor of partisan opinionated articles. In the following years, however, although the editorial remained predominant, news was given more importance; and the development of the journal of caricature, the periodical appealing chiefly to women, the high-class literary review, and other special classes of publications indicated that the interests of the journalistic field in Mexico had broadened considerably since the days of the Spanish viceroys. The establishment of small newspapers published in the interests of workingmen, and the limited development of a cheap press, showed a tendency toward extending the scope of newspaper appeal to attract readers of the proletariat. Introduction of various mechanical improvements, especially of the electric telegraph and the typesetting machine, had improved the timeliness and physical appearance of Mexican newspapers. Government interference had undoubtedly retarded the development of the press, but in spite of it the newspapers and periodicals of Mexico were much superior to those of the late colonial period not only in the variety and journalistic flavor of their contents, but also in their physical appearance and in the broader scope of their appeal.

146. Coester, *Op. Cit.*, p. 367.

VI. *The Modern Period*

With the establishment of Spíndola's "El Imparcial" at Mexico City in 1896, begins the period of modern journalism, which is marked by the general relegation of the editorial to a place of importance secondary to that occupied by the news, the general lowering of newspaper prices to a point within the reach of the masses, and the widespread introduction to higher standards of living for Mexican newspaper men. When Spíndola, having regained permission to publish a paper at the national



Two outstanding journalists of the modern period in Mexico: Left, José Gómez Ugarte, the present director of "El Universal," (photo by courtesy of Angel Pola); and, right, the late Rafael Aldúcin, who in 1917 founded the newspaper "Excelsior" in Mexico City (photo by ourtesy of "Excelsior").

capital, returned from Puebla, the dailies of the old style still dominated the journalistic field. These papers filled their columns largely with long editorials; indeed, they printed more editorials than news items. Reporting was criticised as a poor form of journalistic endeavor, and the editorial writers looked with an unfriendly eye on the reporters, who were already commencing to triumph. Most of the leading papers sold for six centavos a copy, a price which comparatively few persons could afford to pay.

Spíndola changed all this. Although his "El Imparcial" was not the first Mexican newspaper that sold for one centavo, it was the first that offered the six-

centavo dailies enough competition to seriously alarm them. This audacious newcomer forced some of the older papers to lower their prices to one centavo¹⁴⁷; and others to go out of business, among the latter "El Siglo XIX" and "El Monitor Republicano," which had been the standard-bearers of the liberal press throughout the greater part of the nineteenth century.

The events surrounding the suspension of García Torres' "Monitor Republicano" symbolize in real life what Ibsen's "The Master Builder" has shown on the stage—the tragic but futile fight of the old generation against the new. Refusing to adopt the dicta of the Spíndola school as to journalistic methods, García, who was "well fixed" financially, finally chose to suspend his paper rather than yield to the demands of the newer journalism.

He was filled with bitterness by the fact that in spite of its immaculate correctness, its perfect printing, its fine white paper and its unquestionable prestige, "El Monitor Republicano" was steadily losing readers. To this proud old conservative, the sensational news reports seemed a sacrilege. Likewise, he could not understand why the masses should eagerly support rival papers that offered special inducements to secure circulation, devoted much space to literary, social, and theatrical chronicles, and printed stereotyped advertisements with flaming letters and illustrations, which he refused to insert in his own paper. He opposed the publication of advertisements on any but the traditional "fourth page," segregated from the regular reading matter; and fought other journalistic innovations, but without success.¹⁴⁸ García Torres was steam-rolled by progressive journalism with a wide popular appeal, as his prototypes in the United States had been overwhelmed by the competition of the inexpensive democratic press earlier in the century.

The leader of the progressives and the father of modern journalism in Mexico was a lawyer, Rafael Reyes Spíndola. A member of a cultured though humble family, he was born at Tlaxiaco, Oaxaca, on October 24, 1860. His early studies were made at the city of Oaxaca, and were of an ecclesiastical nature; he so distinguished himself in them that he was made "familiar"¹⁴⁹ of the Bishop Marquéz. Abandoning the ecclesiastical career, he entered the Instituto de Ciencias y Artes at Oaxaca, from which he received a lawyer's degree. But even before his graduation, he showed his journalistic aptitudes by publishing a small paper entitled "Don Manuel," of jocose character and full of scholastic literature, among the contributors being Ramón Murguía, Fausto Moguel, Manuel H. San Juan, and Luis Fernández del Campo. "Don Manuel" industriously attacked Manuel Iturribaría, president of the local Colegio Católico. It is probable that during his student days Spíndola first developed his musical talents, and in later years he became an accomplished pianist and composer. Nevertheless, music was for him always a hobby, never a profession.

For a short time, Spíndola practiced law, and later held some judicial positions. Becoming interested, meanwhile, in geography, he studied it and wrote a text for the schools of the State of Oaxaca. In 1885 he moved to Morelia, Michoacán, to be private secretary of General Mariano Jiménez, governor of the state, and in October

147. Monterde, Francisco, *Op. Cit.*, p. 10.

148. From the time of the gazettes to the triumph of modern journalism under Spíndola it had been the prevailing custom of the Mexican press to segregate the advertisements, placing them after all other material, on the last page, which was usually the fourth.

149. A "familiar" is an ecclesiastic assistant of a bishop, who generally occupies a place of high esteem in the favor of his employer.

of the same year he married one of his employer's daughters, who was destined to be his life companion.

In 1888 he located at Mexico City, where he established "El Universal." Attempting to introduce a new type of journalism, he was unable to meet the competition of the older papers, and was forced to sell out because of financial difficulties. Thereupon he went to Puebla, where he founded "El Mundo Ilustrado" and operated it in spite of poverty and other hardships. Unable to pay a complete staff of employes, Director Spíndola and his wife were forced to fold the papers themselves.

In 1896 he returned to Mexico City. Delfín Sánchez Ramos and Tomás Branif advanced him 80,000 pesos worth of paper and 100,000 pesos worth of machinery, and on September 12 of that year he founded "El Imparcial," a morning paper that sold for one centavo a copy. President Díaz, recognizing that Spíndola had great talents, offered him a government subsidy, which he at first rejected, but later found it advisable to accept. Spíndola also established "El Mundo," an afternoon daily; and "El Mundo Ilustrado," a Sunday paper. Until his death at Mexico City on January 13, 1922, he never abandoned his obsession for journalism. Many of the leaders in Mexican journalism today, among them the directors of "El Universal" and "Excelsior," received their training on Spíndola's newspapers.

Although Spíndola seems to have centered his affections on the afternoon paper, which at first sold for three centavos a copy and later for two, it was "El Imparcial" that gave him his greatest prestige. The latter paper, which was the semi-official organ of the Díaz government, fulfilled a great educational mission in that it not only gave the proletariat material so written as to be of interest to the lowliest classes, but also sold at a price that even the poorest could afford to pay. "El Imparcial" thus stimulated the development of literacy; it was the first newspaper that taught the Mexican people to read.

