

**RITUALS OF
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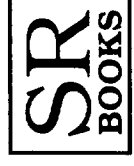
*Public
Celebrations
and
Popular
Culture
in Mexico*

Edited by

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6. Carlos María de Bustamante, *Diario histórico de México, enero-diciembre 1824*, notes by Manuel Calvillo (México, 1981), entries 28 agosto 1824, 122; 4 septiembre 1824, 125–26; and 5 septiembre 1824, 126. See also Salvador Novo, "La vida en la ciudad de México en 1824," in *La república federal mexicana, gestación y nacimiento*, vol. 8 (México, 1974).
7. Anne Staples, "El abuso de las campanas en el siglo pasado," *Historia Mexicana* 27, no. 2 (octubre-diciembre 1977): 177–94.
8. Bando municipal publicado el 31 de enero de 1849 por José Jiménez de Velasco, alcalde primero constitucional de Toluca y presidente del ilustre ayuntamiento, Archivo Histórico Municipal de Toluca, ramo Presidencia, vol. 1, exp. 9.
9. *Toluca en el siglo XIX*, Exposición documental Catálogo (México, 1991).
10. Libro sesiones del ayuntamiento de Tlaxotalpan, 24 octubre 1851. Municipal Archives, Tlaxotalpan, Veracruz. In Mexico City, boys had to be prohibited from shooting each other with toy cannons, that nevertheless were loaded and fired. Decreto 593, "Bando de policía," 5 enero 1829, in Manuel Dublán and José María Lozano, *Legislación mexicana o colección completa de las disposiciones legislativas expedidas desde la independencia de la república* (México, 1976), 2:89.
11. Libro sesiones del ayuntamiento de Tlaxotalpan, 1 julio 1853; 11 abril 1855.
12. "Parte oficial. Gobierno del estado libre y soberano de Veracruz. Circular," *El Zempoalteca*, 6 abril 1849, 2–3.
13. Libro sesiones del ayuntamiento de Tlaxotalpan, 25 octubre 1850, and repeated 9 diciembre 1852.
14. *Ibid.*, 23 noviembre 1850.
15. "Reglamento de policía 1852," aprobado según libro sesiones del ayuntamiento de Tlaxotalpan, 16 abril 1852.
16. Ignacio González Polo, "La ciudad de México a fines del siglo XVIII. Disquisiciones sobre un manuscrito anónimo," *HM* 21, no. 1 (julio-septiembre 1971): 29–47. Viqueira Albán discusses the division of the city into wards in *¿Relajados o reprimidos?*
17. Decreto 454, "Decreto de policía y buen gobierno," 7 febrero 1825, in Dublán and Lozano, 1:764–69.
18. Decreto 1341, 15 enero 1834, in Dublán and Lozano, 2:662–66.
19. Fanny Calderon de la Barca, *Life in Mexico: The Letters of Fanny Calderon de la Barca with New Material from the Author's Private Journals*, edited and annotated by Howard T. Fisher and Marion Hall Fisher (New York, 1970), 91, 106, 175.

Streetwise History: The Paseo de la Reforma and the Porfirian State, 1876–1910

Barbara A. Tenenbaum
Hispanic Division
Library of Congress

Barbara Tenenbaum provides a Mexican complement to the historical approach initiated in general by Jacob Burckhardt's *Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, in which he examined "The State as a Work of Art," and carried forward in particular by Donald J. Olsen in *The City as a Work of Art: London, Paris, Vienna*, who found cities "complex but legible documents that can tell us something about the values and aspirations of their rulers, designers, builders, owners, and inhabitants."⁶ Her research project, currently supported by the Rockefeller Foundation, is indeed rare. Robert Quirk's introduction to his concise history of Mexico, Gil Joseph and Allen Wells's essay on Mérida, and Thomas Benjamin's evaluation of the Monument to the Revolution number among the scarce parallel studies.⁷ This endeavor represents a shift in emphasis from the economic studies she has executed since completing her doctoral dissertation at Harvard University and foreshadows a book promising a distinctive approach to the capital city.⁸

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⁶(New Haven, CT, 1986), ix.

