

# Mexico at the World's Fairs

*Crafting a Modern Nation*

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## Introduction

### *On the Universe of Fairs*

In the modern world, progress is the standard by which the age prefers to measure itself. The history of modern progress is the history of the self-awareness of progress and modernity; that is, of how modern times produced a comprehensive picture of itself. This transformation was conceivable only by the modern view of history as a totality that progresses—both as a matter of fact and as a form of knowledge—but that is never completed because the future always remains unidentified. The consciousness of this totality in a particular span of time has formed what historians have habitually called an era, an epoch. Certainly, and however post-this-and-that we may feel, we must modestly realize that the growing secularization, rationalization, and technologization brought about by the modern era, together with our inability to escape our own present, have made “the modern” our inescapable frame of reference. As if we are all partners in crime, we have modernity as our common code: to it we constantly refer; on it we depend. But to what extent? This study of world’s fairs seeks to recount a history that belongs to the fleeting realm between the emergence of modern, industrial, and capitalist progress and its duration as a seemingly ahistorical and natural stage of humankind, between what is already history, albeit of yet-unclear meaning, and what is difficult to observe before us because it molds the consciousness of our own times.<sup>1</sup>

World’s fairs are excellent vantage points from which to examine these phenomena. Indeed, nineteenth-century world’s fairs were the quintessence of modern times almost as much as were the cities that hosted them—London, Paris, and Chicago—because metropolitan centers that were truly bubbles of universal modernity arose in the Western world during this period. These cities were cosmopolitan, financial, and cultural nuclei that con-

centrated and combined both national and international trends. Powerful European and American cities offered both a culture and an order that were believed to be ecumenical and atemporal yet were in fact full of incongruities and, above all, unmanageable. Late-nineteenth-century cosmopolitan cities combined canonized fashions, habits, and aesthetic forms with the uncontrollable chaos of inequality, marginality, and practices of survival and protest adopted in desperation by large segments of their inhabitants. By contrast, world's fairs were the controlled portrayals of these cosmopolitan cores, as much as they were the cities' greatest spectacles.

World exhibitions were conscious universal representations of what was thought to be progress and modernity, and they were thus both the *métier* and the ideal rendition of the modern city. Such exhibitions aimed to be object lessons about those beliefs, and often, indeed, their vestiges became the symbols of modern cities. But a late-nineteenth-century world's fair was also invariably a magnificent show, an "oasis of fantasy and fable at a time of crisis and impending violence."<sup>2</sup>

To investigate the nineteenth-century world's fairs is to grasp the internal composition of the awareness of modernity. The fairs embodied and fostered primary components of nineteenth-century modern existence: the belief in positive, universal, and homogeneous truth; the presumption of freedom achieved and the inherent contradictions of this idea; the concept of ending history by recapitulating the past and controlling the future (that is, the potential for considering the present as the best of all possible times, which has already revealed the essential course of the future); and the creed of nationalism as an intrinsic part of both international cosmopolitanism and economic imperialism. These ideas guide this study, leading it both to the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.

### UNIVERSAL TRUTHS

In the last part of the nineteenth century, the ultimate foundations of progress were held to be science and industry. Both were paranational, natural, objective, and unstoppable forms of human production and knowledge. The world's order and self-confidence were set accordingly. The era of progress assembled an ideal picture of itself, and this picture became the optimal model of how the world ought to be. Only modern times were capable of delimiting a comprehensive view of how all that belonged to them looked. Once this modern world picture emerged, cosmopolitanism was made possible in all spheres: science, art, costumes, and technology.

As a common experience of accelerated time and simultaneity, since its inception the modern world picture was composed of various and often contradictory versions. And yet, as a more or less harmonious abstraction, the

picture was by necessity articulated and developed independently of views and facts of the world. After all, what has been regarded as modern has never referred to the real world; it has conformed to notions about the most advanced and optimal world as made publicly intelligible by economic, political, and intellectual elites.

Nineteenth-century universal exhibitions were consciously erected to satisfy the requirements of this comprehensive picture; in turn, they reinforced the authenticity of such a picture. They were conceived to be a miniature but complete version of modern totality. And in the quest for universalism and completeness, world's fairs reincarnated the principle that had fostered late-eighteenth-century encyclopedias: they reinforced the possibility of conceiving a general picture of the world. They epitomized what Ortega called "the disquieting birth of a new reliance based on mathematical reasoning."<sup>3</sup> They could never be more than an attempt, however, because the modern world was too multifarious and complex to be homogeneously and harmoniously represented. Therefore, the idea of modern became an unobtainable and supreme metaphor, one which nonetheless was included in each thing that was thought to be modern.

World's fairs were thus selective versions of the picture they aimed to represent. They were moments when industry and science could exist with all of their virtues and none of their imperfections. They were natural residences of industrial innovation, as well as of scientific and commercial development. Therefore, nineteenth-century world's fairs were indeed petite cosmos of modernity formed, observed, and copied for all modern nations—extravagant spectacles for the confirmation of universal truths.

For today's historians, it is not clear whether the exhibits at world's fairs aimed to confirm belief in scientific and industrial progress by making the beliefs come true or aspired to be celebrations that honored those universal truths in a quasi-religious way with countless symbolic appeals: the challenge of the weight and strength of a steel building, the numerous industrial, commercial, and social statistics, the bright reality of electric lights, and the very altitude of the Eiffel Tower.

This study examines how Mexico joined the world's fair circuit in order to learn, imitate, and publicize its own possession of the universal truths of progress, science, and industry. It shows how the Mexican elite, in doing so, had to confront an ideal reality that was difficult to understand in its full scope and simultaneity. Yet it was easy to imitate. Consequently, Mexico had to undertake an additional selection in the already selective nature of world's fairs, in order to make the idea of the modern world even more suitable for the Mexican elites' own circumstances and interests. That additional selection is what came to be known as Mexican: Mexican sciences, Mexican art, Mexican nationhood. . . .

In participating in world's fairs, however, the Mexican elites learned the universal truths in order to consolidate their national and international integrity. In fact, they mastered what was fundamental in those universal truths: form, style, and facade. This mastery was especially visible in three aspects of Mexico's presence at late-nineteenth-century fairs: the scientific exhibits, the statistical demonstrations, and the constant use of a scientific discourse to express everything from an understanding of public administration to the effects of pulque on the Indian population; from the measurement of skulls to the calculation of the resistance of the hymens of Mexican women. These tools were used to emphasize the necessary components of a modern nation: a well-defined and well-integrated territory, a cosmopolitan culture, good sanitation conditions, and a racial homogeneity that squared with Western notions of white supremacy.

#### THE IDEA OF FREEDOM

World's fairs promoted the idea of freedom as it has been understood in the political, economic, and social thought of the West since the late eighteenth century. Rousseau, for example, believed that history was the unfolding of human freedom to achieve self-consciousness in order to be even more free. In turn, belief in free economic decisions governed by invisible rules overthrew the meaning of moral economy, thus marking the beginning of neo-classical economic thought. Reason, in enlightened thought, had liberated humankind; history was only the development of reason. This modern freedom was what world's fairs acclaimed. Universal exhibitions were neither carnivals of collective or individual passions nor mere rituals of harvest. Their festival character was, above all, the celebration of the human accomplishment of productive liberty that was epitomized in the veneration of free commerce. In the report of the 1889 Paris exposition, Alfred Picard traced the history of world's fairs back to the proclamation of freedom of commerce and industry in 1791, when, he argued, "public administrators, learned and worried about the country's future, understood the vices and dangers of an ominous regime which kills initiative, suffocates progress, and places national production in the most humiliating situation of inferiority."<sup>4</sup> Indeed, "the idea of trade was transformed from the relatively simple exchange of goods for profit, to a concept having metaphysical dimensions."<sup>5</sup> Freedom to profit, to purchase, to sell, to exhibit, and to advertise, it was assumed, would not only naturally develop but would also ultimately serve to equalize humankind with the immense wealth produced therefrom. World's fairs, then, were above all expressions of belief in the civilizing capabilities of the free market and a *laissez-faire* economy. They strived to be the visible and tangible attestations to the modern promises of freedom and equality. Hence a description of London's 1851 world's fair claimed that "[a]s the wind

carries winged seeds over the earth, so commerce carries arts, and civilization, and humanity as a consequence."<sup>6</sup>

Like the terms *republic* and *nation*, the word *democracy* was, of course, fundamental to the concept of modern freedom. The connotation of democracy had often changed, however. At times it tended to have a social connotation (equality); at other times it favored political aspects (popular representation). Modern republican freedom—understood as the political and social rights granted by the French Revolution—was to democracy what in fact democracy was to late-nineteenth-century political regimes: a fundamental philosophical principle, not an indispensable practice. Thus democracy, without a fixed meaning, was conceived by special, and often nondemocratic, adjectives—authoritarian, conservative, socialist, liberal, caesarean. The need for an economically or militarily strong state and the heavily nationalistic environment made democracy and its inherently ambivalent liberty dispensable though valuable components of the model modern nation. Economic and productive *laissez-faire* was at the core of the late-nineteenth-century's pride in freedom.

In the great world's fairs of the nineteenth century, Mexico aspired to participate in the economic advantages and civilizing effects of commerce. The Porfirian elite created commercial commissions to promote Mexico's traditional and yet-to-be-discovered raw materials. They expected those products to give Mexico a place in the international economy.

In turn, freedom as a political virtue was understood as peace. Mexican intellectuals followed the legal and philosophical discussions of the French Third Republic and proposed constitutional limitations to a strong government. Peace, however, was Mexico's greatest achievement and also the supreme achieved liberty that became freedom from violence and uncertainty. In Mexico, as in the French Second Empire, the term *democracy* became synonymous with *republic*. The concept of a Mexican republic already included as much democracy as was possible in a country that could not even attempt to hide its internal inequality and racial differences, let alone afford the luxury of effective suffrage. Therefore, the Porfirian elite decided to exhibit in universal expositions the advantages of a strong government. And Mexico's authoritarian and enlightened government stood in good stead at world's fairs hosted by countries like France, which, however modern, were both constantly facing the ungovernability of democracy and maneuvering its meanings.

#### THE GREAT ENDS

World's fairs would have not been conceivable if the concept of universal progress had not offered a chance to experience contemporaneity as a sort of culminating moment. Within the sense of progressive, linear time, all present tense became unmistakably paradise, and the various exhibited

phenomena of the modern world were perceived most of the time with admiration—but some of the time with terror or nostalgia.

Technology and progress made it possible to appreciate present time as the best of all feasible worlds, and universal expositions were the vivid confirmations of the greatness of the present tense. The understanding of the present was composed of a specific recapitulation of the past and exceptional previews of the future. In the 1900 Paris universal exposition, for instance, a pamphlet argued that “the expositions are not only days of leisure and gaiety in the midst of the toils of the people. They appear, at long intervals, as the summits from which to measure the course we have traveled. Mankind goes out from them comforted, full of courage and animated with profound faith in the future.”<sup>7</sup> Along similar lines, a commentator on the 1904 Saint Louis world’s fair observed that “expositions accentuate the deficiencies of the past, give us a realization of our present advantages, predict the developments of the near future, and equip the arm and brain alike of the mechanic, the engineer and the philosopher for further and immediate advances into the realms of the possible.”<sup>8</sup>

Although the notion of progress had achieved visible manifestations and an extensive theoretical corpus by the 1880s, to sense that the final stage of history had been achieved was not necessarily to share in the optimistic industrial view of the world. The feeling was also expressed in what world expositions overlooked in their enthusiasm and pomposity—the sensation of decadence, a weakening of the moral and intellectual strength of the times; the sense that the “events experienced during a lifetime” could seem to be not in the present but in the past.<sup>9</sup> In fact, for some late-nineteenth-century modernists, all that seemed familiar and secure was disappearing, and there was neither an assurance of future progress nor anything by which to teach individuals how to live in what appeared to be a weightless present. As Baudelaire said in commenting on the 1855 Paris world’s fair, “but where is, I ask you, future’s guarantee of progress? . . . Within the realm of imagination, the idea of progress . . . appears to be a gigantic absurdity, something so grotesque it reaches the horrendous.”<sup>10</sup> Thus, in their affirmation of a Panglossian world of progress, late-nineteenth-century world’s fairs were bright lights that did not enable one to see the shadows beyond.

Hence world’s fairs encompassed and confronted two contradictory connotations of modernism. Expositions were capitals of modernism informed by industrial optimism. But they were also unintended stages on which to view the achievements of the age while deploring the accompanying degeneration of the spirit. In this sense, world’s fairs furnished images and pretexts for quintessential modernists such as the young Eliot, whose early work, “The Man Who Was King,” was inspired by his observations of the Philippine village displayed at the 1904 Saint Louis world’s fair;<sup>11</sup> Dostoyevsky, who was sarcastic in the face of the “halcyon days” of the 1851 Crystal Palace, which

covered everything with calculated reasoning but also (in his view) with boredom and desperation;<sup>12</sup> that cunning observer, Henry Adams, who saw the 1893 Chicago Columbian Exposition and, full of amazement, said, "After this vigorous impulse, nothing remained for a historian but to ask—how long and how far?"<sup>13</sup>

From the great openings to the colossal closings, world's fairs epitomized a full cycle of the linear and progressive realization of time. And yet they were ephemeral, passing moments of self-congratulation and self-deceit. Each exhibition was like a succinct epilogue for history, because the life span of a fair was as evanescent as it was complete: modernity's "eternity in an hour." They were, as a U.S. senator noted in 1889, "the flash photograph[s] of civilization on the run."<sup>14</sup> Their short existence certified the infinite power of their creators: technology, industry, and capital. Therefore, on one hand, it was possible for them to become moments of reconciliation—all nations together despite past troubles and advancing increasingly paranational interests. On the other hand, rather than mere futurist theaters, they were able to amalgamate past and present promises. They included the future, but only insofar as it was an inevitable outcome of present greatness.

Consequently, the concept of great ends constituted the historical consciousness of modern progress and the control of the discernible future. Thus the fairs were occasions for reviewing the Western past and its contrasts and for evaluating the antique and the different, by rewriting the past and by gaining and governing the exotic. In this sense the colonial exhibits in French world's fairs were the archetypical expressions of a blend of exoticist, economic, and imperialist desires. These displays lasted until the 1940s, when colonies were neither politically nor economically profitable, as if a nation could not be modern or cosmopolitan without its beloved colonies.

Confidence in the superiority of the Western present—and thus of the inferiority of any other past, present, or future—was achieved through sciences—anthropology, scientific history, ethnology, criminology, archaeology, economics, sociology, medicine, architecture, engineering, and so forth. Furthermore, the goal of world's fairs was to assure that only one future could be derived from their revision and reinvention of the past: that of inevitable progress.

Mexico's presence at world's fairs shows how Mexicans were capable of enjoying the grand finales while presenting themselves as part of them. But it also shows how Mexicans' self-positioning in the last stage of evolutionary time made them the most fit to exercise the power they already had domestically. In fact, Mexico in nineteenth-century world's fairs shared Europe's orientalist and exoticist concerns and in turn undertook an "autoethnography." It fed the hunger of these exhibitions for exotic objects and people. Mexico thus offered indigenous food and drink, dresses, and *tipos populares* (popular characters) at the fairs; in the same way, it exhibited the head of

the Indian Juan Antonio in Paris 1889 and Indian people in the so-called Street of Mexico exhibited at the 1901 Buffalo world's fair. In turn, what the fairs epitomized in their rewriting of the past and conquest of the exotic, the Porfirian elite did with their own country's history and reality.

In sum, "the normal organization of humanity"<sup>15</sup> that world's fairs aimed to enact achieved its ephemeral grand finales in the nineteenth century when they were, as the great French critic of modern bourgeois life, Flaubert, described them, "*sujet de délire du XIXe siècle*" (a cause of the delirium of the nineteenth century).<sup>16</sup> Neither before nor since has the self-consciousness of an era obtained such a visible, comprehensive, and astonishing materialization.

### NATIONALISM

World's fairs emerged out of—and embodied—nationalistic interests in an international cosmopolitanism.<sup>17</sup> For the nation-empires of the late nineteenth century, universal exhibitions were both settings for the display of power and expansionist interests and part of the paraphernalia of presumed racial and cultural superiority. Impressive military exhibits thus contrasted with the spectacles of flags, national anthems, and national culinary and literary traditions. In fact, nineteenth-century fairs were often the zenith of particular patriotic calendars.

For impoverished nations, in contrast, world's fairs were opportunities for being part, albeit briefly, of the cosmopolitan concert of nations, to be one with the modern community of values, beliefs, and concerns. Simultaneously, world's fairs were showcases for the exhibition of whatever was demanded by the international market of commodities and ideas, a stage on which poor nations could exhibit everything from their raw materials to their native peoples and customs.

As nationalistic commemorative events, world's fairs included all modern forms of expression—from art to science, from commercial propaganda to statistics, from landscape canvases to architectural structures.<sup>18</sup> In this way, through universal exhibitions and their assembled belief in universal truths, freedom, and ideas of great ends, nations were imbued simultaneously with a recognizable and acceptable national uniqueness and an approved cosmopolitanism and modernity.

But world's fairs were also sites for the encounter of antagonistic views. Nationalistic, cultural, and racial prejudices battled in the images, symbols, and commentaries of visitors to world's fairs. For instance, remarking on the 1893 Chicago Columbian Exhibition, the American artist W. Hamilton Gibson claimed that the exposition was the realization of the "Heavenly City," or the "New Jerusalem"—and to him its creators were almost gods. At the same exposition, the Franco-Argentine historian Paul Groussac saw in

Chicago a mammothlike expression of American primitivism, a display of a "young nation, newly arrived at the historical scene," a sad effort of a naive people. "Pobre ¡White City!" he concluded.<sup>19</sup>

Late-nineteenth-century world's fairs were thus the most comprehensive and outrageous attempts to portray in miniature a modern picture of the world. Indeed, because the rise of modern industrial societies made possible both the universal language of progress and the world extension of fairs, to analyze fairs is both to make a checklist of modernity's components and to dissect the craftiness of nationalism as a global phenomenon.

World's fairs, albeit scientifically managed, contained the contradictions inherent in the very attempt to reproduce the modern world in miniature. As a picture of the modern world itself, a world exposition was the simulacrum of something that never had a concrete existence. Nevertheless, the modernity of the times resided in the conscious endeavor to isolate a coherent, optimistic, and promising representation of the world. Ironies and conflicts were inevitable in such an attempt.

For instance, cultural, economic, and political nationalism was at odds with both cultural and political cosmopolitanism. Cosmopolitanism was a model of modernity that simultaneously required the homogenization of all human characteristics and desires and recognized and appreciated the exotic and bizarre. That was an insurmountable existential irony: an organized model of the world, and a fascination with what was not part of the model but which ought to be part of the picture of the modern world. In addition, the very national need to be cosmopolitan seemed to be in conflict with the requirement of being culturally and racially unique and, presumably, superior.

Furthermore, whereas world's fairs did not reflect the contradictions of the modern world, they displayed so-called progress in the well-being of the masses, as if that progress came solely from technological advancement and philanthropy and was not prompted by fear of the growing discontent of peasants and workers. However, nineteenth-century world's exhibitions gradually started to display new concerns that had to do with the growing problems of modern times. For example, by 1900 social economy exhibitions and women's pavilions were part of the ideal conception of the world.

What was more ironic about the values epitomized by world expositions was their momentariness. For the astute observer, the short life of world's fairs was less a testimony to technological and industrial improvement than a caution about the universality and reliability of the pledges symbolized by world's fairs, a warning that all good things could not last forever. Implicit doubts abounded. Why were not modern times a perennial fair of progress?

Both questions inquire into the sincerity of what world's fairs exhibited

and what they ignored. Both questions certainly address the same predicament, namely, the dichotomy between the real—that mutating and historically created reality we strive to grasp—and the fictional—that imagined actuality we assign to human beings in history. World's fairs are valuable for historians not to establish the falsity of modern capitalist ideologies but to situate the parameters and changing characteristics of the disparity between a presumed reality and its perception both by contemporaries and by historians. Therein, I believe, lies a clue for understanding the history of modernity as more than a purely economic phenomenon.

By the 1930s the Western world as conceived and defined during the nineteenth century seemed to be undergoing serious political, social, and cultural transformation. The Baudelairean critics of modern times were becoming the prophets of modernist disenchanted thought. Around 1910, it was asserted, even human character changed radically. That assertion was made not by a Mexican revolutionary in reference to the Mexican Revolution but by Virginia Woolf, commenting on the aesthetic, cultural, and social transformation that Europe underwent between 1910 and 1914.<sup>20</sup> The nineteenth century finally concluded in 1914, historian Eric Hobsbawm has argued.<sup>21</sup> Consequently, the monumental nineteenth-century world's fairs became unrepeatable. The picture of the modern world changed, and its comprehensive pocket portraits, the world's fairs, acquired a new nature.

The survival of world's fairs throughout the twentieth century illustrates how durable belief in progress has been. However, whereas late-nineteenth-century expositions (from the 1860s to the 1910s) were the paradise of modern optimism, world's fairs during the 1920s and 1930s became the epitome of modernist ambivalence. Ironically enough, it was progress itself and its avatars that made obsolete expositions like those that created the Crystal Palace, the Eiffel Tower, or the White City. Modernity is ungrateful: it devours its own portraits, thus making its identity even more ambiguous. This is so because, first, the universal expositions, as miniature ideals of the virtues of progress, had to confront the growing intellectual and artistic criticism of progress in the first decade of the twentieth century. World's fairs lost their technical optimism and innocence. In turn, the philanthropic, Saint-Simonian type of optimism that gave French fairs their concern with social economy in the nineteenth century was dimmed by growing socialist and anarchist discontent. Second, industrial and technological progress itself made it impossible to comprise all human production in a single space-time location. It was not only difficult but useless to try to encompass and classify the entire production of modern industry, agriculture, mining, and sciences. Instead, countless specialized fairs began to take place all over the world: displays of machinery, art, agricultural products, and so forth. Finally, although the nationalist and imperialist aspects that propelled international

expositions in the last part of the nineteenth century did not significantly decrease during the first decades of the twentieth century, the more or less stable crystallization of European national identities transformed the general symbolic displays. Museums, scientific exhibits, sporting events, and, especially, the emergence of radical nationalism and massively destructive wars fulfilled the symbolic functions that had been entrusted to fairs. Ironically enough, the nationalistic ideologies that had emerged during the second half of the nineteenth century radicalized in the 1910s and 1920s, thus making partially obsolete the nationalistic uses of world's fairs.

Moreover, by the beginning of the twentieth century modern capitalism had produced what thereafter would become the mainstays of world's fairs: great corporations, tourism, and mass consumption with its inherent propaganda. Throughout nearly a century of world expositions, the liberty they epitomized gradually conquered unimaginable economic and ideological frontiers. International corporations started to emerge. With them came sophisticated advertisements disseminated by the latest technology and a massive appropriation of popular taste and consciousness.

Still, today's or tomorrow's universal exhibitions will follow their nineteenth-century counterparts because, as William McKinley, the U.S. president who was assassinated during the 1901 Buffalo fair, noted, "Expositions are the time-keepers of progress."<sup>22</sup> In the late twentieth century, world exhibitions seek to continue this role because the belief in universal truths, in productive freedom, in progress, and in national symbols, however dispersed and weak, remains alive. Yet the modern world picture has suffered numerous cracks. What would the paradise of modernity look like if we were to delineate it in these overwhelmingly disenchanting times? The great future imagined by past visionaries is not in the present but in the past, in the great late-nineteenth-century universal expositions. They were the "futures of the past," and today, because of their very attempt at totality and progressivism, they appear to be part of modern capitalism's nostalgia for a golden age. Late-twentieth-century world's fairs are themselves less an endeavor to continue to portray the modern world than an effort to duplicate previous attempts: the nineteenth-century universal expositions that have become modernity's archetype.<sup>23</sup>

In effect, Disneyland has become the model of twentieth-century world's fairs, a "degenerated utopia" that was a particular ideology materialized in the form of a myth.<sup>24</sup> As such, late-twentieth-century world's fairs reflect the era's supports (international capital and mass consumption) and enduring obsession (nostalgic faith in progress). They are as modern as the Quixote who finally realized he was insane; but they are Quixotic efforts to continue the delirium, as if Alonso Quijano would decide, once aware of his madness, to play again the role of Knight for the sole sake of nostalgia. Nonetheless,

because of their extremely futurist emphasis—which always becomes a record of past promised futures—the fairs are the headquarters of the twentieth century: echoes of Disneyland or Hollywood.

To examine the role of powerless and peripheral nations such as Mexico in the fairs of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is to write the history of what modernity and progress have meant for them: a continual, tiresome, expensive, hopeless, and yet unavoidable attempt. World exhibitions were, in the words of Mexican Minister Manuel Fernández Leal, the opportunity for Mexico to become a “part of the admirable group of countries that, sharing ideals, ambitions, and trends, advance together, led by progress.”<sup>25</sup>

In 1889, for instance, Mexico was in Paris with the expressed goal of learning from and duplicating the French example. This was so because Paris was indeed the “capital of the nineteenth century.” Despite France’s economic weakness vis-à-vis England, by the late nineteenth century French culture was believed to be the natural and universal conclusion of the evolution of modern Western thought. This belief was given substance by the predominance of French culture throughout the Western world and by France’s notorious patriotism based on the idea of France as the center of the universe. Jules de Michelet, one of the great creators of the epic of universal France, modestly but confidently argued that “France imports and exports new ideas enthusiastically and builds on them with a wonderful strength. It is the legislating country of modern times, just as Rome was for antiquity.”<sup>26</sup>

Indeed, for Mexico, Paris was the arbiter of progress, as it was for all of the nineteenth century Western world. Elisée Reclus, the insightful French geographer, clearly saw this at the beginning of the twentieth century: “Paris is the city Mexicans consider the center of the world. . . . It is to Paris that they turn to find out what is good or bad, to ask about science, art, poetry, novel ideas or the futility of fashion, the nonsense of false spirits, the perversity of vice.”<sup>27</sup> Accordingly, it is only natural to take as my focus of analysis a Parisian fair. Ironically, the ambitions of Mexico and Paris were the same—the attempt at modernity proved to be what modernity consisted of. The supreme and complete modernity that Mexicans aimed to reach had never existed. Mexico began its entrance into the modern world during the late nineteenth century, and thereafter its development and problems would fundamentally be those of the modern world. To learn the cultural or intellectual lessons of the late-nineteenth-century modern world was relatively easy, because, after all, cosmopolitanism was nothing more than a set of parochial figures made universal. What was difficult was to be powerful, because power was, and is, a matter of competition, exploitation, and comparative advantage. There was no fixed paradise of modernity, and it was impossible for either Mexico or Paris to stop the transformation, invention, and re-creation of traditions.<sup>28</sup>

## FIVE

### The Aztec Palace and the History of Mexico

The French diplomas awarded at the 1889 world's fair pictured the chariot of peace and progress, pulled by two lions that were, in turn, led by two short human figures carrying giant drums. Just as the diplomas represented an attempt to allegorize what was considered modern, the 1889 Aztec Palace allegorized the entire world's fair. The palace was meant to highlight the great, though atypical, lineage of the nation it represented: a national entity with a glorious past but ready to adjust to the dictates of cosmopolitan nationalism and eager to be linked to the international economy. As the Cuban poet José Martí explained to Latin American children: "This steel Aztec temple was erected at the foot of the Eiffel Tower by Mexicans, so that their history, which is like the mother of their country, would not be touched by those who do not see themselves as sons of Mexico—such is the way one ought to love the land in which one is born! with such fearlessness, with such tenderness."<sup>1</sup>

The exoticism of the Aztec Palace, as well as its combination of archaeology, history, architecture, and technology, was seen by Mexicans and Europeans alike as no more than an essay, an attempt. If all material things were ephemeral in world's fairs, then the ideas they symbolized were expressed as an essay. They formed a coherent, incomplete, and experimental proposal that sought to persuade spectators of the reality of its propositions. The Aztec Palace thus constituted a trial in several ways. It was an attempt to recapitulate and incorporate diverse interpretations of the domestic past; it was an experimental synthesis of Mexican perceptions of the European commercial, industrial, and exotic appetite for the non-European; it was an effort to achieve the proper combination of particularism and universalism; and it was an overall essay on the modernity of the Mexican nation.

In another respect, the Mexican pavilion in the 1889 Paris world's fair was not an essay but a conclusive statement. The Aztec Palace ratified the value, importance, and truth not only of the modern creed itself but also, and especially, of the very import of continuing the attempt to follow the creed, to reproduce it, to copy it. Consequently, the Aztec Palace faithfully re-created the Panglossian sense of the end of history that the whole fair epitomized. It was a categorical petition to enter the modern world.

From the historian's point of view, the Aztec Palace can be seen as a frozen portion of time and space that fossilized an emblematic moment—of conclusiveness and experimentation—in the attempt by the Mexican elite to formulate a vision of its past, present, and future. This chapter and the next two are devoted to understanding this frozen evidence. But because the historian's practice is inescapably a sequential task—that is, one must retain the chronological order of events—the principal themes in the history of the Aztec Palace must be explored concurrently. Especially relevant for the Aztec Palace is the unfolding of two stories: the record of the various ways in which the nation's history was conceived, which I tell in the remainder of this chapter; and the chronicle of the scientific (that is, archaeological and anthropological) ideas about Mexico and Mexicans that were articulated both domestically and internationally, covered in chapter 6. A third historical track converged with and included these two histories: the history of the material (more or less artistic) depictions of the nation, the subject of chapter 7. Although these chapters focus on the Aztec Palace, in fact they take the palace as the pivot for the examination of a larger cultural contour that encompasses the period between the 1870s and the 1910s.

The Aztec Palace was ostensibly nothing more than the Mexican pavilion at the 1889 Paris fair, but it also represented a moment in the writing of the history of Mexico. Tracing the evolution of the conception of the palace involves the appraisal of what it synthesized in the late 1880s: the long political and intellectual dispute over the Indian past; the historiographical infrastructure developed throughout the nineteenth century (both by Mexicans and foreigners); and the latest theoretical, rhetorical, and graphic tools for developing a comprehensive national identity that could be taught and enacted.

When the Mexican authorities announced the construction of a Mexican pavilion for the 1889 Paris world's fair, they declared that it ought to be "a building which at its sides and angles would characterize the architecture of the most civilized races of Mexico, but which would distance itself from the dimensions of ancient monuments that opposed modern necessities and taste."<sup>2</sup> The effort to be authentically Mexican was combined with that of

being modern. To be genuinely Mexican implied a particular view of the Mexican past, especially of the Indian past that had been, throughout Mexican history, vital for the definition of a self-assured national identity.

As a specific view of Mexican history, the Aztec Palace responded both to domestic and to international political and cultural impulses. Nationally, it was as eloquent as, and even more vivid than, the first great general and comprehensive compendium of Mexican history, *México a través de los siglos*, which was also completed in 1889. In a sense the whole nation was crystallized in a book at the same time as it was being exemplified in a building, overriding internal political, racial, and regional disparities. Internationally, as following chapters will illustrate, it constituted an ad hoc complement for late-nineteenth-century Western orientalism.<sup>3</sup> The concurrences between the Aztec Palace and *México a través de los siglos* best characterize the boundaries within which those elements of Mexican history that were national, homogeneous, logical, and learnable were discussed during the Porfiriato. Previous nineteenth-century historical reconstructions of the nation's past had not reconciled themselves into a single comprehensive history in chronological, geographical, or ideological terms. Porfirian intellectuals finally achieved the desired synthesis, which put special emphasis on two central issues: on one hand, the creation of a civic religion with a well-delineated chronology and hierarchy of events and a demarcated set of heroes; on the other, the reconstitution of the Indian past as an inherent component of Mexican nationhood. The latter issue was in turn the late-nineteenth-century solution to the long-standing dilemma of Mexico's criollo identity—that is, the conflict between the Spanish heritage and the Indian present and past.

The process of designing the Aztec Palace was the physical resolution of the intricate debate over how to make a modern country in the late nineteenth century. The resolution came after long bureaucratic and intellectual negotiation. Two commissions were assigned to submit proposals for the Mexican pavilion in Paris. The engineer Luis Salazar and the architects Vicente Reyes and José María Alva formed the first team; the second comprised the historian and statistician Antonio Peñafiel and the engineer Antonio de Anza. Both proposals were only syntheses of the national history in visual, monumental form, and both sought architectural inspiration in histories that had preceded them while reinforcing a new patriotic history.<sup>4</sup>

In the early 1880s the beatification of the Indian president, Benito Juárez, and of the last Indian emperor, Cuauhtémoc, were emblematic of the attempts to create a civic religion around well-established—and graphically perceivable—deities. By the early twentieth century it was commonplace for Mexicans to praise three great national heroes and their individual contributions to the nation's evolution: Hidalgo for independence, Juárez for liberty, and Díaz for peace.

In reviving the Indian past, late-nineteenth-century historians, writers, and

politicians were not working in a vacuum. From Bernardino de Sahagún to Francisco Xavier Clavijero, from Carlos María de Bustamante to Manuel Orozco y Berra, the Indian past had gained a more or less distinct form and content. Foreign observers such as Alexander von Humboldt, Guillerme Du-paix, Edward King (Viscount Kingsborough), William H. Prescott, and Desiré de Charnay, among many others, were also influential in the historical reconstruction of Mexico's Indian past.

For Mexican criollo patriots since colonial times, the Indian past was an invaluable source of pride and legitimation, a means of seeking equality with and recognition from Europeans. Attachment to the beauty and resources of Mexico, as well as fidelity to religious values and figures, also played a part in the criollo patriotism, which, it can be argued, had never actually disappeared from the debates over Mexican historiography and nationalism.<sup>5</sup> By the late nineteenth century, the long-standing appreciation of the Indian past was incorporated into modern liberal conceptions.

Thus criollo patriotism and liberal nationalism contained an indigenist element. However, this indigenism was not accompanied by a substantial general and total reinterpretation of the Mexican past or by a general idea of the nation's future shape. The early criollo indigenism—of, for instance, Carlos María de Bustamante or Fray Servando Teresa de Mier—was too radical to serve as a guideline for writing the general history of an Indian nation ruled by a white minority.<sup>6</sup>

The conservative Lucas Alamán, on the other hand, composed the first extensive historical account of Mexico's past and, with it, a more or less articulate program for the modern nation. In *Historia de Méjico* he attempted an unbiased analysis of the Indian past, acknowledging the technological advancements of the natives but stressing their barbaric religion.<sup>7</sup> But for him the origins of the Mexican nation were in the Spanish Conquest, which had made a tabula rasa of all prior histories. However comprehensive and well constructed, Alamán's history became prey for the tumultuous political life of Mexico during the nineteenth century. Alamán's links with conservative and monarchist circles in contentious times and the final ruin of the conservative cause brought about by the French intervention made his type of national project politically suspect and difficult to propose. Yet Alamán condensed a historical view of Mexico that remained in the background of Mexico's nationalistic discourses as late as the 1920s.<sup>8</sup>

The liberals of the first half of the nineteenth century simply did not count on a Lucas Alamán to assemble a comprehensive liberal history of Mexico. But factionalism and endemic wars did not help the liberals compose a comprehensive liberal account of the nation's history, and their creolism and tamed indigenism (if indigenism at all) prevented them from following the example of reformist groups like the young Ottomans who, in the 1860s, used Islamic ideas to legitimize the need to modernize (Westernize) the Ottoman

Empire along European lines. The Ottoman reformers came to equate progress with "a return to the true spirit of Islam."<sup>9</sup> Mexican liberals, in contrast, were too Europeanized to even conceive of a modern milieu that would be Indian or to use the concept of Indianness in the cause of modernity (not, at least, until the 1910s).

After the overthrow of Maximilian's empire and the definitive establishment of the Reform laws in the 1860s, liberal factions began to rewrite Mexico's past and map out its future. This was a process of ideological and historiographical negotiation, for liberals did not have a golden age—as Alamán had found in the Hispanic colonial era—to look back on, at least until the crystallization of the Reform as an epic moment. In the middle of the nineteenth century, liberal romantics—such as Manuel Payno, a great synthesizer whose history textbook became quite influential in the 1870s—could not look to the colonial period as their paradise lost, especially because the independence movement was too close to them, both chronologically and emotionally. Instead, they turned to the Spanish Conquest and portrayed Indians as brave and noble warriors.<sup>10</sup>

By the 1880s, once various regional and political factions had established a relative status quo, Porfirian liberals realized that a comprehensive nationalistic history was a *sine qua non* both for the consolidation of the nation and as a proof of stability and civilization.<sup>11</sup> They were especially aware that such a history had to be taught and disseminated if a national consciousness was to form.<sup>12</sup> For them, if history was not a lesson—in both an exemplary and an educational sense—it was not history. The nation, it was claimed by the Porfirian government, would be consolidated in the classrooms. However, the liberals soon learned to be unfaithful to their goal, restricting themselves to making the nation not by teaching it to a dispersed and illiterate population but, rather, by exhibiting it both domestically and internationally. In any event, not until the 1880s did concise liberal histories of the nation start to materialize.<sup>13</sup> Then came the first general and comprehensive synthesis of Mexico's past: *México a través de los siglos*, a collective, reconciliatory, and conclusive enterprise that included authors from different liberal factions.