The make-up of "El Imparcial" was American. Previously the exploitation of the small notice and the interview had been practically neglected, but Spíndola's morning daily remedied this condition. Under the direction of Manuel León Sánchez, its mechanical department established in Mexico City a thoroughly modern printing establishment, introducing the first Mergenthaler linotypes and the first rotary presses of great production ever used in Mexico. This establishment not only printed Spíndola's newspapers, but it also issued editions of books, among them Cervantes' "Don Quijote"; a Spanish translation of Dumas' "The Three Musketeers"; and various works of Mexican men of letters, including "Monja y Casada," by Riva Palacio.

"El Imparcial" under Spíndola flourished until the downfall of the Díaz government in 1911. Its directors at various times were Spíndola himself, Carlos Díaz Dufío, Dr. Manuel Flores, Lic. Fausto Moguel and Salvador Díaz Mirón. At the downfall of Porfirio's government, the paper decayed in "less able hands than those of its founder."¹⁵⁰ It finally succumbed in 1914 on account of the Carranza revolution. Its property passed to Félix F. Palavicini, who put it in charge of Jesús Urueta, and this talented journalist commenced to issue from its establishment "El Liberal," which was later directed, successively, by Gerzayn Ugarte and Ciro Ceballos.

"El Mundo," in spite of its capable writers, did not prosper, and Spíndola suspended it, to replace it with "El Herald," another evening paper in charge of his son, Luis Reyes Spíndola. "El Mundo Ilustrado," which was well written also, was later sold to Víctor Garcés, who passed it on to Lic. Alfred Chavero. "Under the un-

150. León Sánchez, "El Libro Mexicano," Año I, Núm. 3, pp. 7-8.

cultivated direction of the latter," says López-Dóñez, "the paper failed, for he never wrote in it a line of interest or utility."¹⁵¹

Like his American contemporary Pulitzer, Spíndola the elder was a capable judge of men, and this quality was a considerable factor in his own success. Among those who worked on his papers, in addition to the men previously mentioned, were Francisco Bulnes, Amado Nervo, José Gómez Ugarte, Rodrigo de Llano, Gonzalo A. Espinosa, Jesús Urueta, José Juan Tablada, Luis Urbina, Ángel de Campo, Aurelio Horta, Jesús Valenzuela, Pedro Escalante Palma, Felipe de la Serna, A. V. Venegas, Antonio de la Torre, José M. Gutiérrez, Gabriel Fernández Villanueva, Albert Leduc, Luis Frías Fernández, Miguel Necochea, Carlos and Arturo Valle Gagern, Enrique Bonilla, Heriberto Frías, Antonio Pacheco, José G. Ortiz, and Rubén Campos. His artists included Olvera and Alcalde, and the caricaturist Villanueva.

Spíndola imported Americans to teach the natives how to use the many mechanical facilities he had bought from the United States. But when the Americans caused much internal dissension by treating their Mexican helpers as peons, according to a Mexican writer, Spíndola was forced to send the instructors back to the United States.¹⁵² Nevertheless, his printing establishment progressed. Printers trained in Spíndola's employ later became directors of the press rooms of "Excelsior," "El Universal," Madero's now defunct "El Demócrata," and of other notable establishments in Mexico City and throughout the States of the Republic.

In 1904, Miguel Necochea, who had formerly written for Spíndola, established at Mexico City in partnership with Pedro Hagelstein "Los Sucesos," a daily which emphasized sensational reporting. The following year, "La Correspondencia de España," directed by Francisco Durante, was founded, and showed marked hostility to "El Correo Español," with which it competed for the favor of the Spanish colony in Mexico. But not until 1907 was a newspaper established which could compete creditably with "El Imparcial."

The newspaper which furnished this competition was "El Diario," founded at Mexico City October 13, 1907, by Ernesto Simondetti and Juan Sánchez Azcona. In politics, as in other fields, it was a strong opponent of "El Imparcial." At first Simondetti was manager, but that office was later occupied successively by his partner and by Alfredo Híjar y Haro. Adopting an American make-up, "El Diario" used sensational headlines, and some other features of yellow journalism as well. Armando Morales Puente was especially adept at writing sensational headlines, and his ability pleased Simondetti and O'Brien, an American journalist whom Simondetti had imported. The paper's artist was Álvaro Pruneda. Among its writers were Frías Fernández, Larrañaga Portugal, Torres Palomar, and Jacobo Pratl. The latter was affectionately known by his colleagues as "Pata Larga"; an American would have called him "Daddy Longlegs." He was noted for his articles on bullfights, and was the terror of the Spanish matadors.

Simultaneously with the daily press, the field of the reviews showed a marked development. In addition to the "Revista Azul" and "El Mundo Ilustrado," the nineties had seen the establishment of "México Gráfico," in which Villasana scattered his good humor in colored lithographs; and of the "Mundo Cómico," directed by the poet Amado Nervo and illustrated by Olvera, which appeared once every fifteen days. In 1898, "El Fígaro Mexicano," directed by José Rafael Guadalajara, was

151. López-Dóñez, "Las Artes Gráficas en México," Año III, Núms. 45 y 46, p. 15.

152. León Sánchez. *Op. Cit.* in "El Libro Mexicano," p. 7.

suspended, having been published since 1879. The "Revista Moderna," founded in 1898, was the review of transition between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. On its staff were such notable men of letters as Urbina, Nervo, Díaz Mirón, Valenzuela, Rebolledo, Icaza, Salazar, and Tablada.¹⁵³ For more than a decade the "Revista Moderna" was the standard-bearer of literary taste in Mexico. Its artist, Julio Ruelas, illustrated with vignettes the works of many contributors of poetry and prose. In 1902 was founded the "Semanario Literario Ilustrado," which, like the majority of Mexican reviews, lasted less than one year. In 1907 was established "El Imparcial Ilustrado"; and in 1909, "Actualidades." These reviews faced the competition of such contemporaries as "El Tiempo Ilustrado," "Arte y Letras," "La Semana Ilustrada," "La Ilustración Semanal," "Ateneo," "Rojo y Gualda," "Novedades" and "Cosmos," the latter being the first magazine published in Mexico City. Some of these publications managed to sustain themselves until the hard times of the Madero revolution.

An article in an American magazine gives some idea of the status of the Mexican press in 1905.¹⁵⁴ Mexico City, naturally, was the center for periodicals, for all those interested in national politics made the capital their headquarters and established their organs there. "El Imparcial" was the leading daily, boasting a circulation of 75,000 copies; Spíndola's "El Mundo" sold 30,000 daily. "El Popular," edited by Francisco Montes de Oca, ranked next to "El Imparcial," with a circulation of 50,000. Montes de Oca also edited an afternoon paper, the "Argos," devoted to humorous, fictitious news, which was widely read. Catholic dailies were widely read, Agüeros' "El Tiempo" being the leading one.

