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SINALOA DURING THE RESTORED REPUBLIC, 1867-1877

by

Rigoberto Rodríguez Benítez

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A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In the Graduate College

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

2001
As members of the Final Examination Committee, we certify that we have read the dissertation prepared by Rigoberto Rodriguez Benitez entitled Sinaloa During the Restored Republic, 1867-1877 and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Final approval and acceptance of this dissertation is contingent upon the candidate's submission of the final copy of the dissertation to the Graduate College.

I hereby certify that I have read this dissertation prepared under my direction and recommend that it be accepted as fulfilling the dissertation requirement.

Dissertation Director Oscar J. Martinez
STATEMENT BY THE AUTHOR

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ABSTRACT

In Sinaloa, Mexico, the enforcement of the 1857 liberal constitution from 1867 to 1877 advanced political, economic and cultural successes, spawned conflict and provided the basis for the Porfiriato. This study provides explanations pertaining to crucial issues dealing with power, production and culture. In terms of politics, this work explains the empowerment of the republican state, the alienation of popular sectors, the rise of Porfirismo and political centralization; in economics, it describes the productive structure, emphasizing the mining export economy, and the informal financial market; and in the cultural arena, it discusses the building of the Sinaloan identity and the beginnings of a scientific and technological culture. The strengthening of the relationship between Sinaloa and the United States is also discussed. At the end of the French Intervention, the Sinaloan liberals launched initiatives to empower the state, stimulate the economy and extend education, but they met the resistance of the military, the import merchants and the central government. In spite of chronic conflict, production and trade grew, a regional identity was encouraged and the Sinaloans' secular culture was elevated. Furthermore, the increasing federal intervention in local political affairs alienated local liberal politicians, swelled the ranks of the Porfiristas, facilitated the triumph of the Tuxtepecan rebellion and weakened local interest in fighting for state sovereignty. Finally, during the Restored Republic, Sinaloa was the theater of a new relationship between Mexico and the United States, with the United States testing a new policy of economic expansionism which would subsequently flourish during the Porfiriato.
Fig. 1. Map. Districts of Sinaloa, Mexico, 1867.
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INTRODUCTION

In Mexican history, the period between the defeat of the French army and Maximilian in 1867 and the beginning of the Porfiriato, after the successful rebellion of Tuxtepec in early 1877, is known as the Restored Republic. While there are some national histories covering the period, a comprehensive work dealing with this crucial decade in Sinaloa is lacking. This work aspires to fill a vacuum in Sinaloan historiography by offering the first general history of the state during the Restored Republic. Herein, the political, economic, social and cultural issues that shaped the renascent liberal state are addressed from a regional perspective in hopes of transcending the military and political focus of early literature and the monothematic approach of more recent scholarship. I have tried to make sense of the liberals' efforts to organize Sinaloan society and its state government as well as of the struggles for power. I provide new documentary support in discussing local state building, economic activity, regional identity and relations with the United States.

In Sinaloa, the enforcement of the 1857 liberal constitution from 1867 to 1877 advanced political, economic and cultural successes, spawned conflict and provided the basis for the Porfiriato. In the midst of intra-liberal conflict, a new generation of politicians promoted on solid ground the strengthening of the republican state, the recovery of the mining export economy, the spread of a scientific and technological culture, and a thriving relationship with the United States. Nonetheless, conflict, the
federal government's interference and economic constraints limited the scope of these advances. In the end, aggrieved sectors—mainly local liberal politicians but also members of the lower classes—joined the Porfiristas and contributed to the triumph of the Tuxtepecan rebellion in early 1877.

During the period discussed here, liberalism shaped Mexican politics at both the national and state levels. That ideology called for republican representative government, civil liberties, the economic principles of laissez-faire free enterprise, patriotism and anticlericalism.¹ The concept of liberalism, especially its expression at the popular level, is used here as a framework for analyzing events in Sinaloa. Sinaloan liberals traveled a rocky road on their way to constructing the identity of their state in the context of an evolving national republic.

Although this study is not exhaustive, it provides explanations pertaining to crucial issues dealing with power, production and culture. In terms of politics, this work explains the empowerment of the state, the rise of Porfirismo and political centralization;

in economics, it describes the productive structure and the informal financial market; and
in the cultural arena, it discusses the building of the Sinaloan identity and the beginnings
of a scientific culture. The strengthening of the relationship between Sinaloa and the
United States is also discussed.

Important issues for some Mexican regions, such as State-Church relations and
the disentailment of communal land, are not discussed in depth, although they are
referred to tangentially. The decision to omit this information is due to the lesser
importance of the clergy and the reduced Indian population in Sinaloa as opposed to other
states or the nation as whole. In any case, the Sinaloan liberals' efforts to build a strong
secular state after integrating freedom of religion into the constitution is indicative of the
decreasing political and social importance of the Church. Likewise, local legislation
against communal property dealt a severe blow to the remnants of Indian organization
and culture.

This work attempts to demonstrate that, at the end of the French Intervention, the
Sinaloan liberals launched initiatives to empower the state, stimulate the economy and
extend education, but they met the resistance of the military, the import merchants and
the central government. I also intend to show that in spite of chronic conflict, production
and trade grew, a regional identity was encouraged and the Sinaloans' secular culture was
elevated. Furthermore, the study illustrates that the increasing federal intervention in local
political affairs alienated local liberal politicians, swelled the ranks of the Porfiristas,
facilitated the triumph of the Tuxtepecan rebellion and weakened local interest in fighting
for state sovereignty. Finally, this work intends to document that during the Restored Republic, Sinaloa was the theater of a new relationship between Mexico and the United States, with the United States testing a new policy of economic expansionism which would subsequently flourish during the Porfiriato.

Beyond providing a case study of Sinaloa during a crucial period in Mexican history, this work also makes four major contributions to the historiography. First, my findings pertaining to political conflict establish an entirely new explanation for the success of the Tuxtepecan rebellion, the Porfrian rebellion that ended the Restored Republic. Historians have emphasized reelectionism and local electoral conflict as the causes of the rebellion. I argue that the fall of the Restored Republic was linked more to federal interventionism than to reelectionism and local electoral conflict. Moreover, I sustain that the Porfiristas in Sinaloa brandished popular liberalism and attracted peasants and urban liberals to the rebellion. Second, the heretofore unrecognized existence of a thriving economy in Sinaloa belies the general view among scholars that political instability, banditry and the lack of both a formal financial market and an efficient land transportation hindered economic growth in the state before the Porfiriato. This new

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economic interpretation positions my work within recent revisionist trends. Third, my assertion that Sinaloa and the United States carried on an economic relationship before the last quarter of the nineteenth century challenges the extant interpretation that the arrival of American capital into Mexico was a phenomenon of the Porfiriato. My findings suggest the need for more regional studies of Mexico-U.S. relations during this time period. Finally, my integration of culture with issues of power and production goes beyond conventional approaches, thus making this an additional contribution to Mexican regional history.

The first two chapters address the legislative initiatives aimed at building a liberal state. Chapter 1 discusses the constitutional framework and important secondary legislation, which had the 1857 Federal Constitution as their precedent. The chapter then traces the training of lawyers, indispensable professionals for an ordered state and society. Finally, the chapter examines the power of the state over the lives and freedom of

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the citizenry and the social value of rendering services to the homeland. Chapter 2 reviews legislation favoring the production and distribution of goods and the formation of citizens predisposed to both work and rise to the defense of the fatherland.

The next two chapters deal with resistance to the new state. This resistance manifested itself as a pervasive and variable struggle for power, against the preservation of privileges and centralism. Chapter 3 focuses on the armed and political struggle for power and emphasizes the armed opposition to the first constitutional government in 1868 and the La Noria and Tuxtepec national Porfirista rebellions of 1871-72 and 1876-77, respectively. The electoral conflicts aroused by the 1870 electoral law are examined next. Chapter 4 treats the opposition of the Mazatlán merchants to fiscal reform and examines the support they provided to the military rebels. Next, the growing federal interventionism in local politics is carefully analyzed. Both chapters further understanding of the alienation of the local liberals and their sympathy for the Porfiristas, as well as the enthronement of centralist federalism.

The two chapters that follow examine the Sinaloan economy during the decade. Chapter 5 emphasizes the importance of mining in the state economy, the efforts at industrialization and the growth of foreign trade and local commerce by ocean traffic and coastal navigation. Chapter 6 identifies the Sinaloans who participated in mercantile transactions and the informal financial market. Here the import merchants appear

primarily as moneylenders who diversify their entrepreneurial interests into mining, manufacturing and agriculture.

Chapters 7 and 8 address social and cultural issues. Chapter 7 presents an overview of the demography and ethnic composition of the population, describes the trades of the settlers in a few mining and farming communities and outlines the opportunities for entertainment in the cities and the countryside. Also discussed are the mechanisms used to build the identity of the Sinaloans, to which praising local heroes was fundamental. Chapter 8 examines the extension of the educational system and the start of the diffusion of a scientific culture. These two chapters provide the bases to explain the local liberals' interest in developing the economy, building a secular society and forming patriots with a local character.

Chapter 9 sketches the ideological and economic foundations that made possible a new relationship between Mexico and the United States and provides an overview of the U.S. economic presence in Sinaloa. U.S. citizens participating in this economy, either as producers or investors are identified. Next, the cultural impact of what this growing economic relationship entailed is discussed. The chapter closes by stressing the negative economic consequences for Mazatlán of both the rise of the port of San Francisco, California, and Mexican government policies.

The general conclusion emphasizes the consequences of the political, economic, cultural and foreign trade activities embraced by Sinaloans during the decade. Stress is placed on the rise of Porfirismo and the rejection of democratic federalism, the
importance of mining and the import sector, the progress in education, and the growing presence of American capital. Since this change took place in a liberal ideological context, a brief discussion of nineteenth-century Mexican liberalism seems appropriate.

MEXICAN LIBERALISM IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

From Independence to the Porfiriato, liberalism was the ideological support of the efforts at state building and political, economic and cultural development in Mexico. Although the study of Mexican liberalism has gone through several stages, only two of them will be identified here, since they address the key issues of rupture and continuity. In one stage, during the mid-twentieth century, Mexican scholars systematized their ideas regarding the specificity of Mexican liberalism since independence. In the second, authors, both Mexicans and Mexicanists outside of Mexico, have revised those pioneering conceptions in recent decades. The recent studies have shed light on Porfirio Díaz's apparent distancing from liberalism in the era of economic growth of the late nineteenth century and early twentieth.

In the mid-1950s, on the occasion of the centennials of both the Ayutla Revolution of 1854 and the 1857 Constitution, Mexican scholars produced valuable essays and detailed works that shed light on Mexican liberalism. In 1954, Jesús Reyes Heroles opened the debate with a brief essay in which he emphasized the social traits of
Mexican liberalism. A year later, Daniel Cosío Villegas began the publication of his *Historia Moderna de México*, covering both the Restored Republic and the Porfiriato and praising Benito Juárez and Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada's performance in their presidential terms, particularly their unswerving determination to uphold the 1857 Constitution during the Restored Republic. The works of both Reyes Heroles and Cosío Villegas characterized the Porfiriato as a period in Mexican history in which liberal thought was abandoned; they also point out that liberalism resurfaced with the Mexican Revolution.

In a work in which he analyzes liberal thought in Mexico from Colonial times to the Reform, Reyes Heroles emphasizes popular participation in politics since the Independence movement and the endurance of the idea of the social function of landed property. He affirms that the 1824 Constitution, the first to embody Republican ideas, was the first step in the process of reception of liberalism in Mexico; the Constitution integrated the principles of constitutional government with the separation and balance of powers, legal equality, civil liberties and federalism. He also sustains that after chronic conflict between liberals and conservatives since Independence, the 1857 Constitution secured and widened civil liberties, including religious tolerance, thus terminating the monopoly of the Catholic Church. For Reyes Heroles the integration of the Reform Laws

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into the Constitution in 1873 is the climax of Mexican liberalism, for this document formalized the separation of state and church, the supremacy of the state over other corporate institutions and the secularization of society. Although during debates of the constitutional congress of 1856-7 progressive proposals pertaining to the social function of landed property and the latifundia were defeated, such discussion exemplifies the social strand of Mexican liberalism.

Cosío Villegas portrays a liberalism that stressed politics in the first half of the nineteenth century and that attempted to foster both political freedom and economic development with the 1857 Constitution as its banner during the Restored Republic. Later, during the Porfiriato, liberalism abandoned the Constitution and political freedom and focused solely on economic growth. Disregarding early Mexican liberalism, Cosío Villegas instead focuses on its later developments. During the days of Juárez and Lerdo de Tejada Cosío Villegas finds Mexicans benefiting from civil liberties and modest economic growth. In a work where the popular sectors do not emerge as major actors, Cosío also finds that continual intra-liberal vying for power and the tension between widespread political liberties and scarce economic growth spawned social unrest. This unrest finally manifested itself in Díaz’s Tuxtepec rebellion. The Mexicans' strong desire for peace and prosperity, Cosío Villegas concludes, forced them to sacrifice freedom in exchange for order and economic growth.

In a work on Mexican liberalism during the first half of the nineteenth century, Charles Hale emphasizes some issues that other historians also address.\(^\text{10}\) The elite character of Mexican liberalism and the empowerment of the state, in order to attack competing corporations and secularize society, are two of those elements that characterized early Mexican liberalism. These elements will provide a linkage with the liberalism as applied after the restoration of the republic.

Noting political and economic continuities, since the late 1970s, the historiography on Mexican liberalism has considered the period from the Restored Republic to the Porfiriato and, in some instances, beyond, as a unit. While Cosío Villegas finds only a formal resemblance—the republican system of government—in these two stages of Mexico history, Laurens B. Perry represents those who consider that there is also a continuity in the political practices from Juárez to Díaz, since both applied an elite republicanism and machine politics with dictatorial overtones.\(^\text{11}\) According to Perry, the key difference is that Díaz perfected the political machine.\(^\text{12}\)

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\(^\text{10}\) Charles Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora.*


\(^\text{12}\) Brian R. Hamnett, “Liberalism Divided: Regional Politics and the National Project During the Mexican Restored Republic, 1867-1876,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 76, 4 (November 1996): 659-89. Acknowledging that Juárez resorted to extraordinary faculties and practiced centralism, presidentialism and reelectionism, Hamnett contends that there is an enormous difference between Juárez’s and Díaz’s political practices.
From an economic perspective, Arnaldo Córdova considers the policy of capitalist development since 1867 as a continuous strand. He finds no policy rupture from the governments of Juárez and Lerdo de Tejada to Porfirio Díaz, or from the Porfiriato to the Mexican Revolution, since these time periods "obey the same historical project: capitalist development." Following this same idea of continuity, Moisés González acknowledges the existence of an individualistic liberalism and a social strand. In the former, liberty caters to property, while in social liberalism it serves the lower classes. Ignacio Ramírez and Guillermo Prieto represented individualistic liberalism, and Juan Alvarez, leader of the Ayutla Revolution and active liberal thereafter, symbolized the interest in the popular sectors: Indians and peasants in this case. With the Reform, property holders triumphed. González sustains that after the triumph of property, social liberalism resurfaced in the voices of Justo Sierra and others who criticized the Porfirian policies and took center stage with the Mexican Revolution.

13 Arnaldo Córdova, La ideología de la Revolución Mexicana. La formación del nuevo régimen (Mexico City: Ediciones Era, 1973).
14 Córdova, La ideología de la Revolución Mexicana, 15.
16 Ignacio Ramírez and Guillermo Prieto were liberal politicians who opposed Juárez and Lerdo after the French Intervention. Prieto was also a poet, dramatist and journalist while Ramírez was a journalist under the pseudonym of "el Nigromante". See B. Hamnett, Juárez (London and New York: Longman, 1994), 278.
Alan Knight finds several overlapping liberal conceptions during nineteenth-century Mexico, but liberal continuity from the Porfiriato to the Mexican Revolution. First, the constitutional liberalism of the early national period advocated the political reforms of representative government, separate powers, federalism and municipal autonomy. To this liberalism was added an institutional liberalism, which with state power "launched an attack on legal privileges and church property" and on Indian communities. Later, a developmentalist liberalism promoted stability and development and sacrificed constitutional practices and political rights. Although Knight corroborates Reyes and Cosio Villegas's ideas about Díaz's abandonment of political liberalism, he parts from them in that his developmentalist liberalism continues in the policies of the revolutionary governments. On this latter issue, Knight and Córdova also concur.

Hale's work on the transformations of Mexican liberalism in the late nineteenth century deals a severe blow to the traditional idea of the abandonment of liberalism during the Porfiriato. He also provides an insightful explanation of Mexican liberalism from Mora to Sierra. Hale discusses Justo Sierra's thought and finds elements of a constitutional liberalism aimed at modifying the Constitution by legal procedures in order to empower the executive branch in the early Porfiriato. Later, when the Porfiriato shifted

17 Alan Knight, "El liberalismo mexicano desde la Reforma hasta la Revolución."

18 Ibid, 60.

19 Hale, The Transformation of Liberalism in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexico; see also his "Introducción," in Justo Sierra: Un liberal del Porfiriato. Introduction, selection and notes by Charles Hale (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1997), 7-17.
gears and showed its authoritarian face, Sierra proposed constitutional changes to limit dictatorial powers. Hale also finds that, "The heritage of liberal thought infused with the heroic and popular patriotism of mid-century decades had a leavening influence on the formation of Porfirian social ideas." The campaigns to enforce the principle of obligatory elementary education and the abandonment of the colonization policy, both favoring popular sectors including Indian peasants, buttress Hale's assertion.

Hale sees in both Sierra and the científicos' scientific politics a liberal constitutionalism and acknowledges that the doctrinaire liberals represented by José Ma. Vigil and El Monitor Republicano survived until the early 1890s, thus showing the continuity of liberalism from the Restored Republic to the Porfiriato. Hale extends the continuity to the Mexican Revolution, joining with Knight and Córdova. From constitutional liberalism, characterized by individualism and a strong legislative branch, Mexican liberalism had moved toward the strengthening of the executive while Mexico's export-oriented economy integrated into the world market. From a combative ideology since independence, Mexican liberalism became a unifying political myth after the restoration of the republic in 1867, particularly during the Porfiriato.

POPULAR LIBERALISM

When Mexican liberalism's successive transformations from Independence to the Mexican Revolution are evaluated, the involvement of the popular sectors is a recurring
element. In his pioneering work, Reyes Heroles emphasizes the active political role of the lower classes, the importance that a group of intellectuals conceded to the social function of landed property, the protection of Indian villages and communal land tenure, and the need to improve the living standards of peasants and wage workers. Reyes Heroles also acknowledges the defeat these social-minded intellectuals suffered during the travails of the 1857 Constitution, while noting the resurgence of popular demands with the Mexican Revolution.\(^20\) López Cámara’s reflection also attaches importance to the popular component of social movements that contributed to the formation of a collective consciousness informed by liberalism.\(^21\) More recent historiography also stresses this characteristic of social movements in Mexico, which constitutes a distinctive feature in Latin America. This historiography has coined the term “popular liberalism” as a component of Mexican liberalism, to explain the course of Mexican history from the late 1840s to the Mexican Revolution.\(^22\)

Unlike the marginal references to popular liberalism by several authors, Guy P. C. Thomson and Florencia Mallon have unveiled the nature and impact of popular

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liberalism, emphasizing policies that responded to the popular sectors' wants. Thomson asserts that the needs brought on by the North American intervention in 1846-1848 forced the formation of the state National Guards, swelled by peasants. Creating the National Guard and other institutions in the villages nurtured the sentiment of local power; empowerment of the localities was needed the most when the enforcement of the Ley Lerdo after 1856 weakened the communities.

Furthermore, following the Ayutla Revolution, Juan Alvarez invited the peasants to join the army to overthrow Santa Anna and promised them the restitution of their lands and local autonomy. The wars of Reform and against the European intervention strengthened the need to deliver such promises to ensure the popular sectors’ loyalty.

The triumph of liberals over conservatives, monarachic conservatives and the French army became an opportunity to implement the promises of the war years. Thomson says that the liberal rhetoric attracted the attention of the lower segments of society. However, both the federal governments under Juárez and Lerdo and state governments unleashed a systematic attack against state sovereignty, local autonomy and Indian communities. Forced labor, high taxation and plummeting living standards continued. Having favored the liberal patriots against the French Intervention, the popular sectors became enemies of the liberals in power during the Restored Republic and rebelled. Some of these rebellions coincided with the uprising of the military that had been excluded from the Juarista government. Thomson concludes that at least in Puebla
the Porfiristas brought in popular support and questions whether or not this might have happened in some other regions.\textsuperscript{24}

Following an analogous path, F. Mallon systematized in the mid-1990s some ideas she had been elaborating for a decade regarding power relations and hegemony. She understood shaping hegemony as a process that implied the outbreak of a revolutionary situation, the integration of popular sectors to the struggle for power, and the marginalization and exclusion of these sectors from power in the aftermath of the struggle. In mid-nineteenth-century Mexico, the liberals called upon the peasants from Morelos and Puebla to fight for a new hegemony, where their grievances would be satisfied. Just after their triumph, the liberals continued their attack on Indian villages and restricted local autonomy, thus alienating Indians, peasants and provincial liberals. According to Mallon, Díaz benefited from this situation, and to his quest for power he added the grievances against the popular sectors to take power in 1877 with the Tuxtepecan rebellion, after the failed attempt of the La Noria uprising of 1871.

The concept of popular liberalism is instrumental in explaining Mexican history from the liberal triumph to the fall of Díaz. Thomson’s and Mallon’s findings plausibly explain the Restored Republic’s fate and Díaz’s rise to power. Other scholars provide elements of Díaz’s abandonment of constitutionalism and popular liberalism, both of


\textsuperscript{24} Thomson, “Popular Aspects of Liberalism in Mexico,” 292.
which had propelled him to power. Popular liberalism, they assert, would resurface with the Mexican Revolution.

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE RESTORED REPUBLIC IN SINALOA

While there have been efforts to reconstruct the history of the Restored Republic at the national level, no attempts have been made to do the same at the state level, including in the case of Sinaloa. The participation of Sinaloans in shaping their own destiny during the Restored Republic has yet to be explained. No book has been written on the period. In works covering longer periods, we can only find fragments dealing with the years 1867-1877. While early works are informed by a political history with nineteenth-century traits, which narrates the course of events, more recent historiographical publications reveal political, economic and social concerns. Recent studies explain more overarching processes such as nation-state building and capitalist development.

Though lacking in many respects, the historiography on the Restored Republic in Sinaloa actually had an early beginning. The *Compendio histórico, geográfico y estadístico*, written by former Governor Eustaquio Buelna and published in 1877, appeared when the smell of gun powder from the battle of Cosalá, on 5 January 1877, which sealed the triumph of the Tuxtepecan rebellion in Sinaloa, was still in the air, and the heat of the electoral campaign that elevated Francisco Canedo to the governorship,
marking the beginning of the Porfiriato in Sinaloa, had not yet dissipated. The Compendio, which presented an evaluation of the first republican decade after the defeat of the Maximilian Empire, has become an indispensable source to study the political, economic, social and cultural history of the period addressed here. Buelna prepared another manuscript, Apuntes para la historia de Sinaloa, published posthumously, which covers the first six decades of Sinaloa since independence. A sort of political diary, the Apuntes provides some information that permits one to reconstruct the Restored Republic beyond politics. This work, first printed in 1924, has been the recurrent source for essays covering the regional history of the Restored Republic.25

In the history section of his Compendio, Buelna considers permanent political conflict and the central government’s interference in local affairs to be the most relevant issues during the decade. He discusses post-electoral conflict in the aftermath of the 1867 local election, the La Noria rebellion of 1871-1872 and Lozada’s rebellion of 1873, the imposition of Jesús M. Gaxiola as governor in 1875, and the Tuxtepecan rebellion in 1876. Themes Buelna stresses include the role of Mazatlán’s big merchants and the role of the federal garrison in Mazatlán in Sinaloan politics. Another theme is the federal government’s use of force and military rule to thwart aspirations for local sovereignty. Popular sentiment toward political practices is another theme addressed by the author.

The end of the Restored Republic, in Buelna’s view, can be linked to popular resistance against Lerdo’s political control measures.

Buelna shares with nineteenth-century historians his concept of history as political description and narration of facts. Thus, in his Apuntes he does not include economic, social and cultural information. The rather infrequent references to such non-political matters are confined to episodes intimately related to political conflict and the exercise of power. In the text, which is a chronological description of events, rather than a systematized narrative, the issues of power and state sovereignty stand out.

Buelna’s works were written when the events were fresh and the political passion had not yet dissipated. By contrast, the works written about Sinaloa after the Mexican Revolution took a different stance on some of the major issues. For example, in the chapters dedicated to the Restored Republic Jesús Mena Castillo manages to formulate a synthesis of political history, while Buelna has given us a chronology of events. In his work of remarkable literary quality, Mena contextualizes the local phenomena in the frame of national events, assesses in a different way Manuel Lozada's Indian peasant movement in Tepic, contradicts Buelna in his appraisal of military rule of 1872 and in his

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assessment of Vice-governor Angel Urrea, and enriches some episodes of the convulsed
decade under study.²⁷

Mena characterizes Lozada’s movement as “an ambitious reformist program,”
while Buelna and the liberals in power in his time and decades later depicted it as
representative of tradition and backwardness. Communal land tenure, attacked during the
Restored Republic and the Porfiriato, will become one of the demands of a popular
liberalism. The Mexican Revolution will satisfy some of the land demands.²⁸ Mena’s
assessment of Lozada’s movement incorporates the agrarian ideals of the Mexican
Revolution. This helps us understand the difference between Mena’s stand and Buelna’s.
Buelna strongly objects to the on-and-off military rule during this period, but Mena does
not share these objections. Buelna’s criticism of military rule in 1872, according to Mena,
manifests “an exaggerated dose of optimism and local political jealousy since, to tell the
truth, neither was the insurrection crushed nor did the state have resources enough to
control it.”²⁹ Regarding the violation of state sovereignty, Mena justifies the growing
centralization of Mexican federalism.³⁰

²⁷ José Mena Castillo, Historia compendiada del Estado de Sinaloa. 2 vols. (Mexico City:
²⁸ Mena, Historia compendiada del Estado de Sinaloa, 252, 282-3; Buelna, Apuntes, 159,
161; Compendio, 33.
²⁹ Mena, Historia compendiada del Estado de Sinaloa, 269.
³⁰ Marcelo Carmagnani, ed., Federalismos latinoamericanos: México/Brasil/Argentina
(Mexico City: El Colegio de México, Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1993).
A common element of the works about the Restored Republic after Buelna's *Apuntes* is that they do not take advantage of all the wealth of information contained in Buelna's pioneering text. Except in some cases where Buelna is criticized or expanded upon, as he was by Mena, these other authors neither synthesize nor systematically critique the pioneering work. In some respects the chronology of events has been twisted and key issues addressed by Buelna, such as state sovereignty, federalism and economic development have been overlooked.\(^{31}\)

On the shoulders of Buelna, Mena and Cosío Villegas, and with a more systematic use of primary sources than Nakayama, Stuart F. Voss addresses the Restored Republic in Sinaloa in a book that covers a longer period and a larger region.\(^{32}\) This is the first work in which research and analysis are woven around a central theme: in this case, the integration of Sonora and Sinaloa into the Mexican nation. According to the author, Sinaloa became integrated after the Reform war and the French Intervention. These wars were the catalysts of two movements. In the first one, Sinaloa started to become part of the nation, and in the second, Sinaloans began to feel that they were Mexicans. Before those crucial wars, Sinaloa had experienced local autonomy and a great attraction to the U.S. southwest. During the Porfiriato, Sinaloa integrated into the nation to reach political

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stability and start economic and social progress. Voss affirms that national integration occurred at the expense of the old local autonomy, since centralism was the corollary of the nationalism that started to be practiced in those days.

Voss’s argument that Sinaloa’s integration into the nation was a product of Sinaloans’ participation in war and politics at the national level is weakened by the seeming irony of Sinaloans’ acceptance of centralism. Here the author shows his incomprehension of Porfirista rhetoric during the time of the La Noria and Tuxtepec armed rebellions, of the reasons for local opposition to Lerdismo, and of the nature of the first days of Porfirismo. Voss does not stress that former Juaristas and Lerdistas converged with the Porfiristas during the Tuxtepecan rebellion and its aftermath because of the Porfiristas alluring discourse that vindicated state sovereignty and local autonomy. This is, the erstwhile rivals concurred on advocating respectful relations between the upper and lower levels of government: a democratic federalism. Moreover, contemporaries did not see that support of Porfirismo meant loss of political control, dictatorship and the postponement of popular demands. As Buelna and Mena state, the Sinaloans supported a Porfirismo which promised the enjoyment of state sovereignty and political democracy, but they were far from imagining that their goals would not be fulfilled by Díaz, the hero against the French Intervention.

In an essay covering nineteenth-century Sinaloa from Independence to the Revolution, Ortega and López Mañón address the Restored Republic, synthesizing the works from Buelna to Voss. For Ortega and López, the years after the defeat of the
French represent for Mexico the beginnings of a double process: the integration of a national market and the integration of Mexico into the global economy. Conceptual parallelism can be observed between Voss's and Ortega and López's formulations. While the former talks about the northwest being integrated into the nation, Ortega and López claim that the regional market was being integrated into the national and global markets. According to the latter, the Restored Republic was an episode in the process of the development of dependent capitalism. México, including Sinaloa, had begun a process of economic dependency on the United States during the Restored Republic, a process that would reach its maturity in the Porfiriato.  

Among Ortega and López's contributions, their effort to formulate a tight synthesis of the general history of the period, using the best-known texts, should be pointed out. During this period, say the authors, Sinaloans and other Mexicans tried to apply economic and political liberalism under a republican system which has not changed since then. Next, they discuss economic production and the political division in the state, the political conflicts and the negative impact on Mazatlán of both national economic policies and local political incidents.

Ortega and López recognize the military and the big merchants to be the major political actors and sources of conflict. They stress that the state, which was in the process of being established, was too weak to suppress conflict. These authors also

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describe the diverse economy and conclude that economic recovery was slow amid a continual political and social conflict during the decade from 1867 to 1877.\(^{34}\)

Along with the preceding works, there can be found a set of essays, book chapters or papers presented to academic conferences which address either a specific aspect of the Restored Republic, an institution, or an outstanding personality of the decade. Hector R. Olea’s book on the constitutions of Sinaloa from independence to the Revolution stands out because of its relevance to the understanding of the kind of government and society that Sinaloans intended to shape and the ideology and values supporting the state-building project.\(^{35}\) Nakayama injects human warmth into the historiography of the period as he outlines the biographies of Rubí, Buelna and Uriarte, who represent key social sectors of the period, namely the military, the civil and the ecclesiastic sectors.\(^{36}\) Other works by Olea inform us about Buelna, emphasizing his contribution to the establishment of the Liceo Rosales, now the University of Sinaloa.\(^{37}\) This work can be classified as both

\(^{34}\) Ortega and López reach for the Sinaloan economy the same conclusion Cosío Villegas and his team reach for the entire nation.

\(^{35}\) H.R. Olea, *Sinaloa a través de sus constituciones* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1985). The constitutions in force during the Restored Republic are found on pp. 175-222.


\(^{37}\) H.R. Olea, *Eustaquio Buelna, fundador de la Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa* (Culiacán: Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, 1987). Another work about this educational institution by the same author is “La Universidad de Sinaloa y su historia,” in
a biography and an institutional history. The history of the Culiacán minting house, the Casa de Moneda, established in 1846 and closed in 1905, can also be classified as an institutional history. The study of this institution is particularly interesting, as it was the source of an export commodity, a means of payment, and money for the rebels of the period. More recent works emphasize the leading merchants' fraudulent practices during uprisings and the growing American presence throughout the decade.

The historiography on the Restored Republic in Sinaloa has gone from the nineteenth-century historical method of narrating the sequence of political events to more modern conceptions of a comprehensive history that includes economics, politics, society and culture. As we go along this path we observe two concomitant movements: on the one hand, the increasing use of a working hypothesis to be tested or of a theme around which to weave the analysis or the narrative, and on the other hand the increasingly systematic use of primary sources, both manuscripts and printed primary sources. Instead

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G. Estrada et al., *Homenaje al Sr. don Eustaquio Buelna, fundador de la Universidad de Sinaloa* (Culiacán: Universidad de Sinaloa, 1963), 24-34.


39 R. Román, "El contrabando de mercancías por Mazatlán (1871-1872)," tapped the Archivo General de Notarias del Estado de Sinaloa (AGNES) to reveal the Mazatlán merchants’ fraudulent practices; Rigoberto Rodríguez, "Sinaloa, 1867-1877: la presencia estadounidense," paper presented to the XIII Congreso Nacional de Historia Regional, Culiacán, December, 1997, used consular reports and the *Commercial Relations* prepared by the U.S. State Department.
of a Restored Republic overwhelmed by conflict in which Lerdo's obstinate fight for reelection explains the advent of the Porfiriato and the rise of Colín. Francisco Cañedo to local power, a new image emerges. This new view reveals a richer life where, along with the struggle for power, daily struggles to produce goods and services and to build an identity are also waged. Particularly in Voss's book and Ortega and López's brief essay, Sinaloan politics and economics are likened to national and international processes such as nation building and national and global market integration.

SINALOA 1867

What was Sinaloa's situation as the republic was being restored in the late 1860s? About 160,000 Sinaloans inhabited four cities, ten villas and eight towns distributed in nine districts. These districts were divided into municipalities and the municipalities into alcaldías. Sinaloa's total surface added up to 58,000 square kilometers. Between the Sierra Madre to the east and the Gulf of California and the Pacific Ocean to the west, Sinaloa is endowed with fertile valleys whose size decrease as one moves from the northwestern base to the southeastern corner of a truncated triangle. Mazatlán and the mining town of Rosario were the most important settlements in the south, while Culiacán
in the center and Sinaloa and El Fuerte in the north concentrated a population that practiced subsistence agriculture.\(^4\)

Most of the population was *mestizo*, but, according to Buelna, there were also whites (Spanish and Creoles), Indians, mulattos and a few blacks; regretfully, the sources do not provide exact figures. Although the Indian population had been drastically declining since the Spanish conquest, there was an important number of Mayo Indians in the northern districts of Sinaloa and El Fuerte. Moreover, small Indian communities were scattered in central and southern Sinaloa. The Indian community of Ajoya, in the district of San Ignacio, which had defended the republic during the French Intervention, later supported the first liberal government of the Restored Republic in Sinaloa and joined the ranks of the Tuxtepecan rebels. Ajoya represented only one of the many Indian communities scattered over central and southern Sinaloa. Immigrants from Tepic—then part of Jalisco—constituted an additional demographic element. They had begun to reside in southern Sinaloa since the 1850s. Some immigrants were small merchants and farmers, while others filled positions in the federal garrison in Mazatlán.

The system of government was republican, representative and popular, divided between the executive, legislative and judiciary branches. An elected governor was the chief executive and a vice-governor, also elected, was first in the line of succession in case of the governor’s death, removal or temporary absence. The term of both offices was

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four years. A unicameral state legislature, made up of a representative from each of the nine districts, was renewed every two years. A chief justice and three associate justices, all of whom were appointed by the state legislature, formed the state Supreme Court, which served a term of four years. Judges of the first instance, appointed for four years by the state Supreme Court, and alcaldes (justices of the peace), elected annually by popular vote, were also part of the state judiciary. The judges' jurisdictions were their respective districts, and the alcaldes' authority circumscribed the municipalities.

In the districts, a prefect who was appointed by the governor and a political director who was elected annually by popular vote in the municipalities exerted executive authority. An ayuntamiento (municipal council) exerted legislative authority in each municipality. Between three to nine members composed these collective bodies, according to the importance of the municipality. All members of the ayuntamientos were elected annually by popular vote.

The wars, particularly the French Intervention, left in their wake ruined farms and haciendas, razed pastures, and numerous burned settlements in the southern districts. The rhythm of trade also subsided. Flooded mines, destroyed machinery and unnavigable roads compounded the problems that businessmen and the government faced during the Restored Republic. These discouraging conditions had not substantially improved by late 1869 and the development of productive infrastructure lagged.

In spite of efforts to further literacy and provide job training for Sinaloan youngsters before the French Intervention, the school system at the outset of the Restored
Republic was poorly developed. One Catholic seminary in Culiacán and a secondary school in Mazatlán complemented a small number of elementary schools throughout the state and a secondary school in Mazatlán. Since 1838, the seminary had provided both a religious education for the clergy and a preparatory education for those seeking a degree in the liberal professions. The seminary's dual function attested to the need to create a civil institution whose graduates could perform these duties. The urgency to strengthen the new secular state and weaken the church pressed the new republican liberal government to establish such an institution of higher learning in the civilian sector.

Mazatlán and Culiacán were the most important cities in political and economic matters. Mazatlán was a commercial center and seat of the state government, the first Mexican port in the Pacific and the seat of a customs house. It housed a federal garrison and concentrated most of the urban real estate in Sinaloa. The pairing of the federal garrison, headed by restless and ambitious men, and rich merchants, accustomed to influencing civil politicians and the military to expand their profits, proved to be an explosive mix.

Rivaling Mazatlán, Culiacán was the second most important city in the state. Having been the state capital city for most of the time since the creation of the state in 1831, it aspired to recover that status, supported by the new civilian liberal leaders like Eustaquio Buelna. Less urbanized than Mazatlán and with fewer factories, Culiacán was settled in a fertile valley. In 1867, the Casa de Moneda (the Mint House) of Culiacán had
been coining silver and gold for two decades and was therefore a target for all rebels attempting to seize state power.\footnote{To support the arguments in this study I have thoroughly reviewed, for the years 1867-1877, the following archives: Archivo Histórico del Congreso del Estado de Sinaloa (AHCES), in Culiacán; Archivo General de Notarías del Estado de Sinaloa (AGNES), in Culiacán; Archivo Municipal de Mazatlán (AMM), in Mazatlán; and Archivo Municipal de Culiacán (AMC), in Culiacán. The *Commercial Relations of the United States with Foreign Nations* and the dispatches from the U.S. Consul in Mazatlán to the U.S. Secretary of State in Washington have also been scrutinized for the same time period. Printed primary sources, such as Eustaquio Buelna’s *Compendio histórico, geográfico y estadístico*, Domingo Rubí’s 1869 *Memoria*, and Santiago Calderón’s *Apuntes estadisticos de Mazatlán*, have been more deeply mined to extract information previously unexploited or underutilized.}
CHAPTER 1

STATE FORMATION: LEGAL FRAMEWORK AND GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVISM

After the brief and frustrated imperial experiment led by Agustín de Iturbide in 1823, Mexico began its republican experience in 1824. Formerly provincial territories, Sonora and Sinaloa became an independent and sovereign state, the state of Occidente. However, it was a short-lived political entity. By 1831, the state had split into two independent states, Sonora and Sinaloa, and these became federated states of the nascent republic. More than two decades of republicanism in Sinaloa resulted in political conflict and an empty treasury. Conflict was aggravated by the revolution of Ayutla in 1854 and continued during the War of Reform (1858-1860) and the French Intervention (1862-1867). The Maximilian Empire suspended republican government in most of the Mexican territory, and Sinaloa was no exception. Although during the entire period from Mexican independence until 1867 the republican authorities governed all or part of the nation, and political, economic, social and cultural activities continued, the process of state formation was contested, resulting in weak federal institutions. The collapse of the Maximilian Empire at the end of 1866 in Sinaloa, and in the entire nation in July 1867 with the execution of Emperor Maximilian, marked the re-inauguration of the republican system.

Once Mexican liberals had defeated the domestic political opposition and the foreign enemy, everything seemed to indicate that Sinaloan liberals would meet no
obstacle in beginning a process of reconstruction of the political, economic and social bases of both the government and the republican institutions. Material and spiritual advancement—the nineteenth-century idea of progress—seemed to be at hand. As soon as the war was over, the military and civilians prepared themselves to participate in the tasks of the restoration of the republic in Sinaloa. They ignored the fact that after the struggles between liberals and conservatives and between nationalists and foreigners, one more fight remained—the struggle for power among the liberals themselves. This chapter will address the 1861 and 1870 state constitutions and other fundamental statutory laws that set the basis for organizing Sinaloan society and its government.¹

BUILDING STATE NORMS

The formation of a liberal state during the Restored Republic had as its legal foundation a federal republican constitution and its statutory laws. The creation of new legal professionals such as actuaries, notaries and lawyers reinforced the building of this state where power and favor yielded to a written law, guaranteeing liberty, equality and property, and turning contracts into public instruments.

¹ Chapters 3 and 4 discuss both the federal and state resistance to the state-building efforts and the tension between the federal and state governments. Chapters 5 and 6 cover the nature and achievements of the educational projects, as well as the construction of state symbolism.
The constitutional foundations on which Sinaloa reinitiated its republican life in 1867 were those contained in the 1861 Constitution, which, in turn, incorporated the guidelines in the 1857 Federal Constitution. The Sinaloan constitution established state independence and sovereignty within the federal union and mandated a republican system of representative government with a balance of power among the executive, legislative and judicial branches. The Magna Carta had been undergoing changes paralleling those of the nation and the state since 1825 when the first republican constitution was enacted.

During the Restored Republic the state constitution underwent an additional reform that improved its humanitarian character and extended political democracy; at the same time, it provided assurances for real independence between the local legislative and executive powers.

CONSTITUTIONS

An overview of the Sinaloan republican constitutions before that of 1861 will allow an understanding of the significance of the reforms and advances contained in the state constitutions of 1861 and 1870. The constitutions of 1825, 1831 and 1852 had as their source the 1824 federal constitution. They established state sovereignty within the federal union and acquainted Sinaloans with the concept of republican government, the
three branches of government and individual liberties. Unlike later constitutions, these earlier constitutions still showed a religious overtone. The constitution approved in 1825, which governed what today constitutes the states of Sinaloa and Sonora in Mexico and southern Arizona in the United States, imparts the most religious tone. Article 6 declares Catholicism as the state religion with no tolerance of others. The oath that the electoral boards and state legislators had to take also expressed that religion as they swore “by God [their] Lord and the sacred gospels,” to act as competent representatives. In addition, the legislators swore, placing their hands on the sacred book, to maintain and religiously guard the general constitution of the republic and the matters of the state. Elementary education was also imbued with religiosity, for with reading, writing and arithmetic, “the catechism of the Christian doctrine” was also to be taught.

The liberalism of the pioneering republican constitution abolished slavery and the sale of Indians, prohibited torture, and initiated the destruction of Indian culture and communal property. After establishing the governmental obligation to protect private property, guarantee public security and uphold equality, Article 4 specifically prohibited


3 Ibid, 39.


5 Ibid, 86.
slavery and the traffic of "barbarian" Indians. One of the legislature's duties was to manage the transfer of the Indian communal land to private property. Lastly, Article 244 banned torture, and Article 249 prescribed that jails were meant to hold prisoners, not to "harm or mistreat them."  

After political conflict marked the first years of republican life, Sonora and Sinaloa separately acquired the status of independent and sovereign states in 1831. The Sinaloan constitution of that year attracted attention because it dealt a severe blow to the Church although it maintained a religious tone in its introduction and the body of the text. While Article 5 upheld Catholicism as the state religion, Article 10 established that "ecclesiastic corporations are not allowed to acquire any real estate in the state."  

The 1852 Constitution, which its promoters touted as a substantial reform to the 1831 Constitution, did not go beyond ratifying the central elements of the two preceding constitutions. The third republican constitution reiterated the creation of a society based on merit over privilege, the abolition of slavery, the banning of torture and the protection of individual liberties. It also affirmed Catholicism's position as the official religion while restricting the accumulation of wealth by the Church.  

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6 Ibid, 38, 56 and 78. For the laws 88 and 89 passed by the legislature on 30 September 1828, which dictated directions for attacking the Indian communities, see Idem, 98-9.  

7 Ibid, 115-6. Some additional articles of this 1831 constitution stand out. Article 6 abolishes slavery; Article 7 founds society based on merit; Article 9 bans torture; and Article 22 contains the individual freedoms. See Ibid, 116, 118-9.  

8 Ibid, 155-6.
time, the *patronato*, the prevalence of the government over the Church in state-Church relations, was mentioned. Article 77 established that it was a prerogative of the governor to exercise the patronato in accordance with the law.⁹ Sinaloa thus became the pioneering state in combating the Church; this would later lead to the disentailment and the nationalization of ecclesiastical property and, ultimately, to the separation of Church and State.¹⁰

The state constitution of 1861 took up the liberal principles of the federal constitution of 1857, but because of the wars of Reform and French Intervention, the state could apply it only after the restoration of the republic. Once the failed second imperial experiment was over, Sinaloans re-initiated a republican system of government on the basis of a constitution that would not be adopted the supreme law of the land for some years. The incorporation of religious tolerance was the major innovation in this constitutional text. Through tolerance, Sinaloa expected to reach two goals: to attain the level of civilization of the most progressive nations and to attract immigrants from those countries.

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⁹ Ibid, 167-8. As the Spanish Crown, with the consent of the papacy, had prevailed over the Church in colonial times, the republican governments of independent Mexico wanted to exercise the same prerogative. See Michael P. Costeloe, *Church and State in Independent Mexico. A Study of the Patronage Debate, 1821-1857* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978).

¹⁰ Olea, *Sinaloa a través de sus constituciones*, 181. Article 10 of the 1831 state constitution had started this opposition, as it prescribed that the Church was not allowed to acquire any real estate in the state. See note number 7.
Although the constitution begins by invoking the Supreme Being, author and preserver of societies, this was not necessarily the God of the Catholics anymore. Article 5 asserts the freedom to practice any religion, privately and publicly, and the remainder of the articles do not contain any religious reference either when addressing the taking of oaths to guard the constitution or when prescribing public instruction. The consolidation of a secular state gained ground.

Nonetheless, some other parts of the 1861 constitutional text reveal the shortcomings of the political democracy and the judicial system. Under a system of universal male suffrage, Sinaloan men elected several authorities and representatives such as the governor, vice-governor, legislators and municipal councilmen by indirect vote. But voters could not vote for prefects of districts nor for the justices of the Supreme Court. Article 46 still included the designation of local political authorities as one of the governor’s prerogatives, and Article 62 established that the justices of the state Supreme

\[\text{\footnotesize{[11] At the federal level, “Elections during the Restored Republic...were conducted according to the election law of 12 February 1857. The state governors were responsible for dividing their states into electoral districts of 40,000 inhabitants and for designating a city in each one to serve as the seat of the district electoral college. The municipal government (ayuntamiento) of the electoral seat was to divide each electoral district into sections of 500 inhabitants. A national primary election was held every two years by decree (convocatoria) of Congress. On the final Sunday of June the appropriately registered voters (within the principle of universal [male] suffrage) selected an elector to represent the section at the district electoral college. In the district electoral colleges, commencing on the second Sunday in July, the electors cast their votes in the 'secondary elections' for a congressman and an alternate to represent the district in the unicameral Congress and for one or more magistrates of the Supreme Court.” See Perry, Juárez and Díaz, 57. Indirect election was also used to conduct state elections in Sinaloa until 1870.}}\]
Court would be named by the state legislature.\textsuperscript{12} To deal with criminal matters, the constitution ratified the establishment of juries, although their introduction would be “gradual regarding the localities as well as the matters involved.”\textsuperscript{13} Finally, to appease merchants and entrepreneurs, the constitution declared that forced loans would not be levied.\textsuperscript{14}

Sinaloa had made remarkable progress in constitutional matters since it ceased being a province of the Spanish Empire. To the republican system of government, the protection of individual liberties and property, restrictions to the Church, and religious tolerance were added. During the Restored Republic, the Sinaloan legislators had still more new ideas to offer for the functioning of society.

Toward the end of 1869, during Governor Domingo Rubí’s term of office, the state legislature hotly debated constitutional reforms that accentuated the liberal and republican profile of Sinaloan society and government that was taking shape. Several provisions of the constitution which took effect early 1870 stand out, including the

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid, 186, 192, 195. Although Article 9 did not place any restriction other than age for the citizens to exercise their rights—18 years old if married and 21 if single—women did not vote. The constitution of 1870 also includes this provision. Idem, 206. In Mexico, women did not acquire the right to vote nationwide until 1953.

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid, 195. The law mandating trial by jury for thieves was promulgated by General Plácido Vega in Mazatlán, on 12 June 1861.

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid, 196. The 1870 constitution, Article 76, also includes this proviso. Idem, 218.
abolition of the death penalty, the extension of political democracy and the strengthening of legislative power.

Sinaloan legislators, wishing for their state to become integrated into the worldwide civilizing and modernizing process begun with the Enlightenment in the late eighteenth century, incorporated the respect of life into their constitutional text. If the 1861 constitution showed progressive signs with the elevation of religious tolerance to constitutional rank, the 1870 constitution could boast of the abolition of the death penalty in its fifth article.\(^{15}\) Showing respect for life enhanced Sinaloa's attractiveness as a transit point, center of commerce, and place of residence. The national press acknowledged the progressive and humanitarian nature of this constitutional reform.

The 1870 constitution, which remained unmodified for a decade, extended the political participation of the citizenry in the election of their authorities and increased the number of authorities they could elect. Whereas until then the vote was cast indirectly through electoral colleges, now the population could directly elect most public officials including the prefects of districts and the justices of the state Supreme Court. Article 17 declared the popular election of legislators, while Articles 53 and 65 established the popular election of all justices of the state Supreme Court.\(^{16}\) Politicians of the time

\(^{15}\) Ibid, 206.

\(^{16}\) Ibid, 207, 215, 217.
emphasized the extension of political democracy as one of the fundamental contributions of this constitution.17

But the 1870 constitution also contained a controversial provision. The governor, formerly the major power of the republican government triad, saw his customary authority over the legislators restricted. Now the legislative branch by itself could make decisions pertaining to the common good, although sometimes it would act in concert with the executive branch. The legislature would assert its independence from the executive branch in case of conflict between them. Article 29 states:

> If a conflict should occur between the executive branch and the legislature; or if the latter should feel it does not have the liberty to deliberate either in general or specific terms, it will issue orders it considers appropriate to any authority or official of the State National Guard, with the objective of assuring free debate and compliance regarding its decisions. It will also be able to ask assistance from the armed forces or other federal authorities.18

Article 38, section 4, also granted independence to the legislative commission operating during the recesses of the legislature. This legislative body was entitled to

convoke the legislature to another place of the state when the capital city because of a popular movement or any other kind of coaction does not provide the necessary freedom to deliberate.19

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17 Boletín Oficial del Estado de Sinaloa (BOES) 1: 1, 14 January and 6, 25 January 1870.

18 Olea, Sinaloa a través de sus constituciones, 209.

19 Ibid, 212.
Previously, convening the legislature at a place other than the capital city required the governor's permission.

A final issue to emphasize is the one regarding the temporary restrictions of some individual liberties and the extraordinary powers conferred upon the state executive. Because of the wars, rebellions, revolts and uprisings, it had become normal to restrict liberties and empower the executive. Thus, the governor maintained extraordinary legislative and executive authority in war and taxation matters. The first republican constitutions provided that, in case of a foreign invasion or domestic turmoil, the governor could adopt emergency measures and then inform the legislature. However, the 1861 and 1870 constitutions asserted that it was the state legislature which conferred these faculties upon the executive branch and reviewed the acts emanating from their use.

**STATUTORY LAWS**

The constitutional basis upon which the Sinaloan state was constructed required corresponding statutory laws to put the language of the constitution into practice. The local legislature passed and the governor sanctioned statutes regulating the functioning of the three branches of government and other laws of the most diverse nature. This secondary legislation shows the government's interest in bringing the envisioned state to
fruition. This section will discuss the 1870 electoral law, the statutes of the state legislature and other statutes regarding the administration of justice.

Sinaloan liberals considered the citizenry’s participation in elections and periodic replacement of authorities as a basic ingredient in modern state building. The 1870 Constitution set forth the expansion of political democracy; now the electoral law would determine the organization of elections, the casting of votes and the legality of the election.

The law had three basic attributes. It guaranteed universal male suffrage, asserted free voting and dealt a severe blow to the meddling of the military by excluding soldiers from the suffrage. After May 1870, the participation of Sinaloans in elections grew dramatically. To better understand the difference between direct and indirect voting, one can compare the votes Eustaquio Buelna and Manuel Márquez de León received in the 1871 state election with those received by Benito Juárez and Porfirio Díaz in the presidential election of the same year. Direct voting was employed in the former case and indirect voting in the latter. The votes cast for Buelna and Márquez were on the order of tens of thousands while those cast for Juárez and Díaz were on the order of tens. In addition, the law tried to assure the freedom of suffrage by prohibiting the authorities from pressuring voters. The law prescribed that the governor was not permitted to tour

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20 As it was stated, only males over 18 years old if married or 21 if single voted. See footnote 11.
the state during his last year in office—the electoral year—to prevent him from influencing the voters’ decisions. Finally, garrisoned soldiers were not allowed to vote because it was considered that they would vote as directed by their superiors. Military hierarchy would control the soldiers’ votes, making a mockery of the freedom of suffrage. In addition, this measure intended to tip the balance toward the civilian sector as society was restructured and power was challenged.

As electoral processes were such a fundamental part of building a republican system of government, the scheduling of long-delayed elections in places where they had not been conducted for numerous reasons formed a part of the legislature’s regular agenda. Even before the 1870 electoral law, the legislature kept itself occupied discussing the problems of local elections, such as those in Cacalotán and San Ignacio, where political unrest impeded the elections. This practice of deliberation of local problems increased after the new electoral law was passed. Some of the localities that had to elect their authorities at times other than normal election days were Mazatlán, Ocoroni, Chametla, Ajoya, San Javier and San Jose de las Delicias, as well as Capirato,

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21 Archivo Histórico del Congreso del Estado de Sinaloa (AHCES), Law Number (DN) 63, 13 May 1870; BOES 1:31, Mazatlán, 1 and 6 May 1870, 175-8.

22 On 8 May 1873, the state legislature reformed the electoral law, but months later it returned to the 1870 law, AHCES DN 6, 10 October 1873.