The Aztec Palace in Paris was the steel version of *México a través de los siglos*. In its walls, as well as in the displays they sheltered, the story told by the new history text was echoed. The book was a five-volume compendium written by the victorious liberals, headed by Vicente Riva Palacio and including Alfredo Chavero, Julio Zárate, Juan de Dios Arias, Enrique de Olavarría y Ferrari, and José María Vigil. It was published by Santiago Balleca, then a well-known Catalan publisher who lived in Mexico and published many important books in the late nineteenth century.<sup>14</sup> Although it is not clear how the book was originally conceived, it seems to have been fostered by a conscious will to reorder and put together the whole Mexican history in one

book according to the views of the liberals in power.<sup>15</sup> But Riva Palacio's historiographical endeavor especially echoed the goals of the Aztec Palace in the sense that, from its original conception, the book was meant to introduce Mexico to the civilized world as a modern nation: "a first class book . . . to be known throughout the enlightened world."<sup>16</sup>

Riva Palacio wrote the second volume—*El virreinato—of México a través de los siglos*. Above all, he was a writer, truly a man of letters,<sup>17</sup> and his treatment of the colonial period can be viewed as that of a liberal who had come to terms with the Spanish past, a period that had long been the patrimony of conservative historians. Accordingly, the conquest was the painful and inevitable defeat of a great nation at the hands of a still more advanced civilization. The encounter was, in Riva Palacio's view, the first step in the emergence of the new nation. Hence, following the then-in-vogue French writer Ernest Renan and his question, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation?*, he maintained that the nation needed a unified territory, language, culture, and that "all attempts at independence will be in vain until the crossbreeding of race produces a new people, exclusively Mexican."<sup>18</sup>

In effect, what Riva Palacio argued was that, beginning with the Spanish Conquest, a mestizo nation had emerged as a natural fusion, and this fact gave new value to both of its inherent components: Indians and Spaniards. Riva Palacio fashioned a cunning argument through an intricate amalgamation of Renan's type of nationalist thought, Darwin's transformism, and classical criollo patriotism. That is, cultural (linguistic and racial) nationalism and social Darwinism combined with the old patriotism of Mexican criollos that went back to the 1780s and these liberals' common nationalist education during foreign interventions (1840s and 1860s).<sup>19</sup> Therefore, Riva Palacio could justify the very task of writing a national history as something beyond the mere recounting of the past for its own sake. For Riva Palacio, and unlike Lucas Alamán fifty years earlier, the consolidation of nationhood was beyond the capacity of mere antiquarians and above narrow considerations of objectivity. And thus his literary capacities gained importance, because in writing about the nation, the form became the essence. Riva Palacio thought that empirical historical facts made sense only as expressions of something more essential (divine). The nation therefore seemed to occupy the place of God in Riva Palacio's writing.

Ironically, Riva Palacio combined this romantic nationalism with a description of the racial characteristics of Indians that followed Darwinian parameters filtered through French translations.<sup>20</sup> In common with the criollo patriots of the independence period, he even praised, albeit in Darwinian terms, the superiority of the Indian race vis-à-vis the European races, because Indians "[have] lost beard and bodily hair, lost the wisdom teeth, and acquired a new molar, substituting the canines which in Europe's most advanced races still exist in a rudimentary state." Nonetheless, as I have men-

tioned, Riva Palacio thought that mestizos would eventually become a new race that incorporated the best features of its two constituents and formed the real Mexico.<sup>21</sup> In fact, Riva Palacio's transformation of traditional criollo patriotism advanced what would eventually become, without the heavy racial component, the official twentieth-century mestizo definition of Mexican nationhood.<sup>22</sup>

The Aztec Palace echoed *México a través de los siglos* most noticeably when it came to the liberal reconstruction of the pre-Hispanic past. The volume that Alfredo Chavero wrote for *México a través de los siglos* dealt with pre-Hispanic times.<sup>23</sup> Like Riva Palacio, Chavero was a man of letters: an archaeologist and historian of pre-Hispanic Mexico as well as a writer of dramas that—by the 1870s—often had Aztec motifs.<sup>24</sup> He was the prototype of the late-nineteenth-century Mexican indigenist.<sup>25</sup>

Chavero's prose, like that of Riva Palacio, was especially well suited to the construction of a liberal past for Mexico. His writings, as Riva Palacio himself argued, were motivated by a patriotic spirit, "striving to bring to the stage characters such as queen Xochitl and Meconetzin, but with these characters nobody can make a name for himself in Mexico, because it multiplies insurmountable problems."<sup>26</sup> In fact, Chavero's and Riva Palacio's rhetorical abilities included the intersection of old and new means of expression: the neoclassical liberal rhetoric—a legacy of late colonial times and liberal republicanism—and the emerging professional languages fostered by various sciences.<sup>27</sup> Thus while the engineers of the Aztec Palace debated whether to use steel and marble in neoclassical or purely Aztec fashion, the writers of Mexican liberal history experimented with baroque Greco-Roman metaphors versus organicist, biological, and technical ones.

In *México a través de los siglos* Chavero emphasized the strength and significance of the Nahua culture over other cultures, as well as his conviction about the degeneration of races: "It would be a mistake to judge the greatness of the ancient Mexican empire by our present-day Indians."<sup>28</sup> He concluded with an evolutionist view of the growth of Aztec preeminence: "Thus started gestating the three [Otomi, Nahua, and Maya] civilizations that would develop in the course of several centuries, until the Nahua, the most perfect and powerful of the three, would expand and dominate the entire territory."<sup>29</sup> This epitomized the late-nineteenth-century liberal appropriation of the Aztecs as the only past of the modern nation.

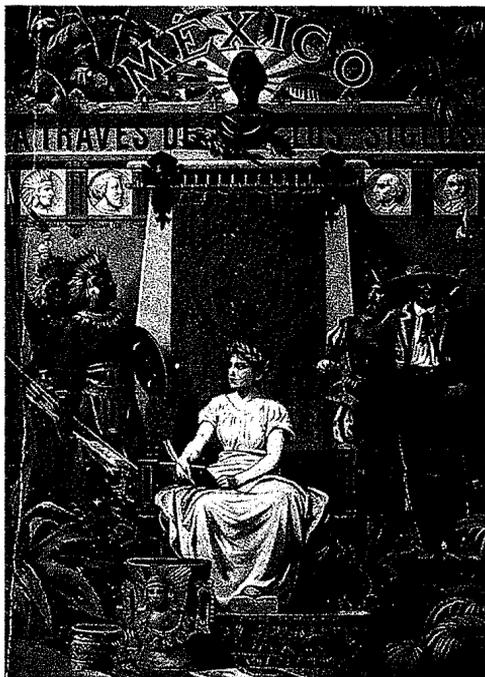
Together, all the authors of *México a través de los siglos* achieved what the country had never before had: a comprehensive and articulated picture of its entire history. But it was not a purely Mexican perspective. The work was a synthesis directed at domestic readers, but it also served as a point of reference for readers from abroad. On one hand, the book was paid for in part by private subscribers who received it in periodical deliveries. According to Balleca, the number of subscribers reached 7,000 in 1882 but declined to

3,000 by 1889.<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, the book was meant to be, like the Aztec Palace, a modern monument, as Riva Palació put it, "a monument worthy of the advancement that typography has achieved in our century."<sup>31</sup> The picture of the country the book presented sought to resolve internal disparities and to foster nationalism, but it also aimed to fit together the parameters of the political, social, and economic ideas, many of them foreign, that inspired the multivolume book. And it did so in a beautiful and colorful Catalan edition, subsidized by the Mexican government, that made use of all of the representational resources then available to the printing arts. Lithographs and pictures were as much part of the late-nineteenth-century literature as were romantic novels and travel descriptions, and the lithographs by F. Fuste and R. Canto in *México a través de los siglos* produced a vivid, animated, and pedagogic impression.<sup>32</sup> In addition, photographs and lithographs from national and international expeditions, as well as descriptions and reproductions from foreign historians and archaeologists, were included and so became part of the national symbolism.<sup>33</sup> *México a través de los siglos* was thus an object lesson on the importance of books to the modern world (see Figs. 3a and 3b).<sup>34</sup>

The nationalism that *México a través de los siglos* synthesized and that the Aztec Palace expressed was simultaneously paralleled by international political and cultural trends that in some way fostered this reargumentation of the Mexican past. Oddly enough, this growing radical nationalism coincided with the growth of cultural cosmopolitanism, because an international common model of values and fashions had emerged among the middle classes. On one hand, cosmopolitanism was considered an attribute of the adventurous and tolerant, the conquest and appreciation of the exotic. In this sense, cosmopolitanism meant open-minded European acknowledgment of other values, things, and peoples. As Baudelaire himself claimed when he commented on the 1855 Paris world's fair, "That divine grace of cosmopolitanism" meant that "beauty is always bizarre."<sup>35</sup> On the other hand, cosmopolitanism was a set of European values, things, and attitudes that had to be adopted if one was to be modern.

Mexico's elite was linked to the transformation of nationalism as well as to both notions of cosmopolitanism. Accordingly, they racially—scientifically—redefined Mexican nationhood by supplying Mexico with an acceptable national uniqueness and a degree of exoticism.

The two proposals for a 1889 Mexican pavilion that were submitted sought to represent the Indian past faithfully and to make it coincide with modern progress, and both were historically supported and inspired by the historical synthesis introduced by *México a través de los siglos*. Both proposals attempted to satisfy the cosmopolitan and exotic appetites of the modern



3. Covers of *México a través de los siglos*, vols. 1 (top) and 4 (bottom). Sources: Vicente Riva Palacio, ed., *México a través de los siglos*, vols. 1, 4 (Barcelona, 1887–1889).

world; both shared the conviction of having arrived at the final stage of progress and the idea of reconciliation. Yet they varied in the extent and weight they gave to the different components of the nationhood they sought to mirror.

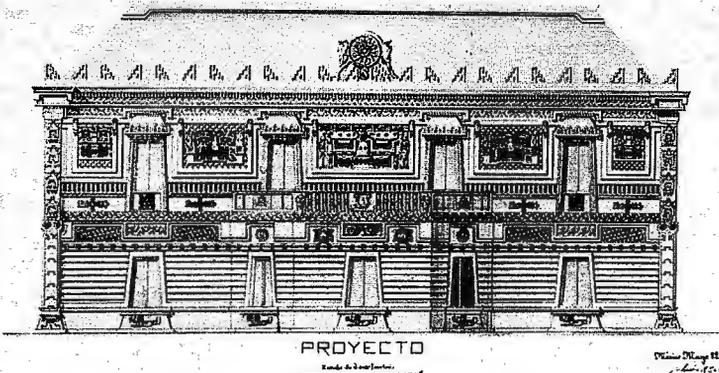
The building design submitted by Luis Salazar, Vicente Reyes, and José María Alva was a bizarre architectural synthesis of pre-Hispanic architectural styles based on a collection of antiquities assembled by Lord Kingsborough, *Antiquities of México*.<sup>36</sup> Jean Frédéric Waldeck's lithographs of the pre-Hispanic architecture of the Maya region were also used by Salazar.<sup>37</sup> In addition, Salazar was influenced by the pioneering work of Capt. Guillaume M. Dupaix, who had been commissioned by the king of Spain to study the Maya ruins during the first decades of the nineteenth century, as well as that of the photographer and archaeologist Desiré de Charnay, who was part of the 1857 French scientific commission that photographed and studied pre-Hispanic ruins in Mexico.<sup>38</sup> In fact, Salazar above all used Chavero's synthesis of all the above-mentioned works that had been included in *México a través de los siglos*.<sup>39</sup>

Salazar Reyes and Alva conceived a pavilion that merged features of ancient Indian buildings with those of modern architecture, especially with steel and wood construction (see Figs. 4a and 4b). The structure was meant to be dismantled and later reassembled to serve as a government building in Mexico. Salazar thus imagined a complex combination of Indian architectural styles with ornamentation inspired by pre-Hispanic mythology. As historian Fausto Ramírez observed, the combination was in tune with the fusionist policies of the Díaz regime.<sup>40</sup> In the Salazar palace, all pre-Hispanic styles and histories were synthesized into one single architectural past, which in turn was the stylistic antecedent of the modern nation. The building was 70 meters long, 30 meters wide, and 17.20 meters tall. The shape of the base was a copy of Xochicalco's temple, combined with motifs taken from Mitla's ruins. The monolith of Tenango was used as a model for the columns, and the lateral windows were copied from Palenque's forms as described by Dupaix and Charnay and reinterpreted by Chavero.<sup>41</sup>

The second proposal for a Mexican pavilion, that of Peñafiel and de Anza, was the project finally accepted. According to Peñafiel, their building epitomized the essential features of the Mexican pre-Hispanic monuments and the Mexican national history. Unlike Salazar, Peñafiel aimed not to develop a national architectonic style but to be faithful to the real pre-Hispanic past of the Mexican nation and to the natural organic evolution of Mexico. Thus his project was a reproduction of a *teocalli* (an Aztec temple), because in his view Aztecs conformed to the authentic past of Mexico. He guaranteed that in his project "there is no detail, symbol, or allegorical figure that has not been drawn from the true Mexican archaeology and with the only intent of bringing back to life a genuine national civilization."<sup>42</sup>



EXPOSICION INTERNACIONAL DE PARIS  
EDIFICIO DE MEXICO  
FACHADA LATERAL.



4. Plans for facades of the Mexican palace at the 1889 Paris Universal Exhibition, by Luis Salazar (top) and J. M. de Alva (bottom). Source: México, Secretaría de Fomento, *Proyectos de edificio para la Exposición Internacional de París 1889* (Mexico City, 1888).

In formulating his proposal, Peñafiel followed the official historiography, especially Chavero's account in *México a través de lo siglos*, and his own research. In addition, he incorporated into his project the investigations of the Prussian scholar Edward Seler in European archives.<sup>43</sup> In the end, Peñafiel considered only the Aztec people as being worthy of pride and celebration, the true antecedent of the Mexican modern nation.<sup>44</sup> In the official pamphlet that explained the Mexican pavilion, Peñafiel contended that the building was constructed in the "purest Aztec style," as described in his own book, *Monumentos del arte mexicano antiguo*.<sup>45</sup> He maintained that it was to be constructed in steel for easy disassembly and reconstruction in Mexico, "should the government deem it appropriate,"<sup>46</sup> for an archaeological museum. This pavilion was 70 meters long, 30 meters wide, and 14.50 meters tall, with a glass ceiling and no internal walls except the steel skeleton and the glass showcases.

Peñafiel's goal was to allegorically depict the vigor of the Aztec religion, agriculture, and arts, all understood within an evolutionary line from the beginning of the Aztec civilization to its end, the starting point of Mexican nationhood. Therefore, the building comprised three sections: "The building's central part stands for the capital ideas of religion; the sides stand for agriculture and the arts, principal elements of its progress, and in the middle figures representing the beginning and the end of the ancient Mexican civilization" (see Fig. 5).<sup>47</sup>

What Peñafiel did was to select, from what he knew of Aztec architecture, the elements that would meet the requirements of modern nineteenth-century allegorical architecture. Therefore, he looked for Mexican-style columns to substitute for the Greco-Roman columns so common in the neoclassical constructions of his own day. In the portico of the building were "two caryatids, whose shape I took from an archaeological study I did recently in Tula, state of Hidalgo, with the purpose of finding columns that could be used in [modern] Mexican architecture."<sup>48</sup>

The official guide to the building, unlike Salazar's description, did not explain the aesthetic origins of each section of the building; rather, it was a narrative of the heroics of the Aztec people. In the guide, Peñafiel explained that his design was a "mythological representation akin to the exposition's ends."<sup>49</sup> By the goals of the exposition he meant the French exhortation to the builders of foreign pavilions to show their native styles. However, in picturing Aztec gods and heroes Peñafiel was doing something more than satisfying the French requirements. He was continuing a long ideological and cultural Mexican tendency to selectively reevaluate the Indian past as part of the national identity.

Following this rendering of a national epic, the Aztec heroes were cautiously depicted and arranged in a symbolic order, so as to clearly present the epic of the Mexican nation. Therefore, the facade of the Aztec Palace was divided



5. Entrance to the Aztec Palace at the 1889 Paris Universal Exhibition. Source: William Walton, *Chefs-d'oeuvre de l'Exposition Universelle de Paris, 1889* (Philadelphia and Paris, 1889).

into two sets of bronze sculptures, all designed by the Mexican sculptor Jesús Contreras, who was then studying in Paris. One set was located at each side of the facade; the other decorated its central part. In the first set, on the right side of the palace, were Centeotl (goddess protector of agriculture), Tlaloc (god of rain), and Chalchiutlicue (goddess of water). On the left side were Xochiquetzal (god of arts), Camaxtli (god of hunting), and Yacatecuhтли (god of commerce). In the central facade were six representations of Aztec heroes: on the right, Itzcoatl, Nezahualcoyotl, and Totoquihuatzin; on the left, Cacama, Cuitlahuac, and Cuauhtémoc. I will examine these representations later.

Although Peñafiel was considered both an archaeologist and a statistician, his language was even more rhetorically neoclassical than was that of Riva Palacio or Chavero. Peñafiel's official description of the building was a romantic narrative, full of classical references that highlighted the heroism and high degree of civilization of the Aztec world. The Aztecs, he maintained, were superior to the Greeks in their arts "because they managed to do with the straight line, the most ingrate of the lines, what the Greeks did with the curve, which has always easily brought with it beauty at its best."<sup>50</sup> His classicism was also expressed in his metaphors of the heroes Cacama, Cuitlahuac, and Cuauhtémoc, who stood for what he called "the end of the Mexican monarchy" and whose lives, he claimed, were like a "chant by Homer. . . . Plutarch would have painted those three towering heroic figures of Mexico with the colors of Scipio and Graco."<sup>51</sup>

Although Peñafiel emphasized the greatness of the Indian past and thus talked about the brutality of the Spanish Conquest, his stance was far from rigidly anti-Spanish. Like Chavero and Riva Palacio, Peñafiel depended heavily on Orozco y Berra's description of the conquest, and he established a distinction between sixteenth-century Spain and modern, progressive Spain.<sup>52</sup>

In the end, both Peñafiel's and Salazar's proposals were submitted to the Mexican Central Committee for the 1889 Paris fair and to Porfirio Díaz himself, and in May 1888 the central committee discussed both projects. Chavero favored the Salazar-Reyes-Alva project, arguing that it was "the perfect creation of a new and splendid style taken from the ancient monuments of Mexican art";<sup>53</sup> that is, a reconciliation both of the various Indian pasts and of these pasts and the present. However, frictions were obvious among committee members regarding the proper degree of indigenism to incorporate into the building. To minimize these, Zárate and Flores proposed that the committee's choice be considered only a recommendation and that the final decision be left to Porfirio Díaz and Carlos Pacheco. They also proposed that a plaster scale model of the losing design be constructed and shown as part of the Mexican exhibit in Paris. A special session of the commission was set for 2 June in Pacheco's residence. The committee voted nine to five in

favor of Peñafiel's project.<sup>54</sup> As a partial consolation, both de Anza and Salazar were put in charge of constructing the Mexican pavilion.

Salazar's eclectic, Maya-oriented building did not materialize, though it was reproduced in miniature—also by Jesús Contreras. As we will see, however, Salazar's experiment acquired new life forty years later in the 1929 Seville world's fair, ironically to celebrate the remnants of Spanish imperialism (see part 2). In that year an eclectic Maya building depicted a different regime and nation.

Once the project for the Mexican pavilion was approved, its construction became a constant process of negotiation between and within the Mexican and French governments over economic interests and varied strategies of representation. The main compromises concerned the size and location of the area assigned to the Mexican Aztec Palace, the cost of the building and its decoration, the timing of construction, and the appropriateness of the building's style.<sup>55</sup> The first problem the commission faced was the size and characteristics of the site assigned to the pavilion. Mexico's request for a larger location had more to do with the impact of its exhibition than with the size of the area assigned to it. As Díaz Mimiaga noted, the small area assigned to the Hispanic American countries would have to be shared with the exhibits of some European countries, and perhaps the Hispanic Americans would come off second best in comparison.<sup>56</sup> Indeed, for Mexico, careful placement of the exhibition area became very important. In the end, as a result of a long negotiation, Mexico gained what it requested: a rectangular area 70 meters long and 30 meters wide. It was 15 meters away from Argentina's exhibit but far from the great European displays.<sup>57</sup>

Once the design of the pavilion had been chosen, the committee began to consider construction details. After considering various proposals, in November 1888 Díaz Mimiaga signed a contract with the Société Cail, which did not include the artistic works.<sup>58</sup> The artistic tasks were assigned, as mentioned above, to the Mexican sculptor Jesús Contreras, who had been given a grant in 1887 to study bronze working in France. In 1889, still in Paris, he had to work arduously on (and was poorly paid for) all of the artistic needs of the building. Yet, as we will see, he eventually became the master and manufacturer of Mexico's late-nineteenth-century craze for statuary, with great fame and profit.<sup>59</sup> The estimate of total cost submitted by the Cail firm was 385,000 francs, or about 40,600 pesos.<sup>60</sup>

The interior designs were let to the French designer E. Rousseau at a cost of 280,000 francs. According to Díaz Mimiaga, Rousseau spent two months researching samples of indigenous Mexican adornments in the ethnographic collections of the Trocadero Museum.<sup>61</sup> Although little graphic evidence of



6. Design for the interior of the Aztec Palace. Source: José Francisco Godoy, *México en París* (Mexico City, 1891).

the interior of the building has survived,<sup>62</sup> it seems that the resulting interior decoration was all too French (see Fig. 6). Rousseau apparently designed curtains and internal ornamentation with pre-Hispanic motifs, but the total effect was as modern and cosmopolitan as was that of all of the other palaces in Paris 1889, with curtains and shades recalling haremlike scenarios of oriental exoticism rather than Aztec decor.

Although the Aztec Palace was scheduled to open in March 1889, it was actually inaugurated on 22 June 1889. At 9:00 A.M. "La Marseillaise" and the Mexican national anthem were played by the Mexican 101st battalion orchestra while French President Sadi Carnot, joined by the directors of the exhibition and by Ramón Fernández and Gustavo Baz, climbed the steps of the Aztec Palace. "At that very moment, the Eiffel Tower began to be lit up by fireworks, and the light fountains began to function."<sup>63</sup>

The inauguration was covered in various French newspapers. For some of them the Aztec Palace was "one of the most original [pavilions] of the Exposition."<sup>64</sup> For others it was "the exact reproduction of the Aztec temple known as the "Fire Temple"; a temple in which were performed "torture and human sacrifice." The stairs were bizarre, "straight like an arrow, virtually insurmountable. . . . They are called the stairs of torture [*supplice*], being one

of the notable variety of tortures that the Mexicans of long ago had invented."<sup>65</sup> For still others the Aztec Palace was a bizarre pastiche that was at odds with the general cosmopolitanism of the fair.<sup>66</sup>

Put in a larger perspective, the Aztec Palace was only a brief episode in a long story. It was complete, in common with the entire fair, and yet as such it was also ephemeral, as was the image of the homeland itself. Mexican liberals were keenly aware of this. Although the nation in 1889 was in an Aztec mood and had attained a conclusive general liberal history, some Mexican intellectuals knew that the situation was only temporary. The Aztec Palace was eventually disassembled, and *México a través de los siglos* was surpassed by yet another liberal, though more positivist, general history, *México: Su evolución social*. In fact, the great synthesizer of Mexican history, Riva Palacio, wrote from prison of his ambivalence about the winterlike nature of his *patria*:

When I was young, your rumor spoke  
of phrases my thought had guessed;  
and later, while crossing the campsite,  
*patria*, your bass voice said.  
Today I feel you striking  
the strong bars of my cell  
amidst my dark nights;  
but my misfortunes have taught me  
that you are but wind, and no more, when you moan,  
you are wind if you roar or if you murmur,  
wind if you come, wind if you leave.<sup>67</sup>

## SIX

# Mexican Anthropology and Ethnography at the Paris Exposition

The Aztec Palace was, above all, a statement about Mexico's Indian legacy in an era of science and nationalism. In this chapter I explain how the issue of exoticism, race, and nationalism came to be part of the image of a modern nation and thus of world's fairs and how this fact marked Mexico's efforts to display itself in Paris. Next I describe the anthropological, archaeological, and exoticist exhibits, both of Mexico and of the fair in general, as being mutually supportive. Third, I deal with the particular way in which Mexicans viewed race in the second part of the nineteenth century. This excursion is indispensable to an understanding of the way in which Mexico was presented as a modern and universal nation by its elite, despite its mixed-race configuration. Hence, fourth, making use of what the fair displayed, I review Western theories on race and nationalism in order to show where Mexicans found the arguments with which to fit their country into the concepts.

### THE HISTORICAL CRISIS OF AN ECUMENICAL WORLD

"The exotic Exposition makes us reflect on the new duties that we assume in the world," observed Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé, commenting on the ethnological exhibits at the 1889 Paris world's fair. He added that in the "ecumenical city of Invalides . . . everything proclaims the rupture of the ancient equilibrium," because of "the reciprocal penetration of [peoples]." This, he added, constituted "the fusion of men . . . , a crisis of history."<sup>1</sup> Because the alien was at last in the familiar, such a shock, as de Vogüé's anguish exemplifies, both was inevitable and would have unknown future consequences. History was in a quandary because for the first time the exotic needed the cosmopolitan as much as the reverse. For "exotic" Latin American intellectuals, like the Cuban poet José Martí, the fair represented the beginning of

a harmonious, all-inclusive world.<sup>2</sup> But what was civilized and what was not? What was primitive and what was modern? The fair tried to answer these questions conclusively, but in doing so it made them all the more sonorous and unsolved.

In 1889 the Aztec Palace was only one of the many exotic aspects of the fair. For example, various peoples were brought to Paris and used as subjects of anthropometrical research. Racial hypernationalism required this sort of show, composed not only of the exoticism of others but also of the European nations' own folk peoples.<sup>3</sup> In this sense modern nationalism constituted—regardless of each country's particularities—a twofold mandate: to create one's own self by reviewing geographical, cultural, and temporal others; and to make one's self at home in modern nationalism by recounting and inventing one's own traditions. The nationalism of the late-nineteenth-century industrialized nations was also embraced by the modernizing elites of so-called exotic and backward countries. That is, the mandate was followed by both the modern observers of the "precipices of time" that were world's fairs and the observed exotic Others.<sup>4</sup> If what was modern was the mandate, then both the fair and the Mexican pavilion were countenances of modernity.

The French organizers suggested that Mexico and other exotic countries display their national styles in the architecture of their pavilions. For France an Aztec Palace was a complement, albeit minor, to its *fin-de-siècle* orientalism—a combination of anthropological, archaeological, aesthetic, and nationalistic concerns that conformed to a graphical ethnology.<sup>5</sup> In Paris 1889 the "Rue du Caire" and the exhibit on the "History of Habitation" were the foremost examples of this orientalism. Visitors walked through a replica of an historical street in Cairo that was so perfect it caused Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé to exclaim: "Here are our slaves."<sup>6</sup> In contrast, Gypsy and Javanese dances and music were performed all around the fair.

All of that was just a facade, however, a scenario that displayed European architectural, ethnological, and artistic concerns and done in a way that could easily become daily fare for late-nineteenth-century Parisians.<sup>7</sup> Behind the facade rested the belief in, and the will to try, another expression—harmonious progress. In effect, late-nineteenth-century world's fairs displayed not only modern nationalism but also modernity's unavoidable component: the self-defeating awareness of its stylistic experimental nature. This irony permeated the entire fair.

The facade of the Aztec Palace simultaneously satisfied French orientalism and reconstructed Mexican national history. In contrast, its interior was more a statement about the present and the future than it was an assertion about the past. If one overlooked the overall French style in decoration, the interior of the Mexican pavilion contained an impressive anthropological, archaeological, and natural history display (see Fig. 7). In effect, in the interior of the Aztec Palace the issue of race was treated in the same fashion



7. Interior of the Aztec Palace. Source: José Francisco Godoy, *México en París* (Mexico City, 1891).

as in the whole fair: within a scientific paradigm, with a nationalistic concern, and with a pragmatic (that is, a commercial and quasi-touristic) approach.

The Aztec Palace also shows how modern Western understanding of nationalism and progress was created both from the outside and from the inside. The understanding was constructed by the elite of a country that was incompletely Western. The elite had created its own conception of modern nationalism and progress in accordance with what they believed to be a universal outside, even though they were, in fact, secretly contributing to the construction of that universal.<sup>8</sup>

#### PARALLEL EXHIBITS

At the 1889 exhibition, “the New World [appeared] rich in exotic realities,” C. de Varigny observed. But “in the interior everything is made of steel, everything is modern, and has been classified according to methodic and wise skills. There, everything talks about a young, active, and vigorous race. . . . For the first time, the New World affirms itself in its cosmopolitan diversity and in its individual originality.”<sup>9</sup> That is, the nations of the New World had achieved the perfect combination of particularism and universalism. There-

fore, for Varigny, the Aztec Palace was a great example of the superiority of modern times that could reconcile the architectural exoticism of other civilizations with modern cosmopolitanism—all the more remarkable since the palace was the creation of a country largely populated by Indians.

Another visitor, Charles Possonnier—in a pamphlet that was part of the propaganda package distributed by the Mexican exhibition—argued that Mexico was marching under the guidance of modern progress and liberty.<sup>10</sup> A reporter was especially impressed by the painting *El Senado de Tlaxcala*, which portrayed Indians conferring in a Roman-style parliament, while dining-room furniture in Aztec style also caught his eye. He reported, with emotion but without surprise, seeing “the head of an Apache chief admirably conserved.”<sup>11</sup>

In addition to the Aztec Palace itself, Mexico's exhibit included books on antiques, studies of Indian customs, and scientific treatises. Leopoldo Batres, chief of the office of Inspección y Conservación de Monumentos Arqueológicos de la República (whose very foundation in 1885 exemplifies the era's archaeo-anthropological concerns) exhibited his book *Monografías de arqueología mexicana: Teotihuacán; o, la ciudad sagrada de los Toltecas*, published in English and Spanish.<sup>12</sup> In it, Batres developed an anthropological theory on the degeneration of the Mexican races. Alfredo Chavero, in addition to the handsome edition of his volume on Mexico's pre-Hispanic history, *México a través de los siglos*, exhibited novels and dramas with indigenous themes. Antonio Peñafiel displayed the attractive edition of his *Monumentos del arte mexicano antiguo*, published in Berlin, and countless copies of his *Explication de l'édifice mexicaine*.<sup>13</sup>

Mexico was also represented at the “History of Habitation” display, though with a structure not made by Mexicans. “The architectural representation of cultures at the world's fairs,” architecture historian Z. Çelik observes, “was double-sided, making a claim to scientific authority and accuracy while nourishing fantasy and illusion.”<sup>14</sup> The architect of the Paris Opera, Charles Garnier, conceived the idea of displaying a history of human habitation at the foot of the Eiffel Tower. The exhibit included forty-four different buildings illustrating the “march of humanity through the ages.” It was a main attraction, popular for the contrast with the Eiffel Tower that it offered. The dwellings exhibited claimed to be “truer than the truth.”<sup>15</sup> For some, the display was scientific proof of the evolution of humanity from barbarism to civilization; for others, like José Martí, what was remarkable about the exhibit was not the progressive evolution, which demonstrated innovation in materials and styles, but the fact that modernity meant that “in each city there are Moorish, Greek, Gothic, Byzantine, and Japanese dwellings, marking the beginning of the happy times in which men treat each other as friends.”<sup>16</sup>

In November 1888 Mexico had been requested both to design a dwelling in Aztec style and to send a group of people distinctively Mexican in look

and dress to inhabit the so-called Aztec dwelling. Mexico's government asked the distinguished historian Francisco del Paso y Troncoso to evaluate the French proposal.<sup>17</sup> He advised against joining the habitation exhibit, arguing that it would be impossible to reproduce genuine Aztec interior decoration and furniture. The truth was that, in terms of exoticism, for Mexico one Aztec Palace was enough, and the government was reluctant to disperse its theatrical effect in various palaces. Nevertheless, Garnier constructed an Aztec dwelling following the descriptions of the French ethnographer and traveler Desiré de Charnay and of the architect and philosopher Viollet-le-Duc.<sup>18</sup> With the help of archaeology, the Aztec dwelling was depicted as belonging to a civilization that, according to Garnier's classification, remained outside the development of modern architecture, though with some Egyptian influences (see Fig. 8).<sup>19</sup>

A world's fair was not only an architectural circus but also a human one. Native peoples from Africa, America, and Asia were brought and exhibited with the same principles, techniques, and interests as those of a zoo.<sup>20</sup> In fact, if Mexico fulfilled in Paris the standards of the plastic orientalism of the West, then in Buffalo's 1901 Pan American Exhibition, the "Rue du Caire" exhibit of 1889 was replaced by a "Streets of Mexico," a supposedly realistic reproduction of the architecture of a Mexican village, with entertainment provided by live Mexicans dressed in traditional costumes and performing the routines of daily life in Mexico. Porfirio Díaz himself agreed to send Mexican Indians for this display on the condition that they were not to be ridiculed.<sup>21</sup>

It should be noted that precedent existed for the Buffalo display. At the Atlanta (1895) and Nashville (1896) fairs, Mexicans (along with Asians and Afro-Americans) were put "on view in villages on the entertainment avenues of the fairs that were also the areas of the exposition set aside for cheap thrills and monkey houses."<sup>22</sup> Even earlier, in the 1850s, in the aftermath of the London Crystal Palace exhibition, an exhibit of Aztec Lilliputians was applauded not only by thousands of visitors but also by the English Ethnological Society and by the royal family itself.<sup>23</sup> Along similar lines, if in 1889 people and products were brought from the French colonies to reproduce villages of exoticism in Paris, in 1895 the Atlanta Cotton States International Exhibition displayed a "Mexican Village." This village was formed with people from Tehuantepec, brought to Atlanta by the Mexican Village Company.<sup>24</sup> Once again, at the 1904 Saint Louis exposition an exhibit of "Aztecs and Their Industries" was staged (see Fig. 9 and chapter 11).

The Aztec Palace and all of Mexico's ethnographic and anthropological displays ought not to be considered apart from the anthropological focus of world's fairs. For instance, the 1889 fair featured a retrospective exposition of anthropological research and science.<sup>25</sup> The entrance gallery of this exhibit demonstrated the progress and orientation of anthropology (which at the time included ethnography and archaeology) as a field of knowledge.



8. The Aztec-Inca dwelling in the "History of Habitation" exhibit in Paris, 1889.  
Source: William Walton, *Chefs-d'oeuvre de l'Exposition Universelle de Paris, 1889*  
(Philadelphia and Paris, 1889).



9. "Aztecs and Their Industries" at the 1904 Saint Louis world's fair. Source: David R. Francis, *The Universal Exposition of 1904*, vol. 2 (Saint Louis, 1913), 119.

To the left of the entrance there stood an image of a naked woman of huge physical proportions—a sort of Amazon—while on the right, there was a representation of a half-naked Indian man. Crowning the entrance was a frieze containing the great names in the history of anthropology: Buffon, Blumenbach, Lamarck, Cuvier, Hilaire, Retzius, Broca, and Darwin.<sup>26</sup> This set of heroes was established by a disciplinary infrastructure that included research institutions, journals, congresses, and government agencies. But the exhibition consisted of more than thought: a hundred masks and full-sized models of individuals of various races, "77 pieces or molds . . . of the brain, fifteen of the hand, 234 molds of human skulls, of which 48 are prehistoric or ancient."<sup>27</sup>

Anthropology was then considered at the root of human labor, a discipline concerned with the historicization of labor itself, while ethnography was considered the history of progress in material things.<sup>28</sup> The focus of anthropology was in the essence of human labor: the brain. Therefore, all sorts of anthropometric instruments were displayed at world's fairs, as was the case with the arrays of the British biologist Francis Galton.<sup>29</sup> Thus Mexico also exhibited Indian skulls, measurements, and statistics. This was a Mexico anthropologized by itself, demonstrating the existence of a common set of references between Mexico's exhibits and world's fairs: science, progress, race, skulls, primitive, civilized oriental, Aztec. . . .

## MEXICAN UNDERSTANDING OF RACE

Before explaining the interaction between Mexico and the universal exhibitions as a whole, let us briefly examine the apparently conclusive view held by Mexican intellectuals concerning the Indian component of Mexican nationhood, a view that was epitomized by the 1889 Mexican exhibit. By 1889 this view constituted an intellectual, pragmatic, but, above all, ambivalent perspective. The Aztec Palace reflected this pragmatism and ambivalence. Whereas the facade of the Aztec Palace praised Mexico's pre-Hispanic past, the interior hinted at the inferiority of the majority of Mexico's population (that is, the Indians and the hybrid races). On one hand, this view pointed out the "scientific" inferiority of both Indian and mixed-blood people; on the other, it explained how such an inferiority was in fact an advantage for the development of a modern nation.

The ambivalence led to different ways of dealing with the issue of race. First, Porfirians presented a racist social hierarchy as a modern class structure. Second, they consolidated an anthropological scientific perspective. And finally, they introduced education, combined with biological natural selection, as the final solution for their own ambivalence toward the so-called Indian problem.

By 1889 it was unfashionable to accuse American-born Europeans of intrinsic inferiority by virtue of the climatic or geographical imperatives of their development—as Buffon and Gobineau had at the end of the eighteenth century. However, Mexican criollos felt the necessity to prove, through the scientific language furnished by Europe, the particular advantages of a good racial mixture. To do so, Mexican anthropologists, physicians, and philosophers had to carefully read their European lessons in search of the in-betweens to make their own country square with white cosmopolitanism. In 1889, therefore, the most prominent Mexican archaeologists, anthropologists, naturalists, and publicists of race found themselves at the Paris fair—Alfredo Chavero, Antonio Peñafiel, José Ramírez, Auguste Genin, Rafael de Zayas Enríques, and Leopoldo Batres.