Among the foreign papers of the capital, "The Mexican Herald," with a daily circulation of 10,000 copies, was a favorite organ with Mexican officials. It was edited by Frederick Guernsey, an able writer. The "Correo Español" and the "Courrier du Mexique" were the leading organs, respectively, of the Spanish and French colonies. Among the other English papers of Mexico City were the "Daily Record," an afternoon paper, and "The Mexico Investor." The second best English-language daily of the country was the "News" of Monterrey. Guadalajara had two English weeklies, the "Times" and the "News."

Most of the smaller cities, according to "F. S.," had too many periodicals or none whatever. For instance, Guaymas had four dailies for a population of 7,000, while Tulancingo, with a population of 30,000, had no paper whatever, daily or weekly. In Guadalajara, the second largest city, there was the "Diario de Jalisco," with morning and afternoon editions, and a circulation of 20,000. Other dailies of that city were "Jalisciense," issuing 10,000 copies daily, and "Comercio." Puebla, the Catholic center, with but little less population than Guadalajara, had no daily. In Veracruz, a liberal stronghold, there were several dailies, of which the "Opinión," edited by Francisco Arias, was the leader, having morning and afternoon editions. The "Heraldo" and "Orden Público" were circulated extensively. Monterrey had two dailies in Spanish, the "Constitución," and the "Demócrata"; San Luis Potosí, one, the "Cuarto Poder"; Chihuahua one, the "Eco de Chihuahua"; Tampico one, the "Progreso"; and Oaxaca one, the "Oaxaqueño." At Mexico City, the "Heraldo Agrícola" was the agriculturists' organ; and the "Colmillo Público," a daily journal of caricatures edited by Fernández Pérez in opposition to the Díaz government,

153. Vasconcelos, José. "Bulletin Pan American Union," *IL*, p. 57.

154. F. S. "What the People Read in Mexico." In "The American Monthly Review of Reviews," New York, June, 1905. XXXI, pp. 687-688.

claimed a circulation of 25,000, with some of Mexico's ablest writers contributing to its columns over assumed names.

The article just referred to states that in 1905, "El País" of Mexico City was surpassed by "El Tiempo" in the ranks of the Catholic press.¹⁵⁵ In 1910, the former still continued to be a rather mediocre paper, circulating as many as 10,000 copies only because many people were obligated to support the enterprise on account of religious and political convictions. But in that year, says a former employe, "Manuel León Sánchez, its director, changed it from a doctrinary to an industrial newspaper; and a year later, in 1911, 'El País' had a circulation of more than 200,000, the largest in Mexico."¹⁵⁶

"El País" had been founded in January, 1899, by Sánchez Santos, as a Catholic organ selling at one centavo a copy to compete with "El Imparcial." In addition to its notable editorials, the paper also gave much importance to reporting. At first "El País" was self-supporting, but after a few years it became the property of a new company, the "Compañía Editorial Católica, S. C. L." Sánchez Santos was later succeeded as director by León Sánchez, who was followed in that capacity by Lic. José Elguero. The last director was Antonio Enríquez; among the editorial chiefs at various times were Gonzalo de la Parra and Carlos Valle Gagern.

Sánchez Santos, although a brilliant polemist and one of the leading editorial writers of his day, was unsuccessful as a newspaper executive. It was his belief that the merit of brilliant articles alone would establish a large circulation for a newspaper, but his theory when put into practice proved incorrect. Throughout his life, he shone as a writer, attaining fame on "La Voz de México," "El Nacional," "El Día," and especially "El Tiempo," for his "column" entitled "Guerrilleras." Many of his editorials for "El País" have been collected, annotated, and published by a former colleague.¹⁵⁷ Sánchez Santos was a victim of the Madero revolution. He was thrown into prison by President Madero, and died September 8, 1912, not long after his release.

In November, 1910, Francisco I. Madero inaugurated a revolution against President Díaz, which was destined to triumph in seven months, with only one real fight. Ciudad Juárez fell to the rebels on May 9, 1911, in a sharp action in which Villa won distinction. Few troops were involved. Madero was not present. According to Priestley, public opinion, not military success, had won the revolution.¹⁵⁸ In 1912, the atmosphere was full of criticism of Madero. The newspapers called for rebellion, the putative chief of which would be Félix Díaz. In 1913, a coup d'état under Victoriano Huerta succeeded, and Madero, who had been president since 1911, was overthrown and killed. While Félix Díaz was absent from the Citadel on a call at the American embassy, a number of his associates began to celebrate their victory with wine and song. In their enthusiasm, they set forth and burned the building used

155. F. S., *Op. Cit.*, p. 687.

156. Valle Gagern, Carlos, *El Renacimiento de las Artes Gráficas en México*, p. 31. I was told by Carlos Díaz Dufóo and by a son of Manuel León Sánchez that "El País" attained a daily circulation of 250,000 copies.

157. Sánchez Santos, Trinidad. *Editoriales de "El País" en 1910, 1911 y 1912*. Compilados y anotados por Manuel León Sánchez, gerente general de la Compañía Editorial Católica hasta la muerte de su fundador. Ediciones León Sánchez. México D. F., MCMXXIII. The last editorial in this collection is dated December 14, 1911. At the end is a note in which the publisher states that he finds so much of importance in the editorials of 1912 that he is planning to issue a separate volume of them.

158. Priestley, *Op. Cit.*, p. 399.

by "La Nueva Era," a newspaper created by Gustavo Madero and published in the interest of the fallen régime of his brother Francisco.

"La Nueva Era" had enjoyed great prestige in the journalistic field, chiefly because of the editorials of Jesús Urueta, one of the newspaper men who led the Mexican revolution in 1910. He was born in Chihuahua in 1869. Besides being one of the greatest editorial writers of his day, Urueta is said to have been one of the most fascinating orators who ever used the Spanish language. He made magnificent political addresses, and was a powerful polemist. Early in his career he wrote for "El Siglo XIX," and later for other papers, including "El Imparcial." In 1911 he was one of the writers of the editorial page of "La Nueva Era," official organ of the Madero partisans. He was also a man of letters with a very good prose style, and at the same time a humanist. Afterward, he became a congressman, and followed Carranza to Veracruz. In spite of his attacks on Obregón, the latter appointed him minister to Argentina, and he died in Buenos Aires in 1922.

In 1885, at the invitation of the Associated Press, a group of newspaper men representing about twenty of the leading Mexican periodicals had toured the United States. Such a visit had naturally helped to create a friendlier feeling between the two republics; and in 1911, possibly with this precedent in mind, Mexican journalists organized a similar tour. Prominent newspaper men from Mexico City, Veracruz, Puebla, Guadalupe, Saltillo, Monterrey, Tampico, and Yucatán were in the party, which was welcomed by President Woodrow Wilson at Washington with these words: "I have never received a group of men who were more welcome than you are, because it has been one of my distresses during the period of my presidency that the Mexican people did not more thoroughly understand the attitude of the United States toward Mexico."¹⁵⁹ He then proceeded to explain his policy toward the southern Republic.