23 AHCES DN 22, 29 November 1869 and DN 33, 7 January 1870.
Badiraguato, El Fuerte, Choix and Rosario.\(^{24}\) Turmoil or the threat of rebellion sometimes forced the authorities to postpone elections.\(^{25}\)

The 1870 constitutional reform increased the complexity of the electoral processes since it included the election of justices of the state Supreme Court. In addition to the ordinary election of these officials, there were elections to find replacements for the justices and their alternates who had resigned.\(^{26}\) Sinaloa thus contributed to dynamic political activity, a fundamental characteristic of the Restored Republic.\(^{27}\)

Other statutes, designed to shape society and its government, were aimed at defending the institutions and perfecting the function of the legislative and judicial

\(^{24}\) Mazatlán: AHCES DN 79 and 80, 13 and 26 August 1870; Ocoroni, District of Sinaloa, DN 112, 14 March 1871; election of the civil magistrate in Chametla, District of Rosario, DN 130, 29 April 1871; Ajoya, District of San Ignacio, DN 30, 30 December 1873; San Javier, District of San Ignacio, DN 43, 13 April 1874; San José de las Delicias, DN 69, 6 June 1874; Capirato, District of Mocorito, DN 70, 9 June 1874; Badiraguato, DN 14, 26 June 1875; El Fuerte, DN 34, 4 April 1876; Choix, District of El Fuerte, DN 36, 10 April 1876; Rosario, DN 43, April 1876.

\(^{25}\) Local elections normally took place on the first Sunday of November each year. Social unrest in October 1875 forced the state legislature to postpone the elections until the last Sunday of November; once the state was pacified, the legislators approved the conduct of the elections. See AHCES DN 10, 13 November 1875.

\(^{26}\) On ordinary elections for the period between 1873 and 30 September 1877, see AHCES DN 7, 11 October 1873 and DN 15, 21 November 1873; on Judge Antonio Cañedo resigning for lack of payment, see DN 156, 23 April 1872; on election of justices of the state court, see DN 21, 6 January 1876.

\(^{27}\) The electoral legislation generated conflicts not only between civilians and the military, but also between the legislative and executive branches of government. The next chapter discusses these issues.
branches of government. The foundation of the National Guard complied with Article 47 of the 1861 Constitution, which established that “the Governor will organize and command the National Guard of the state.” The need to provide security, the fear of revolt and the certainty that armed citizens were the most secure means of support for the republican institutions encouraged the legislature and the executive to pass this law.\(^{28}\)

Internal rules and regulations of the legislative branch provided the checks and balances necessary to assert the legislature’s independence to deliberate without any pressure from the executive branch, to establish direct relations with the municipal councils, and to convene in a different location.\(^{29}\) The independence of the judiciary and the specifics of its democratic organization were established in the internal rules and regulations of the state Supreme Court. In the interim between military rule of 1872 and Buelna’s regaining his seat as constitutional governor, the chief justice of the state Supreme Court, Judge Jesús Río, assumed executive power. As governor he exercised his extraordinary authority and on 21 November 1872 published a statute governing the state Supreme Court. Judge Francisco Malcampo opposed the statute because the extraordinary powers did not authorize the governor to legislate judicial matters and because the statute placed the Chief Justice above the other members of the court. Once Buelna was in office, he

\(^{28}\) AHCES DN 25, 19 September 1868.

\(^{29}\) Olea, Sinaloa a través de sus constituciones, 209, reports the approval of legislation to organize the internal government of the state legislature in Sinaloa in 1870.
rejected the statute and approved one that was in accord with constitutional procedures, 
thus respecting the democratic spirit that gave life to the liberal legislation of the era.  

LAWYERS, ACTUARIES AND NOTARIES

The formation of a liberal state required capable professionals trained in juridical sciences--lawyers, actuaries and notaries--to attend to the tasks of government in its three branches and to legalize transactions between private individuals. During the Restored Republic, the state legislature passed bills that allowed those who fulfilled the prerequisites to take the exam to become lawyers, and it legislated tariffs for these services. Furthermore, legislators accorded to actuaries and notaries the status of public

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30 Interim Governor Jesús Rio published his organic law in El Fénix, 21 November 1872. Buelna's law is found in AHCES DN 65, 5 April 1873. Many laws addressed the judicial system; some of these follow: DN 26, 21 September 1868, granting the state judges leeway to name and remove the secretaries of their courts, without these secretaries having to be actuaries; DN 55, 26 February 1869, which mandated lay judges inexperienced in criminal law to consult with the learned judges on hand; the DN 4, 24 March; 58, 30 April; 61 and 68, 19 May and 69, 30 May 1869; 87, 27 October 1870 and 35, 20 January 1874, dealing with how to organize work in the Supreme Court; DN 50, 9 February 1873, where lawyer Gómez Flores considered that jurisprudence embodied intelligence and practical knowledge; DN 92, 13 May 1873, the resignation of Judge Francisco Malcampo for lack of payment; DN 105, 22 May 1873, resignation of judge Guillermo A. Ponce de León; DN 39, 30 March 1874, called Jesús Bringas to assume his position as an alternate judge; DN 61, 15 May 1874, instructed the personnel on how to handle official judicial files; DN 156, 23 April 1875, granted Judge Antonio Cañedo a four-month leave of absence; DN 12, 24 November 1875, authorized constitutional justices of the peace to fulfill their duties even outside their geographic jurisdiction; DN 26, 30 December 1875, called for elections of two judges and an alternate.
employees. Finally, they crowned this effort to build a contractualist society by including
the training of lawyers among the courses of study offered by the Colegio Rosales, an
educational institution opened in Culiacan in 1874.

Before the restoration of the Republic and the establishment of the Colegio
Rosales, the state had graduated professionals of law through the state Supreme Court, a
practice which continued during the Restored Republic. Politicians, public servants and
interested private individuals took advantage of this route. To request an exam before the
state Supreme Court, those interested had to prove by means of legal certificates that they
already had passed their theoretical and practical tests. If they could not produce one or
both of these certificates, the applicants could request from the legislature exemption
from this requirement.\textsuperscript{31} The approval of this exemption was not automatic, as the case of
Carlos F. Galán demonstrates. Although Galán was a well-trained and experienced
lawyer, his first application was rejected. Later, however, legislators and the governor
allowed him to pursue his application for exemption.\textsuperscript{32}

The requests for exemptions ran the gamut from partial exemption from only the
practice component to complete exemption from the required certificates that

\textsuperscript{31} Ruperto Inzunza, Francisco Medina, Basilio Aguiar, Basilio Avila, José María Gaxiola
y B. and Luis Rivas García petitioned for an exemption from either certificates or practice
to be examined as lawyers. The petitions and corresponding resolutions are recorded in
AHCES DN 22, 17 August 1868; 4 November 1872; 52, 20 March 1873; 152, 9 April
1875; 173, 12 May 1875; 176, 12 May 1875.

\textsuperscript{32} Galán finished his studies in 1865 but had no certificate proving it; consequently he
petitioned for an exemption from the legislature. AHCES DN 46, 7 January 1869.
demonstrated both theoretical and practical expertise. Some applicants for exemption from the practice requirement cited an illness; in cases of missing certificates other applicants argued that the destruction of archives in their place of origin merited exemption status.

In defense of their petitions for exemptions, applicants contended that the United States attached more value to exam-validated knowledge than to certificates that proved a particular course of study. In their judgments, legislative committee members also appealed to practices of validating knowledge in the United States to reinforce their arguments for affirmative answers to the petitioners.\(^{33}\)

Additional measures to ensure a high level of professionalism in the burgeoning Republic followed. In late 1869, the legislature established certification requirements for individuals who studied jurisprudence in foreign schools of law and wanted to obtain the title of lawyer in the state. These requirements involved a two-month practice in the office of the state Supreme Court preparing briefs of civil and criminal suits and critically evaluating of the allegations. Justices of the Supreme Court would assess the quality of this practice, and the apprentice would have to earn a good evaluation to acquire credit toward certification. A three-hour examination before a five-lawyer committee would follow, during which the prospective lawyer would answer questions about constitutional

\(^{33}\) Francisco G. Flores made the comparison with the United States. AHCES DN 43, 21 December 1868.
and administrative laws, principles of civil and penal law, and international law. Finally, the applicant had to undergo a public examination where he would defend for a half an hour a topic selected forty-eight hours in advance by the court.\textsuperscript{34} A year later, however, the legislature adopted new criteria. Petitioners who could not prove their theoretical and practical training would have to practice in the office of the Supreme Court for four months. Instead of a three-hour examination, the applicants would participate in a two-part oral examination, each part two hours long. The terms of the public examination remained unchanged.\textsuperscript{35}

The remarkable importance the government placed on actuaries and notaries public in the process of state building is shown by the law ascribing the status of public employment to their offices. The representatives of the Sinaloan state thought it fundamental to ensure a sufficient number of these professionals in vital locations. They were also concerned about maintaining the monopoly in the licensure of these professionals. Thus, facing the concentration of notaries in Mazatlán and the shortage of these professionals in most of the district capitals, the legislature authorized “the executive to dictate the dispositions he deems convenient regarding the profession of actuary, taking up from the law of actuaries and notaries of the Federal District of 29

\textsuperscript{34} AHCES DN 26, 16 December 1869. Legislators initiated this law. Legislators Romero and Rivas constituted the legislative commission that prepared the draft.

\textsuperscript{35} AHCES DN 92, 5 November 1870.
November 1867, the dispositions he deems adaptable."^36 Thus read the second article of a law whose explanatory portion defined the office of actuary and contained a history of this profession. This exposition contains a thorough essay on the history of this profession in Spain since the mid-thirteenth century and a definition of actuary, as it was understood in 1859. According to the essay, an actuary was a public employee whose office was “to write and authorize in a manner prescribed by law, contracts, wills and judicial proceedings.” And, it was added, he was “the one who confers the instruments their public and authentic character.”^37

The declaration of the status of actuaries and notaries as public employees, and the laws regarding the licensing of lawyers, actuaries and notaries through the state Supreme Court went even further. When the Colegio Rosales was established in Culiacán in March 1874, the preparation of these professionals assumed a high priority. Rather significantly, the only part of the law initiative establishing the Colegio that underwent a modification was the one dealing with the mechanisms to license the legal professionals. Whereas in the original articles the board of regents appointed a committee to examine these law professionals, the law left this requirement in the hands of the state Supreme

^36 AHCES DN 31, 2 January 1873.

^37 Ibid. The editors took this definition from the Escribano Instruído (1959). In the beginning of the Porfiriato in Sinaloa, the new legislators and Governor Cañedo, more attached to classic liberalism, declared the professions of actuary and notary free since, in legislators Luis Rivas García and Angel Bonilla’s view, “it is not possible, without violating the constitution, to impede the practice of actuaries and notaries by limiting it to only those individuals invested as public officials.” DN 34, 21 November 1877.
Court once again. The Colegio would prepare these professionals, but a solid pillar of the state, the state Supreme Court, would assess their mastery of the science of law before they entered the labor market to fulfill their mission in a contractualist society still under construction.\(^{38}\)

The sanctity of contracts was asserted when the legislature passed a bill conferring on these professionals the freedom to establish a schedule of charges for their services. The local representatives passed legislation granting the lawyers' freedom to bargain with their clients regarding the amounts and forms of payment of their fees. The drafters of contracts would thus benefit from the sanctity of the freedom to contract.\(^{39}\)

**GOVERNMENTAL ACTIVISM**

The state of Sinaloa was also built and consolidated through its power to govern the lives and liberties of its citizens, granting pensions, retirements and tax deductions, 

\(^{38}\) AHCES DN 91, 24 October 1874. On this date a regulation was passed which only slightly changed the one that had been in operation for the preceding six months. The most noteworthy change was the procedure to graduate lawyers. Although government officials controlled the Board of Education, both legislators and the executive wanted to make sure the state preserved the monopoly to graduate these professionals, so relevant in the construction of the new state.
and keeping records of births, marriages and deaths. To this end, during the Restored Republic, an extraordinary law was passed against highwaymen and kidnappers. Despite constitutional guarantees of due process in a court of law, the law sentenced to death such type of criminals in summary trials. The governor and the legislature had the power to pardon these criminals if deemed it prudent. The same authority to grant pardons was exercised in ordinary civil and criminal cases as well. Families and businesses in economic hardship were forced to ask the government for help, and the government pensioned the families of combatants who fell during the War of Reform and the French Intervention, as well as in the struggle for order and legality. In another show of patriotism, the government also retired with pensions the employees who had given their entire lives to public service. Furthermore, in its effort to build a secular state, the government gradually took away from the Church the authority for recording the key moments in the life of the population, from the cradle to the grave.

The application of the death penalty, the most dramatic of the state’s laws, merits additional examination to illuminate the priorities of the founders of the state government. President Juárez had recognized from the beginning of the Restored Republic the need to offer nationals and foreigners the security to conduct their daily business, from mercantile transactions to political, social and cultural activities. This arose as a major concern because at the war’s end, armed citizens were discharged and

39 AHCES DN 7, 27 October 1869. The elimination of the prerequisite of solvency by the parties involved in a judicial proceeding or contract was an additional administrative simplification. See DN 6, 10 October 1871.
cast upon a society unable to employ them. Banditry was the inevitable result and Juárez reacted energetically by authorizing a severe law that restricted civil liberties and harshly penalized assailants and kidnappers. Local authorities--political directors in the municipalities and prefects in the districts of the country--could put these criminals on trial and sentence them to death. Those convicted had three days to appeal to the governor for a pardon. The governor could decide to execute the convict, commute his sentence or set him free. The law against assailants and kidnappers was renewed annually and underwent reforms that showed governmental concern for the due process of law. Such reforms included the involvement of the legislators in deciding the fate of the convicts and the extension of the time available to appeal the sentences. This extension guaranteed a better legal defense and greater likelihood that the offender would have his life spared.40

Assailants and kidnappers caught in flagrant violation of the law were executed immediately, without recourse. Perpetrators of less egregious crimes petitioned for a pardon. In the former case, the press recorded the deaths of the criminals; in the latter, the petitioners were freed or their sentences were commuted to years of incarceration. In both cases state institutions constituted the bodies to which the convicts had to beg for their lives or their freedom. The state was a dual entity--one to be feared and the other to be grateful for.

40 D. Cosío Villegas, Historia moderna de Mexico. La Republica Restaurada. La vida política. 5th edition (Mexico City: Editorial Hermes, 1988), 236-304; for the Sinaloan case, see BOES 1:27 and 28, 30 April and 7 May 1870, 147, 151; AHCES DN 65, 15 May 1874.
Among the requests for pardon that reached the state legislature there were no cases of clear social banditry. Most of the cases involved illegal actions that were politically motivated, and the others were ordinary crimes where the alleged offenders did not exhibit a criminal pattern or have prior records of banditry. Most of these requests were resolved in the petitioners’ favor, since legislators and the governor upheld the state legislation that had abolished the death penalty beginning in early 1870.

However, the conflicts in the aftermath of the 1871 and 1875 elections moved the authorities to reinstate the death penalty against bandits. Francisco Cañedo, Vicente Vela, Manuel Hernández, Ignacio Solano and Juan Antonio Romero were sentenced to death because of their participation in the armed conflict that followed the 1871 elections. In these elections Buelna won the state governorship and Juárez the presidency of the republic, and the convicts vehemently opposed these results. When their cases reached the legislature, the legislators commuted the prisoners’ sentence to ten-year prison terms or exile, pursuant to the governor’s final decision. The clemency afforded Cañedo and Hernández was based on their past service to the state. Cañedo had been prefect of the district of Culiacán and had defended the population when Cristóbal Andrade attacked the city on 24 March 1871, and Hernández had fought against the French army. The lawyers for both parties argued for the abolition of the death penalty as a sign of the level of civilization Sinaloa had reached. Cañedo’s wife handed the legislators a poignant letter that praised her husband, and a group of ladies did the same on behalf of Hernández and Romero. The strong arguments, the popular support and the parties’ lack of previous
criminal records inclined the legislature and governor to suspend the execution of these
convicts.41

Less significant conflicts took place between 1871 and 1876, the dates of the La
Noria and Tuxtepec national Plans issued by Porfirio Díaz against the governments of
Juárez and Lerdo, respectively. Damián S. Ballesteros, Manuel Inzunza, Juan B. Inzunza,
Adolfo Ruiz, Feliciano Arangure, Salvador Rodríguez and others attacked Culiacán,
Mocorito and Badiraguato in July 1873; some of them were captured soon after. The
authorities prosecuted Ruiz, Arangure, Rodríguez and the Inzunzas, and with the
exception of Ruiz who got a three-year term of prison, all of them were set free. The
legislature acted generously for several reasons: in the case of Ruiz, the legislators cited
his youth and his willingness to cooperate with the authorities; in the case of Arangure,
they noted his good behavior and the allegation that he had been forced to join the rebels;
for Rodríguez, they indicated the lack of evidence; and in the case of the Inzunzas, they
referred to their services to the nation.42

The Inzunzas’ lawyers invited residents of Mocorito to attest to the patriotism of
Manuel, Juan’s son. The key witnesses from Mocorito duly stated that the young Manuel
had joined the army under then-Colonel Antonio Rosales and had taken part in the battle
of San Pedro in December 1864. They also affirmed that he had accompanied Rosales

41 See BOES II: 13, 31 March 1871, 51-2 and AHCES DN 14, 31 October 1871; DN 20,
21, 22 and 23, 14 November 1871; again regarding F. Cañedo, his mother pleaded to get
his civil rights completely restored, DN 70, 15 April 1873.
until his death in Álamos, Sonora. One of the witnesses went even further, asserting that the people of Mocorito should thank God that the Inzunzas had accompanied Ballesteros the day the rebels attacked the town. Had they not, the depredation would have been worse, they claimed. Again, the balance of justice bent toward the unruly Sinaloans.

As a prelude to the Tuxtepecan rebellion in Sinaloa in 1876 and in opposition to the fledgling government of Jesús M. Gaxiola, Susano Ortiz invaded Sinaloa from Durango. However, Ortiz and his followers succeeded only plundering rural towns in the district of Badiraguato. The local authorities of Badiraguato brought the accused to trial and sentenced at least seventeen of them to death. The convicted rebels appealed the sentences and requested an official pardon. Twelve obtained commutation of the death penalty to time in prison or public service. The legislators rejected the appeals of four of them. Five months later, however, three of the four had their lives spared on condition they performed fifteen years of public service.

The arguments in the rebels' defense took various forms. As soon as the local authorities of Badiraguato had sentenced the rebels to death, despite the scant evidence, several residents of that district clamored against the death penalty and in favor of a penalty intermediate between pardon and death. Lawyer Eligio Abitia argued the case from the same angle. Some of those spared from death, such as Cecilio González, Inés Jacobo and Manuel Zazueta, had rendered services to the state, and this worked in their

42 AHCES DN 15, 10 October 1873; DN 48, 21 April 1874; DN 150, 8 April 1875; DN 165, 12 May 1875.
favor. The lack of crucial evidence was also fundamental in the reversal of death penalty sentences.\textsuperscript{44}

The legislature’s decision to condemn Hilario Soto, Napomuceno Barraza, Donaciano Salas and Navor Rentería to death provoked a strong reaction from the population of Culiacán. The town councilmen sent a letter to the governor on 8 January 1876 on behalf of the convicts asking for their pardon; the permanent commission of legislators followed suit. In March, the governor ordered a stay of execution for the four convicts until the legislature could reconsider the cases once it reconvened. Thus the governor yielded to the popular pressure expressed in the legislature and in front of his own residence. Again, the fierce arguments that elimination of the death penalty was “the one and only sign of glory of the Sinaloan constitution over others of the republic” and the need to demonstrate Sinaloa’s participation in the worldwide movement toward civilization led the legislature to vote for the commutation of the capital punishment sentence to a fifteen-year term of public service.\textsuperscript{45}

When the law against assailants and kidnappers was applied in cases not related to political conflicts, many who sat on death row benefited from allegations of insufficient

\begin{footnotes}
\item[43] AHCES DN 165, 12 May 1875.
\item[44] AHCES DN 25, 6 January 1876.
\item[45] AHCES DN 46, 11 May 1876. Nepomuceno Barraza and Navor Rentería had lent services to the state. In the resolution, the name of D. Salas does not appear; an omission might have occurred because there is no reference that he was sentenced to death. Another explanation for omission could be the escape or death of the accused, prior to the new resolution’s date. Escaping was an ordinary event those days.
\end{footnotes}
evidence and had their lives spared. The prefect of Mazatlán’s district, José L. Inda, sentenced to death Francisco Rojas, Esteban Guzmán and ten others for their participation in the assault and assassination of Isidro Camarena, employee of Mazatlán merchant Adolfo Vergne. In this proceeding a letter from Governor Buelna is found, in which he lobbies for the severe punishment of the prisoners and against leniency, which would encourage crime. The legislators, in their draft, judged the governor’s missive inappropriate and they determined to spare the life of the accused in the absence of strong evidence.46 Jose Bazán, prefect of Mazatlán’s district, sentenced Jacinto García to death for purportedly assaulting and wounding English sailor James Cooper. García was a hard worker with two jobs and a thrifty wife, and the money found in his home during the judicial investigation might have been the product of his honest work. Moreover, the red stains on the accused’s hat and knife did not come from blood, according to the expert testimony of two professionals.47

Luciano Ramírez, political director of Chametla in the district of Rosario, sentenced Nestor García to death for the brutal machete assassination of Fernando Caravantes. According to García’s testimony, he and Caravantes were walking alone out of town when Caravantes hastened his pace to “meet death.” The local authorities did not

46 AHCES DN 70, 15 April 1873.
47 AHCES DN 67, August 1874.
believe García’s version, however, and sentenced him to death. In another case, Joaquín de la Vega, prefect of the district of Culiacán, handed the death sentence to Atilano Chairez and Dionisio Ochoa for the assault and wounding of Mrs. Luz Hernández during their attempted sexual attack of two young ladies.

Because of a lack of evidence, Rojas’s and Guzmán’s penalties were commuted to a three-year term of prison; Chairez’s and Ochoa’s, for ten and five years of public service, respectively, and Nestor García was freed. In all the cases the lives and freedom of the convicts were in the legislators’ and governor’s hands.

The legislators also received petitions for liberation from prisoners serving their terms or doing public works as their punishment. The reasons for their convictions ran the gamut from transgression of police regulations, to escape from prison, serious assault, and unpremeditated homicides up to murder in the first degree. The justifications used by the authorities to set them free were also varied, but the services the convicts had given to the state stood out in their favor.

When Manuel Valdes was serving as a police agent, he killed Ildefonso López, who had consumed an excessive amount of alcohol. López had insulted Valdes, who retaliated by shooting him. The justices of the Supreme Court ruled that Valdes had acted

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48 AHCES DN 94, 29 October 1874.

49 AHCES DN 24, 6 January 1876. In this case, as in many criminal cases of the period, the high consumption of alcohol involved in the criminal acts stands out. Another aspect to emphasize is that E. Buelna, now out of government, in his capacity as a litigant advocate, emphasizes the weakness of the proof against his clients. In this crime, the old lady received 10 machetazos, but, fortunately, the girls were able to escape with no harm.
impulsively, and since López was under the influence, Valdes could have handled the situation without having to take such an extreme measure. Nonetheless, Valdes’s life was spared owing to the services he had offered the state in a recent revolt. In another case Jesús Peraza was convicted of imprudently murdering Natividad Ontiveros, but as he had also defended the nation against the French Intervention and had a family to support, the authorities set him free. Under the same rationale, Angel López was released from prison. Two others, Francisco Díaz and Manuel Castañón, served two- and one-year terms of prison respectively and were set free. To their credit, they had taken part in the battle of San Pedro, in defense of the nation. Feliciano Ibarra, who wounded two individuals, benefited in court from his participation against Atenógenes Rodríguez’s revolt in Cosalá. Services to the state were an asset as well for Gregorio Núñez, Jesús Martínez and Jesús Aragón, who were accused of misdemeanors.

The concept of citing services to the nation and to humanity merits attention, as it repeatedly emerged in the petitions of pardon. In its original definition, services to the state or the nation meant patriotic services in armed defense of the homeland. All suspects or convicts having lent these services secured a lenient sentence or even

50 AHCES DN 180, 20 July 1875.

51 AHCES DN 81, 10 October 1874; DN 184, 14 August 1875.

52 AHCES DN 169, 11 May 1875; DN 19, 4 January 1876.

53 AHCES DN 185, 11 August 1875.
freedom, but when these services could not be proven or had not been performed at all, dedication to work, honesty and the support of a family could be expedient substitutes. Leonides Osuna, convicted of attempted homicide, and the murderer Jesús Peraza, mentioned earlier, claimed such circumstances, and thereby they obtained their freedom.\(^{55}\)

If serving the state generated benefits when facing the ultimate chance for reprieve, it also generated financial return in other crucial moments in the lives of Sinaloans, such as in old age after a life-long term of public service. Lawyer J. Antonio Aldrete, who served the judiciary for more than thirty-one years, received a monthly pension of eighty pesos for the rest of his life. Lucas Ayala served in lesser positions for thirty-five years and received twenty pesos per month. Joaquín Gaxiola, who worked for thirty-five years in the state treasury office, garnered a sum of sixty pesos per month, but not without the resistance of some legislators. The most fortunate beneficiary was Chief Treasurer Tomás Gómez who, having served the state for four decades, retired enjoying his final salary for the remainder of his life. His annual income of 2,196 pesos assured him a comfortable retirement.\(^{56}\)

The benevolence of the state was also demonstrated in particular circumstances such as in times of poverty and unprotected old age. María Ignacia Rodríguez reached old

\(^{54}\) AHCES DN 30, 30 September 1868; DN 139, 17 May 1871; DN 12, 27 April 1871.

\(^{55}\) ACHES DN 24, 24 November 1871; DN 81, 10 October 1874. Fortunately, both could also cite the lending of services to the state, in its traditional meaning.
age without the financial support of her husband, who had died early in 1868 defending
the constitutional order. The state rewarded her with two hundred pesos. Likewise,
widowed Isabel M. de Valenzuela requested a pension in 1874 because her son Jesús, her
only source of support, had died in combat during the November 1871 rebellion.
Likewise, Nicolasa Camacho de Boto asked to be exempted from paying her taxes, since
her son, who supported her, had died in the War of Reform. Lastly, Adelaido Izábal
petitioned to be exempted from paying a hundred-peso fine, citing the generous and well-
needed services he had given to the state. Another hero, Heraclio Layja, only petitioned
for the return of his political rights, which he had lost for disobeying the authorities; his
services proffered to the state during the French Intervention and the local rebellion of
early 1868 supported his petition.57

In addition to providing public assistance to its most deserving or desperate
citizens, the Sinaloan government also assumed control of the recording of births,
marriages and deaths, undoubtedly strengthening the nascent state. At the request of
interested parties the state also legitimated children born out-of-wedlock and empowered
minors. The petitions for legitimization were imbued with the spirit of the era; the parents
wanted their children to be protected by the law and to enjoy its benefits.58 References to

56 About J.A. Aldrete, AHCES DN 98, 15 May 1873; About Lucas Anaya, who also
worked for the state, DN 183, 9 August 1875; about Joaquín Gaxiola, DN 33, 13 January
1876; Tomás Gómez, DN 23, 6 January 1876.

57 AHCES DN 124, 24 April 1871; DN 54-bis, 11 May 1874; DN 140, 17 May 1871; DN
18, 1 December 1873; about Heraclio Layja, DN 92, 29 October 1874.
the Indian origin of some of the petitioners served to uncover the social history of the
period. The legislative debates, moreover, illustrate the history of civil law, particularly
of family law. After 1873 legislators insisted that natural children could be legitimated
only by legal marriage.

The minimum legal age for administering property, appearing before a judge and
signing contracts was twenty-one years. Therefore, this restriction limited those minors
who otherwise considered themselves ready to exercise such prerogatives. Generally, the
petitioners were youngsters between eighteen and twenty-one who were anxious to
administer their property and follow the courses they deemed most desirable. The
minors Juan F. López, Manuel Tirado, Rómulo Uriarte and Alberto Hernández cited their
work experience in their petitions of waiver of insufficient age. Thus, legitimating

58 Legitimization of Agustín and Próspero Martínez, AHCES DN 47, 14 January 1869; of
Jose Pantoja, DN 48, 15 January 1869; of Julia Ramírez, DN 75, 23 June 1869; of Tomás
Delgado, DN 74, 25 June 1869; of Ignacia, Jesús and Antonio Sabino Gadea; of Rosaura
and Manuela Beltrán, DN 63, 15 May 1874; and the son of Jose Audelo, DN 134, 31
December 1874.

59 The Indian Porfirio Sicaeros, fulfilling his duties as a father, requested the
legitimization of his daughter Ruperta, AHCES DN 51, 1 May 1874; the resolutions 29,
29 April 1871, and 87, 17 October 1874, contribute to the history of familial life and of
women. In the first case, Ventura Salas deserted her partner Pedro Urquizo and left
Carmen, their natural daughter, with him. In the second case, the widowed Genoveva
Martínez remarried and had five daughters with the Italian Santiago Marini.

60 The legitimization of María Angela Lara, AHCES DN 16, 26 November 1873, and of
Santiago Marini's daughters DN 87, 17 October 1874, illustrate this debate.

61 Jose Fausto Suárez, 18 years old, AHCES DN 134, 15 May 1871; Miguel de los Ríos,
18, DN 26, 29 December 1873; Justo de los Ríos, 18, DN 73, 2 October 1874.
children born out of wedlock, so that they could enjoy the prerogatives of legitimate
children, and empowering minors who fell short of the legal age to administer their own
property, to appear before a judge, and to honor contracts empowered the state, a state
needing legitimization itself.

SUMMARY

In summary, the return to the republican system of government, soon after the
War of Reform and the French Intervention, encouraged the victorious liberal Sinaloans
to introduce legislative actions aimed at shaping a liberal state. These actions intended to
establish the constitutional basis for organizing the society and its government, fostering
the economy, shaping the Sinaloans' mentality and legitimizing the new state in the
population's eyes. This legislative activism lay the political, economic, social and cultural
foundations that would become stronger in the decades to come.

Once Sinaloa had achieved peace, the 1861 Constitution became the framework of
this state-formation endeavor; this constitution embodied the liberal principles of the
federal constitution of 1857. At the end of the 1860s the local legislators updated the
Magna Carta. The new constitution, which took effect in 1870, included, along with the
republican system of government, the division of powers and a clear political democracy,
articles that secured the exercise of state sovereignty and displayed a deep

62 J.F. López, AHCES DN 49, 8 April 1870; M. Tirado, DN 75, 18 April 1873; R. Uriarte,
DN 90, 12 May 1873; A. Hernández, the youngest of the applicants, who was only 16,
humanitarianism. The abolition of the death penalty was an example of that humanitarianism.

Beyond the constitutional reforms, the legislature passed statutes to fully comply with the fundamental tenets of the document. Among this second-stage legislation, the electoral law of 1870 stands out; this law intended to extend the participation of Sinaloan males in the election of their representatives, streamline the electoral process, and impede governmental interference in elections. Furthermore, it ordered the process of educating and licencing Sinaloan law professionals. Lawyers, actuaries and notaries served to provide the skilled personnel to fill governmental positions at all levels and to record transactions among private individuals.

A second line of legislative and governmental action was the empowerment of the state in the eyes of the citizenry through actions that reinforced the state’s power over lives and property. Legislators and governors passed judgment over the lives and liberty of those convicted of diverse crimes. Assailants and kidnappers who were sentenced to death could have their lives spared or be set free through governmental intervention. Prisoners held for lesser crimes could hope for parole. In another demonstration of governmental clemency, families of victims of recent wars or soldiers mutilated in these conflicts received economic aid. Likewise, individuals burdened by economic troubles enjoyed tax exemptions or tax cuts. In the majority of the petitions, having served the state became an asset almost guaranteeing a favorable outcome. Legitimating natural

DN 28, 29 December 1873.
children and empowering minors were additional mechanisms which propelled the state's own legitimacy and allowed it to penetrate the entire social fabric.

During the decade the Sinaloan liberals had undoubtedly advanced in their goal of building and strengthening the state in several counts. They had progressed in the establishment of constitutional government and a secular society grounded on merit instead of privilege, where the citizens could enjoy freedom of religion, political democracy, respect for life, and other civil liberties. They had also taken steps forward in training law professionals, instrumental in building a society ruled by law, not by favor. The governmental measures to protect retiring public servants, ex-combatants and their families valued rendering services to the homeland and concurrently strengthened the state. Assuming control of the recording of births, marriages and deaths further strengthened the state, while weakening the Church. But these were not the only means for empowering the State. In the next chapter, other mechanisms of power, such as economic measures and instilling patriotism in the citizenry, are addressed.
A constitutional framework and regulatory laws aimed at establishing a constitutional government with republican institutions were necessary steps but not sufficient for building and strengthening the liberal state. Neither protecting the citizenry nor rewarding services rendered to the homeland was enough. Substituting for the Church in recording vital moments of every Sinaloan was undoubtedly a step forward but yet insufficient. The nascent state had to move forward approving additional legislation aimed at augmenting public revenues, developing the economy, and encouraging civic virtues.

The liberal state needed fiscal revenues to sustain public administration and to foster economic activities, which were to be the sources of those revenues. Public revenue, mining, manufacturing, agriculture, corporate property, roads and transportation became a concern of legislators and the governor. The new state also required an educated citizenry, ready to participate in the political life and the workforce and imbued with a sense of patriotism toward their localities, state and country, and the state legislated accordingly. This legislation addressing production and culture joined that providing for a constitutional government and constituted a legal platform for building solid republican institutions and a thriving market economy.
ECONOMIC LEGISLATION

The wartime economy had aggravated the chronic problems of fiscal revenues since the beginning of the life of the Republic. The destruction of the economic infrastructure, the scarcity of economic activities and public debt that marked the period between the Revolution of Ayutla and the French Intervention made reconstruction of the state an arduous process. Political conflict during the decade made the return to normalcy even more elusive. However, the new state did not cease planning raising revenues and making expenditures nor refrain from introducing legislative initiatives to reactivate the economy.

The state budgets discussed and approved by the state legislature from 1867 to 1876 ranged from 132,000 to 200,000 pesos to cover the expenditures of public administration for a population numbering around 200,000 inhabitants. The main sources of this revenue were the taxes levied on the consumption of national goods, on urban and rural property, and on commercial houses and industrial establishments. Mazatlán contributed most of the income, followed by Culiacán at a distant second; the rest of the districts contributed only a small amount. Another important source of income was the
share of national income allotted by the federal government.¹ During the decade between 1867 and 1876, there was intense legislative activity that attempted to update the schedule of charges for the consumption of national goods, the alcabalas;² and to distribute more equitably the fiscal burden among the different districts. The initiative that legislator Manuel Castellanos presented to ease the tax burden on Mazatlán illustrates the efforts to design a fair system of taxation.³

The income budgeted always fell behind the expenditures anticipated, and the latter continually increased because of the chronic political conflict. The 1869 budget projected an enormous deficit of 40,000 pesos.⁴ Major reasons for the small revenue were the scarcity of commercial activity, as well as delayed payments and tax evasion.⁵ In an area that lacked both an efficient system of roads and a highly productive infrastructure, subsistence economy was still very important. Thus, even though the alcabalas were high, their total, combined with the other sources of revenue, was not enough to provide for the administration of the state. Ordinary expenditures increased with unexpected

¹ Domingo Rubí, Memoria que el gobernador del Estado . . . presentó al Congreso del Estado el 15 de octubre de 1869 (Mazatlán: Imprenta Retes, 1869), 24; AHCES DN 111, 15 December 1870; DN 49, 9 January 1873; DN 18, 18 December 1875.

² AHCES DN 81, 23 September 1870; DN 136, 20 October 1871; DN 137, 17 May 1871; DN 4, 20 October 1871; DN 83, 28 April 1873; DN 101, 2 May 1873; DN 108, 24 May 1873; DN 4, 16 October 1875.

³ AHCES DN 42, 21 December 1868.

⁴ Rubí, Memoria (1869), 24.

⁵ AHCES DN 121, 13 April 1871; DN 53, 6 May 1874.
expenditures in public security and in the National Guard. The recurring annual deficit was covered with the help of loans, thereby swelling the public debt.⁶

The scarce public revenue was consumed by the expenses of administering the legislative, executive and judicial powers. The expenditures incurred collecting public revenue were managed separately and took an important portion of that income; two other items that absorbed the revenue were public security and governmental debt. Since the municipalities and private individuals supported primary education, it was not until the establishment of the Liceo Rosales in 1873 that the state budget included an item for education. Beginning the following year, Mazatlán and Culiacán received substantial support for education, but the other districts got only very small allotments.⁷

To rehabilitate the public treasury and foster the production, distribution, and consumption of goods, as well as the free trade of people and ideas, the nascent liberal state facilitated and supported the construction of roads and the establishment of stagecoach lines. It also promoted navigation routes and docks at ports in Sinaloa, subsidized the laying of telegraph cable, and encouraged commerce, mining and industry.

⁶ AHCES DN 95, 24 November 1870; DN 42, 14 January 1873; DN 100, 21 May 1873; DN 21, 20 December 1873; DN 36, 21 March 1874, authorized the executive to borrow 75,000 pesos, 60,000 of them in cash; DN 72, 12 May 1875.

⁷ Rubí, Memoria (1869), 22-4, confirms the absence in the budget of money earmarked for education during the early Restored Republic. The budgets after 1873 included this item. See AHCES DN 41, 13 January 1873; in this year, the government allotted 25,830 pesos for education; DN 49, 9 January 1873; DN 8, 18 December 1875, included only 12,248 pesos for education. The 1878 budget, DN 35, 25 December 1877, in the outset of Cañedismo, included only 10,940 pesos for public instruction.
Almost concurrently with the promulgation of the 1870 progressive constitution, Representative E. Buelna presented a legal initiative for the upgrading of roads. He was concerned about the need to repair the main road traversing the state from the limits with the territory of Tepic (now Nayarit) to the limits with Sonora. Opening this road to wagons and stagecoaches, argued Buelna, would bring prosperity to the towns along the corridor. Buelna tried to convince his fellow legislators by making a comparison to Sinaloa's northern neighbors. "To convince yourselves of the rapid progress that can be achieved," he told them, "all you have to do is to take a look at our neighboring republic to the north, where the numerous and good roads and railways are acknowledged as one of the most powerful impulses of the rapid growth of its population and commerce."

Buelna proposed that the municipalities would fund the repairs to road passing through Quelite, Elota, San Lorenzo, Culiacán, Mocorito, Sinaloa, and El Fuerte. Among the cooperating municipalities would be Mazatlán, Noria, Coyotitán, Elota, Quila, Culiacán, Capirato, Mocorito, Sinaloa, Ocoroni and El Fuerte. With this solid argument, the future governor secured the passage of the bill and paved the way to his election a year later.

The conflict between the residents of Quila and San Lorenzo accounts for the importance that was placed on building roads and on having a road connect to their town. Since the legislature had passed a bill on road development favoring San Lorenzo, the people from Quila protested. They wanted a road to intersect their town for geographic reasons and to derive benefits from trade. Because Quila’s citizenry did not want the

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8 See AHCES DN 32, 7 January 1870.
Republic's progress to bypass them, they wanted the road-building appropriations modified in their favor. Populations from the highlands also wanted to benefit from road construction. The citizenry secured its victory when in 1871, the construction of a road that would join Cosalá, Elota, and San Ignacio was approved. Thus, a road along the coastal valleys of Sinaloa joined Cosalá and San Ignacio, via Elota.

With the construction and repair of roads, businessmen's interest in opening new lines of land transport was awakened. Adolfo Vergne, a Spanish merchant residing in Mazatlán, requested a monthly subsidy of 200 pesos to establish a stagecoach line that would run from the mining town of Rosario to Culiacán, a commercial and agricultural area that also had a currency mint. With the subsidy, Vergne would help maintain the road. In the end, the legislators approved a subsidy of 16 pesos per round trip from Mazatlán to Culiacán and the same amount of money for an enterprise running from Culiacán to Alamos, a mining town in southern Sonora. Mazatlán merchant Jesús M. Ferreira agreed to take on the latter challenge three years later and requested a subsidy of two hundred pesos to establish a stagecoach line running from Culiacán to Alamos three times a week. To make his request more attractive, Ferreira argued that his business would provide postal service and would reduce by half, from ten to five days, the time needed to cover the distance. Legislators Flores and Escobar prepared legislation that

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9 AHCES DN 70, 1 June 1870.

10 AHCES DN 122, 18 April 1871.

11 AHCES DN 71, 1 June 1870.
eventually was passed, granting Ferreira a monthly subsidy of one hundred pesos. His stagecoaches would have to do a minimum of two trips a week, and it was suggested that he ask the Sonoran government for an additional subsidy.\textsuperscript{12}

Along with the enterprises that provided nort-south transport services, a few began running from the coast to the highlands. In early 1874 Eraclio Amador, from the mining town of Tamazula, Durango, entered into an agreement with the state governor to lay the groundwork for a stagecoach line from Altata on the coast to Culiacán. In exchange for this service, Amador received a monthly subsidy of eighty pesos. A year later he requested a permit to extend the service from Culiacán to Tamazula in the highlands. He argued that Tamazula would greatly benefit from this service expansion and that commerce with the neighboring towns—main consumers of Culiacán’s production—would multiply. Representative Rocha repeated this argument when he prepared a draft of a bill. The legislation that was approved established that Amador’s stagecoaches would travel to Altata twice a week.\textsuperscript{13}

Although the idea of building a railway that benefited Sinaloa was always present in the minds of its most entrepreneurial citizens and foreign businessmen, this idea was not finally realized until the end of the Porfiriato.\textsuperscript{14} The initiatives that did prosper were those regarding the connection of Sinaloa to the rest of Mexico and the world by sea. An

\textsuperscript{12} AHCES DN 71, 15 April 1873.

\textsuperscript{13} AHCES DN 179, 13 July 1875.
ambitious project that became a law declared Altata a port of entry for deep sea vessels. It was hoped that the development of Altata would contribute to the solution of long-standing problems by populating the area, developing its natural resources and geographically connecting it with the rest of the state.

As Altata became the center of a new municipality and port, its rich lands and virgin forest were utilized for the production of dye-wood, building timber and wood for cabinetry. In addition, the town benefited from its navigable river. To increase the population and foster productive investment, the law offered fiscal exemptions for ten years; businessmen and consumers would not pay state taxes and alcabalas, although they would pay municipal taxes, which were lower. The inhabitants would enjoy the usufruct of communal lands, and they would be exempted from military service in the National Guard. Furthermore, the state authorities would lobby both to transform Altata into a port and to ensure that steamships docked at the port. Those interested in commercial fishing would be free to embrace this activity, and would enjoy tax cuts for using their boats. Since people arriving at the port would invariably need to travel inland, the law foresaw a subsidy for a stagecoach line. Altata would thus become the center of a regional market which would supply eastern and northern Sinaloa, as well as the neighboring states of Sonora, Chihuahua and Durango.\(^\text{15}\)

\(^\text{14}\) The railroad appeared in discourses, EESOOG III:41, 6 December 1875; in poetry, EESOOG III:42, 13 December 1875; in entrepreneurial projects, El Fénix I:17, 26 November 1872; and in editorial pages, Estado de Sitio 1:6, 22 March 1877.

\(^\text{15}\) AHCES DN 14, 8 December 1873.
The legislators' vision was that through the ambitious project to develop Altata, mining, agriculture and industry would grow, the volume of imports and exports would increase, and the public treasury would enjoy a healthy bounty. Moreover, consumers would pay lower prices because of the reduction of transportation costs. The ecological considerations of the project enhanced its value even more. Moving the machinery that would make production efficient and the distribution of this enormous wealth possible would spare the forests; mineral coal would be used instead to provide the energy source for this productive commercial utopia. Subsequently, the benefits of this project would spill over to the neighboring towns of Bachimeto, Otameto and Navolato.\textsuperscript{16}

Along with improvements in the physical transportation of goods, people and information by land and sea, the Restored Republic witnessed the development of the telegraph. Mazatlán was always well connected with the rest of the Republic and the world, but not with the rest of Sinaloa. The interest in extending Mazatlán's communication infrastructure to other localities in and out of the state was ongoing during the period under study. At the end of 1870 a committee for the development of telegraph service was established, headed by L. Alsua, Miguel Careaga and Rosalío Banda. The committee proposed the creation of an Empresa de Telégrafo that would join Mazatlán and Durango, funded by the proceeds of a public lottery. While the committee was fulfilling its duties and the public was acquiring tickets and fueling their hope of

\textsuperscript{16} AHCES DN 14, 8 December 1873.
winning part of the 30,000 pesos at stake, the federal government announced that it would cover the expenses of laying the cable.\footnote{The state legislature approved that the income from the lottery be tallied on 1 May 1871. The proceeds from this lottery as well as the one that would take place the next year, would be used to promote public instruction and to build a jail in Culiacán. 1,500 lottery tickets at 4 pesos each would be sold. From the money collected, one part would be delivered in prizes and the balance would be used for public works. The government would distribute 30,000 pesos in 92 prizes that would range from 50 to 10,000 pesos. AHCES DN 142, 1871.}

One of the fundamental goals of opening and upgrading roads, founding stagecoach and maritime lines, and laying telegraph cable was to foster production and commerce. The state legislators were very actively refining the fiscal instruments to determine which products were to be taxed and which of them were to be exempted. The annual debate on the budget was an opportunity to set the alcabalas on domestic goods, which constituted the major portion of the state income. Other pieces of legislation proposed collecting taxes from the consumption of nationalized foreign goods.\footnote{The import duties collected on foreign merchandise were channeled to the federal government.} In discussing the sources of income, legislators and the executive sought a balance among public income, entrepreneurial profit and the consumers' budget.\footnote{Many goods that were used as raw materials and others consumed by the whole population, including, of course, the popular classes, were not taxed.}

Another set of laws favoring commerce dealt with the warehousing of merchandise that arrived at the ports. The merchants sought low tariffs and long terms of deposit; up until that point it had been common practice for the commercial agents to
store the imported goods temporarily while making arrangements to send them into the interior of the state or the republic. If the tariffs on stored imports were high, the prices of these goods would increase, and both businessmen and consumers would suffer. Businessmen would lose because their prices would not be competitive, and consumers because high prices would reduce the purchasing power of their meager salaries.

Despite merchants’ opposition, the law of 2 December 1866, reduced the time of deposit of imports. The merchants subsequently petitioned for an extension of that time and also asked that Mazatlán be designated as a port of deposit of national goods. The merchants alluded to the easy terms the United States, Chile and Peru granted their businesses, since these countries had suppressed the alcabalas and the warehousing of imports was not encumbered. Additionally, the merchants stated that the last franchise had been “one of the main causes which has produced the great mercantile movement and consequently, the well being of those countries.” They concluded that the time had arrived “to free commerce of the countless obstacles and restrictions that keep it in a state of torpor.” Facing the compelling strength of these arguments, the legislators repealed the restrictive law of 1868 and lengthened the time of deposit of nationalized goods to stimulate mercantile industry.\textsuperscript{20}

Four years later Buelna’s administration passed a law with the same purpose of promoting economic growth. Governor Buelna was interested in keeping taxes low for

\textsuperscript{20} AHCES DN 39, 4 January 1870.
the betterment of commerce,\textsuperscript{21} and at the end of the year, the administration showed its commitment to commerce by regulating the time of deposit of merchandise not only in Mazatlán, but also in each district's seat. Concerned to control contraband, the legislators mandated the documents required for the transportation of merchandise and fixed the penalties meted out to the transgressors.\textsuperscript{22}

Other laws of a narrower scope exempted from taxation the import and consumption of goods such as \textit{tequesquite}, salt, sugar and \textit{greda}. In the first case General Manuel Márquez, hero of the War of Reform and the war against the French Intervention and a manufacturer of soap in Mazatlán, requested that the alcabala not be levied on tequesquite, since he was paying taxes that exceeded a thousand percent the cost of this raw material.\textsuperscript{23}

The state treasurer was an active lobbyist; he convinced Governor Buelna to propose a law making sugar duty-free. Per a law of 10 January 1870, sugar was taxed at

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{21} AHCES DN 66, 15 May 1874.
\item \textsuperscript{22} AHCES DN 121, 24 December 1874.
\item \textsuperscript{23} General Márquez paid 4 \textit{reales} per load of \textit{tequesquite} in the town of Todos Santos, Baja California. See AHCES DN 38, 27 November 1868. With regard to salt, the treasurer of the state convinced legislator Francisco G. Flores to propose a law requesting that this product be duty-free. The text of the initiative narrated the history of levies on salt, from the times of the Spanish government, when used in great quantities for mining, and it enjoyed an exemption from taxation. The state treasurer and Flores were unsuccessful even though they had the colonial precedent in their favor as well as a general law of 11 July 1843, the tariff of 21 November 1867, and an additional law of 1 June 1871. Against the initiative weighed the DN 49 of 8 February 1873 and resolution 76 of 19 April 1873.
\end{itemize}
twelve pesos per quintal.$^{24}$ On 1 March 1873, the tax increased from sixteen to twenty pesos per quintal, plus 6 percent for the amortization of minted copper. However, the treasurer argued that the new taxes discouraged the purchase of sugar, increased its price, made it less competitive with imported sugar, and affected "the poor and destitute class."

This time the treasurer was successful; the state legislature passed a bill lowering the tariff to the 1870 rate.$^{25}$ The tariff on clay was reduced from eighty to forty cents per quintal, based on the argument that the high tariff discouraged purchases and seriously affected mining.$^{26}$

Legislators and governors who held the reins of power during the Restored Republic passed sundry laws that supported industry, and businessmen took full advantage of them. These laws fell into three categories: those of a general character, those which offered cash rewards to individuals who embarked on new industries, and those which granted tax exemptions to established factories.

Legislator Buelna presented a bill in late 1869 and the full legislature debated it a year and a half later during the last year of Governor Rubí's term. This initiative was intended to reward entrepreneurs who established new industries in the state. The significance of this law, passed in April 1871 was twofold. On the one hand, it showed

$^{24}$ A quintal is a dry weight equal to approximately 100 pounds.

$^{25}$ AHCES DN 106, 24 May 1873.

$^{26}$ AHCES DN 52, 4 May 1874. The administrator of rents in Culiacán, author of the initiative, compared the price of clay and lead. Clay had a lower price than lead, yet greta paid the same tariff per quintal. The new tariff resolved this discrepancy.
the interest of the local liberals in industrializing the state, and on the other hand, it offered a list of products that the government expected to be produced. As such, it can be considered to define the state industrialization policy, since it determined the government's expectations regarding the type and quantity of manufacturing and the location of factories.

The products listed in the April 1871 law were flour, cane sugar, coffee, cacao, wine barrels, rice, wine bottles, leather, cotton, socks and stockings, porcelain, paper and silk. Cash incentives would be awarded for a pre-determined amount of annual production. Examples of the minimum quantities included the following: 100 cargas of wheat flour, 200 quintals of cane sugar and 50 arrobas\(^27\) of coffee. To ensure the diffusion of industrial activity, not only would the first factory receive incentives, but so would the second if it were at least twenty leagues away. A third manufacturer could receive incentives for the production of the same product in the same amount only if the item were produced at a forty league distance from the first factory. The case of wheat flour is illustrative in this spirit of financial incentives. The first 100 cargas would get a prize of 500 pesos, the second hundred, 300 pesos, and the third hundred, 200 pesos.\(^{28}\) Therefore, the rewards for the diffusion of production in concentric circles lowered as the distance from the first producer increased.

\(^{27}\) An arroba is a unit of weight equal to approximately 25 pounds; a carga is equivalent to 12 arrobas.

\(^{28}\) AHCES DN 131, 29 April 1871.
Another law in the "general legislation" category established an agricultural and industrial exposition, held annually in Culiacán during the first four days of February. The law intended to strengthen agriculture and industry. In the narrative portion of the law a history from Spanish independence to that time concludes that constant turmoil had long served to impede the promotion of agricultural and industrial production. A second line of argument was that those who attained power invested their time and public funds in holding onto that power rather than advancing the standard of living of the population. The narrative then concluded by assessing the social and political situation as peaceful and by considering that the time had arrived to promote the productive enterprises left undeveloped because of the chronic political conflict. It persuasively stated: "Now that we are fortunate enough to enjoy peace, why not give thought...to the most successful means for our farmers to introduce, extend and perfect the growing of crops such as coffee, cacao, and hemp so important to life and to industry?"

Law 131 of 29 April 1871, which rewarded the first manufacturers of the new industries founded in the state, came to fruition in 1874 and 1876. In 1874 Leopoldo Schober requested subsidies for the flour pasta mill he had just established in Mazatlán, in light of the benefit the population was receiving. Appealing to the state's duty to protect the nascent industry, the entrepreneur formulated an extensive list of requests that included the annual introduction of 360 cargas of flour, duty-free; the exemption of direct taxes on his factory, and the free circulation of his products in the state, without levying

29 AHCES DN 88, 19 October 1874.
of alcabalas. Furthermore, Schober wanted his business to enjoy these prerogatives for five years. His appeals resulted in the legislature passing a law that exempted him from paying direct taxes and also granted him a reward of 500 pesos. Governor Buelna proposed the addition of a new section (XIV) to the April 1871 law. The added section stipulated that the first 500 quintals of flour pasta manufactured in any district of the state in one year would receive 500 pesos, and the second 500 quintals would receive 250 pesos. Just before the beginning of the Tuxtepecan rebellion, Inés Peiro, from Mocorito, requested to be granted the 500 pesos award for his first 500 quintales of flour in accordance with this law.

The petitions for tax exemptions from both established factories and those yet to be built were countless. Entrepreneurs dedicated to manufacturing machinery, gas for lighting, leather goods, and the traditional cotton textiles were among the petitioners. Joaquín Redo requested to be exempted from paying municipal and state taxes for his business, the Fundición de Mazatlán. Owner of this foundry since 1868, he had transformed it into the best of its kind on the Pacific coast, specializing in manufacturing machinery for the mining industry, but also producing all kinds of steam boilers and mills for industry. Steam turbines, sugar cane mills and crushing mills based on the Fauchery system for grinding ores were among the types of equipment produced. When he formulated his petition, Redo had just invested 5,000 pesos for the acquisition of a

30 AHCES DN 112, 10 December 1874.

31 AHCES DN 35, 5 April 1876.
96

sawmill. His business, added Redo, provided employment and trained apprentices who enjoyed salaries which grew with their skills.\textsuperscript{32}

Alfredo Howell formulated a similar petition for his gas factory to which, according to him, the government had offered tax exemption since its founding. Like Redo, Howell sought to persuade legislators to protect his business by espousing that it was the government's duty "to dispense protection to all industrial enterprises to be established in the state, during their first steps and while they find themselves in a position of producing benefits." The legislators took this argument into account and included it in the bill ratified by the governor.\textsuperscript{33} Both Redo and Howell received subsidies for five years.