⁷Robert Quirk, "Mexico in Its Monuments," in *Mexico* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1971), 1–4; Gilbert Joseph and Allen Wells, "Chilango Blueprints and Provincial Growing Pains: Mérida at the Turn of the Century," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 8 (Summer 1992): 167–215; and Thomas Benjamin, "The Mythic Image: Mexico's Monument to the Revolution" (unpub. ms.).

⁸For an example of Tenenbaum's economic studies, see, most notably, *The Politics of Penury: Debt and Taxes in Mexico, 1821–1856* (Albuquerque, NM, 1986).

BY THE TIME RESIDENTS of Mexico City celebrated the centennial of national independence in 1910, their city had undergone a transformation that reflected the enormous struggle of a country torn by the simultaneous need to preserve its sovereignty while trying to lure the necessary capital from abroad for economic development. In the process, "official history"—sometimes to impress foreigners, sometimes to teach the virtues the Porfirian government thought appropriate at home—was born right there for everyone to see on city streets.

The victors write the history, as the truism says; in Mexico City the winners demolished the losers' strongholds even before war had been declared. Official Mexico created the Real Academia de las Tres Nobles Artes de San Carlos de la Nueva España in 1781 as part of a frontal attack on the baroque style. It revised and corrected architectural projects and eliminated without further ado the architects associated with the old aesthetic.¹ The Royal Academy adopted neoclassicism in the name of universalism and set out to destroy the baroque churches and *palacios* built since the 1520s.²

Some of the new architecture would become the priceless treasures we admire today, such as José Damián Ortiz de Castro's addition of a second group of towers to the Cathedral of Mexico City that Manuel Tolsá completed with a central clock, banisters, and other embellishments. The Spanish-born Tolsá, the embodiment of this new neoclassical style, also built the palace of the Marqués del Apartado and the Palacio de Buenavista. Moreover, in this period Viceroy Revillagigedo the Second revised the layout of the capital to include four large plazas on its outskirts as satellite areas. Furthermore, city planners added the Paseos de Bucareli and Azanza and adorned the Zócalo with Tolsá's magnificent statue of Carlos IV (*El Caballito*). Although the city still retained its baroque character, it made a firm commitment to the adoption of a new, more European look.

These architectural innovations reflected both an aristocratic pursuit of classical austerity, as opposed to the syncretic and flamboyant "Mexican" (read *mestizo*) arts and architecture, as well as the first and perhaps most subtle weapon in the fight for national laicization. With the Bourbons came the French predilection for order, control, and precision in counterdistinction to the riotous Habsburg approach to colonial life. The effect on Mexican architecture was profound, particularly in the case of Manuel Tolsá, whose *Caballito* remains one of the city's glories.

This process undoubtedly would have continued once independence had been achieved had not bankrupt treasuries saved the city from further neoclassical renewal.³ Nevertheless, the coming of Benito Juárez and the liberals of the 1850s added renewed impetus to the

process of transforming an ecclesiastical capital into a secular one. Former convents such as that of San Francisco were taken over by the state and demolished to make way for Gante and Sixteenth of September streets; in two cases among many the chapel of the San Andrés hospital was razed for Xicoténcatl Street, while the convent of Santo Domingo became Leandro Valle Street.⁴ The French occupation in the 1860s almost inadvertently accelerated the transformation of Mexico City. Apparently, Emperor Maximilian decided to build an avenue that would run directly from his Alcázar de Chapultepec to the Palacio Nacional downtown. He named his new avenue the Calzada de la Emperatriz in honor of his wife, the Empress Carlota.⁵ Maximilian entrusted Francisco Somera, the well-known architect and urban developer, with all the details concerning its construction. Somera was the obvious choice. From 1850 to 1866 he served as *regidor* on the city council, or ayuntamiento, in charge of both roads and canals as well as sewers and pavement, and in 1856 he sat on a committee studying the flood problem in the Valley of Mexico. In 1862 he reorganized the *obrería mayor* (public works administration) in the capital, then controlled by untrained "administrators," into the Dirección General de Obras Públicas, staffed with civil engineers and architects from the Academia de San Carlos. Somera's alma mater. During the empire he became the chief magistrate (*alcalde*) of Mexico City and then head of the treasury committee of the ayuntamiento, which set rates for property taxes.