At the fall of Madero in 1913, power was seized by General Victoriano Huerta, who finally abandoned the country in 1915 in the face of the victorious constitutional movement led by Venustiano Carranza. The organ of Huerta's régime was "El Independiente," established at Mexico City in 1913 and directed by Luis del Toro and Salvador Pozos.

On September 15 of the following year, Rafael Martínez, familiarly known as "Rip-Rip," established at Mexico City a metropolitan edition of "El Demócrata," pledged to carry on the ideals of Francisco I. Madero. The ill-fated ex-president had first established the paper at Coahuila in 1905 as a proponent of a revolution of the Mexican masses six years before he was to be swept into the executive chair on the crest of the revolt. At the time of the introduction of the paper into the metropolitan field, daily editions of it were published at Puebla, Monterrey, San Luis Potosí and Piedras Negras, and these were continued. "El Demócrata" called itself a "free daily of politics and information."¹⁶⁰ Martínez announced that it would "fight constantly for democratic principles and for the welfare of the Mexican People, as Madero did." This four-page paper, selling at three centavos a copy, well illustrated and with an American make-up, attained political importance in the metropolitan field, but it failed to prosper financially. After Martínez left it, it perished, as one writer puts it, "for lack of oxygen," on May 9, 1926.¹⁶¹

159. Anon. "Distinguished Mexican Editors Visit the United States." In "Bulletin Pan-American Union," XLVI, p. 710.

160. "El Demócrata"; diario libre de política e información. Rafael Martínez, director general. México, D. F., 15 de Septiembre de 1914. Tomo I, Núm. 1, cf. p. 4.

161. López-Dóñez, "Las Artes Gráficas en México," Año III, Núm. 40, p. 11.

On October 1, 1916, Félix F. Palavicini founded at Mexico City a morning newspaper which is now one of the two greatest dailies of the Republic, namely, "El Universal." From its first issue, the paper has been an example of modern, wide-awake journalism, with well-written news, editorials, feature material and special articles, and copious and graphic illustrations. Its make-up shows a strong American influence. Published by the Compañía Periodística Nacional, S. A., "El Universal" was edited by Palavicini for several years. At present, it is under the direction of José Gómez Ugarte.

Similar in many ways to "El Universal" is its morning rival of the capital, "Excelsior," whose make-up patterns after that of the New York Times. "Excelsior" was established by Rafael Aldúcin on March 18, 1917. It is now directed by Rodrigo de Llano. Like its rival, it sells at 10 centavos a copy on week days. Both papers publish enlarged Sunday editions with magazine sections, rotogravure, comic strips and other features similar to those found in American Sunday papers. The Sunday edition sells for 15 centavos a copy. Each paper has a page in English every day, that department being in charge of Harry Nicholls for "El Universal" and of Jack Starr-Hunt for "Excelsior."

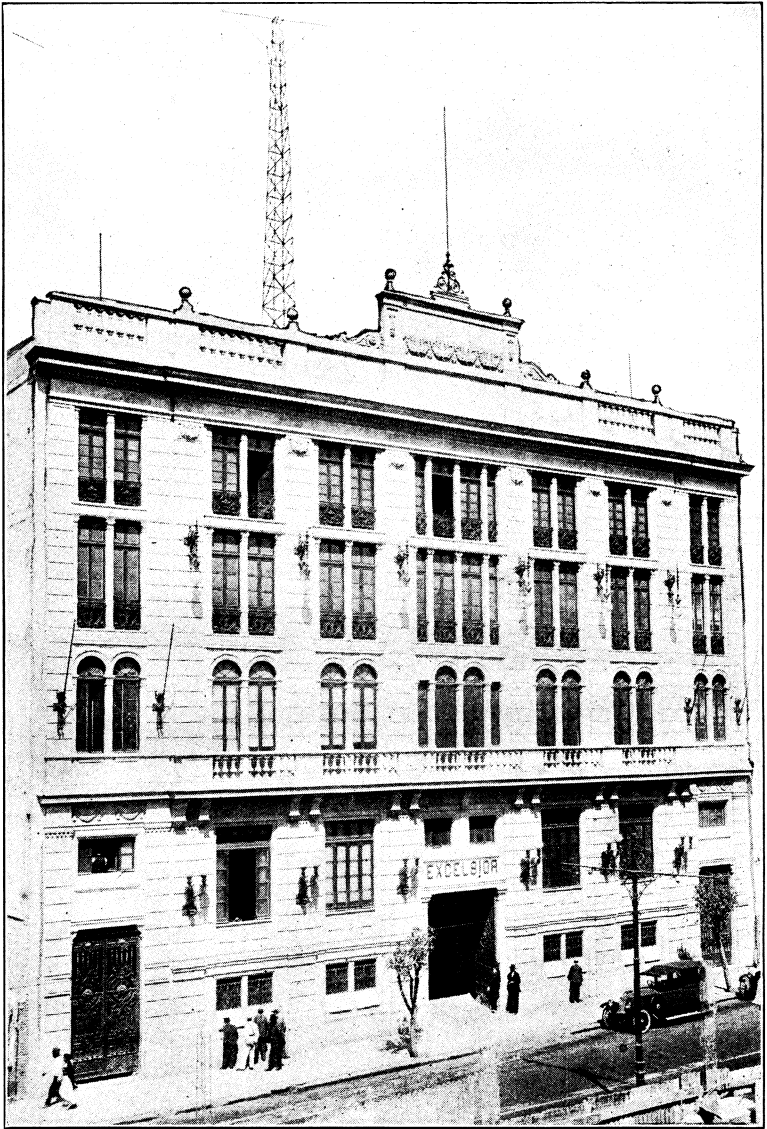
In politics, both papers are conservative. They accept the fact that the Mexican revolution begun by Madero has won, but they assert that it has been destructive. Now it is necessary to construct, they declare, and so they help any movement which is of a constructive nature, providing that movement is not supported by the rival paper. Each year "El Universal" sponsors a national oratorical contest, which is of great educational value. "Excelsior" has originated and still sponsors "Mothers' Day," which is now officially accepted by the government. Both papers have Associated Press franchises and the services of various syndicates, in addition to the special dispatches from their correspondents throughout Mexico, and in the United States and other parts of the world.

Another newspaper that was modern in every sense, but has not survived to the present date, was "El Heraldo de México," established at Mexico City on April 27, 1919. Its publisher was the Compañía Editorial Mexicana, S. A.; its general president, Salvador S. Alvarado; general manager, Ing. F. Puga; managing director, Modesto C. Rolland; chief of reporters Miguel Necochea; and administrator, Miguel Olvera. "El Heraldo" sold for 5 centavos a copy. It was well illustrated, carried the United Press service, and used American make-up and reportorial style, inclining somewhat to sensationalism.