Through this period, both new and old industries requested fiscal exemptions. Florencio López represented the first group with a pioneering industry of non-traditional leathers. In 1873, the legislature decided not to charge him the municipal and state taxes in exchange for the introduction of alligator leather by his factory. In his petition, the businessman argued that tests had been already run to prove the excellence of this material to produce high-quality leather articles. When his request was approved, the state authorities committed themselves to petitioning the federal government to grant López the right to harvest alligators in southern Sinaloa.\textsuperscript{34} Almost a year later, in 1874,

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{32} AHCES DN 93, 14 May 1873.
\item \textsuperscript{33} AHCES DN 96, 15 May 1873.
\item \textsuperscript{34} AHCES DN 104, 22 May 1873.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
López also requested a tax exemption to harvest the leather of river iguanas. After reminding the legislators that he had been a commercial, agricultural and industrial entrepreneur for fourteen years, he argued that the strong presence of his business would discourage imports. In addition, he pointed out that his business would not adversely affect the public treasury since it would be a new enterprise. Furthermore, if the tax exemption were granted, businessmen would be encouraged to make use of natural resources that had been previously untapped. The legislators granted him the exemption for a period of four years.\(^{35}\)

Governor Jesús M. Gaxiola in turn presented an initiative to grant certain allowances to the producers of the state’s cotton goods, demonstrating his support for an already well-established industry. The governor affirmed that he presented his initiative “so that the cotton industry in the state, free of all restrictions and providing it all the protection it deserves, can grow and develop appropriately.” In the expository part of his bill, he recounted the previous legislation that had protected the textile industry but that more recently affected it negatively. The bill passed by the legislature in December 1875 ratified the protective law of 1873, annulled one from April 1875, and partially rescinded the tariff put into effect just two months before.\(^{36}\)

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\(^{35}\) AHCES DN 79, 2 October 1874.

\(^{36}\) AHCES DN 20, 27 December 1875. The laws referred to are DN 59, 1 April 1873; another one of 12 April 1875 and section 146 of Article 1 of the tariff of 15 October 1875. The final law also left standing the direct contribution approved for this industry on 10 December 1874.
Regarding mining, a crucial sector of the economy, the legislature passed bills sanctioned by the governor and addressing both general and specific issues. The general laws included the dismantling of local institutions and the creation of new taxes on the mining sector. The specific laws limited themselves to petitions that sought the protection of mines temporarily idle and guarded against possible applications for subsequent concessions of the same mines. These laws show the governmental interest in protecting and promoting the mining sector, as well as political and economic obstacles faced by the industry.

Of all the legislation regulating the mining sector, three types stand out: those that exhibit a clear social character, those that reflected a struggle against old institutions, and those pertaining to reduction of taxes. Domingo Rubí, first constitutional governor during the Restored Republic and from a mining background, saw mining as one of the main avenues to increase the public wealth and to supply employment opportunities. Statute number 24 of late 1869 synthesized the social orientation Rubí wanted his government to embrace. Legislators Romero and Escobar echoed the governor when they said that with work “many problems are avoided, since the lack of it produces misery, leading to revolution and general discontent.” During that same period, legislators Buelna, Favela and Inzunza presented a bill that suppressed the mining industry’s agencies. These agencies both administratively controlled the sector and mediated its conflicts. In light of the logic of the Reform movement, the legislators considered these agencies as tribunals.

37 AH CES DN 24, 1869.
of corporations, and they proposed that the issues previously aired in these tribunals be transferred to the first-instance courts of each district. A law passed in May 1871 and another passed four years later established that the mining businesses would not be charged direct taxes and that they would only be liable for taxes on their profits.^

When the first of the latter two bills was being discussed, Governor Rubí made plain his protectionist stance. While Representative Ibarra proposed a tax rate of 10 percent, Rubí proposed not to tax mines at all because mining production influenced the other production sectors. At the end a Solomonic solution was reached: a 5 percent tax on profits would be imposed. Of this 5 percent, 4 would go to the state and 1 to the municipality. The law of May 1875, at the end of Buelna’s term, modified Article 2 of statute 80 from 23 April 1873, which read: “neither the mines nor the reduction works can be taxed by the state through direct taxation, thereby treating them as industrial establishments similar to real estate.”^

The government passed legislation protecting mines and reduction works, acknowledging the impact of the recent war and the insecurity that pervaded as a result of the frequent rebellions. Legislator Francisco C. de Echeverría asserted the government’s role in protecting the mining sector by introducing a bill in late 1873 that extended legal

38 AHCES DN 28, 31 December 1869; DN 50, 27 April 1874, regulated the claims for legal protection of mines thus providing certainty to entrepreneurs.

39 ACHES DN 132, 11 May 1871; DN 175, 12 May 1875.

40 ACHES DN 132, 11 May 1871.

41 AHCES DN 175, 12 May 1875.
protection to all idle mines. In his initiative, Echeverría cited conflict as the reason for the mines being idle, but at the same time he found it expedient not to allow speculators and opportunistic miners to claim mines that were idle due to rebellions and instability.\footnote{42 AHCES DN 50, 13 April 1870.} In a bill passed three years later, the issue of the rebellions’ impact on the sector was again addressed as follows: “The last revolutionary uprisings have cut into the workforce of several mining businesses whose works can, with difficulty, soon be reorganized.”\footnote{43 AHCES DN 27, 29 December 1873.}

Miners and Mazatlán merchants, as well as politicians and public officials involved in mining petitioned for legal protection of their businesses from speculators in the districts of Cosalá, Rosario, San Ignacio and Concordia. Among the most frequently cited reasons for petitioning governmental protection were armed conflicts and lack of capital. Less frequently, miners argued that they needed time to acquire the machinery and equipment to start maximizing the potential of their properties. A final reason was the lack of operators to extract and refine Sinaloa’s valuable natural resources.

Most of the miners’ claims for protection made reference to the La Noria rebellion in 1871-1872 as a rationale for suspending the mining works, but they also referenced the French Intervention and other lesser revolts. At the end of this period the Tuxtepec rebellion is frequently alluded to. In addition, conflict forced people to relocate, draining the workforce. The negative impact of revolts was acknowledged not only in specific petitions for protection but also in the general legislation.
The rebellions generated an insecure environment and a fear that inhibited the investors themselves. Capitalists immediately withdrew investments as soon as armed conflicts surfaced. Some miners struggled to form a company that would back them financially, only to find out that insecurity frightened the stakeholder away. The petitions of miners and the expository part of bills in many cases gave both insecurity and lack of investment capital as reasons to ask for governmental protection.

Less frequently, the miners argued for the need to have a longer time period to acquire machinery and equipment offshore. Agriculture competed with mining for the workforce, so the miners cited the agricultural calendar in seeking protection of their businesses. Because of the cycle, mines and refinement works suffered a shortage of operators when they left the mining camps at the beginning of the rainy season.

Sinaloan liberals were particularly insistent on the enforcement of the Laws of Reform designed to eliminate corporate property. Their legislative action in this regard was twofold. First, they suspended the distribution of individual property on Indian lands; second, they regulated the disentailment of corporate land. To expedite this disentailment, the government offered facilities to hold judicial procedures and guaranteed an expedient path to enforce the resolution.

The state legislature suspended land distribution early in 1870 in opposition to federal laws of July 1867 and May 1869 and a state law of 1869, which had mandated the distribution of individual property on Indian lands. Indian communities enjoyed a respite during Rubi’s term, but conflict erupted late in 1873 when Governor Buelna presented a bill that annulled the law of 1870 protecting the Indian communities. He thus supported a
petition of the Indians Máximo Mazo, Ramón Jiménez and Juan Torres, representing the natives of Mochicahui, and of Saturnino Carlón, representing the natives of Ahome, who wanted their land split. Buelna crafted a fine liberal discourse in which he affirmed that delaying this distribution was against the spirit of the Laws of Reform, which prescribed such disentailment. Then he emphasized his desire to convert the Indian communal land into private property because the corporate status of this land encumbered the development of the public wealth and was the source of endless discord among the communal landholders. To remove this impediment and secure the progress and improvement of the communities subjected to this inconvenience, Buelna proposed to reinitiate the distribution of the Indian communal land.44

Three and a half months later, Legislator Echeverría presented the draft of a bill that would affirm the liberal ideals and expand Buelna’s argument. He stood against all corporate landholding and in favor of private property. The working of individually owned land would lead to personal riches, and these would then lead to public riches. Furthermore, the sale of land would be a source of fiscal income for the nascent liberal state.45

Once the legislators concurred on the social need to distribute the communal lands, they began regulating the disentailment of undivided property, Indian or otherwise.

44 AHCES, E. Buelna to State Legislature, Mazatlán, 9 July 1873; Buelna to State Legislature, Culiacán, 22 October 1873.

45 AHCES, Echeverría to State Legislature, 24 October 1873; DN 10, 8 November 1873.
Citing imperfections in previous legislation and time-consuming judicial procedures, the representatives introduced a bill to simplify and expedite the disentailment process.

Now, it was sufficient for a joint holder of communal land, a *comunero*, or the government itself to request the disentailment of the property for the judicial procedure to begin. After the participation of an appraiser, the property would be immediately auctioned and transferred to the new owner without the suspension of farming.

This law underwent two revisions: one of them largely superficial and the other more substantial. The former determined that the stamped paper for the legal procedure would be provided to the judge by the revenue office in the district and would be paid for from the proceeds of the auction, as soon as it took place. The second was designed to shorten drastically the judicial procedure, which could still be protracted when there was opposition to the disentailment. In Article 19 of the disentailment law of April 1874, it was established that the communal land tenure would remain unmodified when all the holders so decided and ratified the petition in the presence of a notary; this article was later reformed. The final product declared that if the majority of the joint holders wanted to keep their communal property, they could do so after indemnifying those willing to become private owners. Again, a public instrument would legalize this procedure.

46 The previous laws that the legislators found imperfect were dated 11 January 1862 and 1 May 1863.

47 AHCES DN 46, 22 April 1874.

48 AHCES DN 80, 8 October 1874.

49 AHCES DN 27, 30 December 1875.
Thus, the leaders of the Restored Republic, who favored the disentailment of corporate property, believed that the distribution of communal land in private ownership and the opening of a land market would develop hitherto idle land and create a class of small rural proprietors. Village communal land was divided among the village peasants in private property when they could produce a title. Otherwise, this land was considered *terrenos baldios*, “unoccupied” public lands. This rural policy resulted in the encroachment on communal landholdings and “unoccupied” public land, the poverty of peasants and Indian villagers and the accumulation of land in private hands. This rural policy aggrieved, among others, the remnant Indian communal villages, some of which in southern Sinaloa joined the Tuxtepecan rebellion in 1876.50

INSTILLING PATRIOTISM IN THE CITIZENRY

Legislative action also addressed ideological and symbolic matters. Immediately after the restoration the state government simultaneously began encouraging widespread patriotism toward the nation and the region. Later it encouraged the establishment of a school system whose tenets were civic values and the love of work. Those at the helm of the nascent state espoused imbuing strong patriotism, an interest in political participation and labor skills in the citizenry. Thereby the members of this fledgling society would be

50 The Indians villagers of Ajoya, in San Ignacio, shifted from loyalist to rebels because of this policy. See *El Estado de Sinaloa. Organo Oficial del Gobierno* (EESOOG) III: 11,
capable of interacting economically, politically, socially, and culturally with the rest of the civilized world. Once Rubí's regime was firmly established after the 1868 post-electoral conflict, the state legislature considered it appropriate to pay tribute to the national and regional heroes who fought against the French Intervention. The name of Ignacio Zaragoza, the national hero against the French army on 5 May 1862, was added to the Villa de Sinaloa, in the north of the state, thus renaming it Sinaloa de Zaragoza. The defeat of the French forces in that battle became a symbol of valiant resistance against foreign aggression. The city of Culiacán became Culiacán Rosales, in homage to the victory of Colonel Antonio Rosales over the French invaders in the battle of San Pedro, near Culiacán, on 22 December 1864. The bravery of then-Colonel Rosales inspired Mexican combatants all over the nation. President Juárez himself recognized it, adding to the spirit of patriotism building in the Restored Republic.

A third initiative sought to recognize General Rubí while he was still serving his term in office. Rubí won a crucial battle against the French army in his hometown of Concordia on 1 April 1866. Shortly thereafter the French began their retreat from Sinaloa. The state legislature debated and approved the renaming of Concordia as Concordía de Rubí, and the establishment of an annual festival in his honor from 18

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A third initiative sought to recognize General Rubí while he was still serving his term in office. Rubí won a crucial battle against the French army in his hometown of Concordia on 1 April 1866. Shortly thereafter the French began their retreat from Sinaloa. The state legislature debated and approved the renaming of Concordia as Concordía de Rubí, and the establishment of an annual festival in his honor from 18 April 1875; III: 13, 22 April 1875; III: 14, 30 April 1875; El Estado de Sitio I: 11, 7 October 1876; I: 13, 21 October 1876; I: 18, 15 November 1876.

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El Estado de Sitio I: 11, 7 October 1876; I: 13, 21 October 1876; I: 18, 15 November 1876.

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AHCES DN 28, 24 September 1868. The initiative was presented by legislator Celso Gaxiola and proposed that an annual festival be celebrated from 1 May to 6 May.

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AHCES DN 27, 21 September 1868, authorizes an annual festival from 18 December to 25 December.

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A. Nakayama, Juárez, rumbo y señal de Sinaloa (n.p., 1973), 85-6, 166; AHCES DN 27, 21 September 1868, authorizes an annual festival from 18 December to 25 December.
through 25 January. When the bill reached Governor Rubí, he had the modesty to refuse the annexation of his name to Concordia.\textsuperscript{53} Three years later, when Rubí's constitutional mandate had concluded, the state legislature granted him the title of Benemerito del Estado.\textsuperscript{54}

The recognition of the nation and state builders also extended to more recent victims in the fight for law and order. Governor Buelna presented a bill honoring the memory of the patriots. In elegant prose, Buelna extolled those patriots who, in the last struggle, fell defending the principles of order and rule of law as a means to establish peace, an indispensable condition to achieving well-being and prosperity.

The governor described the circumstances surrounding the death of the local martyrs as follows:

Among the citizens whose memory the bill tries to honor, some of them died arms in hand, heroically defending the legitimate government, men such as Iriarte, Johnson, Moreno and Vega; others were sacrificed after having bravely fought, in which number Otanes, Medina and Retamoza shall be counted; and still others were killed because, being at the state service, they were an obstacle because of their patriotism...such as Espinosa and Jesús Valenzuela.\textsuperscript{55}

\textsuperscript{53} AHCES DN 35, 15 October 1868.

\textsuperscript{54} The resolution is dated on 25 September 1871. Domingo Rubí died in 1896, 25 years after he was recognized as a Benemerito del Estado (state hero), Olea, \textit{Sinaloa a través de sus constituciones}, 221.

\textsuperscript{55} E. Buelna to the secretaries of the State Legislature, Culiacán, 3 May 1874, in AHCES DN 54, 14 May 1874.
All of them were proclaimed Beneméritos del Estado and martyrs for the cause of order and rule of law. The bill also proposed that the municipalities of Cosalá, Culiacán and Rosario display in golden letters the names of the merited Sinaloans in the respective town halls. Furthermore, the national flag would be lowered to half-mast on the anniversaries of their deaths.

The legislators had no objection to the approval of such a resolution; in fact, they expanded upon it. To the list of honorees, they added Eleno Osuna and Carlos Ma. Avendano, and to the list of municipalities they added Mocorito. In addition, they supported an article that stipulated the building of a monument in the capital city in honor of all the citizens who had fallen in defense of order and rule of law.⁵⁶

The process of molding the Sinaloan citizenry during the Restored Republic included the banning or prohibition of some traditional entertainments and the fostering of formal education. When a bill presented by legislators Buelna, Inzunza, Escobar, Echeverría and Ramírez banning bullfighting reached Rubi’s hands in the spring of 1870, he sincerely applauded it and congratulated the deputies for “having taken a measure demanded long ago by the civilization and good manners of the epoch.” The approval of this legislation would avoid “the misfortunes and unpleasant circumstances that usually derive from bullfights.”⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Idem.

⁵⁷ AHCES DN 56, 27 April 1870.
The government’s interest in formal education went beyond elementary education level, as both Rubí and Buelna were also interested in providing technical instruction as well as secondary and professional education to the populace. During Rubí’s term José Siordia requested a tax exemption for his business—a forge, a carpentry, a tin shop, and a shop for making and repairing carriages—on the basis that it would accept as apprentices twenty youngsters above fifteen years of age selected by the municipality. In addition, during the course of Buehia’s governorship, the Mazatlán secondary school, the Liceo Rosales, was established with the intention of strengthening “the democratic institutions we have adopted and to restore to industry and commerce, which lie largely dormant, their life and progress.” Another purpose inherent in the school’s establishment was the prevention of the criminal and revolutionary activity.

Once founded, an educational institution required funds for its regular functioning. Beginning in 1873 a new item appeared in the annual budgets—money earmarked for public instruction, a major portion of which was for the Liceo for that year, and for the Colegio Rosales, in Culiacán, in the subsequent one. Moreover, early in 1873 a bill was passed establishing a state tax for public instruction. Once collected, the funds would be carefully administered to avoid their misappropriation. A year later, the legislature amended the legislation to ensure that the funds for instruction were channeled

58 AHCES DN 30, 5 January 1870.

59 ACHES DN 32, 31 December 1872.

60 AHCES DN 41, 15 January 1873, contains Francisco G. Flores’s initiative of 28 December 1872.
to the public treasury. The funds for education would not come from direct taxation, but from the sales taxes, the alcabalas. With these funds, the government would build schools and provide evening training “to benefit clerks of commerce and artisans.”

The regulation of education, beginning with the founding of the Liceo Rosales and continuing with the fiscal measures discussed earlier, was sealed with a law establishing the organization and academic functioning of public instruction. In March 1874, with the inauguration of the Colegio Rosales in Culiacán, a regulation took effect that became a law ten months later. Its provisions were ambitious, and it unequivocally showed the state’s controlling character. Among its stipulations were that the Colegio Rosales would offer a wide range of programs to develop mining, agriculture and public health. In addition, the Colegio would prepare accountants and, of course, lawyers for civil and criminal cases. The Junta Directiva de Estudios, the State Board of Education, would not be responsible for the selection and implementation of the committees to examine the new lawyers. Instead, a new law was passed, placing in the hands of the state Supreme Court the crucial task of certifying legal professionals in this era of state building.61

61 AHCES DN 91, 24 October 1874.
SUMMARY

In summary, the liberals in government further empowered the state by passing legislation to restructure public finances, develop the economy and instill public support for the state. By restructuring the sources of public revenue the state intended to secure resources for public administration, public security, public works and education, among other purposes. Economic legislation was aimed at facilitating the production and circulation of goods, establishing new manufacturers and protecting established industries, such as the cotton factories. This legislation supported the mining sector, protected the textile industry and rewarded the establishment of enterprises which produced sugar, flour and pastas. Furthermore, the measures to open and maintain roads and to subsidize wagon and stagecoach lines were aimed at encouraging the circulation of goods. The Sinaloan liberals headed by Buelna procured the transfer of corporate land to private property. Public and part of the communal lands were thus placed on the real estate market, so they could be utilized commercially. Finally, paying tribute to national and regional heroes, extending literacy, providing job skills, and educating citizens in history and the government system would form a citizenry capable of engaging in productive work, public administration and the defense of the nation.

For legislators and state governors, reordering the legal framework, regulating public finances, stimulating the economy, prizing heroes, fostering productive and loyal

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62 Instances of legislation dealing with the training of professionals are resolutions 155 of 19 April 1875, 148 of 3 April 1875, and 159 of 14 May 1875,
citizens, and legitimating public institutions played central roles in the effort to restore the republic at the regional level. A body of legislation addressing state power, economic production and civic culture was the liberals’ instrument to pursue their state building endeavor. But this restoration achieved only partial success due to the problems involved in practicing political democracy and the region’s weak economic growth. Resistance to the process of state building translated into a chronic and multifaceted conflict, a topic that is addressed in chapters 3 and 4.
CHAPTER 3
THE RESISTANCE: REBELLIONS AND ELECTORAL STRUGGLE

The efforts at building and empowering the Sinaloan state during the Restored Republic met with chronic resistance throughout the decade. Conflict took a variety of forms and imprinted itself on the relationship between the branches of government, between the state government and the localities, and between the state and federal government. The armed conflicts in the aftermath of the 1867, 1871 and 1875-1876 elections and the Lozadistas raids from Tepic constitute one of these forms. The political conflicts after the passing of the 1870 electoral law and those that emerged following from Lerdo’s pressure to raise Jesús M. Gaxiola to the governorship in 1875 represent another form.

An understanding of both the wars of the previous decade and the expectations after the republican victory will contribute to an understanding of the varied and complex conflicts during the Restored Republic. The Revolution of Ayutla, the War of Reform and the French Intervention disrupted Sinaloans’ lives and thousands of them joined the struggle.1 Their war experiences allowed them to travel and become acquainted with the

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1 A review of the decade preceding the Restored Republic shows the ease with which the liberals organized popular armies to combat the conservatives during the French Intervention. Buelna, Compendio, 31; Buelna, Apuntes, 41-98; Nakayama, Sinaloa. Un bosquejo de su historia, 277-344; Voss, On the Periphery of Nineteenth-Century Mexico, 130-75; Ortega and López, Sinaloa, textos de su historia, 35-46; Verdugo, ed., Historia de Sinaloa. v. 2, 65-74. This large mobilization of the Sinaloans caused one member of the French military affirm that in Sinaloa, even God was a chinaco, meaning that the great majority of the locals had participated in the War of Reform and the French
political goals of the liberals. Of the liberal political agenda, the mobilized population grasped some fundamental tenets such as respect for state sovereignty and for local self-determination, the balance among the republican powers, and political democracy. However, at the end of the French Intervention the combatants were discharged, resulting in problematic situations. Due to the destruction of the manufacturing sector, the dislocation of the economy and the lack of capital, the soldiers were unable to find jobs in the haciendas or factories. Neither could the public sector absorb these thousands of ex-combatants seeking civilian positions. These idle heroes with fighting experience were then easily attracted to the frequent uprisings and some of them, especially early in the period, to the defense of local and state institutions. Others were compelled to banditry.\(^2\)

This was not the only legacy of the prior wars. The merchants became accustomed to weak governmental control, which allowed them to pay import duties below the legal tariffs, deal in contraband without restrictions and manipulate public officials.\(^3\) The newly established liberal governments of the Restored Republic did not

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\(^2\) Banditry in Sinaloa during the Restored Republic manifests itself not as an economically and socially motivated activity, but as a consequence of political conflict. Those who were accused and convicted of assault or kidnapping were generally linked to revolt or pronouncement against the government. AHCES DN 14, 31 October 1871; 20, 21, 22 and 23, 14 November 1871; 15, 10 October 1873; 48, 21 April 1874; 150, 8 April 1875; 25, 6 January 1876; 46, 11 May 1876. The cases of Francisco Cañedo, Camilo Isiordia, Cristóbal Andrade and *El Rey*, who operated in southern and central Sinaloa, and those involved in the revolt led by Susano Ortiz in 1875, fit this category. DN 70, 15 April 1873; 67, August 1874; 94, 29 October 1874; 24, 6 January 1876.

\(^3\) Román, “El contrabando de mercancías por Mazatlán (1871-1872),” 141-9.
find these practices easy to eradicate. Certainly, the merchants did not surrender these prerogatives without a fight.

A second impediment to the liberal government was the absence of a democratic political culture, especially among the elite. The generations since independence, particularly the one that lived during the wars of the 1850s and 1860s, became accustomed to extreme centralization and to an authoritarian exercise of power justified by chronic war. The extended period of political instability, uprisings, rebellions, foreign interventions and governmental turnovers was not conducive to acquainting the population with the peaceful transfer of power and the democratic election of public officials. The use of force had taken root in the population’s mind, especially among military chiefs and soldiers. Moreover, the doctrine of force also dominated politicians, the military and the civil sector at the national level and the chiefs of the federal forces in the state. This doctrine came to the fore during the decade, when the need for the centralization of power forced Juárez and Lerdo to seek control of the state government.\(^4\)

The explosive mixture of an idle, politicized and militarily trained population, a federal garrison zealous to have its will prevail by force, a national leadership with a mentality inclined to the use of force, and a class of merchants wishing to continue their fraudulent fiscal practices soon found its catalyst. Once the conflicts between liberals and conservatives, as well as those between republicans and imperialists, had been resolved,

the conditions were ripe for a struggle for power among the triumphant liberals. In Sinaloa, as in the rest of the country, the ambition for power found an outlet in constant belligerency.5

ARMED CONFLICTS

The first directives handed down by the national and state governments following the restoration of the republic fostered the unleashing of conflict. For one, the return to constitutionality coincided with the reorganization of the army.6 As a result, the convocatoria, the call for federal and state elections in August 1867, became a perfect opportunity for the military heroes of the recent wars and the politicians to contend for power in a time of uncertainty for the tens of thousands of soldiers who were affected by the downsizing of the federal army. Moreover, the absence of clear rules for political campaigning and the lack of will to abide by the extant legislation favored the use of force during the political campaigns. In the aftermath of the elections the losers tended to contest their losses by force, and the electoral contest and its aftermath in 1867 and 1871 was provoked and fed by this logic.

5 Buelna, Compendio, 31.

6 Mena, Historia compendiada, 234-4, is the only state historian who emphasizes the army’s reorganization, although he refers only to the national not the local level. Corona’s concern for the reorganization of the Army of the West, which became the 4th division of the Mexican federal army, is shown in Angélica Peregrina and Cándido Galván, ed., Homenaje a Ramón Corona en el primer centenario de su muerte (Guadalajara: Secretaría de Educación y Cultura, 1989), 118-9.
Although the Sinaloans had defeated the French army and Mexican imperialists by mid-November 1866, the de facto authorities decided to convene the citizenry to elect constitutional authorities only after the French and the imperialists had been defeated nationwide. The state legislature resolved on 7 September 1867, that elections would take place on the following 13 October. The roster of candidates for governor was as follows: General Domingo Rubí, governor and military commander of the state since May 1865; General Ángel Martínez, chief of the federal forces in Mazatlán; Eustaquio Buelna, the district judge who resigned his position to contend for the governorship; and Manuel Monzón, prefect of Culiacán district. The military men were heroes of the recent wars, and the civilians were lawyers who had also played prominent roles in defending the republican institutions.\(^7\)

The Rubí and Martínez political campaigns had an atmosphere of force and abuse of power. In the end, the state legislature had to choose the new governor, due to the fact that none of the candidates had obtained an absolute majority. In accordance with representative Roberto Orrantia's proposal, the legislature agreed to eliminate the two military candidates because they had not met the legal candidacy requirements and because they had been involved in abusive practices. Nonetheless, pressure from Rubí and Martínez forced the legislature to modify its decision. In a negotiated solution, the legislature designated Rubí as governor and Monzón as vice-governor. Rubí himself

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\(^7\) Buelna, *Apuntes*, 99-100; Cosío Villegas, *La república restaurada. La vida política*, 509-15; Mena, *Historia compendiada*, 244.
signed the bill the legislation had just passed on 20 December and took office the following day.8

Opposition sprang up shortly thereafter. Colonels Jorge G. Granados and Adolfo Palacio and the civilian Ireneo Paz revolted in Culiacan on 4 January 1868, protesting against the legislature’s decision and in favor of the appointment of Monzón as governor.9 To finance their movement, the rebels stole 72,000 pesos from the minting house of Culiacán. In the southern part of the state, General Jesús Toledo pronounced General Martínez governor. Shortly after, all the rebels gathered in Elota, a town in central Sinaloa, and launched the Plan of Elota, an action against Rubí and in favor of Martínez as provisional governor. Once the state achieved peace, the rebels promised to call new elections.10

General Ramón Corona, chief of the former Army of the West, now the 4th Military Division, and a friend of both Rubí and the rebels, arrived in Sinaloa to try to negotiate a peaceful resolution to the conflict that threatened lives. Corona proposed that Rubí resigned the governorship and that the chief justice of the state Supreme Court take office, pending elections. Rubí considered the proposal an offense and refused to accept it. Corona returned to his headquarters in Guadalajara without achieving his goal, but before leaving Sinaloa, he replaced General Martínez, chief of the federal garrison in

8 Buelna, Apuntes, 100-1.
9 Monzón did not accept the position offered him by the rebels. Buelna, Apuntes, 101.
10 Buelna, Apuntes, 101-102; Cosío Villegas, La república restaurada. La vida política, 502-3.
Mazatlán, with General Bibiano Dávalos. On the following day, January 28, Martínez revolted against Rubí and decided to accept the governorship he had been offered by the Plan of Elota.¹¹

At the beginning of the conflict rebels and loyal forces alternated victories. Colonel Palacio defeated loyalist forces under Colonel Manuel Crespo's command in Veranos on February 19, but Lieutenant Colonel Sotero Osuna triumphed over Palacio in Elota ten days later. On 5 March, Colonel Granados defeated loyal forces under Colonels Aragón and Miranda in Las Mesas, Cosala. Some days later a skirmish erupted in Concordia between loyal forces and rebel Colonel Félix Almada. In the end, however, the federal forces defeated the rebels. The federal government instructed General Corona to send the vanguard of the 4th Division, under the command of General Donato Guerra, to combat the opposition to Rubí's government. Guerra faced Martínez and his 1,600 men and defeated him in Villa Unión, near Mazatlán, on 8 April and the rebel soldiers and leaders in Mazatlán retreated immediately. Thus concluded the first armed episode in Mexico after the French Intervention. This revolt failed to topple the government in Sinaloa, but had great consequences for the country since it marked the beginning of an endless series of armed conflicts nationwide during the Restored Republic.¹²

¹¹ At the time it was speculated that Corona had come to Sinaloa to support the insurgents. See Buelna, Apuntes, 102-3; Cosío Villegas, La república restaurada. La vida política, 524-6.

¹² Buelna, Apuntes, 101-4. Cosío Villegas opens his extensive section on the conflicts of the decade with this episode. Discussion of the national repercussion of this local conflict is found in Cosío Villegas, La república restaurada. La vida política, 538.
The second phase of the aforementioned conflict occurred early in 1869, under different circumstances. After Martínez had fled to San Francisco, California, and the military leaders Granados and Toledo had been prosecuted in San Luis Potosí, Palacio returned from Tepic to Mazatlán, where he was later imprisoned. Months later, Palacio escaped from the Mazatlán jail and engineered a new uprising against the constitutional government. This time, he intended to replace Rubí with Plácido Vega. On 13 March Palacio took the Culiacán prison by storm, freed the prisoners and pursued the local authorities. To finance his movement, Palacio stole 5,000 pesos from the residents and absconded with an equal amount from the mint. This movement mustered some popular support, although not much. One Victoriano Cruz from Escuinapa, a southern locality, and a Victoriano Ortiz in El Fuerte supported Palacio, but General Eulogio Parra pursued and defeated Palacio, who was killed in the Sierra de la Soledad, in the northeastern corner of the state.

The armed conflict continued during the rest of Rubí’s term in office, but with less intensity. On 6 September 1869, one Maximiliano Llamas, backed by thirty men

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13 Plácido Vega, hero of the War of Reform and governor of Sinaloa at the end of that conflict, was commissioned by Juárez to buy arms in the United States. He was unable to satisfactorily fulfill his mission, and fell into disfavor with the Republican leadership. Fearing for his life, Vega joined the rebel Manuel Lozada in Tepic during the Maximilian Empire and remained a rebel during the Restored Republic. Nakayama, *Sinaloa. Un bosquejo de su historia*, 295-324.


from Tepic, attacked Escuinapa, but the residents turned back the aggressors. From February to April of the following year, Plácido Vega and his followers had several confrontations with federal troops and the state militias in the southern part of the state. On 8 February in La Concepción, a town bordering Sinaloa and the territory of Tepic, Vega joined Trinidad García de la Cadena's attempt to overthrow President Benito Juárez. Vega also threatened to oppose the state legislative and executive powers if they refused to support him. The rebellious chief then attacked Rosario, Valamo and Villa Unión and reached the outskirts of Mazatlan. Earlier that day, Vega's followers had attacked Rosario and taken Prefect Calixto Peña as a hostage. A week later, loyalist General Eulogio Parra subdued Camilo Isiordia, a deserter of the federal army, and rewarded him by commissioning him into the public security forces of the Rosario district. The conflicts persisted, and the month of March witnessed an attack by Captain Blas Ruiz against the Veguista Lucas Pinto, whom Ruiz pursued up to Acaponeta, in Tepic. Per the instructions of Juan Sanromán, political chief of Tepic, Vega attacked the security forces in Escuinapa, in retaliation for the attack and abuses of Captain Ruiz. Later, in the fall of that year, residents and soldiers attacked rebels in the towns of Chametla and Siqueros, in the southern districts of Mazatlan and Rosario. In addition, Lieutenant Colonel Sixto Osuna, chief of the 11th Federal Squadron, suppressed an uprising of soldiers under his command; later, he sought them out, killing twenty and apprehending another twenty-two.

As a clear indication of the blurred limits between loyalty and rebelliousness, the military chieftains Isiordia and Cristóbal Andrade rejoined to the rebel ranks and attacked
different points in southern Sinaloa. On 11 March, accompanied by Dionisio Valdés, they attacked the barracks of the 11th Squadron, shouting \textit{vivas} to Trinidad García de la Cadena and Plácido Vega, both opponents of the Juárez regime. Days later, Andrade attacked Valamo and assassinated Mauricio López, a peaceful citizen. Later, on 24 March, Andrade and sixty men attacked Culiacán, took the local jail by force, and freed the prisoners. Residents and federal troops, under José Galindo's command, repelled the marauders, but they attacked Mocorito two days later.¹⁶

The next state election, in 1871, coincided with the federal election for the presidency. Buelna was again candidate, but this time he confronted General Manuel Márquez de Leon, another hero of the Reform and the French Intervention. The Buelnistas supported Juárez, who in Sinaloa had fewer sympathizers than his opponent Porfirio Díaz. Buelna won the election by an overwhelming majority and helped Juárez to win in the state. But before the state legislature ratified Buelna's victory, an armed conflict erupted, with grave consequences for Sinaloa.¹⁷

¹⁶ BOES II: 13, 31 March 1871, 51-2.

¹⁷ Through his \textit{Apuntes}, Buelna provides clues to explain the scanty popular resistance to the Tuxtepecan rebellion in Sinaloa. Since the 1871 state and federal elections, Buelna observes that Díaz was more popular than Juárez in Sinaloa. Buelna explains Juárez's triumph, saying that the Sinaloans, largely Buelnistas, voted for the presidential candidate allied with him. The Sinaloans were more interested in their governor than in the president of the republic, Buelna proudly affirms. See especially \textit{Apuntes}, 115-6. Who made whom win is not an idle question because if, contrary to Buelna's statements, the Juaristas made Buelna win, this would have evidenced centralism, a control of the state politics by national politics. The electoral result also illustrated another issue. Until then the state enjoyed self-determination, and only shortly after did the deterioration of the authentic federalism begin. This issue is addressed in the next chapter.
Alleging irregularities in the electoral process, Francisco Cañedo planned an uprising in Culiacán, on 2 September 1871. When his scheme was discovered, he moved to a nearby locality, Imala, where he demonstrated against Buelna’s election the following day. José Galindo, chief of the federal troops in Culiacán, attacked and defeated Cañedo, who was then taken prisoner along with Luis Martínez de Castro. While this was happening in the central part of the state, General Eulogio Parra came out of his retirement in the south and spoke out in favor of Cañedo. Parra then kidnapped the legislator-elect for the district of Cosalá, Pablo Iriarte, Buelna’s sympathizer, to prevent his attending the legislative session where Buelna would be ratified as governor-elect. Parra also intended to kidnap legislator-elect Sotero Osuna. Without the Buelnista legislators, the legislators favoring the Mazatlán merchants and the insurrection expected to have no obstacle in proclaiming Márquez the new governor, and the rebels would provide the military force to keep him protected in office. Unfortunately for the rebels, Cañedo was prosecuted and sentenced to death, in accordance with the law against assailants and kidnappers. Furthermore, Susano Ortiz and the National Guard from Mocorito and Culiacán defeated Parra and disbanded his forces. Having squelched this uprising, the legislature and Governor Buelna commuted Cañedo’s death penalty to a ten-year prison term.

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20 AHCES DN 14, 31 October 1871.
Cañedo became a major contender in Sinaloan politics after this episode, and his behavior in the elections and the judicial process after his failed revolt both merit study. Cañedo, who enjoyed widespread popularity, initially had supported Buelna in his electoral campaign on condition that once Buelna took office, he would designate Francisco Ferrel as judge of the court of first instance in Culiacán. When Buelna refused, Cañedo turned against Buelna. When Cañedo was imprisoned and sentenced to death, this sentence upset many residents of Culiacán who sympathized with Cañedo, formerly prefect of the district. In a poignant letter, Cañedo’s wife petitioned for mercy for an exemplary father who committed a lapse of judgment. Local authorities heeded her and others’ pleas and commuted Cañedo’s sentence. However, the authorities were far from imagining the rebel would still embrace his restless spirit and would participate in the La Noria rebellion some time later.

Porfirio Díaz, national hero of the wars of Reform and French Intervention, challenged Juárez for the presidency of the republic in 1867 and 1871. The defeat of Díaz on both occasions did not curtail his resolution to continue fighting against Juárez, or his protests against both Juárez’s long stay in power and his betrayal of liberal principles. On 8 November 1871, Díaz spoke out against Juárez’s government and launched his Plan of La Noria. In Sinaloa, José Palacios, commander of the federal garrison in Mazatlán, lent

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21 The letters of residents, artisans and merchants, as well as Cañedo’s wife, to the legislature are found in the file cited in the preceding footnote.

22 Buelna, Apuntes, 122.

23 Cosío Villegas, La república restaurada. La vida política, 172-89, 575-628.
support to the plan nine days later and named as governor Mateo Magaña, a merchant from Mazatlán.\textsuperscript{24} Thus began an armed conflict that extended for an entire year.

Immediately after the uprising, constitutional Governor Buelna left Mazatlán, the state capital, relocate with difficulty to the northern districts of the state. As soon as he arrived in Mocorito, he requested military support from Sonoran Governor General Ignacio Pesqueira, who quickly acquiesced. In response, the rebels advanced northward. Capturing town after town, they reached El Fuerte on the northern fringes of the state, and then started back to Culiacán. Because the rebels left the towns undefended, the loyalists also began their march southward, recapturing the towns, but after a setback in the town of Sinaloa, returned to the north. Early in February the loyal forces again started their campaign southward and did not stop until they recaptured Culiacán on 26 February. General Márquez, coming from the south, tried to retake Culiacán and besieged the city for forty-one days, from 27 March to 6 May 1872. Both the tenousness of the rebel victory and the arrival of General Sóstenes Rocha in Mazatlán on 5 May, in support of the loyalists, forced Márquez to abandon the siege and remove his troops to Durango. Meanwhile, in Mazatlán, the de facto government had left the city shortly before Rocha’s arrival.\textsuperscript{25}

Much to Buelna’s surprise, Rocha declared martial law and named General Domingo Rubí governor and military commander of the state. Rubí subsequently transferred this office to General Prisciliano Flores and marched toward Durango to

\textsuperscript{24} BOES II: 50 y 62 12 May and 3 June 1872; Buelna, \textit{Apuntes}, 123.

\textsuperscript{25} BOES II: 48 and 58 and 22 May 1872; Buelna, \textit{Apuntes}, 123-42.
combat the rebels. In Durango the rebels had wrenched command from Márquez and put it into the hands of Colonel Doroteo López and Francisco Cañedo, both of whom became the new leaders of the La Noria rebellion in Sinaloa. The federal forces in the state, it seemed, either manipulated martial law in order to extend it, or showed a lack of military efficacy, or both. Not only were the federal troops incapable or unwilling to suppress the insurrection, but they also allowed the rebels to wreak havoc on Mazatlán, abducting Governor Flores and finally taking the capital on September 13.  

To remedy these affronts, the federal government sent General José Ceballos to take charge of the situation. Acting momentarily as the de facto governor, Cañedo started to negotiate with Ceballos, but Ceballos responded by requesting Cañedo’s surrender. Cañedo agreed to surrender to Ceballos unconditionally, but in an attempt to save his own skin Cañedo blamed Colonel López for attacking the federal troops and kidnapping Flores. Thus the insurrection was silenced and the state pacified by October 1872. The federal government ordered Ceballos to lift martial law, but instead of obeying those orders, he maintained the state of siege, thus injuring state sovereignty. The state legislature and Supreme Court forced Ceballos to change his mind. After the permanent commission of legislators voiced its anger before President Lerdo, and the Supreme Court threatened to dissolve if constitutionality did not prevail, Ceballos placed the constitutional power in the hands of the chief justice of the Supreme Court. Shortly thereafter, the chief justice devolved the governorship to Vice-Governor Ángel Urrea.

26 BOES II: 59, 61 y 62 30 May, 2 and 6 June 1872; Buelna, Apuntes, 142-55.
Urrea, in turn, restored it to the constitutionally elected Governor Buelna on 5 February 1873, as soon as he arrived in the state capital from Mexico City.\textsuperscript{27}

Armed conflict surfaced again in the aftermath of the 1875 state election, when José Rojo y Eseverri, Buelnista of the district of Sinaloa, and Jesús María Gaxiola, Lerdista and judge of district in Mazatlán, contended for the governorship. Susano Ortiz threatened to invade Sinaloa from Durango to overthrow Gaxiola, who had won the election. Gaxiola requested and obtained from the state legislature extraordinary powers in the departments of treasury and war to meet the potential threat. Although Ortiz recruited some adventurous Sinaloans, his revolt was defeated in its infancy. This episode would, in fact, be considered of minor importance, if it were not the prelude to the Tuxtepecan rebellion in Sinaloa.\textsuperscript{28}

Foreseeing Lerdo’s re-election, the Porfiristas prepared an offensive to oppose Lerdo and seize power. Beginning in January 1876 they began operations in Oaxaca and other parts of the country.\textsuperscript{29} Sinaloa remained quiet until Pedro Betancourt appeared on the scene, where he met defeat and his death.\textsuperscript{30} Months later, Cañedo orchestrated a military campaign under the banner of the Plan of Tuxtepec soon after General Donato

\textsuperscript{27} BOES, 30 January, 5 and 10 February 1873; Buelna, \textit{Apuntes}, 156-60.

\textsuperscript{28} EESOOG III: 35, 36 and 38, 18 and 26 October and 12 November 1875; Buelna, \textit{Apuntes}, 173-4; Cosio Villegas, \textit{La república restaurada. La vida política}, 824.

\textsuperscript{29} Cosío Villegas, \textit{La república restaurada. La vida política}, 767-823.

\textsuperscript{30} EESOOG IV: 9, March 1876; Buelna, \textit{Apuntes}, 174-5.
Guerra penetrated the state from the south. Some Indian villagers, such as the Indians from Ajoya, district of San Ignacio, headed by Feliciano Roque, joined the rebel forces. The Tuxtepecan rebellion in Sinaloa was defeated in its first phase under the command of Guerra and Cañedo, but the second and final phase under the command of Colonel Jesús Ramírez Terrón was victorious.

The Porfiristas of Sinaloa did not put forth their own candidate in the 1875 election for the governorship, instead supporting Gaxiola. When the Porfiristas rebelled in the south of Mexico, the Sinaloan Porfiristas prepared to do the same at the first opportunity. They did not have to wait long. Cañedo, local representative Andrés L. Tapia and Lieutenant Colonel Manuel Inzunza, all of them Porfiristas, came out in favor of the Plan of Tuxtepec in Culiacán on 11 July 1876, after General Guerra had entered Sinaloa through Plomosas on 27 June and took Concordia two days later. Guerra’s expressed purpose was to spread the movement all over Sinaloa, but Colonel Modesto Cristerna opposed Guerra and defeated the Porfiristas in their first battle. Recovering from this setback, Guerra reorganized his forces and marched toward Culiacán, where he arrived in August. Guerra’s objective in coming to Sinaloa was to lead the Tuxtepecan rebellion and coordinate efforts with Cañedo. But Cañedo wanted to be second to none.

Cañedo and Guerra competed for leadership of the movement in Sinaloa. Cañedo had mustered the military force and the material resources to sustain the rebellion, and he

31 EESOOG III: 11, April 1875; III: 13, 22 April 1875; III: 14, 30 April 1875; ES I: 11, 7 October 1876; I: 13, 21 October 1876; I: 18, 15 November 1876.

32 ES 1:1 and 3, 29 July and 12 August 1876; Buelna, Apuntes, 175-8.
viewed Guerra as usurper sent by Díaz to take credit for others’ work. Although latent, this jealousy was simmering when both rebels decided to abandon Culiacán to elude an unfavorable confrontation with the loyalist forces. Guerra and Cañedo fled in different directions, with Guerra taking to the east while Cañedo committed himself to protecting Guerra’s retreat. However, Cañedo failed to fulfill his promise and allowed the federal troops to attack Guerra. As Cañedo was marching northward, Lieutenant Colonel Bernardo Reyes pursued and defeated Guerra in Tameapa, in the district of Badiraguato, on 19 August. The rebel Guerra then fled to Chihuahua, where he was killed a month later. Meanwhile, Cañedo and Tapia surrendered before the federal army early in September, and only Manuel Inzunza continued fighting for a short while. When the federal troops finally defeated Inzunza’s guerrilla troops, the Tuxtepecan rebellion ended in Sinaloa,\textsuperscript{33} or so it seemed.

The fate of the Tuxtepecan rebellion in other parts of the country, specifically the Porfirista victory in Tecoac on 16 November, was undoubtedly present in Colonel Jesús Ramírez’s mind when he decided to support the Plan of Tuxtepec on 25 November. Ramírez had been a loyal soldier, prefect and military commander of Culiacán until then, but now he decided to shift his allegiance. In the national arena, Lerdo had been defeated, but the final outcome was uncertain since the struggle between Díaz and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court José M. Iglesias continued. Ramírez did not dismiss the possibility that Díaz and Iglesias would come to terms, so in his manifesto he named Iglesias as vice-president of the republic. Ramírez’s new position attracted the attention and support

\textsuperscript{33} ES I: 8 and 9, 16 and 23 September 1876; Buelna, \textit{Apuntes}, 178-82.
of Inzunza and Tapia, who then became his allies. The confusion regarding allegiances was rampant, and the belligerents arranged a truce in December to await the outcome in the national arena.

Meanwhile, General Francisco O. Arce, state governor and military commander, following General Jose Ceballos, military chief in Jalisco, spoke out in favor of Iglesias as president of the republic since Lerdo, defeated, had left the country. As soon as Arce knew Iglesias was on his way to Mazatlán to establish the national government in the port city and to organize his movement against Díaz, he broke the truce and ordered Colonel Modesto Cristerna to seek out and battle Ramírez.34

In preparation for the combat, the forces of Cristerna and Ramírez took parallel paths northward, from Rosario to Cosala. Ramírez’s men took Cosalá on January 5 but almost immediately abandoned it without a fight. Without opposition, Cristerna captured the plaza, only to receive a surprise attack. This confrontation between the loyalists and the rebels marked the bloodiest and most decisive battle of the Tuxtepecan rebellion in Sinaloa. Ramírez launched a fierce cavalry charge with a hundred of his men. Leaving the infantry in the rearguard, and he forged up to the center of the plaza, exacting numerous casualties on the enemy side. Six hundred men defended the plaza but the surprise attack balanced out their numerical superiority. The brief but brutal encounter caused numerous casualties on both sides, but confusion spread in the federal forces, intensified by the death of their brave leader Colonel Cristerna during the battle. The

34 ES I: 28, 30 December 1876; Buelna, Apuntes, 182-4.
loyalists did not dare to counterattack because they knew Ramírez’s infantry was intact and ready to intervene. Thus, the federal troops, defeated, abandoned the plaza.\footnote{Buelna, \textit{Apuntes}, 184-5.}

Prior to rebel victory, one of the rebels, Lieutenant Colonel Manuel Inzunza, believing the battle lost, because of the difference in numbers, left the theater of the war. He traveled to Culiacán, where he met Cañedo and informed him of Ramírez’s suicidal attack. He and Cañedo decided to change loyalties and were preparing to issue a communiqué in favor of Iglesias when they learned of the true sequence of events and changed their minds again.\footnote{Buelna, \textit{Apuntes}, 185.}

The triumph of the rebels produced dramatic changes in the loyalist ranks. General Arce replaced the deceased Cristerna with General Rubí, but the federal troops refused to accept him and named Colonel Troncoso instead. Troncoso began his march toward Mazatlán, temporary seat of the state government, but in Piaxtla he changed loyalties in favor of the Plan of Tuxtepec and left General Arce without military support. When Troncoso entered Mazatlán, Arce tried to flee, but the people prevented him from doing so, demonstrating their people anger toward the abusive governor and their support for the democratic proposals contained in the Díaz Plan of Tuxtepec, as reformed at Palo Blanco. Then, on January 1877, the Tuxtepecan rebellion accomplished its definitive
military triumph in Sinaloa, and Colonel Jesús Ramírez assumed the governorship and military commandership of the state.37

The armed conflicts that followed each of the elections were not the only ones that the Sinaloans had to endure, but they also were subjected to armed raids organized in the territory of Tepic, then the seventh canton of the state of Jalisco. These raids were headed by different groups with a variety of motivations. Some were groups led by rebels who had opposed constitutional government and had sought temporary refuge in Tepic to organize their comeback. Other raiders were Lozada sympathizers, who acted on their own. In a third situation, occurring at least once, the Lozadistas openly invaded the state. Regarding the first two cases, records seem to indicate that the federal forces garrisoned in Tepic tolerated the armed operations of the rebels.

The first type of raids were a sequel to the armed conflicts in the aftermath of electoral processes. The people participating in these raids came largely from the federal forces in Mazatlán and other southern localities. Many of those soldiers were from Tepic, knew the terrain and retreated to it when defeated or chased. From the comfortable vantage point Tepic offered, they launched offensives against the loyal forces, once they reorganized their ranks and recruited new elements. The federal garrison in Tepic

37 El Estado de Sitio. (Official Newspaper of the government and military commandancy) I: 1, 1 February 1877; Buelna, Apuntes, 186. The plummeting of General Domingo Rubi’s popularity deserves special attention. A hero of the War of Reform and the French Intervention, governor and military commander of the state after the defeat of the French, constitutional governor at the beginning of the Restored Republic, Benemérito del Estado at the end of his term and, finally, governor during the first days of the 1871 martial law, Rubi is harshly criticized by Buelna in his Apuntes. Rubí’s submissiveness to Lerdo’s designs seems to be the basis of this criticism. In this critical vein Nakayama and Voss follow Buelna in the best historiography.
tolerated the rebels’ activity on many occasions. From this sanctuary Maximiliano Llamas attacked Escuinapa on 6 September 1869, with thirty men, but they were repelled by the opposing forces. Tepic contributed soldiers who accompanied General Parra when, along with Cañedo, they decried the results of the 1871 state election. Tepic was the destination of Miguel Escalante and his men when they evacuated Matatán on 8 September 1871.

Several cases illustrate the second category of raids—those launched by Lozada’s sympathizers, though not necessarily sanctioned by him. One rebel, Trinidad García de la Cadena rose up against President Juárez in Zacatecas and found willing supporters among the rebels residing in Tepic. The raid of one rebel group on Rosario and Plácido Vega’s uprising in La Concepción on 8 February 1870, attest to Lozada’s popularity among the masses. In the first instance, as referred before, rebels coming from Tepic attacked Rosario and kidnapped prefect Calixto Peña. In the second, Vega, as he pledged allegiance to García de la Cadena, also threatened the state powers if these authorities did not support his movement. Furthermore, the military government in Tepic manipulated the unaligned forces to its benefit, as those soldiers had no affiliation with either the federal army or the state militias. When elements of the federal army in southern Sinaloa pursued the Veguista Lucas Pinto and his men up to Acaponeta, in the heart of Tepic, the political chief of that territory, Juan Sanromán, retaliated by summoning Vega’s forces to
punish the federal troops in Sinaloa on 24 March 1870. These encounters launched a volley of letters between the governments of the neighboring states.\(^{38}\)

The raid of Lozada’s forces on the south of Sinaloa, in the caudillo’s last moments of glory, represent a third kind of armed assault from Tepic. The reformist Lozada, proponent of the Indians’ and peasants’ demands, was corralled by the federal army, as there was no place for him in the liberal society. Lozada launched a multiple offensive to assert his autonomy and bring about agrarian reform in the land under his domain. As part of this show of force, two thousand Lozadistas marched toward Rosario, Sinaloa, and confronted the federal troops on the outskirts of the city. The rebels won the first battle, but Colonel Jesús Altamirano crushed them afterwards, thus reducing to ashes Lozada’s dream of realizing his alternative project for development of rural Nayarit.\(^{39}\)

THE ELECTORAL STRUGGLE

Although political struggle often led to armed conflict, it did not always do so. There are episodes in the struggle for power in which parliamentary debates, judicial

\(^{38}\) Juan Sanromán to Domingo Rubí, Tepic, 6 April 1870 and Rubí to Sanromán, Mazatlán, 9 April 1870. The political chief in Tepic justified his action before Governor Rubí arguing that the excesses of Captain Ruiz as he chased Lucas Pinto’s band forced him to retaliate. See both letters in BOES I: 22, 12 April 1870; Buelna, Apuntes, 107-9.