As the 1889 fair illustrated, a cosmopolitan modern nation inevitably included a racial core. The superiority of the white European race was so forcefully promoted by the late-nineteenth-century scientific perspective that no nation seeking to be considered modern and cosmopolitan would even attempt to propose the superiority or equality of other races. For Mexico it was a lost cause to try to prove the pure and unmixed white nature of the modern Mexican population. But all of the Mexican propaganda in Paris emphasized that the Mexican upper classes were unmistakably white and, hence, that Mexico fit modernity according to one criterion established by modern societies—namely, through a well-defined class structure.

Consequently, in a Mexican study prepared for and displayed in Paris, the

distinguished Mexican geographer Antonio García Cubas included an ethnographic section in which he argued that 19 percent of the Mexican population was European, 43 percent mestizo, and 38 percent Indian. Nonetheless, he argued, Europeans commanded the country. He stated that Europeans and significant numbers of mestizos were the most noteworthy and dynamic factor in Mexico's progressive development. García Cubas explained that despite the large Indian population, Spanish was the official language and that French, English, and Italian were spoken by the high society. The European population, he stated, resided in Mexico City and directed agriculture, mining, and industry. Mestizos were distributed throughout the country and made up the entire working class. Not only did mestizos represent a good and reliable labor force, they were also, contrary to common prejudice, very capable imitators—thus the excellent quality of their products. On the other hand, García Cubas described Indians as leading a quasi-bucolic, healthy existence in the countryside and mountains, but as becoming a degenerate race when transplanted to the cities. All were brave and resistant workers, save the northern tribes of Comanches, who were "perfidious, traitorous, and cruel."<sup>30</sup>

In order to equip this modern class structure with a scientific corpus, Mexicans had to construct a native anthropological, archaeological, and ethnographic tradition. This they began to do in the 1860s.<sup>31</sup> According to the eminent physician Nicolás León, however, anthropology and archaeology attained a definitive impulse in 1887, with the creation of an archaeological section in the National Museum. Two years earlier, the office of Inspection and Conservation of Monuments had been created with Leopoldo Batres as permanent chief. By 1889 this agency of the government was consolidated and publicized abroad.<sup>32</sup> Nonetheless, it was not easy to establish the necessary infrastructure for anthropological research in a poor country.<sup>33</sup>

A Mexican anthropological, ethnographic, and archaeological perspective was fairly well established by 1889.<sup>34</sup> In fact, since 1884 the Mexican scientific journal *La Naturaleza* had echoed the anthropological focus of world's fairs by arguing that whereas "old anthropology took charge of moral man," modern anthropology dealt with "the anatomical man" and thus was "the accessory part of comparative osteology that is concerned with the state of variations of the skull in diverse human races."<sup>35</sup> Indeed, though neither Indians nor the concept of race were novel for Mexicans, the way these problems were discussed in the late nineteenth century meant a radical change from the previous three centuries.

The most visible aspect of ambivalent domestic views of indigenous traditions was the belief in the educability of Indians. In the last three decades of the nineteenth century, education became a fundamental topic of discussion when it came to what Mexican liberals considered the Indian problem. This, to a certain extent, was a direct consequence of the liberal belief

in equal citizenship as the formula for national development. But it also represented an ad hoc adaptation of liberal and scientific ideas to the Mexican context. A consensus prevailed about the educability of Indians that extended to an acceptance of the eventual fusion of the two races.<sup>36</sup> However naive this position might seem, it represented a determined and skillful, if somehow tricky, intellectual withdrawal from the mainstream racial theories of the 1880s, which had endorsed the idea of the degeneration of races and the degenerative consequences of miscegenation.<sup>37</sup>

In sharp contrast to the belief in the educability of Indians, the consideration of live Indians included an important anthropological theory on the inferiority of Indians. This consideration had to be constantly transformed and rephrased according to the increasingly "scientific" parameters set by European and American ideas. The scientific foundation of the understanding of Indians was made not through simple imitation of European theories but through a laborious process of continual modern learning in which Western thought was included both as master and as apprentice. To fully understand this, it is necessary to briefly consider the way in which race was debated in the West during the last part of the nineteenth century.

#### DEBATING RACE

In the 1880s anthropology had three main concerns that were relevant to understanding race in Mexico. One was the reactivation of the old debate between those who believed that humankind had multiple origins and those who supported the idea of a unified origin (that is, polygenism versus monogenism). The debate seemed to have been solved by the 1840s in favor of polygenism, but it was reactivated by the emergence of Darwinian evolutionism, which linked all human races to a single line of evolution, and by the reinforcement of anthropometrical and anatomical studies of races (especially in France). This last phenomenon gave new strength to polygenism and to the rigidity of racial definitions. Therefore, throughout the last decades of the nineteenth century what best characterized anthropology was the conflict between ethnographers and hard-core physical anthropologists.<sup>38</sup>

As a result, anthropology developed an emphasis on the temporal dimension of human races. That is, instead of the study of geographical places, the focus was on the position of races in the evolutionary chain. As an historian of anthropology observed, because the archaeological and biological discoveries of the 1860s, "anthropological inquiry, which for decades had focused on the problem of human unity, was now refocused on the problem of the origin of human civilization."<sup>39</sup>

Finally, by the 1880s modern anthropology and archaeology reinforced their links with the strong nationalistic tendencies of the late nineteenth cen-

ture. They furnished a professional language for talking about race. Race, in turn, was the key to the fundamental change from the romantic nationalism of the earlier nineteenth century to the state-oriented nationalism of the late decades. Race became a fixed characteristic of a permanent ethnic matrix in which degeneration followed from miscegenation. Once nations became so attached to the idea of race, there was no way to talk about race without making nationalistic statements. Thus the scientists' goal was to dehistoricize the issue of the nation and make it a terrain of anthropology. Only anthropology could provide genuine scientific generalities about peoples, so the historian must become an anatomist and a linguist.<sup>40</sup> This is not to say that the identification of nation with race was a smooth and easily accepted process. Indeed, ideas about race had to be constantly adjusted to fit new criteria and knowledge about both race itself and nationalism, which in turn were shaped by political and economic circumstances.

These concerns of Western anthropology had been applied to—and in—Mexico throughout the nineteenth century. European ethnographical, anthropometrical, and archaeological studies of Mexico were abundant sources of scientific discussion for both Mexicans and Europeans. By the 1880s a well-established French anthropological interest existed in Mexico. As E. T. Hamy argued, in the 1860s "Mexico gained . . . its range within the history of humanity's past."<sup>41</sup> J. M. A. Aubin, Brasseur de Bourbourg, Desiré de Charney, G. d'Eichtal,<sup>42</sup> and, later, the Scientific Commission of Mexico<sup>43</sup> provided European minds with a clear ethnographic, anthropological, and archaeological picture of Mexico, which often was adapted by Mexican scholars to study their own country.

In fact, as a part of European orientalism, French and European Americanism emerged simultaneously. Within the well-established field of Americanism, and by virtue of its archaeological and anthropological abundance, Mexico sought to be recognized. Therefore, in 1895 an Americanists congress—the eleventh—for the first time took place on the American continent, in Mexico City, the "Egypt of America."<sup>44</sup> In common with the orientalism of the period, Americanism reinforced European nationalism by identifying a racial and cultural Other to contrast with the attributes of civilization.

But what was especially relevant for the relationship between race, civilization, and nation was the debate between hard-core physical anthropology and the ethnographic approaches that included race, but not such purely physical aspects as skull measurements. This was especially true in the French context of the 1880s, in which the anatomical trend of anthropology was particularly strong and in which radical nationalism was flourishing.<sup>45</sup> On one hand, for physical anthropologists, to educate a race was a chimera because racial characteristics were fixed and unchanging. Thus colonialism and/or genocide could be justified by using the idea of racial superiority. On the other hand, within the ethnographic terrain—where French orien-

talists and Americanists found themselves—the role of political, social, and moral factors in reshaping racial characteristics was acknowledged. Of course, it would be difficult to argue that ethnologists were outside the racist paradigm of the period, but they also believed that political and moral factors were influential in the configuration of human characters. However, anthropology (that is, physical anthropology) was the dominant school in France until the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>46</sup>

French interest in ethnology went back to the late eighteenth century and was directly linked to natural history. Ethnography sought to study the particular histories of races, their intellectual and moral development, their language and behavior, and their role in civilization. In contrast, since the late eighteenth century, anatomy had developed various studies of the human body, while geology advanced in the study of the evolution of the earth. A. de Quatrefages, following Cuvier and the German scholar Blumenbach, believed in the unified origin of humankind through the physiological definition of the species. With the appearance of Darwin's *On the Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection* in 1859, the emphasis was on the study of humankind as a natural inhabitant of earth and on the superiority of humans over other species. Darwinian evolutionism was used and abused by both ethnographers who aimed to emphasize a common origin of humankind and by physical anthropologists who sought to study human beings as part of their analysis of the animal world, thus focusing on what made humans different from other animals; that is, the brain and its surroundings. Accordingly, in 1859 the physician Paul Broca founded the Société d'Anthropologie de Paris. With it, French anthropology clearly defined its object of study and method, for the rest of the century subsuming ethnology and all other studies to it.

Race, language, and natural conditions were all important factors in the creation of a modern cosmopolitan world culture of so-called superior nations. And late-nineteenth-century anthropology (that is, anthropometrics) furnished much of the scientific authority for each of these factors.

#### MEXICO SEARCHES FOR AN ENTRANCE INTO THE MODERN DEBATE

Mexicans who followed these debates became very proficient in anthropometric techniques and very cognizant of the terms of discussion. After all, they were searching for an interstice where the idea of a modern but explicitly hybrid country might fit. Throughout the Porfirian period, Mexican anthropologists moved within European tendencies. Not until the final triumph of culturalism within Western anthropology and archaeology did Mexican thinkers find a spacious intellectual framework for their ideas. Within this context Mexico's prerevolutionary and postrevolutionary support of the cul-

turalism of Franz Boas must be understood.<sup>47</sup> Porfirio Díaz's official support of the International School of Anthropology—established in Mexico City in 1910, with Boas as first president—and later of Manuel Gamio's (Boas's student) official postrevolutionary indigenism, exemplified the fruitful and useful ground Mexicans found in international cultural anthropology.<sup>48</sup>

But in the 1880s the ways in which Mexican intellectuals located themselves in the intersection of the pure ethnographic and physiological explanations constituted intricate attempts to achieve an acceptable modern national image. One example of this was Riva Palacio's account of the physical evolution of the Indian, designed to support the idea that Indians were physically more advanced than were some European races (see chapter 5). Riva Palacio relied on Darwin's ideas, as historians Moreno and Hale have demonstrated. Nonetheless, in making his assertion Riva Palacio did not step outside the French milieu, for he read Darwin in French and placed Darwinian thought within the logic of French debates. In the same way as the Aztec Palace, Riva Palacio's understanding of race appeared nonconflictive. But unlike Riva Palacio, the Mexican scientists who were seriously dealing with mainstream anthropological sciences were aware of complexities and contradictions in the discussion of race. These scientists were acquiring the cosmopolitan expertise and language to speak about race.

Riva Palacio, thus, personally consulted such Mexican experts as the physician Nicolás León and the biologist Alfonso Herrera. León, as he himself explained, was searching for the "Indian of pure race," just as Broca, in France, looked for the pure French type. Riva Palacio asked León whether, in Tarascan Indians, "the canine tooth is replaced by a molar in both jawbones," and whether "Indians of pure race lack down or hair in the meeting of the limbs at the trunk, armpit and pubis?" León had argued that among Tarascan Indians there was a "replacement of the canines by small molars" and no "wisdom tooth." These observations were used by Riva Palacio to prove the superior place of the Indians in the evolutionary chain. Later, however, León pursued his research and discovered that dental mutilation, a practice common among pre-Columbian and nineteenth-century Indians, and not evolution accounted for his earlier findings about teeth.<sup>49</sup> Nonetheless, Riva Palacio trickily utilized the expertise of Mexican anthropologists and presented Mexican Indians in the terms of physical anthropology, concluding the fitness of Mexican Indians for modern civilization.

In the same way, the famous Mexican archaeologist and anthropologist Leopoldo Batres tried to prove (in Paris and in front of Hamy and Quatrefages) that Mexican Indians did not belong to an inferior race: "On the contrary, [the indigenous race] is endowed with conditions superior to many European races." He bolstered his argument with skull measurements and with ethnographic knowledge he acquired while studying in Paris with Hamy in 1887, observing that "despite the wretchedness in which it [the in-

digenous race] lived for so many years, it is the true producer of the republic. . . . One could argue that how is it that being the most vigorous race of the republic, [the Indian race] has endured the Iberian yoke for three centuries. It is because it is not one, but many varied races, each one of them with different types." Thus, though the Mexican Indian race was well fitted for evolution, the promiscuity of various racial types brought about the weakness of the Mexican race as a whole. In such a way, Batres affirmed the validity of phrenology and of the degenerationist antimiscegenation thesis, while supporting the idea of a strong and superior Mexican race that was able to match European races.<sup>50</sup>

In an 1889 article, Batres gave another example of how Mexicans were locating themselves in the in-betweens of the European scientific discussion. Following the classificatory obsession of European anthropology, Batres developed a method for identifying "the physiognomic type of the principal inhabiting tribes of Mexico." He was on risky scientific ground: "I will not enter into the difficult question of polygenesis and monogenesis because, in dealing with America, it would be very hazardous to give an opinion in whichever of the two senses." Batres then measured the skulls of Indians from various regions of the country in order to "compare the type of living Indian with that of the sculptures of his predecessors, and in this way to establish the type from that which can be called ancient tribes." He combined ethnography, phrenology, and archaeology, as well as the well-accepted Indian past with the difficult issue of the Indian present. And in this way the Indian past acquired greater veneration, and the live Indians a clear classificatory structure; that is, a scientific definition that directly linked live Indians both to the great Indian past—overlooking but not neglecting degeneration—and to a modern anthropological specificity that provided Mexican Indians with a secure spot in modern ethnography.<sup>51</sup>

In the same way, Peñafiel's historico-ethnographic design for the facade of the Aztec Palace tried to merge the anthropological, historical, and ethnographic aspects of the Mexican Indian. He did not face too many problems because he dealt with the legacy of pre-Columbian Indians—commonly accepted as a technically elevated, albeit barbaric, civilization. Peñafiel's Aztec Palace combined the long-established study of archaeological structures with the ethnographic ideas of late-nineteenth-century Europe. The facade was not at all at odds with the obvious inferiority of Indian race, because only the Western reconstruction of the Indian past was exhibited. But ethnographic knowledge was at the core of the very idea of having an Aztec Palace in Paris, and it determined the items Mexico displayed inside the palace. Therefore, the Aztec Palace was indeed a way for Mexico to be in those interstices of the French anthropological debate.

The international scientific community did not view the Aztec Palace in the way Peñafiel wished, however. He had no qualms about introducing the

Mexican pavilion to the international anthropological community, as an incorporation of ancient ruins into modern architecture.<sup>52</sup> But for the European scholarly community, not all archaeological ruins were interpreted in the same way. If ruins were considered part of the general evolution of humankind (as Garnier assumed with the Greco-Roman dwellings in his "History of Habitation") they were seen as mythic ancestors of all European culture, removed from the present by mythical time. However, if ruins were considered merely exotic, they were distanced from the European present by a "cultural space."<sup>53</sup> Hence, although written in the same terminology, Peñafiel's archaeology could not overcome the cultural space. However scientific his archaeology, his palace belonged to the realm of the exotic. Thus for Europeans, the exhibit of Mexican ruins attested to the veracity of evolution; for Mexicans, to furnish European sciences with elements to affirm Europe's superior evolution was at least a first step in entering into the mainstream flow of evolution.

To sum up, in the 1880s a long historiographical labor had at last produced a consensual liberal reconstruction of the Mexican past. At the same time, an anthropological focus had been laboriously developed to account for the past, present, and future of Mexico in a scientific fashion. Through national histories, Mexico consolidated its civic religion and uniqueness, though using the international lexicon of liberal republicanism. Mexico's past thereby obtained a distinctively Mexican coherence and logic, but with a modern, progressive, and evolutionist structure that was easily recognized and understood by modern European standards. In turn, through the anthropological scientific focus Mexicans sought to join modern civilized times in a twofold manner: by catching up with European concerns and prejudices; and by conducting an intricate explanation—made possible by the constant catching up—of their own potential and fitness for joining civilization. Through the kind of understanding of race displayed in Paris, the Mexican elite appealed for European recognition, but it also worked to prove (to itself and to others) that it was on the right track. One has to concede not only that Porfirians displayed all of these ideas but also that they truly believed them.

## NOTES

Abbreviations used in the notes are listed on page 331.

### PREFACE

1. "For all things proof is found / and also a reason to support everything / and there is no explanation at all because there is so much explanation" (Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, "Acusa la hidropesía de mucha ciencia, que teme inútil aun para saber y nociva para vivir," in her *Obras completas*, vol. 1 (Mexico City, 1951), 5-8.

### INTRODUCTION

1. For the historical emergence of the concepts of modern and modernity that I use here, see Hans Ulrich Gumbrecht, "A History of the Concept 'Modern,'" in *Making Sense in Life and Literature*, ed. H. U. Gumbrecht (Minneapolis, 1992), 79-110.

2. Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America* (New York, 1982), 209.

3. José Ortega y Gasset, *La rebelión de las masas* (Madrid, 1930), 22.

4. RUP 1:338.

5. For notions of commerce within world's fairs, see Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas* (Manchester, 1988), 22-23.

6. Helix, "The Industrial Exhibition of 1851," *Westminster and Foreign Quarterly Review* (April 1850), quoted in *ibid.*, 27.

7. "Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1900 à Paris," quoted in *Le Livre des expositions universelles, 1851-1889* (Paris, 1983), 105.

8. John Brisben Walker, "What the Louisiana Purchase Exposition Is," *The Cosmopolitan*, September 1904, 405.

9. Gumbrecht, "History," 94.

10. Charles Baudelaire, "Exposition Universelle 1855: Beaux-Arts," in *Oeuvres complètes* (Paris, 1968), 361-70.

11. See Tatsushi Narita, "Eliot and the World's Fair of St. Louis: Collateral Evidence of His Fairoutings," *Nagoya City University Studies in Social Sciences and Humanities* 38 (1984):1-23; and Tatsushi Narita, "Eliot and the World's Fair of St. Louis: His 'Stockholder's Coupon Ticket,'" *Nagoya City University Studies in Social Sciences and Hu-*

manities 36 (1982):1-24. Both articles were originally written in Japanese, with English abstracts. See Narita's note, "Fiction and Fact in T. S. Eliot's 'The Man Who Was King,'" in *Notes and Queries* 39 (June 1992):191-92. I thank Peter Stansky for having called my attention to Eliot's relationship with world's fairs.

12. See Fyodor Dostoyevsky, *Notes from Underground*, trans. Michael R. Katz (New York, 1989), 18.

13. Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (Boston, 1915), 345.

14. J. R. Hawley, "The Value of International Exhibitions," *North American Review* 149 (September 1889):317.

15. *La Typographie Française*, 1 July 1889, quoted by M. Reberioux, "Au tourment des expos: 1889," *Le Mouvement Social*, no. 149 (1989):6.

16. G. Flaubert, *Dictionnaire des idées reçues*, ed. Lea Caminite (Paris, 1966), 78.

17. Various studies of nationalism have influenced my historical approach, most especially Eric Hobsbawm, *Nation and Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1990); Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, 1983); Roger Bartra, *La jaula de la melancolía* (Mexico City, 1987); E. Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1983); Liah Greenfield, *Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1992); José Murilo de Carvalho, *A formação das almas* (São Paulo, 1990); Pierre Nora, ed., *Les Lieux de mémoire*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1984); David Brading, *The Origins of Mexican Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1985); Partha Chatterjee, *Nationalist Thought and the Colonial World* (Tokyo, 1986); Kenneth Cmiel, *Democratic Eloquence* (New York, 1990); and Hans Kohn, *The Idea of Nationalism* (New York, 1944).

18. For modes of expressions of universal exhibitions, see Pascal Ory, "Étude comparée du centenaire et du cent-cinquantenaire de la Révolution Française," in *Les Images de la Révolution Française*, ed. M. Vovelle (New York, 1990), 2177-83.

19. Paul Groussac, *Del Plata al Niágara* (Buenos Aires, 1925), 324, 346.

20. Virginia Woolf, "Mr. Bennet and Mrs. Brown," in *Collected Essays*, vol. 1 (London, 1966), 320.

21. Eric Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (New York, 1987).

22. William McKinley, *President McKinley's Last Speech, Delivered September 5, 1901, President's Day at the Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo* (New York, 1901), 5.

23. The 1992 Seville Universal Exposition followed the path of the last universal fair of the twentieth century (Brussels 1958). For the 1992 Seville Universal Exposition seen along the lines proposed by this book, see M. Tenorio, "Sevilla 1992: De la Torre Eiffel al gran nopal," *La Jornada Semanal*, 27 September 1992, 16-23; and John E. Findling, "Fair Legacies: Expo '92 and Cartuja '93," in *Fair Representations*, ed. Robert Rydell and Nancy E. Gwinn (Amsterdam, 1994), 180-96. For the year 2000, there are plans for world's fairs in Hannover, Toronto, and Venice. See J. E. Findling, ed., *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988* (New York, 1990), 403-10.

24. See Louis Marin's commentary on Disneyland, in his *Utopiques* (Paris, 1973), 297-324.

25. *El Correo Español*, 1 September 1891.

26. J. Michelet, *Extraits historiques de J. Michelet*, prepared by Ch. Seignobos (Paris, 1907), 7.

27. See the remarkable anarchist geography of the world by Elisée Reclus, *L'Homme et la terre*, vol. 2 (reprint, Paris, 1990), 403-6.

28. As explained in the preface, the epilogue includes a summary of how historiographical and conceptual notions are used in the book.

## 1. FRANCE AND HER FOLLOWERS

1. *Bulletin de l'Exposition Universelle de Paris 1889*, 15 October 1888, 3.
2. For an explanation of the different confrontations, see Blenda Nelms, *The Third Republic and the Centennial of 1789* (New York, 1987), 13-17.
3. See Richard D. Mandell, *Paris 1900* (Toronto, 1967), ix.
4. The nine groups were: Group 1, the arts; Group 2, education; Group 3, furniture; Group 4, textiles; Group 5, raw and manufactured products (the extractive arts); Group 6, mechanical industries and electricity; Group 7, food products; Group 8, agriculture; and Group 9, horticulture. The groups were subdivided into a total of 83 classes. See RUP 1.
5. See Walter Benjamin, "Paris, Capital of the 19th Century," in *Reflections*, ed. Peter Demetz, trans. E. Jephcott (New York, 1986), 146-58. In interpreting the significance of nineteenth-century world's fairs, three authors have elaborated on Benjamin's concept of "pilgrimage of the commodity fetish." See the translation of the German study by Werner Plum, *Exposiciones mundiales en el siglo XIX* (Bonn, 1977), 3-9; the Brazilian work by Francisco Foot Hardman, *Trem fantasma* (São Paulo, 1988), 49-66; and the French study by Philippe Hamon, *Expositions* (Berkeley, 1992).
6. See Nelms, *Third Republic*, 11-64.
7. The 1889 Paris fair officially ended on November 6.
8. See François Furet and Mona Ozouf, eds., *A Critical Dictionary of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1989), 882-90.
9. See Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 27-41.
10. See, for example, Fernando Rosenzweig, "La industria," in HMM, *El porfiriato: Vida económica*, 465-94; and Stephen Haber, *Industry and Underdevelopment* (Stanford, 1989).
11. For an example of this encouragement of private exhibitors, see EXP, Box 30, Exp. 23.
12. *Tout-d'Union*, 1 September 1891.
13. See Nelms, *Third Republic*, 30-31.
14. For an explanation of the diplomatic causes and consequences of the boycott, see Brigitte Schroeder-Gudehus, "Les Grandes Puissances devant l'Exposition Universelle de 1889," *Le Mouvement Social*, no. 149 (1989):15-24.
15. Émile Durer, "Edison," *Revue Illustrée* 8 (June-December, 1889): 174-78.
16. In this regard, see Burton Benedict, "International Exhibitions and National Identity," *Anthropology Today* 6 (June 1991):7-9; and the analysis by Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 82-111.
17. *La Revue Diplomatique*, August 1886, 5. Meulemans published various articles on Mexico and other Latin American countries in *La Revue Diplomatique*; he included some of these articles in a volume published in order to be distributed during the 1889 Paris fair. See Auguste Meulemans, *Revue Diplomatique: Chefs d'état, ministres et diplomates* (Paris, 1889).
18. See Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 3-26, 52-81; and R. Rydell's examination of American imperialism in American world's fairs, *All the World's a Fair* (Chicago, 1984).
19. See J. L. Phelan, "Pan-Latinism, French Intervention in Mexico (1861-1867) and the Genesis of the Idea of Latin America," in *Conciencia y autenticidad históricas*.

*Escritos en homenaje a Edmundo O'Gorman*, ed. J. Ortega y Medina (Mexico City, 1968), 279-98.

20. In this regard, see the transformation of the concept of modern after 1850, in Gumbrecht, "History," 92-101.

21. RUP 7:359-68.

22. Émile Monod, *L'Exposition Universelle de 1889*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1890), 591-97, quoted by Hélène Trocmé, "Les États-Unis et l'Exposition Universelle de 1889," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 37 (April-June 1990):288.

23. Merle Curti, "America at the World Fairs, 1851-1893," *American Historical Review* 55, 4 (1950):856.

24. Opinion of a traveler in Mexico, Mary Blake, *Mexico Picturesque, Political, Progressive* (Boston, 1888), 8.

25. Francisco Inacio de Carvalho Moreira, *Relatório sobre a Exposição Internacional de 1862* (London, 1863), xv, quoted in French by Marcus Olender, "Le Premier Centenaire de la révolution et la participation brésilienne à l'Exposition Universelle de 1889 à Paris: espaces et mentalités," in *L'Image de la Révolution Française*, ed. M. Vovelle, vol. 3 (New York, 1990), 2167. See also the collection of photographs that were exhibited by Brazil at international expositions, by Maria Inez Turazzi, "Poses e trejeitos na era do espetáculo: a fotografia e as exposições universais (1839-1889)," reported in *Domingo: Jornal do Brasil*, 12 July 1992; in particular, for Brazil's presence at the 1976 Philadelphia exhibition, see Sandra Jatahy Pesavento, "Exposições universais: Palcos de exibição do mundo burgues: Em cena, Brasil e Estados Unidos," *Siglo XIX*, no. 12 (1992):63-87. For the Brazilian presence at the 1889 Paris fair, see "L'Exposition du Brésil au Champ de Mars à Paris," *La Nature* 17 (1889):342-43. For an analysis of this presence, see Olender, *Les Images*; José Luiz Foresti Werneck da Silva, "La Participation de l'Empire du Brésil à l'Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1889 à Paris: La Section brésilienne aux Champ-de-Mars," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, no. 364 (1989):417-20; and Foot Hardman, *Trem fantasma*, 67-96.

26. See Olga Vitali, "1889: La Argentina en la Exposición Mundial de Paris," *Todo es Historia*, no. 243 (1987):29-37; on Argentina's building, see Marta Dujoune, "La plástica: El realismo y el impresionismo," in J. L. Romero, *Buenos Aires: Historia de cuatro siglos*, vol. 2 (Buenos Aires, 1983), 131-39.

27. Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen* (Stanford, 1976), 3.

28. For Mexican views on the French Third Republic, see Charles Hale, *The Transformation of Liberalism in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexico* (Princeton, 1989), 38-40. See also Charles Hale, "Fundación de la Modernidad Mexicana," *Nexos*, no. 170 (1992): 45-54.

29. See Hale, *Transformation of Liberalism*, 39.

30. *El Imparcial*, 1 May 1899.

31. *El Siglo XIX*, 31 August 1891.

32. F. Bulnes, *El porvenir de las naciones latinoamericanas ante las recientes conquistas de Europa y Norteamérica (estructura y evolución de un continente)* (Mexico City, 1899), 110-14.

33. O France! c'est de toi que m'est venu le Livre,  
C'est de ton esprit clair que mon esprit s'enivre,  
Ma voix de ta voix est l'écho;

Mes fils aiment tes fils; tes fêtes sont mes fêtes  
 Et c'est pour te chanter qu'aujourd'hui mes poètes  
 Prennent leur lyre à Mexique.  
 Leurs accents toucheront ton cœur, car leur génie  
 Est né sous le soleil de ta gloire infinie  
 D'un éclair que ton front jeta:  
 Alarcon et Corneille ont pu marcher ensemble,  
 Ignace Ramirez à Voltaire ressemble  
 Comme Juarez à Gambetta.  
 France, j'ai Jean Peza, mon doux François Coppée;  
 Guillermo Prieto chante mon épopée  
 En Béranger de mon drapeau;  
 Gorostiza, pour moi, c'est Collin d'Harleville;  
 Sierra c'est Sainte-Beuve et Casarus, Delille,  
 Altamirano, Mirabeau!

Auguste Genin, *France-Mexique* (Mexico City, 1910), 3.

34. See, for example, the coverage of Mexico's awards ceremony in *Tout-d'Union*, 1 September 1891.

35. For an explanation of the mystification of the French Republic in monuments, see Mona Ozouf, "Le Panthéon: L'École normale des morts," in Nora, *Les Lieux de mémoire*, vol. 1, 139-66; and Charles Rearik, "Festivals in Modern France: The Experience of the Third Republic," *Journal of Contemporary History* 12 (1977):435-60. On the debate over the commemorative monument for the centennial celebration of the French Revolution, see Nelms, *Third Republic*, 65-105.

36. See Nelms, *Third Republic*, 249.

37. See Jean Marie Mayeur and Madeleine Reberieux, *The Third Republic from Its Origins to the Great War, 1871-1914*, trans. J. R. Foster (Cambridge, 1984), 42-65. See also Jean-Luc Pinol, *Le Monde des villes au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1991), 29-31.

38. Pascal Ory, *Les Expositions Universelles de Paris* (Paris, 1982).

39. RUP 9:25. It was not until the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1900, for which Picard served as general commissioner, that his concept of social economy was developed through the establishment of a tenth group, on social economy. See André Gueslin, *L'Invention de l'économie sociale* (Paris, 1987), especially his explanation of the role played by Charles Gide in social economic thought (pp. 157-60). See also Charles Gide, *Économie sociale: Rapports du jury international, Exposition Universelle de 1900* (Paris, 1901).

40. For the growth of the so-called Professors' Republic, see Christophe Charle, *La République des universitaires, 1870-1940* (Paris, 1994), especially his discussion of the emergence of a "social model of intellectuals" and the role of intellectuals in politics (pp. 291-307).

41. See Gueslin, *L'Invention*, 4.

42. Letter from Manuel Flores to Carlos Pacheco, March 1888, reproduced in José Francisco Godoy, *México en París* (Mexico City, 1891), 216-18. In the 1880s there were indeed various *asociaciones mutualistas* in Mexico, most of them linked to artisan and crafts organizations. In this regard, see David W. Walker, "Porfirian Labor Politics: Working Class Organization in Mexico City and Porfirio Díaz, 1876-1902," *The Amer-*

icas 37 (1981):257-89; and John M. Hart, *Anarchism and the Mexican Working Class, 1860-1931* (Austin, 1987), 43-59.

43. Porfirio Díaz's letter to Vicente Riva Palacio, 25 May 1891, Vicente Riva Palacio's letters, Genaro García Collection, University of Texas at Austin.

44. See RUP 3:337-38.

45. See, for example, Report Serrano-Davis, EXP, Box 84, Exp. 18; reproduced by José Francisco Godoy, *La ciudad de Chicago y la Exposición Universal de 1893* (Chicago, 1892), 94-95.

46. See Claude Nicolet, *L'Idée républicaine en France (1789-1924)* (Paris, 1982), 251-67.

47. William Henry Bishop, "A Paris Exposition in Dishabille," in *Atlantic Monthly*, May 1889, 621. For a similar opinion of the fair as an "electoral device," see William Henry Hulbert, *France and the Republic* (London, 1890), lxxxix-xcvi.

48. See Mayeur and Reberieux, *Third Republic*, 55-65.

49. See F. Crouzet, "Essai de construction d'un indice annuel de la production industrielle française au XIXe siècle," *Annales* 25 (January-February 1970):56-99.

50. Harry W. Paul, "The Debate over the Bankruptcy of Science in 1895," *French Historical Studies* 5, 3 (1968):300.

51. In 1889 P. Bourget published *Le Disciple*, challenging the general belief of the second part of the nineteenth century in *l'idée scientifique du déterminisme universel*. See Antoine Compagnon, *La Troisième République des lettres: De Flaubert à Proust* (Paris, 1983), 174-90.

52. See Zeev Sternhell, "The Political Culture of Nationalism," in *Nationhood and Nationalism in France: From Boulangism to the Great War, 1889-1918*, ed. R. Tombs (London, 1991), 22-24.

53. See Avner Ben-Amos, "Les Funérailles de Victor Hugo: Apothéose de l'événement spectacle," in Nora, *Les Lieux de mémoire*, vol. 1, 473-522.

54. See Arnold Hauser, *The Social History of Art: Naturalism, Impressionism, the Film Age*, vol. 4 (New York, 1985), 60-106, 166-225; Jerrold Seigel, *Bohemian Paris: Culture, Politics, and the Boundaries of Bourgeois Life, 1830-1930* (New York, 1987), 215-365; and Joshua Taylor, ed., *Nineteenth-Century Theories of Art* (Berkeley, 1987), 370-83, 415-30.

55. The English translation is quoted in Philippe Jullian, *The Triumph of Art Nouveau* (London, 1974), 33, and in Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas*, 116, and Findling, *Historical Dictionary*, 33-34.

56. See Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918* (Cambridge, 1983), 65-88, 314-18. See the discussion of the so-called reactionary modernism in Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism* (Cambridge, 1984).

57. Émile Goudeau, "Une journée d'exposition," *Revue Illustrée*, no. 92 (1889):244.

## 2. THE IMPERATIVES OF MEXICAN PROGRESS

1. For a general view of the political and social environment of early-nineteenth-century Mexico, see Michael Costeloe, *The Central Republic in Mexico, 1835-1846: Hombres de Bien in the Age of Santa Ana* (Cambridge, 1993); and Josefina Vázquez, "El federalismo mexicano, 1823-1847," in *Federalismos latinoamericanos: México, Brasil, Argentina*, ed. Marcelo Carmagnani (Mexico City, 1993), 15-50.

2. Justo Sierra, *Evolución política del pueblo mexicano* (Caracas, 1980), 287.
3. Regarding the regional and professional origins of this elite, as well as its political and economic unfolding, see François X. Guerra, *México del antiguo régimen a la revolución*, trans. Sergio Fernández Bravo, vol. 1 (Mexico City, 1988), 59-181; José C. Valadés, *El porfirismo: Historia de un régimen*, vol. 1 (Mexico City, 1987), 70-89; A. de María y Campos, "Porfirianos prominentes: Orígenes y años de juventud de ocho intelectuales del grupo de los científicos, 1846-1876," *Historia Mexicana* 34 (1985): 610-51.
4. For insights on the notion of aristocratic culture, see William H. Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club and Other Episodes of Porfirian Mexico* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1987). See also the account of the nostalgia of the Porfirian belle époque in Carlos Tello Díaz, *El exilio: Un relato de familia* (Mexico City, 1993).
5. German Foreign Office papers, quoted by Friedrich Katz, "Mexico: Restored Republic and Porfiriato, 1867-1910," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. L. Bethell, vol. 5 (Cambridge, 1986), 57.
6. By 1900, Guerra argues, 82 percent of the Porfirian elite were professionals: 57 percent, lawyers; 15 percent, medical doctors; and 10 percent, engineers. See Guerra, *México*, vol. 1, 65.
7. See Esther Acevedo, *Catálogo del retrato del siglo XIX en el Museo Nacional de Historia* (Mexico City, 1982); Enrique Krauze, *Místico de la autoridad: Porfirio Díaz* (Mexico City, 1987); and Alan Knight's comments on Díaz seen by foreigners as "probably all white" (Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, vol. 1 [Cambridge, 1986], 3-4).
8. For the emergence and significance of this group within the Mexican liberal tradition, see Hale, *Transformation of Liberalism*, 3-13, 20-24, and chap. 2.
9. Justo Sierra, *Evolución política del pueblo mexicano* (Caracas, 1980), 265.
10. See Hale, *Transformation of Liberalism*, 3-8, 25-36.
11. Knight, *Mexican Revolution*, vol. 1, 15.
12. DO, 15 May 1889, 1.
13. On the concept of atomization, see Guerra, *México*, vol. 1, 46.
14. Compare Guerra's characterization of social actors in the Porfirian regime and the two types of solidarities—modern and traditional (*ibid.*, 127-80).
15. Regarding the belief in Mexico's beauty and natural wealth, see Moisés González Navarro, HMM, *El porfiriato: Vida social*, 135-48. See also Cosío Villegas's explanation of the liberal consensus in the prosperity of Mexican lands: Daniel Cosío Villegas, "La riqueza legendaria de México," in *Extremos de América*, ed. Daniel Cosío Villegas (Mexico City, 1949), 82-111. For an analysis of the influence of this belief on the creation of a national literature, see Jorge Rueda de la Serna, *Los orígenes de la visión paradisiaca de la naturaleza mexicana* (Mexico City, 1987), 65-89.
16. See Leopoldo Zea's classic account of Mexican positivism: *El positivismo en México* (Mexico City, 1968), originally published in 1943. A different perspective is in William D. Raat, *El positivismo durante el porfiriato, 1876-1910* (Mexico City, 1975). For a deeper understanding of positivism vis-à-vis Darwinism and sciences in Mexico, see Hale, *Transformation of Liberalism*, chap. 7; Roberto Moreno, *La polémica del darwinismo en México, siglo XIX* (Mexico City, 1989); and M. González Navarro, *Historia y sociología* (Mexico City, 1970).
17. David Brading has examined lucidly the notion of criollo patriotism. See David

Brading, *The Origins of Mexican Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1985); and David Brading, *Prophecy and Myth in Mexican History* (Cambridge, 1984), esp. 37-53.