On February 1, 1922, the Compañía Periodística Nacional, S. A., introduced into the metropolitan field "El Universal Gráfico," an afternoon "tabloid," appearing on week days only. Dr. J. M. Puig Casauranc, now federal secretary of education for Mexico, was its political editor. It was directed by José González and administered by José M. Mantilla. As in its first issue, it still publishes sixteen pages daily, the front and rear pages being devoted to photographs; and announces its price as 5 centavos a copy. It contains fewer photographs and less sensational material than its American contemporaries; and has higher cultural standards, one indication of which is that in place of comic strips it publishes a daily chess section, and another, that some of Mexico's leading men of letters at times contribute to its columns, as they do also to those of the larger papers. Its present director is Ernesto Hidalgo.

During the Obregón presidential administration, prominent newspaper editors were hostile to the chief executive,¹⁶² and attacked him openly and vigorously. In spite of his continual quarrels with the press, he allowed its representatives full free-

162. Hanna, Paul, "The Nation," CXII, p. 585.



The newspaper "Excelsior's" building in Mexico City (photo by courtesy of "Excelsior").

dom, and the reason for this tolerance is still a moot question in Mexican newspaper circles. It is charged by some that Obregón allowed freedom of the press so that he might put his generosity on display; but this, naturally, is denied by his partisans.

In Mexico, freedom of the press has been stipulated in each of the constitutions since that of 1824, and was demanded in that of Apátzingam in 1814, though the latter document never really went into effect because the country did not gain independence from Spain until 1821. In actual practice, the application of the articles concerning freedom of the press, speech and similar immunities depends on the person of the Mexican president. In some epochs the chief executives have permitted freedom of the press, and in others they have not. In times of war or other crises, when the government's security is menaced, it is customary, I was told by a prominent Mexican newspaper man, for the president to call the leading editors to a conference at the National Palace. "Please moderate the news," he may request. "We believe that you and the government are friends, and wish to remain so." The next day, the press suppresses much news unfavorable to the government. Some days, when members of the press do not accept censorship, the president sends a man familiar with journalism to revise the disagreeable issues of the rebellious papers. The censorship usually touches only the larger papers, the small ones often being allowed to say anything they please, for they have few readers and little influence.

Of the many small political newspapers still in publication at Mexico City during the past summer was "El Yunque," a semi-weekly directed by Daniel R. de la Vega. It is doubtful if many other papers were as bold or as bitter as this one in their attacks on the Mexican government, yet "El Yunque" was apparently unmolested by official interference. As if in challenge to the authorities, it printed in an "ear"¹⁶³ on the front page of each issue the seventh article of the federal constitution, which among other provisions states that the liberty of writing and publishing writings upon all subjects is inviolable, that no law nor authority can establish prior censorship, and that freedom of the press has no other limitations than respect for private life, morality, and public peace.¹⁶⁴

In 1924, General Plutarco Elías Calles, who is now president of Mexico, succeeded Obregón in the executive chair. That Calles has long had an interest in journalism is illustrated by the fact that in 1898, when he was a school-teacher in Guaymas, Sonora, he founded and directed "El Siglo XX," a small newspaper written by his students. The paper was dedicated to combat the ignorance of the Indians and mestizos who often lived in a state of misery, without even the most elementary instruction. "The base of the future," he wrote in this paper, "is education";¹⁶⁵ and at present he is seeking to carry out the aims expressed in "El Siglo XX" by an extensive system of federal rural schools under the direction of Moisés Sáenz, assistant secretary of education.

In October, 1927, the government of Calles was temporarily menaced by a military revolution led by Gómez and Serrano, which was put down promptly and severely. Three prominent Mexican newspaper men, charged with aiding the revolt, were deported to the United States. They were Félix F. Palavicini, founder of "El Universal"; José Elguero, chief editorial writer for "Excelsior"; and Victoriano

163. An "ear" is a rectangular space at the side of the title of a paper, and usually contains a notice of some sort, as of the weather, or of advertisements on the inner pages of the paper.

164. "El Yunque"; periódico político. Año I, Núm. 128, p. 1.

165. Secretaría de Educación Pública. *El Libro y el Pueblo*, IV, Núms. 4-6, pp. 435-437.

Salado Álvarez, editorial staff writer for the same paper. Palavicini at the time was director of a newly founded "weekly review of ideas," "El Pensamiento," concerned chiefly with political problems, but also dabbling in poetry, literature, and kindred subjects. Salado Álvarez is a historian, academician, journalist, novelist, and diplomat, whose specialty is historical affairs, and who has been minister of Mexico in Brazil, and lived for some time in San Francisco on a more conventional visit to the United States several years ago. He was formerly on the staff of Spíndola's "El Imparcial." After the revolution had been put down, Calles lifted the telegraph censorship which he had established in April, 1927, and which had been a handicap to press correspondents in Mexico.

A survey of present conditions in Mexican journalism could hardly fail to impress an observer with the important influence which Rafael Reyes Spíndola, though dead, still exercises over the field through the men he trained on "El Imparcial." At the head of "El Universal" is José Gómez Ugarte, who was secretary of redaction, or chief of all reporters, on Spíndola's morning paper. Gómez Ugarte, who is very studious, is the author of a book of humorous verse on political topics. The director of "Excelsior," Rodrigo de Llano, was a reporter for "El Imparcial." According to a colleague, he is very active and intelligent, and has shown fine judgment as a journalist. He formerly lived in the United States. Gonzalo Espinosa, who started on the same paper, is director of "Jueves de Excelsior," a review in rotogravure, chiefly devoted to photographs, which appears each Thursday.

Carlos Díaz Dufío, a former colleague of Gutiérrez Nájera, also wrote for Spíndola. Díaz Dufío, who is the oldest practicing newspaper man in Mexico, has worked on newspapers and other periodicals there for more than fifty years. He now lives in Tacuba, a suburb of Mexico City. At his home he writes articles for "Excelsior," and brings them to the office in the metropolis. On the same street as the newspaper building is the law office of his son, Carlos Díaz Dufío, Jr., who was Mexican consul fifteen years ago in Kansas City, Mo.

Francisco Bulnes, a polemical writer who had worked for "El Siglo XIX" and later for "El Imparcial," was a powerful force in modern Mexican journalism until the time of his death on September 22, 1924. At the head of "La Prensa," a daily newspaper which he founded and directed, Bulnes occupied an important place in the metropolitan field during the latter part of the Díaz régime and the administrations which followed. He was an impulsive political writer, whose work was marked by energy and clearness. A social, political and historical economist of the Científico party, Bulnes was a deputy to the Congreso de la Unión for many years. He was an orator and parliamentarian. At the end of the past century, when most newspaper men were poverty-stricken, Bulnes stood out as an exception because of the considerable funds he earned as an engineer,¹⁶⁶ while also carrying on his journalistic activities. In later years, he continued profitably in the engineering profession; but it is as a journalist and politician that he is best known.

José Juan Tablada, now living in New York, who worked on "El Imparcial," is a master feature writer. He collects his feature stories and publishes them in book form. A poet, a master of prose, and an antiquarian chiefly interested in artistic archeology, Tablada has carried on an interesting campaign abroad to further the artistic interests of Mexico.