\(^{39}\) On 17 January 1873 Manuel Lozada launched his Plan Libertador, mobilizing 7,000 men upon Guadalajara, 2,000 upon Sinaloa and some on Zacatecas. On 27 January Lozada’s men defeated Commandant Cristerna in Rosario, but then Altamirano forced the intruders retreat to Tepic. BOES 31 January and 6 June 1873; Buelna, Apuntes, 159-60.
proceedings and the abuse of power prevailed more often than the use of arms. The debate that preceded the passing of the electoral law of 13 May 1870, and the events that followed when the law took effect in local and state elections, illustrate this civil struggle. The open interference of the military in the 1867 and 1871 elections, and the even more abusive meddling of the federal forces under General Arce’s command in favor of Gaxiola in the 1875 election illustrate the abuse of power and the use of force.

As mentioned in the first chapter, the state legislature discussed and passed reforms to the state constitution in the first half of Rubi’s term in office. By law, for the reforms to become effective, the incoming legislature had to sanction them. This was done, but not without Rubi’s resistance. The new constitution, in Article 5, Section 4, restricted the influence of the military on the election of authorities. According to this section, garrisoned soldiers were denied the right to vote, since they could not vote their consciences because of the pressure of their superiors. Before this provision took effect, the military chiefs reacted by petitioning for protection from the federal judiciary.

The military chiefs affected by the state electoral law initiated judicial proceeding against Article 5, Section 4. Attorney Damián S. Ballesteros pushed for a stay of executive order from the federal justice, and the district judge conceded to the stay on 13 June 1870. However, the local powers opposed this judicial resolution because they considered it just to legally restrict the voting rights of the military, insisting that activities of military leaders violated the freedom of suffrage. District Judge Pedro S.

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40 BOES I: 38, Mazatlán, 20 June 1870, 213.

41 BOES I: 42 and 43, 5 and 9 July 1870, 230, 233.
Bermudes ratified the resolution in favor of the military on 16 July of the same year, but both the state legislators and Governor Rubi stood firm in their determination to eliminate the abuses of the military.

The local election of 31 July 1870 had put the law to the test. In their assessment of this election, legislators E. Buelna, A. Blancarte and F. Ramírez complained that the law had been violated in Mazatlán. There the military chiefs had allegedly taken three hundred soldiers to the polls under duress, not allowing them to vote freely. Although the general balance of the electoral process was still positive, the legislators harshly criticized the military commanders for having applied pressure upon their subordinates. This attitude, they said, negated the republican character of the institutions and was an open attack upon state sovereignty. Again, the legislators asserted that the stay issued by the district judge was an error which had deepened the military’s abusive behavior.42

The electoral law, the military’s petition for a stay and the first test of the law in the polls nurtured a debate that forced Judge Bermudes to petition the national Supreme Court for a ratification of his resolution to grant the stay of executive order, thereby securing the voting rights of garrisoned soldiers. The next month, the federal Supreme Court overturned the Mazatlán’s district judge’s decision.43 This higher court thus preserved state sovereignty in electoral matters.

42 BOES I: 51, 1 October 1870, 266-7.

43 BOES I: 44, 20 July 1870, 238-9; BOES I: 45, 25 July 1870; BOES I: 49, 10 September 1870; Buelna, *Apuntes*, 112.
Years later, when Cañedo and Andrés L. Tapia contended for the governorship, Colonel Ramírez tried to influence the vote of garrisoned soldiers, but Cañedo opposed him. With Buelna’s arbitration, both parties agreed to settle the dispute. Faithful to his civilian posture and having been a legislator himself when the 1870 electoral law was passed, Buelna decided against the vote of soldiers according the terms prescribed by the law.44

As demonstrated, the abuse of power and the use of force to decide the election of officials prevailed during the Restored Republic. Rubí and Martínez used them during the 1867 political campaign and also in the campaign’s wake, when the legislature intended to eliminate the two as legitimate candidates. Buelna and Monzón suffered as a result of the military’s abuses, as their defeats would suggest. Then, four years later, the federal commanders lobbied unsuccessfully in favor of General Manuel Márquez de León. In the 1875 state election the federal garrison was more fortunate when Jesús María Gaxiola and Antonio Rojo y Eseverri contended for the governorship, and General Arce mobilized federal troops to strategic districts to intimidate Rojo’s partisans. In the district of Sinaloa, where Rojo had a large following, the soldiers beat, jailed and even killed Rojo’s followers. The use of force decided Gaxiola’s triumph. In spite of this intimidation, however, Gaxiola’s votes surpassed Rojo’s by a margin of only little more than one thousand. The ending of the Restored Republic and the beginning of the Porfiriato also exhibited a show of power and force to resolve electoral issues. Military

44 Buelna, Apuntes, 186.
Governor Ramírez assisted Tapia’s candidacy for the governorship with resources and military force, although Cañedo’s victory belied the effectiveness of such support.

Thus, in a society where militarism enjoyed prestige and democratic political culture was weak, the criteria for electoral competition were discussed at the state legislature and then aired at the district courts, until it reached the national Supreme Court. The resolution favoring state sovereignty did not, however, intimidate the military. Both before and after the passing of the electoral law of 13 May 1870, and the Supreme Court’s resolution later that year, the military, especially the commanders of the federal forces in Mazatlán, practiced both the abuse of power and the use of force to boost their candidates’ standings in the state elections; sometimes they prevailed, but not always.

SUMMARY

In summary, state building met multiple obstacles; conflict shaped the kind of state being formed. Armed conflict was constantly in the foreground during the decade; confrontation reached its pinnacle every four years with gubernatorial election. Rubí faced the uprisings of Granados, Palacio, Toledo and Paz at the outset of his term in office, and that of Cañedo and Parra at its end. Also following elections, Buelna faced the revolt of Cañedo, Márquez and López, who later joined the La Noria rebellion in 1871-1872.

There were also conflicts between elections, such as those during the three constitutional governments of the period. During Rubí’s term, Vega supported García de
la Cadena’s movement against Juárez and invaded Sinaloa from the south. Federal troops defeated a section of Lozada’s army in southern Sinaloa in the days of Buelna’s governorship. Finally, during Gaxiola’s term, Ortiz invaded Sinaloa from Durango and met defeat, and later, the Tuxtepecan rebels humiliated the federal forces.

Conflict was also aired in the polls and courts. The abuse of power and use of force were pervasive in each election as the military leaders, sometimes by their own initiative and other times in obedience to federal interests, attempted to exercise political control by intimidating the population and manipulating the garrisoned soldiers under their command. The 1870 electoral law provoked the immediate reaction of the military that sought a stay of executive order from federal courts. The military particularly opposed Article 5, Section 4 of the aforementioned law, which forbade garrisoned soldiers to vote, since they could not exercise their constitutional right to vote freely and without duress. Despite the military’s resistance, the national Supreme Court ruled in favor of state sovereignty in local electoral matters.

For the Sinaloan liberals building a republican state was an endeavor plagued by armed and electoral conflict. The end of the wars against conservatives and monarchists had not suppressed the rivalry among the victorious liberals, rivalry that had expressed itself amid those conflicts. Now the elections provided the occasion for those rivalries to erupt. The losers in the 1867 and 1871 elections allied themselves with the Porfirian national opposition, but the Buelnistas, who had been loyal to Juárez, distanced themselves from President Lerdo in 1875. By 1876 the local Porfiristas had become the standard bearers of all opposition to the state regime: disillusioned local liberals,
discharged soldiers and some aggrieved Indian villagers. The Porfiristas had temporarily come to the rescue of popular liberalism. But conflict also surfaced from other economic and political arenas and involved other actors.
CHAPTER 4
THE RESISTANCE: BELLIGERENT MERCHANTS AND FEDERAL INTERVENTIONISM

The Sinaloan liberals' determination to build a republican constitutional government, which regulated politics, economics and culture, and established cooperative and respectful relations with the federal government, faced a multifaceted resistance. This resistance had different sources. In addition to the military resistance born out of intraliberal rivalry for power, other resistance was aroused by purposes of maintaining old privileges or of overriding both local republicanism and state sovereignty.

The resistance of the Mazatlán import/export merchants was intended to maintain traditional patterns of capital accumulation. Accustomed to manipulating authorities in the port to benefit from low tariffs on their imports and tolerance to their practice of contraband, the merchants could not permit the establishment of governments out of their control. To maintain their pattern of accumulation, the merchants favored military uprisings, which they presumed would empower public officials more pliable to their designs. They sustained also a legal fight against paying taxes, which they considered undue. Moreover, they speculated with the copper currency, acquiring it at large discounts, intending to pay taxes with it, and thus contributing to prices' inflation.

The conflict between the state executive and legislative branches of government consumed much energy and proved the difficulties involved in restraining the executive
power in a society whose leadership was accustomed to authoritarian practices. Successive governors and legislators engaged in a struggle to determine who exerted political control and in whose benefit: the whole society or the groups of interest, such as the Mazatlán merchants. The controversy appears in moments of elections, of constitutional reform, of discussion on regulatory laws, and, of course, of debates on fiscal policy. Although during the terms of Rubí and Buelna the legislature gains the upper hand, in the end the executive power prevails.

Federal interventionism in local politics became an additional resistance to establishing a constitutional government ruled by a genuine federal compact. The successive national governments of Juárez and Lerdo systematically intervened in local politics either politically or militarily, beyond constitutional dictates. The elections, post-electoral conflicts and insurrections were propitious occasions for the centralist hand to appear. The frequent declarations of military law in the state with the consequent overriding of the constitutional state powers, humiliated the local liberals and threw them into the Porfirista opposition.

The wounds opened by the national government’s centralism added to other wounds to explain both the Tuxtepecan rebellion and the shaping of the state and national systems of government. If the outcome of the intraliberal controversies alienated the defeated factions, federal political control and military rule headed in similar direction favoring the opposition to the state and national regimes. The Porfiristas benefited from both the mounting opposition and the centralist practices of Juárez and Lerdo.
THE REBELLIOUS MERCHANTS

The Sinaloan merchants, especially the wealthy Mazatlán importers, many of them of foreign origin, operated during the Restored Republic as an interest group. Accustomed to manipulating public officials, peddling contraband and obtaining tax cuts, the merchants resisted efforts to build a strong state capable of enforcing the constitution and its statutory laws. The rule of law threatened their subversive mercantile activities, and they would not remain idle and on the sidelines. Consequently, they engaged in several actions to promote their own self-interests. First, they aligned themselves with the military by supporting easily swayed candidates and fraudulently negotiated tax cuts on their imports. Second, they filed suits against the state government which had passed legislation imposing new taxes, and they also petitioned district judges and the Supreme Court for stays of executive orders. Third, they speculated in copper coins and tried to pay their taxes with this devalued currency.

In the 1867 election, some Mazatlán merchants supported General Ángel Martínez’s candidacy for governor and maintained their support when the federal forces in Mazatlán came out against Rubí in early 1868. Those merchants looked forward to profitable returns from Rubí’s overthrow by speculating with the import taxes of cargo in steamships already in sight from Mazatlán beaches. Four years later in the 1871 election, the merchants supported General Manuel Márquez’s candidacy. When he was defeated, the same merchants continued investing to sustain the La Noria rebellion in Sinaloa. Just
prior to that rebellion, the merchants of Culiacán had supported Cañedo when he was
sentenced to death after his failed uprising of early September 1871. Once the rebels
established a de facto government in November 1871, Governor Mateo Magaña, a
merchant himself, granted fiscal advantages to the big merchants. Later, Jesús María
Ferreira, manager of the customs house, negotiated the collection of import taxes in the
merchants' favor and helped to channel money to the rebel government. Ferreira
borrowed money from the merchants in exchange for a 20 percent discount on their
import taxes.¹

The fraudulent unloading of merchandise accelerated when the victory of the
rebels seemed likely. After the defeat of both the loyal forces in the Villa of Sinaloa and
Colonel Gregorio Saavedra on 26 January 1872, rebels and merchants trusted in their
certain victory and started to unload the ships waiting in the port of Mazatlán. Lured by
reductions on their import duties and the acceptance of credits, the merchants unloaded
the ships Therese, Montana, Constitution, Friederick Hartning, Idaho, Wilhelmine,
Fherise, Adelline, Marianne, Amanda and Douse.²

With the arrival of General Sóstenes Rocha in Mazatlán, the fleeing of the rebels,
and the beginning of military rule, the military government called to task the merchants

¹ On Cañedos trial and the support he received, see AHCES DN 14, 31 October 1871.
This file contains a letter from a group of artisans and residents, 130 in total, to the
Honorable State Legislature, Culiacán, 29 September 1871. See also Cosío Villegas, La
republiica restaurada. La vida política, 517, 524; Buelna, Apuntes, 123, 130-2.

² AGNES, Jesús González Meneses, Mazatlán, 25 September 1872, 196v-201; 17
December 1872, 281v-9; 2 December 1872, 290-5
involved in fraud against the nation. According to the federal legislation, the payments made by the taxpayers to a de facto government were illegal. As a result, the merchants had to pay in full the import duties to the legally constituted government, and the military intimidated and threatened the merchants if they failed to make the due payments. The harshness of the threats was commensurate with the government’s enormous need for cash. General Rocha and his subordinates did the dirty work by softening the merchants, although it seemed to be to no avail. From Mexico City came a softer attitude, one of negotiation, offering that the merchants would be asked for the payment of only one-third of the import duties. The Minister of Finance Francisco Mejía elaborated on the fairness of asking for the full payment and the flexibility of the government in accepting a sensibly reduced payment. In spite of the opportunity to lower their tax burden, the merchants pressed suits against the government fighting this proposal, as they had done previously, and only signed a commitment to pay when they were forced to do so.³

The precise peso value of the merchandise fraudulently imported cannot be determined, but its amount can be surmised based on the assessed import duties. The merchant houses can be divided in three groups, based on the amount of goods introduced during the months of the La Noria rebellion and the de facto government in Sinaloa. The merchants who imported goods with the greatest values formed the first group, consisting of four houses. In this group were the houses of Sres. J. de la Quintana y Cía., Redo

³ BOES II: 87, 13 August 1872; BOES, 18 May 1873.
Hernández y Cía., Melchers Sucesores and Miguel Careaga y Cía., which imported merchandise whose import duties were in the range of 85,000 to 110,000 pesos each. The second group consisted of the merchant houses of Sres. J. Kelly y Cía. and Echeguren Hermanos y Cía., whose import duties amounted to 51,000 and 59,000 pesos, respectively. Paying the smallest amount of duties were the merchant houses of T. Heymann y Cía and Lewels y Cía. Heymann had to cede 25,000 pesos, and Lewels less than 1,000 pesos. The sum of all the aforementioned import duties reached the figure of 461,000 pesos, more than twice the state’s budget.

The merchant houses responded to the official pressure to pay their duties in one of two ways. One group of merchants, trying to stick with the military’s favor, amicably negotiated with General Rocha after he pacified the state and declared military rule in May 1872. The other group preferred to air the matter before the tribunals. Among the houses that negotiated early with Rocha were Echeguren Hermanos, Peña, T. Heymann and Armienta, although two of them encountered difficulties later. Pedro Echeguren, representing the house of Echeguren Hermanos, protested before a notary public that government officials forced their way into his house and coerced him to sign a commitment to pay almost twenty thousand pesos, one-third of the import duties. Carlos Walquardsen of the house T. Heymann y Cía. found himself in a similar situation, protesting the use of force and threats by the authorities to collect slightly more than eight

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4 AGNES, Jesús González Meneses, Mazatlán, 25 September, 14 and 17 December 1872; Francisco Medina, Mazatlán, 13 January 1873; Jesús Río, Mazatlán, 20 December 1873.
thousand pesos.\footnote{AGNES, Jesús González Meneses, Mazatlán, 25 September 1872.} In both cases, the commercial agents argued violations of Article 16 of the national Constitution.\footnote{AGNES, Jesús Río, Mazatlán, 13 October and 2 December 1872.}

The balance of the merchants registered their protests before notaries and requested stays of executive orders from the courts against the payment of import duties. This group included the merchant houses Sres. J. Kelly y Cía., Melchers Hermanos, Sres. J. de la Quintana y Cía., Miguel Careaga y Cía. and Redo Hernández y Cía. Out of these, the representatives of the houses Quintana, Kelly and Melchers suffered the worst humiliations and went through moments of extreme tension, according to testimony from José M. González, Martín Careaga and Carlos Walquardsen before a notary public. González even suffered a twenty-four-hour imprisonment.\footnote{AGNES, Jesús González Meneses, Mazatlán, 18 y 20 December 1872; 9, 11, 21, 22, 23 and 24 October 1873; Jesús Río, Mazatlán, 13, 14 and 17 October 1873.}

When the authorities demanded that the English house of Sres. J. Kelly y Cía. pay its import duties, an international conflict of unpredictable consequences was almost unleashed. Captain Boxer of the war steamer HMS Seylla protested before General Prisciliano Flores, interim governor and military commander of the state, the allegedly undue request of payment against the Kellys. According to the English captain, the aforementioned house had been forced to pay in full its duties to the de facto government, since there was no legitimate government to protect it. Once the rebellion was defeated,
Kelly had agreed to pay when General Rocha threatened him and demanded the payment be surrendered again. However, the captain considered this demand inappropriate since, he insisted, the payment had already been made. Like Pontius Pilate, Flores answered that he was not in a position to adjudicate his request and suggested that he appeal to the executive and judicial branches of the federal government. Fortunately, the incident did not proceed further.

This conflict with the large import merchants of Mazatlán in the aftermath of the La Noria rebellion revealed not only the corruption of the de facto government’s officials, the merchants’ acquisitiveness, the weakness of the Buelna’s government and the military’s abusiveness, but also the lack of independence of the judiciary and the politicization of the judicial processes. At the outset of the state’s prosecution of the merchants, the federal district court in Mazatlán passed a stay of executive order, protecting the merchants who argued that they had been coerced into paying their duties in full to the rebels. In addition, the merchants complained about the lack of protection afforded to them by the legitimate government. Adding fuel to the debate, Francisco Mejía, federal minister of the treasury, alleged that the district court had immorally ruled against the nation and he speculated that the merchants had paid the rebels only about 167,000 pesos, one-third of the sum of import duties owed. Inasmuch as the federal government demanded only one-third of the import duties, according to Mejía, this demonstrated the government’s willingness to seek a peaceful resolution to the conflict.

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8 BOES I: 92, 29 August 1872, 385-6; BOES, 18 May 1873.
In the end, the judges changed their minds and abided by Mejía’s reasoning, as they certainly did not want to appear unpatriotic or deprive the public treasury of fresh resources.  

These leading merchants and other minor taxpayers fared better when they dealt with the state government. The state legislature passed a bill exempting those who had paid state taxes to the rebel government from duties, demonstrating the merchants’ influence over the local government. Acting in their own interests, the merchants feared the increasing centralization of power because it meant a blow to their economic security and political power. 

The return to constitutional government in the state by the end of 1872 was greeted with the copper currency crisis. During the decades preceding the Restored Republic, the governments had minted copper coins for minor mercantile transactions in...

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9 On the corruption of Jesús Ma. Ferreira, administrator of the Maritime Customs House of the rebel government, see BOES II: 77, 7 July 1872; Buelna, *Apuntes*, 131. On the covetousness of the merchants, see Buelna, *Apuntes*, 131-2. On the weakness of the state see the arguments of the English Captain Boxer in BOES II: 92, 29 August 1872. On the brutality of the authorities, see AGNES, Jesús González Meneses, Mazatlán, 9, 11, 21, 22, 23, and 24 October 1873 Jesús Río, Mazatlán, 13, 14 and 17 October and 2 December 1873. On the attitudes of the judges and the federal government, see Francisco Mejía’s communiqué to the administrator of the Maritime Customs House in Mazatlán, Mexico City, 6 July 1872, in BOES II: 87, 13 August 1872, 362, and an extensive text of the same Mejía published nine months later in BOES 18 May 1873; Román, 145-6. About the fate of at least one of the district judges, see AGNES, Jesús Río, Mazatlán, 14 October 1873; Jesús González Meneses, Mazatlán, 10 and 24 October 1873. The district Judge had passed a resolution in the merchants’ favor and the military authorities subjected him to psychological torture and exile.

10 See DN 73, in BOES 127 April 1873, 61-3.
the local markets. The volume of circulating copper, increased by the counterfeit minting of the metal, moved the merchants to accept it but at discounted rates. In the beginning its nominal value was discounted by 10 percent, but later the discounts reached 50 percent. Because of the merchants' speculative attitude, the population suffered and the legislature was forced to take action against the merchants, trying to protect the public.\footnote{BOES I, Mazatlán, 5 February 1873.}

The governmental opposition observed that it had on its hands a politically exploitable issue and headed the popular cry to demand the copper currency be accepted at 100 percent of its stated value. José C. Valadés harangued the merchants to stop the copper coin devaluation and forced the legislature to pass a bill ordering the businessmen to honor the coin at its face value. The first article of the law read, “The copper coin currency will circulate in the state at the value given by law.” The next article established the sanctions to be meted to anyone disobeying the law: “Barring federal offices, the individuals opposing the reception of the copper coin at its face value will be punished with a fine of five to five hundred pesos.” Nonetheless, the merchants ignored the resolution and affixed separate prices in silver and copper to their goods. Predictably, the prices in copper were double those in silver. The merchants continued to accept the copper coins but with still larger discounts, eventually reaching 80 percent. Then-interim Governor Jesús Río issued a letter on November 22 regarding the circulation of
counterfeit copper coins and the penalties to those involved in this illegal activity; he cited the damage to commerce resulting from such an illegal activity.¹²

But, the merchants went further when they started to pay local and federal taxes with money acquired in illegal speculative schemes. They took from the law what suited their interests and requested a stay of executive order from the courts against the authorities’ decision not to receive their payments in copper coins.

The merchants’ contentious attitude provoked a change in the state government’s policy when the state legislature, in statute 35, resolved that the payment of state taxes would be accepted only in silver or gold currency—not in copper—and that the circulation of copper coin ceased to be obligatory early in 1873. The decree also stated that to take out of circulation and amortize the circulating copper, it would be accepted to pay some local taxes and all federal ones.¹³ This resolution, however, drew strong resistance from the federal government, which refused to accept copper coins for payment of federal taxes. The merchants were reluctant to have their practice of getting cheap money and using it to pay taxes to the three levels of government fall apart. The state government was unable to satisfy all the quarreling parties and adopted new measures heeding the federal government’s wishes but not those of the merchants. The legislature passed a bill which kept the first two articles of the statute 35 (payment of local taxes only in silver

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¹² BOES I, 5 February 1873; BOES I, 22 February 1873, 38-9; Buelna, Apuntes, 158-9; Cosio Villegas, La República Restaurada. La Vida Económica, 227-8.

¹³ BOES, 31 December 1872; 23 January 1873, 9-11.
and gold and cessation of the obligatory circulation of the copper coin) and eliminated the articles regarding taking the coins out of circulation. The state government did not wish to upset the federal government and ceased to accept the payment of federal taxes in copper currency. The merchants, in a quest for a reversal, started to record their protests before notaries public and to request stays of executive orders from federal courts.¹⁴

The problems regarding the copper currency continued to occupy the attention of merchants and the state and federal governments, during the years 1874 and 1875. The amortization of the circulating coins was one of the problems, as both the state and the federal governments evinced willingness to accept the coin at a discount. The former agreed to accept it in exchange for credits against the state while the federal government was yet undecided, desiring that the amortization not be an onerous process. Later, both governments agreed to accept the coin at 55 percent of its face value and then improved the offer to 65 percent.

In September 1875, Francisco Mejía, Minister of the federal Treasury, sent a telegram to Adrián Bustos, administrator of the customs house in Mazatlán. Mejía referred to the amortization of all copper coined legally from 1847 to 1872 in the mint of Culiacán and expressed the federal government’s inclination to amortize even the illegally minted coins. In fact, in President Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada’s State of the

¹⁴ On the federal government’s position, see BOES, 23 January 1873, 9; On the constraints to DN 35, see DN 69 in BOES I, 27 April 1873, 61-3; on the merchants’ attitude, see AGNES, Jesús González Meneses, Mazatlán, 26 February and 10 March 1873.
Union address, on the occasion of the Congress of the Union’s opening session in the fall of 1875, he proudly stated, “In accord with the Congress’s disposition, more than two hundred thousand pesos have been already amortized, representing almost all the copper coins circulating in Sinaloa. It is hoped that we will soon amortize the rest of that coin, which as a result of its devaluation in that state, has wreaked grave damages to commerce and all social interests.”

While the coin was being amortized, the merchants petitioned stays of executive order from federal courts against the administrator of stamp rents because he did not accept the copper coin in payment of stamps, thus nullifying the value of the money owned by the complainants. Some of these complainers included Ignacio Guerrero, Juan Fahrenhoff and Tomás Acuña. Guerrero sought to amortize copper coin with face value of 14,000 pesos; Fahrenhoff, 2,200 pesos; and Acuña, 1,000. The district judge, Jesús María Gaxiola, soon to be governor, complying with the merchants’ request. Other complainants included J. Verdugo for 3,000 pesos, Otón Wegelin for 645, Gonzalo Araico for 331 and Sres. Koerdell y Cía. for an unknown amount. In the opening session of the seventh state legislature, Ángel Urrea, interim governor, voiced reservations against the district court’s resolutions favoring the merchants. In his statement, he

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15 BOES II, 7 February and 7 March 1874; federal decree 10 November 1874, in BOES II, 24 November 1874; the chief of the state revenue’s summons in EESOOG III: 17, 31 May 1875; Adrian Busto’s circular, Mazatlán, 27 September, in EESOOG III, 11 October 1875; President Lerdo’s address in EESOOG III, 18 October 1875, 2-3.

16 EESOOG III, 11 May and III: 16, 22 May 1875.
asserted that the stay of executive orders the district judge was conceding to the holders of copper coinage, speculatively acquired for the most part, were doing grave damage to the public treasury.\textsuperscript{17}

The payment of extraordinary taxes was an additional source of tension between the merchants and the state government. When some taxpayers attempted to use copper coin to pay the 1 percent tax on property the government passed on 12 November 1871 in order to combat the La Noria rebellion, that currency was not accepted. The merchant houses Sres. Kelly y Cía. and Guillermo C. Ralston initially opposed the payment of that new tax. When they were unable to avoid that payment, they tried to pay 438 pesos worth of taxes with copper coin and documents, but the treasury official did not accept them; instead, they were forced to pay, under protest, in silver currency, and the details of the official pressure they endured were recorded before a notary public. The house of Sres. J. de la Quintana y Cía. also protested against the unfair collection protocol of Bernardo Vázquez, tax collector, who did not accept a one thousand peso payment in copper coin.\textsuperscript{18}

The diverse actions of the merchants, whether openly in support of the rebels, in speculative schemes, or through judicial proceedings regarding the payment of taxes manifested their resistance to the empowerment of a state which could obstruct their goals of capital accumulation and maximization of profits.


\textsuperscript{18} AGNES, Jesús González Meneses, Mazatlán, 26 January and 10 March 1873.
THE STRUGGLE FOR A DEMOCRATIC FEDERALISM

The conflicts between the state legislature and the governor and between the state and federal governments represent an additional mode of resistance to state building in Sinaloa during the Restored Republic. The efforts by the governor to prevail over the legislature and the efforts of the legislature to become a true counterbalance to the concentration of power in the hands of the governor represent the first kind of conflict. In this same category of conflict belongs the struggle to determine the seat of state power, the state capital city. The second type of conflict includes the recurrent declaration of military rule by the federal government and the local resistance that ensued. Both varieties of conflict gave shape to a local republicanism with unbalanced powers favoring the executive, as well as to a federalism with a fragile state sovereignty and a growing authoritarian centralism. This federalism reached a climax during the Porfiriato.\(^\text{19}\)

The long series of conflicts between state legislators and the governor began at the outset of the Restored Republic in the fall of 1867. Since none of the candidates for the governorship that year—General Rubí, General Martínez, Buelna, and Monzón—obtained an absolute majority, the state legislature was forced to decide who would be the new

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\(^{19}\) Sinkin, The Mexican Reform, 1855-1876: A Study in Liberal Nation Building, addresses the contradiction between liberalism and nationalism during the Reform, which includes the Restored Republic, for all Mexico, and Voss, On the Periphery of Nineteenth-Century Mexico, addresses the same contradiction for Sinaloa and Sonora, while Perry, Juárez and Díaz, in turn, observes a continuity in the form of power exercised during both the Restored Republic and the Porfiriato.
governor. Roberto Orrantia proposed the elimination of the military candidates in favor of selecting the governor from the civilian aspirants, basing his proposal on possible abuse of power, citing Rubí’s and Martínez’s use of force during their campaigns, as well as their not fulfilling certain legal requisites. Both military candidates were public employees at the time of the election, and Martínez was not born in Sinaloa. The legislature approved this proposal but met immediate opposition, and the pressure from both Governor Rubí and the military chief Martínez before the state legislature forced the legislators to change their minds. In a negotiated solution, the legislature designated Rubí as constitutional governor and Monzón as vice-governor. Again, both the pressure of the state executive over the legislature as well as the pressure of a federal institution, the army, over the same legislature exerted themselves intensely.20

The discussion of constitutional reforms at the end of 1869 and the electoral law early the following year are both key episodes in the struggle between the state legislature and the executive. Rubí did not easily accept the constitutional reforms passed by the legislature, and he resisted the restrictions imposed upon the executive authority by the new constitution. The governor had a similar reaction toward the electoral law, which was regulated by a constitutional article included in the state constitution of 1861 and reiterated in 1870. This electoral law brought direct election in Sinaloa to fruition, but this did not concern Rubí. Rubí’s opposition to the law related to its prescription of a direct relation between the legislature and the municipal councils in cases of irregularities

20 Buelna, Apuntes, 100-1; Cosío Villegas, Vida Política, 518-20.
in the polls, and its exclusion of garrisoned soldiers from the vote. First, the sanction of the executive was excluded in the review and re-editing(*) of elections in the localities, districts and municipalities. Second, Rubí’s military image was damaged, and he sought to avoid the foreseeable problems that would emerge among the commanders of the federal forces in the state. On both occasions the legislators got the upper hand, and the spirit of the era symbolized by the 1857 Constitution and the local constitutions seemed to be realized.21

During Buelna’s term in office, from 1871 to 1875, the struggle between the legislators and the governor continued. In this era, the legislature protected the particular interests of the Mazatlán merchants while Buelna sought to promote the general interests of the state. The legislators passed legislation which acknowledged the money owed to the merchants,(*) exempted them from particular taxes and accepted credit documents to pay taxes. All of these measures reduced the already inadequate public revenue in times

21 AHCES 63, 13 May 1870; BOES I, 31, 16 May 1870, 175-8. The state legislature discussed the initiative in late April and on 29 April passed it. When the legislature sent it to the governor for him to sanction it, the executive did not object to it within the legally allowed period. On 10 May he had his observations dated 7 May, taken to the legislature, but the Legislature did not accept them. Rubí made an observation in Article 5, section IV, on the exclusion of soldiers from the suffrage, because this exclusion was against Article 35, section 1, of the general constitution of the Republic. He also made observations regarding Article 6, which prescribed a direct relationship between the legislature and the municipal councils in cases of irregularities in the electoral procedures. The state executive wanted to have the last word in these as in all matters. See Buelna, Apuntes, 107-8, 110.
of lack of liquidity and fiscal crisis. Buelna himself, as he assessed his administration, harshly criticized the legislators' attitude.\footnote{In the laws numbers 73 and 74, published in BOES I, 27 April 1873, debts not paid to the constitutional governments, but allegedly paid to the government in 1871-1872 were forgiven, and residents of Villa Union were exempted from paying taxes they had owed. See also Buelna, Apuntes, 187.}

The 1875 election, manipulated by General Arce, represents the crudest episode of the imposition of the governor over the legislature. Because of the electoral violence, the election did not take place in several areas of the district of Sinaloa, so the state legislature, in accordance with the electoral law, decided to organize special elections in those areas. However, interim Governor Ángel Urrea, supported by Arce, opposed the organization of these elections, arguing that the legislative branch could not supersede executive power and that any call to elections had to be authorized by him. The citizenry boycotted the polls as a silent protest, humiliated by the open interference of the military against their candidate, José Rojo y Eseverri. On this occasion, the executive prevailed over the legislature by preventing the special elections, which reinforced the pattern of an unequal relationship between both powers.\footnote{The state legislature approved special elections in those areas where a regular election did not take place, as the legislators Villalpando and Ibarra informed to the governor on 26 July. Three days later, interim Governor Urrea wrote back in opposition. Both documents are found in EESOOG III: 29, 22 August, III: 30, 29 August, III: 31, 5 September 1875. Later, Governor Urrea sent circular number 30 to all the prefects of the districts, halting the elections in the district of Sinaloa and warning them that he would not tolerate any direct relationship between the legislature and the municipal councils since he was the only one entitled to execute any resolution, according to the republican
In the days of the Tuxtepecan rebellion this conflict resurfaced. The actors were again General Arce, now interim governor and military commander of the state, and the legislator Jesús Bringas, head of the permanent commission of the state legislature. Displaying his typical arbitrariness, Arce transferred the seat of state government and the official archives to Mazatlán, where he established his headquarters to combat the rebels, without securing legislative approval. Legislator Bringas requested that Arce treat the members of the permanent commission with dignity, and reminded Arce that in Mexican and Sinaloan history there were precedents for the respect paid to the legislative power even in times of war or martial law. Arce answered him uncompromisingly that the current war needed unity for fast and efficacious action and that unity could only be guaranteed by military rule which concentrated all power in the executive. Arce then seized the opportunity to reprimand the local legislators for remaining in territory occupied by the enemy, for supporting, morally and financially, the insurrection, and for being part of the rebel bands. Two legislators Zavala and Tapia were in fact openly aiding

canons. See III: 36, 26 October 1875. The debate continued in the subsequent issues of the official newspaper until it culminated with the acquiescence of the legislature. See AHCES DN 1, 22 September 1875 (in the editorial of this issue, p. 4, the compromise between the two powers is commented upon) and III: 36, 26 October 1875. As the elections had been carried out in three sections of the municipality of Bacubirito, in two in Ocoroni and in one in Guasave, contravening the governor’s instructions, the state legislature did not take into account these results when it accorded the win to the new Governor Jesús Ma. Gaxiola. See AHCES DN 1, 22 September 1875.
the rebels. Again the executive prevailed over the legislature, although on this occasion Arce’s arbitrariness and abusive nature increased popular support for the rebels.  

The Restored Republic has been recognized as the moment in Mexican history in which the republican system of government was re-established. What has not been emphasized is that that decade also shaped the relationship between the federal and state governments, setting the foundation for Mexican federalism. In his two fundamental texts of the historiography of the period, Buelna seems to refer to a specter that haunted Sinaloa from 1867 to 1877, the specter of military rule. The recurring call for military rule as a federal mechanism to govern and control the state, much to the detriment of state sovereignty, aroused and caused to flourish an anti-Juarista and anti-Lerdista sentiment that was capitalized on by the Sinaloan Porfiristas.  

Although during Rubí’s term in office the federal government did not resort to military rule, federal interference was felt in the first armed conflict afflicting the Restored Republic, when General Corona negotiated an agreement between the warring parties. On that occasion, Rubí was indignant, for Corona proposed his resignation of the governorship and a call for new elections to pacify the rebels. Rubí refused to resign and shattered the rebellion.

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24 J. Bringas to General Francisco O. Arce, Culiacán, 2 September 1876, in El Estado de Sitio I, 13 Mazatlán, 21 October 1876. Bringas alludes to the participation of the permanent deputation in the mournful homage to Benito Juárez. See also BOES, 31 July 1872, 341.
Before the defeat of the rebels, General Bibiano Dávalos, new commander of the federal garrison in Mazatlán, decided to declare military rule as a response to an inconsequential attack on the garrison. The state legislature, highly imbued with liberalism and very sensitive to the slightest indications of violating state sovereignty, spoke out against an eventual declaration of martial law. The legislature was concerned that the federal chiefs manipulated the revolt to push the region into a martial law scenario. Buelna recorded the episode with these words:

The legislation hereby passes several resolutions to repress the new Revolution and, believing all the attempts were intended to declare the state in siege, since it had constantly been observed that the federal forces or their former chiefs generated these revolts, strongly declares that THE STATE IS SELF-SUFFICIENT to tame the sedition, and it will not consent that owing to these movements, its independence be lessened nor it be declared under military rule.²⁵

During Buelna’s term in office, the specter of military rule re-appeared after the breaking of the Culiacán siege on 6 May 1872, in the days of the La Noria rebellion, which lasted longer in Sinaloa than in the rest of the country. As the rebellion was coming to an end with the flight of the rebels eastward toward Durango, General Sóstenes Rocha declared military rule. This federal decision, according to Buelna, marked the beginning of loss of popular support for Juarismo and later, Lerdismo. The population,

²⁵ Buelna, Apuntes, 111-2.
represented by the legislature, the state Supreme Court and Buelna, was offended that it was denied its right to self-determination after the defeat of the rebels.26

The popular feelings toward the interim governments during military rule made themselves evident when rebel Colonel Doroteo López captured Mazatlán in September 1872. On that occasion, the population, sympathizing with the rebels, celebrated the wing clipping of Luis Rivas García, prefect of the district. Those feelings were not confined to private citizens, as even the political elite, members of the constitutionally elected government in its three branches, did not trust the military commanders in the state. The permanent commission of the state legislature and the justices of the state Supreme Court did not consider interim Governor General José Ceballos to be reliable and they sent a telegram from Dumago to press Lerdo for the return to a constitutional government. Meanwhile, Governor Buelna himself was in Mexico City, making the same request.27

Years later, in the days of the Tuxtepecan rebellion, local politicians, merchants and the populace were victims of General Arce, interim governor and military commander. Arce’s dictatorial government had earned him the hatred of Sinaloans for its

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26 President Juárez declared Sinaloa under military rule on 8 March 1872, but General Rocha did not announce it until two months later when he named Rubí governor and military commander of the state. BOES II: 48, 8 May 1872, 199; Buelna, *Apuntes*, 142 Cosío Villegas, *La república restaurada. La vida política*, 713.

27 The return to constitutionality was achieved shortly thereafter, on 20 November 1872. General Ceballos manipulated the end of military rule since Lerdo had issued orders to lift it a month earlier. See BOES, 10 February 1873. Vice-Governor Urrea informed the prefects of districts of the end of military rule on November 25, 1872, in BOES, 10 February 1873. See also Buelna, *Apuntes* 158; Cosío Villegas, *La república restaurada. La vida política*, 116.
abusiveness, arbitrariness, brutality and tyranny, and the legislators themselves also felt
the heavy weight of Arce’s military boot. So, it was not surprising that when rebel
Colonel Troncoso arrived triumphantly in Mazatlán, under the banners of the Plan of
Tuxtepec, the angry populace impeded the flight of the much-loathed Arce.28

In contrast, the Sinaloans’ sympathy for the military hero of the Reform and the
French Intervention, General Porfirio Díaz, who suffered a setback in the 1871 election,
was revived by the continual declaration of military rule by the federal government. For
the Sinaloans, military rule meant dictatorial government and flagrant violation of state
sovereignty. The Sinaloans’ intolerance of authoritarian centralism and their legitimate
aspirations for local self-determination even moved the Buelnistas to favor Cañedo as
candidate for governor in 1877. Eventhough Cañedo was seen only as the lesser of two
evils, he became the first Porfirista governor.29

Cañedo made the Sinaloans’ desire to enjoy state sovereignty his own, and in his
inaugural address he spoke out against military rule:

It is convenient to cut short an evil, and toward that end we shall
put to work the entire constitutional means at our hand. And that
evil is the gangrenous cancer of military rule which is the
ignominy of the federate system, the most solemn treason to the
independence and sovereignty of the states, the most noxious
enthronement of a military chief transformed into executioner to
dispose at his whim of the public treasury, of justice, of elections,
of the municipal councils and, finally, of judges and police chiefs

28 El Estado de Sitio I: 13, Mazatlán, 21 October 1876: Buelna, Apuntes, 186.

29 Buelna, Apuntes, 187-8.
who become executioners of arbitrary orders, giving as a pretext the preservation of public order.\textsuperscript{30}

Clearly, Cañedo made an unequivocal indictment of military rule. Unfortunately, Cañedo, like Díaz at the national level, would later betray the Sinaloans' trust in him and his movement. The harmonious and respectful relationship between the state and federal governments, a veritable democratic federalism, still awaited its realization. But that is another story.

SUMMARY

In summary, merchants and the national government, in addition to the military, militated against the empowerment of the state. The leading merchants resisted state building, thus weakening the state, and Juárez and Lerdo alienated local liberals favoring centralist federalism. On one hand, economic factors influenced the complex state of affairs during the construction of the state, as the merchants were a very active interest group during the Restored Republic. They plotted with the military to ensure high profits both by influencing the government and by carrying on the illicit trade in contraband. The Mazatlán merchants supported General Martínez's campaign and supported him again later when he revolted; they did the same for Márquez four years later in 1871. The powerful import merchants of Mazatlán resorted to the courts when the legitimate

\textsuperscript{30} EESOOG I: 15, Culiacán, 16 June 1877.
government demanded that they pay the import duties they had defrauded the government of during the La Noria rebellion. They also resorted to the courts to get out of paying special taxes or, at least, to be able to pay their taxes with the devaluated copper coin. Their resistance to paying duties and taxes further weakened a bankrupt state without revenue to face its opponents, guarantee public security, pay salaries to public servants, provide education and undertake public works.

Moreover, the illegitimate overriding of the governor over the legislature further hindered the feasibility of consolidating a republican constitutional government. The continuous tension between these two powers favored the legislature during the constitutional terms of Rubí and Buelna, but ended up favoring interim-Governor Urrea and the military governors in times of military rule.

The state that rose from the ashes left by the wars of Reform and French Intervention faced an additional obstacle to its formation and consolidation: authoritarian centralism. Presidents Juárez and Lerdo and the military commanders of the 4th Division of the federal garrison in Mazatlán repeatedly and systematically interfered in state politics. The efforts at political control by the federal president and army were minor during Juárez’s term but more readily apparent during Lerdo’s. The frequent declaration of military rule deeply alienated a population who aspired to exercise state sovereignty and practice self-determination within a federal compact of democratic character.

The federal government's and the military’s behavior, particularly the abusive manner in which they brought Gaxiola to power and Arce’s tyranny in the days of the
Tuxtpecan rebellion, contributed enormously to the alienation of a population who felt tremendous relief on hearing the promises of state sovereignty of the Porfiristas.

The transition to a politically stable government and a market economy was rather elusive for the Sinaloan liberals, but it made progress as a stronger liberal faction was in the making and the bases for a more diversified and robust economy were laid out. As the liberals treads this path, they had to confront internal rivalry, military threat, the merchants’ obstacles and the federal government’s centralism. The rebellions and merchants’ resistance to paying taxes weakened the fledgling local constitutional government, and Juárez’s, later Lerdo’s, efforts at controlling state politics boosted both the Tuxtpecan rebellion and centralist federalism.
CHAPTER 5
THE ECONOMY: FROM PROSTRATION TO RECOVERY

In spite of insecurity, the lack of land transportation infrastructure, the fragility of government institutions, the want of adequate legislation and the absence of banking institutions, the Sinaloans were actors in a robust economy during the Restored Republic, far more than would be expected amid the continual conflict of the decade. Although the balance sheet shows modest economic growth overall, Mazatlán’s leading merchants imported and exported large volumes of merchandise; mines and reduction works continued producing precious metals to pay for the import of all varieties of goods; farms and ranches produced subsistence goods and some commercial products; and the textile factories produced ample output to clothe the population. Steamships and sailing vessels brought merchandise to the port of Mazatlán, and there loaded silver, gold and certain other products bound for the United States and diverse European countries. Coastal shipping facilitated the distribution of goods to the center and north of the state.¹

Although small, the growth of the economy is surprising in light of the difficult initial conditions Sinaloa was operating under. At the end of the wars of Reform and French Intervention, the productive infrastructure was destroyed and some towns had suffered severe damage. The southern part of Sinaloa was the most affected by the long armed conflict and bore the larger material and human losses. Regretfully for the Sinaloans, the southern districts were the seat of most of the mining activity, and it was precisely there where the destructive consequences of the conflict were felt the most. In particular, mines and reduction works in the districts of Rosario, Concordia and San Ignacio required large investments to reach the levels of output that prevailed before the wars. The reconstruction of Concordia, whose buildings had been burned by the French army, demanded money and labor, resources also needed by agriculture, municipal services and public administration.

Early in 1868, the recently inaugurated constitutional Governor Rubí prepared to initiate the reconstruction of the state, but a revolt by the opposition consumed the scarce public funds and postponed the re-activation of the economy. This re-activation required peace, legislation and institutions that favored investment, as well as a public investment in communications and transportation infrastructure. Although the revolt was arrested in its infancy, other armed conflicts in that year and the following one absorbed the budget and the authorities' attention. To convince the state legislators of the paucity of resources, Governor Rubí portrayed a desolate panorama in mining, industry, agriculture and transport at the end of 1869.
Mining, Rubí informed, “which should be the basis of public wealth of the state and private property of the state’s inhabitants, lies prostrated, annihilated, and in an almost total ruinous condition.” The governor attributed this situation to a variety of causes including the lack of capital, the prohibitions on export of bullion, high transportation costs, poor and unsafe road conditions, and an atmosphere of political instability. These conditions, taken as a whole, were “the cause of the annihilation of this branch, of this inexhaustible source of wealth.”

In addition, Rubí considered industry almost nonexistent, arguing that the flow of imports, coupled with low import duties, hurt a fledgling industry. He claimed that this misguided economic policy obstructed efforts at industrialization, and thus, the industrial infrastructure was small and circumscribed to three textile factories: one in Culiacán, another in Mazatlán, and one more in Villa Unión, on the outskirts of the port.²

Agriculture fared no better. This sector produced basic foodstuffs such as corn and beans, but cotton, barley, rice and coffee were no longer grown. Again conflict, poor road conditions and the high transportation costs exacerbated the difficulties within this sector. The prescription Rubí offered was to eliminate these obstacles, stating, “to give new life

² Domingo Rubí, Memoria que el gobernador del Estado ... presentó al Congreso del Estado el 15 de Octubre de 1869 (Mazatlán: Imprenta Retes, 1869), 12.

³ Ibid, 12-3.
to [agriculture], peace and good roads to transport the harvest to the towns where they will be consumed are needed.\(^4\)

The governor understood perfectly the importance of roads for the circulation of all classes of merchandise: imported, national and local. As he reported, there were no wagon roads that could be properly termed as such, and the only existing transportation routes were mule paths, which were “narrow, uncomfortable and of a very bad surface.” These poor road conditions persisted in spite of the passing of the general law of 19 November 1867, regarding the opening and maintenance of public roads. This resolution placed the responsibility of directing and supervising these works on the Ministry of Development (Fomento); and the funds to be used would come from a portion of the duties imposed on goods that arrived by sea. Rubí claimed that although more than 120,000 pesos had been collected in two years, the money had not been allocated to fulfill its purpose, declaring, “not one road has been opened, not one has been improved, nor have the slightest repairs been ordered on the existing ones which have been in poor condition since immemorial times.”\(^5\)

If wars had destroyed or rendered useless part of the physical infrastructure and disrupted the commercial routes, the ongoing conflict among the liberals and the penury of the public treasury made it difficult—if not impossible—to preserve security and invest in the opening and repairing of the roads. Furthermore, the loans the leading merchants

\(^4\) Ibid, 12-4.

\(^5\) Ibid, 12-3.
made to the government and the forced loans that the liberal factions snatched from these
merchants reduced the resources available for productive investment. Nonetheless, under
such unfavorable conditions, the accumulation of commercial capital persisted. The
Mazatlán merchants’ surplus as well as a small influx of foreign capital, most of it
American, kept the economy alive, and mining, industry, agriculture and commerce
boasted growth, albeit modest, during the Restored Republic.⁶

As American capital and commerce played an important role in the recovery of
the Sinaloan economy, the issues of American investment and trade are more deeply
discussed in chapter 9, where other consequences of the American presence are also
addressed. American entrepreneurs will join the leading merchants of Mazatlán in
bringing into fruition a small but steady growth before the Porfirian boom. In this
overview of the Sinaloan economy, this strong presence is already discernable in mining,
commerce and sea navigation.

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comercio en Mazatlán durante el porfiriato (1877-1910),” in A. Carrillo R. and G. Ibarra
E., eds., Historia de Mazatlán (Culiacán: Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, H.
Ayundamineto de Mazatlán, 1998), 151-82; Román, “La participacion de los
comerciantes extranjeros de Mazatlán en la economía regional,” in G. López A., ed., El
Porfiriato en Sinaloa (Culiacán: DIFOCUR, 1991), 153-64.
MINING

Sinaloan mining was principally of precious metals—silver and gold—with small amounts of industrial metals being mined in the districts of El Fuerte, Sinaloa, Cosalá, Rosario and Concordia. Silver and gold mining soon recovered from the damages of war, but its course was very sensitive to the political swings and the shifting prices of silver on the world market. In the absence of a complete year-by-year inventory of silver and gold production, the value of the minted metals and exports offers a reasonable estimate of the activity of the mining sector and its evolution.

Merchants and miners recognized the importance of having a mint in Sinaloa and founded one in Culiacán in 1846. During its first twenty years, the Culiacán mint experienced remarkable variability. After a slow beginning, marked by the North American intervention known in the American historiography as the Mexican War, the value of coinage rose to a maximum the year the Revolution of Ayutla broke out, with the average annual mintage for this period (1846-1854) being 869,062 pesos. From this revolution until the end of the French Intervention, the value of coinage declined to a minimum of 407,062 pesos in 1864; however, by the mid-1860s, during the years the imperial authorities exercised their power in Mazatlán and southern Sinaloa, the minting of metals started to recover. The average annual minting during this twelve-year period

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was 842,718 pesos, an amount slightly lower than the average for the preceding eight
years.

The newly restored republican government in Sinaloa benefited from the rebound
in the extraction and reduction of ores as well as minting, which had begun during the
French Intervention. During Rubi’s term of office, the average annual minting reached a
value of 1,343,523 pesos, more than 50 percent above that minted during the years of
war.8

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<th>GOLD</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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<td>1870</td>
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<td>40,020</td>
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<td>54,713</td>
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<td>1875-1876</td>
<td>797,836</td>
<td>55,060</td>
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<td>1876-1877</td>
<td>794,336</td>
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<td>1877-1877</td>
<td>9,342,336</td>
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Source: Buelna, Compendio histórico, geográfico y estadístico. Sinaloa 1877. 2nd ed.

8 Buelna, Compendio, 154-5; R. Beltran M., “Apuntes para la historia de la Casa de
Moneda en Culiacán,” 107-42.
The fragmentary information on coinage that Francisco R. Calderón, coauthor of Cosío Villegas’s *Historia moderna de México*, provides, although different in some respects, does not deviate significantly from the amounts offered by Buelna.

**TABLE 5.2**
VALUE OF COINAGE MINTED IN CULIACAN, 1867-1875, IN PESOS, ACCORDING TO FRANCISCO R. CALDERÓN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>SILVER</th>
<th>GOLD</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>1,279,714</td>
<td>168,192</td>
<td>1,447,906</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868-1869*</td>
<td>1,315,518</td>
<td>202,423</td>
<td>1,517,952</td>
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<tr>
<td>1872-1873</td>
<td>742,799</td>
<td>47,001</td>
<td>789,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874-1875</td>
<td>726,340</td>
<td>50,529</td>
<td>776,869</td>
</tr>
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* Refers to the fiscal year from 1 July to 30 June of the following year.


Santiago Calderón, Mazatlán councilman during those years and active in the systematic collection of all kinds of information related to the port, supplied data on the export of precious metals. His and Buelna’s information allow us to reconstruct the export of coined silver and gold, bullion, and ore. The data for coinage and for export complement each other to give us a better idea of the course of Sinaloan mining production.

Buelna and Calderón both provide information about exports for the four years between 1872-1873 and 1876-1877. Buelna states that in the fiscal year 1872-1873 Sinaloa exported coined precious metals and bullion valued at 2,539,937 pesos and

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9 S. Calderón, *Antecedentes históricos y apuntes estadísticos del puerto de Mazatlán* (Mazatlán: 1875).
mineral ore valued at only 64,000 pesos. The following fiscal year, Calderón recorded the value of coined silver and gold and bullion exports at 3,174,618 pesos, and the value of mineral ore exports at 59,739 pesos. Also in this fiscal year, the value of exported silver coinage reached 1,853,717 pesos. Buelna’s data are generally consistent with those of Calderón, since the former reports total silver coinage export at 1,820,810 pesos.

From the sum of the export duties charged for the export and assaying of silver and gold, minting, and assaying it, it can be inferred that the export of precious metals plummeted by almost 13 percent the following fiscal year, 1874-1875. Two years later, in the year of the Tuxtepecan rebellion, the value of exports apparently had slightly increased: During the fiscal year of 1874-1875 export duties on precious metals were 96,271 pesos, and during the year 1876-1877 they were 98,041 pesos.10

From the preceding data, one can infer sustained growth in the extraction and reduction of precious metals that peaked in the fiscal year 1873-1874. This growth had rebounded from an interruption during the fiscal year 1871-1872, when the La Noria rebellion destabilized all economic activity from November 1871 through the end of the following year.11 During 1871-1872, the minting of silver and gold plunged to its lowest level, a phenomenon also observed in other parts of the country.12

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10 Buelna, Compendio, 68; S. Calderón, Apuntes estadísticos del puerto de Mazatlán, 55-9.

11 United States Department of State, Annual Report on the Commercial Relations between the United States and Foreign Nations, made by the Secretary of State for the Year Ending 30 September 1872 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1873), 671-
In the following two years production apparently grew remarkably, based on the value of minted metals and the amount of exported bullion. To export bullion and mineral ore had long been aspiration of miners and the merchants who financed them, a fact Rubí referred to in his address of 1869. Two years later a law permitting exports had been enacted noticeably increasing the export of precious metals, as is observed in S. Calderón's data.\textsuperscript{13}

The growth of mining could not, however, be sustained, and at the end of the Restored Republic the sector tapered off. Although the mintage of silver and gold grew slightly during the last three years of the decade, the export of bullion dramatically declined, as the export duties collected by the customs house attest. The tumble of the price of silver on the world market, which had begun years earlier, and the increased price of a vital input, quicksilver, prompted this outcome. The prelude to and development of the successful Tuxtepecan rebellion compounded these economic setbacks. The fall in foreign trade notwithstanding, the rebellion that brought General Díaz to power in Mexico did not disrupt mining in Sinaloa to such an extent as the La Noria rebellion did; during the Tuxtepecan rebellion, a significant amount of coinage was still recorded, and a

\textsuperscript{703} Hereafter, these annual reports will be identified as \textit{Commercial Relations} and by the year they covered not by the year of publication.