18. This is an important point that is often overlooked. For Mexico, see Hale's discussion of the influence of Emilio Castelar and the concept of an "age of eloquence" in *Transformation of Liberalism*, 40-43; and Hale, "Political and Social Ideas in Latin America, 1870-1930," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. L. Bethell, vol. 4 (Cambridge, 1986), 367-441, 637-643. For analyses of these aspects in other Latin American historiographical traditions, see A. Woll, *Functional Past: The Uses of History in Nineteenth-Century Chile* (Baton Rouge, 1982); and Germán Colmenares, *Las convenciones contra la cultura* (Bogotá, 1987). See also Hugh Cunningham, "The Language of Patriotism, 1750-1914," *History Workshop*, no. 12 (1981):1-32; and Josep M. Fradera, *Cultura nacional en una societat dividida* (Barcelona, 1992), 127-234.

19. Luis González, *La ronda de las generaciones* (Mexico City, 1984), 32.

20. Lucas Ayarragaray, "Porfirio Díaz," *Revista de Derecho, Historia y Letras* 10 (1901):428.

21. See Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé's passionate discussion of the pavilions of war and social economy in "À travers l'Exposition. VII. La Guerre.-La Paix sociale," *Revue des Deux Mondes* 95 (October 1889):677-93.

22. As in many other realms, the history of the Mexican economy has put a strong emphasis on the Revolution of 1910 as a watershed. New histories are beginning to break this historiographic-political belief. In this regard, see John Womack, "The Mexican Economy during the Revolution, 1910-1920: Historiography and Analysis," *Marxist Perspective* 1 (1978):80-123; and Stephen Haber, "The Industrialization of Mexico: Historiography and Analysis" (1992), manuscript.

23. See Stephen Haber, "Assessing the Obstacles to Industrialization: The Mexican Economy, 1830-1940" (1991), manuscript, 1-2.

24. For an account of the economic difficulties and of the political consequences of these difficulties in the aftermath of the González era, see Don M. Coerver, *The Porfirian Interregnum: The Presidency of Manuel González of Mexico, 1880-1884* (Fort Worth, 1979), 187-230, 243-70.

25. In this regard, see the interesting analysis of the Porfirian elite management of both American and British interests (in economic, financial, and diplomatic terms) in Paolo Riguzzi, "México, Estados Unidos y Gran Bretaña, 1867-1910: Una difícil relación triangular," *Historia Mexicana* 41 (1992):365-436.

26. See Hilda Sánchez Martínez, "El sistema monetario y financiero mexicano bajo una perspectiva histórica: el porfiriato," in *La banca, pasado y presente: Problemas financieros mexicanos*, ed. José Miguel Quijano (Mexico City, 1983), 21. The growth of the textile industry in the 1890s was especially impressive, as Stephen Haber observed in "Industrialization of Mexico," 18, and in "Industrial Concentration and the Capital Markets: A Comparative Study of Brazil, Mexico, and the United States, 1830-1930," *Journal of Economic History* 51 (1991):575.

27. For the generational, professional, and political structure of the Porfirian elite, see Guerra, *México*, vol. 1, 58-125, appendix.

28. Rafael de Zayas Enríquez, *Les États-Unis Mexicains* (Mexico City, 1891), 231.

29. See, for instance, the *Annuaire de l'Économie Politique et de la Statistique* (Paris, 1889-1901); the American almanac *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia and Register of Im-*

portant Events . . . 1889 (New York, 1890), 556-57; and the British one *The Annual Register: A Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad, 1888* (London, 1889), 546.

30. See Riguzzi, "México, Estados Unidos y Gran Bretaña," 385-97, 420-27.

31. Archibald Dunn, *Mexico and Her Resources* (London, 1890), 3-4. For another example, see E. J. Howell, *Mexico: Its Progress and Commercial Possibilities* (London, 1892). For Howell's recommendations to British investors, see pp. 163-68.

32. HMM, *El porfiriato: Vida política interior* 1:690. See also José Luis Ceceña, *México en la órbita imperial* (Mexico City, 1970), 49-101.

33. It was also influential in the agricultural sector, especially on sugar and rubber in Veracruz. See Sánchez Martínez, "El sistema monetario y financiero mexicano," 16-17. In 1938 Chávez Orozco estimated French investment in the oil and mining industries at 10,000 pesos for 1910, far below the 499,000 pesos invested by the United States and the 87,200,000 pesos invested by Great Britain. See Luis Chávez Orozco, *Historia económica y social de México* (Mexico City, 1938), 168.

34. L. N. D'Olwer, "X. Las inversiones extranjeras," in HMM, *El porfiriato: Vida económica*, 1018-23. See also J. Lejeune, *Au Mexique* (Paris, 1892). The author describes the significance of French people and investment in Mexico's urban life. The so-called *almacenes de novedades* were monopolized by French merchants: in 1891 they owned 70. French investment and imports, as well as Mexico's exports to France, presented a decreasing tendency throughout the Porfirian period. See A. Genin, *Les Français au Mexique* (Mexico City, 1910); and Rosenzweig, in HMM, *El porfiriato: Vida económica*, 635-720.

35. F. Bianconi, *Le Mexique a la portée des industriels, des capitalistes, des négociants, importateurs et exportateurs et des travailleurs avec une carte du Mexique commerciale, boutière, minière et agricole* (Paris, 1899), 7-10.

36. See Haber, "Industrialization of Mexico," 10-11.

37. See Ricardo de Maria y Campos, *Datos Mercantiles, compilados por Ricardo de Maria y Campos* (Mexico City, 1889). De Maria y Campos revised this study for the 1900 Paris fair as *Renseignements commerciaux sur les États-Unis Mexicains* (Mexico City, 1899). The revision was better organized and more comprehensive (see pp. 51-214).

38. See chapter 10; and González Navarro, HMM, 102-33.

39. México, Secretaría de Fomento, *Memoria, 1877-1882*, vol. 1; Coerver, *Porfirian Interregnum*, 210-16; and González Navarro, HMM 4:134-52. For a recent account of the complex role played by land-survey companies, see Robert Holden, *Mexico and the Survey of Public Lands: The Management of Modernization, 1876-1911* (DeKalb, Illinois, 1994).

40. In his book for Mexico's display at Paris 1889, García Cubas gave examples of successful *colonias*. See Antonio García Cubas, *Étude géographique statistique descriptive et historique des États-Unis Mexicains* (Mexico City, 1889).

41. González Navarro estimated that 48,000 foreigners resided in Mexico in 1895; by 1910 there were 116,527, of which only 9 percent were in the agricultural sector. Hence immigration was never as expected, and it was especially insignificant in Mexico's agricultural development. See González Navarro, HMM 4:184.

42. See, as an example, Zayas Enriquez, *Les États-Unis Mexicains*.

43. García Cubas, *Étude géographique*, 650, an updated version in French of Antonio García Cubas, *Cuadro geográfico y estadístico, descriptivo e histórico de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos* (Mexico City, 1884), which was prepared for the 1884 New Orleans

fair. See also the favorable opinion of Mexico's condition for investment in Dreyfus's article on Mexico and Chile in Paris 1889 in *L'Économiste Français*, 23 August 1890.

44. Clement Bertier-Marriot, *Un parisien au Mexique* (Paris, 1886), 59-61. The author was the envoy of *Le Figaro* at the inauguration of the railroad line between Mexico City and New York City. The book included some presumed salaries offered in Mexico for workers: for example, 7 francs for a carpenter, and 2.50 francs for a female dressmaker.

45. Dunn, *Mexico and Her Resources*.

46. See, for example, Eugenio Martuscelli, *Apunti sul Messico* (Naples, 1892). See also E. Chabrand, *De Barcelonette au Mexique* (Paris, 1892), in which the author glorifies Mexico's progress in only a few years; and A Gringo, *Through the Land of the Aztecs or Life and Travel in Mexico* (n.p., 1892).

47. See Justo Sierra's commentary on the proposal made by Zayas Enríquez for a *Memoria*, EXP, Box 18, Exp. 8. In it, Sierra stated that Mexico's display ought to show that Mexico had come to "el fin de nuestra primera gran etapa en el camino del progreso positivo."

48. See González Navarro, HMM 4:134-84.

49. Francisco Pimentel, "La colonización negra," in *Obras completas*, vol. 5 (Mexico City, 1904), 511, 513.

50. See Moisés González Navarro, "Las ideas raciales de los científicos, 1890-1910," *Historia Mexicana* 37, 4 (1988):575.

51. See the study by José María Romero, *Dictamen del vocal ingeniero . . . encargado de estudiar la influencia social y económica de la inmigración asiática en México* (Mexico City, 1911). In 1889 a *Tratado de amistad, navegación y comercio* was signed with China, and more immigration was allowed. Chinese immigration increased, and in 1904 a commission assigned to study it, headed by José Covarrubias, concluded that Chinese immigrants would never assimilate into the Mexican nationality. Overall, there was a consensus on the inferiority of the Chinese race. See González Navarro, HMM 4:166-68; and González Navarro, "Las ideas raciales," 576.

52. See the pamphlet, Argentina, *République Argentine: La Vie sociale et la vie légale des étrangers* (Paris, 1889). This book was for sale in the Argentine pavilion.

53. For Vasconcelos, Argentina and the United States were more successful than Mexico was in attracting immigrants, largely because of their more democratic regimes. See José Vasconcelos, *Breve historia de Mexico* (Mexico City, 1937), 501-19.

### 3. MEXICO AND THE WORLD AT LARGE

1. This motto was inscribed on the medals awarded at the 1851 London exhibition.

2. México, Secretaría de Fomento, *Anales de la Secretaría de Fomento* 1 (1877-1882):413-14.

3. See Paolo Riguzzi, "México próspero: Las dimensiones de la imagen nacional en el porfiriato," *Historias*, no. 20 (1988):137-60; G. Yeager, "Porfirian Commercial Propaganda: Mexico in the World Industrial Expositions," *The Americas* 34 (October 1977):230-43; and María de la Concepción de la Fuente Salceda, "La participación de México en la Exposición Universal de Filadelfia 1876" (Tesis de Licenciatura, Universidad Iberoamericana, 1984).

4. These two long letters can be found in manuscript form (annotated and in

full) in EXP, Box 79, Exp. 1, 10-100. Also, they were published, with several corrections, as Gabriel Mancera, *Informes que el C. Gabriel Mancera comisionado especial de la junta de exposiciones en los Estados Unidos de Norte-América y miembro de ella rinde sobre el desempeño de su cargo* (Mexico City, 1875).

5. *El Siglo XIX*, 1 January 1875.

6. Translated from *The Athenian* of New York, published by *El Proteccionista*, 13 July 1876, and reproduced in de la Fuente Salceda, "La participación de México," 298 (my translation).

7. Translated from *The Standard* of London by *El Federalista*, 25 August 1876 and reproduced in *ibid.*, 302 (my translation).

8. For a description of the particular space occupied by Mexico, see *ibid.*, 37-38, 56-58. In addition to the Mexican exhibit in the main building of the Philadelphia fair, Mexico displayed some photographs—attributed to the Mexican photographers Cruces and Campa at the Art Gallery (*ibid.*, 61).

9. According to de la Fuente Salceda (*ibid.*, 92), 90,000 pesos had been spent on the building that had been constructed for the National Exposition of 1875. These figures are not reliable, for 300,000 pesos seems to be an inflated figure vis-à-vis the dimensions and size of Mexico's display at Philadelphia.

10. *El Eco de Ambos Mundos*, 14 January 1875, quoted in *ibid.*, 77.

11. "Mexico at the Centennial," NYT, 1 April 1876, quoted in Paul A. Tenkotte, "Kaleidoscopes of the World: International Exhibitions and the Concept of Cultural Space, 1851-1915," *American Studies* 28, 1 (1987):5.

12. In 1885 another fair, in which Mexico also participated, took place in New Orleans, organized by railroad companies. It was known as the North, Central, and South American Exposition.

13. John Allwood, *The Great Exhibitions* (London, 1977), 74. See also Findling, *Historical Dictionary*, 86-90.

14. Sebastián B. de Mier, *México en la Exposición Universal Internacional de París—1900* (Mexico City, 1901), 6.

15. Godoy (1851-1930) wrote semiofficial laudatory books on Mexico for several universal exhibitions, as well as biographies and directories of great men. He was a writer for the *Two Republics* and *La Patria*. He participated in various world's fairs as part of Mexican commissions and wrote several books for the Mexican government in both Spanish and English, including a Spanish and English biography of Porfirio Díaz: José Francisco Godoy, *Porfirio Díaz, President of Mexico* (San Francisco, 1910). Among his books on fairs are *México en París*; *México en Sevilla* (Mexico City, 1928); and *La ciudad de Chicago y la Exposición Universal de 1893*. In addition, he participated in the preparation of Mexico, Comisión de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos para la Exposición Pan-Americana de Buffalo, Nueva York, *A Few Facts about Mexico* (Mexico City, 1901). See also José Francisco Godoy, *Enciclopedia biográfica de contemporáneos* (Washington, 1898). In 1929 Godoy was still an active journalist, writing *efemérides* in Mexico City's newspaper *Excelsior*.

16. Santiago Ramírez, *Noticia histórica de la riqueza minera de México y de su actual estado de explotación . . .* (Mexico City, 1884). The first pages stated that it was a "special report on the occasion of the New Orleans Industrial and Cotton Exhibition, 1884-1885."

17. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 90-94.

18. BEMP 2 (1888):149. For Mexican expenditures at the New Orleans fair, see EXP, Box 78, Exp. 3, 9; Box 71, Exp. 1-11, 17-24, 25-33, 34-41; Box 72, Exp. 1-23, 24, 25-28, 29-30 (*cuentas*); Box 73 (*cuentas*), Exp. 5-7, 1-4.

19. See, for example, how the French-speaking media praised Mexico for its state-sponsored policies of industrial development: *L'Abbeille*, March 1885, included in a report sent by Lancaster, EXP, Box 79, Exp. 1, 139-142.

20. This building was later dismantled and reerected on the central Alameda of Mexico City. Later, the monument to Benito Juárez was put on the same site. There were plans to locate the Juárez monument facing the Palacio Nacional. Thanks to Limantour's influential opposition, it was finally placed on Avenida Juárez. Ibarrola's building was moved to the Alameda of the suburb of Santa María la Ribera, where it is still visible today. See Fausto Ramírez, "Vertientes nacionalistas en el modernismo," in *El nacionalismo en el arte mexicano (IX Coloquio de Historia del Arte)* (Mexico City, 1986), 111-67; see also EXP, Box 79, Exp. 1, 152-53.

21. For the influence of the Philadelphia architectural style in Latin American countries, especially Brazil, see Pesavento, "Exposições universais," 63-87.

22. A copy of the contract is in EXP, Box 78, Exp. 2.

23. Findling, *Historical Dictionary*, 89.

24. This was a steamship, owned by the Compañía Mexicana de Navegación (EXP, Box 71, Exp. 11).

25. For the Mexican exhibitors in New Orleans, see EXP, Box 74, Exp. 1-13, 14-33, 34-54; Box 75, Exp. 36-41, 1-20, 21-35, 43-59 (*envíos*), 60 (*contingente* from Chihuahua).

26. For the works and organization of the New Orleans fair, see the minutes of the commission's meetings in *Libro de Juntas Exposición Universal de Nueva Orleans 1884-1885*, meetings from 15 March 1884 to 18 November 1884, EXP, Box 73, Exp. 8-9. For a complete list of prizes, see DO, 25 November 1886, 2-4. The awards were distributed by Porfirio Díaz on 5 February 1887, in Mexico City, together with the prizes obtained by Mexicans at the Buenos Aires Continental Exhibition (EXP, Box 78, Exp. 10).

27. According to Escandón, Mexico had 50 square meters at the 1851 London fair (Pedro de Escandón, *La industria y las bellas artes en la Exposición Universal de 1855* [Paris, 1856], 12).

28. Bullock had established the famous Egyptian Hall of London, in which numerous exhibitions, panoramas, and exotic products were presented to the European public. He traveled to Mexico in 1822 and brought a cast of the Calendar Stone, carvings, models of tombs, manuscripts, codices, life-size reproductions of Mexican fruits and vegetables, thousands of specimens of birds and fishes, and minerals. See William Bullock, *A Description of the Unique Exhibition, Called Ancient Mexico* (London, 1824); and William Bullock, *Six Months' Residence and Travels in Mexico* (London, 1824). For some data and pictures of these exhibitions, see Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land* (New York, 1975), 183-85; and Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Cambridge, 1978), 246-48.

29. Escandón, *La industria y las bellas artes*, 12.

30. *Ibid.*, 8-11.

31. Escandón, *La industria y las bellas artes*, 14. Adorno managed to publish in Paris

a pamphlet related to his musical machine: *Melagraphie, ou nouvelle notation musicale par Juan N. Adorno* (Paris, 1855).

32. See the various entries for Adorno in the *Patentes y Marcas*; his *Resumen ordenado de las discusiones pronunciadas por el ciudadano Juan Nepomuceno Adorno ante los ciudadanos redactores y editores de la prensa periódica* (Mexico City, 1873); and his *Acerca de la hidrografía, meteorología, seguridad hidrogénica y salubridad higiénica del valle y en especial de la Capital de México* (Mexico City, 1865). See also Ramón Sánchez Flores, *Historia de la tecnología y la invención en México* (Mexico City, 1980), 259 ff.; Pablo González Casanova, *Una utopía de América* (Mexico City, 1953), 31-59; and the comments on and catalogue of *Patentes y Marcas* by Jorge A. Sobernis, "Catálogo de patentes de invención en México durante el siglo XIX (1840-1900)" (Tesis de Licenciatura, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1989), 109-12.

33. Escandón, *La industria y las bellas artes*, 11-25.

34. EXP, Box 102, Exp. 9 contains an inventory that must have been prepared some time after Mexico's attendance at the 1900 Paris fair and was very likely ordered by Sebastián B. de Mier in the course of writing his own report on Mexico's participation. (Hereafter I refer to this document as *Inventario*.) The *Inventario* includes some evidence of Mexico's participation in various European and American fairs, but the actual documents are lost.

35. See Honour, *New Golden Land*, 183-85; and Daniel Schálvelzon, "El pabellón Xochicalco en la exposición internacional de París de 1867," in *La polémica del arte nacional en México, 1850-1910*, ed. Daniel Schálvelzon (Mexico City, 1988), 165-70. Schálvelzon considers the 1867 Xochicalco replica as the direct precursor of the Mexican Aztec palace in Paris 1889. But in fact the French models of the Xochicalco building (made by the French engineer Leon Mehédin) were not even considered to picture Mexico at the 1889 world's fair, though they were proposed by Ramón Fernández (SRE leg. 1103). In this regard, see minutes of 2 June 1888, reproduced in Godoy, *México en París*, 75. For Leon Mehédin's models of Xochicalco, see BEMP 1 (1888): 228-32.

36. F. Ducuing, "Exposition Universelle de 1867 Illustrée" (Paris, n.d.), 46; quoted in *Le Livre des expositions universelles, 1851-1989*, 46.

37. HMM 2:639.

38. According to Yeager, Mexico did take part in the 1878 Paris fair. However, there is no evidence that Mexico had an official presence there. UIA-Díaz 29:132 contains some evidence regarding an article in the *New York Herald* which argued that in 1876 Mexico had been informed of but not officially invited to the Paris fair of 1878. Nevertheless, some Mexican private exhibitors may have attended the fair (Yeager, "Porfirian Commercial Propaganda," 230-43).

39. See Yeager, "Porfirian Commercial Propaganda," 234-35. Mexico also joined the International Electricity Congress in Paris in 1881. See *Anales de la Secretaría de Fomento* 1 (1877-1882):416-17. For the Berlin fair, see also SRE 19-22-14.

40. Evidence of temporary and permanent fairs can be found in SRE, as follows: permanent exhibition of Mexican products in Austria-Hungary, 1872, 19-20-72; Museo de Productos Mexicanos en el Consulado de México en 1900, 19-22-53; Museo de Productos Mexicanos en Guatemala, 1902, 19-22-66; project to establish various Mexican exhibits in numerous European cities, 1882, 19-22-48; project to

celebrate the fourth centennial of Columbus's arrival with an International Exhibition in Mexico, 1892, 15-2-18; permanent coffee exhibit in New York, 1882, 19-22-16; and report on the exhibition of Mexican products in Liverpool, 1902-1903, 20-23-31.

41. EXP, Box 11, Exp. 12.

42. SRE 19-22-58.

43. See Zamacona, *Carta reservada*, 29 May 1879, SRE 19-22-58. In this regard, see Cosío Villegas's consideration of Zamacona's "lobbying" for the Díaz regime in the United States in Daniel Cosío Villegas, *Estados Unidos contra Porfirio Díaz* (Mexico City, 1956), 211.

44. EXP, Box 99, Exp. 1, p. 5 and charts.

45. *El Faro*, 19 March 1889. Reprinted as Antonio de Medina y Ormaechea, *Iniciativa para celebrar el Primer Centenario de la Independencia de México con una Exposición Universal* (Mexico City, 1893), 15-19, 25-51. Medina y Ormaechea continued to push for the celebration of such a world's fair in Mexico City and printed the pamphlet *La Exposición Universal del Primer Centenario Mexicano* (Mexico City, 1894).

46. Medina y Ormaechea, *Iniciativa*, 16. By 1900 *El Diario del Hogar* was advocating Medina's idea, but on 5 May it announced his death.

47. *Gran Exposición Internacional de México que se abrirá el día 15 de septiembre de 1895 y que se clausurará el día 3 de abril de 1896* (Mexico City, 1894), 3-10. See also *Agreement Made between Mr. John R. Dos Passos, as Legal Representative of the Mexican National Exposition and Land Company, and Vicomte R. de Cornely, in San Francisco, México*, 22 April 1896, in EXP, Box 99, Exp. 1; and México, Secretaría de Fomento, *Anales de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1897-1900* (Mexico City, 1908).

48. In fact, Bolivia was promoting the creation of such a union for the 1889 event. See the Guatemalan communication: *Carta confidencial sobre la próxima Exposición Internacional de París*, Legación de Guatemala en París, *El Guatemalteco. Diario Oficial*, no. 56 (1889):445.

49. *Le Temps*, 29 January 1887, reproduced France's official invitation to Mexico.

50. For responses to invitations by various Mexican states, see BEMP 1 (1888): 27-41.

51. Lucia Robina, *Reconciliación de México y Francia (1870-1880)* (Mexico City, 1963); HMM 2:639-714.

52. *Acuerdo Presidencial*, 20 January 1888.

53. From 1887 to the beginning of 1889, the various states responded to the Secretaría de Fomento. For an account of products promised by the states, see Godoy, *México en París*, 39-41.

#### 4. THE WIZARDS OF PROGRESS: PARIS 1889

1. For an analysis of the confrontation of modern and traditional solidarities and links, see Guerra, *México*, vol. 1, 58-245; and Fernando Escalante, *Ciudadanos imaginarios* (Mexico City, 1993), 21-53.

2. In January 1888 a commission, consisting of Carlos R. Ruiz, Luis Salazar, and José Ramírez, was appointed to prepare a budget (EXP, Box 4, Exp. 1). For the analysis of the personnel of the Mexican exhibit at the 1889 Paris fair, I am depending on archival evidence. However, both Godoy (*México en París*) and the BEMP reproduced

various documents. I compared the BEMP's and Godoy's evidence with my own findings in order to present the best possible information.

3. EXP, Box 1, Exp. 7.

4. EXP, Box 2, Exp. 12.

5. DO, 9 February 1888.

6. EXP, Box 4, Exp. 1, pp. 1-5.

7. This is close to the figures reproduced in México, Tesorería General de la Federación, *Contaduría de la Federación: Cuenta Pública* (Mexico City, 1889-1890), under the name *Cuenta de egresos Número 102, Gastos para la exposición de París*. According to this *cuenta*, the expenses were 328,024.74 pesos and the budget approved was 450,000.00 pesos.

8. The intermediary agent between Mexico and the Mexican Commission in France was Eduardo Santos y Cía. For *cuentas* and expenses see EXP, Box 13, Exps. 1, 2; Box 14, Exps. 1, 4; Box 17, Exp. 3; Box 18, Exps. 1, 3, 6; Box 12, Exp. 1; Box 16, Exp. 3.

9. Argentina was second, with 3.2 million francs, and the United States was third, with 1.125 million francs (RUP 9:360).

10. EXP, Box 2, Exp. 6.

11. Among them, Francisco Díaz Covarrubias (Mexican consul in Paris), Gustavo Baz (first secretary of the Mexican embassy in Paris), Antonio Mier y Celis, José Yves Limantour, Julio Limantour (attaché of the Mexican diplomatic mission in Paris), and Rafael de Zayas Enríquez. See Díaz Mimiaga's report, EXP, Box 12, Exp. 6, pp. 15a-16.

12. In fact, Santiago Rebull, a distinguished painter of classical subjects during the second half of the nineteenth century, was originally appointed chief in 1888, but he declined the offer, claiming bad health. See BEMP 1 (1888):282. See also *Carta a Fomento*, 21 January 1889, EXP, Box 2, Exp. 7.

13. EXP, Box 7, Exp. 9.

14. EXP, Box 5, Exp. 20.

15. EXP, Box 4, Exp. 26.

16. For instance, see C. Romero Rubio's lobbying in favor of publicist Salvador Quevedo y Zubieta in EXP, Box 3, Exp. 6.

17. EXP, Box 5, Exp. 19.

18. Others personalities that were part of the team were Dr. José D. Morales and inventor Maximino Río de la Loza (EXP, Box 6, Exp. 12).

19. His family ran a well-known candy business in Mexico. He published books, such as *Estudio sobre las razas mexicanas* (1885), *Poèmes aztèques* (1890), and *Notes sur le Mexique* (1910); he translated the works of Antonio Peñafiel and Rafael de Zayas Enríquez for the 1889 exposition; and he was the editor of the *Boletín de la Exposición Mexicana en París* (1888-1891). In addition, he was a wealthy entrepreneur and a merchant, involved in the Cámara Francesa de Comercio de México, the Bank of London and Mexico, the Compañía Cigarrera Mexicana, the Cervecería Moctezuma, the Compañía de las Fábricas de Papel San Rafael y Anexas, and, as agent, El Palacio de Hierro. See Alberto María Carreño, "Augusto Genin: In Memoriam," in *Semblanzas*, vol. 2 (Mexico City, n.d.), 252-69; and Luis Everaert Dubernard, *México 1900* (Mexico City, 1994), which includes some data taken from Genin's personal papers.

20. EXP, Box 6, Exp. 12.
21. México, Secretaría de Fomento, *Reglamento económico* (Mexico City, 1989), 4.
22. EXP, Box 5, Exp. 24.
23. DO, 27 June 1888, Jalisco's exhibition. See also Presidential Address to the 14th Congress, DO, 17 September 1888; and DO, 25 October 1888, Morelos's exhibition.
24. DO, 13 September 1888.
25. Article 12 of the Mexican *Reglamento económico*. Originally, it was also established that each group had to write a report on its activities.
26. The principal receivers of Mexican material were the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris and the British Library of the British Museum in London. Special collections of medical, chemical, biological, and ethnographic material were sent to the Pasteur Institute, the University of London, the Austrian Museum, and the Trocadero Museum in Paris. The University of Texas at Austin and the University of California at Berkeley (especially the Bancroft Library) also contain numerous examples of these materials.
27. See the annotated circular signed by Gilberto Crespo, Ferrari Pérez, and Manuel Flores in March 1888. In the notes at the margins, it is possible to observe the way in which the work of producing the image of the modern nation was divided (EXP, Box 1, Exp. 18, pp. 8-9).
28. DO, 21 September 1888.
29. See, for instance, the letter to Pacheco by the community of Cuautempan, Puebla in EXP, Box 8, Exp. 17.
30. García Cubas, *Étude*, v.
31. Annotated circular in EXP, Box 1, Exp. 18, pp. 8-9.
32. Annotated circular in *ibid*.
33. *Ibid*.
34. Bodo von Glümer, *Cuadro estadístico de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos: Formado con datos oficiales y por disposición de la Secretaría de Estado y del Despacho de Hacienda y Crédito Público* (Mexico City, 1882).
35. EXP, Box 1, Exp. 18, pp. 68-81.
36. See DO, 21 March 1889; documents reproduced in Godoy, *México en París*, 184-90.
37. For instance, there is evidence of the shipment of at least 744 samples of Maria y Campos's book in the steamship *Ville Marseille* (EXP, Box 8, Exp. 29).
38. Mexico published its own catalogue in French and Spanish. See France, Ministère du Commerce et de l'Industrie, *Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1889. Direction Générale de l'Exposition. Adjudication du Catalogue Général* (Paris, 1888); and México, Exposition Universelle Internationale de Paris 1889, *Catalogue officiel de l'Exposition de la République Mexicaine* (Paris, 1889).
39. Velasco won a prize at the 1876 Philadelphia exhibit. At the 1878 Paris exposition he also displayed his paintings (at the Spanish section, since Mexico did not join that fair). See Fausto Ramírez, "Acotaciones iconográficas a la evolución de episodios y localidades en los paisajes de José María Velasco," in *José María Velasco: Homenaje*, ed. Fausto Ramírez (Mexico City, 1989), 43. See also chapter 7.
40. Notwithstanding, Pedro Calvo, Johann Moritz Rugendas, and Daniel Thomas Egerton preceded Velasco in landscape painting in Mexico. See Xavier Moysén, "El dibujo de José María Velasco," in *ibid.*, 8.

41. See Luis Islas García, *Velasco: Pintor Cristiano* (Mexico City, 1932); and the various essays on Velasco in Ramírez, *José María Velasco: Homenaje*. While I was revising this manuscript, Mexico City's Museo Nacional de Arte published a handsome two-volume catalogue of a national homage to Velasco. These volumes include important data on Velasco's life and significance in Mexican art. See México, Museo Nacional de Arte, *Homenaje nacional a José María Velasco (1840-1912)*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1993).

42. EXP, Box 2, Exp. 14.

43. EXP, Box 6, Exp. 12.

44. See *Acta de sesión*, 18 May 1889, EXP, Box 12, Exp. 3.

45. Velasco exhibited paintings in both the railroad section and the industry section. See México, *Catalogue officiel de l'Exposition de la République Mexicaine*. See also two long reports on the Mexican exhibition: one by Léon Cahun in *Le Phare de la Loire*, "L'Exposition Universelle. Le Mexique" (20 June 1889); and the article in *La Presse Industrielle*, 4 July 1889, reproduced in Godoy, *México en París*, 270-75. In January 1889 the DO announced that Mexico City's delegation sent Alberto Herrera's canvas of the Cuauhtémoc monument (DO, 25 January 1889); Gabriel Guerra proposed to send a replica of Cuauhtémoc. See BEMP 1 (1888):154-55; and, for the contract to make this replica for 950 pesos in January 1888, see BEMP 1 (1888):212-14. Another sculptor, Gabriel Guerra, also exhibited a bust of Porfirio Díaz.

46. DO, 17 April 1888.

47. DO, 17 April 1888.

48. See Sierra's allusion to his 1900 visit to the world's fair, in his 1910 welcome speech for the participants in the Congress of Americanists, held in Mexico City (Sierra, *Obras completas* [Mexico City, 1948], vol. 5, 253-56). For a description of Sierra's fascination with the 1900 Paris fair, see Claude Dumas, *Justo Sierra y el México de su tiempo, 1848-1912*, vol. 2 (Mexico City, 1986), 20, 34-35.

49. See, for example, "Chronique de l'Exposition," *Le Temps*, 24 August 1889.

50. DO, 17 April 1888.

51. Zárate, in a document reproduced in Godoy, *México en París*, 104.

52. For an analysis of the role played by statistics in the general modern image, see chapter 8.

53. Reproduced in Godoy, *México en París*, 103-6.

54. See RUP 6 (Groups 5 and 7).

55. See UIA-Díaz 842, Box 18, L. 40, *Catálogo de la colección mineral del General Porfirio Díaz*.

56. According to Argentine reports of mining exhibits, Mexico's mining display was especially impressive and included gold, copper, silver, and onyx. See Argentina, Exposition Universelle, 1889, *Argentine Republic: Colección de informes reunidos*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1890), 130-31. This report also included Mexican companies per state, with value of production (p. 131).

57. Ignacio Mariscal's letter to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, reproduced in México, Secretaría de Fomento, *Documentos relativos a la venta de tabacos mexicanos en la Exposición Internacional de París, en 1889* (Mexico City, 1889), 14.

58. DO, 4 February 1890.

59. Mexico was second only to France in the total of products exhibited: France had 27,201; Mexico, 3,206.

60. See Gibbs's study of Porfirian propaganda in the United States between 1877 and 1878: William E. Gibbs, "Díaz' Executive Agents and United States Foreign Policy," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 20, 2 (1978):165-89.

61. In this regard, see Paolo Riguzzi, "México próspero: Las dimensiones de la imagen nacional en el porfiriato," *Historias*, no. 20 (1988):137-57.

62. EXP, Box 8, Exp. 19. About Godoy's propaganda books on Mexico's presence at world's fairs, see chapter 3.

63. About this book, see also EXP, Box 11, Exp. 7, in which Godoy requested economic support for its project. See Godoy, *México en París*.

64. EXP, Box 8, Exp. 19; Ireneo Paz, *Los hombres prominentes de México*, 4 vols. (Mexico City, 1888). A French journalist, J. L. Regagnón, was paid to write the French part, and José Francisco Godoy prepared the English part.

65. Paz invited Riva Palacio to add his name by paying a "subscription" of 50 pesos. See Paz's letter to Vicente Riva Palacio, 1 September 1887, Vicente Riva Palacio's letters, Genaro García Collection, University of Texas at Austin. For data about Paz's book, see Juan Bautista Iguiniz, *Bibliografía biográfica mexicana* (Mexico City, 1969). For the prize awarded to Paz's book, see México, Secretaría de Fomento, *Lista de los premios y recompensas obtenidos por México en la Exposición de París de 1889* (Mexico City, 1891).

66. EXP, Box 8, Exp. 19. See Manuel de Olaguibel, *Memoria para una bibliografía científica de México en el siglo XIX* (Mexico City, 1889).

67. Some 10,000 copies of each issue were published, at a cost of 600 francs per issue. See *Actas de sesión*, 15 July 1889, EXP, Box 12, Exp. 3.

68. The book, which appeared in 1889, was published in Paris by Imprimerie et Librairie Centrales. Bianconi was financed by the Mexican government, though I have not been able to determine the total amount of money he received. For specific payments to Bianconi, see *Sesión*, 11 May 1889, EXP, Box 12, Exp. 3; BEMP 3 (1889):794-96; and BEMP 5 (1889):476.

69. BEMP 1 (1888):182-85.

70. E. Levasseur, ed., *Le Mexique au début du XXe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1904).

71. See Reclus, *L'Homme et la terre*.

72. There are few bibliographical data about this character, who played a role in various Mexican international displays. He seems to have been extremely well connected in international propaganda circles. Justo Sierra refers to him as *El Barón* and as "*enfant du pavé flâneur*," who authored humorous texts. He argued that Gostkowski went from bohemian to entrepreneur. See the article in *El Federalista*, 20 June 1874, reproduced in Justo Sierra, *Obras completas*, vol. 3, ed. Agustín Yáñez (Mexico City, 1948), 177-80.

73. EXP, Box 12, Exp. 2.

74. See EXP, Box 15, Exp. 2, for various clippings. He received 1,561 francs.

75. Gustave Gostkowski, *Au Mexique* (Paris, 1900).

76. Ramón Fernández wrote to Porfirio Díaz that Díaz Mimiaga did not handle the propaganda well. He believed that the money disbursed in this regard was "*mal gastado*." See UIA-Díaz, L. 14, C. 25, 12492-505.

77. See Díaz Mimiaga's report in EXP, Box 12, Exp. 6.

78. *Ibid.*

79. EXP, Box 9, Exp. 10.

80. See Paz, *Los hombres prominentes de México*. It has not been easy to find bibliographical data on Díaz Mimiaga. See José C. Valadés, *El Porfiriismo*, vol. 2 (Mexico City, 1987), 157; and Luis G. Zorrilla, *Relaciones de México con la República de Centro América y con Guatemala* (Mexico City, 1984), 495. All of these authors point out Díaz Mimiaga's difficult personality.

81. Díaz Mimiaga, 1849-1891, according to Manuel Mestre Ghigliazza, *Efemérides biográficas* (Mexico City, 1945).

82. EXP, Box 6, Exp. 8.

83. See *Acta de sesión*, 8 May 1889. Díaz Mimiaga complained that Bablot sent the minutes without his signature and censorship (EXP, Box 12, Exp. 3). See also *Acta de sesión*, 3 June 1889, EXP, Box 12, Exp. 3.

84. See Bablot's full report, copy to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in which he explained his motivations for arranging a scientific meeting with Latin American specialists: Letter, 19 August 1889, SRE Le. 1104, pp. 276-88.

85. See *Informe detallado por orden de fechas, relativo a diversos trabajos, principalmente de escultura y fundición artística, y que rinde el que suscribe . . .*, Ramón Fernández, 21 November 1889, IPBA, Box 5, Exp. 18. In this regard, see also Fausto Ramírez, "Dioses, héroes y reyes mexicanos en París 1889," in *Historia, leyendas y mitos de México* (Mexico City, 1988), 215.

