

all of Spanish origin, and representing three Mexican missionary colleges—San Fernando (127 priests), Our Lady of Guadalupe of Zacatecas (11), and Santa Cruz de Querétaro (4)—labored in the California missions. Some were diligent and highly successful servants of the Church, but a few fell short, largely because of mental illness, unfitness for spiritual leadership, or physical infirmity. These failures have been singled out all too frequently, almost as if they were representative; but a reading of Geiger's complete list makes the reader appreciate just how many good, faithful, but not outstanding missionaries aided in California's development.

The only difficulty in using this work will arise from a certain irregularity in listing of some surnames; for example, Juan Norberto de Santiago is listed under Santiago, as if Norberto were his first name, while his true first name is omitted. Fathers Ulibarri, Riobó, and Arenaza are listed at variance with contemporary usage as Fernández, García, and Martínez, respectively. But these are minor inconveniences. A tabular appendix will permit rapid statistical analysis of some of the material presented, while a convenient glossary of terms will aid future scholars in understanding Franciscan documentation.

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#### NATIONAL PERIOD

*La contrarrevolución en la independencia. Los españoles en la vida política, social y económica de México (1804-1838).* By ROMEO FLORES CABALLERO. México, 1969. El Colegio de México. Centro de Estudios Históricos. Tables. Notes. Bibliography. Indices. Pp. 201. Paper.

The role which the Spanish played in Mexico during the first decades of the nineteenth century has been much discussed, but little studied. Nationalism and the fear that Spain would attempt to reconquer her former colony encouraged the Mexicans in 1827 to pass laws expelling the Spaniards. It has generally been held that the expulsion resulted in a great flight of capital from Mexico, permitted foreign merchants to gain control of the nation's commerce, and precipitated an economic decline. Although Romeo Flores began his study in an attempt to learn if these propositions were correct, he dis-

covered that the expulsion issue was part of a larger question, the role of the Spanish in Mexico.

He has provided a detailed and well-documented work, which is divided into two periods. In the first, from 1804 to 1821, the Spanish sought to preserve their position in New Spain. By the second, from independence until Spain recognized Mexico in 1838, they were at the mercy of the creoles.

Not content with the usual estimates of Spaniards in Mexico and realizing that it was important to know their numbers in order to assess their influence, Flores returned to the census of Revillagigedo. He concludes that there were no more than 15,000 Spaniards in Mexico in 1800—half of whom were soldiers and about 1,500 members of the clergy—and he also shows that they were poorly educated and generally impoverished in comparison to the creoles. Indeed, Flores argues that the nation's wealth was in agriculture and mining, which the creoles possessed, and not in the commerce controlled by the Spaniards. Still, a relatively small number of Spaniards did control most of the civil and ecclesiastical bureaucracy, giving them great power.

During the first period of Flores' study, the Spanish dominated the affairs of Mexico, being able to overthrow Viceroy Iturrigaray when he appeared to be hostile to their interests. Subsequent viceroys were forced to take the Spaniards' wishes into account, and if they failed to do so, they soon learned that their countrymen were able to have them removed. In 1821, believing that the government in Spain had grown too radical, the Spaniards backed Iturbide's independence movement. But once they severed their connections with the mother country, they found that Iturbide could not protect them and that they no longer controlled the government of Mexico.

After the republic was established, nationalist feelings increased, culminating in 1827 with the laws which expelled the Spanish. But, as Flores indicates, the issue was primarily political. The liberal *yorkinos* used it to gain popularity and thus overwhelm their opponents, the *escoceses*. Neither group, however, was so adamant that it would expel all those born in Spain, for many of them had relatives and friends among the Spanish. Still, it was a good political issue which both liberals and conservatives could use when it suited their interests.

Flores' work clearly demonstrates that the old assertions about the expulsion of the Spaniards are wrong. The Spanish capitalists who left Mexico fled prior to and immediately after independence.

Foreign merchants entered Mexico very early in the independence period and not after 1827 as a result of the expulsion. Furthermore, the expulsion had little to do with Mexico's economic decline, because those who were forced to leave were poor and had little to take with them, while those with wealth and influence were able to obtain exemptions. Some wealthy merchants were expelled, but they left creoles in charge of their affairs. It is more likely that Mexico's economic decline can be attributed to the world financial crisis of 1826 that led to the bankruptcy of the London banks which held Mexico's funds, to the subsequent contraction of English investment in Mexico, and to the plagues which ravaged the country in 1827.

Flores has made an important contribution to a period of Mexican history conspicuous for the paucity of well-researched monographs. Because it demolishes old myths and raises many new questions, it will be necessary for students of Mexico to reevaluate these years in light of *La Contrarrevolución en la independencia de México*. Although the author has a clear and engaging style, he ends the book abruptly, and one regrets that he did not include a final chapter reviewing the complex subject. He is to be highly commended, however, for including an analytical index; let us hope that future publications of El Colegio de México will follow this precedent.

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*Documentos históricos de la Revolución Mexicana*. Vol. XV: *Revolución y régimen constitucionalista*. Edited by JOSEFINA E. DE FABELA. México, 1969. Editorial Jus. Illustrations. Pp. 270. \$40.00. (Mex.).

Until recently Mexican reviewers of the *Documentos históricos* have had at least one advantage over their North American counterparts—there are two good words in Spanish for volume (tomo and volumen). Those of us restricted to English have found it necessary to use the awkward and less descriptive word tome to distinguish a set of bound pages from the volume of which it is a part. But now the organization of the series has become so complex that even the Mexicans have run out of descriptive phrases. Under consideration here is XV, Volumen 3º del Tomo I. How shall we ever cite it in a bibliography? If the Comisión de Investigaciones Históricas de la Revolución Mexicana were to begin its endeavors anew, the cumbersome organization could be avoided. But one must remember that the project now spans