Federico Gamboa, formerly on the staff of the "Diario del Hogar," is now one of the leading writers for "El Universal." He is a notable novelist, his most popular novel being "Santa." Gamboa, who was Mexican minister abroad, is a retired diplo-

166. Vindex. *Op. Cit.* in "Excelsior."

mat. At present, in addition to being a journalist, he is a professor. He is an authority on Mexican customs.

One of the younger Mexican newspaper men is Antonio Vargas, a member of the staff of "El Universal." When Dean Walter Williams of the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri visited the National University of Mexico in March, 1926, to lecture on journalism, he spoke in English. Vargas, who served as interpreter, then explained Dean Williams' lectures in Spanish. Dean Williams jokingly remarked on his return to Columbia that each of his own lectures "lasted ten minutes, and then the interpreter would speak for fifty minutes." Many practicing journalists attended the course, and those who satisfactorily passed an examination on it at the end were awarded suitable diplomas.¹⁶⁷ In the summer of 1926, Lic. Julio Jiménez Rueda visited the University of Missouri and lectured there in appreciation of the visit of Dean Williams to Mexico. Since the dean's trip to Mexico, plans to establish a school of journalism in Mexico have gained momentum. Vargas is also in charge of excursions for Americans at the International Summer School conducted annually by the National University of Mexico.

According to the latest list available, which was published by the Mexican Postoffice Department in February, 1927, journalism is now carried on in all states and territories of the Republic. The list is not complete; for example, it fails to include "El Sol" and "El Monitor Republicano," Mexico City dailies. The distribution of daily newspapers, according to the list, is as follows:¹⁶⁸

Aguascalientes, Ags.	2
La Paz, B. Cfa.	1
Torreon, Coah.	2
Ciudad Juarez, Chih.	2
Chihuahua, Chih.	3
Mexico, D. F.	9
Leon, Gto.	2
Pachuca, Hgo.	2
Guadalajara, Jal.	5
Morelia, Mich.	1
Monterrey, N. L.	5
Oaxaca, Oax.	2
Puebla, Pue.	2
San Luis Potosi, S. L. P.	3
Culiacan, Sin.	1
Mazatlan, Sin.	1
Guaymas, Son.	2
Hermosillo, Son.	2
Navojoa, Son.	1
Tampico, Tam.	3
Jalapa, Vera.	1
Veracruz, Ver.	1
Merida, Yuc.	4

This makes a total of fifty-seven daily Mexican newspapers registered at the Mexican postoffice previous to February 15, 1927. Since new periodicals are constantly being established in Mexico and others are failing, the number of those published is, of course, constantly changing.

English-language publications are issued at Mexicali, B. Cfa.; Chihuahua, Chih.; México, D. F.; and Tampico, Tam.; Chinese periodicals, at Hermosillo, Son.;

167. Cf. "Boletín de la Universidad Nacional de México." Tomo II, Núms. 15, 16 y 17, pp. 99-102, for an account of Dean Williams' visit.

168. "Indicador del Servicio Postal"; órgano oficial de la Dirección General de Correos. Año XXXVI, Núm. 3. México, D. F., 15 de Febrero de 1927.

Nogales, Son.; Tampico, Tam.; and México, D. F. In the latter city are published a German weekly, "Deutsche Zeitung von Mexiko"; two Arabic weeklies, "Al Gurbal" and "Al Ettchad el Suri"; a weekly in Spanish and Arabic, "Al Jawater" (Las Ideas); and a French tri-weekly, "Journal Francaise du Mexique." "Mexican Life," a luxurious monthly magazine selling for one peso and edited by Howard S. Phillips, sets the pace for English-language periodicals in Mexico. Several periodicals in English and Spanish are issued at the capital, the most notable being "Mexican Folkways," edited by Mrs. Frances Toor. Mrs. Toor was a professor of Mexican folkways, dances and songs at the International Summer School in 1927.

"El Día Español," a daily newspaper founded May 1, 1919, is the organ of the Spanish colony in Mexico City. It is directed by Joaquín González Pastor, and its manager is Fernando Tejedor. It emphasizes news of Spain and of Spaniards now living in the Mexican Republic.

Besides the general newspapers, there are periodicals devoted to many interests. Various publications cater respectively to literature, fashions, finance, education, mining, bullfighting, agriculture, politics, science, socialism, humor, spiritualism, Masonry, the automobile world, theosophy, varieties, culture, forestry, sports, Rotary Clubs, evangelism, the army, religion, chess, and other special topics.

As to the circulation of the various journalistic publications of Mexico, that is difficult to determine exactly. The reason for this is that the southern Republic has no institution comparable to the Audit Bureau of Circulations, a co-operative organization supported by the press itself, which in the United States furnishes a reliable medium for the unbiased gathering and publication of circulation figures of most of the important newspapers. In giving circulation figures of periodicals of various epochs, I have noticed, Mexican writers have shown a tendency to give Mexican papers larger circulations than do American investigators. Whether this discrepancy is due to the optimism of the former or to a desire on the part of the latter to undervalue Mexican journalistic achievement is a problem which the present writer does not feel capable of solving. However, the citation of figures compiled by "Editor & Publisher," New York trade journal, may be of value in indicating at least the comparative distribution of circulation, for it is apparently an unbiased survey carried out for the convenience of prospective advertisers in Mexico.¹⁶⁹

The statistics deal with the circulations of Mexican periodicals in 1926. "El Universal" of Mexico City is given the largest daily circulation in the Republic, 60,000 copies. "Excelsior" has 45,000 and "El Universal Gráfico," 20,000 circulation. "El Informador" leads in Guadalajara, with 27,500; the "Diario de Yucatán" in Mérida with 15,000; "El Dictámen" in Veracruz with 11,000; "El Porvenir" in Monterrey with 12,500; "El Siglo" in Torreon with 9,000; and "El Mundo" in Tampico with 6,000. Of the trade publications, the largest circulation is 15,000, enjoyed by the English-language weekly appealing chiefly to Americans, the "Weekly News Bulletin of the American Chamber of Commerce." "El Sol," Monterrey evening daily, has 10,000 circulation.

The leading newspapers of Mexico do not have the official support of the government. It is improbable that papers supported too openly by the administration would receive sufficient financial support from the public. The people would assume that they would not tell the truth about the authorities, but would devote themselves to printing only material favorable to them. However, some of the minor papers are protected by the government by means of subscriptions or of money subsidies. "El

169. *International Year Book* of the "Editor and Publisher," New York, Jan. 29, 1927. Cf. pp. 261-262.

Sol," an afternoon daily of the capital published as a workingmen's organ, is an example of a quasi-official paper in that the government gives it facilities that make easy the work of its writers. "El Sol," directed by Gilberto Rubalcaba, is in favor of the Calles government.