86. For Contreras's plans with French engineer Colibert, and his petition for 220,000 francs, see BEMP 1 (1888):188-94.

87. EXP, Box 13, Exp. 4, pp. 8-101. All of the quotations concerning the conflict were taken from this document.

88. Manuel Gutiérrez Najera, "Alfredo Bablot," in *Obras críticas y literarias*, vol. 1 (Mexico City, 1959), 468-69. This was a panegyric for Bablot, who died in 1894.

89. See Justo Sierra's account of his travels, *Viajes en Tierra Yankee, en la Europa Latina*, in Justo Sierra, *Obras completas*, vol. 6, ed. José Luis Martínez (Mexico City, 1948), 15-61.

## 5. THE AZTEC PALACE AND THE HISTORY OF MEXICO

1. José Martí, *La edad de oro* (Río Piedras, 1971), 111-12. In 1889 José Martí wrote a children's magazine, *La Edad de Oro*, which used the 1889 Paris fair as a way to explain the modern world to Latin American children. It is not clear whether Martí learned about the Paris fair through books and periodicals or visited the fair. His descriptions are rich in detail. I thank José Prieto for having referred me to Martí.

2. DO, 15 June 1888. About this building, and from a knowledgeable, artistic point of view, Fausto Ramírez has written two indispensable essays: "Vertientes nacionalistas en el modernismo"; and "Dioses, héroes y reyes mexicanos en París, 1889." Daniel Schávelzon reprinted some of the documents that dealt directly with the debate about the Mexican Aztec Palace in Paris. See "La polémica de la 'Arquitectura nacional' y el Pabellón de México en París," in *La polémica del arte nacional*, ed. Daniel Schávelzon (Mexico City, 1988), 137-64. In addition, Díaz y de Ovando's article contains some interesting reprints of the media coverage of the Mexican exhibit in Paris: Clementina Díaz y de Ovando, "México en la Exposición Universal de 1889," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, no. 61 (1990): 109-71. As I was revising this man-

uscript, I gained access to María Auxiliadora Fernández, "The Representation of National Identity in Mexican Architecture: Two Case Studies (1680 and 1889)" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1993), which deals with the Aztec Palace and with Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora's Triumphal Arch—"Teatro de Virtudes Políticas." Fernández's insightful analysis incorporates postcolonial and representational theory into art history. Unfortunately, although she devotes more than 200 pages to an examination of Góngora's arch, she gives fewer than 30 pages to the Aztec Palace.

3. For Orientalism at universal expositions, see Timothy Mitchell, "The World as Exhibition," *Comparative Studies of Society and History* 31, 2 (1989):217-37; Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Cambridge, 1988), 1-33; Sylviane Leprun, *Le Théâtre des colonies* (Paris, 1986), 130-48; Zeynep Çelik, *Displaying the Orient* (Berkeley, 1992); and Raymond Corbey, "Ethnographic Showcases, 1870-1930," *Cultural Anthropology*, 8 (1993):338-69.

4. Regarding the characteristics of nineteenth-century Latin American patriotic history, see Colmenares, *Las convenciones contra la cultura*.

5. I use the term as explained by David Brading, "Creole Patriotism," in his *The Origins of Mexican Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1985), 3-23. The main aspects of this patriotism were the "exaltation of the Aztec past, the denigration of the Conquest, the xenophobic resentment against the *gachupines*, and the devotion to Our Lady Guadalupe" (p. 3). See also Enrique Florescano, *Memoria mexicana* (Mexico City, 1987), 300-308.

6. For this radical indigenism, see David Brading, *The First America* (Cambridge, 1991), 583-602; Brading, *Origins of Mexican Nationalism*, 81-88; and Luis Villoro, *Los grandes momentos del indigenismo en México* (Mexico City, 1950, 1984), 137-44.

7. See Lucas Alamán, *Historia de Méjico desde los primeros movimientos que prepararon su independencia en el año de 1808 hasta la época presente*, 5 vols. (Mexico City, 1849-1852).

8. For instance, consider José Vasconcelos's hispanism that recalls that of don Lucas. See chapter 12.

9. Quoted in Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 11.

10. See Manuel Payno, *Compendio de la historia de México para uso de los establecimientos de instrucción pública en la República Mexicana* (Mexico City, 1870); and Josefina Vázquez, "La historiografía romántica en México," *Historia Mexicana* 10, 1 (1960): 1-13.

11. Compare Valadés's argument. He believed that it was during the Porfiriato that official history started (Valadés, *El porfirismo*, vol. 2, xxv).

12. Concern that the lack of an objective national history was an obstacle in the consolidation of the nation was shared by conservatives and even by monarchists. In this regard, see Josefina Vázquez, *Nacionalismo y educación en México* (Mexico City, 1970), 66-67.

13. Because, as Josefina Vázquez has shown, the first two textbooks about independent Mexico had not assimilated the Mexican past, leaving aside or misrepresenting such events as the war with the United States. See Josefina Vázquez, "Síntesis de la historia de México de historiadores mexicanos," in *Investigaciones contemporáneas sobre historia de México* (Mexico City, 1971), 213-27; and Vázquez, *Nacionalismo y Educación*, 44-132.

14. In addition to Riva Palacio's book, Balleca published the next general and major history of Mexico, Justo Sierra's *México, su evolución social*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1900-1902). On Balleca's relationship with Riva Palacio, see Victoriano Salado

Álvarez, *Memorias de Victoriano Salado Álvarez*, vol. 1, *Tiempo Viejo* (Mexico City, 1946), 324-27; and Balleasca's correspondence with Riva Palacio, 1 September 1887, Vicente Riva Palacio's letters, Genaro García Collection, University of Texas at Austin.

15. Justo Sierra argued that he was invited by Riva Palacio to participate and that the idea for the book emerged within the intellectual discussions of the Altamirano group. See Justo Sierra, "México a través de los siglos," *Revista nacional de letras y ciencias*, no. 2 (1889):120-21. In turn, historian Daniel Cosío Villegas argued that the book had originated as a study of the war of intervention which was requested of Riva Palacio by President González (HMM 8:660-66). Valadés observed that *México a través de los siglos* had begun as a reaction to José María Roa Bárcena's "Recuerdos de la invasión norteamericana," published in *El Siglo XIX*. See Valadés, *El porfiriismo*, vol. 1, 413-14. Gargallo di Castel Lentini believes that after Juárez's reforms, a small group of intellectuals realized that it was necessary to create a national literature based on the reinterpretation of national history. *México a través de los siglos* was part of this reinterpretation. See Francesca Gargallo di Castel Lentini, "Vicente Riva Palacio: Uno storico liberale," *Revista di Storia della Storiografia* 3, 2-3 (1982):123-30. See also Clementina Díaz y de Ovando, *Vicente Riva Palacio y la identidad nacional* (Mexico City, 1985).

16. "Proyecto de historia general de México," 3, preserved in Vicente Riva Palacio's papers, Genaro García Collection, University of Texas at Austin.

17. His novels and short stories were often inspired by colonial times. In fact, he held the records of the Inquisition and wrote novels about this topic, such as *Monja casada, virgen y mártir*, and *Martín Garatuza*. See González Navarro, HMM, 689.

18. Riva Palacio, *México a través de los siglos*, vol. 2, 471.

19. See Brading, *The Origins of Mexican Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1985).

20. As both Moreno and Hale observe, late-nineteenth-century liberals read Darwin in French and thus absorbed the French interpretation of evolutionism as *transgresismo*. Riva Palacio's footnotes referred to French translations of Darwin's works, especially to Ch. Darwin, *La Descendance de l'homme*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Paris, 1873-1874). See Riva Palacio, *México a través de los siglos*, vol. 2, 474-81; Hale, *Transformation of Liberalism*, 206-10; Moreno, *La polémica del darwinismo*; and Roberto Moreno, "Mexico," in *The Comparative Reception of Darwinism*, ed. Thomas F. Glick (Chicago, 1988), 346-74.

21. See Riva Palacio, *México a través de los siglos*, vol. 2, 472-73.

22. For examples of the contemporary endurance of this view, see Díaz y de Ovando, *Vicente Riva Palacio*, 38; and Agustín F. Basave Benítez, *México mestizo: Análisis del nacionalismo mexicano en torno a la mestizofilia de Andrés Molina Enríquez* (Mexico City, 1992), 13-41, 121-24.

23. In this regard, see Victor Rico González, *Hacia un concepto de la conquista de México* (Mexico City, 1953), 205.

24. Compare Chavero, *Xochitl* and *Quetzalcóatl*, and the criticisms by Vicente Riva Palacio, which were made under the pseudonym of Cero: *Los Ceros* (Mexico City, 1882). Chavero, as mentioned in previous chapters, participated in the 1904 Saint Louis Fair. See Chavero, *Discurso pronunciado el 24 de septiembre de 1904 en el Congreso de artes y ciencias de la Exposición Universal de San Luis Missouri* (Mexico City, 1905).

25. Riva Palacio satirized Chavero's archaeological concerns and his private interests in public positions (Cero, *Los Ceros*, 156-57).

26. *Ibid.*, 154.

27. For an explanation of the origins of the neoclassical discourse in Mexico, see David Brading, "Héroes republicanos y tiranos populares," *Cuadernos Americanos*, Nueva Época 5, 11 (1988):9-26. See also Hale's concept of the era of eloquence, in "Political and Social Ideas in Latin America," 367-441.

28. Chavero, *México a través de los siglos*, vol. 1, 67.

29. *Ibid.*, 80.

30. Santiago Balleca's letter to Riva Palacio, 23 April 1889, Vicente Riva Palacio's letters, Genaro García Collection, University of Texas at Austin.

31. "Proyecto de historia general de México," 4.

32. R. Canto was a Catalan designer of theater stages and a devoted admirer of representational capabilities of expositions. See Justino Fernández, *El arte del siglo XIX en México* (Mexico City, 1967), 396. In 1888, for Barcelona's universal exposition, Canto published his *Dedicatoria d'un pagès de montanya à la Universal Exposició de Barcelona* (Barcelona, 1888). See Elías A. de Molins, *Diccionario biográfico y bibliográfico de escritores y artistas catalanes del siglo XIX*, 2 vols. (New York, 1972); and Canto's letter to Riva Palacio (in which Canto seems to have been a sort of benevolent critic of Riva Palacio's amateur paintings), Vicente Riva Palacio's letters, Genaro García Collection, University of Texas at Austin.

33. Especially the descriptions by Desiré de Charnay, who was given permission in 1880 to do archaeological research and to keep a good portion of what he discovered (to be shipped to France). See Justo Sierra's support of this permission in México, Cámara de Diputados, *Diario de los Debates* 1 (1880):532, 536. The various volumes of *México a través de los siglos* also included paintings by José María Velasco, among others.

34. By the late 1880s technology not only had made books more accessible but also had produced new ways of enriching the expressive capabilities of books. In this regard, the study of the relationship between romanticism and technology is linked to the analysis of media, nationalism, and modes of representation. Compare Walter J. Ong, *Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology* (Ithaca, 1971); and Lee Fontanella, *La imprenta y las letras en la España romántica* (Frankfurt, 1982).

35. Ch. Baudelaire, "L'Exposition Universelle de 1855: Beaux-Arts," in his *Oeuvres complètes*, préface, présentation et notes de Marcel A. Ruff (Paris, 1968), 345.

36. Edward King Kingsborough, *Antiquities of Mexico*, 9 vols. (London, 1831-1848), reprinted as *Antigüedades de México, basado en la recopilación de Lord Kingsborough*, study and interpretation by José Corona Nuñez (Mexico City, 1964-1967).

37. See Jean Frédéric de Waldeck, *Voyages pittoresque et archéologique dans la province d'Yucatan (Amérique Central), pendant les années 1834 et 1836* (Paris, 1838) and Jean Frédéric de Waldeck and E. Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Monuments anciens du Mexique: Palenque et autres ruines* (Paris, 1866).

38. See Guillaume Dupaix, *Antiquités mexicaines: Relation des trois expéditions du Capitaine Dupaix*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1824); and Desiré de Charnay, *Les Anciennes Villes du Nouveau Monde: Voyages d'explorations au Mexique et dans l'Amérique Centrale* (Paris, 1885).

39. Alfredo Chavero, *Historia antigua y de la conquista*, in Riva Palacio, *México a través de los siglos*, vol. 1 (Barcelona, 1888).

40. Ramírez, "Dioses," 220.
41. Letter from Salazar to Pacheco, 26 May 1988, EXP, Box 1, Exp. 7. Lithographs and plans of the building are missing from the archive. They can be found, together with a partial reproduction of Salazar's letter to Pacheco, in Godoy, *México en París*, 69-73.
42. *El Monitor Republicano*, 9 June 1888, reproduced in Godoy, *México en París*, 65-68. For a final version, see the official description of the Mexican pavilion by Antonio Peñafiel, *Explication de l'édifice mexicaine à l'Exposition Internationale de Paris en 1889* (Barcelona, 1889).
43. Antonio Peñafiel, *Monumentos del arte mexicano antiguo: Ornamentación, mitología, tributos y monumentos* (Berlin, 1890). Peñafiel acknowledged that several mythological characters for the Mexican pavilion were based on Sahagún's designs which in turn were included in the original of Sahagún's *Historia de la Nueva España*, a book that was furnished to Peñafiel by Eduard Seler, who had found it in Florence (Letter to Pacheco, 12 May 1988), reproduced in Godoy, *México en París*, 65-68. Fausto Ramírez adds that Peñafiel also used Diego Durán's *Historia de las indias de la Nueva España e islas de tierra firme*, published in 1867 by José Fernández and in 1880 by Gumersindo Mendoza. In the second volume of this last book, Peñafiel found the useful description and depiction of Indian rites and gods (*Libro de los ritos y ceremonias en las fiestas de los dioses y celebración de ellas*). He also utilized Manuel Orozco y Berra, *Historia antigua de la conquista de México* (Mexico City, 1880). See Ramírez, "Dioses," 221.
44. Peñafiel, *Explication de l'édifice mexicaine*.
45. *Ibid.*, 1. See also Peñafiel, *Monumentos del arte mexicano antiguo*. This book was written at the specific request of the Mexican Ministry of Economic Development and contained texts in Spanish, French, and English.
46. Peñafiel, *Explication de l'édifice mexicaine*, 1.
47. *Ibid.*, 10.
48. *Ibid.*, 3.
49. *Ibid.*, 4.
50. *Ibid.*, 56.
51. *Ibid.*, 66.
52. *Ibid.*, 72.
53. *Acta de la sesión del 12 de mayo de 1888*, in part reproduced in Godoy, *México en París*, 73-75. Chavero headed the commission in charge of evaluating Salazar's design. See BEMP 1 (1888):787.
54. Bablot, declaring himself unable to judge either project, did not vote.
55. In this regard, see "Instrucciones a las que deben sujetarse la comisión encargada de contratar las obras para el edificio de la exposición mexicana en París," signed by Pacheco, 7 June 1888, EXP, Box 1, Exp. 7, 10-11. About the contract with Santos y Cía., see BEMP 2 (1888):239.
56. See Díaz Mimiaga's request for a new location in EXP, Box 1, Exp. 8.
57. Mexican engineers had to deal with an old railroad track that crossed the Mexican lot in Paris. Salazar requested that the rails be removed by French authorities. See EXP, Box 1, Exp. 7. See also Díaz Mimiaga's final report, EXP, Box 12, Exp. 6, p. 4; Letter, Díaz Mimiaga to Fomento, EXP, Box 8, Exp. 14; and BEMP 1 (1888):48-51.
58. EXP, Box 8, Exp. 14, Spanish version of the contract "Antiguo Establecimiento

Cail. *Pabellón de México en la Exposición Universal Internacional de 1889 en París. Contrato.*"

59. Díaz Mimiaga's final report—and Fausto Ramírez following it—claimed that the works of Zinc were produced by the house of Gillardin and designed by Julio Miltgen. The bronze works were done in the workshop of Thiebault Brothers (see Ramírez, "Dioses").

60. For copies of the contract, see EXP, Box 8, Exp. 14, pp. 2-15, and partial reproduction (without the specific prices of each part) in Godoy, *México en París*, 235-42. See also DO, 26 November 1888.

61. For all the works of cement, carpentry, plumbing, zinc, and so forth, see the description of each realm, in EXP, Box 8, Exp. 13.

62. Godoy reproduced some views of the interior of the building. Other images can be found in *Bulletin de l'Exposition Universelle de Paris 1889*, no. 52 (1889):92; and no. 32 (1889):252.

63. *La Lanterne*, 24 June 1889. See also *Exposition Universelle. 1889. Pavillon du Mexique. Musique militaire-orchestre. Programmé du 22 juin*, SRE Le. 1104. Mexico spent more than 10,000 francs on the inauguration (Díaz Mimiaga's estimate, EXP, Box 12, Exp. 6, p. 24a).

64. *Le Petit Journal*, 24 June 1889.

65. *L'Événement*, 24 June 1889.

66. Emilia Pardo Bazán, "Al pie de la torre Eiffel," in her *Obras Completas*, vol. 19 (Madrid, n.d.), 246-47.

67. Vicente Riva Palacio, *Mis versos* (Madrid, 1893), 61.

## 6. MEXICAN ANTHROPOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY

1. Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé, "À travers l'Exposition. VI. Les Exotiques.—Les Colonies," *Revue des Deux Mondes* 95 (September 1889):65.

2. See Martí's explanation of the 1889 fair in *Ismaelillo*, 81-91.

3. See France, Paris, Exposition Universelle de 1889, *Congrès International des Traditions Populaires. Première session. Compte rendu* (Paris, 1891). Although nothing Mexican was discussed in this congress, Mexico was represented by Eduardo Zárate and Rafael de Zayas Enríquez.

4. Stocking elaborates on Thomas Hardy's idea of universal exhibitions as precipices of time. See George Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology* (New York, 1987), 3-5.

5. World's fairs as a whole were main events for European and American orientalism. However, colonial expositions—within and outside universal exhibitions—were more emblematic examples of this orientalism. See Leprun, *Le Théâtre des colonies*, 17-23; for English fairs, Altick, *Shows of London*, 268-301; for American fairs, Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*; Corbey, "Ethnographic Showcases"; and Tankotte, "Kaleidoscopes of the World," 5-29.

6. Quoted in Mandell, *Paris 1900*, 21-22.

7. See Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 1-33. See also Vogüé's account of the exhibit of the history of labor and anthropology: Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé, "À travers l'Exposition. IV. Les Arts libéraux.—L'Histoire du travail," *Revue des Deux Mondes* 94 (August 1889):929-44.

8. For further elaboration on the concepts of inside and outside, see Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel and Transculturation* (New York, 1992), 6-9.
9. C. de Varigny, "L'Amérique à l'Exposition Universelle," *Revue des Deux Mondes* 95 (September-October 1889):837.
10. A copy of this pamphlet can be found at the Paris National Library, and in EXP, Box 12, Exp. 2, Ch. Possonnier, *L'Exposition mexicaine* (n.p., n.d.).
11. *La Presse Industrielle*, 4 July 1889, translated in Godoy, *México en París*, 271.
12. Leopoldo Batres, *Monografías de arqueología mexicana: Teotihuacán; o, la ciudad sagrada de los toltecas* (Mexico City, 1889).
13. See Peñafiel, *Monumentos del arte mexicano*; and Peñafiel, *Explication de l'édifice mexicaine*.
14. Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 2.
15. Charles Garnier and A. Ammann, *L'Habitation humaine* (Paris, 1892), iii-iv, quoted in *ibid.*, 71-73.
16. Martí, *La edad de oro*, 63.
17. EXP, Box 8, Exp. 12.
18. See the lively descriptions and designs in Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, "Les Nahuas, les toltèques," in his *Histoire de l'habitation* (Paris, 1875), 278-92; and his long prologue in Desiré de Charnay, *Cités et ruines américaines* (Paris, 1863), 10-103. Here he suggested that pre-Hispanic architecture resembled that of the Aryan people.
19. See Garnier and Ammann, *L'Habitation humaine*; and Argentina's report made by the French architect Alberto Ballu, "La arquitectura en la Exposición Universal de París 1889." Informe argentino, found in the world's fairs collection of the Smithsonian Institution.
20. In this regard, see Burton Benedict, "The Anthropology of World's Fairs," in *The Anthropology of World's Fairs: San Francisco Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915* (Berkeley, 1984), 43-52; and Corbey, "Ethnographic Showcases," 341-45.
21. This exhibition was organized by the private McGrave Company. See Alfredo Barrón's report in SRE 19-22-25. The American photographer C. B. Waite, hired by the Mexican government, attended this fair and took photographs of the "street of Mexico" and its native people. See F. Ballesteros Montellano, "C. B. Waite, profesional fotógrafo" (Tesis de Licenciatura, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1989).
22. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 94, 147-48. Regarding Mexico's presence at the 1894 Atlanta fair, see *Anales de la Secretaría de Fomento* (1897), 59-60, 282-89. See also Justo Sierra's commentaries in Justo Sierra, *Viajes en tierra yankee*, in his *Obras completas*, vol. 6, 46-49.
23. The Aztec Lilliputians were a male three feet four inches tall, and a female two inches shorter. See Altick, *Shows of London*, 284-87.
24. See the report of the Mexican commissioner at the 1895 Atlanta fair, Gregorio E. González, in México, Secretaría de Comercio, *Memoria de la Secretaría de Comercio, 1892-1896* (Mexico City, 1898), 59, 282-89. See also chapter 11.
25. See the account of this exhibit by Alfred Charles Collineau, *L'Anthropologie à l'Exposition Universelle de 1889* (Paris, 1890); and France, Paris, Exposition Universelle de 1889, *La Société, l'école et le laboratoire d'anthropologie de Paris à l'Exposition Universelle de 1889* (Paris, 1889).
26. France, Ministère du Commerce et de l'Industrie, *Exposition Universelle Inter-*

nationale de 1889 à Paris: Monographie, palais-jardins-constructions diverses-installations générales (Paris, 1892-1895).

27. France, Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1889 à Paris, *Catalogue général officiel: Exposition Rétrospective du travail et des sciences anthropologiques, Section I, anthropologie, ethnographie* (Lille, 1889), 26, 28-29.

28. *Ibid.*, 10.

29. See *ibid.*, 655; and Stephen Jay Gould, *The Mismeasure of Man* (New York, 1981), 75-77.

30. García Cubas, *Étude*, 17-20.

31. Nicolás León argued that the origins of Mexico's scientific anthropology date back to 1864, when the French Scientific Commission of Mexico, sent by Napoleon III, arrived. See *Memorias de la Sociedad Antonio Alzate* 14 (1899-1900):63. See also his later history of Mexican physical anthropology, Nicolás León, "Historia de la antropología física en México," *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* 2, 3 (1919):229-49.

32. According to José María Velasco, this agency gained great recognition in the 1889 International Congress of Conservation and Protection of Artistic Works (*Memoria grupo primero*, December 1889, EXP, Box 18, Exp. 12). See also Salomón Nahmad, "Las ideas sociales del positivismo en el indigenismo de la época pre-revolucionaria en México," *América Indígena* 33, 4 (1973):1172.

33. See Jesús Galindo y Villa, "Discurso de sesión solemne conmemorativa del primer centenario de la muerte de Antonio de Alzate," *Memorias de la Sociedad Antonio Alzate* 13 (1899):15.

34. See León, "Historia de la antropología física," 235.

35. "La antropología actual y el estado de las razas," *La Naturaleza* 6 (1882-1884):126.

36. This is argued by M. S. Stabb, "Indigenism and Racism in Mexican Thought: 1857-1911," *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 1 (1959):406.

37. On degeneration, see J. Edward Chamberlain and Sander L. Gilman, eds., *Degeneration: The Dark Side of Progress* (New York, 1985). For some insights on the growth of these ideas in Latin America (Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil), see Nancy Leys Stepan, *The Hour of Eugenics* (Ithaca, 1991), 21-26.

38. For a lucid and complete discussion of this process in French anthropology, see Yvette Conry, *L'Introduction du darwinisme en France au XIXe siècle* (Paris, 1974), 51-89. See also Angèle Kremer-Marietti, "L'Anthropologie physique et morale en France et ses implications ideologiques," in *Histoire de l'anthropologie (XVIe-XIXe siècles)*, ed. Britta Rupp-Eisenreich (Paris, 1984), 319-51.

39. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, 76.

40. Daniel Brinton, "The Nation as an Element in Anthropology," in *Memoirs of the International Congress of Anthropology*, ed. C. Staniland Wake (Chicago, 1894), 20; and Daniel Brinton, *Races and Peoples: Lectures on the Science of Ethnography* (New York, 1890), 40.

41. E. T. Hamy, "La Science française au Mexique," reprinted in his *Décades Américanae: Mémoires d'archéologie et d'ethnographie américaines* (Paris, 1884), 116. Hamy refers to various travel accounts published by Baradère. See also Anne-Christine Taylor, "L'Américanisme tropical: Une frontière fossile de l'ethnologie," in *Histoire de l'anthropologie (XVIe-XIXe siècles)*, ed. Britta Rupp-Eisenreich (Paris, 1984), 213-32; and Raoul d'Harcourt, *L'Américanisme et la France* (Paris, 1928).

42. G. d'Eichthal, *Études sur les origines bouddhiques de la civilisation américaine*, extract from *Revue Archéologique* (Paris, 1864).

43. See France, Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, *Archives de la Commission Scientifique du Mexique* (Paris, 1865). In "La Science française au Mexique" Hamy mentioned various other French studies on Mexico.

44. Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, *Actas de la IX reunión. Mexico 1895* (Mexico City, 1897), 29.

45. In this regard, see Stocking's explanation of the difference between the English (that is, "not a major center of physical anthropology") and French (that is, anatomical) anthropological traditions in the 1860s (Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, 67).

46. For a brief but lucid account of this debate, see Claude Blanckaert, "Monogénisme et polygénisme en France de Buffon à Paul Broca (1749-1880)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Paris, 1981); and Claude Blanckaert, "On the Origins of French Ethnology: William Edward and the Doctrine of Race," in *Bones, Bodies, Behavior: Essays on Biological Anthropology*, ed. George W. Stocking (Madison, 1988), 18-55.

47. Nahmad found in García Granados and his essay of 1910 a transitional position between pure positivism and culturalism, within the Porfirian regime. See Ricardo García Granados, *El concepto científico de la historia* (Mexico City, 1910), also published in the *Revista Positiva*; and Nahmad, "Las ideas sociales."

48. In fact, in this regard the Anglo-Saxon tradition was more appealing to Mexican intellectuals. Hence, in Spencer and Darwin, both studied in French, Mexicans found, as historian Charles Hale has argued, a version of social Darwinism that allowed them to "put attention on the peculiarities of their society within the universal scheme of evolution" (Hale, *Transformation of Liberalism*, 213-20). See also Ricardo Godoy, "Franz Boas and His Plans for an International School of American Archaeology and Ethnology in Mexico," *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences* 14 (1977):228-42; and Luis Vázquez, "Historia y constitución profesional de la arqueología mexicana (1884-1940)," in *II Coloquio Pedro Bosch Gimpera* (Mexico City, 1993), 30-77.

49. Nicolás León, "Anomalías y mutilaciones étnicas del sistema dentario entre los tarascos pre-colombinos," *Anales del Museo Michoacano* 3 (1890):168-73, reprinted in Moreno, *La polémica del darwinismo*, 257-61. For biographical and bibliographical data about Nicolás León, see the essay "Nicolás León" by Germán Somolinos D'Ardois in his *Historia y medicina: Figuras y hechos de la historiografía médica mexicana* (Mexico City, 1957), 129-60. In this regard, see also Alfonso Herrera's rejection of Riva Palacio's conclusion, in Alfonso L. Herrera, "Nota relativa a las causas que producen atrofia de los pelos. Refutación a un argumento de M. de Quatrefages," *Anales del Museo Nacional de México*, 1st series, 4-5 (1891):216-24, reprinted in Moreno, *La polémica del darwinismo*, 262-72.

50. This was published in *Diario del Hogar*, 13 January 1889, as a result of a request to Batres for the Mexican anthropological exhibition at the 1889 Paris fair.

51. Leopoldo Batres, "Antropología mexicana: Clasificación del tipo antropológico de las principales tribus aborígenes de México," *Revista Nacional de Letras y Ciencias* 1 (1889):191-96.

52. Peñafiel published an article about his *Monumentos mexicanos* in the 8th ses-

sion of the International Congress of Americanists, "Archéologie mexicaine," in Congrès International des Américanistes, *Compte Rendu de la Huitième Session* (Paris, 1890), 519-21. See also his description of the Mexican pavilion in "L'Edifice mexicaine," *Revue d'Ethnologie* 8 (1889):192-200.

53. This is argued by Herzfeld in his analysis of ancient Greek archaeology: M. Herzfeld, *Anthropology through the Looking-Glass: Critical Ethnography in the Margins of Europe* (Cambridge, 1987), 7.

## 7. MEXICAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN PARIS

1. See Ramírez, "Dioses," 201-53; Ramírez, "Acotaciones iconográficas," 15-85; and Ramírez, "Vertientes nacionalistas." See also Fernández, *El arte del siglo XIX*.

2. José María Velasco, "Memoria grupo primero," manuscript, 28 December 1889, EXP, Box 18, Exp. 12.

3. For an example of parallel phenomena in India, see Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *The Making of a New "Indian" Art: Artists, Aesthetics and Nationalism in Bengal 1850-1920* (Cambridge, 1992).

4. For a description of the interior of the Argentine building, see RUP 2:213-14. See also Vitali, "1889," 29-37.

5. RUP 2:213-32.

6. Mier, *México en la Exposición Universal*, 220. For the 1900 Paris fair, see chapter 11.

7. For shifts in European taste, see Raymond Rudorff, *Belle Époque: Paris in the Nineties* (London, 1972), chap. 3; and Debora L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley, 1989), 1-11.

8. Ignacio Manuel Altamirano, "La pintura histórica en México," *El Artista* 1 (1874):8, reprinted in Ida Rodríguez Prampolini, *La crítica de arte en el siglo XIX*, vol. 2 (Mexico City, 1964).

9. Luis Miguel Aguilar, *La democracia de los muertos* (Mexico City, 1988), 106.

10. For an itemized description of the various styles, see Israel Katzman, *Arquitectura del siglo XIX en México* (Mexico City, 1973), 63-219.

11. In this regard, see Çelik's analysis of Oriental pavilions at world's fairs: Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 135-37. See also chapter 11.

12. For an analysis of the *arquitectura de la ingeniería*, see Renato de Fusco, *Historia de la arquitectura contemporánea* (Madrid, 1992), 30-63.

13. Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 136.

14. Garnier's dislike is referred to by Katzman (*Arquitectura del siglo XIX en México*, 256) and by Tepozcaconetzin Calquetzani, the pseudonym used by the opponent of Luis Salazar's pro-pre-Hispanic article, "Bellas Artes: Arquitectura, arqueología y arquitectura mexicana," *El Arte y La Ciencia* 1 (December 1899), reprinted in Rodríguez Prampolini, *La crítica*, vol. 2, 379-80.

15. See Ballu, "La arquitectura en la Exposición Universal," 370-71 on Mexico, 377 on Argentina.

16. Minutes, session of the Mexican commission, 1 June 1889, EXP, Box 12, Exp. 3.

17. *El Nacional*, 11 September 1890, 7 November 1890, reprinted in Rodríguez Prampolini, *La crítica*, vol. 3, 254.

18. Manuel Francisco Álvarez, *Las ruinas de Mitla y la arquitectura* (Mexico City, 1900), 258.
19. See Fusco, *Historia de la arquitectura contemporánea*, 59-63.
20. In this regard, see F. Seitz, "Architects et ingénieurs: L'Exposition de 1889," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 39 (July-September 1992):483-92.
21. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. 2, 441.
22. César Daly, "Discours prononcé au nom des anciens élèves de Félix Duban" (1871)," quoted in Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 136.
23. Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé, "À travers l'Exposition. II. L'Architecture.-Les Feux et les eaux.-Le Globe," *Revue des Deux Mondes* 94 (July-August 1889):441.
24. See Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 115-16.
25. For a discussion of this appeal, see Álvarez, *Las ruinas de Mitla*, 257-59. Álvarez was for many years the director of the Escuela de Artes y Oficios, and as such he traveled to the 1900 Paris fair to attend the congresses related to architecture. For information about him, see the introductory study to a re-edition of some of his articles, Elisa García Barragán, "Manuel F. Álvarez," in *Manuel F. Álvarez: Algunos escritos*, selection by Elisa García Barragán (Mexico City, 1981-1982), 8-16.
26. For typical view in this regard, see E. Barberot, *Histoire des styles d'architecture dans tous les pays depuis les temps anciens jusqu'à nos jours*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891).
27. See Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, "Les Nahuas, les Toltèques," in his *Histoire de l'habitation*, 278-92. See also his long prologue in Desiré de Charnay's *Cités e ruines américaines* (Paris, 1863), 10-103. On Viollet-le-Duc in Mexico, see Vicente Martín Hernández, *Arquitectura doméstica de la ciudad de México* (Mexico City, 1981), 256-57.
28. See the entry "Style," in Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire raisonné*, as reprinted in *The Foundations of Architecture: Selections from the Dictionnaire raisonné*, introduction by Barry Bergdoll, trans. K. D. Whitehead (New York, 1990), 231-63.
29. See Jesús T. Acevedo, "Apariencias arquitectónicas," a lecture delivered in the last years of the Porfirian period at the Sociedad de Conferencias, included in Jesús T. Acevedo, *Disertaciones de un arquitecto* (Mexico City, 1967), 35-54.
30. See Jaime Genaro Francisco Javier Cuadriello Aguilar, "La arquitectura en México (ca. 1857-1920): Ensayo para el estudio de sus tipos y programas" (Tesis de Licenciatura, Universidad Iberoamericana, 1983); and Katzman's explanation for the decline of classicism in Mexico (*Arquitectura del siglo XIX en México*, 69).
31. See Katzman, *Arquitectura del siglo XIX en México*, 313; and Nicolás Mariscal, *La enseñanza de la arquitectura en México* (Mexico City, 1902), 13-16. See also M. Bazant, "La enseñanza y la práctica de la ingeniería durante el porfiriato," in *La educación en la historia de México: Lecturas de historia mexicana* (Mexico City, 1992), 167-210.
32. See letter from E. Bonaffe to Jean-Camille Formigé, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 2 (1889):167-73. See also Seitz, "Architects et ingénieurs."
33. He constructed the Mexican pavilions for both the 1889 and the 1900 Paris fairs. In addition, he finished the penitentiary in Mexico City. See Katzman, *Arquitectura del siglo XIX en México*, 266.
34. See J. F. Godoy, *Enciclopedia de contemporáneos* (Washington, 1898), 48-49. Two other architects, Vicente Reyes and José María Alva, participated in the design of Salazar's project. See Katzman, *Arquitectura del siglo XIX en México*, 291.

35. On the relationship between technology and style, see Cuadriello Aguilar, "La arquitectura en México," 24; regarding construction, see Katzman, *Arquitectura del siglo XIX en México*, 63-220.

36. See Robert Goldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Art* (Cambridge, 1986); and Julian, *Triumph of Art Nouveau*.

37. Fausto Ramírez also points out the generational aspect as an important role in the consolidation of a new aesthetic vision that eventually concluded in modernism. See Ramírez, "Vertientes nacionalistas," 114-15.

38. Nicolás Mariscal, "Bellas Artes: Arquitectura," *El Arte y la Ciencia* 1 (April 1899):49.

39. See Luis Salazar, "La arqueología y la arquitectura," in *Actas del XI Congreso Internacional de Americanistas* (Mexico City, 1895), 137-49. In 1898 he published the same essay as a pamphlet, and in 1899 he presented the last version of the paper in *El Arte y la Ciencia* 1 (1899):1-3; 2 (1899):113-14; 3 (1899):129-30.

40. Salazar, "La arqueología y la arquitectura," *El Arte y la Ciencia* 1 (1899): 130. The three parts of this article are reprinted in Rodríguez Prampolini, *La crítica*, vol. 3, 367-77, quotation on p. 376.

41. Of course, the revival of the past in architecture was only a part of the general construction of a nationalistic ideology. In Mexico, Salazar's attempts were paralleled by various efforts to reconstruct Hispanic architecture. See Tepoztecaonetzin Calquetzani, "Bellas artes, arquitectura, arqueología, y arquitectura mexicana," *El Arte y la Ciencia* 1, 11-12 (1899), reprinted in Rodríguez Prampolini, *La crítica*, vol. 3, 377-80. Fausto Ramírez has interpreted this debate in his lucid essay on nationalism (Ramírez, "Vertientes nacionalistas," 111-67).

42. Fausto Ramírez has pointed this out, although he supports the idea of a clear and definite distinction between nationalists and cosmopolitans. See Ramírez, "Vertientes nacionalistas," 114-15.

43. See Simmel's concept of architecture as a battle between spirit and nature, always won by nature in George Simmel, "Las ruinas," *Revista de Occidente* 2 (June 1924):304-7.

44. For an example of this consciousness, see Nicolás Mariscal, *El desarrollo de la arquitectura en México* (Mexico City, 1901); Álvarez, *Las ruinas de Mitla*, 257-59; and *El Nacional*, 11 September-7 November 1890, reprinted in Rodríguez Prampolini, *La crítica*, vol. 3, 252-75.

45. Lecture delivered in the 1910s and included in Acevedo, *Disertaciones de un arquitecto*, 53.

46. Federico E. Mariscal, *La patria y la arquitectura nacional* (Mexico City, 1915), 10.

47. I have benefited from Fausto Ramírez's lucid analysis of the inherent problems that originated in Peñafiel's historic-nationalist project and in Contreras's aesthetically cosmopolitan concepts. See Ramírez, "Dioses."