\textsuperscript{12} Cosío Villegas, \textit{La república restaurada. La vida económica}, 133.

\textsuperscript{13} Buelna, \textit{Compendio}, 68; S. Calderón, \textit{Apuntes estadísticos del puerto de Mazatlán}, 55-9.
reduction of only 11 percent in exported metals from 1873-1874 to 1876-1877 suggests a relatively small effect on the mining sector.

INDUSTRY

Industry grew slowly from the expulsion of the French through the triumph of the Tuxtepecan rebellion. Industrial production, though modest, was significant in both the volume of its output and in the diverse lines of business involved. These lines of business evinced an entrepreneurial vision that was both modernizing and cognizant of the need to empower the nation economically. Among consumer goods the textile industry stood out, since this industry was ample to satisfy the needs of most of the population. The foundries testify to an incipient interest of businessmen to develop the manufacture of capital goods, and the difficulties of commerce and the high tariffs to imports favored the productive investment of commercial capital. As a result, industry was one of the areas favored for investments by the import and export merchants concentrated in Mazatlán and Culiacán.

In his 1869 address, Rubí stated that industry in Sinaloa was confined to the aforementioned three textile factories in Culiacán, Mazatlán, and Villa Unión. These factories endured competition from import goods and the low tariffs on imports at the outset of the Restored Republic;\textsuperscript{14} even though the tariffs increased in subsequent years,

\textsuperscript{14} Rubí, \textit{Memoria (1869)}, 13-4.
the flow of foreign merchandise continued. Despite chronic conflict, the manufacture of textiles consolidated and new businesses serving the local and national markets opened their doors, as a result of the increase in tariffs.

From the years 1871 to 1873, the textile factories continued operating but apparently manufacturing did not diversify. Isaac Sisson, American Consul in Mazatlán, alluded to the textile factories in his reports to the State Department for the years 1871 and 1873. In 1873 he also recorded that U. S. citizens were investing in manufacturing, without specifying their line of business. Mazatlán statistics for 1874 are more abundant and show the diversification of entrepreneurial activity. American Consul Edward Kelton and Santiago Calderón described the thriving sector, with Calderón, a local politician, offering an exhaustive list of the industrial enterprises at the port.

Kelton enumerated the details of the Sinaloan industrial infrastructure, emphasizing the enterprises of Mazatlán. In addition to the three textile factories, he listed two iron foundries, a sawmill, and various cigarette factories, and in the northern districts he mentioned several enterprises specializing in distilling mescal and others that manufactured cheese. With regard to the larger foundry, he states that "an enterprising member of one of the leading firms of this port established it" and that the same

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15 National Archives (NA), Isaac Sisson to United States Department of State (USDS), Mazatlán, 14 October 1871, in Dispatches from United States Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1871, 912; NA, Sisson to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 September 1873, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1873, 639-40.
entrepreneur had started a sawmill. Of the cigar and cigarette factories he asserts that they had from twenty to thirty full-time employees, but that their products were for local and national consumption, not for export. With regard to the distillation of mescal, "the native rum extracted from agave," he emphasizes that its production was widespread and that, as in the case of cigars and cigarettes, its output was for domestic consumption. Anticipating Buelna’s later remarks, Kelton extols the manufacture of cheese, produced in large quantities. In regard to textiles, Kelton noted that factories were operating regularly, had improved their machinery and had begun to generate profits on account of the high prices of imported fabrics. For the following year, Kelton included in his list of enterprises two shoemaking factories built with American capital and operated by a Chinese labor force.

In his contemporary monograph on Mazatlán, dated 1874, Santiago Calderón bemoaned the recent decline of Mazatlán while offering a thorough description of the economic and commercial activity at the port. In his directory of industrial businesses he mentions many enterprises recognized by Kelton, namely the textile factories and the two foundries. To those he added a gas factory, five cigarette factories, two hat factories, seven tailors’ shops, five carpentries, seven shoemakers, nine bakeries, six ironworks, one tannery and three tin shops. The list thus enumerates 104 industrial enterprises, most of which would have been better classified as service enterprises. Well acquainted with the

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17 NA, Kelton to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 September 1875, in Dispatches from US Consul in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1875, 1117-48.
local economic life, Calderón portrays a more representative picture of the number and type of manufacturers than does Kelton.¹⁸

If Kelton did not record many businesses that he did not consider industrial enterprises, he was at least able to foresee the increasing diversification of the Mazatlán big merchants’ entrepreneurial investments. These merchants were the owners of the textile factories and were investing increasingly in mining and agriculture.¹⁹

Two other contemporary sources complete the description of manufacturing in Sinaloa. Buelna’s monograph and Emiliano Bustos’s statistical tables enumerate businesses, production, machinery, operatives, salaries and, in some cases, the source of capital. In his description of the industrial sector, Buelna included some firms that now would be classified in another economic sector.

The manufacturing sector includes three cotton textile factories: one in Culiacán, another in Mazatlán, and another in Villa Unión, in which mantas are produced that satisfy the local market and almost no cotton fabric is introduced from outside Sinaloa any longer.

The factory in Culiacán, with about eighty looms, returns 30,000 pesos in net profits annually. Here cotton drills, towels, striped cotton bath towels and other fabrics are produced.

In Mazatlán, there are two steam-driven foundries, four printing presses, two photography shops, several match factories, and two hat shops. In Culiacán, there are three printing presses. In addition to ordinary tanneries in several parts of the state, there is one in Recodo that produces leather as good as the imported variety, and in Villa Unión calfskin and caiman hide for the crafting of shoes and boots.

¹⁸ S. Calderón, Apuntes estadísticos del puerto de Mazatlán, 61-2.

¹⁹ Kelton to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 September 1874, in Commercial Relations, 1874, 854-8.
Few and of lesser importance are the rest of the articles of Sinaloan industry; with the exception of Brazil wood..., cabinet-wood and lumber, preserved meats..., mescal and a few other agricultural products....

Bustos provides a similar description of Sinaloan industry. In 1877, the Coloso textile factory owned by Joaquín Redo and located in Culiacán, had assets worth 55,000 pesos, an installed capacity of 80 looms, and 425 employees who made daily salaries of between 25 cents and 1.25 pesos. Another textile factory, La Bahía, owned by Melchers Sucesors, located in Mazatlán and valued at 50,000 pesos, employed ninety-five workers. The third textile factory, La Unión, owned by Echeguren Hermanos y Cía, located in Villa Unión and valued at 100,000 pesos—almost equal to the total of the other two textile factories combined—employed 120 workers. Of the two iron foundries, in which equipment and tools for the mining industry such as cribs, hammers and pipes were made, Joaquín Redo owned the larger. Redo, a merchant of Mazatlán, also owned the La Aurora sugar mill, established in Culiacán in 1876. Tanneries and panocha mills also rounded out Busto’s list of industrial establishments.

Among the agribusinesses, the distilling of mescal merits attention. From the state tax records, Buelna inferred that ten thousand barrels of mescal, at a value ranging from 120,000 to 150,000 pesos, were produced annually. Contradicting the American consul Kelton, Buelna considered mescal as one of the products slated for export, and S.

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20 Buelna, Compendio, 67-8.

Calderón confirms Buelna’s assertion in his account of exports from Mazatlán for the fiscal year 1873-1874.  

Some of the enumerated businesses are mentioned in the records of the municipal town councils, protocols of notaries public and bills of the state legislature. Examples are the soap factory owned by General Manuel Márquez de León, Herbert W. Felton’s match factory and Alfredo Howell’s light gas factory, the mescal plant of the Frenchman Teófilo Mallet and others, Inés Peiro’s flour mill, Leopoldo Schober’s pasta factory in Mazatlán and two factories owned by Joaquín Redo, one producing sugar in Culiacán and the other an iron foundry in Mazatlán. These records illustrate the official interest in promoting the industrial sector.

22 Kelton to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 September 1874, in Commercial Relations, 1874, 854-8; Buelna, Compendio, 68; S. Calderón, Apuntes estadísticos del puerto de Mazatlán, 55-7.

23 On General Márquez’s business, see AHCES, DN38 27 November 1868; On the matches factory, AGNES, Jesús González Meneses, Mazatlán, 13 June 1873, 155-7; On the lighting gas factory, AGNES, Jesús González Menses, Mazatlán, 29 August 1874, 533-36v; on the mescal distilling plant, AGNES, Juzgado de Primera Instancia (JII), Sinaloa, 13 July 1867, 26v; on flour, AHCES, DN 35, 5 April 1876; on the pasta factory, AHCES, DN 112, 10 December 1874; on Redo’s business, AHCES, DN 93, 14 May 1873.

24 The official encouragement of the manufacturing industry can be found in several state legislative resolutions, among them those providing incentives to entrepreneurs who opened new industries in the state and those establishing an annual agricultural and industrial expositions. AHCES DN 131, 29 April 1871 and DN 88, 19 October 1874.
AGRICULTURE AND CATTLE-RAISING

Crossed by eleven swift rivers that descend precipitously from the Sierra Madre to the Pacific Ocean during the rainy season, Sinaloa has always enjoyed fertile lands along its riverbanks, a fact recognized by the local authorities since the outset of Mexican independence. Buelna extolled the agriculture and cattle ranching potential of Sinaloa in his 1877 monograph. In spite of the abundance of natural resources, agriculture satisfied only the subsistence needs of the population, and the producers sold whatever surplus may have existed on the local market. Commercial agriculture did not appear to be a viable option while mining competed for the scarce capital available from the financially strained government. Political stability, capital for building a hydraulic infrastructure with dams and canals, the mechanization of agriculture, wide and secure roads for the distribution of crops, and a change of attitude from the businessmen were necessary factors for the successful development of agriculture and cattle-raising.

In the midpoint of his term, Rubí acknowledged that Sinaloa only produced maize and beans for self-subsistence and for sale in local markets. From that time forward, agriculture progressed in small steps toward the reintroduction of commercial crops. In addition, commercial cattle-raising and caiman harvesting were initiated in the days of


26 See also the *Commercial Relations* from 1867 to 1876.
the Restored Republic. Although subsistence agriculture continued to be very important, at the end of the decade agribusiness produced raw materials for factories including cotton, sugarcane, mescal, tobacco and wheat. Livestock yielded meat and hides, as well as cheese, while caimans provided the source of hides for shoes.27

The reports from Isaac Sisson, the American Consul in Mazatlán, to the U.S. State Department in Washington for the years 1866 to 1870 attest to the production and export of some lumber, agricultural and cattle products. In particular, he refers to the export of small quantities of fruits and vegetables, hides and leathers, hardwoods and Brazil wood, and other products. Oranges and limes were among the exported produce items, as were bark, cigars and cigarettes.28 The following year, 1871, small quantities of hides and even sugar were also exported.

Acknowledging the undeniable richness of Sinaloan soil, the Consul provides more details regarding Sinaloa's improving commercial agricultural. He stated that cotton, sugarcane, coffee, tobacco, wheat, maize and beans were grown, and of these crops, maize and beans, intended for local consumption, were grown extensively. Meanwhile, 2,000 bales of cotton were produced for the local textile factories. On the

27 Florencio López was the businessman who specialized in capturing caimans and tanning their hides for shoes. AHCES, DN 104, 22 May 1873 and DN 79, 9 October 1874.

28 Commercial Relations, 1867, 732; 1868, 653; 1869, 273-4; and 1870, 307-8.
other hand, coffee, sugarcane and tobacco had been cultivated only in small quantities.\textsuperscript{29}

By 1873, Sinaloa exported tropical fruits, hides, hardwoods and Brazilwood while maize, beans and cotton continued to be grown for local consumption with 550,000 pounds of cotton being grown to make mantas and other articles in the local textile factories.\textsuperscript{30}

A wider diversification of agriculture, cattle-raising and timber-cutting emerged during the fiscal year 1873-1874 in spite of the difficulties Mazatlán began to experience. Washington received reports that Mazatlán exported fruit and wood, while production for local consumption in the forms of consumer goods and raw materials for the local factories continued to grow. U.S. Consul Kelton informed the U.S. federal government that the difficulties of commerce were forcing the merchants to finance cotton growers, and the production of this crop reached 500 to 600 thousand pounds at a price of 1.25 pesos per arroba (25 pounds). This cotton, as was customary, was largely channeled to the textile factories of Mazatlán and Villa Unión. In addition, for the first time, the diplomat made reference to the commercialization of maize and beans beyond the borders and coasts of Sinaloa. The surplus of these products, once the local demand was satisfied, was sold in the neighboring states and in the territory of Baja California. Tobacco was also grown in the southern districts for the production of cigars and cigarettes, and agave was grown in the northern part of the state for the distillation of mescal. In the northern

\textsuperscript{29} NA, Isaac Sisson to US DS, Mazatlán, 14 October 1871, in Dispatches from the US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1871, 910-13.

\textsuperscript{30} NA, Sisson to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 September 1873, in Dispatches from US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1873, 838-41.
district of Mocorito, dairy cows produced cheese in significant quantities, as noted previously.  

Santiago Calderón echoes the picture of a thriving agricultural sector painted in the consular report to the U. S. government. In his thorough monograph of the port through 1874, he offers a long list of exports and merchandise imported to the city via its four land ports of entry. Among the exports are the customary meat, hides and leather, hardwoods and Brazilwood, prunes, lemons, mangos, oranges, pineapples, bananas and tamarinds. Calderón also reports the export of maize and beans, as well as mescal, coffee and cigarettes. Of the 118 different products that entered Mazatlán by the authorized ports of entry, at least three-quarters fell into the aforementioned categories.

Livestock was the source of meat, hides, cheese and leather for export, but above all, it was the source of animal protein in the daily diet of the Sinaloans. During the years 1873 and 1874, about 15,000 Mazatecans consumed an annual average of more than 4,500 head of cattle, more than 400 sheep and goats and more than 2,000 hogs. Nor was the output of hides insignificant. In 1874 more than 12,000 hides were introduced to

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31 Kelton to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 September 1874, in Commercial Relations, 1874, 854-8.


33 The exact figures for 1873 are 4,593 head of cattle, 447 sheep and goats and 2361 hogs; for 1874 the only reliable figure is the number of cattle, which was 4,572. The figure for the rest of the animals is not available because the town council conceded the operation of the slaughterhouse to private persons. S. Calderón, Apuntes estadísticos del puerto de Mazatlán, 68-9.
Mazatlán, in addition to the little more than 500 cattle slaughtered for local consumption; moreover, Calderón stated that about 17,500 hides had been exported.

But this abundance was arrested before it was fully realized. In the wake of the political and military upheaval that would put an end to the decade known as the Restored Republic in Sinaloa, agricultural production seemed to plateau. In his annual report to Washington, Kelton wrote that maize and beans were grown for domestic consumption and cotton was still produced for the textile factories, but the level of cotton production was unchanged from the year before—600 thousand pounds, at 1.12 pesos per arroba, or 4.5 cents per pound. Using figures of the preceding decade, Buelna published his valuable monograph once the Tuxtepecan storm had passed. This monograph helps to reconstruct the state of the agricultural and cattle-raising sectors, as well as the timber industry early in 1877.

Following a thorough description of the natural resources of Sinaloa, in which he extols the enormous natural wealth and diversity of flora and fauna, the numerous rivers, the varied and benign climate and the fertility of its soil, Buelna analyzes the use of these resources for subsistence and commercial purposes. The lack of irrigation canals, the large tracks of land under corporate property and the entrepreneurs' attitude—which favored commerce and mining over agriculture—had resulted in a halfhearted development of that natural wealth. The growing of crops in the river valleys, the

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34 NA, Kelton to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 September 1875, in Dispatches from US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1875, 1117-48.
establishment of cattle ranches in the highlands and the primitive exploitation of the forest and the coast, had thus far produced only modest results.\(^{35}\)

Buelna's account enriched the preceding descriptions, as he included new subsistence and commercial products:

> The basis of Sinaloa's agriculture is the cultivation of maize, which provides the indispensable food for most of the people, and when it abounds and exceeds the amount needed for consumption, it is applied to fatten animals. Beans are also abundantly produced, for this crop is also a basic commodity, as are chickpeas, potatoes, etc. Wheat has begun to be grown successfully in the district of Mocorito, where a steam mill has been established....

> Among the fruits, oranges are produced profusely...[and] bananas, which are abundantly obtained, as well as plums, coconut...and a variety of fruits.

> There is in certain parts of the coast a wild fruit named pitahaya from one of the various species of the cactus that...is exported to the other states in the form of paste or jelly.\(^{36}\)

With evident optimism the ex-governor listed other commercial plants. Cotton was cultivated in ample quantities to supply the *manta* factories of the state; sugarcane was grown to make *panocha* and later became raw material in La Aurora sugar mill in Culiacán; and among root vegetables, potatoes dominated. In addition to all these plants were tobacco; mescal, already being exported; and coffee, being tested for export. With regard to timber, Buelna mentioned pine, cedar, ebony and mahogany, for beams, doors and furniture; *amapa*, for beams; and, of course, he did not neglect Brazilwood which was exported during the entire period, though in small quantities.

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\(^{35}\) Buelna, *Compendio*, 57.

\(^{36}\) Ibid, 57-8.
Regarding cattle ranching, he stated that the lack of attention to growing fodder plants explained the reduced number of cattle ranches and the small scale of these enterprises. In the northern districts dedicated to cattle and horse raising, Buelna found that the creeping plant called *golondrina*, indigenous to the district of Mocorito, facilitated the production of better milk from cattle and, consequently, yielded better cheese. Wild oregano, which grew abundantly in the district of El Fuerte, imparted a pleasant aroma and taste to the meat. In the district of Sinaloa, fallow pastures comprised of nothing but the dry leaves of maize served as food for horses. The district of El Fuerte, Buelna noted, also raised horses.\(^37\)

COMMERCE AND TRANSPORT

The production of mines, factories, farms, ranches and other industries operated at the local, national or international market levels. Almost all of the silver and gold ore extracted was reduced, minted and sent to the United States and Europe. At the outset of the Restored Republic precious metals were shipped exclusively as coin, but shortly thereafter they began being transported as bullion and mineral ore as well. Cotton textiles supplied the local market, but they were also traded in the regional markets held in Mazatlán and Culiacán. Mescal, besides lifting the locals’ spirits, also reached foreign

lands, and fruits and vegetables produced in Sinaloa made their way to foreign tables. Cattle provided the source of meat, hides and leather, as well as cheese, for the market. Finally, construction woods and dyewoods, such as Brazil wood, were shipped from Mazatlán and other lesser ports to cater to the needs of foreign consumers. Of all this varied production, silver and gold constituted a high percentage of Sinaloan exports and were the source of hard currency to pay for imports.

The large import and export merchants of Mazatlán catered to a market which included Sinaloa and its neighboring states. Foreign commerce, as well as coastal shipping and the transport of goods inland, required maritime and land transport lines, and whereas steamships and sailing vessels permitted the relatively fast movement of merchandise, the inefficiency of land transportation created a perpetual bottleneck that interfere with the efficient domestic circulation of goods. In spite of the obstacles, commerce was revitalized throughout the Restored Republic, and only at the end of the decade did its growth falter.

The expulsion of the French accelerated the integration of Sinaloa into the world market. The imperialist French fled Mazatlán on 12 November 1866, after having controlled the port and southern Sinaloa for two years. Soon thereafter the market forces reacted favorably. From the fragmentary information for the fiscal year 1866-1867, one can infer that before the first constitutional government was installed, coined silver and

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gold, Brazilwood, hides and other goods were already being exported. Among the goods exported in small quantities were fruit, vegetables, dried meat, shrimp and salt oysters, but the value of exports amounted to only 438,000 pesos. The following year the pattern of commerce continued with the variety of exports and their low peso value remaining steady. Of all the products, the minted metals dominated, followed by small amounts of leather, tin, soap and cigars.

In the final years of Rubi’s term a growth in exports emerges. During the fiscal year 1868-1869, exports reached a value of one million pesos for the first time, and in the following year, they surpassed two million pesos. Silver was exported in the form of eagle dollars; Brazilwood, lumber, hides, pottery and fruit added to the total. During the 1870-1871 fiscal year, silver and gold accounted for 82.7 percent of the exports, while Brazilwood contributed another 15.8 percent. The percentage value of metals among total of exports continued to rise in subsequent years. In all kind of vessels, largely steamships,

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40 Other exported merchandise were hides, fruits, vegetables, grinding stones, pottery, and shrimp. The incomplete list of exports hardly reaches the figure of 192,672 pesos. *Commercial Relations*, 1868, 653, 938.

41 *Commercial Relations*, 1869, 273-4.
the United States and England continued to receive respectable quantities of Sinaloa’s mineral wealth.42

The failed rebellion of Porfirio Díaz at the end of 1871 destabilized the political and social life and disrupted the economy for a longer period in Sinaloa than in other parts of the republic. Although commercial activity was drastically reduced for about twelve months, the fiscal year 1872-1873 showed signs of recovery that continued through later years, particularly in the mining sector. During 1872-1873 exports reached a record figure of about 2.8 million pesos with precious metals, coined and in bullion, representing 87 percent of the total. The balance was comprised of small amounts of mineral ore, leather and Brazilwood.43 Although the Mazatecans, included the American consul in the port, spoke of economic recession, 1873-1874 evidenced a 6.2 percent growth in exports; silver and gold, coined and in bullion, constituted almost all—about 98 percent—of the three million pesos in exports. Wood, fruit, pearls and other lesser merchandise rounded out the balance.44

42 NA, Sisson to US DS, Mazatlán, 14 October 1871, in Dispatches from US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1871, 910-3.

43 Even smaller amounts of tropical fruits and hardwood completed the rest of the list. NA, Sisson to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 September 1873, in Dispatches from US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1873, 838-41. According to the figures provided by Buelna, Compendio, 68, the gold and silver exported as coins and bullion constituted 93% of all exports. The figures from both sources are very similar.

44 Kelton to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 September 1874, in Commercial Relations, 1874, 854-8.
Santiago Calderón, contemporary chronicler, left a detailed account of the exports for that fiscal year, which confirms that silver and gold dominated the Sinaloan export market almost exclusively. Of the sixty-seven different kinds of goods he listed, five were precious metals; his figures show that a wide variety of goods were produced and sent to foreign consumers, though in relatively small quantities. Among the other sixty-two items, accounting for only 1 percent of the value of exports, cattle hides and lemons were most prominent. Brazilwood, barrels, wood, leather, dried meat, copper, tin, soap, coffee, candy, mescal, shrimp, fish and fruit—primarily pineapples, bananas and plums—also figured in the list of merchandise shipped from Mazatlán to San Francisco, Central America, Panama, Hamburg and other foreign ports.\(^5\)

The big merchant houses in Mazatlán, but also those in the center and north of Sinaloa, formed relationships with other lesser merchants in the neighboring states to handle the export commerce. The houses Echeguren Hermanos, J. Kelly y Cía., Melchers Sucesores, J. Somellera y Cía., Bartning Hermanos, Redo Hernández y Cía., Miguel Careaga y Cía., Peña y Cía. Charpantier y Reynand, T. Heymann y Cía. y J de la Quintana y Cía. were some of the most prominent enterprises operating in Mazatlán in early 1875. These same businesses handled the imports from the United States and Europe, which supplied the needs of the mines, factories and farms, and the population at large.\(^6\)


\(^{6}\) Ibid.
Like exports, imports also grew, rapidly at first then more slowly toward the end of the decade, with a momentary interruption during the La Noria rebellion. Even in the year before the restoration of the republic, Sinaloa received considerable amounts of general merchandise, wines and liquors, as well arms and ammunition, in vessels coming directly from San Francisco and others that arrived via Guaymas. Import commerce grew but maintained the same general profile until the fiscal year 1870-1871. From Europe came coarse cotton for the poor, fine linen for the elite, and wines and liquors for all social classes. From the United States came machinery for mining, quicksilver, bluestone, wood and implements to be used in the mines. For example, two hundred sawing machines arrived from San Francisco that year. The origin of the imports diversified, for now they also came from Acapulco.

Soon after the defeat of Díaz sympathizers in Sinaloa, foreign commerce recovered its customary dynamism. During the fiscal year 1872-1873 the Mazatlán merchants received 590 tons of wood, fuel, vegetables and dried fruit, iron and hardware, wines and liquors, boots and shoes, arms and ammunitions, pharmaceuticals and quicksilver from the United States. In addition, about four hundred tons of coal came from San Francisco. From Europe came cotton cloth, linen, wool and silk, more wine and

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47 *Commercial Relations*, 1867, 732.

48 *Commercial Relations*, 1868, 653; 1869, 273-4; and 1870, 307-8. See especially NA, Sisson to US DS, Mazatlán, 14 October 1871, in Dispatches from US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; *Commercial Relations*, 1871, 911.
liquors, more iron and hardware, food, paper, boots and shoes, and oils and paints that tipped the scales at 3,500 tons contributing to a grand total of about 4,500 tons. In the following year, 1873-1874, imports continued growing. Cotton cloth, linen, wood, and silk comprised 89 percent of a record 3.6 million pesos in imports. The balance consisted largely of foodstuffs, but it also included hemp, pharmaceuticals, hardware, wood and fruit.\(^49\)

The years preceding the rise of Porfirismo in Mexico witnessed the growth of both exports and imports; moreover, the import duties on foreign merchandise and the income from the export of precious metals surged. The intensity of the maritime traffic entering and being cleared from Mazatlán is an additional parameter by which to measure the increasing commercial transactions in that port. The initiatives to open and repair the roads, as well as those to establish land transportation enterprises to distribute goods to consumers, facilitated commerce. Relative to the substandard land transportation options, maritime transportation provided the best avenue for commercial endeavors.

Between the end of the French Intervention in Sinaloa and the last year of Buelna’s term in office in 1875, commercial maritime traffic increased substantially. This traffic had two important characteristics: it was carried largely on steamships and it typically had San Francisco as a point of departure or arrival. During the fiscal year 1866-1867 twenty-seven deep sea vessels anchored in and departed from Mazatlán. Of those

\(^{49}\) NA, Sisson to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 September 1873, in Dispatches from US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1873, 838-41.
vessels seventeen were steamships and the rest were sailing vessels. More than 60 percent of all vessels entered directly from San Francisco and 40 percent departed for the same U.S. port.\textsuperscript{50} During the two following years, the first of the Restored Republic, the traffic doubled.

From 1867 to 1869 fifty-five deep sea vessels docked and departed from Mazatlán, followed by fifty-four in the subsequent year; the tonnage of those vessels multiplied and journeys to the South Seas also increased over this three-year period. In 1867-1868, 80 percent of the vessels were steamships; the percentage of steamships decreased the following year, but they continued to be the most important means of sea transport. Half to two-thirds of the incoming vessels arrived from San Francisco, and one-third of the ships leaving Mazatlán were bound there. Acapulco and San Blas were destinations to the south. In addition, some of the vessels were bound for New York, via Cape Horn in the tip of South America. The total tonnage of the vessels ranged from a little less than twenty thousand tons in 1866-1867 to fifty thousand tons per year for the two following years.\textsuperscript{51}

The last two years of Rubi's government, according to the reports of the American consul in Mazatlán, witnessed a reduction in both the number and tonnage of the deep sea vessels arriving in and departing from Mazatlán. During 1869-1870, thirty-seven vessels, twenty-four of them from San Francisco, arrived in Mazatlán; thirty-five of those vessels

\textsuperscript{50} Commercial Relations, 1867, 732.

\textsuperscript{51} Commercial Relations, 1868, 653; and 1869, 273-4.
cleared for different ports with more than a third bound for San Francisco and four bound for Manzanillo. The following fiscal year sixty merchant vessels, twenty-eight from San Francisco flying the U.S. flag, arrived in Mazatlán. A little more than half of the vessels were steamships, accounting for more than 90 percent of the tonnage.\textsuperscript{52} The maritime traffic decreased even further the following year, when the La Noria rebellion against the state and federal governments erupted.

Following the suppression of the rebellion and the death of Juárez in the summer of 1872, the brief period of stability caused mercantile transactions to rebound in Sinaloa with new vigor. The traffic in the port of Mazatlán regained and surpassed its levels at the outset of the Restored Republic. The records for the years from 1872 to 1875 document thriving commerce, both foreign and domestic, with 1872-1873 boasting seventy-nine deep sea vessels arriving in Mazatlán, fifty-three of them steamships. The tonnage of these steamships amounted to a record figure of 110,000 tons, 94 percent of the total tonnage of all ships.\textsuperscript{53} The two following years brought an increase in the number of vessels arriving in and departing from Mazatlán, and for the first time coastal traffic passed through the ports of Altata and Navachiste.

\textsuperscript{52} Commercial Relations, 1870, 307-8; NA, Sisson to US DS, Mazatlán, 14 October 1871, in Despatches from US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1871, 910-3.

\textsuperscript{53} NA, Sisson to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 September 1873, in Dispatches from US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1873, 854-8.
During the year 1873-1874 ninety-seven deep sea vessels docked in and ninety-two departed from Mazatlán, while 204 coastal ships set off from Mazatlán, carrying goods to the lesser ports of the state. Buelna states that of the ninety-two vessels departing for the high seas, one did so from Navachiste in the northern part of the state, nine from Altata in the center, and most of them, eighty-two, from Mazatlán. The same author adds that, although the majority of coastal navigation passed through Mazatlán, smaller but nonetheless important volumes, did so through Altata (sixty-nine ships) and Navachiste (sixty-four ships). In the following year both deep sea and coastal maritime traffic witnessed a slight increase; deep sea traffic from Mazatlán increased by 10 percent over the year before.

In contrast, land transport followed a completely different course, for it was unable to overcome its chronic underdevelopment resulting from years of war. Although from the outset of the Restored Republic the liberals in power passed legislation that promoted the building of roads, Rubí still lamented the deplorable conditions of the roads in 1869. The efforts of the legislature, the governor and businessmen were not commensurate to the needs for investment in this substandard area.

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54 Buelna, Compendio, 70.

55 Rubí, Memoria (1869), 12-3. The complaints about the condition of the roads even reached Washington, via the consular reports, see NA, Sisson to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 September 1873, in Dispatches from US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1873, 854-8.
The government and private individuals made efforts to better the roads and establish land transportation enterprises to carry merchandise and passengers. In early 1870, at Buelna’s initiative, the state legislation discussed the allocation of municipal funds to repair and opening of roads to traverse the state in a north-south direction. In addition, establishing communication links from the valleys in the west to the foothills in the east were a concern during this era.\(^5^6\)

Once the roads were passable, Adolfo Vergne established a stagecoach line between Rosario in the south and Culiacán. Two years later, in 1875, Jesús María Ferreira established an enterprise to transport people and mail from Culiacán to Alamos, Sonora, twice a week, while Eraclio Amador founded a stagecoach line from the port of Altata through Culiacán to Tamazula, Durango, in the Sierra Madre. Amador’s transport line enlarged Culiacán’s regional market to both the west and east.\(^5^7\)

The telegraph added to a nascent communication system that integrated the maritime and land transportation systems, as well as the postal service. Mazatlán was connected by telegraph with the rest of the country throughout the decade, but only at the end of the Restored Republic did other Sinaloan localities receive this revolutionary form of electronic communication.\(^5^8\)

\(^5^6\) AHCES, DN 32, 7 January 1870; DN 70, 1 June 870; DN 1, 18 April 87.

\(^5^7\) AHCES, DN 71, 15 April 1873; DN 14, 8 December 873; DN 179, 13 July 1875.

\(^5^8\) AHCES, DN 14, 1871.
Nonetheless, the legislative and government actions and the investment of private individuals were not enough to overcome the shortcomings in the land transportation infrastructure. The opening and maintenance of roads, as well as the establishment of stagecoach lines, followed a different and less promising course in comparison to the maritime success story. The relative underdevelopment of land versus maritime transportation hindered the growth of the economy.

SUMMARY

In summary, the economic activity in Sinaloa during the decade preceding the Porfiriato was characterized by an early recovery of the levels of production and commerce extant before the wars of Reform and French Intervention, by a diversification of production and by a small growth in the volume and peso value of trade. Mazatlán, in the south of Sinaloa, was the center of a regional market comprising the neighboring states; important but lesser local markets were centered around Culiacán, Sinaloa, and El Fuerte. Mining was the most important sector around which agriculture and cattle-raising, manufacture and commerce clustered. Deep sea transportation facilitated the entrance of imports and the exit of exports largely from Mazatlán, while a thriving coastal trade moved foreign and national goods to and from lesser ports in the center and north of the state. Yet in spite of the dynamism of the foreign and domestic trade, the growth of the economy was hindered by conflict.
The destruction of the industrial infrastructure and disruption of commercial trade routes during a decade of continual war followed a painful period of economic reconstruction. Because of its enormous importance in the regional economy, mining attracted the attention of politicians and merchants. With the support of the big merchants of Mazatlán and pro-mining legislation as well as a little American capital, the mining firms started to extract and refine precious metals and to mint most of that production. Most of the minted coins, as well as bullion and mineral ore were bound for export. The value of the gold and silver exports in their various forms always dominated the balance sheet, accounting for 85 to 98 percent of the total export market. Still, the production of these metals suffered setbacks during times of armed conflict, and the sector experienced the greatest instability with the La Noria rebellion in 1871-1872.

Manufacturing, agriculture and cattle raising followed a course parallel to that of mining, but without challenging the importance of that key sector. The industrial sector had relied on the cotton textile factories since the beginning of the Restored Republic, and as the economy thrived, industrial investment increased and the sector diversified. The state economic policy contributed to this dynamism by protecting the textile industry and promoting the establishment of new industrial endeavors. As a result of these policies, a period of relative peace, and the investment of accumulated commercial capital, other ventures produced lighting gas, soap, matches, cigars and cigarettes, wheat flour, pasta, cheese, sugar, footwear and mescal. Among the new factories, two foundries
served mining and other sectors by supplying the metal equipment and tools to keep them operating smoothly.

Farming, cattle-raising and timber-cutting shifted from subsistence activities to small scale commercial enterprises. Maize and beans, produced for local consumption for most of the decade, entered the commercial realms by the end of the Restored Republic. Along with these basic crops, others were grown to feed the thriving agroindustry, including cotton, sugarcane, mescał and tobacco. In addition, fruit and vegetables added variety to local and foreign tables. Farmers began to grow wheat for making flour by the end of the decade. Cattle raisers contributed to the agricultural economy with meat, hides and leathers, and cheese for trade outside Sinaloa. Finally the felling of dyewood and hardwoods contributed to the diversification of economic activities of Sinaloans.

Foreign trade and domestic commerce benefited from a good maritime transportation system to move the merchandise. Steamships displaced sailing vessels, and at the same time, the tonnage of the ships arriving in and departing from Sinaloan ports increased substantially. Vessels from San Francisco arrived largely in Mazatlán, but also in the lesser ports of Altata and Navachiste. Coastal navigation also increased, contributing to the more efficient distribution of foreign and domestic goods. Sinaloa thus built its domestic market and became integrated into the regional markets of Sonora, Jalisco and Colima. In terms of the international market, trade was largely with the United States West Coast on the one side, and the United States and European North Atlantic market on the other. While maritime transport made great strides, a faltering land
transportation system—wagons, mule trains, stagecoaches—carried all kind of goods inland from Mazatlán and other ports inland and from mines and farms to the coast.

Although chronic conflict and deficiencies in land transportation hindered the growth of the Sinaloan economy, the state nonetheless was the scene of thriving economic activity. Local merchants began to diversify their economic interests in mining, industry and agriculture while the volume and value of foreign trade increased. The merchants exported silver and gold and imported all kinds of manufactured goods from the United States and Europe, using growing numbers of American steamships having San Francisco as their calling port. The volume and value of sales and loans recorded before notaries public, as well as the firms organized before these professionals attest to the entrepreneurial spirit of the Sinaloans.
CHAPTER 6
THE ECONOMY: TRANSACTIONS AND PARTNERSHIPS BEFORE FORMAL BANKING OPERATIONS

The Sinaloans of the Restored Republic, steadfast in building a liberal society grounded on the rule of law, recorded before notaries public many of the mercantile and financial operations they underwrote. Contracts of sales, mortgages, and the financing and constitution of mercantile partnerships were some of the contracts recorded on public instruments (notarial certificates), largely in the port of Mazatlán, but also in Culiacán, Sinaloa and El Fuerte. The review of these transactions reveals who the parties were, what was transacted and what was mortgaged, as well as the rates and terms involved. This examination confirms that chronic conflict hindered but did not stop the transfer of property or productive investment, despite the fact that during the decade the land transportation problem was not solved, nor were financial institutions created to stimulate economic activity. This examination also reveals the important role played by the leading merchants of Mazatlán.¹

¹ For this period, the books of protocols, housed at the Archivo General de Notarías del Estado de Sinaloa (AGNES), recorded by notaries public and state judges of the districts of Mazatlán, Culiacán, Sinaloa and El Fuerte, for the years 1867 to 1877, were reviewed. Most of the information covers the years 1867-1876. More than half of the 1,261 public instruments was recorded before notaries, while in the central and northern parts of the state, these contracts were recorded before judges. These public officials belonging to the state judiciary recorded contracts and other notarial certificates in places where there were no notaries public. Their office is known as Juzgado de Primera Instancia (hereafter JPI), since they were the first to receive and determine the merits of legal complaints.
In addition to their obvious role as traders, the Mazatlán merchant houses also supplied goods and lent money to entrepreneurs engaged in mining, agriculture, manufacturing and commerce itself. These merchant houses also financed both the state government when the penury of the public treasury needed it and the rebel movements and de facto governments when the occasion arose.

Again American citizens and other individuals residing in the United States, most of them in California, participated also in the real estate market, the transfer of shares in various kinds of businesses, lending and borrowing money, and the establishment of partnerships. Although some of these enterprising individuals will be identified in this chapter, chapter 9 further contributes to the understanding of the ordinary workings of American economic expansionism in its early period.

SALES

In the major trading centers of southern, central and northern Sinaloa all kinds of property were sold: homes and lots in towns and cities; landgrants, farms, ranches and livestock in the rural areas; shares in mining and industrial concerns; and boats. In Mazatlán, three out of every four sales involved urban real estate, whether homes, lots or both. In Culiacán, the urban real estate market was relatively less important; half of the contracts of sale involved urban real estate, and the remainder involved rural real estate.
In Mazatlán the sale of land, farms and ranches represented one-eighth of the operations, and in Culiacán they represented approximately two-fifths or a little more than 40 percent. In the northern regions the sale of homes and urban lots steadily diminished, while the transfer of grants of lands ripe for commercial development grew. Physical geography and the shape of Sinaloa itself led to a productive territorial specialization that would become a deep-seated characteristic of the state.²

² Of the sales reviewed 197 were recorded in Mazatlán, 186 in Culiacán, 73 in Sinaloa, and 64 in El Fuerte.
TABLE 6.1
SINALOA, 1867-1877
TYPE OF PROPERTY SOLD, BY PERCENTAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROPERTY</th>
<th>MAZATLAN</th>
<th>CULIACAN</th>
<th>SINALOA</th>
<th>EL FUERTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>URBAN REAL ESTATE</td>
<td>75.1</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>29.7</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RURAL PROPERTY</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>57.8</td>
<td>72.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOATS</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHARES IN BUSINESSES</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URBAN/RURAL PROPERTY</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Urban real estate was comprised of homes and lots; rural property, of land grants, rural real estate and livestock; shares in business, of shares in mining and industrial interests; and urban/rural property, of urban real estate, land grants, rural real estate and livestock.

Sources: AGNES Jesús G. Meneses, Cipriano Piña, Jesús Río and Francisco Medina, Mazatlán, 1867-1877; Juzgado de Primera Instancia (JII), Culiacán, Sinaloa and El Fuerte, 1867-1877.

Table 6.1 shows the relative importance of the different types of properties in the different localities of Sinaloa. In addition to what has already been stated about urban and rural property, the sale of boats in Mazatlán and Sinaloa, but not in Culiacán and El Fuerte, merits attention.\(^3\) Sales of shares in mining and industrial interests followed the

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\(^3\) Ten ships were sold in Mazatlán and three in Sinaloa. For the transactions in Mazatlán, see AGNES, Jesús González Meneses (JGM), Mazatlán, 26 July 1876, 74-6; 23 November 1867, 159v-61v; 3 December 1867, 171; 3 October 1868, 260v; 12 June 1868,
same trend as the urban real estate market,—being greater in Mazatlán and smaller in the center and north of the state, areas which were less economically developed.⁴

Most of the sales throughout Sinaloa involved small amounts of money. In the case of the urban real estate market, sales involving amounts smaller than 200 pesos represented 43.5 percent of transactions in Mazatlán, 37.3 percent in Culiacán, and just less than 62 percent in Sinaloa and El Fuerte combined. When comparing the sales involving amounts up to one thousand pesos, an increase from south to north is again observed—in Mazatlán, such sales represented 78 percent of the operations, in Culiacán 82 percent and in the north 94 percent. In the statistical grouping Mazatlán was the leader, with the most contracts of sale involving amounts above 2,000 pesos, the lowest number of large sales took place in the northern districts. The largest and most well-appointed homes and the money to purchase them were concentrated in Mazatlán; thus, the city had the largest concentration of population, factories, urban property and wealth (see table 6.2).

137; 13 June 1868, 141-2; 15 June 1868 143v-5; 1 August 1868, 205; Cipriano Piña, Mazatlán, 11 September 1867, 129-30.

⁴ The sales of shares in business, largely mining but also textiles and lighting gas, totaled 38 in Mazatlán, 16 in Culiacán and 10 in the northern districts.
TABLE 6.2
SINALOA, 1867-1877
SALE OF URBAN REAL ESTATE, BY PERCENTAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AMOUNT, IN PESOS</th>
<th>MAZATLÁN</th>
<th>CULIACÁN</th>
<th>SINALOA</th>
<th>EL FUERTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;200</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>57.6</td>
<td>66.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201-400</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>401-600</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>601-800</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>801-1000</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1001-1200</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1201-1400</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1401-1600</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1601-1800</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801-2000</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;2000</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: AGNES, Jesús G. Meneses, Cipriano Piña, Jesús Río and Francisco Medina, Mazatlán, 1867-1877; JII, Culiacán, Sinaloa and El Fuerte, 1867-1877.

Of the sales of Mazatlán urban property worth more than 2,000 pesos, more than half were in the range between 2,000 and 5,000 pesos; one-fifth were between 5,000 and 10,000 pesos; one-seventh were between 10,000 and 15,000 pesos; one contract reached the figure of 20,000 pesos, and a second, the acquisition of four urban properties by Arcenio I. de Igual, amounted to 42,300 pesos. Members of some large merchant houses and other members of the Mazatlán elite were among the purchasers of these residences. Pedro Echeguren participated in two transactions that added up to 22,200 pesos; members of the Igual family in four that amounted to 60,000 pesos; the Laveaga family in four that reached the sum of 45,000 pesos; and the Quintana family, from J. de la Quintana y Cía., in two adding up to 9,000 pesos. Agents of the merchant houses J. Kelly y Cía. and Redo
Hernández y Cía. also acquired valuable urban property. Likewise, the widowed Guadalupe Cañedo de Clouthier, Adolfo Bartning and Manuel Rubio acquired urban real estate. Rubio acquired two urban residences valued at 17,000 pesos in March 1867, and in the early 1870s he began the construction of a modern theater bearing his name.

In regard to the purchase of shares in mining businesses, salt works and manufactories, as well as rights in rural property worth more than 2,000 pesos, some of the same names appear and new ones emerge. J. Kelly y Cía. and J. de la Quintana y Cía. bought shares on mines, Redo Hernández y Cía. acquired shares in a textile factory and rights to a rural estate, and Melchers bought shares in both a textile firm and a gas lighting factory. The purchases of Redo Hernández y Cía. added up to 59,000 pesos;

5 The acquisitions of Echeguren are found in AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 24 April 1868, 68-9 and 22 April 1874. Those of the Igual family, in AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 24 October 1868, 284-5; 2 May 1871, 191-7; 23 May 1877, 49v-52; 25 May 1877, 54v-7. Those of the Laveagas, in AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 8 July 1874, 361; 9 July 1874, 366v; 9 July 1874, 372-7v; 18 July 1874, 384v-91. Those of J. de la Quintana, in AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 29 September 1869, 140v-2v; 7 September 1870, 272-4. In regard to J. Kelly, Carlos Woolrich, representing Kelly's merchant house, bought a house valued at 4,600 pesos. See AGNES, Mazatlán, 10 September 1868, 248-9. In the name of Redo Hernández y Cía., Juan B. Hernández acquired a house valued at 4,000 pesos, in AGNES, Jesús Río, Mazatlán, 9 February 1874, 31v.

6 With regard to Guadalupe Cañedo de Clouthier's transactions, see AGNES, Francisco Medina, Mazatlán, 16 February 1874, 30.5v; on Adolfo Bartning's transactions, see AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 23 February 1871, 92-4; on Manuel Rubio's transactions, see AGNES, Cipriano Piña, Mazatlán, 13 March 1867, 48-50.

7 Juan B. Hernández, de Redo Hernández y Cía., bought Alejandra Vega de Redo three-quarters of the textile factory in Culiacán for 50,000 pesos and Antonio Vico two ranches: one for 4,000 and another for 5,000 pesos. See AGNES, J. Río, Mazatlán, 9 February 1874, 38-42v. Later, Joaquín Redo bought his partner a part of the same factory for 40,000 pesos. See AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 22 April 1871, 166-7.
those of Melchers, 52,293 pesos;® those of J. de la Quintana y Cía., 50,000 pesos.® These
merchants, who accumulated commercial capital and invested it in the acquisition of
urban and rural estates, cattle, and shares in all types of businesses, also played a
fundamental role in the informal financial market.

LOANS

To meet the financial needs of an economy on its way to becoming a market
economy, large and small investors were willing to lend their financial resources. In spite
of the difficulties of institutionalizing the financial market in the first half century of
Mexico’s independence, the big Mazatlán merchants—and to a lesser extent, those of
Culiacán and the northern districts—were able to accumulate sufficient capital to serve as
banking institutions. In the pre-banking era, loans took the forms of reversion sales,
mortgage loans, and financial credits. These loans catered to the cash needs of
individuals, businesses and government. An additional method of attracting funds to
launch a business venture was to organize mercantile partnerships in which the members

® Carlos Passow of Melchers Sucesores bought Alfredo and Jorge Howell shares in textile
and lighting gas factories valued at 38,293 pesos, and J. Kelly y Cía. and Alzua Dorn y
Cía. shares in the same lighting factory valued at 12,000 pesos. See AGNES, Francisco
Medina, 13 January 1874, 5-12 and 10 January 1874, 1-5.

® J. de la Quintana bought the illiterate Jose María Vega shares valued at 50,000 pesos in
a mine in neighboring Durango. See AGNES, JMG, Mazatlán, 24 October 1870, 308v-
10.
pooled their respective capitals. Before the establishment of banks, which occurred in Sinaloa at the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and in the early stages of these institutions, the leading merchant houses lent their accumulated capital at relatively low rates and for short terms. The leading merchants were not the only ones who lent money; individuals and small entrepreneurs with lesser amounts of capital served individuals needing small and medium amounts of credit.10

Reversion sales were a very popular mechanism for raising cash.\textsuperscript{11} Those in need of cash temporarily sold a piece of property to a buyer by means of a contract. The terms specified the right of the seller to reacquire her/his property within a specified period of time. The selling price of the property was generally lower than the prevailing market price to make the deal attractive to the buyer, who had the possibility of acquiring the property on a permanent basis should the seller not be able to repurchase it. On some occasions where there was a real possibility of a permanent transfer of the property, the additional amount the buyer had to pay to purchase the property outright was specified.\textsuperscript{12}

In Culiacan and Mazatlán, a large percentage of urban real estate and a lesser percentage of rural property were sold by this means. In the northern districts, the opposite was the norm: rural property accounted for a larger proportion of sales than did urban homes and lots. In all the cases, the sale of shares in businesses was small (see table 6.3).

\textsuperscript{11} This analysis is based on 127 reversion sales transacted in Mazatlán, 101 in Culiacán, 3 in Sinaloa and 28 in El Fuerte, totaling 259 sales.

\textsuperscript{12} J. Valdez sold a home in a reversion sale to R. Sorcini for 200 pesos on an 8-month term. For 100 additional pesos, Sorcini could permanently keep the property. See AGNES, C. Piña, Mazatlán, September 1867, 130v-2. Francisca Suárez de Amarillas sold a home to Ramón Quintero for 360 pesos with a 4-year term to buy it back. For 630 additional pesos, Quintero could keep the property. See AGNES, Juzgado de Primera Instancia (JII hereafter), Culiacán, 14 October 1876, 270.
### TABLE 6.3
SINALOA 1867-1877
REVERSION SALES BY TYPE OF PROPERTY, BY PERCENTAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GOODS</th>
<th>MAZATLAN</th>
<th>CULIACAN</th>
<th>SINALOA/FUERTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>URBAN REAL ESTATE</td>
<td>89.0</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RURAL PROPERTY</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHARES IN BUSINESS</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URBAN/RURAL PROPERTY</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: AGNES, Jesús G. Meneses, Cipriano Piña, Jesús Río and Francisco Medina, Mazatlán, 1867-1877; JII, Culiacán, Sinaloa and El Fuerte, 1867-1877.

As in the case of sales, reversion sales generally involved small amounts, although a significant proportion of them involved substantial amounts (see table 6.4). In Mazatlán transactions up to 1,000 pesos represented 64.6 percent of all sales; in Culiacán, 73.3 percent; and in the northern districts, 74.2 percent. Transactions of more than 2,000 pesos were proportionally higher in Mazatlán and lower in both the center and the north of the state.
### TABLE 6.4
SINALOA 1867-1877
REVERSION SALES BY AMOUNT OF SALE, BY PERCENTAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AMOUNT IN PESOS</th>
<th>MAZATLÁN</th>
<th>CULIACÁN</th>
<th>SINALOA/FUERTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;200</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>32.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201-400</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>29.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>401-600</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>601-800</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>801-1000</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1001-1200</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1201-1400</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1401-1600</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1601-1800</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801-2000</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;2000</td>
<td>22.8</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>99.9</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: AGNES, Jesús G. Meneses, Cipriano Piña, Jesús Río and Francisco Medina, Mazatlán, 1867-1877; JII, Culiacán, Sinaloa and El Fuerte, 1867-1877.

The buyback term was generally short, making it likely that the vendor could not recover the good or goods sold. This meant that the purchaser acquired a new property and augmented the family’s patrimony, or the business’s property value increased. In the south of the state, three of every four transactions had one year as a maximum term; in the center of the state 87 percent were drawn up under this term, while in Sinaloa and El Fuerte the percentage of transactions under this term was slightly smaller than in Culiacán. The longest terms generally were from one and a half to two years, although there were a few cases of even longer terms.\(^3\)

\(^3\) Of all the sales on reversion on which a term was recorded, terms longer than two years were 7 out of 118 in Mazatlán, 1 out of 99 in Culiacán and 4 out of 31 in the north, for an average of less than 5 percent for the whole state.
Having provided the raw figures for the goods, sales, and terms involved in these reversion sales, questions remain to be answered regarding the identity of the moneylenders, particularly those handling the larger operations. Members of the de la Quintana clan participated in five transactions adding up to almost 80,000 pesos. In four of them, the goods involved were urban real estate, and the terms ranged from one and a half to three years. The fifth involved shares valued at 60,000 pesos in a mining interest. The merchant house J. Kelly y Cía. participated in half a dozen transactions of this type. All of them involved urban real estate; they totaled 24,822 pesos, and all but one had a one-year term. The Bartning family, associated with one of the leading merchant houses, lent money on two occasions; the total was 14,300 pesos and the terms were two

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14 Of the reversion sales recorded in Mazatlán, 29 of them exceed 2,000 pesos. Most of these, 18 in total, are in the range from 2,000 to 5,000 pesos; 7 are in the range from 5,000 to 10,000 pesos; 3 are in the range from 10,000 to 15,000 pesos; and only one surpasses the 20,000 peso mark.

15 Urban real estate acquired under reversion sales by J. de la Quintana had the following values and terms: 4,000 pesos and 2 years; 4,000 pesos and 3 years; 3,161 pesos and 1 1/2 years; and 8,000 pesos and 3 years See AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 22 April 1869, 61; 16 October 1872, 228-30; 5 April 1873, 93-6; 13 January 1874, 15v-9v. The purchase of mining property, real estate and rights valued at 60,000 pesos is recorded in AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 31 December 1869, 177v.

16 J. Kelly y Cía.'s transactions are found in AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 30 November 1868, 313v; January 1870, 5-6v; 12 September 1870, 278; 31 December 1870, 358; 18 May 1871, 210v-3v; 3 June 1872, 141v-3. By means of the latter contract, Kelly transferred his rights in the property to Luis L. Bradbury.
and three years each. The last names of other merchants and moneylenders were Igual, Peña, Heymann, Laveaga y Cuevas, two of them were also involved in sales. These wealthy moneylenders offered their money at longer terms than those lending small amounts.

Mortgage loans presented similar characteristics as sales and reversion sales with regard to the goods and amounts involved, as well as the geographic pattern of transactions. Mazatlán, with its big import and export houses, was the prime location in terms of the number and peso value of transactions. Culiacán and the towns in the northern districts followed behind. Predictably, mortgages of urban real estate decreased from south to north, while mortgages of rural property increased. The mortgage of shares of businesses was steady throughout the state and accounted for one-tenth of the transactions, on average (see table 6.5).

On Bartning, see AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 25 February 1871, 96v-9; 3 July 1872, 165-9.


The reversion sales involving large amounts enjoyed more lenient terms than the smaller sales. In Mazatlán, the major commercial center, all the terms longer than two years involved amounts larger than 2,000 pesos.