In general, the Mexican newspapers have combined the American and Mexican fashions of journalism. Following the American policy, the news is given the position of greatest prominence—but it is generally editorialized, and this is predominantly a feature of Mexican journalism of the past century. One of the inside pages, often the third, is devoted to editorials. Some people claim that the editorial page is still the most important in Mexican newspapers, but the accuracy of this statement is open to serious questioning. However, it is doubtless true that in Mexico, as throughout Latin America, the editorial occupies a place of greater importance and prestige than it does in most American newspapers.

As Professor William R. Shepherd has pointed out, the size of the reading public in Mexico and the extent of journalistic influence on the community are not to be measured by the numerical amount of their circulation alone. Most of those who peruse the newspapers read them in preference to literature in magazine or book form. Throughout the less populous areas, individuals who know how to read retell the news to their less fortunate fellows. "In Mexico City," wrote Prof. Shepherd in 1914, "it is even the custom for certain of the newspaper offices to post a copy of each issue on a billboard hanging against the front of the building, so that the impecunious may learn about the events of the day free of charge."¹⁷⁰ The latter practice is still carried out today, though the chief purpose is evidently to allow the poor to read the classified advertisements, which deal with employment and other topics similar to those found in American newspapers.

Like the other Latin American newspapers, those of Mexico feature world news more than do the average American papers. The Mexican press appears to be especially interested in the United States, and great news events of our country are probably "played up" to as great an extent in Mexico as they are here. The Lindbergh flight to Paris, Harding's death, all Coolidge messages, and news of presidential campaigns and elections, have received much publicity in Mexico. One reason for the interest of the Mexicans in American presidential elections is the direct effect of the Washington administration on the policies and welfare of Mexico.

The cable page in the leading Mexican dailies is finely done. It is in charge of a man well acquainted with the events of the world. Like the American cable editor, he is able, with the aid of a "morgue" or file, to enlarge a small message into a long story. The people in Mexico like to read historical articles and reports of crime and violence. In the latter category are occasionally included the incidents of politics. For example, a matter of great interest to the Mexican newspaper public would be the killing of one congressman by another, were such an incident to occur.

In the States of the Republic are several important dailies, among the leading ones being "El Informador" of Guadalajara, "Gil Blas" of Puebla, "El Porvenir" of Monterrey, and "El Diario de Yucatán" of Mérida. Unlike the newspapers of the capital, which are national and even international in editorial scope, the papers of the States confine themselves more closely to the local politics of the respective States in which they are published.

In the United States are many Mexican dailies and periodicals published in Spanish. In San Antonio is published "La Prensa"; and in Los Angeles, "El Heraldo de México"; and similar papers are issued in Chicago, San Francisco and other

170. Shepherd, *Latin America*, p. 220.

cities. These papers urge that their countrymen respect American laws, but that they guard and maintain the Mexican traditions. Nearly one-fourth of Mexico's people is now living in the United States.

Compared with American newspaper men, those on Mexican papers are rather poorly paid, for Mexico does not have the large circulations which in the United States enable newspapers to grow rich by charging high advertising rates. One reason for the smallness of circulations is the great amount of illiteracy. During the régime of Porfirio Díaz, 85 per cent of the Mexican people were unable to read or write, according to a statement made at Florence by Rafael Nieto in 1925 when the latter was Mexican minister to Italy.¹⁷¹ At present, the percentage of illiterates in a nation of 14,000,000 people is 63 per cent, I was told by Moisés Sáenz, assistant federal secretary of education.

Another handicap to the attainment of large circulations by newspapers is the poverty of the mass of the people, many of whom, though able to read, can ill afford to pay the usual price of ten or even five centavos for a newspaper. A third hindrance is the high cost of paper, much of which must be imported from the United States and other countries. Mexico has only five paper factories, which represent a total investment of 12,072,797 pesos, a peso being worth 50 cents at par in American money. In 1926, the amount of paper for newspapers produced by these factories, 11,217,596 kilograms, was valued at 2,134,709 pesos, and was about 45 per cent of the number of kilograms of their total output.¹⁷² Much of the mechanical equipment for publishing the newspapers must be imported, and this entails considerable expense.

Although the writers for the daily papers do not receive large salaries judging from American standards, those of the reviews receive even less compensation. I was informed that the reviews pay 10 pesos for an interview of five pages, finely done. Many times these publications accept gratis contributions, for the sake of economy. In some cases, the author even pays to have his work published in the reviews.

The reviews in Mexico are few in number, and most of them are published at the capital. As their regular program, they have the custom of devoting each issue to some institution or State of the Republic. In Mexico, many of the people like personal advertising, and they pay to have their pictures in the reviews, accompanied by some flattering words about the subjects of the photographs. This desire for personal advertising is especially characteristic of the generals. The majority of the reviews are largely devoted to the army, for its officers like personal advertising and can afford to pay well. Diplomats also like to be well advertised, and sometimes resort to this medium.

The two leading reviews of Mexico, both published at the capital, are "El Universal Ilustrado" and the "Revista de Revistas." Both are registered with the Mexican Postoffice Department as literary weeklies. The former, founded May 11, 1917, has as responsible agent Alberto Altuzárraga. The latter established January 25, 1910, is now directed by Manuel Horta. It was founded by Lic. Luis Manuel Rojas, with the financial aid of Lic. Rafael Reyes Spíndola. Its manager, Fernando Galván, passed it on to Raúl Mille, who in turn sold it to Rafael Aldúcin. After Rojas, it was directed successively by Galván; José Gómez Ugarte, present director of "El Universal"; and José de J. Núñez y Domínguez, secretary of the National Museum

171. *El Libro y El Pueblo*, IV, Núms. 4-6, p. 485.

172. Anon. "La Industria del Papel en México en 1926." In "Las Artes Gráficas en México," Año III, Núm. 49, pp. 9-10.

of Mexico, who is a talented poet and historian and contributes to various periodical publications.

One of its owners, Aldúcin, is remembered chiefly because in 1917 he founded and edited "Excelsior." His short and vigorous life, brightened by his motto of "Ahora Mismo," or "right now," was brought to a sudden end March 29, 1924, because of injuries sustained in a fall from a horse. At one time he worked for the "Heraldo de México," according to Sr. Díaz Duf6o. Aldúcin introduced into Mexico City the Ludlow machine for casting display type, and in the early part of 1920 he installed at "Excelsior" the first rotogravure outfit brought into the country. At the time of his death he was 38 years old. The ownership of the company which published "Excelsior" passed to his widow, in whose hands it still remains.

One of the weekly illustrated reviews of Mexico City is "El Hogar." At the time of its establishment on September 10, 1913, it created much excitement, for it was the first journalistic organ in Mexico written by Mexican women for woman and the home exclusively. At first a fortnightly, it was founded by Srta. Emilia Enríquez de Rivera in the face of much prejudice. Now in its fourteenth year, it is a weekly appearing on Wednesdays, which calls itself a "review for the families," treats of the fashions, the theater, world news and features, and other topics, is well sprinkled with advertisements, has a modern make-up, and sells for 50 centavos a copy in Mexico City, and in the States for the "price the agents fix."¹⁷³ It is still directed by its founder.