But Somera is best known as a real estate developer. In 1858 he began to lay the groundwork for one of the first subdivisions of the city to be known as the *colonia de arquitectos*, and, because of his standing in the government, he was able to provide the residents of his areas with better basic services more rapidly than those received by other city dwellers. After Maximilian announced his intention to build his new *calzada*, Somera sold part of the section that lies in the trapezoid formed by present-day Gómez Farías, Sullivan, and Miguel Schultz streets and Avenida Insurgentes to the imperial government as an adjunct to the new avenue, for which he received the highest payment in his entire career as a land speculator.⁶

After the empire had fallen in 1867 and Mexicans had regained control of their nation, President Benito Juárez made a decision that would affect the development of both Mexico and its capital city for decades—he once again suspended payment on the foreign debt. In the following year Matías Romero, former minister to the United States and now minister of the treasury, announced that Mexico would not permit any revenues to be mortgaged to pay the foreign debt and that the treasury would confine its attention to retiring its internal obligations. This policy would remain in force until 1885.⁷

While the old guard surrounding Juárez, survivors of both the War of the Reform and the Intervention, were happy with financial isolation from Europe, other leaders were eager to adopt the ways of continental progress, particularly as they had seen it displayed in Paris. The latter got their chance when Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada became president in 1872. They quickly revived interest in Maximilian's *calzada*, appropriately renamed the Paseo de la Reforma, and encouraged civic leaders to formulate plans for its beautification. These men became "francophile progressives." One of the admirers of the beauties of Paris was Ignacio Cumplido, founder of the Mexico City liberal daily, *El Siglo XIX*. He had visited the City of Light in 1848 and again in 1860 after Baron Georges-Eugène Haussmann had directed its reconstruction under the watchful eye of Emperor Napoleon III; his admiration for the city of Paris developed into a desire to see its beauties replicated in Mexico.⁸ When he became the member of the ayuntamiento in charge of boulevards in 1873, Cumplido had both sides of the Paseo lined with trees in emulation of the Champs Elysées.⁹

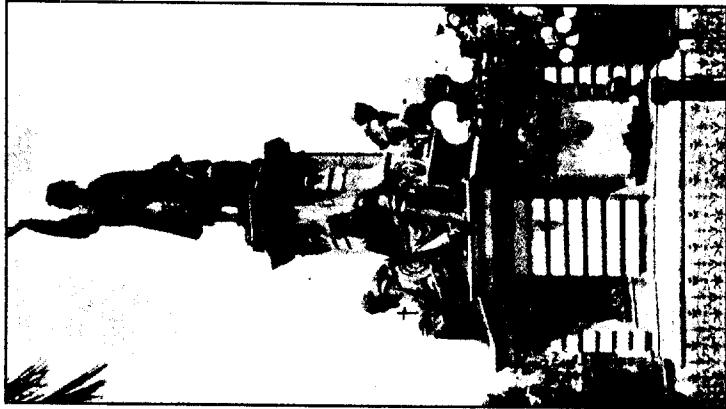
Antonio Escandón, the famous railroad entrepreneur, was another "francophile progressive." This much younger brother of the highly successful moneylender and entrepreneur Manuel Escandón and son-in-law of the even more notorious moneylender and entrepreneur Eustaquio Barrón had actively promoted the development of a railway between Mexico City and Veracruz since the 1850s. During the time of the Mexican Empire he prowled the capitals of Europe for investors to fund his dream and in so doing became quite at home in London and Paris.¹⁰ Escandón's understanding of the new Paris as a center of highly profitable commercial space as well as the model of how a progressive and powerful city should appear to the world reflected his entrepreneurial outlook. Paris, with its Etoile, or star, formed by the juxtaposition of twelve avenues, symbolized in its very construction the centralization of national power and the rise of the *haute bourgeoisie* during the reign of Napoleon III.¹¹ Although Mexico, in contrast, barely had a civilian governing class in the 1870s, Escandón believed the construction of a new, beautiful city would promote its economic development and stimulate the growth of a professional bureaucracy. The Mexico City he envisioned would have many *étoiles*, to be called *glorietas*, where important streets met the new Paseo de la Reforma.