280 mortgage loans are considered: 153 in Mazatlán, 49 in Culiacán, 40 in Sinaloa and 42 in El Fuerte.
TABLE 6.5
SINALOA 1867-1877
TYPES OF PROPERTY MORTGAGED, BY PERCENTAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROPERTY</th>
<th>MAZATLÁN</th>
<th>CULIACAN</th>
<th>SINALOA/FUERTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>URBAN REAL ESTATE</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RURAL REAL ESTATE</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHARES IN BUSINESSES</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URBAN/RURAL PROPERTY</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: AGNES, Jesús G. Meneses, Cipriano Piña, Jesús Río and Francisco Medina, Mazatlán, 1867-1877; JII, Culiacán, Sinaloa and El Fuerte, 1867-1877.

Based on their reported amounts, most of the mortgage operations involved modest sums, although more than one-fifth of those in Mazatlán and Culiacán and more than one-seventh in El Fuerte and Sinaloa surpassed 2,000 pesos each. Amounts up to four hundred pesos comprised a little less than one-third of all the mortgages in the south and center and almost one-half in the north. If mortgages of up to one thousand pesos are considered, the proportion increases to 60 percent in the south and center and 70 percent in the north. Even though the proportion of mortgages of more than two thousand pesos is
almost equal in Mazatlán and Culiacán, the amounts involved are significantly higher in
Mazatlán, the heart of the regional economy of the era.\textsuperscript{21}

TABLE 6.6
SINALOA 1867-1877
AMOUNTS OF MORTGAGES, BY PERCENTAGE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AMOUNT IN PESOS</th>
<th>MAZATLAN</th>
<th>CULIACAN</th>
<th>SINALOA/ FUERTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;200</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201-400</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>401-600</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>601-800</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>801-1000</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1001-1200</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1201-1400</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1401-1600</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1601-1800</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801-2000</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;2000</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: AGNES, Jesús G. Meneses, Cipriano Piña, Jesús Río and Francisco Medina, Mazatlán, 1867-1877; JII, Culiacán, Sinaloa and El Fuerte, 1867-1877.

Researchers of the economic history of twentieth-century Mexico and Latin America have cited, political instability, transportation deficiencies and the absence of financial institutions as the major obstacles to economic growth. The lack of banks prevented the excess capital that businesses and individuals acquired through commerce and industry from circulating through the economy. Under these circumstances, the terms

\textsuperscript{21} For the whole state of Sinaloa, most of the mortgage loans above 2,000 pesos were in the range from 2,000 to 5,000 (32 out of 56), and a few others were in the range from 5,000 to 10,000 pesos (12 out of 56). Nine out of the ten loans above 10,000 pesos were recorded in Mazatlán, while the other one, a 38,467-peso mortgage, was recorded in El Fuerte.
for borrowing the scarce capital available for investment were harsh, characterized by short terms and high interest rates. To what extent those conditions prevailed in Sinaloa during the Restored Republic is a question to be addressed in this section.

The general statistics on mortgages seem to confirm the prevalence of short terms and high rates in the three Sinaloan regions. In fact, terms of up to a year are characteristic of most of the mortgage transactions in all the localities: 67 out of 130 in Mazatlán, 37 of 49 in Culiacán, and 59 out of 65 in the north. In fact, many of these mortgages do not exceed a term of six months. The instances of terms longer than two years number nine in Mazatlán, four in Culiacán, and four in the northern districts. When only the mortgages of more two thousand pesos are considered, those that could be considered aimed at commercial or productive enterprises, a higher proportion of long terms is found. In the case of Mazatlán, the percentage of terms longer than two years is 7 percent for all loans but 23 percent for the mortgages above 2,000 pesos.

In regard to interest rates, a large proportion of the mortgages do not specify the annual interests assessed, and another notable percentage, particularly in Mazatlán, stated that no interest would be charged at all. Of those transactions that specified an interest

22 M. Cerutti, "El prestamo prebancario en el noroeste de Mexico: la actividad de los grandes comerciantes de Monterrey," in Ludlow and Marichal, ibid.

23 Of the 130 mortgage loans that recorded an expiration term, nine of them had terms longer than two years. Six out of those nine involved amounts larger than 2,000 pesos. See AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 17 October 1867, for those with a three-year term. In AGNES, Mazatlán, JGM, 12 April and 11 May 1869 are recorded the longest terms, six and five years, respectively.
rate, 43 percent in Mazatlán, 70 percent in Culiacán and 15 percent in the north established a modest annual interest rates of 6 to 12 percent. Another 22 percent in Mazatlán, 10 percent in Culiacán, and 62 percent in the northern districts fixed an annual interest rate of 15 to 24 percent. Usurious interest rates, higher than 42 percent in a year, were only recorded in 8 percent of the mortgages in Mazatlán, 5 percent of those in Culiacán, but a substantial 23 percent of those in both El Fuerte and Sinaloa.24

When the trends associated with mortgages of more than 2,000 pesos in Mazatlán is reviewed, a different pattern is found. Out of thirty-two mortgages in this category, fifteen contracts did not make any reference to the interest rate charged and five other contracts stated that no interest would be charged at all. Of the balance, eleven contracts contained interest rates of 12 percent or less, and only one had a rate of 15 percent, a relatively modest figure. Thus, the pattern of lenient conditions in the larger transactions is repeated.25

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24 In Mazatlán, 35 percent of the mortgage loans that recorded interest rates show rates higher than 24 percent. Twenty percent in Culiacán and 23 percent in the northern districts were also above that rate.

25 In Culiacán, of twelve mortgages larger than 2,000 pesos, three of them have no reference to the rate; in one, the annual rate is 6 percent; and in five cases, the annual rate is 12 percent. Only one case, a loan for 2,702 pesos from Enrique Cifra to the physicians Felipe Martínez and Ramón Ponce de Leon and to the pharmacist Cannobio, for the opening of a drugstore, had an annual rate above 36 percent. AGNES, JII, Culiacán, 2 June 1876. The rest of the public instruments are also found in AGNES, JII, Culiacan, 5 April 1875, 25 May 1870, 16 November 1871, 9 December 1869, 20 June 1868, 24 December 1870, 2 July 1874, 22 April 1869, 24 October 1870 and 18 July 1870. Eight mortgages in El Fuerte larger than 2,000 pesos do not make any reference to the interest charged. These can be interpreted as soft loans. See. AGNES, JII, Fuerte, 28 July 1868;
Some of the merchant houses and moneylenders furnishing entrepreneurs and the
general public with capital were Pedro Echeguren, both as an individual and as a
representative of the merchant houses Echeguren Quintana y Cía. or Echeguren
Hermanos y Cía.; Jose Vicente Laveaga, Rosendo Tamés, Sres. Armienta y Cía., Sres. J.
Kelly y Cía., Redo Hernández y Cía., J. de la Quintana y Cía., Sres. Storzel Bartning y
Cía., the heirs of Manuel Rubio, and Mrs. Rosario Vega. In several of the mortgages,
the merchant houses had to combine efforts to raise the amounts of money required,
whether by entrepreneurs, the government or a de facto government. Examples of these
collective efforts include the case of Redo Hernández y Cía., Echeguren Hermanos y Cía.,
and Storzel Bartning y Cía., who lent 15,289 pesos to the merchant and printer Pablo
Retes. A second case saw the port’s major houses lending 15,000 pesos to the rebel
government in October 1872. A third records Sres. Fontan Hermanos y Sobrinos, Redo

10 January 1869; 7 December 1869; 2 November 1870; 7 January 1871; 26 August 1871;
29 June 1874; 17 November 1876. Three mortgages in the district of Sinaloa make no
reference to the interest rate charged either.

The Echegurens were the moneylenders in the following mortgage loans: 50,000 pesos
to Fortunato de la Vega; 30,000 pesos to Redo Hernández y Cía.; 24,000 to Guillermo
Miller, Q. Douglas and Roberto Simón. Laveaga also lent 30,000 pesos to Fortunato de la
Vega. Tamés made several small loans, one of them to the de facto government. The
merchant house Armienta y Cía. lent money adding up to almost 10,000 pesos to
members of the Sotomayor family on two occasions. J. Kelly made two loans to the
miner C.B. Dahlgreen of Durango, one for 15,042 pesos and another for 10,000 pesos.
Kelly also lent his money to the rebel government. Joaquín Redo, of Redo Hernández y
Cía., lent 11,500 pesos to his in-law Fortunato de la Vega and, along with other money
lenders, participated in various collective loans, one of them to the facto government. J.
de la Quintana along with others lent money to Pablo Retes and the rebel government.
Storzel Bartning y Cía. lent 12,600 pesos to the merchants Salcido and Otero, 6,941
pesos to M. Alvarado and 4,750 to E. Holderness.
Hernández y Cía., Echeguren Hermanos, Echenique Peña y Cía., Careaga y Cía. and F. Reynaud lending 5,484 pesos to A. Noriega. Finally, Redo Hernández y Cía. and Lewels y Cía. also pooled their surplus capital to furnish Manuel L. Portillo and his brother with 4,378 pesos.²⁷

Among the select merchant houses and moneylenders playing the roles of banks, Echeguren Hermanos stands out. At the outset of the Restored Republic Echeguren lent 24,000 pesos, without interest and for a one-year term, to Guillermo Miller, Quintín Douglas and Roberto Symon so they could continue to operate the mints of Alamos and Hermosillo in the neighboring state of Sonora. During this time he also lent 30,000, at an annual rate of 10 percent on a three-year term to Redo Hernández y Cía, which operated in Mazatlán and Culiacán. In May 1868, he provided Fortunato de la Vega, from Culiacán, with 50,000 pesos, at an annual rate of 12 percent and an eighteen-month term. Twelve other smaller loans added up to a minimum of 20,559 pesos. In many of the loans the rate was not stated, in a few others no interest was charged, and in the rest the annual rate was generally at 12 percent. In two cases where the annual rate doubled, to 24 percent, the loans were relatively small: 650 and 1,200 pesos, respectively.²⁸

²⁷ Some collective loans remained recorded in AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 14 October 1874; 9 October 1872; 16 May 1868; 6 November 1872.

²⁸ The larger loans of the Echegurens are found in AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 22 May 1868; 17 October 1867; 13 June 1867; 14 October 1874; 9 October 1872; 16 May 1868; 21 June 1869; 10 March 1873; 18 October 1867.
Other commercial houses, such as J. Kelly y Cía. and Redo Hernández y Cía., were also very active moneylenders. Although their loans were smaller, the conditions were also lenient—medium-length terms and low annual rates, at a maximum of 12 percent. Likewise, Melchers Sucesores and Tamés y Cazessús lent small amounts of money at low rates. However, certain individuals competed as moneylenders with the big merchant houses. For instance, Laveaga lent Francisco de la Vega 30,000 pesos at an annual rate of 12 percent for a three-year term.

Other local and foreign capital was used to finance mining, manufacturing and agriculture, as well as the public administration and rebellions. As Buelna recorded in his Apuntes the rebels had a recurring practice of raiding the Culiacán mint to finance their insurrections. He also took note of the forced loans the rebels extracted from the big merchants, a phenomenon crudely manifested during the La Noria rebellion.

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29 The larger financial transactions of J. Kelly y Cía. are recorded in AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 12 June 1873; 9 October 1872; 2 May 1873; 11 February 1872; 4 June 1873. Those of Redo, in AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 14 October 1874; 9 October 1872; 19 May 1873; 6 May 1868; 6 November 1872; 11 May 1869.

30 For Melchers Sucesores, see AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 9 October 1872; 14 July 1874, 408v. The loan from Rosendo Tames to the heirs of Manuel Rubio for 25,000 pesos was recorded in AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 27 June 1873, 164-73.

31 Early in 1868 rebels against General Domingo Rubí’s government extracted 72,000 pesos from the mint of Culiacán; this money belonged to the businessmen Laveaga and Rubio. Buelna, Apuntes, 101. Other rebels also exacted loans from the merchant: Colonel Palacio exacted one for 20,000 pesos, Interim Governor Mateo Magaña exacted another for 30,000 pesos, and General Donato Guerra one for 200,000 pesos. Apuntes, 127-8.
The legitimate governments also resorted to borrowing money from the wholesale merchants. When Buelna’s government was pressed for funds in 1874, he was authorized to borrow 75,000 pesos from the local merchants. DN 36 established that the government was willing to accept 60,000 pesos in cash and the balance in bonds of public debt. The credit would be returned with the taxes and duties the government accrued at the tax collecting office at Mazatlán. The merchant house Sres. Bartning Hermanos y Cía. consented to lend the money, and Gabriel J. Peláez, a government representative, and Adolfo Bartning signed the contract in Mazatlán on April 24, 1874.32

Financial loans, using domestic or foreign capital, were largely transacted to support the mining industry. Anderson G. Stiles of San Francisco lent 95,579 pesos at an 18 percent annual rate to Luis L. Bradbury, a representative of El Tajo, a mining concern in the district of Rosario.33 In addition, an Adolfo O’Ryan lent Roberto Purdie money for his mining concern, with the stipulation that O’Ryan would manage the mining enterprise to be certain that the money was properly spent.34 Also to assist the concerns of mining, the government of General Rubí lent 10,000 pesos to the mining company La Constancia, which promised to employ some of the soldiers discharged after the French

32 AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 24 April 1874, 136v-44. Other public instruments making reference to debts of the state or federal governments can be found in AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 22 March 1869, 34v-5v; 15 March 1871, 122-3v; Jesús Río, Mazatlán, 22 March 1869, 34-5v; 15.

33 AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 6 July 1868, 169v.

34 AGNES, Francisco Medina, Mazatlán, 3 May 1877, 33-5.
Intervention. Loans also benefited mining firms established in the western foothills of the Sierra Madre, in the neighboring state of Durango but economically integrated with Sinaloa, as in the case of the Durango Mining Co. of New York. In early 1874, this company owed J. Kelly y Cía. 7,476 pesos and Dámaso Rodríguez 9,666 pesos.

In the textile industry, Francisco Echeguren lent 6,000 pesos to Guillermo Miller to finance his share in La Unión, the textile factory near Mazatlán. Unfortunately, Miller found himself unsuccessful as an entrepreneur, and he had to transfer one-half of the shares of the factory and one-fourth of the profits to Echeguren.

PARTNERSHIPS

The formation of mercantile, transport, mining, agricultural and manufacturing societies was an additional way to make use of surplus capital from commerce and other productive activities. As with loans, this method benefited mining first and foremost and other sectors secondarily. When the miner Miguel Sánchez invited Fortunato de la Vega to become his partner, Sánchez ceded half of his business’s shares to Vega and also transferred to him the management of the firm, Vaca-Ortiz Mining; de la Vega committed

35 AGNES, Cipriano Piña, Mazatlán, 19 January 1867, 21v-3. The loan to Rubí’s government foreshadows both the statism which will come after the Mexican Revolution of 1910 and a social concern to solve the unemployment problem and the banditry accompanying it.

36 AGNES, J. Río, Mazatlán, 13 January 1877. 1-2v.
to infuse up to 100,000 pesos into the business. Atanasio Osuna, Francisco Islas and Mrs. María Masson also organized a mining venture with Islas and Masson contributing the money to run it. Likewise, in the rich mining district of Guadalupe de los Reyes, district of Cosalá, the Mazatecan merchant house Sres. J. de la Quintana y Cía. associated with Francisco I. Echeverría, and Echeverría transferred half of his shares to the mercantile house; the latter agreed to finance the former, in addition to investing in his own share of the mining concern. Bartning Hermanos y Cía. and Redo Hernández y Cía. associated with Agustín Machado to develop a mine and its reduction works. Lastly, at the end of Restored Republic, several of the most important merchant houses of Mazatlán and other wealthy individuals pooled their surplus capital to create the Compañía Minera de Pánuco, with a social capital of 100,000 pesos.

37 AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 16 May 1870, 124v-6v.
38 AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 2 July 1869, 102v.
39 AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 21 May 1870, 138. At the end of the same year J. de la Quintana gives Luis Castillo Negrete these shares. 17 October 1870, 301-3.
40 AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 11 April 1874, 95v-109v and 110-2v.
41 The Compañía Minera de Pánuco was divided into 100 shares with the following partners and their corresponding shares: Hernández Mendía y Cía., 30; G. Garamendi, 13; Antonio H. Paredes, 10; Tames Hermanos, 10; Juan B. Hernández, 8; Jesús Escovar, 8; Adolfo Bartning, 7; M. Izurrieta, 5; M. González, 5; Joaquín Redo, 4. See AGNES, J. Río, Mazatlán, 18 January 1877, 18-28. G. Garamendi was the company’s president and Tames and Escovar were voting members. See AGNES, J. Río, Mazatlán, 31 January 1877, 32v-5.
Other investors risked their money in sectors outside of mining. In the transportation sector, several individuals joined their small assets to establish a wagon line that lasted for three and a half years. Ignacio Martínez and Cleto Hernández contributed three equipped wagons each; Guadalupe Romero, Rómulo López, Martín Núñez, Pedro Vaal, Dionisio Zavala, and the widowed Mauricia Hernández contributed two equipped wagons each. Two more investors contributed one equipped wagon each. The number of wagons totaled twenty, and the company hoped to entice other investors to reach a fleet of twenty-five wagons.\footnote{AGNES, JGM, Mazatlán, 27 December 1870, 350v-2v.}

SUMMARY

In summary, the review of the state budget, the statistics on the minting of coins, the information about foreign trade and the records on deep sea and coastal navigation offer a comprehensive view of the Sinaloan economy. However, there are other sources that can help us recreate the daily economic life of the Restored Republic in the state. The Sinaloans of those days recorded many of their contracts of sale, largely of urban and rural property but also of other kinds of property, before notaries public. Likewise, they recorded credit they obtained, whether in the form of reversion sales or mortgage loans, and the formation of all types of partnerships to produce goods or services. In an atmosphere of political instability, the leading Mazatlán merchants led the way in the
transfer of property, the supply of financial resources and the commercial investment. With the capital accumulated through commerce, many of these wholesale merchants acquired urban and rural estate, lent money to businessmen and private individuals, and diversified their own economic interests. American citizens, individuals residing in the United States, and other local individuals participated also in the real estate market, the informal financial market and the foundation of new firms.

Sales, loans and the formation of companies recorded before notaries public and judges attest to the dynamism of the transfer of property and the efforts to make use of natural resources and accumulated capital. The sale of urban and rural property, of shares in mining and manufacture, and of boats was greater in Mazatlán than in the rest of the state and decreased from south to north. The proportion of transactions involving small amounts likewise increased from south to north, while those involving large amounts followed a reverse pattern. Among the merchant houses and individuals notable for the value of the transactions they participated in were Pedro Echeguren, Igual, Laveaga, J. de la Quintana, J. Kelly, Redo Hernández, Clouthier, Bartning and Rubio.

The reversion sales, another means of raising capital, followed a similar pattern as real estate sales in terms of the kind of goods involved and the amount of the transactions. In Mazatlán and Culiacán mostly urban real estate was transferred whereas in Sinaloa and El Fuerte, rural property preponderated. In reversion sale contracts, the proportion of transactions involving small amounts increased from Mazatlán to El Fuerte, while the proportion of larger transactions decreased from the Mazatlán to the north. J. de la
Quintana, J. Kelly, Bartning, Igual, Peña, Heymann, Laveaga y Cuevas generally supplied their surplus capital at short terms, but the larger operations offered longer terms.

A notably similar pattern is observed in the mortgage loans. As with reversion sales, the merchants from Mazatlán were the major moneylenders, followed by those from Culiacán and the northern districts. Individuals with relatively small amounts of available capital also lent their money. Most of these financiers accepted urban real estate as collateral, although they also received rural property and shares in all kinds of businesses. In this arena, Mazatlán cornered the largest percentage of large loans. The mortgage loans involving large amounts also enjoyed the most generous conditions—relatively low rates, from 6 to 12 percent annually, and long terms. The names of the merchant houses and surnames of the wealthy are recurrent; Echeguren, Laveaga, Tamés, Armienta, Kelly, Redo Hernández, Quintana, Bartning, Rubio and Vega stood out as moneylenders before the founding of the banks in Sinaloa. Some of them, such as Adolfo Bartning, also financed the constitutional government and almost all were forced to lend money to rebels and the military forces vying for power. Among the foreigners, the American Anderson G. Stiles stands out as a moneylender in an informal financial market.

Thus, the diversification of the merchants’ entrepreneurial activities was a key characteristic of the decade. They employed the capital they accumulated through commerce to acquire estates both urban and rural, as well as shares in mining interests
and manufacturing firms. They also stimulated production through their loans and facilitated the running of de jure and de facto governments. Furthermore, they joined assets in partnership with others, creating mining and transport companies in order to preserve and further multiply their own balance sheets.

But the wholesale merchants were not alone in the arduous task of developing natural resources and lending and borrowing money in the pre-banking era. American citizens integrated also that small but very active group of entrepreneurs that dared to risk their money amidst conflict and before the golden moment of American economic expansionism. We will return to these issues after addressing some cultural developments in the following two chapters.
CHAPTER 7

SOCIETY AND CULTURE: OCCUPATION, ENTERTAINMENT AND IDENTITY

The wars of Reform and the French Intervention provoked an enormous transformation in Sinaloan society. Large sectors of the population, used to remaining close to home, most of them youngsters, joined the ranks of combat and became acquainted with new people, lands and ideas. The notions of liberty and nation became part of their mindset and these concepts nourished their hopes of solving time-worn problems such as the land tenure question and the uplifting of living standards.¹

The integration of Sinaloa into the Mexican nation, accelerated by domestic and international conflicts, had ideological support soon after the triumph of the Republic. The new local political leadership fostered ideals of national independence, republicanism, liberty and equality that had spread since the beginning of the century. The Sinaloans’ growing feeling of belonging to the nation paralleled the process of building a regional identity.

¹ Stuart F. Voss, On the Periphery of Nineteenth-Century Mexico: Sonora and Sinaloa, 1810-1877 (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1982), addresses the issue of the integration of Sonora and Sinaloa into the Mexican nation as a consequence of their active participation in the wars of Reform and French Intervention. In the historiography on Sinaloa, Sergio Ortega Noriega and Edgardo López Mañón, Sinaloa, una historia compartida (Mexico City: Gobierno del Estado de Sinaloa-Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora, 1987) second this approach. In contrast, Friederich Katz, “The Liberal Republic and the Porfiriato, 1867-1910,” in Leslie Bethel, editor, Mexico since Independence (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), emphasizes that through massive popular participation in these armed conflicts, they expected to solve their problems.
The Sinaloans founded their regional identity on recognition of the local heroes who triumphed against conservatives and imperialists, some who had achieved national glory, such as General Antonio Rosales. Other valiant fighters of lesser stature who had sacrificed their lives in defense of the government and the local republican institutions also figured in this regional identity. This feeling of patriotism was combined with an earnest defense of a federalism that was respectful of state sovereignty.

The initial chapters addressed the legislative activism of the victorious liberals that laid the foundations of a constitutional government, a market economy and a civic culture. Regarding civic culture, several legislative measures contributed to shape Sinaloans' patriotic and secular mentality. The social value of services rendered to the homeland, paying tribute to national and local heroes as well as victims of recent intra-liberal conflict, taking the powers of registry out of the hands of the Church, and instilling patriotism to the citizenry through the educational system were some of the instances whereby the emergent state sought to shape the Sinaloans' mentality and gain popular support. In the last part of this chapter, some of these legislative measures will be insisted upon whereas new ways to encourage nationalism and regionalism will be also discussed. How the new civic calendar was taking shape and how liberal and republican concepts were spread are also concerns of this chapter. The local liberals were aware that they
needed more than force and material progress to consolidate the state; they needed the cultural component.²

Before digging deeper into the cultural basis of the nascent state, some demographic aspects and how the Sinaloans used their leisure time will be discussed. Regarding demography, the size of the population over time and its ethnic composition will be reviewed. On the latter issue, little will be said since legal equality masked the statistics of this social fact. On entertainment, some amusements shared by the populations as a whole and those more proper of the middle sectors and the elite, such as musical and dramatic performances will be addressed.

POPULATION

The Sinaloan population, which had increased throughout the century, stabilized during the armed conflicts of the 1850s and 1860s. Deaths, violence and drafting of young males curtailed the birth rate of a highly mestizo population. With peace, the population started to grow again, although very slowly.

In 1855, Sinaloa had 160,000 inhabitants, according to Antonio García Cubas.³ The years of war did not favor population growth, and by 1869 the population had only grown to 162,298. Buelna recorded a slightly higher figure, 162,587, for 1872. Although


³ In Buelna, Compendio, 93.
demographic growth accelerated in the second half of the Restored Republic, the rate was still relatively low. By 1873, Buelna reported a population of 168,031, but he believed the actual figure was higher, closer to 180,000. In 1876 the population of Sinaloa was 169,231.

### Table 7.1
SINALOA 1867-1876
**Population for the Years 1872, 1873 and 1876**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DISTRICT</th>
<th>1872</th>
<th>1873</th>
<th>1876</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ROSARIO</td>
<td>15,387</td>
<td>16,531</td>
<td>16,531</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCORDIA</td>
<td>10,688</td>
<td>11,065</td>
<td>11,065</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAZATLAN</td>
<td>26,298</td>
<td>26,298</td>
<td>26,298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAN IGNACIO</td>
<td>8,246</td>
<td>8,007</td>
<td>8,007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSALA</td>
<td>13,322</td>
<td>13,258</td>
<td>14,458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CULIACAN</td>
<td>29,083</td>
<td>22,554</td>
<td>22,554</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BADIRAGUATO</td>
<td>12,697</td>
<td>13,627</td>
<td>13,627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOCORITO</td>
<td>23,447</td>
<td>23,447</td>
<td>23,447</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SINALOA</td>
<td>23,437</td>
<td>23,437</td>
<td>23,437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FUERTE</td>
<td>162,587</td>
<td>168,031</td>
<td>169,231</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Badiraguato belonged to the district of Culiacán in 1872 and 1873 and became a district by the end of 1874. AHCES DN 133, 31 December 1874.*

Sources: BOES II: 87, 13 August 1872, 362-4; Buelna, *Compendio*, 93-4; *Estado de Sitio* I: 12, 14 October 1876.

Buelna, *Compendio*, 93-4. Buelna did not trust the 1869 census and asserted that the actual figure was doubtlessly larger than the reported one, "since negligence and misinformation always preside in these types of operations." Without explaining his reasons, Buelna also doubted the figures of the 1873 census, reported by the municipal councils to the state government when he was in office.

*El Estado de Sitio* I: 12, 14 October 1876, 3.
Comparing the censuses, one can see that the population was virtually unchanged between 1873 and 1876, except in the District of Cosalá. In this district the authorities recorded an increase of 1,200 inhabitants. Although the accuracy of the census records is questionable, and the transfer of the seat of government from Mazatlán to Culiacán would be expected to increase the population in the latter city, there is no reason to believe that significant population growth occurred during those years.

Beginning with the gubernatorial election in 1875, a political conflict began which would not conclude until the triumph of the Tuxtepecan rebellion in early 1877. First came the conflict between the supporters of the candidate Jesús María Gaxiola—backed by the federal forces in Mazatlán—and the Buelnistas, supporters of José Rojo y Eseverri. Attacks on Gaxiola’s government followed as soon as he took office. And finally, partisans of Porfirio Díaz rebelled on July 12, 1876, in Culiacán, a turmoil which spread to the rest of the state. Thus, when state government secretary Felipe Martínez published his census in the official newspaper in October 1876, a long chain of conflicts had kept the Sinaloans preoccupied with making war.

In the 1876 census Mazatlán was the most populated district, with 26,298 inhabitants, as well as the most populated alcaldía with 14,574 inhabitants. Culiacán was the most populated municipality with 19,554 inhabitants. In the other demographic extreme, San Ignacio was the least populated district with 8,007 inhabitants, and Elota
was a municipality with only 1,068 inhabitants. The alcaldía of Navito, municipality of Quila, District of Culiacán, was the least populated with only 244 inhabitants.\footnote{Buelna, \textit{Compendio}, 130; \textit{El Estado de Sitio} I: 12, 14 October 1876.}

In 536 celaduras, the smallest political division of the era, 92 alcaldías and 26 municipalities of the ten districts, 170,000 inhabitants were distributed, most of them mestizos. Buelna summarized the ethnic composition of the population as follows:

Today the inhabitants of this part of Mexico should be classified as white or creoles, descendants of the Europeans; \textit{mestizos}, a mix of whites and Indians, who form the majority of the country and constitute a graceful and beautiful race; Indians, who are the remainder of the primitive races, whose classification is preserved only in history and whose numbers are rapidly decreasing; and mulattos, descendants of blacks who used to live in the coast of Mazatlán. Although in small numbers, there are also individuals of the Mongolian and black races.\footnote{Buelna, \textit{Compendio}, 81.}

The Indian population deserves special mention because the attitude of the rulers of the era reflects the dominant liberal thought. The abrupt decline of the Indian population following the Spanish conquest and colonization was well documented in the historiography of the period.\footnote{Buelna, \textit{Compendio}, 80, remembers that in the moment of the European contact “the north and east of the State belonged...to a race different from Aztecs, which occupied the rest of the state; this is to say, the center, the south and the coast; but nonetheless, the Aztecs did not fail to influence a more civilized race than others.” Then he reports on the demographic impact of that contact: “the Spanish conquest and domination contracted the indigenous races in all respects, so they have almost disappeared in Sinaloa.”} By the days of the Restored Republic the Indian population had been dramatically curtailed and ejected from the rich valleys between the coast and
the Sierra Madre. The covetousness of the Spaniards and the creole elite of independent Mexico had expelled the descendants of the Aztecs from these fertile valleys, and the Indians that remained were largely distributed along the banks of the Sinaloa and Fuerte Rivers. The largest remaining tribe were the Mayo Indians of northern Sinaloa, and a few other tribes dwelled in some districts in the highlands, such as San Ignacio. The remaining population was scattered in small groups throughout the rest of the state. The acts of the Culiacán council’s sessions make sporadic reference to the Indian population.9

The Indians of Ajoya, in the district of San Ignacio, took an active role during the French Intervention, and then favored, arms in hand, the local liberal leaders of the Restored Republic. However, they supported the Tuxtepecan rebellion against these same rulers at the end of Lerdo’s government.10 Both the policy of disentailment of the corporate property held by Indian communities and the common belief that communal land tenancy hindered the development of agriculture and the production of wealth contributed to the ongoing extinction of the Indians.11 Buelna was an early representative of that mainstream liberal opinion that attacked the Indians.

9 Archivo Municipal de Culiacán (AMC), 31 January, 1873 and 14 February, 1873.

10 El Estado de Sinaloa. Organo Oficial del Gobierno (EESOOG) III: 11, April 1875, 3; III:13, 22 April 1875, 1-2; III:14, 30 April 1875, 3; El Estado de Sitio I:11, 7 October 1876, 3; I:13, 21 October 1876, 3; I:18, 15 November 1876, 2.

11 During Rubi's term the state legislators halted the judicial transfer of communal land to private property. However in law number 44, 14 January 1870, in BOES I: 5, 21 January 1870, 41, Buelna ruled against communal property. See DN 10 8 November 1873, in BOES I, 17 November 1873, 171-2. Other references to Buelna's anti-Indian policy are found in BOES II, 7 February 1874, 12 and 19 May 1874, 35, 40. In Buelna, Compendio,
This largely mestizo population was occupied in a variety of trades, entertained itself in diverse activities—not all of them legal—and enjoyed cultural pastimes in various manners, some more sophisticated than others. The variety of occupations was greater in the major cities such as Mazatlán and Culiacán than in the small towns. The Sinaloans enjoyed diversions such as theater performances, acrobatic exhibitions and circuses, as well as bullfights, cockfights and games of chance. The annual fairs, visits of politicians and public serenades were also opportunities for entertainment. Reading newspapers, attending public functions at the schools, patriotic celebrations and industrial expositions contributed to the civic, scientific and technological progress, as well as reinforced the concepts of nation and region. All this operated in conjunction with the formal education system that benefited only a small cross-section of the population.

In Mazatlán were to be found the wholesale import and export merchants, industrial entrepreneurs and workers, public officials and government employees, professionals and teachers, shippers and freighters, artisans and domestic servants; in more rural areas were farmers and laborers. Some of the leading merchants were

106, the liberal position on communal land is again found: “the disentailment laws and those the state has passed to extinguish the communities have been hitherto inefficacious to reduce to private property lands that to prosper only need the enforcement of this measure.”

foreigners and represented the commercial interests of their countries. In the mining districts there were miners and operatives, besides farmers and laborers, as well as a few less influential merchants and artisans. In Culiacán, especially after 1873, when it became the new capital of the state, the same occupations were recorded as in Mazatlán, except for the trades related to maritime transportation. Of course, fewer people were working in Culiacán than in Mazatlán because the overall population was less. In small mining or agricultural towns, the gamut of occupations was smaller.

In 1873 the inhabitants of the mining and agricultural towns of San Javier and Las Yedras, as well as those of the celadurias of Saucito, Santo Tomás, Guayabo, Potrero de los Bejarano and La Caña, all belonging to the municipality of Badiraguato in the foothills of the Sierra Madre, petitioned the state legislature to grant them the status of alcaldía. They included in their petition a census that contained the occupational breakdown of the population. In San Javier and Las Yedras, mining and agricultural communities, there were mine owners and mining operatives, farmers and laborers, merchants, artisans and domestic servants. In Saucito the occupations were limited to farmers, laborers and wine distillers. In the rest of the communities, devoted exclusively to agriculture, there were only farmers and laborers. Six years earlier a general census had been taken in Cabazán, an agricultural community in southern Sinaloa; the only

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14 Archivo Histórico del Congreso del Estado (AHCES) DN 158, 14 May 1875.
occupations listed were farmers, laborers and artisans made their livings. Of the individuals that reported an occupation, all were males except for seven domestic servants and the scribe of San Javier and Las Yedras in Badiraguato.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OCCUPATION</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>MINER</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>8</td>
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<td>-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>LABORER</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>47</td>
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<tr>
<td>D. SERVANT</td>
<td>8</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>WINE D.</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRIADOR</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTALS</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Sources: AHCES DN 52, 19 February 1869 and DN 158, 14 May 1875.

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15 AHCES DN 52, 19 February 1869.
The censuses also record the number of literate individuals. In the municipality of Badiraguato the percentage of literate persons older than ten years ranged from a little more than 2 percent in Santo Tomás and Guayabo to 17.5 percent in the small town of La Caña. In larger communities, the figure ranged from 12.3 percent in San Javier to 12.9 percent in Las Yedras, while in Cabazán the percentage of literate individuals more than ten years old was 6.4. The following table shows that women were well represented among the literate.

### TABLE 7.3
SINALOA 1876-1877
LITERACY AMONG INDIVIDUALS ABOVE 10 YEARS OLD
IN SMALL MINING AND AGRICULTURAL TOWNS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TOWNS</th>
<th>INHABITANTS ABOVE 10 YEARS OLD</th>
<th>MEN</th>
<th>WOMEN</th>
<th>LITERATE MEN AND WOMEN</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE OF LITERACY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>San Javier</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Las Yedras</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saucito</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sto. Tomas</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guayabo</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P. Bejara</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Caña</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabazan</td>
<td>362</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: AHCES DN 52, 19 February 1869 and DN 158, 14 May 1875.
In spite of chronic conflict during the Restored Republic, Sinaloans had time to uplift their spirits in a variety of ways after the working day was over. In Mazatlán and Culiacán, the most populated and important settlements, companies of zarzuela and acrobats, as well as circuses, performed for seasons of variable length depending on the swings of the economy and politics. Early in 1870 the Mazatlecans enjoyed one such series of zarzuela performances by the company of Sres. Villalonga-Reig in January, followed by American citizen Carlos Nickolson’s company of acrobats the following month. In the midst of the Tuxtepecan rebellion, residents of Mazatlán delighted in hearing the concerts of the “famous violinist” Herr Fritz Peipers, newly arrived from San Francisco.\textsuperscript{16}

In 1876, a theater company offered a long season of zarzuela in Culiacán. Late in February there were more zarzuela performances, with “Los Madgyares” and “Campanone”, whose proceeds benefited Felipe Caballero and the Spanish actor Paulino García, respectively. At the end of Campanone a F.R. de Betancourt read a beautiful poem that, besides praising actor García and celebrating the friendship between Spain and Mexico, provided a channel to spread history through literature.\textsuperscript{17} In March the company

\textsuperscript{16} BOES I: 4, 18 January 1870, 35 and I: 8, 4 February 1870, \textit{Estado de Sitio} I: 1, 29 July 1876. Peipers was announced as “a truly notable artist.”

\textsuperscript{17} The zarzuela is a form of Spanish opera with spoken dialogue and often a satirical topic, popularized in the second half of the nineteenth century. During these performances, it was customary for the local poets to share their literary creations with the audience. The plot of “Campanone,” by Mazza and DiFrance, translated into Spanish by Luis Rivero and Carlos Feontaurse, “was of the purest nature and was considered
staged "The Secret of a Lady." One of the functions, dedicated to the women, was to benefit the tenor named Aguilar and another one, dedicated to the guild of artisans, was to benefit of the contralto Josefina Santos. Then, in early May, the company left Culiacán bound for Alamos in southern Sonora.\(^{18}\)

Bullfights, cockfights and games of chance also formed part of Sinaloans’ daily life at the outset of the Restored Republic. In January 1870, however, Mazatlecan councilmen Valencia and Medrano proposed the banning of bullfights in the municipality because they represented an immoral and barbaric spectacle. When the resolution came to a vote, the outcome was a tie, thus no action was taken. In April 1870 state legislators Buelna, Ruperto Inzunza, Carlos Escobar, Francisco Echeverría and Francisco Ramírez introduced a statewide initiative against bullfights, and the legislature approved it. Governor Rubí assessed the resolution as “claimed by the civilization and good manners of the epoch.”\(^{19}\) At the same time, another measure was passed: during the Olas Altas festivities in Mazatlán, games of chance and other games prohibited by law would not be tolerated. A petition by the settlers of Altata seeking permission to hold such games was also denied by the authorities. Near the end of 1870 the secretary of the state government, proper for families.” See Luis Reyes de la Maza, Cien años de teatro en México (Mexico City: Sepsetentas, 1972), 82, 86.

\(^{18}\) EESOOG IV: 8, 29 February 1876, 62; IV: 9, 8 March 1876, 69-70; IV: 10, 16 March 1876, 79; IV: 18, 13 May 1876, 150-1.

\(^{19}\) BOES I: 4, 18 January 1870, 35; I: 11, 12 February 1870, 88; I: 27, 30 April 1870, 148. The draft legislation and the law, as well as Rubí’s view are found in AHCES DN 56, 27 April 1870.
J.D. Martinez, sent a circular to the prefects of the districts reminding them that it was their duty to strictly enforce the law banning games of chance. Bullfights and games of chance symbolized barbarianism and immorality that the liberals were eager to scourge to build a civilized society.

The local fairs, visits by politicians and public serenades were other opportunities for entertainment and breaking the tension caused by revolts or the mundane routines of home and work. The fairs in Culiacán Rosales, Sinaloa de Zaragoza, and Concordía were all well documented in the records. The one in Culiacán was held from 18 to 25 December; the one in Sinaloa de Zaragoza, from 1 to 6 May, and the one in Concordia, from 18 to 25 January. All of these festivals were organized annually. These events were a combination of trade, entertainment and drunken debauchery. The politicians contributed not only to the entertainment of the proletariat, but also to that of the elite and middle class. A case in point occurred when the populace of the Rosario mining district donned their best clothes when Governor Buelna visited their town in March 1875. On that momentous occasion the sounds of music, fireworks and bell-ringing and even the whistling sound of the steam machines added to the richness of sounds and contributed to the merriment of the population. The birthdays of politicians such as General Francisco

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20 BOES I: 26, 27 April 1870, 145; I: 28, 7 May 1870, 52; I: 59, 25 November 1870, 297.

21 AHCES DN 27, 21 September 1868; DN 28, 24 September 1868; DN 35, 15 October 1868.

22 EESOOG III: 8, 8 March 1875, 3.
O. Arce and Bernardo Vázquez were also opportunities to enjoy animated conversation, exquisite foods, music and festive dances, and these feasts generally carried over to dawn the following day. In addition, the tradition of public serenades was initiated at the end of the Restored Republic. In Culiacán the populace congregated to listen to a musical band that was supported by municipal funds.

Sinaloans' intellectual pursuits included the customary channels of reading newspapers, attending scholarly functions, touring industrial expositions and taking courses of art. Formal education also provided a source of intellectual and spiritual growth. This section will emphasize informal education—namely, the opportunities provided by the press of the era, the artistic component of public ceremonies, the industrial expositions and the Instituto de Bellas Artes, a local institution dedicated to promoting artistic education. Formal education and the scientific angle of speeches and poems will be addressed in the next chapter.

Literate Sinaloans had access to both the official press and other newspapers in an epoch that, as Cosio Villegas asserted, placed a great importance on political debate. Of course, the press largely focused on political matters, thus dispersing the ideas of political

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23 In the midst of the Tuxtepecan rebellion, General Arce’s feast day began at dawn on October 4 and continued until the evening of October 4. Francisco Ramírez, editor of the official newspaper, spoke on behalf of his fellow bureaucrats. Two bands played while exquisite dishes were served. *El Estado de Sitio* I: 11, 7 October 1876, 4.

24 EESOOG III: 43, 20 December 1875, 4. In this issue of the official newspaper, the initiation of the series of serenades was announced. Although the band did not have all the necessary instruments, it would be playing every night at the Plaza Rosales.
liberalism, particularly political democracy. The details of national and local rebellions and of electoral campaigns, as well as governmental activities, were reported in this medium. The press also devoted space to cultural activities, scientific and technological advances, and the patents granted by the federal government for the manufacture of equipment and the processing of a variety of materials. Sinaloans also were amazed by the marvels of chemistry, as they learned about the materials developed through this science. The annual exposition of agriculture and industry held from February 1 to 4 had a dual goal—to familiarize the public with the advances in these sectors and to stimulate the interest the industrial and agricultural entrepreneurs.

In public ceremonies to honor the best students, highly laudatory speeches were delivered and touching poems were recited. Speeches and poems largely contributed the groundwork for nationalism, regionalism and interest in science and technology. On these

25 BOES I, 20 December 1873, 181, reports the franchise granted Ignacio Chávez for six years to extract sodium carbonate and common salt from the waters and lands of Texcoco; BOES II, 18 July 1874, 57, reports three exclusive concessions. The first was granted to Francisco Fernández for six years to construct a machine for grinding boiled corn; the second to Ignacio S. Portugal, for ten years, to employ a reverberatory furnace of his invention, which also reduced metals; and the third to Miguel Barca for ten years to construct a threshing machine.

26 El Estado de Sitio. Periódico oficial del gobierno militar, I: 11, 19 May 1877, 84-5, reproduces information from a newspaper published in Mexico City, El Siglo. This newspaper reported the production of organic chemical compounds, such as a celluloid, and other materials produced by the action of pouring soda over potatoes and carrots or diluted sulfuric acid over the same vegetables and, finally, artificial vanilla.

27 AHCES DN 88, 19 October 1874; BOES II, 26 October 1874, 75-6.
occasions the population also had the opportunity to enjoy music performed by students and teachers of the schools. On one such occasion on the night of 28 November 1875, public officials, school officials, parents and students convened at the Colegio Rosales to honor the most outstanding students; namely Ignacio L. Rocha, Luis Cisneros, Leopoldo Estrada, José Avilez, Teresa Ibarra, Micaela Herrán, Rosaura Urias and the young girl Inés Zerón. On this memorable occasion an ode to learning, composed by the instructor Manuel I. Cisneros delighted audience members. According to contemporary records the young ladies “Alejandra A. de Zenón, Ventura Escudero, Luz Verdugo, Rosario Vidaurreta and Angela Escudero rendered the night pleasant, playing some musical pieces at the piano, and the first two touched the audience with the rapturous notes of their singing.”

The first anniversary of the Sociedad de Artesanos Unidos in the summer of 1876, when political and military unrest was heating up, was a propitious occasion to enjoy various musical pieces and the very apropos national anthem. Loyal to the original positivist motto and the Christian Commandments, the artisans asserted the principle of loving each other and listened to the “Cavatina de Atila” and other musical pieces executed by the orchestra under the direction of Professor Alberto Segundo.

Musical and artistic education was an ongoing concern of politicians and educators of the Restored Republic. Music, which was already standard in the regular courses of the schools in Mazatlán, became an ingredient of the curricula of the Liceo

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28 EESOOG III: 41, 6 December 1875, 2.

29 El Estado de Sitio I: 5, 26 August 1876, 4.
Rosales and the Colegio Rosales. Meanwhile, artistic education had been fostered through the Instituto de Bellas Artes since before the establishment of the Liceo, and music had been taught there since 1870. In that year, the municipal council of the port budgeted forty pesos per monthly to pay for a music professor and his or her assistant.\(^{30}\)

In the Colegio Rosales, Manuel Cisneros taught music to male and female students while he continued his career as a music composer. During the year of the Tuxtepecan rebellion, money for a music instructor in the Colegio Rosales was approved, and Mr. Cisneros continued to receive an annual income of 480 pesos.\(^{31}\)

Sinaloan youngsters had other opportunities for artistic education. At the outset of the Restored Republic the Instituto de Bellas Artes was operating in Mazatlán under the direction of Job Carrillo, and in theory it received an annual subsidy of 300 pesos, though the state treasury did not always disburse the funds. The musician Cisneros, head of the Instituto de Bellas Artes in 1870, thanked the government for supporting the students Casimiro Ramírez, Jesús Rico, Fermín Vázquez, Tomás Escobosa, Cipriano Flores and Francisco Herrera, all of whom received two hours of instruction a day, from Monday to Saturday.\(^{32}\)

\(^{30}\) BOES I: 4, 18 January 1870, 35.

\(^{31}\) EESOOG III: 39, 22 November 1875, 4; III: 41, 6 December 1875, 2; III: 44, 30 December 1875, 1-2.

\(^{32}\) BOES I: 1, 7 January 1870, 2; I: 47, 18 August 1870, 254; I:63, 27 December 1870, 311-3; II:18, 29 April 1871, 71.
The cultural activities from which the Sinaloans benefited were aimed at promoting their incorporation into the modern world, as well as imprinting and strengthening their national and regional identities. Constructing a Mexican identity while maintaining a Sinaloan persona was the principal theme of the new civic calendar of speeches and poetic compositions. State legislation regarding renaming of localities, dates of fairs and expositions, acknowledgment of local heroes, as well as the patriotic celebrations and intellectual creations, all aimed to create and strengthen of the Sinaloan identity. This identity, with its national and regional components, would be the symbolic impulse for the Sinaloans to contribute to the aggrandizement of Mexico and Sinaloa.

In the construction of a national identity, two resolutions from the state legislature merit attention. The first changed the name of the Villa de Sinaloa, in the district of the same name, to Sinaloa de Zaragoza, and the other approved an annual agricultural and industrial exposition in early February. The name change honored the national hero General Ignacio Zaragoza, who defeated the French in the memorable battle of 5 May 1862, at the outset of the French Intervention. The exposition was designed to stimulate agricultural and industrial entrepreneurship while acquainting the Sinaloans with the technological advances in these sectors. The date for this exposition was not chosen at random. While the exposition would be open to the public from February 1 to 4, the

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33 AHCES DN 28, 24 September 1868.
ceremony to reward the best entries in the exposition would be held on 5 February, on the anniversary of the adoption of the 1857 liberal constitution. The annual celebration of Mexican Independence on September 15 and 16 was another propitious occasion to remember the heroic forgers of the Mexican nation. Finally, the death of Benito Juárez on 19 July 1872, and the homage that followed, marked the birth of a myth in Mexican history.

Before the War of Reform and the French Intervention, the important civic national holidays were concentrated in September on the fifteenth, sixteenth days and twenty-seventh, the anniversary of the declaration of Mexican independence by Agustín de Iturbide and Vicente Guerrero in 1821, was officially chosen as the day when the new constitutional governors took office. This was the date of inauguration of Governor Eustaquio Buelna in 1871 and also interim Governor Ignacio Cruz, Chief Justice of the state Supreme Court, who was acting governor in the absence of governor-elect Jesús María Gaxiola, who arrived in Culiacán from Mazatlán a few days later. In addition to the aforementioned holidays, contemporary conflicts and events incorporated at least two more dates into the calendar—5 February and 5 May. The death of Juárez added the days of his birth and death into the national civic calendar.

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34 AHCES DN 88, 21 October 1874, in BOES II, 26 October 1874, 75-6

35 The mournful ceremony that took place in Mazatlán is extensively described in BOES II: 82, 31 July 1872, 341-2
The death of Juárez, which was known in Mazatlán with days of delay, congregated federal and state public officials, as well as leaders of civil associations to pay him public tribute. Jesús Río, Chief Justice of the state Supreme Court; the president of the permanent commission of the State legislature; the secretary of the state government; the administrator of the maritime customs house; Ismael Castelazo, head of the Culiacán mint; and a representative of the Compañía Lancasteriana, a civil institution promoting education, gave speeches that extolled the virtues of the illustrious leader.

To these dignitaries, Juárez was the democrat of the century, a hero of America, a great man of Mexico and an emulator of Washington. He was promoter of enlightenment and embodiment of modern ideals in Mexico; furthermore, he was above reproach. The speakers concurred in their “faith in the future that belongs to us because of the progressive march of humanity.” But, to turn this luminous future into reality, they said, “we need to...abjure hatreds and low passions that are in the origin of infinite maladies affecting the republic.”

With the clear goal of preserving the battle of Puebla in Sinaloans’ memory, the local elite organized a public ceremony in 1871. As they gathered at the groundbreaking of a dike in Infiernillo, near Mazatlán, politicians and intellectuals exercised their rhetorical abilities. Governor Rubí and Francisco G. Flores, president of Mazatlán’s

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36 The quotations come from Jesús Ríos’ speech, in BOES II: 82, 31 July 1872, 341-2. Castelazo compared Juárez to Washington, the Secretary of Government called him above reproach, and the representative of the Compañía Lancasteriana and the local legislator described him as enlightened and modern.
municipal council, presided over the ceremony, which was attended by Pedro Echeguren, Francisco Sepúlveda, Adolfo Bartning, Andrés L. Tapia, Joaquín Redo and Alfredo Howell. Female members of the elite were also present; among them were Ignacia Ramírez de Regeer, president of the Junta Auxiliar Lancasteriana; Plácida H. de Echeguren; and Alejandra V. de Redo, president of the Sociedad de Beneficencia. Other important dignitaries were José Palacios, chief of the federal garrison in Mazatlán, and state legislator Eustaquio Buelna. Governor Rubí granted Buelna an opportunity to display his political and intellectual gifts since Buelna was at that time a candidate for governor.

Buelna began his speech with statements both premonitory and full of strong patriotism. "Nothing can be more pleasant nor more eminently patriotic," he said, "than celebrating our national glories with the establishment of a work of public interest...a beneficent institution, an educational institution, an improvement." He then emphasized the importance of the telegraph, the steam engine, the railroads, and the construction of roads and bridges for civilization, commerce and democracy. Then he placed Mexican political and social process in perspective, making comparisons with the United States and France. To buttress his prediction of a better future for Mexico, he reminded the audience that "the neighboring nation needed almost a century to abolish slavery" and France,

Having conceived a popular government at the end of the last century and afterwards, having expelled the dynasties that have governed it, only now is perhaps near giving birth to a robust Republic, offspring of the inconceivable
disgraces of a people that have no better choice than to renounce the crowned tutors and govern itself.\textsuperscript{37}

Foreshadowing the new economic history movement by more than a century, Buelna asserted that political instability and the lack of loan guarantees to individuals and properties deterred the investment of capital.\textsuperscript{38} In addition, he stated that he could foresee the end of Mexico’s maladies and that peace would be the preamble to imminent progress. Although he failed to recognize that the rebellions were far from over, his intent was to strengthen the republic and imbue the audience with nationalism.

The fifth of May retained its symbolic importance during the Restored Republic. Faithful to his own words, Buelna did not waste any opportunity to fix this date in the Sinaloans’ minds. So in 1873, during his term in office, he established the Liceo Rosales in Mazatlán on 5 May.\textsuperscript{39} He thus honored both Zaragoza and Rosales while promoting secondary education, helping to shape national and regional identities simultaneously, creating a proud nationalism and regionalism.

He was not alone in this heartfelt endeavor. At the end of the Restored Republic, it was Alberto Serrano’s turn to remember this memorable occasion. In his speech he praised the patriotism of the Mexican soldiers who despite their lack of military training,

\textsuperscript{37} A full transcription of Buelna’s speech is found in BOES II: 20, 12 May 1871, 77-8.


\textsuperscript{39} AHCES, DN 32, 37, December 1872. The decree is reproduced in BOES I, 11 February 1873, 39-40. The next chapter addresses the Colegio Rosales in depth.
defeated and humiliated the French invaders. Serrano did not ignore the ideological role of his speech when he affirmed, “It is vital that for a country to be free, its children must always keep in mind the sacrifices their forefathers endured to give them a homeland and preserve their liberty, so that by knowing the past and finding the motives behind the conflicts they can avoid them in the future.”

The speakers at the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of Mexican independence infused the audience with this nationalism. The next day, 16 September, Joaquín Reyes Zavala and José C. Valadés urged the Sinaloans to remember the heroic deeds of the Mexican nation. Zavala, after opining that instruction and peace were the only legitimate sources of a people’s pride, asserted that the knowledge of history constituted the cultural support of the homeland and liberty. Valadés, in turn, argued that Mexico had “already conquered enough principles and that it needed to consolidate them with peace.” Both speakers concurred in their criticism of the continual conflict and in the need to practice the principles of liberty and democracy to strengthen the nation.

The ideals of liberty, democracy and republicanism as core beliefs of the nation, were also present in the poems with which the Sinaloans commemorated Mexico's independence in 1876. While the federal forces were combating the Porfiristas still

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40 EESOOG IV: 18, 13 May 1976, 151. Serrano did not fail to make a reference to the Battle of San Pedro.

41 The speeches by Reyes on the 15th and by Valadés on the 16th are found in El Estado de Sitio I: 9 and 10, 23 and 30 September 1876.
fighting in Sinaloa—rebel forces that shortly after would rise from the ashes like the
phoenix—, José M. Prieto, Diego Montes de Oca and Jesús Barraza Gómez stood in the
Teatro Rubio to read their poems before a public full of hope. Hidalgo is the central
character in all of the examples, and so patriotism, liberty and love—that forgotten element
in Mexican positivism—were interwoven in the sanguine rhetoric of the liberators of the
motherland.