48. See Cecilio A. Robelo, *Diccionario de mitología nahuatl* (Mexico City, 1951), 344-45.

49. Robelo argues that in the *Códice Teteliano*, Centeotl is pictured as a man married to Xochiquetzalli; in the Vatican Codice, this deity is represented as a woman. See Robelo, *Diccionario*, 54.

50. Clendinnen believes that Chalchiutlicue was represented as a woman at the lake, as a sort of natural "visible presence personified for easy intelligibility": Inga

Clendinnen, *Aztecs: An Interpretation* (Cambridge, 1991), 251. According to Ramírez, these images were taken by Peñafiel from Durán's book. See Fray Diego Durán, *Historia de las Indias de la Nueva España*, vol. 2 (Mexico City, 1951), which includes, as an appendix, Alfredo Chavero, *Explicación del Códice geroglífico de M. Aubin* (Mexico City, 1951).

51. Peñafiel, *Explicación de l'édifice*, 7.

52. Robelo, *Diccionario*, 474.

53. *Ibid.*, 47.

54. Clendinnen, *Aztecs*, 164, 168.

55. Ramírez, "Dioses," 227.

56. Peñafiel, *Explicación de l'édifice*, 9.

57. Orozco y Berra, *Historia antigua*.

58. For a detailed description of the aesthetic aspects of this combination, see Ramírez, "Dioses," 233-41.

59. EXP, Box 1, Exp. 7. In his report to Gustavo Baz, Minister of Justice, Contreras told of his studies in Spain and France in the workshops of Gagbot and the House of Allard Hodot, in which he obtained his Placa de Obrero de Primera. See also DO, November 1889, 1-2; Justino Fernández, *El arte moderno en México: Breve Historia—Siglo XIX* (Mexico City, 1937), 192-98; and Patricia Pérez Walters, "Jesús Contreras (1866-1902): Imágenes escultóricas y personalidad artística" (Tesis de Licenciatura, Universidad Iberoamericana, 1989); and the summary of this thesis in the text prepared for an exhibit of Contreras's works (México, Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, *Jesús Contreras, 1866-1902: Escultor finisecular* [Mexico City, 1990].

60. This was true for all nations. For instance, leading American sculptors, such as Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Daniel Chester French, were in France in the 1880s. See Kathryn Greenthal, "Late Nineteenth Century American Sculpture in Its International Context," in *La scultura nel XIX secolo*, edited by Horst W. Janson (Bologna, 1981), 241-47.

61. See BEMP 1 (1888):188-94.

62. In the UIA-Díaz are letters from Díaz Mimiaga to Porfirio Díaz and from Contreras to Porfirio Díaz. Despite differences with Porfirio Díaz (in the beginning of 1889), Contreras was personally recommended by Díaz Mimiaga to Díaz. Contreras visited Díaz in January 1890 with a letter of introduction by Díaz Mimiaga. See UIA-Díaz, Leg. 15, Box 6, Doc. 2501; Leg. 15, Box 3, Doc. 1278; and Leg. 15, Box 6, Docs. 2610-12.

63. *El Diario del Hogar*, 3 January 1892, quoted in Pérez Walters, *Jesús F. Contreras*, 23. Contreras also was involved in real estate and in the urban transformation of Mexico City.

64. Contreras did not break completely with classicism, although he introduced romantic and eclectic tendencies. For analyses of the French sculpture of the era, see William Hauptman, "'La Mélancolie' in French Romantic Sculpture," in *Saloni, gallerie, musei e loro influenza sullo sviluppo dell'arte dei secoli XIX e XX*, ed. F. Haskell (Bologna, 1981), 111-15; Ruth Butler, "Nationalism, a New Seriousness, and Rodin: Some Thoughts about French Sculpture in the 1870s," in Haskell, *Saloni*, 67.

65. See the discussion of liberal aesthetics and the explanation of romanticism in Mexican sculpture in Mario Monteforte Toledo, *Las piedras vivas: Escultura y sociedad en México* (Mexico City, 1965). See also Fernández, *El arte del siglo XIX*, 196-97;

and Salvador Moreno, "Un siglo perdido de la escultura mexicana: El siglo XIX," *Artes de México*, no. 133 (1970):5-93.

66. Léon Cahun, "L'Exposition Universelle. VII. Le Mexique (1er article)," *La Phare de la Loire*, 20 June 1889. Part of this article was reproduced in *El Mundo* of Mexico City (15 August 1889), but the name of the author was changed to León Satin. A portion of the article was reproduced in Rodríguez Prampolini, *La crítica*, vol. 3, 235-36.

67. See Ramírez, "Acotaciones iconográficas."

68. For an elaboration of Velasco's type of realism, see Juan de la Encina, *El paisajista José María Velasco (1840-1912)* (Mexico City, 1943), 87-97.

69. See *ibid.*, 97. On landscape painting as naturalistic exercise, see Yi-Fu Tuan, *Topophilia: A Study of Environmental Perception, Attitudes, and Values* (Englewood Cliffs, 1974); and Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1850* (Berkeley, 1986).

70. See Angela Miller, "Everywhere and Nowhere: The Making of the National Landscape," *American Literary History* 4 (1992):208.

71. Cahun, "L'Exposition Universelle."

72. For Velasco's archeological paintings, see Carlos Martínez Marín, "Jesús Velasco y el dibujo arqueológico," in Ramírez, *José María Velasco*, 203-32. For Velasco's scientific paintings, see Elías Trabulse, "Aspectos de la obra científica de José María Velasco," in Ramírez, *José María Velasco*, 123-80; and Elías Trabulse, *José María Velasco: Un paisaje de la ciencia en México* (Toluca, 1992).

73. See Ramírez, "Acotaciones iconográficas."

74. México, *Catalogue officiel de l'Exposition de la République Mexicaine*.

75. Claude Debroise, "José María Velasco y el paisaje fotográfico decimonónico (apuntes para un paralelismo)," in Ramírez, *José María Velasco*, 103-21.

76. Peter Hales, *William Henry Jackson and the Transformation of the American Landscape* (Philadelphia, 1988), 173-75. According to Hales, these pictures are in the U.S. Library of Congress, in the Detroit Company Collection. José Antonio Rodríguez argues that 600 of these pictures were published in the *Album of Documentary Views of México*, 4 vols., 1884-1885. See José Antonio Rodríguez, "Vues mexicaines, el libro perdido de A. Briquet," *Dominical: El Nacional* (17 November 1991):4-8; and W. Jones, "William Henry Jackson in México," *American West* 14, 4 (1977):10-21.

77. See Debroise, "José María Velasco," 115. See also Claude Debroise, "Plein soleil: Le Cas mexicain," *Photographies*, no. 6 (1984):32-38.

78. Alan Trachtenberg, *Reading American Photography: Images as History: Mathew Brady to Walker Evans* (New York, 1989), 288.

79. See Rosa Casanova and Olivier Debroise, *Sobre la superficie bruñida de un espejo: La fotografía en México en el siglo XIX* (Mexico City, 1989), 12. See also Michel Poivert, "La Photographie artistique à l'Exposition Universelle de 1900," *Histoire de l'Art*, no. 13-14 (1991):60-66.

80. Velasco seems to have been fascinated by photography. During his sojourn in Paris in 1889, he became very interested in the development of photography. See Debroise, "José María Velasco," 120; and Islas García, *Velasco*.

81. See Patricia Massé, "Ilusiones compartidas entre la albúmina y el óleo: Las tarjetas de visita de Cruces y Campa," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, no. 63 (1992):125-36. On Romualdo García and Valletto, see Enrique Fernández

Ledesma, *La gracia de los retratos antiguos* (Mexico City, 1950), which includes a catalogue of nineteenth-century photographers.

82. See Casanova and Debroise, *Sobre la superficie*; Claudia Canales, *Romualdo García: Un fotógrafo, una ciudad, una época* (Guanajuato, 1980); and Olivier Debroise, *Fuga Mexicana* (Mexico City, 1994), 54-76. See also Olivier Debroise, "Plein Soleil."

83. See Ian Jeffrey, *Photography—A Concise History* (London, 1981). He observes that this phrase was the title of the first photography book ever published.

84. Fernández, *El arte del siglo XIX*, 137.

85. In New Orleans, he exhibited "Ariadna abandonada." See *El Siglo XIX*, 5 November 1884. See also Fernández, *El arte del siglo XIX*, 109-10.

86. For the discussion of pre-Hispanic motifs in painting, see Stacie G. Widdifield, "National Art and Identity in Mexico, 1869-1881" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1986); Stacie G. Widdifield, "Dispossession, Assimilation, and the Image of the Indian in Late-Nineteenth-Century Mexican Painting," *Art Journal* 49 (Summer 1990):125-32; Eloísa Uribe, "Más allá de lo que el ojo ve: Sobre el relieve de Fray Bartolomé de las Casas (1864) por Miguel Noreña," *Memoria*, Museo Nacional de Arte, no. 3 (1991):5-25; Ramírez, "Vertientes nacionalistas."

87. *El Siglo XIX*, 21 October 1895. Other paintings with pre-Hispanic themes at the Academia de San Carlos were: *El tormento de Cuauhtémoc*, by Leandro Izaguirre; *La prisión de Cuauhtémoc*, by Joaquín Ramírez; *Visita de Cortés a Moctezuma*, by Juan Ortega; and *Fray Bartolomé de las Casas, protector de los indios* and *Episodios de la conquista*, both by Felix Parra (included in Rodríguez Prampolini, *La crítica*, vol. 3, 330).

88. See Robelo, *Diccionario*, 467.

89. See Ignacio Manuel Altamirano's section on arts in *Primer almanaque histórico, artístico y monumental de la República Mexicana*, ed. Manuel Caballero (New York, 1883-1884). The full text is included in Rodríguez Prampolini, *La crítica*, vol. 3, 156.

90. See the following examples, which I have located in the medical press: Ernesto Ulrich, "Consideraciones respecto a la acción del pulque sobre la economía," *Gaceta Médica de México*, 3d ser., 4 (1909):614-27; "Dictamen del Jurado calificador de la Academia sobre la memoria 'El hígado reasumiendo la historia del alcoholismo en la economía, constituye también respecto del pulque el punto objetivo de sus efectos patológicos,'" *Gaceta Médica de México* 20 (1885):410-51; and the study by a member of the exhibition team, José Segura, *Dictamen sobre el pulque* (Mexico City, 1901). There were also some studies that, based on the economic advantages of the maguey industry, defended pulque. See, for example, *El maguey y sus productos* (Mexico City, 1901); and Antonio Carbajal, *Estudio sobre el pulque considerado principalmente desde el punto de vista zootécnico* (Mexico City, 1901).

91. See José G. Lobato, *Estudio químico-industrial de los varios productos del maguey mexicano* (Mexico City, 1884).

92. On the issue of gender in this painting, see Widdifield, "National Art and Identity"; and "Dispossession."

93. See México, *Catalogue officiel de l'Exposition de la République Mexicaine*; and I-slas García, *Velasco*.

94. See México, *Catalogue officiel de l'Exposition de la République Mexicaine*.

95. See Goldwater, *Primitivism in Modern Art*, xv-xviii.

96. Velasco, "Memoria grupo primero."

97. Ibid.

98. See France, Paris, Exposition Universelle de 1889, *Catalogue officiel illustré de l'Exposition Centennale de l'Art Français, 1800 à 1889*, ed. Ludovic Bachet, reprinted by Garland (Paris, 1981).

99. On Velasco's dislike of impressionism, see Encina, *El paisajista*.

100. Among them, works by Puvis de Chavannes, Léon Bonnat, Carolus-Duran, William A. Bouguereau, Jules Lefebvre, J. Felix Barrias, Benjamin Constant, Gaston Saintpierre, Aime Morot, and Alfred Roll.

101. In this regard, see the interesting opinion of the English critic Alfred Haddon, *Evolution in Art* (London, 1895).

102. Sala was a well-known British critic who wrote extensively on art in the late nineteenth century; he was also an illustrator for Dickens's writings. Pierre Fritel was a French painter known for his historical canvases, such as *L'Enfance de Jeanne d'Arc*. Guillon was a distinguished late-nineteenth-century French landscape painter.

103. Velasco, "Memoria grupo primero."

104. It seems that he disliked traveling, as shown by his impressions of his trip to Paris and, later, of his trip to the 1893 Chicago world's fair. Only two canvases resulted from his trip to Paris: one of Havana Bay; the other a view of the sea (see Is-las García, *Velasco*; and Velasco, "Memoria grupo primero"). See also M. Payno's letter to Riva Palacio, 5 November 1889, Vicente Riva Palacio's letters, Genaro García Collection, University of Texas at Austin.

105. Velasco, "Memoria grupo primero."

## 8. STATISTICS, MAPS, PATENTS, AND GOVERNANCE

1. Condorcet, *Fragment on the New Atlantis, or Combined Efforts of the Human Species for the Advancement of Science*, reprinted in *Condorcet: Selected Writings*, ed. K. M. Baker (Indianapolis, 1976), 300.

2. In this regard, see Kuhn's use of what he calls the Merton thesis to explain the "geographical patterns" in science: Thomas Kuhn, "Mathematical versus Experimental Traditions in the Development of Physical Science," in his *The Essential Tension* (Chicago, 1977), 58-59.

3. Claude Nicolet, *L'Idée républicaine*, 310.

4. Gabino Barreda's educational reform in 1867 was the bedrock on which the scientific turn of the late nineteenth century was based. See Hale, *Transformation of Liberalism*, 141.

5. José Yves Limantour, *Discurso pronunciado por el Sr. Lic. José Yves Limantour* (Mexico City, 1901), 1.

6. México, Secretaría de Fomento, *Reglamento económico de la Junta y personas auxiliares de la Comisión Mexicana en la Exposición Universal de París, EXP, Box 18, Exp. 8*, p. 10.

7. Annotated circular, EXP, Box 1, Exp. 18, p. 8. See also article 25 of *Reglamento*, EXP, Box 18, Exp. 8, p. 10. The article asked the directors of each of the nine groups of products to keep themselves up-to-date in their respective areas of production, scientific expertise, or artistic concerns.

8. I examined the symbolic aspects in chapters 5, 6, and 7.

9. In this regard, see K. Rose's review essay, "Governing by Numbers: Figuring out Democracy," *Accounting, Organizations and Society* 16 (1991):673-92; and Ian Hacking's books on the history of statistics and probability: *The Emergence of Probability* (Cambridge, 1975) and *The Taming of Chance* (Cambridge, 1990).

10. For instance, in 1851 the comparative tables on moral statistics of the French statistician A. M. Guerry won recognition during the Crystal Palace meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science: A. M. Guerry, *Essai sur la statistique morale de la France* (Paris, 1833). See Hacking, *Taming of Chance*, 77.

11. See RUP 9.

12. See Stuart Woolf, "Contribution à l'histoire des origines de la statistique: France, 1789-1815," in École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, *La Statistique en France à l'époque napoléonienne* (Brussels, 1980), 45-126; and Hacking, *Taming of Chance*, 28-34.

13. See the detailed account of the technical development of statistics in Stephen M. Stigler, *The History of Statistics* (Cambridge, 1986), 159-220. For the opposition to Quetelet's use of statistics in the 1830s and 1840s, see Gerd Gigerenzer et al., *The Empire of Chance* (Cambridge, 1989), 45-48.

14. See *La Grande Encyclopédie* (Paris, 1886-1902), vol. 30, 448.

15. Jesús Hermosa, *Manual de geografía y estadística de la República Mexicana* (Paris, 1857), vi. See also one of the first Mexican manuals for the making of statistics, José María Pérez Hernández, *Curso elemental de estadística* (Mexico City, 1874). Also in this regard, see Ramón Manterola, *Ensayo sobre una clasificación de las ciencias* (Mexico City, 1884), which developed the concept of probability in science.

16. Emiliano Busto, *Estadística de la República Mexicana* (Mexico City, 1880), iii.

17. Agustín Aragón, "La estadística," *Revista Positiva*, no. 23 (1902):484-93.

18. Antonio Peñafiel, "La estadística en la República Mexicana," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística*, 4th epoch, 4 (1897):512-13.

19. Regarding this institution, see Enrique de Olivarría y Ferrari, *La Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (Mexico City, 1901).

20. See Carlos Díaz Dufoo, *México, 1876-1892* (Mexico City, 1893).

21. Quetelet established the concept of the "average man" in society and thus the idea of deviation. For my analysis of the creation of a modern nation, it is important to bear in mind that Quetelet was not only a great statistician but also, as Hacking characterizes him, "the greatest of international propagandists for the value of statistics." Small wonder that, as many did in England and Germany, in Mexico Peñafiel referred to him to justify the importance of statistics. See Hacking, *Taming of Chance*, 74; and Peñafiel, "La estadística."

22. See Antonio García Cubas, *Importancia de la estadística* (Mexico City, 1871).

23. Juan de D. Bojorquez, *Orientaciones de la estadística en México: Conferencia sustentada en la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística, el 14 de Mayo de 1929* (Mexico City, 1929); and Francisco Barrera Lavalle, *Apuntes para la historia de la estadística en México, 1821-1910: Concurso Científico y Artístico del Centenario* (Mexico City, 1911).

24. See annotated circular, EXP, Box 1, Exp. 18, pp. 8-9.

25. See Godoy, *México en París*, 214-16, 221-22; and for the tables described here, see EXP, Box 51, Exp. 8-15; Box 52, Exp. 1-10; and Box 53, Exp. 1-11.

26. For instance, in 1888 the president of the Sociedad Agrícola Mexicana was asked about data on haciendas in Mexico City. He replied that such information was

completely unavailable (EXP, Box 8, Exp. 20). The general agricultural statistics prepared for the 1900 Paris fair included Mexico City (EXP, Box 52, Exp. 2).

27. Argentina, Comisión, Exposición de París 1889, *L'Agriculture et l'élevage dans la République Argentine d'après le recensement de la première quinzaine d'octobre de 1888 . . . ouvrage publié sous la direction de F. Latzina* (Paris, 1889). The province of Buenos Aires produced Comisión Auxiliar Provincial, Exposición Universal de París 1889, *Censo agrícola-pecuario de la provincia de Buenos Aires . . . para contribuir a la representación de la República Argentina en la Exposición Universal de París* (Buenos Aires, 1889), which included information on the nationalities of people working on ranches. Previously, Argentina had prepared a statistical study for the 1867 Paris fair: Argentina, La Confederation Argentine a l'Exposition Universelle de 1867 à Paris, *Notice statistique générale et catalogue* (Paris, 1867).

28. See E. Levasseur, *Le Brésil*, 2d ed. (Paris, 1889). This collection of statistical and geographical data was also published as part of the Brazil entry in the *Grande Encyclopédie*.

29. See Rafael Reyes, *Apuntamientos estadísticos sobre la república del Salvador* (San Salvador, 1888).

30. Before the mathematical development of probability, the rule of large numbers was constantly invoked. See Gigerenzer et al., *Empire of Chance*, 39-40.

31. Hacking, *Taming of Chance*, 77.

32. F. Galton, *Natural Inheritance* (London, 1889).

33. Manuel Orozco y Berra, *Apuntes para la historia de la geografía en México* (Mexico City, 1881), 428. See also Bernardo García Martínez, "La Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora," *Historia Mexicana* 24, 4 (1975):485-555.

34. Document reproduced in Godoy, *México en París*, 220-21. See the particular catalogue of this commission by Díaz: Agustín Díaz, *Catalogue des objets composant le contingent de la Commission, précédé de quelques notes sur son organisation et ses travaux* (Paris, 1889).

35. DO, 28 March 1888.

36. See the report on the 1889 map: México, Secretaría de Fomento, *Memoria para la carta general geográfica de la República Mexicana: Año de 1889* (Mexico City, 1890); and García Martínez, "La Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora," 492-93.

37. Indeed, before any lobbying of the wizards of progress, this display was awarded two grand prizes by the French jury. See México, Commission Géographique Exploratrice de la République Mexicaine, *Catalogue* (Mexico City, 1889), 26 and 52; and México, Secretaría de Fomento, *Lista de los premios y recompensas obtenidos por México en la Exposición Internacional de París de 1889* (Mexico City, 1891), 7.

38. About him, see Miguel A. Sánchez Lamego, "Agustín Díaz, ilustre cartógrafo mexicano," *Historia Mexicana* 24 (1975):556-65.

39. Díaz, *Catalogue des objets*, 4-5. See also Sánchez Lamego, "Agustín Díaz," 563; and Orozco y Berra, *Apuntes*, 429.

40. See EXP, Box 4, Exp. 28. Here García Cubas was appointed to write a geographical and statistical study of the country.

41. Based on this book, Antonio García Cubas wrote *Mexico: Its Trade, Industries and Resources* (Mexico City, 1893) for Mexico's display in Chicago. For a history of García Cubas's original maps and the development of his works until 1880, see Orozco y Berra, *Apuntes*, 421-34. See also García Cubas's archive at the Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística.

42. Castillo and Aguilera created the Instituto Geológico. As a result of Aguilera's initiative the institute was granted the building it possessed in Santa María, Mexico City. See Alberto María Carreño, "Un insigne geólogo mexicano: Ing. José G. Aguilera," in his *Semblanzas*, vol. 2 (Mexico City, n.d.), 5-22. See also Mexico, Secretaría de Fomento, *Bosquejo de una carta geológica de la República Mexicana*, 1:300,000,000 (Mexico City, 1889).

43. In this regard, see Gabriel Gohau, *A History of Geology*, trans. Albert and Marguerite Carozzi (New Brunswick, 1990), 99-110, 125-37.

44. See *Catálogo de los trabajos de la comisión especial para la formación del Bosquejo de una Carta Geológica de la República*, 22 April 1889, signed by Antonio del Castillo, EXP, Box 1, Exp. 16, pp. 114-114bis.

45. EXP, Box 3, Exp. 12.

46. *Ibid.*; and EXP, Box 1, Exp. 16, p. 71. See also Teodoro Flores, "Panorama de la geología en México (1551-1951)," in *Memoria del Congreso Científico Mexicano 3* (1953), 23-61.

47. Castillo's report in EXP, Box 1, Exp. 16. See also Antonio del Castillo's study: *Catalogue descriptif des météorites* (Paris, 1889).

48. EXP, Box 1, Exp. 15. See also the "Catálogo descriptivo de los meteoritos de México," *La Naturaleza*, 2d series, 1 (1887-1890):328.

49. Regarding this unification of science and technology, see Thomas Kuhn, "The Relation between History and the History of Science," in his *Essential Tension*, 127-61.

50. See Alfred Chandler, *Scale and Scope: The Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism* (Cambridge, 1990), 47-89; and David S. Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge, 1969), 196-201.

51. To Juan Andrés Velarde, for a new way to amalgamate metals. From the AGN *Gobernación Leg.* 132, quoted in Sánchez Flores, *Historia de la tecnología y la invención*, 291. According to Mexican patent laws, the president had to sign the patent and a fee of 50 to 150 pesos had to be paid. See *Patent and Trade-Mark Laws of America*, Bulletin 3 (Washington, 1891).

52. Previously, there were other regulations (the law of 7 May 1832 and the *reglamento* of 12 July 1852). See Juan de la Torre, *Legislación de patentes y marcas* (Mexico City, 1903); and Elías Trabulse, *Las patentes de invención durante el siglo XIX en México*, Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación, 3d series, no. 34 (Mexico City, 1988). See also the catalogue and research by Soberanis, "Catálogo de patentes de invención en México."

53. For instance, for the 1901 Buffalo world's fair, Mexican officials produced the following pamphlets (in English): *Patent Law of the United States of Mexico*; *Law for the Promotion of New Industries in the United States of Mexico*; and *Trade Mark Law of the United States of Mexico*, both mentioned in Albino R. Nuncio, "Informe relativo a la participación de México y a los trabajos de la Comisión Mexicana, en la Exposición Pan-Americana celebrada en Buffalo N.Y. en 1901," in México, Secretaría de Fomento, *Memoria presentada al Congreso de la Unión por el Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de Fomento, Ing. Leandro Fernández, 1 de enero 1901-31 de diciembre de 1904* (Mexico City, 1909), 181-203. See also México, Comisión Nacional de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos para la Exposición Pan-Americana de Buffalo, Nueva York, *Official Catalogue of the Mexican Exhibit at the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo* (Buffalo, 1901).

54. In the Patentes y Marcas I have been able to find the registration of only three inventions: Maximino Río de la Loza's device to avoid railroad accidents, Pugibet's machine to fabricate cigarettes, and a machine to process vegetable fibers (henequen).
55. See French requirements and rules for exhibitors in RUP 1.
56. EXP, Box 8, Exp. 24.
57. The products exhibited in the industry group are listed in México, *Catalogue officiel de l'Exposition de la République Mexicaine*.
58. These machines were important to the economy of Yucatán. In fact, during the 1860s a dispute took place regarding the patent of the first scraping machines. By the 1880s the debate was over and new technology was imported from the United States. In this regard, see Narcisa Trujillo, "Las primeras máquinas desfibradoras de henequén," in *Enciclopedia Yucatanense*, ed. C. Echánove Trujillo, vol. 3 (Mérida, Mexico, 1946), 627-56; and Cámara Zavala, "Historia de la industria henequenera hasta 1919," in *Enciclopedia Yucatanense*, vol. 3, 657-725.
59. Inventory of boxes in the steamship *Chateau Margaux*, EXP, Box 8, Exp. 27.
60. EXP, Box 3, Exp. 11.
61. EXP, Box 8, Exp. 26.
62. See the numerous entries of his name in Patentes y Marcas.
63. Jules Verne, "Five Weeks in a Balloon," translation quoted in René Dubos, *Reason Awake: Science for Man* (New York, 1970), 56.
64. See Jochen Hoock, "Économie politique, statistique et réforme administrative en France et en Allemagne dans la deuxième moitié du 18e siècle," in *Formation et transformation du savoir administratif en France et en Allemagne (18e/19e s.)*, ed. Guido Melis et al. (Baden-Baden, 1989), 34-35.
65. For an insightful analysis of the origins of rational politics in France during the attempt to reconstruct a "government culture" after the revolution and during the first decade of the nineteenth century, see Pierre Rosanvallon, *Le Moment Guizot* (Paris, 1985), 21-25.
66. As such, administration acquired a certain independence from politicians, but not from government. In this regard, and to explain the different traditions of administrative knowledge (that is, French, English, and American), see Rosamund Thomas, *The British Philosophy of Administration* (London, 1978).
67. Regarding public administration in France, see Guy Thuillier, *Bureaucratie et bureaucrates en France au XIXe siècle* (Geneva, 1980), 220-42, 479-98; and Guy Thuillier, *La Bureaucratie en France aux XIXe e XXe siècles* (Paris, 1987), 663-88. For the way in which scientific politics supported the origins of the French Third Republic, see Rosanvallon, *Le Moment Guizot*, 58-71.
68. See Nicolet, *L'Idée républicaine*, 287.
69. See Pierre Legendre, *Histoire de l'administration de 1750 à nos jours* (Paris, 1968) 87-90.
70. Box 1, Exp. 18.
71. About him and his work, see C. Javier Guillén, "Emiliano Busto y su aportación a la investigación social en México" (Tesis Licenciatura, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1977).
72. A contract was signed with the French editor R. Dupont for 10,453 francs for the publication of 2,000 copies of the book. See EXP, Box 1, Exp. 19.

73. Emiliano Busto, *La administración pública en Méjico* (Paris, 1889).
74. See Busto's reports to Díaz in UIA-Díaz, L. 14, c. 23, d. 11382, 11383; L. 14, c. 26, d. 12911, 12913; and L. 14, c. 14, d. 6700, 6701.
75. EXP, Box 1, Exp. 18.
76. News of this study was published in such media as *Le Temps* and *Le Figaro*. See EXP, Box 1, Exp. 18.
77. Jules Josat, *Le Ministère de Finances* (Paris, 1883). This is exactly the same definition that Josat presented on p. 1.
78. Busto, *La administración pública en Méjico*, 117-18.
79. The book that Busto followed was Josat, *Le Ministère de Finances*. In 1894 Josat published *Recueil de rédactions sur des sujets d'économie politique et sur des questions financières et administratives* (Paris 1894). In 1883 he lamented the general lack of scientific manuals of administration in France, as did Busto in Mexico. But, as historian Omar Guerrero observed, Busto did not include Mexico's history of administrative thought, which included such authors as de la Rosa, Madrazo, Castillo Velasco, and Alamán. See Omar Guerrero, *Introducción a la administración pública* (Mexico City, 1985), 230-31.
80. Josat, *Le Ministère de Finances*, 1.
81. Busto transcribed Josat's *tableau récapitulatif* (graphic summary) for each French ministry and used the same format to develop the *cuadros sinópticos* for the Mexican ministries.
82. Busto, *La administración pública en Méjico*, 119.
83. For a list of previous studies on public administration in Mexico, see Guerrero, *Introducción a la administración pública*, 209-11.
84. Hale, *Transformation of Liberalism*, 21.
85. Studies by bureaucrats pointed out the need to control corruption, clientelism, and favoritism. Lorenzo de Zavala (1820s), Lucas Alamán (1830s), José María Luis Mora (1830s), Luis de la Rosa (1850s), Julio Jiménez (1880s), and others pointed out the problem of *empleomanía* (large bureaucracy) and corruption. See Guerrero, *Introducción a la administración pública*, 218-40.
86. See Gilles J. Guglielmi, *La Notion d'administration publique dans la théorie juridique française* (Paris, 1991); and Thomas, *British Philosophy of Administration*.

## 9. NATURAL HISTORY AND SANITATION

1. See Francisco de Asís Flores y Troncoso, *Historia de la medicina en México*, vol. 3 (Mexico City, 1888). See also Alamán's description of work in natural history and its effect on the concept of a wealthy Mexico: Alamán, *Historia de Méjico*, vol. 1, 114-16, 120-23.
2. See José María Velasco's explanation of the development of natural history in relation to the "new" peace, in *La Naturaleza* 6 (1882-1884):4-5.
3. EXP, Box 4, Exp. 27. He also wrote a study on pulque that was displayed in Paris.
4. EXP, Box 4, Exp. 27, pp. 6-7, *Informe que tiene la honra de rendir el que suscribe al jefe del 5to. Grupo de Exposición*. Mexico's exhibits at world's fairs disclosed the existence of a quiet but fecund and serious dedication of Mexican scientists to natural

history. Altamirano's botanical studies became an indispensable part of Mexico's presence at various world's fairs. See, for example, the English version of his study prepared for the 1904 Saint Louis fair: Francisco Altamirano, *Materia Médica Mexicana* (Saint Louis, 1904).

5. Among the material that was lost were: 28,625 samples of dried vegetables, 14,604 samples of insects, 908 birds, 165 reptiles, 47 mammals, 1,580 mollusks, 2,000 mineral rocks, 12,000 fossils, 293 kinds of wood, and 230 fruits. See Carlos Pacheco, *Memoria presentada al Congreso de la Unión por el Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de Fomento, Colonización, Industria y Comercio, corresponde a los años transcurridos de enero de 1883 a junio de 1885*, vol. 1 (Mexico City, 1887), 108.

6. The exhibition comprised 2,000 samples of fossils, 5,500 samples of plants, 30,445 samples of diverse insects, 15 samples of stuffed reptiles, 50 samples of reptiles in alcohol, 1,254 samples of stuffed birds, 6,631 of birds in skin, 50 samples of stuffed mammals, 112 samples of mammals in skin, and 3 skeletons. See México, Commission Géographique Exploratrice de la République Mexicaine, *Catalogue*, 59.

7. This was argued by Agustín Díaz, director of the commission, in the catalogue of the commission's exhibit in Paris. See *ibid.*, 41.

8. This was the case with other countries; see, for example, the Chilean study by Adolfo Murillo, *Plantas medicinales du Chile* (Paris, 1889).

9. See Eli de Gortari, *La ciencia en la historia México* (Mexico City, 1965), 189-95; and Elías Trabulse, *La ciencia en México* (Mexico City, 1983), vol. 1, 46-49.

10. Mexico, Commission Géographique Exploratrice, *Catalogue*, 25. The collections exhibited were: Distrito Federal, *Collection de mille plantes . . .*, a French edition of Alfonso Herrera's *Nouvelle pharmacopée mexicaine*; state of Morelos, 100 samples of indigenous medicinal plants; state of Puebla, 216 samples of indigenous medicinal plants; state of Michoacán, 29 samples of indigenous medicinal plants; and state of Veracruz, 3 samples of indigenous medicinal plants. Previously, these types of collections had been sent to Philadelphia and New Orleans (see "Catálogo de la colección de productos naturales indígenas remitidos por la Sociedad de Historia Natural," *La Naturaleza* 3 [1876], 382).

11. See Godoy, *Enciclopedia biográfica de contemporáneos*, 107-8.

12. See Mexico, Commission Géographique Exploratrice, *Catalogue*, 30 and 123.

13. EXP, Box 6, Exp. 9. He was also appointed the Mexican representative at the International Congress of Chemistry in Paris.

14. EXP, Box 6, Exp. 9.

15. DO, 16-18 October 1890. He analyzed the teaching and research qualities of laboratories, their architecture, and their location (EXP, Box 6, Exp. 9). Regarding the history of this first modern laboratory in Mexico, see José Joaquín Izquierdo, *Balace cuatricentenario de la fisiología en México* (Mexico City, 1934), 245-46.

16. See *El Estudio*, no. 2 (1889).

17. "A L'Exposition. Le Palais Mexicain. L'Édifice et ses dimensions.—Une des plus curieuses expositions du Nouveau-Monde.—Le Pays des Aztèques.—Textiles et oiseaux-mouches," *La Lantéinier*, n.d.

18. See Ory, *Les Expositions Universelles de Paris*, 9-27; and Ann-Louise Shapiro, *Housing the Poor of Paris, 1850-1902* (Madison, 1985), 87. Regarding social economy at the 1889 exhibition, see X. Ryckelynck, "L'Économie sociale dans le rapport d'Alfred Picard sur l'Exposition Universelle de 1889," *Le Revue de l'Économie Sociale* (1990):97-

107; and Laure Godineau, "L'Économie sociale à l'Exposition Universelle de 1889," *Le Mouvement Social*, no. 149 (1989):71-87. For the 1900 exposition, see Marc Pénin, "L'Économie sociale à travers le rapport de Charles Gide sur l'Exposition Universelle de 1900," *Le Revue de l'Économie Sociale* (1990):137-157; and France, Paris, Exposition Universelle de 1889, *Congrès International d'Assistance, tenu du 28 juillet au 4 août 1889*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1889). For an analysis of the transformation of the concept of public assistance, see Jean-Baptiste Martin, *Le Fin des mauvais pauvres: De l'assistance à l'assurance* (Seysssel, 1985).

19. See Gide, *Économie sociale*. For the origins of the concern with public assistance, see William Coleman, *Death Is a Social Disease* (Madison, 1982), 24-33; Catherine Jean Kudlick, "Disease, Public Health and Urban Social Relations: Perceptions of Cholera and the Paris Environment, 1830-1850" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1988), 18-97; and Gueslin, *L'Invention de l'économie sociale*, 151-60.

20. See Ann F. Le Berge, *Mission and Method: The Early Nineteenth-Century French Public Health Movement* (Cambridge, 1992). For public health in the French Third Republic, see Martha L. Hildreth, *Doctors, Bureaucrats, and Public Health in France, 1888-1902* (New York, 1987); the controversial interpretation by Bruno Latour, *The Pasteurization of France* (Cambridge, 1987); Jacques Léonard, *La Médecine entre les savoirs et les pouvoirs* (Paris, 1981), 149-85, 241-327; and Kudlick, "Disease," 18-34.

21. Regarding this issue, see Hildreth, *Doctors*, 1-35, 107-63; and Kudlick, "Disease," 62-84.

22. See Léonard, *La Médecine*, 317.

23. See Jules Rochard, "L'Hygiène en 1889," *Le Revue des Deux Mondes* 96 (November-December, 1889):54-85.

24. RUP 2:139-41.

25. See, for example, the opinions of three historians of French hygiene. Le Berge (*Mission and Method*, 2) argues that within scientism, "public hygiene was one of those areas that had to be transformed into a scientific discipline. . . . If the hygienists' method was scientific, their mission was hygienism, a kind of medical imperialism incorporating both the medicalization and moralization of society." Shapiro (*Housing the Poor*, 134) believes that during the second half of the century "hygienists abandoned their earlier romanticist aspirations to become therapeutic clergy administering to a regenerated population. Instead they were more likely to address problems of sanitary engineering and the control of contagious diseases." Finally, the controversial historian Bruno Latour maintains that not until the Pasteurian revolution, and not before 1895, did hygiene acquire a clear scientific and political status (Bruno Latour, "Le Théâtre de la preuve," in *Pasteur et la révolution pastorienne*, ed. Claire Salomon-Bayet, [Paris, 1986]), 341).

26. See Kudlick, "Disease," 79-81.

27. For a short analysis of the different forms of professionalization, see Jan Goldstein, *Console and Classify: The French Psychiatric Profession in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1987), 8-40; and Charle, *La République des universitaires*, 168-85. See also Hildreth, *Doctors*, 107.

28. Especially after the 1883-1884 cholera epidemic.

29. In this regard, see Andrew Aisenberg, "The enquête," in his "Contagious Disease and the Government of Paris in the Age of Pasteur" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1993).