One of the leading monthly magazines in Mexico is the "Continental," which sells for 75 centavos in the capitol and one peso in the States. It is largely devoted to fiction and other light literature, has an extensive movie section, is copiously illustrated, and has many advertisements. Its circulation in 1926 was 7,000 copies per month.¹⁷⁴

Since the bold and successful project of Srta. Enríquez de Rivera, women have been gaining a foothold in journalism, though their acceptance in that profession is less general than in the United States. The leading woman journalist of Mexico today, and probably the foremost woman in national affairs, is Srta. Lic. Esperanza Velásquez Bringas, who although only 28 years old, is director of all the libraries in Mexico for the federal secretariat of education. Born at Orizaba, Veracruz, she began her education in the French-English school there. At this institution she learned to speak both French and English. Later she went to grammar school in Orizaba and then to preparatory school in Veracruz. She completed her education in college in Mexico City, distinguishing herself in literature, esthetics, and philosophy.¹⁷⁵

She was advised by her college professors to choose the writing profession as a career and she became a member of the staff of the now defunct newspaper, "El Pueblo," which sank into oblivion during the period of political unrest following 1917. It was during this time that Srta. Bringas began to attract nation-wide attention with her facile pen.

173. "El Hogar"; revista para las familias. México, D. F., Miercoles 3 de Agosto de 1927. Año XIV, Núm. 382. Semanario ilustrado. Precio en la capital, 50 centavos. Precio en los estados; que fijen los agentes.

174. *International Year Book*, p. 261.

175. For the information concerning Srta. Bringas, the present writer is indebted to Rafael Heliodoro Valle for a carbon copy of an article about her written by Jack Starr-Hunt of "Excelsior" and mailed to several American newspapers on August 2, 1927.

"El Universal" bid for her services after "El Pueblo" ceased publication, and Srta. Bringas accepted. She was made editor of the children's page and her success was reflected in the large number of youthful readers attracted by her department. She translated leading foreign works into Spanish, to allow the youngsters to begin their appreciative study of literature early in life. She has written extensively upon problems of eugenics, education, famous literary figures, and politics. In politics she is a Socialist.

Srta. Bringas has been correspondent for several American newspapers, and her stories have appeared frequently in important American and Mexican magazines. In the oil fields, where the inroads of civilization and education have made little headway, she was instrumental in founding an extensive movement to create libraries and schools. This work was carried out chiefly in the State of Tamaulipas, which now has the smallest percentage of illiteracy of any State in the Republic. The versatility shown by Srta. Bringas is an admirable example of that which has been displayed by and is still characteristic of many members of the newspaper fraternity in Mexico.

Conclusion

In the face of serious obstacles, the Mexican press has grown to a place of appreciable influence in the affairs of the nation. Handicapped almost constantly during its career by unfriendly government interference, an overwhelming percentage of illiteracy among the Mexican people, and the high cost of paper and machinery which must be imported from foreign lands, it has nevertheless succeeded in producing such newspapers as "El Universal" and "Excelsior," which from the viewpoint of journalistic excellence compare favorably with important papers in those countries in which the profession has had its greatest development.

As in other lands, the earliest forerunners of journalism in Mexico were miserable affairs. In Mexico they took the form of crude news pamphlets, each dedicated to some one sensational event and often appearing months after the events took place. In 1722 was established the first journalistic organ appearing at regular intervals, the ephemeral monthly gazette of Castorena, which was continued with more success by Sahagún in 1728. The gazettes which appeared during the colonial period were under strict supervision of the authorities, and were little more than chronicles of official functions and decrees. They voiced few opinions, and these were generally of little value. In 1805 was founded at Mexico City the first daily newspaper, which was jealously attacked by the official gazette, but firmly held its ground and continued to be published for many years.

During the successive revolutions from that of Hidalgo in 1810 to that of Iturbide which freed Mexico from Spain in 1821, the newspapers were usually blind party organs, the majority of which bitterly opposed Spanish domination. When possible the authorities put revolutionary papers out of business and burned all copies they could lay hands on. The outstanding journalists of this period were José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, Andrés Quintana Roo, and Lic. Carlos María de Bustamante.

Until the last decade of the nineteenth century, the chief interest of the press was politics. The principal political parties were the liberal and the conservative. For a long time, the Catholic Church played an active and influential part in the latter organization. Among the leading liberal papers were "El Siglo XIX" of Ignacio Cumplido and "El Monitor Republicano" of García Torres. Catholic organs included "El Universal" of Rafael Rafael, "El Pájaro Verde" of Francesconi, and "El Tiempo" of Agüeros. In 1896, Rafael Reyes Spíndola established "El Imparcial," in which he successfully carried out his journalistic theories. He made the newspaper an impersonal institution and a journal of news rather than of opinion; and by his competition forced a general lowering of newspaper prices which placed the leading newspapers within the reach of the proletariat.

In the field of the contemporary press, his influence is still strongly exerted in that men trained in his organization hold positions of great responsibility in Mexican journalism. Although the leading newspapers, which generally sell for 5 or 10 centavos a copy, do not enjoy such large circulations as did "El País" and "El Imparcial," each of which sold for 1 centavo, the independence of the former makes for higher journalistic standards than the two latter papers had; for "El País" was a party organ of the conservatives and "El Imparcial" a semi-official organ of Porfirio Díaz's régime.

The contributions of the Mexican press to literature have been notable. Through the columns of the newspapers, many works of important men of letters have been published for the first time. Literati of international reputation, as Lizardi, Manuel Acuña, Juan de Dios Peza, Gutiérrez Nájera and Ignacio Altamirano not only

contributed to the press in this manner, but also were regular members of the staffs of various newspapers and periodicals. Many Mexican newspaper men have been noted for their versatility, for they have excelled as historians, novelists, poets, politicians, diplomats, and in many other capacities. This may be explained by some by the fact that previous to the advent of Spindola, they were not always paid even a living wage, and so had to seek employment in other capacities; but the fact does not account for their continued versatility in a day when the financial rewards for newspaper work are generally considered at least sufficient to support one engaged in that occupation.

Unfortunately, the latter statement, although correct in a general sense, is not universally true. A glaring exception is to be found in the case of the reviews, which go so far as to make some contributors pay to have their works published in the regular literary columns. The latter practice, undoubtedly, is due to lack of legitimate financial support for such publications. This support, which is of much importance to all journalism, will come as Mexico develops. When education has lowered the large percentage of illiteracy and enlarged the reading public, when the rich natural resources of the country have been developed so as to create a larger class of persons financially able to patronize newspapers and periodicals, and when Mexico has established enough paper factories to manufacture that commodity at a conveniently low price, Mexican newspapers will prosper. They will gain economic independence, which many of the smaller ones now lack. In being enabled to subsist without aid from special interests, the general run of publications will be better able to be of public service, for their opinions need not be tainted then by partiality to the special groups on which they are now frequently dependent for support.

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