Prieto described two figures: Hidalgo and a virgin. Hidalgo is both the elderly
leader with white hair and the bold unyielding giant who does not flee from danger. The
virgin is the suffering motherland lacking light and liberty. As Hidalgo shattered the
chains of slavery, the virgin smiled and cried with joy. With a heart overwhelmed with
patriotic love, the author concluded, wishing for Mexicans, “that liberty be your faith,
your future, your God.” Montes de Oca lauded, in addition to the idea of liberty, the
ideas of independence, sovereignty and nonintervention. For him, Hidalgo planted the
bountiful trees whose delicious fruit is none other than liberty. With overwhelming joy,
which he wanted to inspire in the audience, the author exclaimed, “Hidalgo, benefactor,
blessed you be!” for having proclaimed independence and liberty.

Much more profound than his colleagues, Barraza Gómez portrayed the process of
a double national independence, first from the Spanish crown and then from the French

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42 El Estado de Sitio I: 9, 23 September 1876. Prieto read his poem on September 16.

43 El Estado de Sitio I: 10, 30 September 1876. Montes de Oca read his poem on 15
September.
Intervention and the Maximilian Empire. Here Hidalgo appears as the giant who watered the sacred tree of liberty with his own blood and transformed into free citizens the Mexicans subdued by the "vile whims of the tyrants." Hidalgo’s decision mobilized the Mexicans who “pledged to shed their blood to recover their lost freedom, to give their children a homeland and a name, a happy and prosperous life.” In Barraza’s composition, the ideals of Hidalgo and the experience of the first battles nourished the successors of the fallen hero and the middle ranks of the insurgency—Morelos, Abasolo and Mina, Bravo Jiménez and Allende. Barraza recreated the episode as follows: “And from the clangor of combat/ and the dreadful, horrendous cannon/ sprang the most sincere patricians/ of national pride and honor.” In the final part of his composition the poet remembered the failed French Intervention and the punishment the Mexican imperialists and Maximilian received in Querétaro. The struggle of the Mexicans had been, Barraza reminded his audience, against foreign domination and monarchy and for democracy and republicanism.44

The construction of Sinaloan regional identity followed a parallel course. Through legislation and governmental actions, civic commemorations, speeches and poetry, the rulers and politicians conveyed to the population the values that moved the local heroes to offer their lives for their country and home state. General Antonio Rosales and his victory over the French invaders on 22 December 1864, occupy an outstanding place in

44 El Estado de Sitio I: 11, 7 October 1876. Barraza Gómez shared with the audience his poetic composition on 16 September.
this symbolic construction, but other local events and personalities also received tribute and gratitude from the Sinaloans of that era.

The story of Rosales is full of drama. After the triumph of General Zaragoza over the powerful French army on 5 May 1862, in Puebla, the French recovered from their surprising defeat and retook the city of Puebla and then the Mexican capital. Having taken the military offensive, the French and their Mexican imperialist allies convinced Prince Maximilian of Hapsburg to come to Mexico to reign. The Mexican liberals, under the leadership of Juárez, were experiencing a veritable nightmare when the French docked in Mazatlán on November 1864. The then-Colonel Antonio Rosales, governor of the state, decided not to put up resistance in Mazatlán. Days later, the French and their allies decided to surge northward by sea; they landed at the port of Altata and proceeded eastward toward Culiacán. Before they arrived in Culiacán, however, Rosales faced the enemy with valor and patriotism and defeated them in the locality of San Pedro. Juárez, from Paso del Norte (now Ciudad Juárez), recognized the importance of this liberal victory in uplifting the morale of the patriots fighting throughout the country. As a token of his regard for Rosales, Juárez promoted the brave liberal to the rank of general. The triumph of Rosales achieved national dimensions. The Sinaloan liberals also recognized the importance of this victory over the French invaders and the Mexican traitors.

Once the struggle against the French and the Maximilian Empire was crowned with success, the tributes to the hero of the battle of San Pedro multiplied. Unfortunately,

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he did not live to enjoy them as he had died fighting the French in Alamos, Sonora. The name of Rosales was placed in golden letters in the hall of the state legislature, Culiacán was renamed Culiacán Rosales, an annual fair was established in this city from 18 to 25 December and Governor Buelna founded the Liceo Rosales. The following year, Buelna moved the Liceo to Culiacán, the new state capital, and upgraded it to a higher education institution named Colegio Rosales, thus maintaining the homage to Rosales. A public square also took the hero’s namesake.

A privileged sector of Sinaloan youth completed their preparatory and professional studies in an institution whose name reminded them daily of the hero against the French Intervention, the patriot who had restored national independence and sovereignty. These adolescents eagerly prepared themselves to compete for the awards granted annually to the best students. This public ceremony, presided over by the state authorities and the Colegio administrators, was an occasion to deliver motivating speeches to encourage the youngsters in their scholarly work and to inspire them with the sentiments of national and regional identity. These orations stressed that the students’ dedication to scientific and technical endeavors would allow them to better serve their compatriots. In addition, their knowledge of history and of the figures and episodes that founded and consolidated Mexico as an independent nation would convert them into genuine patriots, ready to participate actively in the political life of the country and to defend their large and small patrias with the generosity of heroes such as Rosales.
Thus, it was only natural that the grateful Sinaloans integrated 22 December into their civic calendar to remind themselves annually of the need to keep the torches of patriotism and, obviously, regionalism alive. The Sinaloans were proud of Rosales’s feats on the battlefield. On the eleventh anniversary of the battle of San Pedro, Pedro Victoria read a beautiful poem he had written in tribute to General Rosales.

Victoria’s poem has as its backdrop an idyllic landscape and as actors the French, Mexican imperialists and Mexican patriots. He emphasized the haughtiness of the French; the treachery of their Mexican allies; and the heroism of Rosales, who preferred death to dishonor and hurried to face the enemy as soon as they stepped on the “sun-baked beach” of Altata.

Rosales, determined to face them,  
Reviews his squad, nude and hungry.  
But touched, he saw  
That each soldier that he took to battle  
In his chest breathed  
The noble sentiment of a patriot.

And he started the march with a serene face  
And prepared his warriors for combat  
Then the cannon resounds  
And the steels, bright, are descried  
Of suavos and traitors  
Who advance at the rhythm of drums.

Rosales awaits them in San Pedro  
Without caring about the number of enemies  
And to the air the flag  
Of Mexico he unfurls, and under its shelter  
The patriots formed  
And they waited for the clash of arms.
After describing with dexterity the combat in which blood of the patriots, traitors and the French was profusely shed, mixing on the ground, the poet concluded by praising the bravery of the patriots and Rosales’s leadership.

Finally the instant arrives; to the patriots’
Bravery, the victory yields
And the imperial forces
Attempt to retreat, but they can’t;
Their caudillo, the first,
Surrenders to Rosales to be jailed.

Cheers and revelries announced
The victory of Mexico in San Pedro,
And the French and the traitors
Their heads bowed, and
To Rosales’s party the most precious laurel
Of glory was granted

Now Sinaloans! that we remember
Full of pride the annals of those episodes,
Praises to the memory of Rosales
And a thousand sincere vivas
To his loyal and valiant followers
Spring from our bosoms!

General Domingo Rubí was another Sinaloan who participated in the armed conflicts preceding the restoration of the Republic. He was fortunate enough to survive the wars and to be praised for his heroism while still alive. First, General Ramón Corona designated him governor when the French still marched over Sinaloan soil. Later, at the outset of the Restored Republic, Rubí was the triumphant candidate in the gubernatorial election. While he was constitutional governor someone introduced an initiative before

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46 EESOOG, December 1875.
the state legislature to pay tribute to him and to commemorate the battle of April 1, 1866, against the imperial forces in which he played a leading role. Among the provisions of the bill was changing the name of the town of Concordia to Concordia de Rubí and holding in this city an annual festival from 1 to 15 April. The legislature eagerly approved the renaming of Concordia and determined that the annual fair would take place from 18 to 25 January. As the bill had to be ratified by the governor, Rubí had the opportunity to exhibit unusual humility and political tact, for he did not sign the bill. However, once General Rubí left office to combat the armed opposition that arose after the outcome of the local election in 1871, the next legislature declared him Benemérito del Estado, a hero of the state.47

As constitutional governor, Buelna introduced a bill to pay tribute to the “martyrs of the cause of law and order.” The governor alluded to those who had offered their lives in defense of the local republican institutions stormed by the Porfiristas and those who had proved their loyalty in the struggle to uphold Buelna’s government and in the ensuing La Noria rebellion, which lasted an entire year in Sinaloa. As a token of gratitude and to stimulate the regional patriotism, Buelna proposed that ten valiant patriots be declared heroes of the state, that their names be inscribed in golden letters in the town halls of the places where they had died, and that the national flag flying over the town hall be lowered to half-mast on their birthdays and the anniversaries of their deaths.
In the introduction to the bill, Buelna stated that its intention was to "honor the memory of the patriots who in the previous struggle succumbed to death, defending the principles of law and order that ever since the nation has been upholding to lay the grounds for peace, the most indispensable condition to achieve its well-being and prosperity." Then Buelna summarized the circumstances under which the local patriots had lost their lives. Some had died fighting, others had been executed after the combat and still others had been assassinated for their patriotism and support of the state.

The legislators, who filled some gaps in the draft and widened its scope, passed the initiative. Two more local heroes and a municipality were added and the building in the state capital of "a monument in memory of all those citizens who had fallen in defense of order and rule of law" was propose.48

SUMMARY

In summary, while the Sinaloans engaged in a variety of trades, they also enjoyed and educated themselves during their leisure time. Common occupations were commerce, mining, manufacture and agriculture; others were the unloading of steamships and sailing

47 AHCES DN 35, 15 October 1868. The State legislature's resolution declaring Rubí Benemérito del Estado is dated 25 September 1871, according to Olea, Sinaloa a través de sus constituciones (Mexico City: UNAM, 1985), 221.

48 AHCES DN 59, 14 May 1874. It is not unreasonable to believe that Buelna’s initiative had been animated by the patriotic fervor that tended to increase around the anniversary of the battle of Puebla, since the initiative was dated 3 May.
vessels, coastal navigation and the driving of mule wagons and stagecoaches. Public
service, whether in the government or the army, was the source of employment of a
significant number of citizens. Sinaloans entertained themselves in bullfights, cockfights
and games of chance, as well as attending dramatic presentations, listening to music and
poetry and reading newspapers.

Civic commemorations and commencement ceremonies at educational institutions
were also magnificent opportunities to nourish both nationalism and regionalism.
Honoring heroes by renaming cities, public squares and schools after them, building
monuments, and inscribing the names of local heroes in golden letters on government
halls also contributed to the same ideological purpose. Between work and revolt, the
Sinaloans of the Restored Republic simultaneously built the national and regional
components of their identity. The construction of an ideology having both Mexican and
uniquely Sinaloan components occupied a top priority in their daily lives.

The task of state building involved strengthening constitutional government,
developing the economy and instilling nationalism and regionalism in the population.
Power, production and culture interacted and reinforced each other. Empowering the state
indeed involved more than force, it required shaping collective mentalities. The Sinaloan
liberals practiced this basic tenet of political science.
CHAPTER 8

CULTURE AND SOCIETY: THE SPREAD OF A SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL CULTURE

As the governmental measures for the institutionalization of power, developing the economy and spreading a civic culture were addressed, the creation of a school system was referred to as a fundamental institution of the emergent liberal state. Formal education joined the efforts of the state to internalize the notions of the republican and federal system of government and love for the homeland, but in doing so it pursued additional more pragmatic goals; namely, to restrain the youngsters’ rebelliousness and develop Sinaloa’s natural resources. Moreover, the spread of a scientific and technological culture became a fundamental instrument in the hands of the liberals in their fight against the Church and for a secular society. The local liberal leadership was conscious that building and strengthening the resurgent state, as discussed in the last chapter, needed more than force and a sound economic basis, it also required the shaping of the Sinaloans’ new mentality through formal institutions, the school in this case. The triumphant liberal revolution was aware that it had to wage a struggle in three fronts: politics, economy and culture. In the latter front, establishing a strong educational system would support both the economy and, most importantly for the liberal politicians, constitutional government.¹

Until recently, the spread of a scientific and technological culture among the Sinaloans during the Restored Republic had only partially been studied. When addressing the history of education and educational institutions, traditional scholars have emphasized the establishment and development of the Liceo Rosales (which became the Colegio Rosales) and have referred to the scope of the elementary instruction of the era only tangentially. Hector R. Olea, Ricardo Mimiaga and Marco A. Berrelleza are traditional scholars who have contributed insights and primary sources in the study of the Colegio Rosales's origins and evolution, while Jorge L. Sánchez's recent work uses a different approach, though it still maintains a scholarly rigor. Sánchez studies the Colegio Rosales from its establishment until 1918, when it became the Universidad de Occidente, and defines three periods in the life of the institution: its birth, development, and consolidation. While Olea and Mimiaga view the Colegio as the embodiment of positivist thought for the benefit of the Porfirista elite, Sánchez discovers an institution which continued the work of the Enlightenment and ciencismo, favored social mobility, and benefited not only the elite, but also the middle class. This institution, he adds, also contributed to the development of the region. In addition, unlike his colleagues, Sánchez stresses the importance of the early years of the Colegio. The works by the

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aforementioned scholars emphasize other periods in the life of the institution. As such, those works are more interested in the intellectual products of the institution, from the Porfiriato to its present incarnation as the University of Sinaloa.⁴

In this chapter, the earlier sources and themes will acquire a new dimension and recent sources will provide the opportunity to explore new avenues of the diffusion of scientific culture among Sinaloans. This diffusion was accomplished not only through the formal educational system, but also through the speeches and poetry of many politicians and educators. The latter emphasized the progress resulting from the creative application of scientific advances and technological innovations.

During the nineteenth century, Mexican politicians considered education to be a fundamental tool in achievement of political, economic and social progress.⁵ Attaining political stability, exploiting natural resources, and emulating the levels of civilization of the European countries and the United States required widespread literacy among the population. A component of this movement, science, in open defiance of the traditional and obscuring ideas fostered by Catholicism, played a transforming role. Prior to this period, during the first half of the nineteenth century, Mexico had not been able to see the products of such emergent ideas. Until the period under study, the secular educational

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⁴ Examples are the works of Leonel Rodríguez Benítez, among them, _Catálogo de tesis de la Facultad de Ciencias Químico Biológicas de la Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa. Fuentes documentales para la historia de la química y la farmacia en el noroeste de México, 1875-1974_ (Culiacán: UAS, [1996, in press]); “Contribución al estudio histórico de la Escuela de Química,” in _Boletín. Esc. de Ciencias Químico Biológicas_ 1, 6, Mayo, 1-8.

system had served a very small segment of the population, and the practice of scientific research was almost nonexistent. Both factors contributed to the strength of the Catholic seminaries, which prepared the ministers demanded by the church while also providing education to students pursuing secular careers. In those institutions youngsters who later pursued professional studies in other arenas completed their preparatory education.

The revolution of Ayutla, which deposed Santa Anna from power; the Laws of Reform, which reduced the power of the church and the military, and the 1857 Constitution, which paved the way to nineteenth-century modernization, inaugurated a new period in the history of Mexico. This period exacerbated the conflict between liberals and conservatives, aggravated the struggle against the church, and led to the separation of church and state. The outcome of these conflicts and struggles was the triumph of liberalism and the restoration of republicanism, and one of the characteristics of this period was its secularism.

The construction of the state, strong and secular, required imbuing the citizenry with loyalty to the principles of a republican system of government, not to the church, and with a mindset grounded in scientific reason rather than Catholic dogma. The spread of education among the laity would be the basis for both empowering the state and launching a mental revolution.

In Sinaloa the liberal politicians opposed and exiled Bishop Pedro Loza, who had refused to pledge allegiance to the General Constitution of 1857 and had threatened to excommunicate whomever dared to pledge allegiance to the new Magna Carta. In
addition, the Catholic seminary remained closed during the wars. The 1861 revision to Sinaloan constitution did not maintain Catholicism as the state religion, but incorporated religious tolerance and freedom of religious practices, thus reflecting the text of the 1857 Federal Constitution. The elimination of Catholic influence in both the population in general and the schooling system in particular would not be an easy task. Although education progressed during the Restored Republic, the founding and spread of secular elementary schools were impeded by political instability and the scarcity of public funds. Likewise, popular opinion held that the education of children and adolescents would negatively affect the livelihood of families that needed this labor force to work their own land and perform other chores.

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

During the Restored Republic the municipalities supported the elementary school system through local taxes. The 1861 constitution assigned to the town councils the responsibility of “taking care of public instruction” while the 1870 constitution stated that it was the municipalities’ duty to “take care of public instruction and to extend it to all of the popular classes of the municipality.” However, until 1873 the state budgets did

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7 Ibid, 194.

not earmark any money for primary instruction or any other educational activity, save the small allocation for the Instituto de Bellas Artes in Mazatlán. Thus, under Rubí, the first constitutional governor of the post-war, era the diffusion of education was scanty.

In Rubí's address to the state legislature in 1869, he described the state of the educational system and reflected on the importance of erudition for the advancement of Sinaloa. Without offering statistics, the governor opined:

Public instruction in the state is circumscribed to the schools of primary instruction, to a small municipal college recently established in this port and to an institution of secondary instruction funded and taken care of by the church in the city of Culiacán, which is nothing else but a tridentine seminar such as it existed years before, although somewhat advanced concerning the courses taught, indispensable in the current epoch of true light and progress we are going through.

Then, he assessed the state platform and the desired scope of this education as follows:

"But these plans do not satisfy the need to establish good liceos, colleges or academies of science in which the privileged intelligence of the Sinaloans can expand and develop to the extent it is amenable."

He concluded his address by tracing the path to be followed and the correlation between enlightenment and progress, stating that "in the teaching in the branches of agriculture and mining, hard and natural sciences, humanities, literature, etc., etc., you have what should constitute those very pure sources in which the talent of children and adolescents shall be cultivated."10

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9 BOES I: 1, 7 January 1870, 2.

10 Domingo Rubí, Memoria (1869), 15.
Although elementary instruction did not advance significantly in the second half of Rubi’s term, some municipalities invested notable sums in education. The municipality of Mazatlán stood out for its expenditures on education. The port was the center of a regional market that extended beyond the state boundaries to include the neighboring states of Jalisco, Durango, Chihuahua, Sonora and Baja California. Thus, the area enjoyed bountiful revenues, allowing it to sustain three schools in Mazatlán and five more in neighboring towns. Fifteen instructors taught the basics of reading, writing and arithmetic at the primary level and also taught more advanced courses at the secondary level. Secondary students pursued drawing, English, French, music and gymnastics. In 1871 the maintenance of these schools absorbed one-sixth of the municipal budget of 76,000 pesos,\(^{11}\) a substantial figure when compared to the state budget of 182,853 pesos.\(^{12}\)

Despite the efforts of the state, the municipality, the Compañía Lancasteriana, and professors such as Vicente Peláez and Esiquio Escamilla, the educational results continued to be meager.\(^{13}\) In the opening session of the state legislature cited above,

\(^{11}\) BOES I: 4, 18 January 1870, 35.

\(^{12}\) See BOES I: 63, 27 December 1870, 311-3.

\(^{13}\) The Compañía Lancasteriana was repeatedly mentioned in the sources of the epoch. In BOES I: 3, 14 January 1870, 28, the company obtained a permit to set up a lottery to benefit its educational endeavors. DN 55, 27 July 1869, entitled it to inspect the elementary schools. See BOES II: 19, 6 May 1871, 74-5. Esiquio Escamilla asked that a suburban school be entrusted to him, and the municipal council concurred. See BOES II: 7, 18 February 1871, 26. The Mazatlán municipal council granted Vicente Pelaez a pension “for long services he has lent to the city as a preceptor of elementary instruction.”
Governor Rubí acknowledged the state’s progress in education, while stressing its insufficiencies. He beseeched the legislature’s support in remedying these deficiencies:¹⁴

Public instruction does advance in the state, in truth, but its advances are not what they should be if an efficacious cooperation on your part does not expand your action, which should be unceasing as the efforts of the intelligence are also constant and invariable.¹⁵

Eustaquio Buelna, liberal politician and lawyer, succeeded Rubí as Sinaloa’s governor, and it was during his term when the La Noria rebellion broke out. The resumption of constitutional government represented an opportunity for crystallizing diverse projects, and education was one of them. From 1873 until the end of his term in May 1875, Buelna spread primary instruction, consolidated preparatory education, including secondary instruction, and initiated the professional level.

Although the state primary education system did not extend to all communities and inhabitants, a respectable number of students had already completed this first step on the educational ladder. Regretfully, however, large numbers of these youth did not find employment, and the high rate of unemployment fueled the frequent revolts of the decade. Inasmuch as the local government was concerned with both public security and the exploitation of the natural resources, it decided to open a secondary school in Mazatlán in 1873. The next year, Buelna established in Culiacán, then the state’s capital, the Colegio Rosales, which offered not only preparatory instruction but also professional

¹⁴ The schools of Venadillo and Palma Sola, in Mazaltán, were vacant. See BOES I: 8, 4 February 1870, 76. Since the town of El Espinal lacked a school, businessman Joaquín Redo underwrote the opening of one. See BOES I: 50, 17 September 1870, 262.

¹⁵ BOES I: 50, 17 September 1870, 262
education. Before addressing these two levels of formal education, however, the following section will discuss Buelna's efforts to universalize literacy.

After establishing the Colegio in Culiacán, Buelna toured both the north and the south of the state, with the purpose, among others, of opening elementary schools. Since the visits lasted several months, at the end of them Buelna was able to record the fruits of his effort. Years later, as he offered a summary of statistics about Sinaloa, he enumerated his achievements in education:

By early 1875, elementary public instruction was so widespread in the state that there were more than 280 schools, with more than 9,000 students of both sexes in attendance, at an annual cost of about 60,000 pesos... There was, then, one school for every 571 inhabitants, an average of 32 students per school, and a student for every 18 inhabitants; this put Sinaloa in seventh place among the states of the Republic with regard to public instruction.

With slight variations, José Díaz Covarrubías, in his work *La instrucción pública en México*, gave the same figures offered by Buelna's government for the second semester of 1874. In Sinaloa there were 281 elementary schools attended by 9,272 students, 27 percent of whom were female. The elementary schools were of two types. In the first type, students learned to read, write and perform arithmetic, while those in second type learned, in addition, the metric system, the General Constitution of the Republic, morals and manners, history and geography of Mexico, and natural drawing. The female students attending the latter schools also practiced sewing, embroidery and

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17 Buelna, *Compendio*, 77.
weaving. In these schools the children of Sinaloa received the fundamental instruction that later would allow them to begin the systematic study of science and the training for work.

As stated previously, the elementary education system was entirely funded by the residents of the towns and the local authorities. As this level of instruction was obligatory, penalties were established for parents who did not send their children to school, as well as for local authorities who did not organize the opening of schools. The state authorities only supervised the fulfillment of the regulations and penalized the transgressors. On the whole, Buelna could legitimately be proud of the advances he had made in the spread of elementary education during his term in office.

Unfortunately elementary instruction, along with the rest of the educational system, deteriorated during Jesús María Gaxiola's aborted term. The outbreak of the Tuxtepecan rebellion, which would ultimately terminate the Restored Republic, coupled if one believes Buelna's accusations, with Gaxiola's lack of administrative ability, caused this deterioration. In his inaugural address as constitutional governor in June 1877, Francisco Canedo corroborated the decline of public instruction.¹⁸

At the beginning of the Restored Republic, secondary education was offered in two classes of institutions, secular and religious. These educational centers were the Colegio Náutico y Mercantil in Mazatlán and the Seminario Tridentino de Sonora in Culiacán. In late 1872, the state legislature passed DN 23, creating the Liceo Rosales in Mazatlán. The narrative introduction to the initiative emphasized the need to provide

¹⁸ EESOOG I: 14, 16 June 1877, 105-12.
secondary education to abate the levels of banditry and insecurity, as well as to promote
the economy. It was hoped that the students completing the courses would be prepared
to obtain well-paying jobs instead of joining the ranks of revolutionaries. Furthermore,
their technical skills would assure them higher-status positions in the labor market and,
perhaps, their knowledge of mathematics and natural sciences, from physics to botany,
zoology and chemistry, would unleash their creativity to invent more efficient means of
exploiting natural resources. Equally optimistic was the hope that they could explore the
processing and marketing of resources yet untapped.

The families of the Mazatlán elite benefited the most from the opening of the
Liceo. The children of politicians, professionals, merchants and entrepreneurs comprised
the first class of students, who would receive a secondary education in three years.
Starting with mathematics, they would then take courses in physics, chemistry and
natural history—botany and zoology—and these courses would be complemented with the
study of English, French and Latin. In preparation for entering the labor market, students
also took courses in linear drawing and bookkeeping; drawing was deemed useful in
technical and artisan jobs, while accounting would help improve the organization of
mercantile enterprises.

The law that created the Liceo announced future course offerings in history and
geography, as well as in logic and literature. Aware that the success of an academic
venture involved much more than just teachers, students, classrooms and curriculum, the
legislators also approved the creation of a board to implement and evaluate the plan and a

fund for the purchase of furniture and equipment. Moreover, the law included an annual expenditure of 1,000 pesos for establishing a library. Finally, it anticipated the expansion of secondary education, as the funds for public instruction would allow. The goal was to open secondary schools in the capital of each district, where mathematics, bookkeeping, English and French would be taught.

The Plan de Estudios for the Colegio Rosales, made public in March 1874 and approved in October of the same year, established that students would complete their secondary or preparatory education in three years, but the number of required courses was expanded. In the new curriculum, students were required to take a course entitled Principles of Logic and Literature (which in the Liceo’s original curriculum had appeared as a course under the name of Logic and Literature); a course on morals (which was not formerly included); a course on botany and another on zoology (formerly constituting a single course in natural history); and two courses in Latin (formerly only one was taught). Finally, in the area of modern languages, students would take one French course instead of two, a course in German, as before two courses in English. In short, the new curriculum maintained the central core of the sciences from mathematics, physics, chemistry and botany to zoology. Modern languages, drawing and bookkeeping were also maintained, and subjects assuring a well-rounded education were added; among the latter group, Introduction to the Juridical Sciences, Ethics, and Logic stood out. Thus, graduates completing the new curriculum would be infused with an understanding of the

20 BOES II, 25 March 1874, 25-8; AHCES, DN 91, 24 October 1874.
laws of nature, society and thought necessary for ethical behavior in public life and in the workplace.

Deviating from Gabino Barreda’s positivist thought, this flexible curriculum prescribed the elimination of some preparatory courses, depending on the professional career the students followed. The burden of tradition and the partial assimilation of positivism impeded legislators’ and local educators’ ability to understand that the students’ comprehension of the principles of all scientific disciplines would have trickle-down benefits. Among such benefits would be a broader general culture, greater mental agility, better decision-making skills when the time to choose a professional career approached and, finally, a more creative professional practice. Fortunately, the damage was not very considerable, for despite the elimination of some courses, course requirements in a core of basic sciences were maintained.

Also inherent in the Plan de Estudios of 1874 was the state of Sinaloa’s desire for drastic social changes. The state was interested in improving the organization of society and its government, raising the living standards of the population, and creating jobs through the development of the public wealth. The role of education, therefore, was to create specialists who could preserve the population’s well-being. The state was also interested in forming a body of professionals able to take the reins of government administration and adept at developing a market economy.

The higher education focus of Article 9 in the Plan de Estudios delineated a list of desired professionals: "teachers of elementary education, bookkeepers, brokers, surveyors, agriculturists, mechanical engineers, civil engineers, assayers, metallurgists, smelters, mining engineers, lawyers, notaries public, phlebotomists, dentists and midwives." The list of desired careers indicates the emergent social concerns. The republican government intended to increase the level of literacy among the population, stimulate commerce and meticulously record public transactions. It also intended to study the soil to make better use of the land, build homes and undertake other public works. Moreover, Buelna’s government wanted to form new generations of Sinaloans trained in the use of machines to better tame and exploit the forces and energy of nature, while their knowledge of the geology would allow them to optimize mining.

The mastering of health sciences would be another powerful tool for preserving and extending the longevity of the citizenry, crucial in time of scarce manpower. Finally, the study of law would equip professionals with the legal tools to lay the groundwork for a better relationship among the citizenry and between the citizenry and the government. These professionals would also record every public instrument, ranging from wills, sales transactions and mortgages to the formation of new manufacturing or commercial ventures.

Very few of the delineated careers were elected and those that were did not necessarily fulfill the original expectations, owing to the lack of equipment or faculty to teach them. So, although the achievements were modest, the proposals contained in the Plan de Estudios can be considered a first project of higher education that was tightly
linked to the needs of regional development. The first graduating classes from the Colegio Rosales, with the exception of the lawyers who continued to be graduated by the State Supreme Court of Justice, show the gap between the educational aspirations of the Sinaloan liberals and the reality of a meager intellectual harvest. While a few teachers, assayers, surveyors, pharmacists and a bookkeeper were graduated, mining, mechanical and civil engineers; metallurgists; phlebotomists and dentists were absent from the rosters.

TABLE 8.1
EARLY GRADUATES OF THE COLEGIO ROSALES, 1875-1881

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>PROFESSION</th>
<th>DATE OF GRADUATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>José María Bernal</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>January 29, 1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Margarito Díaz</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>February 10, 1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guillermo Parodi</td>
<td>Assayer</td>
<td>May 8, 1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bruno Symansky</td>
<td>Pharmacist</td>
<td>December 27, 1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dionisio Canobio</td>
<td>Pharmacist</td>
<td>February 23, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eduardo Koerdell</td>
<td>Pharmacist</td>
<td>February 26, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luis G. Torres</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>September 29, 1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jorge R. Douglas</td>
<td>Surveyor</td>
<td>August 18, 1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teresa Ibarra</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>October 8, 1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micaela de la Herrán</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>October 9, 1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jorge R. Douglas</td>
<td>Assayer</td>
<td>December 15, 1877</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Francisca Izábal</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>March 11, 1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rafael Taboada</td>
<td>Pharmacist</td>
<td>December 16, 1878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feliciano Medina</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>July 19, 1879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cándido A. Espinoza</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>December 2, 1879</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rosario Baro</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>January 16, 1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mariana Valdez</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>July 23, 1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramón Félix</td>
<td>Bookkeeper</td>
<td>November 12, 1880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>José Esquível</td>
<td>Surveyor</td>
<td>December 3, 1881</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rómulo Rico</td>
<td>Surveyor</td>
<td>December 10, 1881</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* The list extends to 1881 because it is assumed that those graduated between 1877 and 1881 studied during the days of the Restored Republic.

The level of education of the Sinaloan population, based on the growing number of literate citizens and those acquainted with the principles of mathematics, natural sciences, social sciences, ethics and foreign languages, was greatly increased with the graduation of new professors, lawyers, pharmacists, metal assayers and surveyors. These new professionals joined the army of public servants in the three branches of government; in education, health and public utilities; in mining and agriculture; in the circulation of merchandise, commerce and accounting; and in the legalization of transactions and mercantile societies. The diffusion of the scientific and technological culture through the educational system, crowned by the formation of professionals, undoubtedly contributed to a growing intelligentsia in Sinaloan society.

RHETORIC AND POETRY

The spread of the scientific and technological culture during the Restored Republic was accomplished by means beyond the establishment of institutions of higher learning. Among these alternative forms were the discourses of politicians and educators in the legislature, civic commemorations, and public ceremonies of the Colegio Rosales. The importance of discourse cannot be underestimated in a largely illiterate population since for many individuals it represented their only opportunity to become acquainted other cultures, remember their heroes and learn of advances in human knowledge. But literary creation, particularly poetry, represented an additional means to extol the role of science and technology and to encourage their study and application. Students and
politicians advocated that the methods and products of science become part of the daily life and general culture of the population, as well as being rooted in the minds of the young students.

Rubi', the brusque semi-illiterate miner from Concordia who joined the War of Reform and was promoted to general, supported popular education and encouraged knowledge of science when he was the governor of Sinaloa. In his 1869 address to the state legislature he expresses the need as follows:

[Sinaloa needs to] establish liceos, colleges or science academies in which the privileged intelligence of the Sinaloans expands and develops to the extent that it is possible, abjuring old concerns and placing itself at the level at which...it should be placed because of the advances of modern discoveries.22

Then Rubí proposed to educate the new generations in the areas of agriculture, mining, hard and natural sciences, humanities and literature, among others. In mid-1870 Rubí insisted before the state legislators that the lack of institutions providing secondary and professional instruction was a disservice to Sinaloan youth. Buelna responded on behalf of the legislators, concurring, “You are right, governor, we are lacking the civil establishment of secondary instruction in which our youth satiates its thirst for learning, [a youth] who has proved so much interest and so much of a beautiful disposition toward science.”23

Although Rubí’s efforts did not crystallize during his term in office, he continued to call for the establishment of an educational institution dedicated to the formation of

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22 Rubí, Memoria (1869), 15.

23 BOES I: 36, 6 June 1870, 207.
professionals who, armed with theoretical principles, could contribute to a cultural revolution:

It is true that there is a fair number of elementary schools, that there is a nautical school and a private establishment dedicated to higher education, but a school of arts and crafts, where artisans and industrialists could be formed, and a college of secondary education, where professors could come to replace the existing empirism...are wanting.  

In the relay race for the leadership in encouraging education, Buelna took the baton during the 1871 race for governor in a public ceremony in Mazatlán commemorating 5 May. As a public work was being initiated—the construction of the Infiernillo dike—Buelna gave a thought-provoking speech in which he emphasized the contributions of science and technology to the material progress, liberty and happiness, and to the peace among the people:

Now, happily, taking as an example the civilized nations, we try to follow the paths which have led them to their aggrandizement and prosperity, and we make efforts to open roads, to build bridges, to lay telegraph cables, to deserve the fortune of listening to the whistle of the locomotive in our fields, devouring land, sowing well-being and riches, blending races, linking the peoples, enlightening the intelligence, softening the manners, silently undermining the tyrannies, indirectly spreading liberty without cannons and without regulations, and in sum, preparing the most splendid triumph of universal fraternity, harmony and peace among humankind.

Buelna contributed a true jewel to the theory of history, inviting the audience to the cultivation of the spirit, to the enlightenment of men and women, and to advantageous use of the remainder of the nineteenth century, “so the twentieth century does not catch

24 BOES I: 50, 17 September 1870, 262.

25 BOES II: 20, 12 May 1871, 78.
us in the run for progress.” Anticipating Ferdinand Braudel for three-quarters of a century, Buelna conceptualized the long duration: “The transitions in the people are never violent, and the modification of their spirit and customs always proceed laboriously, over a long period of time.”

The importance of Buelna’s discourse for the spreading of the scientific culture need not be belabored since his well-known contribution to the Sinaloans’ education is well known. The results of this contribution were soon to be seen. It was Buelna’s successor, Jesús María Gaxiola, who reaped the harvest and encouraged the academic work of the teachers and students.

At the end of the school year of 1875, Gaxiola recognized that the seed of instruction had been cast to a fertile soil and the fruits were already in sight. The governor acknowledged the scientific rigor and perseverance of the professors, whom he named “workers for positive progress” and “workers of the great liberal lever,” since with their work they were shaping “individuals of model instruction.” These educational warriors would, in turn, “serve the common good [and] overpower the storms raised by deceits, hatreds and mundane vanities.”

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26 BOES II: 20, 12 May 1871, 77.

27 When Buelna resigned the governorship soon thereafter, the official newspaper praised the ex-governor. See EESOOG III: 16, 22 May 1875, 1.

28 Despite Gaxiola’s speech, education at all levels declined during his administration. Nevertheless, these messages might have awakened some audience members’ interest in education, science and technology.

29 EESOOG III: 41, 6 December 1875.
Colonel Jesús Ramírez Terrón, who headed the triumphant Tuxtepecan rebellion in Sinaloa, reiterated the importance of public instruction in his address to the opening session of the eighth state legislature, during the inauguration of Francisco Cañedo, his successor as governor. Ramírez emphasized his government’s support for the Colegio Rosales in Culiacán and the Colegio Náutico Mercantil in Mazatlán, and he issued orders to the municipalities to public instruction a high priority. The president of the state legislature responded that Ramírez leave office satisfied, even though “in the branch of public instruction...enough will never be done to universalize it and elevate it to the apogeeal degree of human intelligence because intellectual progress has no limits.”

The public ceremony at the end of the 1875 school year was a propitious occasion for a series of speeches which went beyond merely expressing the importance of instruction and the need to support it. On this occasion, the speakers surpassed simple general references to the contributions of science and technology to the material and spiritual progress of society. Unaware of the imminent outbreak of the Tuxtepecan rebellion in Oaxaca, which spread to Sinaloa a semester later, the brilliant orators unleashed their rhetorical creativity by filling their speeches with the names of outstanding personages in science and technological innovation and the disciplines they practiced. As the speakers praised the advances of science and technology, they also recognized the triumph of science over religious dogma. But before I analyze the

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speeches themselves, I will address the nature of the public ceremony that prompted them.

At the end of the 1875 school year, the administrators of the Colegio Rosales organized a public ceremony to honor the most outstanding students in mathematics, linear drawing, French, English, Latin, bookkeeping and music. These students received public recognition and books to continue their educational enlightenment with the same tenacity. They also were regaled with speeches by legislators, educational authorities, professionals and the military.31

One state legislator, Apolonio Sáinz Yuriar, gave an anti-clerical though not anti-religious speech since he recognized the existence of God, the Supreme Creator. In his speech Sáinz criticized the obscurantism which "limits the flight of the intelligence and tortures the feelings of the heart" and endorsed the enlightenment produced by the freedom of thought and free teaching. Tracing the course of the scientific revolutions, Sáinz mentioned first the Copernican revolution of the sixteenth century, with its explanation of the movement of the planets around the sun. Sáinz also stated that the Colegio Rosales, unlike the Seminario Tridentino de Sonora, offered new intellectual avenues:

You are free to think and inquire; catch, if you can, the secret abysses of the ocean; raise your spirit and explore the plurality of worlds which circle in an orderly fashion in the immensity of space; observe, study their immutable laws and persuade yourself that there is no more God than the "Eternal"; that those that style themselves his representatives on this

31 EESOOG II: 41 and 42, 6 and 13 December 1875.
planet are idols of the tyranny supported on the shoulders of ignorance and bigotry; do not prostrate yourself nor uncover your head before them.  

More thoughtful and less inclined to attack the “most upright obscurantism,” Ángel Urrea, president of the state board of education, integrated science, technology and art into his speech. Copernicus, Kepler and Newton and their contributions to astronomy and physics paraded one after another as exemplars. Fulton, Morse and Franklin who harnessed the steam power, electricity and the lighting to facilitate transportation, production and commerce and provide safety to all communities, also were cited. Urrea also emphasized the artistic virtuosity of Michelangelo and Raphael, whose paintings lifted the spirit and complemented the material progress achieved by science and technology.

Urrea, who was vice-governor and interim governor in the preceding state administration, emphasized how the taming of steam changed perceptions of distance:

Fulton, enclosing in the narrow limits of the prodigious machinery the expansive force of steam, has made the world rapidly advance along the route of progress, shortening the distances and facilitating communication between the different races and their different civilizations. He has brought nearer the Levant to the west and the Boreal to the austral regions.

The Sinaloan politician concluded his speech by recognizing the successful professionals who taught at the college and the dedicated students who were being honored. Furthermore, he endorsed the extension of knowledge through the entire population and encouraged the universal emulation of this value in the popular mindset of

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32 EESOOG III: 41, 6 December 1875, 3.

33 EESOOG III: 41, 6 December 1875, 2.
Sinaloa. The cultivation and the fruits of science, as well as their application, had a clear purpose: "to satisfy the aspirations of fathers, teachers, society and homeland." Other speakers, such as the director of the Colegio, engineer Luis G. Orozco, Dr. Manuel Villena and Commandant Trinidad Ruíz, were no less profuse in their praise of science and technology and merciless attack on clericalism.\textsuperscript{34}

The poem read by student Amelia Padilla reveals the inclusion of women in education and the debut of a new role for them. The collaboration of the citizenry in supporting the schools, and gratitude toward the teachers for their noble labor and to the government for encouraging progress are other characteristics of this literary piece. The following verse acknowledged the contribution of the state:

\begin{quote}
We have a government which, loving progress,  
Kindly opens the doors of knowledge to us.  
Let us pass over the threshold; keep going, and in terms of retrogression  
Which, as an obstacle, Sinaloa faces in its march,  
Let us joyfully tread upon it with pride.  
\end{quote}

The following excerpt of the poem by Pedro Victoria, editor of the official newspaper, marvelously summarizes the scientific and technological advances of the epoch, and is still more thought provoking. These advances, he extols, stimulated the traffic of merchandise, people and ideas over sea and land in ships and railroads driven by steam. The innovations of transportation by air balloons; electricity, which allowed the transmission of messages by telegraph; and the telescope, which permitted the scrutiny of the infinity of space, are other references indicating the knowledge that educated

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid, 2-3.
Sinaloans of this epoch had about the history of science and the most recent products of erudition and progress.

Make way for Enlightenment! Make way for Progress!
The Sinaloan youths proclaim,
Since as knowledge in the sublime bursts forth
A thirst for instruction their heart inflames.

I thus understand it; that is why I come
Here where these youths look at me,
To offer in tribute what I have:
Rough notes of my humble lyre.

The constancy with which youths laboriously devote
Themselves to study deserves praise
They thus tear the veil of ignorance
Which rejoices in concealing the truth.

Each age transmits its experience
To the age that follows in its path
With treasures science fills itself up
And thus humanity advances to its destiny.

Marching toward perfection, man
Eagerly seeks to know everything
And in his bold search, without a sense of wonder,
He snatches nature's secrets.

Without fear, and armored with science
The elements look face to face
He arranges them at his whim because he has found
The laws to which the Creator subjected them.

In the wings of the steam which with his hand
In a narrow tube he confines,
He goes over the waves of the ocean,
The valleys and mountains of the earth.

Advancing still more
From electricity gets a portent
And from one to the other continent he sends,
   With it in a wire, the thought.

   Imprisoning the gas in a feeble fabric,
   He is going to traverse the ether's solitude;
   Through unknown regions he boldly flies,
   Contemplating at his feet the storms.

   Forming a scale of crystals
   To the infinite he raises his glance
   And reviews the heavenly bodies
   Computing their rhythmic march.

   But why say more: that should be enough
   For a tenuous sketch
   Of the wonderful laurels of progress
   That man has conquered over time.

   Through science he is insistently
   Acquiring knowledge
   And thus he approaches an understanding of
   His Creator's existence.

   To inquire about all the dogmas he dares;
   He declares bigotry pernicious;
   Even as he believes, he proclaims that each man
   Should be his own priest

   That is why the present age
   Takes instruction in its hand as a secure aegis
   And marches toward the destiny it foresees
   There in the horizons of life.

   Instruct the youth; that is the task
   That duty and homeland have imposed upon us
   The future belongs to the youth; so let us ensure that they be
   Deserving of occupying their position at the proper time.

   The light has shined and before its brilliance
   The shadows are fleeing backwards
   Move aside bigotry and its errors!
   Make way for Enlightenment! Make way for Progress!

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35 Both poems are found in EESOOG III: 42, 13 December 1875, 4.
SUMMARY

The diffusion of scientific and technological culture in Sinaloa during the decade preceding the reign of Porfirio Díaz traversed through diverse routes and achieved remarkable successes despite the turbulence that characterized the period. Local politicians and educators encouraged the generalization of primary instruction, the extension of preparatory education and the beginning of professional training, in defiance of a long-standing tradition of clericalism. The spread of elementary schools contributed to advancing literacy in the population and became a metaphorical ground floor of access to the building of science. The founding of the Liceo Rosales (later Colegio Rosales) consolidated the preparatory education already offered in more humble places of learning. This education acquainted students with the principles of mathematics, natural and social sciences, and logic, and it prepared them to enter the labor force and/or continue their professional education. The importance the Sinaloan liberals placed on learning foreign languages facilitated the reading of reports of the most recent scientific and technological advances.

The Colegio Rosales, founded in 1874, educated professionals capable of understanding the laws of nature, society and thought, and of creatively applying those laws to tackling problems of power, production and culture. Although the ambitious 1874 state educational plan started to come to fruition late in the Restored Republic, it did not fulfill its goals of training of engineers and health science professionals. Nonetheless, the plan demonstrates the concern of the liberal leadership to attend to the economic and social needs of the era. Teachers, lawyers, pharmacists, metal assayers, surveyors and
bookkeepers educated during this short period of time contributed to the literacy and health of the population, to the development of mining and agriculture and to a more finely tuned economy. They also laid the foundation of a market economy and helped to shape the liberal republican state.

If the spread of scientific and technological culture in Sinaloa had occurred only through the formal educational system, it would still be considered a success. Fortunately, that was not the only source. The brilliant rhetoric of politicians and educators and the beautiful poetry of literary creators gave Sinaloans other opportunities to become acquainted with the contributions of education, science and technology to material progress and spiritual growth. The vast extension of scientific and technological culture substantially contributed to the growth of the intellectual attainment of the Sinaloan population.

The fledgling republican state had undoubtedly made substantial progress regarding secularization, rationalization and patriotism. The intellectuals and the youth associated the state with the efforts to elevate the Sinaloans to higher intellectual and spiritual levels in order to raise the quality of life of the population. As the state instilled in the citizenry an interest in science and a taste for literature and the arts, it dealt a severe blow to the Catholic dogma and strengthened its republicanism and secularism. Taking from successful systems of government, the liberals added a scientific and technological culture, with strong social and patriotic overtones, to their monopoly of violence and laissez faire, free enterprise economic policy.
CHAPTER 9
THE AMERICAN PRESENCE

During the Restored Republic, the Sinaloan liberals struggled to establish a legal framework and the institutions of a new secular state, to provide the citizenry with a regional identity and a scientific culture, and to stimulate trade and a market economy. As they put into practice the liberal paradigm, they also established a noteworthy relationship with the United States, largely with its West Coast. The relationship between Sinaloa and its northern neighbor was largely economic, but from the frequent commercial and financial contacts also sprang a flow of political and cultural influence.

Following Mexican independence in 1821, northwestern Mexico opened up to foreign trade, and foreign merchant houses and commercial agents began to settle in the ports and major cities.¹ Although the first merchants to gain a foothold in independent Mexico were British, French, German and Spanish, a few Americans also arrived soon after.² Mexican commerce with the United States increased in the aftermath of the American intervention and the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. The California gold rush, the opening of the port of San Francisco to ocean traffic, and the

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emergence of steamship companies linking the Pacific coast from San Francisco to Panama contributed to increasing trade between Sinaloa and San Francisco as well as New York via Panama.3

The French Intervention in Mexico and the U.S. Civil War marked the beginning of a new relationship between Mexico and the United States in which American force and territorial encroachment yielded to peaceful economic penetration of Mexico. U.S. politicians had economic and racial reasons to adopt a new attitude. On the one hand, the growth of the northern industrial economy in the United States required new sources of raw materials and new markets for their output; on the other hand, the racial conflict Americans were experiencing discouraged any immediate interest in absorbing a geographic area heavily populated by people that might prove hard to assimilate. Economic growth and the secessionist conflict in progress forced Secretary of State William H. Seward to search for venues other than Mexico to practice the Monroe Doctrine.4 The Mexican liberals themselves, lacking resources to fight the French army

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3 John H. Kemble, "Mail Steamers Link the Americas, 1840-1890," in Ogden and Sluiter, Greater America, 475-97, provides a list of steamship companies plying the Pacific coast before the 1867. These firms were George Law, J. Howard and Son, Vanderbilt, Independent Line, New York and San Francisco Steamship Co., Independent Opposition Line, and New York and California Steamship Co. during the 1850s, and Atlantic and Pacific Steamship Co., People's Line, Central America Transit Co., and North America Steamship Co. during the early 1860s. The Pacific Mail Steamship Co. offered the service before and after the onset of the Restored Republic. See p. 495.

and to stimulate economic modernization, did not hesitate to request American financial support and to invite American capitalists to develop Mexico’s natural resources.\(^5\)

The political beliefs of Americans and Mexican patriots laid the foundations for a liberal triumph in the relationship between Mexico and the United States as the two countries began a new diplomatic association where the United States started to put into practice its dollar diplomacy. How this American policy of trade and investment was applied in Sinaloa and this policy’s political and cultural ramifications are the issues of this chapter. Since the literature on the economic history of late nineteenth-century Mexico posits that the influx of American capital is a phenomenon of the Porfiriato, it will be also argued that American economic expansionism had an earlier beginning in Sinaloa.

THE ECONOMIC PRESENCE

Sinaloa’s economy benefited from American technology, capital, and entrepreneurs in the fields of mining, commerce, agriculture, and maritime transportation. All played a crucial role in sustaining a modest but growing economy amidst chronic political conflict. Mining was the most important activity during the period, with mining products constituting almost all of the state’s exports, and American machinery, capital, technicians, and owners were more visible in mining than in other enterprises. American equipment and know-how, barely present in the mines of Sinaloa before the mid-1860s,

\(^5\) Schoonover, Dollars over Dominion, 275.
were more evident in the early years of the Restored Republic, and this American presence increased during the 1870s.

Two mining prospectuses prepared in 1869 by Guillermo Mackintosh, a mining technician and head of the Culiacán mint, illustrate the solid U.S. presence by the late 1860s. Mackintosh published two articles in the bulletin of the Mexican Society of Geography and Statistics regarding two promising mines, the first being La Estaca, in Guadalupe de los Reyes, District of Cosalá, and the other, Molinos, near Culiacán.\(^6\) The goal of these articles, read by the learned Mexican public of the epoch, was first, to attract capital and second, to convince Mexican authorities and investors of the need to export mineral ores to Europe to be treated properly.\(^7\) In addition to giving a detailed account of the mine’s history, Mackintosh indicated the source of some of the technology employed and the potential use of new technology. In La Estaca, where managers, technicians, and operators were already familiar with pumps and steam engines, and where antiquated Spanish methods had been used unsuccessfully in the processing of minerals, he called for new metallurgical procedures. Instead of the extant patio

\(^6\) G. Mackintosh, “El mineral de Guadalupe de los Reyes conocido por la celebre mina de la Estaca en el estado de Sinaloa,” *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, 2nd epoch, vol. 1 (1869): 540-52; “Mina de Molinos. Memoria que presenta el director de la casa de moneda de Culiacán, D. Guillermo Mackintosh, sobre la situación y productos de la mina Molinos (estado, de Sinaloa), con objeto de que se forme un proyecto para la exportación a Europa de sus metales, los cuales por su rebeldía no se pueden beneficiar por los sistemas conocidos en este país,” Ibid., 552-60

\(^7\) “Rebellious” mineral ores refer to those that were hard or impossible to process profitably with either the colonial Spanish or the American technology then available in Sinaloa.
amalgamation of gold and silver ore in an open area, he advocated a method that “has been adopted by the Upper California miners and whose application to the metals of Guadalupe de los Reyes has shown surprising results in experiments that I have personally performed in the Culiacán mint.” Mackintosh recommended the acquisition of steam engines and American stamp mills, suggesting that all machinery, inputs, and ingredients required for a mining business could easily be acquired in San Francisco and transported to Mazatlán. The trip from the port to the mine would be difficult but not impossible, and the last part of the journey would be on mule back. Regarding the ores intended for transport to Europe, he informed the readers that they had been unsuccessfully treated using American technology brought in from San Francisco, including furnaces, stamp mills, concentrators, and other utensils. Additional experiments had been carried out in San Francisco with the same negative results. Although Mackintosh proposed sending the minerals to Europe, he held fast to the idea of using American equipment as one option in the extraction process.

Official U.S. sources also made reference to the extensive utilization of American technology in the extraction and processing of precious metals by the miners in Sinaloa. Consular dispatches from Mazatlán to the U.S. Department of State in Washington not only refer to the use of American machinery, but also offer data on investment in mining.

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9 Ibid., 551-2.

10 G. Mackintosh, “Mina de Molinos,” 556-8. Mackintosh holds Europe as a strong option to acquire machinery and utensils. One has to keep this in mind in order to understand the competing commercial forces at play.
In 1871, two years after Mackintosh's reflections, Isaac Sisson, a U.S. commercial agent resident in Mazatlán since 1867, praised the unbelievable richness of Sinaloa's mines and reported to the U.S. Department of State that "[a] million [dollars] of American capital is invested in mines in this state and I am pleased to be able to say that during the last year it has paid a good interest." Mining machinery, quicksilver, and bluestone as well as materials generally for use in the mines were the primary products imported from the United States. In his annual report of 1873, a peaceful year compared with the previous two, Sisson, now U.S. Consul, extolled Sinaloa's mineral riches and the enormous profits the Americans were making in the mines. Americans owned the largest mines and had invested more money than the Europeans. American mining property amounted to about $2,000,000; Spanish property to $1,450,000; English, $250,000; and German, only $50,000. Of the fifty Americans engaged in mining in Sinaloa, the owners imported machinery, employed a large number of workers, and got most of their supplies from San

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11 NA, Sisson to US DS, Mazatlán, 14 October 1871, in Dispatches from US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1871, 910-3.

12 In his missive, Sisson noted key issues of the mining sector: bullion had to be packed over three hundred miles to the Culiacán mint, large duties had to be paid to mint the bullion and to export the coins, and, in consequence, smuggling had been rampant.

13 Armed conflict sprang up after the elections of General Domingo Rubi in 1867 and of Eustaquio Buelna in 1871 to the state governorship. After the re-election of Benito Juárez in the latter year, coinciding with the local election, the La Noria rebellion led by General Porfirio Díaz compounded an already conflict-ridden atmosphere.
American capital and technology were already displacing European investment in Sinaloa.

In his 1875 consular dispatch, Edward G. Kelton, the new U.S. Consul was not as optimistic as his predecessor pointing out that mining exhibited a common trend of the late nineteenth century: larger mining concerns proved more profitable than smaller ones. Kelton reported that "[s]ome few mines...have given tolerably good results...but the greater number of smaller enterprises have been unprofitable." These scale economies entailed improving the technical side of the mining activity.