30. By 1889, however, Pasteur was already a national hero. He was received at the Congress of Hygiene in the Hotel de Ville of Paris with "Le Marseillaise." France, Paris, Exposition Universelle de 1889, *Congrès International d'Hygiène et de Démographie, 1889. Compte rendu* (Paris, 1890). In this regard see also J. Léonard, "Comment peut-on être pasteurien?," in Salomon-Bayet, *Pasteur*, 151-52.

31. The literature on this topic is vast. See the classical study by Erwin Ackerknecht, "Anticontagionism between 1821-1867," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 22 (1948): 562-93; and Le Berge, *Mission and Method*, 1-6.

32. It could be argued that the legacy of the early health movements was not completely overcome by the 1880s. See Le Berge, *Mission and Method*, 96.

33. This is argued in Shapiro, *Housing the Poor*, 154. Hildreth (*Doctors*, 19) observed that "the anxieties over population resulted [in the 1880s] from the comparison of France, Germany, and Britain."

34. See Rochard, "L'Hygiène en 1889"; and Latour, "Le Théâtre," 353.

35. Among the duties of this council was to certify doctors' diplomas. See México, Secretaría de Gobernación, *La salubridad e higiene pública en los Estados Unidos Mexicanos*, lxxvii.

36. From 1877 to 1879 the role of the council was briefly devaluated when it was incorporated into the Junta Directiva de la Beneficiencia Pública (*ibid.*, lxxvii-lxix).

37. México, Consejo Central de Salubridad, *Memoria leída por el Secretario del Consejo Central de Salubridad el día 17 de enero de 1867* (Mexico City, 1867), 1.

38. See France, *Congrès International d'Hygiène et de Démographie, 1889*. Dr. Gaviño presented this code at the congress.

39. See "Proyecto de Código Sanitario de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, sometido a la Secretaría de Gobernación, 30 de Junio 1889," reprinted in Gutiérrez et al., *Historia de la salubridad y la asistencia en México*, vol. 3 (Mexico City, 1960), 327-29.

40. Gayol was named general engineer of Mexico City in 1884, and he traveled abroad to study sanitary systems. See Eduardo Liceaga, "Progresos alcanzados por la higiene de 1810 a la fecha," in SSA, Box 9, Exp. 9.

41. See Miguel Angel de Quevedo, *Memoria sobre el Valle de México* (Mexico City, 1889).

42. See México, *Catalogue officiel de l'Exposition de la République Mexicaine*, 141-42.

43. For a detailed account of the pamphlets and books published by the institute for the year 1889, see Francisco Fernández del Castillo, *Historia bibliográfica del Instituto Médico Nacional de México (1888-1915)* (Mexico City, 1961), 32-33.

44. As Mexican envoys to the Public Assistance Congress, the archival material only mentions Alfredo Bablot, but the reports of the congress mentioned Pedro García and Angel Gaviño and reproduced Gaviño's speech. See France, Paris, Exposition Universelle de 1889, *Congrès International d'Assistance, tenu du 28 juillet au 4 août 1889*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1889), xxi-xxii. Regarding Angel Gaviño, see Rafael Heliodoro Valle, *La cirugía mexicana del siglo XIX* (Mexico City, 1942), 250. See also France, Paris, Exposition Universelle de 1889, *Congrès International de Dermatologie et de Syphiligraphie, 1889* (Paris, 1890). According to Mexican sources, Pedro García, Manuel Flores, and José Ramírez attended the second congress, but no official Mexican envoy is mentioned in the French report of it.

45. They were joined by Angel Treviño. See France, Paris, Exposition Universelle de 1889, *Congrès International de Médecine Mentale tenu à Paris 2-20 août 1889* (Paris, 1890); and France, *Congrès International d'Hygiène et de Démographie, 1889*.

46. See SSA, Box 7, f. 37, report by Alvarado that included the translation of sanitary codes from the states of Maine, Pennsylvania, Indiana, and New York.

47. See Manuel María Carmona y Valle, *Leçons sur l'étiologie et la prophylaxie de la fièvre jaune* (Mexico City, 1885). For the history of the disease, see Folke Henschen, *The History and Geography of Diseases*, trans. Joan Tate (New York, 1966), 36-39.

48. In this regard, see the analysis of Carmona y Valle's role in the international fight against yellow fever in François Delaporte, *The History of Yellow Fever*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, 1991), 68-74. See Porfirio Parra, "Discurso pronunciado en la solemne inauguración del IV Congreso Médico Nacional Mexicano, por su presidente, Dr. Porfirio Parra," in México, Secretaría de Instrucción Pública, *Fiestas del centenario de la independencia, organizadas por la Secretaría de Instrucción Pública* (Mexico City, 1910), 154-60.

49. See Rafael Lucio, *Opúsculo sobre el mal de San Lázaro o elefantíasis de los griegos* (Mexico City, 1889).

50. See *El Estudio* 1 (1889); and the translation of articles collected in one volume after the exhibition, México, Ministerio de Agricultura de México, Instituto Médico Nacional, *Travaux publiés par El Estudio* (Paris, 1892). Distinguished physicians and hygienists, among them José Ramírez, Francisco Altamirano, Francisco Río de la Loza, Eduardo Armendariz, Domingo Orvañanos, and Secundino Sosa, were involved in *El Estudio*.

51. Francisco de Asís Flores y Troncoso, *El himen en México* (Mexico City, 1885), 22.

52. See Florencio Flores, *Ligeros apuntes de pelvimetría comparada* (Cuernavaca, 1881), 9-11, 55-56.

53. See Alain Corbin, *Women for Hire*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Cambridge, 1990), 3-29.

54. See *Gaceta Médica de México* 25 (1890):8-15; 25, 2 (1890):27-39; 25, 3 (1890):47-58; 25, 4 (1890):76-77; 25, 5 (1890):90; 25, 6 (1890):108; 25, 8 (1890):148-60; and 25, 9 (1890):173-79. See also Manuel Acuña, *Obras: Poesías, teatro, artículos y cartas*, ed. José Luis Martínez (Mexico City, 1965), 20.

55. Regarding this congress and the interesting debate, see SSA, Box 1, Exp. 2, 4.

56. In this regard, the story of Matilde Montoya is revealing. After many attempts and difficulties (which included having to work alone with corpses because it was improper for a woman to see naked bodies in the presence of a man), Montoya obtained her degree in 1887. She was the first woman doctor in Mexico, and for a long time the only one. See Laureana Wright de Kleinhans, *Biografías de mujeres notables mexicanas de la época prehispánica, la colonia y el siglo XIX* (Mexico City, 1910), 541.

57. EXP, Box 6, Exp. 15.

58. See Domingo Ovañanos, *Ensayo de geografía médica y climatología de la República Mexicana*, 2 vols. (Mexico City, 1889).

59. *El Estudio* 1 (1889), 398.

60. Some of these letters and questionnaires were published by the BEMP. See, for example, BEMP 3:34-38, 72-75, 198-204, 271-76, 289-304, 432-51.

61. The treatment of climates was based on Orvañanos's previous work, "Apuntes para el estudio del clima en México," *Gaceta Médica de México* 14, 3 (1879):302.

62. Liceaga did not agree with this figure. He believed that it was actually higher than that, but he did not furnish an estimate. See Alberto Correa, *Geografía de México: Obra adoptada como texto en los escuelas públicas del Distrito y territorios federales* (Mexico City, 1889).

63. The population comprised 5 million mestizos, 4 million Indians, 2 million Europeans, and 250,000 Blacks (*Geografía Médica*, 14).

64. See, for example, D. Jourdanet, *Du Mexique au point de vue de son influence sur la vie de l'homme* (Paris, 1861), which deals with the relationship between altitude and diseases.

65. As quoted in *Puebla: Su higiene, sus enfermedades* (Mexico City, 1888).

66. Indeed, the results of this study were first presented to the Academia Nacional de Medicina de México (*Gaceta Médica de México* 24, 8 [1889]:281-87).

67. The microbe *Mycobacterium Leprae* causes leprosy, but the disease is transmitted by vermin, fleas, and lice. See Henschen, *History and Geography of Diseases*, 117-18.

68. His data were supported by the analysis of the Massachusetts State Board of Health and by Émile Poincaré's *Prophylaxie et géographie médicale des principales maladies tributaires de l'hygiène* (Paris, 1884).

69. *Ibid.*, 60.

70. *Ibid.*, 83.

71. See Delaporte, *History of Yellow Fever*, 83-101.

72. For a complete list of hygienists in Mexico, see the list prepared for the Fourth Panamerican Medical Congress, Panama, 1904, in SSA, Box 6, Exp. 7.

73. See, for instance, Fernando Malanco, "Intereses profesionales, males y remedios," *Gaceta Médica de México* 24, 12 (December 15, 1889):465-80.

74. See Liceaga's memoirs *Mis recuerdos de otros tiempos*, ed. Francisco Fernández del Castillo (Mexico City, 1949); his speech in the Hygienic Exposition during the centennial celebration of Mexico's independence in 1910, "Progresos alcanzados por la higiene de 1810 a la fecha," in SSA, Box 9, Exp. 9; and the speech he delivered at the Sociedad Pedro Escobedo in 1911, "Algunas consideraciones acerca de la higiene social en México," SSA, Box 10, Exp. 3, also published with the same title (Mexico City, 1911). On how the vaccine against rabies was brought to Mexico, see *Congreso Médico Panamericano*, vol. 2 (Mexico City, 1896), 899-905. On the way in which the vaccine was developed in Mexico, see N. Ramírez de Arrellano, "Higiene. Profilaxis de la rabia," *Gaceta Médica de México* 24, 6 (1889):206-9.

75. See, for example, Liceaga's command of the situation in SSA, Box 4, Exp. 21. Liceaga sent José Ramírez to the International Sanitary Conference in Washington in 1902, then to work on controlling bubonic plague in Mazatlán, and then, in 1903, to Brussels to the International Sanitary and Demographic Congress, where he fell ill and died. For Liceaga's success in fighting yellow fever, see SSA, Box 8, Exp. 4 (1907).

76. See, for example, *Diario del Hogar*, 2 January 1900 (editorial). Liceaga was active in the Porfirian reelectionist campaigns.

77. France, *Congrès International d'Hygiène et de Démographie*, 1889, 336.

78. SSA, Box 4, Exp. 24.

79. Liceaga, as a doctor, appeared on the board of directors of various insurance companies and also lobbied on behalf of insurance companies with President Díaz (see UIA-Díaz, L. 14, Box 13, 6035-36, in which Liceaga requests appointments for the directors of the insurance company La Mutua). Liceaga was the personal physician of Porfirio Díaz's wife.

80. SSA, Box 8, Exp. 1.

81. México, *Dictámenes y resultados del Congreso Nacional de Higiene* (Mexico City, 1884), 3.

82. SSA, Box 4, Exp. 24.
83. SSA, vol. 18, Edición especial documentos e informes presentados en la 20 reunión anual de la Asociación Americana de Salubridad Pública, Ciudad de México, November 29-December 2, 1892, Concord, N.H., Republican Press Association, 1894.
84. Alberto J. Pani, *La higiene en México* (Mexico City, 1916).
85. *El Estudio* 1, 1 (1889):2.
86. See, for example, Perla Chinchilla Pawling, "Introduction," in Trabulse, *La ciencia en México*, vol. 4, 9-25. She argues that between 1870 and 1914 Mexican science had its best chance to catch up with international modern science.

## 10. IRONY

1. For Baudelaire's views, see Charles Baudelaire, "Exposition Universelle 1855: Beaux-Arts," in his *Oeuvres complètes: Préface, présentation et notes de Marcel A. Ruff* (Paris, 1968), 361-70. For Henry Adams's, see his beautiful account of the Chicago Columbian exhibition in his *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York, 1918), 331-45.
2. In this regard, see Hale, *Transformation of Liberalism; Guerra, México*, vol. 1 (Mexico City, 1988); and Alicia Perales Ojeda, *Asociaciones literarias mexicanas: Siglo XIX* (Mexico City, 1957). For an insightful parallel regarding the mutual creation of a particular polity and a public opinion, see Keith Baker, "Public Opinion as Political Invention," in his *The Invention of the French Revolution* (Cambridge, 1990), 167-99.
3. The Porfirian regime was active in repressing the press, but it was even more successful in "sponsoring" newspapers and journalists. According to Bulnes, by the end of the Porfirian period 70 percent of the intellectuals and journalists were on the government's payroll. Nonetheless, between 1889 and 1900 active opposition could be found in newspapers such as *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, *El Diario del Hogar*, *El Monitor del Pueblo* (1885-1893), *El Popular* (beginning in 1897), to a certain extent *The Mexican Herald* (beginning in 1895), and *El Siglo XIX* (until 1896). See González Navarro, HMM, 388; José Bravo Ugarte, *Periodistas y periódicos mexicanos hasta 1935* (Mexico City, 1966); Florence Toussaint Alcaraz, *Escenario de la prensa en el porfiriato* (Mexico City, 1989); Henry Lepidus, *The History of Mexican Journalism* (Columbia, 1928), 47-80; and María del Carmen Ruiz Castañeda, "La prensa durante el porfiriato," in *El periodismo en México: 450 años de historia*, ed. María del Carmen Ruiz Castañeda (Mexico City, 1974), 209-64.
4. *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, 15 February 1889, 6. "Schnetz and Company" is a reference to E. Schnetz, a former member of the French tobacco company in Paris and Havana and an entrepreneur in Mexico who promoted French investment in manufacturing and in land-demarcation companies.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, 6.
7. *El Diario del Hogar*, 13 April 1888. For criticism of Pacheco's colonization policies, see *El Diario del Hogar*, 25 September 1889; 6, 8, 11, 12, and 26 October 1889; and 13 November 1889. In those editorials *El Diario del Hogar* analyzed the failure of colonization and the problems with Americans, French, Dutch, Germans, Italians, Chinese, Spaniards, and Blacks from Africa.

8. *Ibid.*, 14 April 1888.

9. *Ibid.* The same newspaper complained on 15 February 1889 that Pacheco was negligent in his colonizing polices.

10. In Spanish, *exponer* can mean to exhibit, but it can also mean to expose, to show, to disclose, to put at risk, to uncover. Curiously, the French art and literary critic Philippe Hamon has written a book, *Expositions*, about literature and architecture in nineteenth-century France, taking as his point of departure the ambivalence of the word *exposition* and of the verb *exposer* in French.

11. *Época Ilustrado*, 23 November 1884.

12. *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, 29 January 1899, 65.

13. *Ibid.*, 17 March 1889, 1.

14. *Ibid.*, 4 June 1899, 160-61.

15. *Ibid.*, 3 February 1889, 1.

16. *Ibid.*, 20 January 1889, 1.

17. *Ibid.*, 7 July 1889, 3.

18. Letters between Díaz Mimiaga and Porfirio Díaz, UIA-Díaz, Box 5, Leg. 15, Doc. 2497-2499.

19. *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, 8 September 1889, 3.

20. *Ibid.*, 11 August 1889, 3.

21. *Ibid.*, 18 February 1900, 101. I cannot fully dissect the irony of this satire because it refers to the specific humorous phrases and places of the time.

22. *El Diario del Hogar*, 15 March 1888.

23. *Ibid.*, 13 April 1888. The official figure of 450,000 pesos was compared with the 200,000-peso budget of the United States.

24. *El Economista Mexicano*, reprinted and discussed in *El Diario del Hogar*, 17 February 1888.

25. *El Diario del Hogar*, 16 June 1889.

26. Federico Gamboa, *Mi diario: Mucho de mi vida y algo de los otros*, 1st series, vol. 3 (Mexico City, 1920), 352-53.

27. *Ibid.*, 1st series, vol. 1, 51. This is what he commented after receiving an offer to translate his novel *Apariencias*: see *ibid.*, 51.

28. *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, 20 January 1889, 4-5.

29. For Amado Nervo's effort to be named envoy to the 1900 Paris fair, see Salado Álvarez, *Memorias*, 280-82. Nervo sought to be appointed an envoy of *El Imparcial*, but an article he published in the *Revista Moderna* irritated the director of *El Imparcial*, and he had to survive in Paris writing for many small papers. Ireneo Paz was an envoy of *El Diario del Hogar* and his own newspaper, *La Patria*, in 1889 and of *El Imparcial* in 1900. Díaz Dufoo was the envoy of *El Imparcial* in 1900. There is some evidence of Angel del Campo's work as an envoy of Associated Press of Mexico at the 1893 Chicago exposition.

30. *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, 29 April 1900, 297.

31. *Ibid.*, 29 April 1900, 267. This is Charles Hale's suggestion. I thank him for the reference.

32. *El Diario del Hogar*, 14 July 1888, editorial.

33. *Ibid.*, 20 January 1889.

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*, 8 March 1888.
36. *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, 11 August 1889, 3.
37. *El Diario del Hogar*, 23 August 1888.
38. *Ibid.*, 25 September 1889.
39. *La Crónica*, 16 June 1889.
40. *El Diario del Hogar*, 14 April 1888.
41. See the complaints in *ibid.*, 15 March 1888.
42. *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, 7 July 1889, 3. "Ramoncito" is a reference to Ramón Fernández, Mexican minister in France.
43. *Ibid.*, 9 April 1889, 232-33.
44. *El México Gráfico*, 29 July 1888, 4-5.
45. The matador outfit might refer to his problems with antibullfight campaigns in 1888: he was so fond of these spectacles that he himself inaugurated the Plaza Bucareli in 1888 and the Plaza México in 1889. See González Navarro, HMM, 729-33.
46. See, for example, *El Diario del Hogar*, 8 March, 24 July, and 22 August, 1888 (complaints about expenditures and need for sanitary reforms). About tenant houses and hygiene, see *El Diario del Hogar*, 7 September 1888.
47. *Ibid.*, 14 September 1888.
48. *Ibid.*, 8 May 1889.
49. *Ibid.*, 2 January 1900.
50. *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, 8 January 1899, 3.
51. *México Gráfico*, 9 February 1890, 1.
52. *Ibid.*, 11 May 1890, 1.
53. *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, 8 April 1900.
54. *Ibid.*, 2 June 1901, 308.
55. Emilio Rabasa, *La bola y la gran ciencia* (Mexico City, 1948), 9.
56. *El México Gráfico*, 11 January 1891, 1.
57. *El Universal*, 7 January 1894.
58. These announcements were among the thousands of commercial "therapeutical" announcements in the media during the 1880s and 1890s.
59. See *El Diario del Hogar*, 6 September 1889.
60. *Ibid.*, 23 January 1900.
61. Bulnes, *El porvenir*, 249.
62. *El Diario del Hogar*, 29 October 1889.
63. Bulnes, *El porvenir*, 70.
64. *Ibid.*, 270-71.

## 11. TOWARD REVOLUTIONARY MEXICO

1. In this regard, see my introduction.
2. During the first months of 1890, various communications dealt with the possibility of sending part of Mexico's exhibit at Paris to the 1890 Glasgow world's fair. Finally, the Mexican government announced its decision not to join the Glasgow fair. Therefore, the Mexican exhibition team began to prepare what was planned to be Mexico's greatest presence—at the Chicago fair of 1893—and the historical exhibit for Madrid in 1892.

3. The total cost of disassembling was 111,600 francs (Díaz Mimiaga, EXP, Box 12, Exp. 6, p. 46).

4. See de Anza's recommendations for disassembling the Aztec Palace in BEMP 5 (1889):743-47, 781-800.

5. The old inventory of expositions shows several signs of the serious damage suffered by one of the main steel columns of the building. Those documents are lost. See *Inventario*, EXP, Box 102, Exp. 9.

6. In 1891 there were rumors that the Aztec Palace was to be reassembled on a site belonging to the School of Agriculture, in Tacuba and Popotla (see Pérez Walters, "Jesús Contreras"; and Ramírez, "Dioses," 253). Later, the sculptures of the palace were stored at the Artillery Museum in the Ciudadela in Mexico City. There were also rumors that the Aztec palace was going to be reerected for the 1893 Chicago fair (see IPBA, Box 236, Exp. 6, f. 1; and letter by Ramón Fernández, SRE 44-6-13, II).

7. Gustavo Casasola's collection includes pictures of the patio of the National Museum of Artillery and of Contreras's sculptures. See Gustavo Casasola, *Seis siglos de historia gráfica de México*, 1325-1900, vol. 2 (Mexico City, 1967), 1082-83.

8. See México, Distrito Federal, *Catálogo de monumentos escultóricos y conmemorativos del Distrito Federal* (Mexico City, 1976).

9. Itzcoatl, Nezahualcoyotl, and Totoquihuatzin.

10. By the 1990s Contreras's sculptures had once again been relocated. Another sign of the epoch was that at the same time that Contreras was reappreciated and honored with an exhibition in the National Museum of Mexico City, the Mexican army reopened a museum in downtown Mexico City and located copies of Contreras's works at the side of the colonial building designed by Manuel Tolsa—the Palacio de Minería.

11. Report, M. Caballero to George R. Davis, EXP, Box 83, Exp. 18.

12. See Report, Serrano to Davis, EXP, Box 84, Exp. 18; and Godoy, *La ciudad de Chicago*, 94-95.

13. Report, Serrano to Davis, EXP, Box 84, Exp. 18.

14. See José María Vigil, *Poetisas mexicanas, siglos XVI, XVII, XVIII y XIX* (Mexico City, 1893).

15. See Mexico, Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora, *Exposición Internacional Colombina de Chicago en 1893, Catálogo de los objetos que componen el contingente de la comisión* (Jalapa, 1893). This catalogue was also prepared by Agustín Díaz.

16. See the report sent by M. Serrano to George R. Davis, general director of the Chicago fair, EXP, Box 83, Exp. 12, pp. 5-12.

17. The old *Inventario* (EXP, Box 102, Exp. 9) also contains some evidence of the request for financial support made by Othón Tello from Chihuahua to exhibit an Indian or Aztec town in Chicago (see the old *Inventario*'s classification, Exp. 2564, which is lost in the new organization of EXP).

18. Photographs of these replicas are found in *The Columbian Exposition Album* (New York, 1893). See also E. H. Thompson, *The Chultunes of Labná, Yucatán*, Peabody Museum Memoirs, vol. 1, no. 3 (Cambridge, 1897); Thompson's memoirs, *Peoples of the Serpent: Life and Adventure among the Mayas* (Boston, 1932); and Don D. Fowler and Nancy J. Parezo, "Mayans in Chicago, Mound Builders in Buffalo: Archaeology at World's Fairs, 1876-1915" (paper presented at the History of Archaeology Sympo-

sium, Society for American Archaeology Annual Meeting, Saint Louis, Mo., April 16, 1993). Regarding the exhibits of "exotic" peoples in Chicago, see R. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*; and Rydell, "A Cultural Frankenstein? The Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893," in *Grand Illusions: Chicago's World's Fair of 1893*, ed. Neil Harris et al. (Chicago, 1993), 143-70.

19. James Gilbert, *Perfect Cities: Chicago's Utopias of 1893* (Chicago, 1991), 109. The Midway Exhibit was based on Putnam's anthropological conception of evolution.

20. See Edward C. Relph, *The Modern Urban Landscape* (Baltimore, 1987); and Peter Blake, *Frank Lloyd Wright: Architectural Space* (Baltimore, 1965), 22-24.

21. The most remarkable example of Wright's Mayan influence was depicted in the Hollyhock House, constructed in 1928 in California. On Wright's Mayan inspiration derived from the 1893 Chicago fair, see Jack Quinan, "Frank Lloyd Wright in 1893: The Chicago Context," in *Frank Lloyd Wright in the Realm of Ideas*, ed. Bruce Brooks (Carbondale, 1988), 119-32; and, especially, D. Tselos, "Exotic Influences in the Architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright," *Magazine of Art*, April 1953, 163.

22. See Walter G. Cooper, *The Cotton States and International Exposition and South, Illustrated* (Atlanta, 1896), 49-50. Col. Isaac W. Avery was sent to South America and Mexico. For Mexico, Charles H. Redding was the special agent.

23. See the report by Gregorio G. González in Mexico, Secretaría de Fomento, *Anales de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1892-96* (Mexico City, 1898), 59, 282-89.

24. Cooper, *Cotton States*, 90.

25. *Ibid.*

26. James B. Haynes, *History of the Trans-Mississippi and International Exposition of 1898* (Omaha, 1910), 90-91.

27. Mexico earned a total of 611 awards. To put it in perspective, see the table presented in Nuncio's report of Mexico's presence at the 1901 Buffalo fair. According to this table, the largest numbers of prizes won by Mexico were at the 1893 Chicago fair (1,177) and the 1900 Paris fair (1,088). But in terms of number of Mexican exhibitors who won awards, Buffalo was the most successful presence: 71 percent of exhibitors received prizes, in contrast to 51 percent at the 1900 Paris fair and 32 percent at the 1893 Chicago fair. See Albino R. Nuncio's report, in México, Secretaría de Fomento, *Anales de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1901-1904* (Mexico City, 1909), 191. See also México, *Official Catalogue of the Mexican Exhibit at the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo*.

28. For a detailed list of the personnel involved in this fair, see México, Comisión Nacional Mexicana, *Catálogo oficial de las exhibiciones de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, Exposición Internacional de St. Louis Mo., 1904* (Mexico City, 1904).

29. Chavero exhibited *Apuntes viejos de bibliografía mexicana* (1903); *La piedra del sol. Estudio arqueológico* (1886); *Pinturas jeroglíficas, primera parte* (1901); and *Calendario o rueda del año de los antiguos mexicanos: Estudio cronológico* (1901). Peñafiel displayed, among other studies, *Teotihuacán: Estudio arqueológico e histórico, texto y láminas*, 2 vols. (1901-1902), *Indumentaria antigua: Manera de vestir de los antiguos mexicanos, guerreros y civiles* (1903), *Colección de documentos para la historia mexicana*, and his 1890 study, *Monumentos del arte mexicano antiguo*. See México, Comisión Nacional Mexicana, *Catálogo oficial de las exhibiciones de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos*, 291-92.

30. See pictures and explanation in David R. Francis, *The Universal Exposition of 1904*, 2 vols. (Saint Louis, 1913).

31. M. J. Lowenstein, ed., *Official Guide to the Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Saint Louis, 1904), 134.

32. See the analysis of the importance of this exhibit for Eliot's fascination with "primitivism," as he saw it in the 1904 Saint Louis fair, in Narita, "Eliot and the World's Fair of St. Louis: Collateral Evidence of His Fairoutings"; and Narita, "Eliot and the World's Fair of St. Louis: His 'Stockholder's Coupon Ticket.'"

33. For detailed descriptions of Mexico's presence at the New England fair, see the report by Albino R. Nuncio in México, Secretaría de Fomento, *Anales de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1908-1909* (Mexico City, 1910), 74-87. According to Nuncio, for Mexico the total cost of this fair was U.S.\$8,274. For the 1909 San Antonio fair, see México, Secretaría de Fomento, *Anales de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1909-1910* (Mexico City, 1910), 101-9. No cost was reported.

34. I develop the analysis of this exhibition more fully in M. Tenorio, "1900: At the Gates of Hell: Mexico and the 1900 Paris Fair" (manuscript).

35. See EXP, Box 64, Exp. 9, pp. 265-268; and Mier, *México*.

36. Rudorff, *Belle Epoque*, 322. Regarding the 1900 Paris universal exhibition, I relied on the following primary and secondary sources: Mandell, *Paris 1900*; the report France, Paris, Exposition Universelle de 1900, *Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1900 à Paris: Rapport du jury international* (Paris, 1904); Charles Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Epoque: Entertainment and Festivity in Turn-of-the-Century France* (New Haven, 1985); Madeleine Raberious, "Approches de l'histoire des expositions universelles à Paris du Second Empire à 1900," *Bulletin du Centre D'Histoire Économique et Sociale de la Région Lyonnaise* 1 (1979):1-20; Jullian, *Triumph of Art Nouveau*; Frédéric Moret, "Images de Paris dans les guides touristiques en 1900," *Le Mouvement Social*, no. 160 (1992):79-98; Pénin, "L'Économie sociale; Poivert, "La Photographie artistique; Findling, *Historical Dictionary*; X. Ryckelynck, "Les Hommes de l'Exposition Universelle de 1889: Le Cas Alfred Picard," *Le Mouvement Social*, no. 149 (1989):25-42; and, for data and memorabilia, Smithsonian Institution, *The Books of the Fairs: Materials about World's Fairs, 1834-1916, in the Smithsonian Institution Libraries* (Chicago, 1992).

37. Inspired by the emphasis on electric light, Mexican authorities commissioned Rafael R. Arizpe to undertake a study of Mexico City's electrification. As a result, Arizpe produced the book *El alumbrado público en la ciudad de México: Estudio histórico* (Mexico City, 1900).

38. Rearick, *Pleasures of the Belle Epoque*, 144. See also Mandell, *Paris 1900*, ix. Mandell maintains that the 1900 Paris fair "was the last time any one tried to include all of man's activity in one display" (p. xi).

39. Arnold J. Mayer, *The Persistence of the Old Regime: Europe to the Great War* (New York, 1981), 189.

40. George Steiner, *In Bluebeard's Castle: Some Notes towards the Redefinition of Culture* (New Haven, 1971), 5, 27.

41. Silverman, *Art Nouveau*, 266. The author quotes the French poet Maurice Rollinat.

42. For the idea of fin de siècle, see Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-de-Siècle Vienna: Politics and Culture* (New York, 1980), xvii-xxvii.

43. Mier, *México*, 28.

44. See Circular 9, by Minister Fernández Leal, reproduced in *ibid.*, 195-97. Regarding mining, see Carlos Sellerier, *Data Referring to Mexican Mining, Prepared in View*

of the Participation of Mexico in the Universal Exposition of Paris in 1900 (Mexico City, 1901).

45. The second most successful Mexican display, in terms of percentage of exhibitors winning awards, was that staged for the 1893 Chicago fair (32 percent). See Nuncio's report in Mexico, *Anales de la Secretaría de Fomento, 1901-1904*, 191. For a detailed list of exhibitors winning awards, see EXP, Box 55, Exp. 10, pp. 83-114.

46. See Mier's letter (25 April 1899), in which he writes about Contreras's petition to hire a French architect for the construction of the Mexican pavilion, in EXP, Box 69, Exp. 5.

47. See Mier's letter to Fernández Leal, 7 May 1889. He describes this conflict and acknowledges having received "three or four" projects by Contreras based on "la capilla del posto en Guadalupe" and in "la casa de los azulejos" in Mexico City. See EXP, Box 58, Exp. 2.

48. See Mier, *México*, 83 ff.

49. EXP, Box 31, Exp. 9, p. 65.

50. EXP, Box 31, Exp. 9, pp. 66-68.

51. For a description of the building, see Mier, *México*, 220-29; and for a detailed report of the construction, see de Anza's report to Minister Fernández Leal, in EXP, Box, 31, Exp. 9, pp. 85-104.

52. Reproduced in Mier, *México*, 227.

53. See Mariscal, *El desarrollo de la arquitectura*, 19. According to the author, Rodríguez Arangoity received a prize from Napoleon III at the imperial exhibition of 1859 for his plan for a port and naval school in Tehuantepec. See also Katzman, *Arquitectura del siglo XIX en México* (Mexico City, 1973), 375-76.

54. Reproduced in Mier, *México*, 229.

55. This was the description found in the anonymous, long manuscript report titled "La participación de las potencias extranjeras en la exposición de París. México," in EXP, Box 59, Exp. 12, pp. 158-204.

56. On the illumination of the building, see EXP, Box 32, Exp. 6, pp. 34-46.

57. See "Contrato para la ejecución de los modelos en yeso de la decoración del pabellón mexicano en la Exposición Universal de París de 1900," in EXP, Box 32, Exp. 2, pp. 52-54.

58. Certificado, 31 July 1900, EXP, Box 58, Exp. 3.

59. See Yeats's poem "Nineteen Hundred and Nineteen," in W. B. Yeats, *Símbolos*, bilingual ed. (Mexico City, 1977), 150-57.

60. "I am the one who yesterday used to say no more than / the blue verse and the profane song . . . / and being very eighteenth century and very antique / and very modern; bold, cosmopolitan / with strong Hugo and with ambiguous Verlaine, / and with an endless thirst of hopes" (Rubén Darío, "Yo soy aquel que ayer decía," in his *Cantos de vida y esperanza* [Buenos Aires, 1940 (first published in 1905)], 25-30).

61. "Science is in bankruptcy! So proclaims / A cry of the moribund century, / once again this is the time to grab the oriflamme / of illusion in its infinite term" (Jesús E. Valenzuela, "Poesía pronunciada por su autor en la velada organizada en honor del eminente filósofo don Gabino Barrera . . .," *La Revista Moderna*, no. 7 [1900]:102-5).

62. Amado Nervo, letter to Salado Álvarez, December 1897, in his *Obras Completas* (Madrid, 1973), 340.

63. About the 1915 San Francisco world's fair, see Allwood, *Great Exhibitions*, 117-122. For an analysis of the ethnographic and anthropological aspects of San Francisco's exposition, see the essays collected in Benedict, *Anthropology of World's Fairs*; and the insightful study by Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*. After San Francisco's world's fair, a comprehensive five-volume work was published which includes data and pictures on all aspects of the fair: Frank Morton Tood, *The Story of the Panama-Pacific Exposition*, 5 vols. (New York, 1921). For pictorial records, see Donna Ewald and Peter Clute, *San Francisco Invites the World: The Panama-Pacific International Exposition of 1915* (San Francisco, 1991).

64. EXP, Box 94, Exp. 1. For Mexico's plans to participate in San Francisco's world's fair, see EXP, Box 94, all Exp.; Box 95, all Exp.; and Box 98, Exp. 1-16, 96, 97.

65. "Lista de expositores, FOTOGRAFIA (Photographers)," EXP, Box 94, Exp. 5. It is not clear whether they agreed to participate.

66. For detailed data on U.S.-Mexican relations in the troubling years of 1913, 1914, and 1915, see Mark T. Gilderhus, *Diplomacy and Revolution* (Tucson, 1977); Berta Ulloa, *La revolución intervenida: Relaciones diplomáticas entre México y Estados Unidos (1910-1914)* (Mexico City, 1971); and the short but detailed work by James L. Tigner, "The Relation of the U.S. and Mexico, 1909-1914" (M.A. thesis, Stanford University, 1949). For a profound analysis of the real effectiveness of American intervention in times of tumult in Mexico—and of Mexico's nationalism in this context—see Alan Knight, *U.S.-Mexican Relations, 1910-1940* (San Diego, 1987), 103-42.

67. In this regard, see the important explanations of 1914 as the year zero in economic terms in Womack, "Mexican Economy during the Revolution."

68. Tood, *Story of the Exposition*, vol. 1, 9-10.

69. Adams, *Education of Henry Adams*, 331-32.

70. Amado Nervo, "Discurso pronunciado en una distribución de premios," Teatro Abreu, Mexico, in his *Obras Completas*, 494-96. The phrase, he said, was inspired by an Argentine poet whose name he did not mention.

71. E. L. Doctorow, *World's Fair* (New York, 1985), 253.

72. See Louis Marin's views on Disneyland in *Utopiques*, 297-324.

## 12. THE 1922 RIO DE JANEIRO FAIR

1. See Pesavento, "Exposições universais," 63-85.

2. On the 1922 Rio exposition, see *Jornal do Commercio*, *O Livro d'Ouro, Edição Comemorativa, 1822-1922* (Rio de Janeiro, 1922); Annie S. Peck, "The International Exposition of Brazil," *Current History* 15, 5 (1923):1042-49; Findling, *Historical Dictionary*; Marly Silva da Motta, *A nação faz 100 anos* (Rio de Janeiro, 1992); and Lúcia Lippi Oliveira, "As festas que a República manda guardar," *Estudos Históricos* 2, 4 (1989):172-89.

3. In 1903 this sanitary reform began in Rio de Janeiro. See Jaime Larr Benchimol, *Pereira Passos: um Haussmann tropical: a renovação urbana da cidade do Rio de Janeiro no início do século XX* (Rio de Janeiro, 1990); and Jeffrey D. Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge, 1987).

4. The U.S. government authorized \$1 million to be spent in Brazil, of which \$350,000 was for the construction of the building (NYT, 28 May 1922).

5. According to the Mexican reports, France authorized an expenditure of 5,136,000 francs (SRE 18-5-72, I). See J. P. Curtis, "Architecture of the Brazil Centennial Exposition," *Art and Architecture* 5 (September 1923):95-104.

6. For a summary account of the Brazilian First Republic, see Boris Fausto, "Brazil: The Social and Political Structure of the First Republic (1889-1930)," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. L. Bethell, vol. 5 (Cambridge, 1987), 779-830.

7. See Torre Díaz's economic and political reports to the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs for 1922 and 1923, SRE 41-7-23.

8. Daniel Pécaut, *Entre le peuple et la nation* (Paris, 1988), 18. See also pp. 11-46.

9. For a short review of the development of Brazilian intellectual life in this period, see Alfredo Bosi, "As letras na Primeira República," in *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira*, ed. Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, vol. 8 (São Paulo, 1977), 295-319; and Martins Wilson, *História da Inteligência Brasileira*, vol. 6 (São Paulo, 1915-1933), 272-376; Aracy Amaral, *Artes plásticas na Semana de 22* (São Paulo, 1970); Pécaut, *Entre le peuple et la nation*; and Sergio Miceli, *Intelectuais e classe dirigente no Brasil (1920-1945)* (São Paulo, 1979).

10. So argued the organizers of the exhibition, according to Silva da Motta, *A nação faz 100 anos*, 71.

11. An explanation of this dichotomy can be found in *ibid.*, 94-102; also in Nicolau Sevcenko, *Literatura como missão* (São Paulo, 1983).

12. "Mexican Ulysses" is the title of José Vasconcelos's autobiography (*Ulises criollo*, 3d ed. [Mexico City, 1935]).