A few days before the execution of the defeated Austrian Emperor Maximilian in 1867, American mining analysts busied themselves in designing plans to exploit Mexican mineral resources. They advocated "peace, scientific direction of its labor, improved machinery, and a little American pluck and enterprise." The statements of Mackintosh, Sisson, and Kelton as well as numerous transactions in San Francisco and commercial trade in Mazatlán testified to the fulfillment of the dream of material progress in Sinaloa. The merchants of Mazatlán, extending that dream, reopened the old mines of Pánuco and staffed them with technicians acquainted with American technology, such as Antonio

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14 NA, Sisson to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 September 1873, in Dispatches from US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1873, 838-41. The consul reported that while Americans produced bullion and paid in cash, Europeans got ore in small amounts and paid their men in kind. The U.S. official was aware of the increasing American superiority over the Europeans regarding the use of technology. Small amounts of ore meant a backward technology while paying in kind militated against a market economy.

15 NA, Kelton to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 September 1875, in Dispatches from US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1875, 1117-48.
Paredes. Moreover, these merchants bought pumping machinery in the United States in early 1877.\(^\text{17}\)

A thorough industrial revolution was taking place in southern Sinaloa where scientific direction of labor, improved machinery, and recently developed processing methods converged to optimize economic processes in mining. The reduction of silver ores by the Californian method at the El Tajo Mine in Rosario was the topic of discussion in specialized journals. The great advantages of this process—the pan amalgamation process—were fourfold: speed, low-cost labor, large production from a small plant, and better yield.\(^\text{18}\) In his *Compendio*, Buelna, a contemporary of these technological, scientific, and economic developments, and acute an observer of the state he had governed not long before, recorded the significant presence of American capital and technology in the mines of his beloved *Patria chica*.\(^\text{19}\)

\(^{16}\) *American Journal of Mining* 3:14 (29 June 1867), 270

\(^{17}\) Paredes, formerly a technician at El Tajo, an American operated mine, was the new superintendent at the mines of Pánuco. *Engineering and Mining Journal* 23 (7 April 1877), 224; the journal took its information from *Mining and Scientific Press*, 24 March 1877.


\(^{19}\) E. Buelna. *Compendio histórico, geográfico y estadístico. Sinaloa 1877*. 2nd ed. (Culiacán: Editorial Culiacán, 1978), 60-1. Regarding El Tajo Mine, Buelna states that “after having given large riches and then being abandoned for many years, it is now being worked for an American company, which has brought in steam engines to speed up the extraction and processing of the minerals. This is one of the best equipped mining enterprises in the country.”
The export of bullion, coins, and ore as well as other primary products fostered a thriving regional and foreign trade centered in Mazatlán. In terms of the peso value of their commerce, the United States was secondary to Europe in the early years of the Restored Republic, but in the second half it moved to center stage. By 1871, although American mercantile capital was almost insignificant when compared to Spanish, German, English, and French investments, the merchant houses in Mazatlán sold considerable quantities of American goods. Those goods arrived once a month from San Francisco and New York by the steamers of the Pacific Mail Steamship Company (PMSC) and once every forty days from San Francisco by the steamers of the Holladay line, as well as in other merchant vessels. Almost two-fifths of the imports came from the United States: 2,107 tons valued at 589,760 pesos. Two-thirds of the imports were coarse cotton goods for the poor, fine linen for the rich, and wine and liquor for both. The remainder comprised manufactured goods, mining machinery and chemicals for metallurgical enterprises. In early 1871, the steamers carried greater numbers of sewing machines, boots, and shoes, which were shipped to and sold in Mexico. Exports financed these imports. Coins, hides, limes, sugar, shrimp, and Brazilwood were the principal articles of export. Coins constituted 82.5 percent of exports, and most was shipped to San Francisco in American vessels; almost all of the rest was shipped to Europe.¹⁰

Two years later, in 1873, there was a decline in European imports. The trend in commerce favored the United States, which gained from European losses. Again,

¹⁰ NA, Sisson to US DS, Mazatlán, 14 October 1871, in Dispatches from US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1871, 910-3.
Americans channeled to their motherland most of the metal minted: "[A]s for the silver dollars and bullion, very near all the dollars go to San Francisco, most of the bullion to London; the silver ore all to England and Germany," reported Sisson.\textsuperscript{21} Commercial activity began to stagnate in the next two years of the Restored Republic, however. The causes seemed to be tension and fear of rebellion following the death of Juárez, prompting national power struggles.\textsuperscript{22}

Unlike mining and commerce and despite the richness of the soil, agriculture in Sinaloa was mainly a subsistence activity engaging few Americans and oriented to local markets. Of the one hundred Americans recorded by the U.S. Consulate as living in Sinaloa in 1873, only twenty were engaged in agriculture. It is difficult to track subsistence agriculture through records. Nonetheless, the U.S. consuls and pundits like Buelna addressed this issue in their written reports and studies. Farmers grew cotton, sugarcane, coffee, tobacco, wheat, corn, and beans. While the harvest of cotton reached three thousand bales in 1870, the following year it amounted to only two thousand bales. This cotton supplied the local textile industry producing \textit{manta}, a coarse fabric. Corn and beans, major components of the local diet, were cultivated largely in subsistence plots while coffee, sugarcane, and tobacco were cultivated less frequently. Wheat occupied the bottom position on the list.\textsuperscript{23} Between October 1872 and September 1873 corn and beans

\textsuperscript{21} NA, Sisson to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 September 1873, in Dispatches from US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; \textit{Commercial Relations}, 1873, 838-41.

\textsuperscript{22} NA, Kelton to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 September 1875, in Dispatches from US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; \textit{Commercial Relations}, 1875, 1117-48.
were raised for home consumption and cotton for the local factories, similar to the pattern of previous year. Two years later, the cotton harvest showed a 9 percent increase, but the price plummeted drastically. In this small-scale agricultural economy, Americans cultivated 30,000 acres valued at only $30,000. Mining products, as well as the small volume of textiles and food crops, had to be transported via the emerging infrastructure. In the absence of decent roads, maritime transportation provided the means for the exchange of goods, people, and ideas. PMSC merged with the Holladay line in the early 1870s, and foreign trade jumped dramatically. Markets of goods and services in San Francisco and New York became within the reach of the Sinaloans. California supplied not only consumer goods, but also machinery and hand tools for the extraction and processing of ore, as well as for a variety of businesses. The San Francisco Chronicle and some Sinaloan newspapers at the end of the study period illustrate the diversity of goods—from consumer to capital—and services offered by merchants and industrialists in

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23 NA, Sisson to US DS, Mazatlán, 14 October 1871, in Dispatches from US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1871, 910-3.

24 NA, Sisson to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 September 1873, in Dispatches from US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1873, 838-41.

25 NA, Kelton to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 September 1875, in Dispatches from US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1875, 1117-48. Liberal tariff policies and aggressively competitive international markets doomed a fledgling textile industry and accentuated Sinaloa’s and Mexico’s role as exporters of raw materials and/or food—metals in the case of Sinaloa—and importers of manufactured goods.

26 NA, Sisson to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 September 1873, in Dispatches from US Consul in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1873, 838-41.

27 NA, Sisson to US DS, Mazatlán, 14 October 1871, in Dispatches from US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1871, 910-3.
San Francisco. Moreover, through the steamers traversing the Pacific coast, San Francisco newspapers received information about Sinaloa, which they shared with their readers and even with other papers.\(^{28}\)

The PMSC, based in San Francisco, advertised its sailings to New York via Panama, leaving on the seventeenth and twenty-seventh of each month, calling at Mazatlán, and connecting via the Panamanian railroad to steamers leaving from Aspinwall (now Colón), Panama and bound for New York. All steamers connected at Acapulco for all Central American ports. In Europe, passengers could buy through tickets from Liverpool, Queenstown, Southampton, Bremen, Brest, Havre, Hamburg, Stettin, Copenhagen, and Norway. Although cold and sometimes risky, steamers provided a link with the United States and the whole world. The steamers *Costa Rica* and *Constitution* sailed from San Francisco to Panama.\(^{29}\) PMSC also served the regional market in northwest Mexico. The steamship *California* linked San Francisco with La Paz and Cabo San Lucas, Baja California; San Blas, Tepic; Mazatlán, Sinaloa; and Guaymas, Sonora. By 1877 the dynamism of maritime traffic enhanced both production in Sinaloa and the trade in American goods to be consumed in Sinaloa.

\(^{28}\) Dispatches from San Francisco newspapers frequently appeared in the pages of the *New York Times*.

\(^{29}\) *San Francisco Chronicle*, 1, 2, 4 and 5 January 1873. Hereafter cited as *SFC*. Other steamers were *Great Republic*, *Montana*, *Castilla*, *Acapulco*, and *Granada*, see *SFC* 6 January and 12 August 1876, p. 4; on inconveniences, see *SFC* 7 January 1873; on risks, see *SFC* 10 January 1873, p. 3. Any doubts about the cost and conditions of the trips were dispelled by S.K. Hollman, acting agent, at PMSC’s office on the corner of First and Brannan Streets.
The chapters on economics and the foregoing section of this chapter attest to the American presence in Sinaloa during the Restored Republic. In this section, the American citizens and some residents in San Francisco doing business in Sinaloa will be identified by economic activity and in some instances by the amount of money involved in their transactions. As expected, most of the U.S. citizens participated in mining, but a few of them also participated in transactions involving urban real estate, rural property, manufacturing and agriculture.

The Americans involved in mining petitioned for mining concessions and legal protection of their grants; bought and sold shares in mines, granted and received powers of attorney to handle mining businesses, and lent or borrowed money to keep their mining interests running smoothly. Benjamin R. Carman a former U.S. Consul in Mazatlán, petitioned for a concession for the La Esperanza mine, in the District of Concordia. Other American business owners included Alfredo Howell and Herbert W. Felton. Howell, involved in manufacturing, along with other U.S. citizens petitioned for a concession in Copala, District of Concordia, while Felton, owner of a match factory, requested from the local government a charter to work a mine in Concordia. A U.S. citizen undoubtedly of German origin, Guillermo Blumhardt, petitioned for a concession of the mines Bismarck and Guillermo Emperador, located in the District of Mocorito.30

30ESOOG III: 17, 31 May 1875, 4; 22, 5 July 1875, 4; 37, 3 November 1875, 4; IV: 16, 29 April 1876, 132.
The following is a list of other U.S. citizens requesting concessions from the Sinaloan government.

### TABLE 9.1

**SAMPLING OF U.S. CITIZENS WHO PETITIONED FOR MINING CONCESSIONS IN SINALOA, 1867-1877**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>MINE OR MINING DISTRICT</th>
<th>DISTRICT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>J. Dessaelany</td>
<td>Pánuco</td>
<td>Concordia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.M. Small, J.J. Turdby</td>
<td>Napoleon</td>
<td>Concordia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. Wertheman</td>
<td>Trinidad</td>
<td>Concordia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M Cornish</td>
<td>San Mateo</td>
<td>Cosalá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O. Brun</td>
<td>Cosalá Mining Co.</td>
<td>Cosalá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stockfleth and Assoc</td>
<td>Copala</td>
<td>Concordia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.L. Burtis, J.J. Jhursby</td>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>Concordia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Janowsky</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Mazatlán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Pichl and B. Funk</td>
<td>Sta. Rita</td>
<td>Rosario</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. Husong and E.F. Kipp</td>
<td>Wellington</td>
<td>Rosario</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: AHCES DN 60, 14 May 1864; ESOOG IV: 22, 14 June 1876, 184; III: 33, September 1875, 4; III: 6 and 8, 16 February and 8 March 1875; BOES I, 31 December 1873, 191; I: 60, 6 December 1870, 302; II: 37, 30 September 1871, 152.

The petitions to protect mine concessions represent another means of identifying Americans. According to Mexican law, if the mines granted in concession were not worked or if work was suspended for a certain period of time, the mines could be granted to another petitioner; thus, the miners were afraid of losing their charters. U.S. citizens B. R. Carman, A. F. Stockfleth, H. Williams and W. Carroll had suspended operations at mines at Sinaloa, Santa Natalia, San José de Ánimas and El Cardon because of the revolt of July 1873 and requested that their mines not be granted to others. Otho Brun alleged that his mines in Trinidad, Limón, San Fermín and Santa Rita required machinery to be worked effectively and that he was going to San Francisco to acquire it. Consequently, he
sought protection for his charter so his mines would not be transferred to new concessionaires while he was away.\textsuperscript{31}

Regarding the buying and selling of mining shares, Luis Bradbury bought from Mrs. Refugio C. de Rey shares in the mine El Tajo valued at 3,631 pesos and from his compatriot Federico A. Benjamin shares in the same mine valued at 15,000 pesos. Ex-consul Carman was also active in this market. In two transactions he bought from Conrado Flores and the firm Passow y Siebold shares valued at 18,683 pesos.\textsuperscript{32}

Those individuals who could not personally manage their own businesses, such as investors from San Francisco or American miners residing in the state who owned large commercial concerns, granted power of attorney to reliable persons. Certain names recur in the records of powers of attorney during the decade, and these individuals were probably commercial agents; one was A. F. Stockfleth. He received powers of attorney from W.W. Carroll and from the important investor Anderson G. Stiles, among others. Luis Bradbury granted power of attorney to his close associate Antonio Paredes, who later ran for vice-governor in the 1875 campaign, while Edward K. Don delivered that power into the expert hands of B. R. Carman.\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{31} AHCES DN 29, 26 December 1873.

\textsuperscript{32} Bradbury’s transactions are in AGNES JGM, Mazatlán, 24 January 1868, 15-6, and 26 November 1868, 304-8v; Carman’s, in AGNES Cipriano Piña, Mazatlán, 14 and 15 October 1867, 145v-56v.

\textsuperscript{33} AGNES JGM, Mazatlán, 20 November 1872, 257v-60; 24 June 1868, 162; 17 September 190v-4; CP, Mazatlán, 19 August 1867, 117.
While some of the Americans involved in mining did in fact both lend and borrow money, the transactions where they appear as moneylenders involved larger amounts of money. Among the capital investors, Anderson G. Stiles stands out; he was a shareholder in the El Tajo mine in Rosario and lent this business 95,579 pesos in 1868 on lenient terms. Other investors from San Francisco were Thomas Bell and Enrique Tamin; each of whom lent 15,000 pesos to The Durango Mining Company of New York, located in the western foothills of the Sierra Madre, part of the Sinaloa regional market. This same New York enterprise borrowed money from the English house J. Kelly y Cía. and from Dámaso Rodríguez.⁴

Both expatriate U.S. citizens and individuals residing in San Francisco were very active in the real estate market. Although most of the transactions involved values on the order of only hundreds of pesos, some of them rivaled those of mining, reaching the order of thousands. Juan Valcke bought urban property valued at 6,000 pesos, while Mrs. María Valdez bought one property valued at 5,000, and another at 3,000, pesos. Gustavo Reis sold urban property valued at 14,000 pesos, and Carlos Ackerman received 3,000 for the sale of his. The Schober brothers, residing in San Francisco, sold urban property valued at 10,300 pesos. Other individuals who were involved in smaller real estate transactions were expatriate Americans Carlos Bauns, Carlos Baum, J.M. Moss and José Schleiden, as well as the San Francisco residents Librada Valenzuela, Ignacia Gamboa and Reyes Gamboa. As owners of urban property, the Laveaga family, residing in San

⁴ AGNES JGM, Mazatlán, 6 July 1868, 169v; 2 May 1873, 110; 12 June 1873, 151-5; 11 April 1874, 92-5.
Francisco, appear prominently in the records. After the death of José Vicente Laveaga, they transferred among themselves urban property valued at 80,000 pesos.\(^{35}\)

Expatriate Americans and San Francisco residents were not absent from the rural real estate market either. Some of the U.S. citizens involved in this market were Fayette Anderson, Alfredo Howell, William Carroll and Juan M. Luco, though the amounts of money involved were small. Americans also petitioned for land grants from the Sinaloan government. Juan R. Boyd, Guillermo Thompson, Juan H. Small and Juan B. Ketson petitioned for land in the District of Culiacán while Alejandro Boyd and Benjamin F. Sides requested land on the northern border of Sinaloa, in the District of El Fuerte. J.M. Tlarbin, Rodolfo Arnold and S.D. William applied for 2,500 hectares in the southern District of Concordia while the wealthy Laveaga family also owned a hacienda valued at 15,000 pesos.\(^{36}\)

The number of Americans engaged in industry, commerce and agriculture was rather small. Nonetheless, in industry, Alfredo Howell and Herbert W. Felton stood out; in commerce, the Gallicks; and in agriculture, Jesús Vanderlays, Federico Fitch and Francis Nolan. Alfredo and Jorge Howell, of Howell y Cía., were the owners of a lighting gas factory established in 1869 and shareholders in a textile industry, La Bahía. In January 1874 they sold part of their property to Melcher Sucesores. H.W. Felton owned a

\(^{35}\) AGNES JGM, Mazatlán, 17 May 1869, 78v-83; 23 March 1872, 70-3v; 28 February and 3 March 1873, 56-62; 8, 9 and 10 July 1874, 361-377v, 384v-91; CP, Mazatlán, 18 March 1867, 51-3; 9 July 1867, 103.

\(^{36}\) AGNES JGM, Mazatlán, 3 January, 3 April, 30 and 31 October 1871, 5, 156-7, 297v-301v; 10 July 1874, 377v; CP, Mazatlán, 12 June 1867, 84-5; Estado de Sitio I: 10, 30 September 1876, 4.
match factory, which in mid-1873 he mortgaged to acquire new machinery. The Gallicks were shoe dealers who had established two firms in Mazatlán, Gallick, Harper and Co. and Gallick y Hermano. Eduardo Beaven established the firm Beaven, Dugh and Co. and Guillermo Franz imported cigars from San Francisco. In agriculture, Francis Nolan, who grew cotton in southern Sinaloa, mortgaged his property to Armienta y Cía. to continue his business.37

In the northern and central parts of the state, the number of U.S. citizens doing business was smaller than in Mazatlán and its hinterland. Jesús Vanderlays did business in Culiacán and owned urban real estate, land and cattle, as his will attests. Federico Fitch, meanwhile, was an engineer with ambitious mining and agricultural projects. In 1874 he formed a partnership with very well-known northern families, such as the Gaxiolas, Rojos, Ibarras and Orrantia y Sarmientos, in an agricultural business valued at 40,000 pesos.38

The number of Americans engaged in production, trade and investment was undoubtedly much higher than is reflected in the written records. Consul Isaac Sisson affirmed in 1873:

There are in the State about one hundred persons claiming to be citizens of the United States. About thirty reside in Mazatlán—merchants, manufacturers, doctors, mechanics, &c—representing a capital of about $200,000. There are in the State

37 AGNES JGM, Mazatlán, 11 August 1870, 235; 22 April 1871, 169v-71v; 13 June 1873, 155-7; 29 August 1874, 533-6v; Francisco Medina, Mazatlán, 13 January 1874, 5-12; BOES II: 25, 23 June 1871, 100-1; Estado de Sitio I: 5, 26 August 1876.

38 AGNES JII, Culiacán, 31 October 1871, 268-70; 16 June 1875, 149-64; JII, Sinaloa, 9 February 1874, 25-8.
about twenty farmers, owning about thirty thousand acres of land. They just make out to live, and that is all as there is no sale for land, (although some of their ranches are very fine.) I do not consider their capital over $1 an acre—$30,000. The other fifty are engaged in mining, representing all positions, from owners to teamsters.39

Four years later, in 1877, Consul Kelton reported that the number of Americans residing in the state had increased and that they were chiefly engaged in mining and mechanical pursuits. He also affirmed that there were six American commercial houses in Mazatlán, representing very small amounts of capital.40

American miners, merchants, manufacturers, farmers and investors, as well as the businessmen residing in San Francisco, traveled from San Francisco to Sinaloa through the PMSC and Holladay lines. These lines also carried imports and exports from Asia, the U.S. Southwest, and the North Atlantic via Panama. But this ocean traffic also favored political and cultural exchanges between Sinaloa and the United States.

POLITICAL AND CULTURAL IMPACT

During the decade not only did the wealthy entrepreneurs avail themselves of transportation facilities to buy luxury goods and books, attend the theater and opera and acquire capital goods and tools for their businesses, but disgraced politicians also boarded the steamers to save their necks. While San Francisco was chosen as a location for

39 NA, Sisson to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 September 1873, in Dispatches from US Consuls in Mexico, Microcopy 159, Reel 4; Commercial Relations, 1873, 840

40 Commercial Relations, 1876, 742-68.
temporary exile by some politicians, the U.S. Consulate in Mazatlán was a favorite hiding place for others.

American soil had been a sanctuary for Mexican politicians and clergy during the War of Reform. It continued to be a refuge in the years of the Restored Republic. When General Plácido Vega, ex-governor of Sinaloa who later joined the political opposition, arrived in San Francisco in early July 1868, two other politicians from Sinaloa, General A. Martínez and Colonel Toledo, were already there. Later, the press in San Francisco predicted that P. Vega—after his military defeat in Tepic and southern Sinaloa, where he had fought under Manuel Lozada—would arrive in the city again in the summer of 1873. At the end of the period of the Restored Republic, José María Iglesias, protected by Captain Connolly of the steamer Granada arrived in San Francisco with his cabinet and staff officers in early 1877. The San Francisco Chronicle heralded the event by writing: “the news of the arrival of this distinguished personage had already been made known in newspaper circles through the medium of the Merchants’ Exchange Telegraph, and there

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41 E. Buelna, Compendio, 83, records the exile of don Pedro Loza, rector of Culiacán’s Seminar, in the early 1860s. Loza returned to Mexico in 1865 and to Culiacán once the French Intervention was over; Hubert Howe Bancroft, in his History of the Northern States and Texas, 1801-1889, 700, records General Plácido Vega’s return to Culiacán from California in June 1866.

42 New York Times, 4 July 1868, p. 5. Hereafter cited as NYT.

43 “He will certainly make his way to San Francisco where his compañeros of the olden days anxiously await him. Like the notorious General Martinez...he will seek “the Queen City of the Pacific” to spread himself amongst los Yankees.” SFC, 19 July 1873. Vega died in Acapulco in 1878.
were numerous reporters on hand to see how a Mexican fugitive president looked.\textsuperscript{44}

Years before, Governor Eustaquio Buelna had sought refuge in the U.S. Consulate in Mazatlán, as General Arce did when the Porfiristas took over Sinaloa in 1877.\textsuperscript{45}

American military and civilian personnel were accustomed to intruding in Mexican internal affairs, and Mexicans utilized American transportation services for their own purposes. In the summer of 1870, the American war steamer \textit{Mohican} chased the pirate steamship \textit{Forward} along the coast of Sinaloa. This pirate steamer commanded by Fortino Viscaino, under M. Lozada and P. Vega, had looted merchant vessels anchored in the port of Guaymas, Sonora. In the waters of southern Sinaloa, U.S. soldiers from the \textit{Mohican} gunned down the pirate vessel. Shortly thereafter, some American civilians in the frigate \textit{Fleer Wing}, seemingly friendly to P. Vega, arrived in Mazatlán, asking if the port was under P. Vega's control, and the civilians were arrested.\textsuperscript{46} Local politicians also used American war steamers to escape turmoil, and local and national officials employed commercial vessels to transport combat troops.\textsuperscript{47}

\textsuperscript{44} \textit{SFC} 26 January 1877.

\textsuperscript{45} \textit{NYT} 3 October 1872, p. 3: "The governor...was taken prisoner from the house of the U.S. Consul Sisson where he was hid"; Buelna, \textit{Apuntes}, 155, 186; \textit{SFC} 31 January 1877.

\textsuperscript{46} Buelna, \textit{Apuntes}, 110, entries for 17 June and 15 July 1870.

\textsuperscript{47} Buelna, \textit{Apuntes}, 123. Buelna himself took an American war steamer on 20 November 1871, and received help from an American lieutenant to preserve his freedom (\textit{Apuntes}, 126). For the use of American steamers as means of transporting soldiers see \textit{Apuntes}, 157.
In addition, American factories supplied and U.S. steamers transported weaponry that influenced the course of Mexican national and local conflicts. In late 1871, Francisco Duhagón went to San Francisco to buy arms for one of the belligerent parties in Sinaloa. Purchasing weapons in the United States was a common practice in those days, and the arms were shipped from New York via Panama. Not only did American arms influence political conflicts in Sinaloa, but American electoral practices also appeared to influence them. E. Buelna claimed that his political opponents in the 1871 election had visited San Francisco to observe American political practices, but they had misinterpreted them. Thus, if the United States was an important source of consumer, intermediate, and capital goods and investment, it was also a source of political interference and ideas.

Along with the American economic presence and political influence, American commodities and ideas contributed to shaping mentalities in Sinaloa. The intensity of trade explains the spread of consumerism in northwestern Mexican society, while the spread of news about the United States in the pages of local newspapers made American

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48 H.H. Bancroft. History of the North Mexican States, 701; Buelna, Apuntes, 124, 128.

49 H.H. Bancroft, History of the North Mexican States, 701, records Vega purchasing arms for Lozada in preparation for the latter's invasion of Sinaloa; see also Buelna, Apuntes, 128. See also BOES II: 69, 14 June 1872, 288, and 82, 31 July 1872, 343; Estado de Sitio 10 September 1876, 2.

50 Buelna, Apuntes, 124, records that the weapons did not get to Sinaloa.

51 Buelna, Apuntes, 116, records the electoral fraud his opponents unsuccessfully tried to implement.
history and the American political system a recurring reference for local politicians.\textsuperscript{52}

The American experience was praised during the Restored Republic and became part of local political discourse. Reproducing Juárez's friendly relations with the United States, Governor Domingo Rubí honored American symbols. A U.S. consular dispatch reported in 1867: "On the fourth of July...at noon my flag was saluted with twenty-one guns by the order of the Governor."\textsuperscript{53} The military government of 1872 also acknowledged American Independence Day. On that occasion the governor congratulated the U.S. consul in Mazatlán and raised the Mexican flag over all public buildings.\textsuperscript{54}

The friendly attitudes of Juárez, Lerdo and Rubí toward the United States also resonated in patriotic commemorations, legal initiatives and the local press. At Juárez's funeral in Sinaloa, one of the orators compared Juárez to George Washington, while in the editorial pages of the official newspaper years later, Hidalgo was compared to the same American hero. Local liberal politicians and legislators also frequently appreciated the encouragement of trade and the building of roads, railways and telegraph lines in the United States, and legislators wished Sinaloa to follow the same path of material progress. The American educational system and criteria for professional certification in various fields were also common referents for the state legislators. When Francisco G.

\textsuperscript{52} \textit{El Estado de Sitio}, Mazatlán, 12 December 1876; \textit{El Fénix}, Mazatlán, 24 October 1872.

\textsuperscript{53} Sisson to US DS, Mazatlán, 30 November 1867. At a national level, in subsequent anniversaries, the U.S. flag was also honored, see \textit{SFC} 17 August 1873; \textit{NYT} 21 July 1874.

\textsuperscript{54} \textit{BOES II}: 77, 7 July 1872, 320.
Flores requested exemption from presenting certificates that attested to his theoretical and practical expertise to obtain the title of lawyer, the legislative commission appealed to American practices as follows: “In the neighboring republic, where liberty and education have reached a high degree of perfection, only a rigorous exam, which manifests the candidate’s knowledge, is accepted to be admitted to a profession.”

Teaching English in public institutions and by private individuals became a common practice in this decade. English was included in the curriculum of the Liceo Rosales and was taught in the Colegio Rosales. Beginning in 1873, the annual state budget always earmarked money for one or more English teachers. The best English students received an award in the annual ceremony organized to honor the outstanding students of the Colegio Rosales. In 1875, student Ignacio L. Rocha received an award for his progress in English, and students of the professors J. Manuel Stassey Wise, Amado Cuevas and Jorge Douglas were the recipients of a similar award in 1876. Some of the students aspired to continue their studies in academic institutions in the United States. Such was the case of Leocadia Padilla, who graduated as a teacher of elementary education and petitioned the state legislature for financial support to study in San Francisco to become an instructor in secondary education.

During his visits to San Francisco, Plácido Vega studied the American educational system and drew from it. The San Francisco Chronicle reported in 1873 that

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55 AHCES DN 43, 21 December 1868.

56 AHCES DN 155, 19 April 1875
Vega was “strongly impregnated with American ideas which he imbibed during his visits to California. The common school system, now in existence throughout Lozada’s dominions is copied literally, after the American system.” Moreover, during a celebration of Mexico’s independence, José C. Valades made reference to American political stability in eulogistic terms.

Instructors Francisco Carrasco and Amado Cuevas offered private courses in English and French. The growing commercial relations between Sinaloa and the United States required individuals trained in the translation of notarial certificates and all kinds of official documents. Some lawyers and merchants fulfilled these positions. Ex-consul Carman and Adolfo O’Ryan performed as translators in the judicial proceeding against Jacinto García, accused of having robbed, assaulted and wounded English sailor James Cooper. Lawyer Carlos F. Galán translated from English to Spanish a death certificate and a power of attorney, and the merchant Adolfo Bartning translated a credit instrument.

Advertisements in the newspapers made constant reference to merchandise imported from the United States, and San Francisco was a destination for shopping and

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57 SFC, 21 March 1873.

58 “Why not imitate the United States? There, there are high officials that steal, abusive presidents, arbitrary Governors, intrigues in elections, corruption in the judiciary, but is the nation shaken? Does her progress come to a halt? Does her land become unproductive? Is her property destroyed? Definitely our neighbors are more thoughtful than we are,” in El Estado de Sitio, Mazatlán, 30 September 1876.

59 AGNES JGM, Mazatlán, 24 June 1868, 162; 5 August 1874, 571; JII, Mazatlán, 22 August 1871, 18v-21v; JR, Mazatlán, 16 November 1876; AHCES DN 67, 24 August 1874.
amusement. In some instances, toward the end of the Restored Republic, advertisements were published in both English and Spanish. The importance of English in the economic life of Sinaloans was manifested in legislation passed in late 1870, to channelize and make the Fuerte River navigable for steamships, which was published both in Spanish and English in the official newspaper. That the law was published in English suggests a hope of attracting American investment as well as the importance of English in the conduction of business.

THE DECLINE OF MAZATLÁN

The increasing American presence in the economy, politics, and culture of Sinaloa during the Restored Republic had consequences for Mexico at the international, national and regional levels. In world trade, the decade between the late 1860s and the late 1870s was a period of struggle for a monopoly of commerce in the west-central part of the republic and its west coast. Americans and Europeans fought openly for trade supremacy in the region. Initially, different commercial practices accounted for the Europeans' larger share of the trade. In the early 1870s, the New York Times lamented the low levels of U. S. imports to Mexico and claimed that Mexicans were jealous of Americans and American enterprise. But the Mexican hatred of the French following the

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60 Boletín del Estado de Sinaloa, Mazatlán, 22 February 1873; La Legalidad, Mazatlán, 21 December 1876; El Monitor del Pacífico, Mazatlán, 17 October 1878.

French occupation offered an opportunity for Americans to cultivate closer commercial relations with Mexico. To enlarge their trade foothold in the area and undersell European competitors, Americans only needed exemption or reduction of duties for their manufactured goods. To retain the major part of the market for themselves, the Europeans fomented revolutions and financed popular movements, such as that led by M. Lozada.

Unlike the New York Times, the San Francisco Chronicle reported a friendly attitude of Mexican officials and people toward Americans, but concurred on the European animosity: “It cannot be disguised that the European element here in this country is unfriendly to Americans...from a jealous fear that the monopoly of trade and commerce enjoyed by them here would vanish before American enterprise and capital.” One of the European tactics consisted in fueling Mexican distrust and prejudice against Americans by spreading the rumor that U.S. policy wanted “to absorb the whole of [the] Mexican republic.” San Franciscan merchants seeking control of the wealthy commerce of western Mexico did not desire any kind of military action, but on the contrary, sought new, peaceful ways of penetrating and consolidating a promising market. California

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62 NYT, 6 June 1871, p. 4; NYT 4 December 1872, p. 1.

63 NYT, 17 August 1874.

64 The great English firm Barron, Forbes, and Company of Tepic was involved in these kinds of activities. See SFC, 14 March 1873.

65 SFC, 25 May 1873, p. 2. This note also alludes to the courteous behavior of General Ramón Corona, commander of the Fourth Division in Guadalajara, toward the American representative, Mr. Garfias.
enterprises could pacifically accomplish the commercial conquest over European rivals through trade agreements and the free exchange of goods and services. This was cynically stated as being "to the great advantage of the Mexicans themselves." In addition to legal and institutional changes, peace was necessary to increase already thriving trade in lumber, hardware, tools, boots, and shoes imported from San Francisco.\(^67\)

By 1877, E. Buelna reported that the commercial supremacy of the United States over Europe was a reality. San Francisco monopolized trade with Asia and supplied the merchants of Sinaloa as well as neighboring states. Sailing vessels arrived from Europe only on a yearly basis.\(^68\) European commercial influence was declining, but Europeans were not the only victims of the Americans' rapid rise to commercial supremacy.

Both the rise of San Francisco as a leading Pacific port and the construction and operation of the railroad from Veracruz to Mexico City affected Mazatlán and its merchant class. Merchandise coming from the Atlantic, at competitive prices, penetrated areas formerly served by Mazatlán's merchant houses. These houses no longer controlled direct trade with Asia, but instead became the middlemen of American merchants and distributed more expensive commodities in a competitive market.\(^69\)

\(^66\) Ibid.

\(^67\) SFC, 12 June 1873; NYT, 23 November 1874.

\(^68\) Buelna, Compendio, 68-9.

\(^69\) Mazatlán's population dropped because of other factors as well: Culiacán became the new state's capital beginning in 1873, and there was an exodus of people from Mazatlán to Tepic, after the defeat of M. Lozada in the same year. See Buelna, Compendio, 102-5.
SUMMARY

In summary, the presence and influence of the United States in Sinaloa before the Porfirian boom is a reality that has to be incorporated into the historiography of the Restored Republic. Goods, technology, and capital, not only in mining but also in commerce, agriculture, and transport laid the foundations for economic growth in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Weapons, one of the imports from the north, disrupted the balance between belligerent groups. Nonetheless, the trade of goods, services, and ideas contributed to shaping the mindset of politicians and the public in general. While the Mexican northwest strengthened its commercial relations with its powerful neighbor, Mazatlán declined as the center of a dynamic regional market.

In Sinaloa, from 1867 to 1877, American citizens practiced a new diplomacy their country had started to elaborate during the days of the Civil War and the French Intervention in Mexico, when President Juárez aggressively pushed for U.S. support. The new diplomacy consisted of shifting from territorial expansionism to economic expansionism: a diplomacy of trade and investment. An enthusiastic group of Americans, perhaps unaware of the diplomatic designs in the making, but taken by the commercial trends of the era, began to conduct business in Sinaloa.

The Americans not only invested in mining precious metals, but also participated in the real estate market, industry and agriculture. Stevedores in San Francisco loaded manufactured goods whereas their counterparts in Mazatlán loaded silver and a little gold.
for the return trip of the American steamships, which were displacing European sailing vessels. As it was demonstrated, the trade of commodities favored the traffic of people and ideas, adding the cultural dimension to the new American expansionism.

Antedating the massive influx of American capital investment in railroads and mines of the Porfiriato, the state of Sinaloa in northwestern Mexico was the experimental arena of that diplomacy of investment and trade. Gone were the days of open armed conflict. In Sinaloa, the American flag was saluted, while a silent commercial and financial conquest was in the making. Its arrival would herald a new golden age for the Mexican elite and U.S. investors.
CONCLUSION

Between the liberal revolution of the 1850s and 1860s and Francisco Cañedo's rise to power in Sinaloa in 1877, the Restored Republic emerges as a transition period rich in political, economic and cultural developments that gave shape to modern Sinaloa. The liberal goals of social secularization, establishing republican institutions and fostering a market economy through the 1857 national constitution met numerous obstacles, but they also mobilized the population and integrated such peripheral regions as Sonora and Sinaloa into the nation. Having overcome domestic and foreign enemies, but not the internecine conflicts, Governors Domingo Rubí and Eustaquio Buelna made substantial progress implementing liberalism in politics, economics and culture; however, their liberal doctrinarism hurt the popular sectors, particularly peasants and Indians. The intraliberal conflict over state power continued for a decade and it was only solved through the Tuxtepecan rebellion of 1876. Once Cañedo took the reins of state government, the Sinaloans underwent a retrogression in their political practices, but the elite benefited from the growth of an export-oriented economy supported by U.S. capital and technology. Furthermore, the popular sectors accumulated still more grievances and later swelled the ranks of the Mexican Revolution of 1910.

As soon as the 1857 constitution was promulgated, Pedro Loza y Pardave, bishop of Sonora, opposed its enforcement and made threats of excommunication to all authorities and public officials who dared to swear allegiance to the Magna Carta. Later, when the conservatives proclaimed the Plan of Tacubaya against the liberal constitution,
the federal garrison in Mazatlán backed the conservatives early in 1858, thus beginning
the War of the Reform in Sinaloa. This conflict incorporated thousands of Sinaloans in
the fighting.¹

On the liberal side, Plácido Vega took the lead of the Sinaloan militias and, with
the military support of Sonoran General Ignacio Pesqueira, triumphed over the
conservatives in 1859. Vega assumed the governorship and updated the local constitution
in 1861, but the threat of foreign invasion prevented its becoming the law of the land. The
mobilized population, meanwhile, found no rest, since it had to fight Manuel Lozada,
then supporter of the conservatives and operating from the territory of Tepic, in southern
Sinaloa. Afterwards, they marched toward Mexico City to defend a nation threatened by
the French army.

When in 1864 the Maximilian Empire established itself in Central Mexico and
extended its control over wide areas of the country, southern Sinaloa suffered for two
years from the cruelties of the war. The French army took control of Mazatlán in
November 1864, but they met dogged resistance for two years, with the local liberals
holding them literally at bay. The French were unable to extend the territory under their
control toward central and northern Sinaloa. If soon after their arrival they tried to do so,
the defeat Rosales inflicted on them in San Pedro set a limit to the area under their
domain. By late November 1866, the French army was evacuating Sinaloa.

¹ For the liberal revolution, see Ortega, Breve historia de Sinaloa, 213-66; Ortega and
López, Sinaloa, una historia compartida, 35-46; Voss, On the Periphery of Nineteenth-
Century México, 142-8, 161-75.
From 1857 to 1867 the local liberals fought not only against conservatives and monarchists, but also against Mayo Indians affected by Ley Lerdo in northern Sinaloa. Furthermore, the liberals also got entangled in an internal struggle for power. But, whereas the liberals defeated the conservatives and the French army and even appeased the Mayo Indians, the internal conflict remained unresolved. Early in 1867, the victorious Sinaloan militias were marching toward central Mexico to continue to fight the remnants of Maximilian's decimated army.

The civil war and the French Intervention left an economy in shambles. Nonetheless, the Sinaloans' hope and determination of reconstructing the public institutions and of reinitiating production for the domestic and foreign markets survived intact. The 1861 local constitution (a synthesis of the liberal program), energetic businessmen and a nationalist population willing to improve its living standards were their assets.

But the elements to ignite conflict were also present. The unresolved internal vying for power was one of them. The import/export merchants' sympathy and readiness to finance the liberal faction more willing to yield to their economic interests was another. The sizeable number of immigrants from neighboring Tepic, some of them enrolled in the army and others active in the business sector, was an additional source of fear. Finally, peasants and Indians participating in the Sinaloan militias could join a rebel faction if their expectations regarding work and land were not fulfilled.

Early in 1877, the Sinaloan Porfiristas emerged victorious from the intraliberal struggle. Cañedo had become the standard bearer of disgruntled liberals and aggrieved
peasants and Indians in the summer of 1876, but Jesús Ramírez Terrón defeated militarily the loyal forces (not long ago his comrades) and entered unopposed into Mazatlán six months later. By June 1877 Cañedo had begun his long term in office. He governed Sinaloa, directly or indirectly, from 1877 to 1909, when he died in office.

During the Cañedismo politics, economics and culture took new paths. In politics the changes were regressive, assuming repressive and antidemocratic overtones, while in economics and education the new government made progress benefiting from the way paved by Rubí and Buelna. Cañedo mistreated the opposition and his electoral policies were regressive. Whereas Buelna dealt peacefully with opinionated journalists and spared the life of his political opponents, Cañedo ordered the assassination of journalist José C. Valadés in 1879 and General Ramírez Terrón in 1880. Moreover, during the Cañedismo, the prefects of districts and political directors of the municipalities, formerly elected by popular vote, were appointed by the governor.²

Agriculture, mining, industry, transportation and financial services enjoyed an unprecedented boom. Sugar cane was one of the commercial crops that underwent a remarkable growth, since it was transformed into sugar in the districts of Culiacán and El Fuerte and nationally and internationally traded. Mining was infused with North American capital and technology, but it only extracted precious metals when the world economy demanded iron and industrial metals such as copper, lead and zinc. In the

² For the Porfiriato in Sinaloa, see Ortega, Breve historia de Sinaloa, 241-66; Ortega and López, Sinaloa, una historia compartida, 59-69; Voss, On the Periphery of Nineteenth-Century México, 294-300.
industrial sector, the production of machinery and equipment in Mazatlán foundries was expanded and served the local and other markets.

The opening of banking institutions in Sinaloa in 1889 formalized saving and lending and encouraged entrepreneurship in an increasingly monetized economy. Furthermore, telegraph lines reached the major towns and cities of all districts and the telephone system began to be available. Still more remarkable, just before Cañedo and the Porfiriato passed away, the railroad crossed Sinaloa in all its length from north to south.

During the long rule of Cañedo liberalism became a unifying myth, as in the nation as a whole, but although political liberalism became a dead letter and nationalism received no emphasis, economic liberalism prospered. A local export-oriented economy supported by foreign capital and technology added to a building national market and integrated into a flourishing world economy. The Colegio Rosales contributed to social mobility and catered to some social needs, but its contribution to the development of Sinaloa's natural resources continued to be limited. This overall outcome represented both a departure and a continuation of policies designed, and measures taken, during the Restored Republic.

As the political, economic and cultural history of Sinaloa during the Restored Republic is reviewed, the local liberals fiercely dedicated themselves to building a liberal state, a market economy and a secularized society. They passed legislation, established institutions and took governmental measures designed to create a secular, representative, popular and republican state within a federal pact. They also encouraged the free flow of
merchandise and the formation of the citizenry for both work and the defense of the fatherland. Entrepreneurs and workers, educators and students, in turn, applied themselves to their roles as producers and consumers of goods, services and ideology. However, chronic political conflict left its imprint on the state and society under construction and marked the path of their future development. Meanwhile, the *Porfiriato* and a stronger economic relationship with the United States were in the making.

The state constitutions of 1861 and 1870, which were in force Sinaloa during the Restored Republic, retained the central elements of the national constitution of 1857 and surpassed it on some essential issues. These fundamental texts aspired to build a republican system of government with checks and balances between the three branches of government. They also guaranteed freedom of religion as a fundamental tenet for the formation of a civilized society that would be alluring to immigrants. These constitutional as well as political and ideological concerns were regulated through secondary legislation, clearly demonstrating the lawmakers' allegiance to the principles of the triumphant liberal revolution.

The Sinaloan constitution and secondary legislation contributed to Mexican law on two counts: political democracy and humanitarianism. Both constitutions contained provisions to ensure that public representatives at the municipal, district and state levels would be elected by universal male suffrage, using direct and popular vote, and the 1870 electoral law codified the electoral procedure. The Sinaloans, moreover, elected district prefects and justices to the state Supreme Court, offices that traditionally had been appointed by the governor in the case of the prefects or by the state legislature in the case
of the justices. This electoral law stands out because it aspired to streamline the electoral processes, such that neither the governor nor the military could interfere. This piece of legislation empowered the civilians over the military.

On the humanitarian side, the abolition of the death penalty in the 1870 constitution became a source of pride for the Sinaloans. The respect for life added to the stern determination of the local liberals to build a civilized society, in accordance with American and European patterns. When the proliferation of crime forced the Juarista and Lerdista governments to pass special laws providing that assault and kidnapping were punishable by death—laws which were also passed at local levels—the legislature and the governors generally spared the lives of the alleged criminals nonetheless. In line with the lofty goal of state building, public opinion and rulers considered that the enforcement of the death penalty hindered the building of a civilized and humanitarian society.

The definition of a legal framework and the creation of institutions largely contributed to the formation of the new state, but other measures also empowered that state over the citizenry. The state ruled on the lives and liberty of individuals undergoing judicial procedures, determined the pensions of public employees, and granted or refused tax exemptions and tax cuts for individual citizens and companies. One of the key elements factoring in the state’s decision in such cases was the patriotism of the petitioners, for if they had defended the fatherland or otherwise rendered services to the state they would generally receive a favorable resolution. Many Sinaloans had their lives spared, were set free, enjoyed a pension or benefited from a tax exemption, all thanks to the services they had rendered to the state. Thus, the state was empowered to make vital
decisions concerning the citizenry and, in doing so, encouraged the defense of the republican institutions.

The efforts at state building faced the resistance of military leaders, discharged troops, leading merchants and the central government. In the aftermath of the liberal triumph, Juárez reorganized the army and discharged three out of every four soldiers. The military leaders of the wars of Reform and the French Intervention, now forced out of commanding positions and arguing against rigged elections, rebelled against the constitutional governments of Rubí, Buelna and Gaxiola. In doing so, they had the support of the federal garrison in Mazatlán, the merchant houses and the discharged soldiers, who could not find adequate employment in the society of the post-war period.

On other fronts, the resistance of the Mazatlán merchants to paying taxes and the interference of the central government in local politics also weakened the efforts at strengthening the state. The merchants, accustomed to manipulating public officials and to smuggling merchandise into the port, considered the organization and empowerment of the state an obstacle to their designs. As a result, these merchants supported the military uprisings in order to continue enjoying low taxes and tolerance of their fraudulent commercial practices.

Politically, the central government’s interference in state governmental affairs weakened the local liberals’ efforts at building a democratic federalism in which state sovereignty was honored. These liberals upheld a sort of federalism where the central and state governments exercised independent spheres of authority and practiced a respectful collaboration to fulfill their respective social responsibilities. Juárez and Lerdo openly
interfered in local political affairs from the outset of the Restored Republic, and this interference grew during the decade. Beginning with the La Noria rebellion in 1871, the central government frequently declared military rule, for the protection of the state. These violations of the state sovereignty increasingly alienated the Juaristas and Lerdistas of the state who then embraced the Porfirista cause, which promised to put a halt to military rule and to re-elections, and to uphold municipal autonomy.

The difficulties faced in the political arena, as exemplified by the constant struggle for power and against the centralism of Juárez and Lerdo, did not prevent a recovery and even some growth of the economy. Mining supported an economy that nourished, clothed and sheltered almost 200,000 people. Silver and gold comprised almost all of the exports and were the source of exchange for a sizable import trade that benefited the big merchants of Mazatlán, Culiacán and northern Sinaloa. Around mining, other sectors of agriculture, cattle ranching and manufacture developed. While these enterprises were of relatively lesser importance, their existence provides a broader understanding of the context of the decade.

Although the output of farms, ranches and factories was destined largely for the local market or personal consumption, the textiles and the foundries merit additional attention. The cotton textile mills established in Culiacán, Mazatlán and Villa Unión, nourished by local supplies of cotton, had an output large enough to meet the needs of the state population and alleviate the demand for imports of mantas and other cotton clothes. The production of the Mazatlán foundries was even more significant. It provided mines, factories and agriculture with the equipment and spare parts necessary to produce food,
manufactured goods and minerals for domestic and foreign trade. These foundries not only lowered imports and liberated resources to expand production and consumption, but also represented the efforts at building a less foreign-dependent economy.

The dynamic but slow-growing economy of the decade cannot be explained without taking into account the benefits of maritime transportation. As roads were poorly developed or nonexistent, land transportation around the state was slow and inefficient, so the most efficient means of moving cargo and people was by sea, and the liberal governments of the era encouraged the entry of ocean vessels into Sinaloan ports. These steamships and sailing vessels traveled from San Francisco to Panama and back, docking primarily in Mazatlán, but also in Altata and Navachiste. These vessels unloaded American and European manufactured goods and carried Sinaloan silver and gold abroad. In addition, coastal navigation facilitated the distribution of domestic and foreign goods throughout the state. The coastal location of Sinaloa and the well-developed maritime transportation made possible a dynamic commerce that would otherwise have been smaller.

Notarial records allow the detailing of other aspects of the mercantile and financial activities undertaken by Sinaloans, such as sales, loans and the formation of companies. Among the contracts of sale, the transactions involving the sale of urban real estate, followed by the sale of rural property, stand out. Although in lesser amounts, shares in mines and factories also changed hands. Mazatlán was the commercial center where the largest volume of transactions and those involving the largest peso values took place. In Culiacán and the valleys of Sinaloa and El Fuerte the transactions were fewer
and the proportion of rural property involved was larger, as would be expected since the richest valleys of Sinaloa are located in the central and northern parts of the state.

In the absence of banks, the mechanisms used by Sinaloan businessmen to procure cash to keep their businesses running or to expand their production merit attention. During the Restored Republic the leading merchants as well as lesser entrepreneurs lent their money under the legal arrangements of reversion sales or mortgage loans. The conditions under which these loans were granted show that in this informal financial market lenient conditions—low interest rates and long terms—prevailed. Although usurious interest rates and short terms were not infrequent, these severe terms were reserved largely for minor transactions. Loans earmarked for economic activities benefited from yearly interest rates ranging from 0 to 12 percent in most cases. Urban and rural property largely constituted the collateral, and Mazatlán monopolized the largest loans. Before the establishment of the banks, the Mazatlán merchants carried on their shoulders the heavy burden of lending their profits to other entrepreneurs.

This privileged position allowed the Mazatlán merchants to diversify their entrepreneurial endeavors. They invested in real estate; acquired shares in mining, industrial and agricultural concerns; and increased their fortunes through lending money, which not infrequently allowed them to retain the mortgaged property. Owners of enormous fortunes, many of these merchants, such as the Echegurens, Melchers, Redos and Kellys, joined their capital with that of others to establish new mining, industrial and transport companies.
Alongside these productive, commercial and financial activities, which lay the foundations of a market economy, another set of activities, no less important, contributed to entertain, educate and form the identity of the Sinaloans. The population entertained themselves in bullfights, cockfights, and games of chance. Mazatlán and Culiacán also enjoyed circuses and acrobatic performances, while the elite and middle-class sectors of these cities also relished musical and dramatic performances. The residents of Culiacán even enjoyed the zarzuela while the rest of the country was in the throes of the Tuxtepec rebellion. Legislators and governors paid homage to local heroes, such as Rosales, who had offered their lives in the recent wars, and to other lesser figures who had also fallen in defense of republican institutions. The services rendered to the fatherland and the state were endowed with great social value, and authorities and school functionaries encouraged patriotism with a regional hue.

The Sinaloan liberals of the Restored Republic legislated and created institutions to extend literacy and secondary education, as well as to initiate professional training. The secular state needed to encourage a scientific culture that rid the population of the influence of religious dogma and that stimulated the use of technology to exploit natural resources. The Colegio Rosales began the training of students for profession in mining, agriculture, commerce and public health, although not in the number and quality required by the size of both the state's population and natural resources. Most importantly, this center of learning also prepared teachers to extend literacy and the lawyers needed for public administration and the recording of all types of mercantile transactions.
Finally, a review of the relationship between Sinaloa and the United States shows a stronger dynamism that the current historiography acknowledges. The U.S. presence in Sinaloa grew during the decade, owing largely to the new diplomatic relationship established between Mexico and the United States in the days of the French Intervention. Between the ports of Mazatlán and San Francisco, a commercial bridge was established via which a growing amount of merchandise was exchanged. Americans invested in the Sinaloan economy, while U.S. goods displaced European commodities in the region. The amount and frequency of trade between Sinaloa and the United States also resulted in cultural influences. U.S. political practices, technological advances and government systems were thus integrated into the Sinaloans’ imagery. In supporting their arguments, legislators, politicians, journalists and educators frequently lauded U.S. practices.

At the end of a decade of great efforts to build a secular state on the bases of republicanism and democratic federalism one nonetheless finds a disillusioned population. This disillusion grew out of the difficulties of upholding state sovereignty and reaching a balance between the local republican powers. In Sinaloa, the executive branch continued to dominate the legislative and the judicial branches, and the central government interfered in local political affairs with impunity. Thus, disenchanted Juaristas and Lerdistas gravitated toward supporting the Porfiristas when the Tuxtepecan rebellion broke out.

In economic and cultural matters, as well as in the relationship between Sinaloa and the United States, progress was modest but encouraging, and this progress heralded the coming of a new era. Although industry was stimulated, mining was still the leading
sector. The Sinaloan economy maintained its traditional pattern, while the merchants lent their money in the absence of banks and diversified their entrepreneurial activities. The citizenry improved its level of literacy and started to become acquainted with science and technology. Moreover, commercial exchange between Sinaloa and the United States multiplied while American capitalists announced a new U.S. foreign policy: the transition from territorial expansionism to commercial and financial expansionism.

The determination of Sinaloan liberals from the Reform to the Porfiriato to abide by liberal constitutionalism had only reached a partial success. They engaged in strengthening the local republican institutions, fostering a genuine federalism, encouraging economic growth and building a secularized society, but their progress was modest. During the Restored Republic the liberals in power extended the political franchise to a greater number of citizens, reconstructed the economy using both local and American capital, and extended literacy. In the days of Buelna, the three branches of government even pushed for a democratic federalism, opposing the central government's efforts to control local politics: however, they continued to apply an agrarian policy that affected peasants and the remnant Indian communities by transferring their communal lands to private property and encroaching on their meager landholdings.

Cañedo, on the other hand, pursued a policy that belied any democratic progress in local politics and in the practice of federalism: he disenfranchised the Sinaloans and acquiesced to the national government's efforts to reduce state sovereignty. He also continued, and still more aggressively, the attack on peasants and Indians, since the growth of commercial agriculture and the building of the railroads affected the rural poor
the most. Popular liberalism, building since Independence and strengthened during the liberal revolution, began to be denied by the triumphant liberals of the Restored Republic and was definitely abandoned as a public policy during the Porfirian boom. Nonetheless, compared to the Cañedismo, the Restored Republic emerges as a progressive decade in Sinaloa, despite the unpopular land policy enforced by Buelna.
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