13. See Helen Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1920-1935* (Tuscaloosa, 1992).

14. In *La raza cósmica* (Paris, 1925), Vasconcelos writes about a diplomatic encounter with Hughes in a tense environment (see pp. 115-16).

15. The Westinghouse Corporation displays were especially remarkable. See Peck, "International Exposition of Brazil."

16. Torre Díaz sent classified letters to the Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs reporting on his talk with Pessoa, who, he argued, was promoting a Society of Nations, which he believed was too pro-American (SRE 7-16-67, II).

17. *Ibid.* For insights into how this excuse was constructed within the government, see the account of one of the actors in the drama, Alberto J. Pani, *Mi contribución al nuevo régimen (1910-1933)* (Mexico City, 1936), 292-98.

18. For this official appointment, see SRE 5-20-524.

19. In *El desastre* (Mexico City, 1951), Vasconcelos argued that Obregón aimed to put him far from Mexico in order to be free to maneuver politically and also to limit his growing prestige as minister of education (see pp. 145-48). Alberto J. Pani, then minister of foreign affairs, argued that he himself had suggested Vasconcelos's name to Obregón, bearing in mind that Vasconcelos had expressed his desire to be appointed. See Pani, *Mi contribución*, 292-98. In addition, there is evidence that Vasconcelos lobbied to be appointed to this position, both in the AGN Obregón-Calles and in SRE 18-5-72, I-III.

20. See Gen. Manuel Pérez Treviño's long report on this delegation's activities:

*Informe del comandante del cañonero Nicolás Bravo en su viaje por América del Sur*, SRE 18-5-72, II; and the letter to Obregón in AGN Calles-Obregón 104b-30 (20, 21).

21. See SRE 18-5-72, II.

22. SRE 18-5-72, I, letters of November and December.

23. *Journal do Commercio*, 21 November 1921.

24. SRE 7-16-67, II.

25. *Ibid.*, I. Tiffany was hired even though Williams Inc. offered a better deal (May 1922). Porfirio Díaz's regime hired Tiffany, among other things, for the crystal curtain of the National Theater (Palacio de Bellas Artes).

26. There is no record of these medals in SRE, but Vasconcelos (*El desastre*, 149) mentioned that they were distributed (both to the Mexican and Brazilian presidents as well as to Pani).

27. Regarding Torri's trip to Brazil see Julio Torri, *Diálogos de los libros* (Mexico City, 1980), 240-43.

28. Vasconcelos, *El desastre*, 149.

29. SRE 18-5-72, I, II.

30. Obregón Santacilia grew up in the Porfirian aristocracy and was educated at the School of Fine Arts of San Carlos. He was, first, a great promoter of a colonialist revival in Mexico, inspired by a member of the Ateneo de la Juventud, Jesús T. Acevedo; and he followed the teachings of Federico E. Mariscal. Later he experimented with art deco and, finally, with functionalist mechanist architecture. With his building for the 1922 Brazilian exhibition, and with his friendship with Pani, he began his successful career as one of the architects of the postrevolutionary regimes. Among his main works are the transformation of the Porfirian Legislative Palace into the Monument of the Revolution, the building for the Ministry of Sanitation, the Reforma and del Prado hotels, and the offices of the Bank of Mexico in the former Guardiola plaza. See Carlos Obregón Santacilia, *Cincuenta años de arquitectura mexicana* (Mexico City, 1925); and Carlos Obregón Santacilia, *El maquinismo, la vida y la arquitectura* (Mexico City, 1939). About him, see María Luisa Adame, "Arquitecto Carlos Obregón Santacilia," cultural supplement to *Novedades*, 16 October 1955; Israel Katzman, *Arquitectura contemporánea mexicana: Precedentes y desarrollo* (Mexico City, 1963); Mexico, Partido Revolucionario Institucional, *Tradición de la cultura: Nacionalismo cultural: Carlos Obregón Santacilia* (Mexico City, 1988); Ramón Vargas Salguero, "La arquitectura de la revolución," in *México: 75 años de revolución, Educación, Cultura y Comunicaciones*, vol. 2 (Mexico City, 1988), 437-77; and Enrique X. de Anda, *La arquitectura de la revolución mexicana: Corrientes y estilo en la década de los veinte* (Mexico City, 1990).

31. In the interior of the British pavilion, Vasconcelos argued, "[there] were represented the four parts of the world, in the customary way in which the British depict the world, only to remind us that they are the masters of the world" (Vasconcelos, *La raza cósmica*, 82).

32. Margaret Hutton Abels, "Painting at the Brazil Centennial Exposition," *Art and Archaeology* 16 (Summer 1923):108.

33. In this regard, see Justino Fernández, *Roberto Montenegro* (Mexico City, 1962); and Ramírez's analysis of the artistic and cultural debate between 1914 and 1921 (an examination of journals and newspapers published during that period): Fausto Ramírez, *Crónica de las artes plásticas en los años de López Velarde, 1914-1921* (Mexico

City, 1990). See also Montenegro's autobiographical notes, Roberto Montenegro, *Planos en el tiempo* (Mexico City, 1962).

34. In this regard, see Carlos Obregón Santacilia, *México como eje* (Mexico City, 1947), 103.

35. Peck, "International Exposition of Brazil," 1044.

36. See Katzman, *Arquitectura contemporánea mexicana; Arquitectura del siglo XIX*; Carlos Lira Vásquez, *Para una historia de la arquitectura mexicana* (Mexico City, 1990); Xavier Moysén, "El nacionalismo y la arquitectura," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, no. 55 (1986):111-31; Rafael López Rangel, *La modernidad arquitectónica mexicana* (Mexico City, 1989); and Anda, *La arquitectura*.

37. In this regard, see Claude Fell, *José Vasconcelos: Los años del águila (1920-1925)* (Mexico City, 1989), 456-62. For an analysis of Vasconcelos's own self-construction of his spiritual ideas in education around 1922, see the lucid, if short, essay by Enrique Krauze, "José Vasconcelos en 1921: Arquitecto del espíritu," in *Cultura urbana latinoamericana*, ed. Jorge Enrique Hardoy (Buenos Aires, 1985), 95-102.

38. Vasconcelos, *La raza cósmica*, 40.

39. For the early intellectual influences on Vasconcelos, see John Skirius, *José Vasconcelos y la cruzada de 1929* (Mexico City, 1978), 13-43.

40. "In 1915, when the Revolution's failure seemed more imminent than ever . . . changes began to appear providing evidence of a new direction. . . . The Mexican Revolution was born out of that year's chaos. A new Mexico was born out of that year's chaos" (quoted in Carlos Monsiváis, "Notas sobre cultura mexicana en el siglo XX," in *El Colegio de México, Historia general de México*, vol. 2 (Mexico City, 1985), 1406).

41. Lecture delivered in the 1910s, reprinted in Acevedo, *Disertaciones*, 53.

42. Mariscal, *La patria y la arquitectura nacional*, 10. Other names associated with colonial revival in architecture were Manuel G. Revilla in the 1890s and Manuel Romero de Terreros, José Juan Tablada, Manuel Toussaint, and Gerardo Murillo in the 1910s and 1920s. See José Juan Tablada, *Historia del arte en México* (Mexico City, 1927); Manuel Toussaint, *Arte colonial en México* (Mexico City, 1948); and Gerardo Murillo, *Iglesias de México*, 6 vols. (Mexico City, 1924-1927). In this regard, see also Manuel González Galván, "La revaloración de la arquitectura colonial en el primer cuarto del siglo XX: teoría y práctica," in *Saturnino Herrán: Jornadas de homenaje*, ed. Juan Castañeda (Mexico City, 1989), 95-106.

43. See Manuel Gamio, "El actual renacimiento arquitectónico de México," *Ethnos* 1 (1921):248-50. On Gamio's architectural conception, see Angeles González Gamio, *Manuel Gamio: Una lucha sin final* (Mexico City, 1987), 67-74; and on neocolonial architecture, see López Rangel, *La modernidad arquitectónica*, 39-45.

44. The construction of his own house in neocolonial Mexican style, in the Colonia Juárez, shows this. See González Gamio, *Manuel Gamio*, 74.

45. Regarding the ideology of Hispanism, see the uneven but useful study by Frederick B. Pike: *Hispanism, 1898-1936: Spanish Conservatives and Liberals and Their Relations with Spanish America* (Notre Dame, 1971). On the origins of this tendency, see Mark Jay Van Aken, *Pan-Hispanism: Its Origins and Development to 1866* (Berkeley, 1959). On the influence of falangism in Hispanism, see Ricardo Pérez Montfort, *Hispanismo y Falange* (Mexico City, 1992), 19-73.

46. See Carlos A. C. Lemus, "Arquitectura contemporánea," in *Histórica geral da*

*arte no Brasil*, ed. Walter Zanini, vol. 2 (São Paulo, 1983), 825-32; and Octaviano C. De Fiore, *Architecture and Sculpture in Brazil* (Albuquerque, n.d.), 20-23.

47. May 1922, meeting of Torre Díaz and Pessoa, SRE 18-5-72, I.

48. Vasconcelos, *La raza cósmica*, 83.

49. *Jornal do Brasil*, newspaper clipping in SRE, no exact date.

50. Regarding the aesthetic transformation that favored the consolidation of indigenism, see chapters 6 and 7.

51. See, for example, *Ethnos* 1, 3 (1920).

52. Ignacio Bernal, *Historia de la arqueología en México* (Mexico City, 1962), translation presented in an English edition (1980), 183.

53. See José Clemente Orozco, *Apuntes autobiográficos* (Mexico City, 1966). For a discussion of Vasconcelos's official support of mural paintings, see Fell, *José Vasconcelos*, 401. In a letter to Gómez Morín, Vasconcelos confessed his regret at having supported the "pintor plebeyo de la revolución"—Rivera (from Gómez Morín's archive, quoted in Skirius, *José Vasconcelos*, 35).

54. José Vasconcelos, *Indología* (Paris, n.d.), 200-229. G. F. Nicolai seems to have been well known in Argentina, especially by intellectuals like José Ingenieros. Some of Nicolai's works were translated in Argentina; Vasconcelos's knowledge of Nicolai's works very likely derives from these translations. M. Leclerc du Sablon was a well-known biologist in the last part of the nineteenth century. See G. F. Nicolai, *La base biológica del relativismo científico* (Córdoba, 1925); and Mathieu Leclerc du Sablon, *Les Incertitudes de la biologie* (Paris, 1912).

55. He and Manuel Gamio were lecturing together. See José Vasconcelos and Manuel Gamio, *Aspects of Mexican Civilization: Lectures on the Harris Foundation 1926* (Chicago, 1926).

56. *Ibid.*, 85.

57. *Ibid.*, 89.

58. *Ibid.*, 100-102.

59. *Ibid.*, 96.

60. This rhetorical piece was reproduced in *Livro d'Ouro*, 358-59 and was published in Mexico by Julio Jiménez Rueda, "El discurso de Vasconcelos a Cuauhtémoc," in his *Bajo la cruz del sur* (Mexico City, 1922), 112-21. Blanco both refers to and briefly interprets Vasconcelos's speech in Brazil: see José Joaquín Blanco, *Se llamaba Vasconcelos: Una evocación crítica* (Mexico City, 1977), 117-22.

61. José Vasconcelos's speech on Cuauhtémoc, in Jiménez Rueda, "El discurso de Vasconcelos," 112-21.

62. Letter to Obregón, AGN Obregón-Calles, 104-b-30 (21), 17 September 1922.

63. In fact, official indigenism was not very different from Vasconcelos's type of indigenism. The official indigenism of Manuel Gamio (both positivist—anthropologically and archaeologically—and liberal) exemplified by *Forjando Patria* (1916) was indeed, as David Brading has shown, as integrationist as Vasconcelos's position, although less Catholic and more liberal. See Basave Benítez, *México Mestizo*, 130-36; and Alberto Guaraldo, "Indigenismo e investigación etno-antropológica en México," in *América Latina: Dallo Stato Coloniale allo stato nazione*, ed. Antonio Annino, vol. 2 (Turin, 1987), 822-37. See also David Brading, "Manuel Gamio and Official Indigenism in Mexico," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 7, 1 (1988):75-89.

64. Vasconcelos, *El desastre*, 150.

65. See Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, *Anais do XX Congresso Internacional de Americanistas*, 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro, 1922); and "Notes on the Brazil Centenary Exposition," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 2 (1922):506-12.

66. According to Christopher J. Hall's translation of Bartra's *La jaula de la melancolía*, the literal meaning of *pelado* is "shorn one." It refers to "a Mexican social type from the working class noted for his coarse, uneducated, uncouth language and behavior" (*The Cage of Melancholy: Identity and Metamorphosis in the Mexican Character*, trans. Christopher J. Hall [New Brunswick, N.J., 1992], 33).

67. Alfonso del Toro, "La bella ciudad carioca," *Revista de Revistas*, 20 October 1922, 11-13. In *La raza cósmica* (pp. 52-60), Vasconcelos suggested that the official Brazilian personnel tried to guide him in order to avoid black and poor sections in the various cities he visited.

68. For data on Vázquez Schiaffiano, a petroleum engineer, see SRE Le. 1006.

69. México, Secretaría de Industria, Comercio y Trabajo, *México, sus recursos naturales, su situación actual* (Mexico City, 1922).

70. Documentary, México, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, *México en las fiestas del centenario de Brasil* (Mexico City, 1922).

71. Fell (*José Vasconcelos*, 449-56) believes that because it was internationally recognized, Mexican popular art acquired "credibility in aesthetic, economic, social, and most of all, cultural aspects." But its international credibility was only because of its exoticism. For an illustrative analysis of the discovery of popular art in Mexico, see John F. Scott, "La evolución de la teoría de la historia del arte por escritores del siglo XX sobre el arte mexicano del siglo XIX," *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, no. 37 (1968):71-104. Scott deals with the national and international recognition of the artistic works of the lithographer José Guadalupe Posada.

72. See the report by Vázquez Schiaffiano in SRE 18-5-72, III. On Guillermo Kahlo, a German photographer and father of famous Frida, see the catalogue and study by the Museo Nacional de Arte, *Guillermo Kahlo: Vida y obra. Fotógrafo 1872-1941* (Mexico City, 1994).

73. It is extremely difficult to estimate the cost of Mexico's presence at the Rio de Janeiro fair. Expenditures seemed to have been made with no clear budget approval but through direct request to President Obregón. At times the Mexican delegation in Rio de Janeiro exhausted its resources. According to Vasconcelos, what was especially expensive was maintenance of the military delegation. Vasconcelos himself directly and urgently requested U.S.\$16,000 from Obregón in September 1922 (AGN Calles-Obregón, 104-b-30 [21]). See also Vasconcelos, *El desastre*, 151-52.

74. See the article in the Chilean newspaper *El Diario Ilustrado*, 4 November 1922. This incident resulted in an apology by the Mexican minister in Chile, Carlos Trejo Lerdo de Tejada, that was published in *El Mercurio* (Santiago, Chile), 6 November 1922.

75. *Folha do Norte*, 19 November 1922.

76. See *Revistas de Revistas*, no. 2 (1922), an issue devoted to Brazil.

77. See Jiménez Rueda's account of this trip in *Bajo la cruz del sur*.

78. Regarding race, Knight has lucidly shown the continuity of racism in prerevolutionary and postrevolutionary indigenism: Alan Knight, "Racism, Revolution, and Indigenismo: Mexico, 1910-1940," in *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940*, ed. R. Graham (Austin, 1990), 71-113.

79. See Enrique Krauze, *Caudillos culturales de la revolución mexicana* (Mexico City, 1985), 104-10. See also Luis González's analysis of this generation in *La ronda de las generaciones* (Mexico City, 1984), 66-80; and Carlos Monsiváis, "Notas sobre cultura mexicana en el siglo XX," in *El Colegio de México, Historia General de México*, vol. 2, 1417-21; and, for the specific case of artists vis-à-vis generational change, Ramírez, "Vertientes nacionalistas," 111-67.

80. See Vasconcelos's discussions of racial theory in his *Raza cósmica* and in Vasconcelos and Gamio, *Aspects of Mexican Civilization*. In addition, see Mariátegui's review of Vasconcelos's *Indología*: José Carlos Mariátegui, *Temas de nuestra América* (Lima, 1960), 78-84. Mariátegui supported Vasconcelos's utopianism but opposed its almost mystic faith in the future without action in the present.

81. "Los problemas de México," reprinted in *Boletín de la Secretaría de Educación Pública*, 28 August 1922.

82. In this regard, see Knight, "Racism, Revolution, and *Indigenismo*," 78-98.

83. Vasconcelos, *La raza cósmica*, 3.

84. On this point, as on many others in this chapter, I have benefited from David Brading, "Social Darwinism and Romantic Idealism: Andrés Molina Enriquez and José Vasconcelos in the Mexican Revolution," in his *Prophecy and Myth in Mexican History* (Cambridge, 1984), 63-83, 92-95.

85. The issue of Vasconcelos's self-deceit during his trip to South America is also briefly noticed by José Joaquín Blanco, who argues that Vasconcelos "let himself be deceived" by the democratic regimes of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (in sharp contrast to Mexico's antidemocratic government). See Blanco, *Se llamaba Vasconcelos*, 117-22.

86. Vasconcelos and Gamio, *Aspects of Mexican Civilization*, 12.

87. See the opening quotation in this chapter.

88. The last entry in the diary of Antonieta Rivas Mercado, quoted in Martha Robles, *Entre el poder y las letras* (Mexico City, 1989), 103.

### 13. THE 1929 SEVILLE FAIR

1. See Alfredo Serrano, "La originalidad en las grandes exposiciones internacionales: Un comentario a la maravilla del pueblo español," *Revista de las Españas*, no. 36-37 (1929):340-44.

2. Originally it was called *Exposición Hispanoamericana*, but it was renamed in order to include Brazil, Portugal, and the United States. See Blanca Ríos de Lampérez et al., *Nuestra raza es española* (Seville, 1926). On the fairs in Barcelona and Seville, see Allwood, *Great Exhibitions*, 135-36; Findling, *Historical Dictionary*, 254-57; Seville, *El libro de oro iberoamericano*, vol. 1 (Seville, 1929); Arthur Stanley Riggs, "The Spanish Exposition," *Art and Archaeology*, no. 27 (1929):156-64; Fernando Real Balbuena, *La Exposición Ibero-Americana: Origen y gestación de la magna empresa* (Seville, 1961); Encarnación Lemus López, *La Exposición Ibero-Americana a través de la prensa local (1923-1929)* (Seville, 1987); and the chronology of events included in Manuel Trillo de Leyva, *La Exposición Iberoamericana: La transformación urbana de Sevilla*

(Seville, 1980), 183-204. For the origins and problems confronted by the Seville fair since 1905, see Narciso Ciaurriz, *Origen y primeros trabajos de la Exposición Iberoamericana* (Seville, 1929); Eduardo Rodríguez Bernal, *La Exposición Ibero-Americana de Sevilla de 1929 a través de la prensa local* (Seville, 1981). For an analysis of the fair in view of Seville's urban transformation, see Alberto Villar Movellán, *Arquitectura del regionalismo en Sevilla, 1900-1935* (Seville, 1979), 412-75.

3. "Inauguración de la Exposición Iberoamericana de Sevilla," *Revista de las Españas*, no. 33 (1929):157.

4. Rodríguez Bernal, *La Exposición Ibero-Americana de Sevilla*, 269.

5. Trillo de Leyva, *La Exposición Iberoamericana*, 35.

6. Rodolfo Reyes, "Una interpretación de la Exposición Iberoamericana," *Revista de las Españas*, no. 42 (1930):129-30.

7. Villar Movellán, *Arquitectura del regionalismo*, 452-53.

8. See *El libro de oro iberoamericano*, vol. 1. For the transformation of the notion of social economy, see Gueslin, *L'Invention de l'économie sociale*.

9. Informe General, Consul Mexicano, Barcelona, SRE IV-294-I.

10. NYT, 25 January 1929, announced that the United States was going to build a pavilion "which will later be used for the consulate." In addition, Archer M. Huntington, president of the Hispanic Society of America, donated a statue of El Cid Campeador.

11. SRE, letter of invitation to the competition [the prize for which was 20,000 pesetas], SRE EMESP, 531.

12. Reported by the Mexican consul in Barcelona (SRE IV-294-1).

13. México, Comité Organizador de la Participación de México en la Exposición Ibero-Americana de Sevilla, *México* (Mexico City, 1929), iii.

14. *Ibid.*

15. In Spanish the legend is "Madre España: porque en mi campo encendiste el sol de tu cultura, y en mi alma la lámpara devocional de tu espíritu, ahora en mi campo y en mi corazón han florecido. Méjico" (SRE IV-295-I).

16. For the context of social unrest and the exhibition, see Shlomo Ben-Ami, *Fascism from Above: The Dictatorship of Primo de Rivera in Spain, 1923-1930* (Oxford, 1983), 353-56.

17. *Ibid.*, 202-5; and Leandro Álvarez Rey, *Sevilla durante la dictadura de Primo de Rivera* (Seville, 1987), 235-38.

18. See Pike, *Hispanism*, 35-47, 178-84; and Pérez Montfort, *Hispanismo y Falange*.

19. See Miguel Rodríguez, "El 12 de octubre: Entre el IV y el V centenario," in *Cultura e identidad nacional*, ed. Roberto Blancarte (Mexico City, 1994), 145-51. I thank Victor Arriaga for access to this material.

20. Enrique González Martínez, *La apacible locura* (1951), included in his *Obras Completas* (Mexico City, 1977), 780. This work is the second part of González Martínez's autobiography. The first part, *El hombre buho: Misterio de una vocación*, was first published in 1944. About his days in Spain during the Seville fair, see *Obras completas*, pp. 775-80.

21. For a brief review of the socioeconomic history of this period, see Raymond Carr, *Oxford History of Modern Europe: Spain, 1808-1939* (Oxford, 1966), 581-602.

22. This tune was composed by Guty Cárdenas, who was then a popular singer

and composer from the Yucatán and one of the first radio stars of Mexico City's urban culture.

23. The figure of 750,000 pesetas was announced by the Ministry of Industry and Commerce in October 1927 and published in *Excélsior*, 2 November 1927. It should be considered a minimum figure, and though the final total is unclear, it is very likely that it was significantly larger than this sum. See Appendix 2.

24. México, Comité Organizador, *México*, 2.

25. For instance, in 1930 Ortiz de Montellano published an article in *Los Contemporáneos* in which he explained the growing American and European interest in Mexico's literature: Bernardo Ortiz de Montellano, "Literatura de revolución y literatura revolucionaria," *Los Contemporáneos* 7, 23 (1930):77-81.

26. *La Libertad* (Madrid), 17 May 1929.

27. SRE IV-295-I.

28. SRE IV-295-I, II. See also *Boletín de la Secretaría de Industria, Comercio y Trabajo*. . . , 22 April 1926. The projects were exhibited at the National Academy of Fine Arts.

29. See the explanation and illustrations of this building in *Excélsior*, 8 May 1926. As a "Porfirian" architect, Marquina designed two aristocratic mansions along the Paseo de la Reforma and in the Colonia Juárez of Mexico City. Later he became a great advocate of pre-Hispanic-style architecture.

30. Confidential letter, 6 May 1926.

31. SRE IV-295-I, II.

32. Regarding Obregón Santacilia's proposal, see Ramón Vargas Salguero, "La arquitectura de la revolución," in *México: 75 años de revolución, educación, cultura y comunicaciones*, vol. 2 (Mexico City, 1988), 437-77; and Partido Revolucionario Institucional, *Tradicón de la cultura*.

33. The total cost of the building was 300,000 pesos, 10 percent of which went to Amabilis (SRE EMESP 525).

34. Godoy, *México en Sevilla*. I have dealt with Godoy in previous chapters. By 1929 he was a veteran member of the Porfirian exhibition team, and in that year he was still an active writer for *Excélsior* in Mexico City. He died in 1930. See also Francisco Sáenz, *Comité Organizador de la Participación de México en la Exposición Ibero-Americana de Sevilla* (Mexico City, 1929); and México, Secretaría de Industria, Comercio y Trabajo, *Exposición iberoamericana de Sevilla 1929: La participación de México* (Mexico City, 1928).

35. Vasconcelos, *El desastre*, 378.

36. SRE EMESP 539. These changes may have been caused by the defeat of Aarón Sáenz as a presidential candidate and by the conflict between Portes Gil and Luis N. Morones.

37. Amabilis's letter to the Ministry of Industry and Commerce, 15 July 1928 (SRE EMESP 532). See also letter to Amabilis, 3 February 1928, from Emilio Narváez asking him to take great care of the budget (SRE EMESP 528). For a detailed explanation of expenditures between 1927 and 1930, see "*Libro Mayor*," SRE EMESP 530 (which included calls not to repeat the mistakes of Mexico's presence at the Rio de Janeiro fair, which caused considerable economic troubles); SRE EMESP 752.

38. The Mexican consul in Seville paid the fine and freed Amabilis. The incident took place in July 1929 (SRE EMESP 534).

39. Some replies by Orozco Ramírez affirm these accusations. Enrique González

Martínez promised an investigation. There are no more records or final results about this incident. See SRE EMESP 539.

40. See Katzman, *Arquitectura del siglo XIX*, 267.

41. For this monument, and for Amabilis's works in Mérida city, see Carlos Echánove Trujillo, ed., *Enciclopedia Yucatanense* (Mexico City, 1946), vol. 4, 445-48, and vol. 6, 553-62, quotation on p. 554.

42. Manuel Amabilis, *El pabellón de México en la Exposición Ibero-Americana de Sevilla* (Mexico City, 1929). This book was proposed by Amabilis in April 1928 (SRE EMESP 529) and approved and paid for by the Mexican government in June (SRE EMESP 531).

43. Amabilis's "Propuesta para una monografía sobre el edificio mexicano en la exposición de Sevilla," April 1928, SRE EMESP 529. For his ideas on the revolution, see Manuel Amabilis, *Mística de la revolución mexicana* (Mexico City, 1937).

44. Amabilis, *El pabellón*, 23-24.

45. *Ibid.*, 27.

46. Amabilis acknowledged that he took the general idea of the concentric squares from the notion of *Sección Aurea* articulated by Macody Lund in his *Teoría Real de la Arquitectura* and in his studies of the geometric structures of the ancient and medieval religious architectural forms found in the Nodarós Cathedral (see Amabilis, *El pabellón*, 32).

47. *Ibid.*, 38.

48. *Ibid.*, 50.

49. *Ibid.*, 50-51.

50. *Ibid.*, 55-56. The other two *jambas* were *La Jamba de los Sacerdotes* and *La Jamba de los Constructores*.

51. In addition, Reyes painted three murals which represented miners, farmers, and people from Yucatán.

52. Amabilis, *El pabellón*, 76-77.

53. Argentina constructed a neocolonial type of building, designed by Martín S. Noel, which combined baroque aspects with Inca and Calchaquís motifs. Manuel Piquerons Cotoí constructed the Peruvian pavilion in what he called neo-Peruvian style: extravagant but rational. See Cherif-El-Maldini, "El pabellón peruano en la Exposición Ibero-Americana: Una interesante charla con el arquitecto autor del proyecto . . .," *El Liberal* (Seville) 6 September 1927, quoted by Villar Morellán, *Arquitectura del regionalismo*, 457. The United States constructed its main pavilion in neocolonial California style. It was designed by William Templeton Johnson, a follower of Bertram G. Goodhue, who built the 1915 San Diego world's fair—the zenith of colonial California style. Chile constructed a building which imitated the majesty of the Andes. See Villar Morellán, *Arquitectura del regionalismo*, 453-65.

54. *La Unión*, 2 September 1928.

55. Reported to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, SRE EMESP 533.

56. See González Martínez's account of his troublesome meeting with the Spanish king, in González Martínez, *La apacible locura*, in *Obras Completas*, 775-80.

57. *La Libertad*, 22 May 1929.

58. Reyes, "Una interpretación de la Exposición Iberoamericana," 129-30.

59. In *El Liberal* (Seville), in *El Noticiero Sevillano*, originally published in *Industria y Comercio*, Mexico.

60. *El Liberal* (Madrid), 17 May 1929.

61. The legends were written by Reyes without the permission of either Amabilis or González Martínez. In fact, it seems that even the legend "*Madre España*" was put there without their permission. Both González Martínez and Amabilis disliked the legends, not for their connotations but because of their tacky prose. Thus all of those *letreritos* (little signs), as Amabilis called them, were removed by order of González Martínez in 1928, except "*Madre Patria*" that had already been read by Spanish authorities, who were very pleased with it. For the legends, see SRE IV-295-I, II; for the debate about them, see SRE EMESP 533.

62. Letter to González Martínez, 2 January 1929, SRE EMESP 537.

63. See M. Alfonso Rivera, *Sevilla y su exposición, 1929* (Seville, 1992), 64.

64. Godoy, *México en Sevilla*.

65. About this week, see González Martínez's report, 26 June 1930, SRE EMESP 539. He, of course, did not like the spirit of the Mexican week because of its radicalism and because of its lack of Mexican presence.

66. See Luis Araquistáin, *La revolución mejicana: Sus orígenes, sus hombres, su obra* (Madrid, 1929), 353.

67. See the reprints of Fernando de los Ríos, *El sentido humanista del socialismo* (Madrid, 1976); and Fernando de los Ríos, *Escritos sobre democracia y socialismo* (Madrid, 1974). For the role of these intellectuals in Spain during the late 1920s and their fascination with Mexico, see Genoveva García Queipo, *Los intelectuales y la dictadura de Primo de Rivera* (Madrid, 1988), 181-84, 525-30.

68. For instance, the book *México* was the counterpart of the many propaganda books published during the nineteenth century. It was published by the Comité Organizador de la Participación de México en la Exposición Ibero-Americana de Sevilla in 1929. Of the 3,000 copies printed, 80 were dedicated to Spanish and international authorities: it had been prepared by Luis A. Herrera with the collaboration of distinguished intellectuals, such as Salvador Novo, director of the Propaganda Section in the Ministry of Industry.

69. See "Inauguración de la Exposición Iberoamericana de Sevilla." The American pavilion was indeed three buildings: one in Spanish colonial style—to be made into the American consulate following the fair—another industrial gallery, and a movie theater.

70. These films were requested by the Mexican Embassy in Belgium in January 1928. They seem to have been exhibited throughout Europe. SRE EMESP 528.

71. See SRE EMESP 523.

72. *Ibid.*

73. For the exhibit, see the list of products and objects awarded in SRE EMESP 539; and Sáenz, *Comité Organizador*.

74. Report, 4 April 1930, SRE EMESP 539. The highest Spanish award was the grand prize (followed by honor diploma, gold, silver, bronze, and finally honorable mention).

75. Regarding the continuity of business in prerevolutionary and postrevolutionary Mexico, see Haber, *Industry and Underdevelopment*.

76. See Jaime Noyola Rocha, "La visión integral de la sociedad nacional (1920-1934)," in *La antropología en México: Panorama histórico*, vol. 2, *Los hechos y los dichos (1880-1986)*, ed. Carlos García Mora (Mexico City, 1987), 133-222; Guaraldo,

"Indigenismo e investigación etno-anropológica"; Juan Comas, "Historia del indigenismo en México," *América Indígena* 8 (1948):182-86; and, for Gamio's conflict with Calles, González Gamio, *Manuel Gamio*, 79-92.

77. In this respect, see Moyssén, "El nacionalismo y la arquitectura."

78. In the late 1920s international interest in Mexican archaeological ruins was widespread, especially among American institutions. Thus a Maya building in a world's fair helped to popularize this interest. However, architecturally there were already some examples of European or American uses of pre-Hispanic motifs—the California buildings of Frank Lloyd Wright, for example. In addition, interestingly enough, between 1927 and 1934 the American architect Robert B. Stacy-Judd promoted the use of Maya architecture in order for American architecture to come out with a real "all-American" style. This bizarre American architect—who believed that "Christ's last words were pure Maya"—constructed various buildings with Maya inspiration in California, including, in about 1927, the Aztec Hotel in Moraga and the First Baptist Church in Ventura. For instance, see articles by Robert B. Stacy-Judd in the journal of *The Architect and the Engineer* from October 1933 to November 1934, and the summary of his impressions on Maya architecture in his *The Ancient Mayas: Adventures in the Jungles of Yucatan* (Los Angeles, 1934). See also the recently published interpretation of Stacy-Judd's Mayism: David Gebhard, *Robert B. Stacy-Judd: Maya Architecture and the Creation of a New Style* (Santa Barbara, 1993).

79. See SRE III-236-3, especially the opinions of Jaime Torres Bodet and Marte R. Gómez regarding the advantages of Mexico's presence at the 1937 Paris fair. Compare Mexico's presence at the 1939 New York world's fair, at which Mexico exhibited a "graphic synthesis" of President Lázaro Cárdenas's six-year plan as well as traditional clothing on models that represented "the most typical characteristics of the autochthonous races of Mexico" (México, Secretaría de la Economía Nacional, *Memoria de la Secretaría de Economía Nacional, 1939-1940* [Mexico City, 1940], 17).

80. In this regard, see the analysis of the vivid intellectual discussion that took place in 1925 in Victor Díaz Arciniega, *Querrela por la cultura "revolucionaria" (1925)* (Mexico City, 1989).

## EPILOGUE

1. Examples of this alternative approach are: for Mexico and from an anthropological synchronic perspective, Claudio Lomnitz, *Exits from the Labyrinth* (Berkeley, 1992), esp. chap. 1, and Guy P. C. Thomson, "Bulwarks of Patriotic Liberalism: The National Guard, Philharmonic Corps and Patriotic Juntas in Mexico, 1847-1888," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 22 (February 1990):31-68; for Bengal India, Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments* (Princeton, N.J., 1993), 3-12, 158-99; and for France, the classic study by E. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen* (Stanford, 1976).

2. Of course, there are authors who disagree in this assertion. For an example, see John Breuilly, *Nationalism and the State* (Chicago, 1982).

3. Too much has been written about identity. By identity I refer solely to the abstract notion of a people's own sense of attachment and belonging, be it an ethnic, cultural, geographical, or religious sense of communal existence.

4. See Étienne Tassin, "Identités nationales et citoyenneté politique," *Esprit*, no. 198 (1994):97-111.

5. I thank Paolo Riguzzi for his comments on this point.

6. See Edmundo O'Gorman's *Destierro de sombras: Luz en el origen de la imagen y culto de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe del Tepeyac* (Mexico City, 1986).

7. See William Tobin, "A Shrine to Which All May Worship': The Making of the Lincoln Memorial and the Representation of the Modern American Nation-State" (manuscript, 1992).

8. There are various studies on the emergence of these popular patriotisms. For an excellent synthesis of these patriotisms, see Knight, *U.S.-Mexico Relations*; Thomson, "Bulwarks of Patriotic Liberalism"; and Guy P. C. Thomson, "Movilización conservadora, insurrección liberal y rebeliones indígenas, 1854-1876," in *América Latina: Dallo Stato Coloniale allo Stato Nazione*, ed. Antonio Annino, vol. 2 (Turin, 1987), 592-614.

9. See Musil's collection of essays published in German as *Gesammelte Werke*, ed. Adolf Frise (Hamburg, 1978). I used the Spanish translation of the collection, published as *Ensayos y conferencias*, trans. José L. Arántegui (Madrid, 1992), 95-108, quotation on p. 107.

10. Chatterjee, *The Nation*, 6.

11. Lêdo Ivo, "Acontecimento do sonêto" (1949), from *Acontecimento do sonêto* (Rio de Janeiro, 1965), 10.

12. François Xavier Guerra argues that Spanish American countries "belong in their own right—at least in terms of their elites' origins and culture—within a European cultural area. Countries which were among the first within this cultural area to set up modern political regimes." F. X. Guerra, "The Spanish-American Tradition of Representation and Its European Roots," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 26 (1994):1.

13. Knight distinguishes goals and means in nationalist social actors; I follow this distinction. See Alan Knight, "Revolutionary Project, Recalcitrant People: Mexico, 1910-1940," in *Revolutionary Process in Mexico*, ed. J. E. Rodríguez (Los Angeles, 1990), 227-64.

14. Ramón López Velarde, *Obras* (Mexico City, 1971), 232.

15. Jorge Cuesta, "Carta a Portes Gil" (1940), in Cuesta, *Poesía y crítica* (Mexico City, 1991), 233.

16. López Velarde, *Obras*, 232.

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- AGN Obregón-Calles. Archivo General de la Nación, México, Ramo Presidentes, Álvaro Obregón y Plutarco Elías Calles.
- BEMP. *Boletín de la Exposición Mexicana en París, 1889*.
- DO. *Diario Oficial de la Federación*, México.
- EXP. Archivo General de la Nación, México, Ramo Fomento, Exposiciones Internacionales.
- HMM. Cosío Villegas, Daniel, ed. *Historia Moderna de México*. 9 vols. Mexico City: Editorial Hermes, 1955-1964.
- Industrias Nuevas. Archivo General de la Nación, México, Ramo Fomento, Industrias Nuevas.
- IPBA. Archivo General de la Nación, México, Ramo Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes.
- NYT. *The New York Times*.
- Patentes y Marcas. Archivo General de la Nación, México, Ramo Fomento, Patentes y Marcas.
- RUP. Picard, A., ed. *Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1889 à Paris*. 10 vols. Paris, 1891-1892.
- SRE. Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, México, Archivo Histórico Genaro Estrada.
- SRE EMESP. Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, México, Archivo Histórico Genaro Estrada, Embajada de México en España.
- SSA. Secretaría de Salubridad y Asistencia, México, Archivo Histórico.
- UIA-Díaz. Archivo Porfirio Díaz, Universidad Iberoamericana, México.

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