In 1871, Escandón decided to facilitate the transformation of the Paseo de la Reforma and Mexico City by presenting the capital with a special token of his esteem, a monument honoring Christopher Columbus, in commemoration of the future opening of his railroad connecting Mexico City with Veracruz. According to Justino Fernán-

dez, Emperor Maximilian had conceived the idea of the statue and had asked engineer Ramón Rodríguez Arrangoity to direct the project. At that time the sculptor Pedro Vilar imagined the figure of Columbus rising from a pedestal comprised of representations of the four seas. After the empire fell, Escandón revived the concept and called again on Rodríguez Arrangoity. His version depicted Columbus rising from a base composed in part of four friars from the colonial past—Pedro de Gante, Bartolomé de Las Casas, Juan de Torquemada, and Bartolomé de Olmedo. Escandón apparently accepted and paid for the design, creating the impression that he would have this statue executed in Paris, but the work that he commissioned in 1873 from the French sculptor Charles Cordier turned out to be significantly different. Cordier, in consultation with Escandón's nephew Alejandro Arango y Escandón, a literary figure and poet, substituted friars Juan Pérez de Marchena, Diego de Deza, and Toribio de Benavente ("Motolinía") for the original group, retaining only Bartolomé de Las Casas. The statue was shipped to Mexico in 1875 and unveiled two years later in August 1877 in the second of the *glorietas* of the Paseo

de la Reforma, the precise spot Maximilian had had in mind. Ironically, Antonio Escandón never saw the monument; he had died in May of that year while traveling by train from Seville to Córdoba.¹²

As with all the statues that eventually graced the *glorietas* of the Reforma, this Columbus monument had its story to tell. The original Mexican design had tried to associate the Navigator with the conquest by including Fray Bartolomé de Olmedo, a Mercedarian friar who had been Cortés's chaplain throughout his journey to Tenochtitlan. Among his accomplishments, Olmedo is credited with celebrating the first mass and planting the first cross in New Spain as well as accompanying Pedro de Alvarado on his march through Guatemala. Fray Juan de Torquemada is best



Monument to Columbus

remembered as the author of *Twentyone Ritual Books and Indian Monarchy*, known as *Monarquía indiana*. In addition, Torquemada was well known as the architect who rebuilt the Church of Santiago Tlatelolco from 1603 to 1610. Apparently he shared something in common with Escandón, for he designed the streets of Guadalupe and Chapultepec in Mexico City. Pedro de Gante was perhaps the best known of the three figures. A Franciscan and relative of Charles V, he had been born in Flanders and in 1523 was one of the first friars to come to Mexico. Subsequently, he founded at least two major schools for the instruction of Indians at Texcoco and San Francisco de México.

The new statue shifted the focus to Spain as Escandón and his nephew finessed the issue of the conquest by deciding to concentrate on the life of Columbus and the benefits of the Christianity he had brought to the New World. Two of the new figures, Fray Juan Pérez de Marchena and Fray Diego de Deza, belong to Columbus's life before his voyages to the New World. "Fray Pérez de Marchena" was really a conflation of two historical personages—Juan Pérez and Antonio de Marchena. The former had been the guardian of the Monastery of la Rábida, who, according to García Pimentel, a prominent historian of the Porfiriato, had brought Columbus to Córdoba to meet with Queen Isabella and her court. He used his influence to win their support of the Navigator's venture.¹³ The monument stresses the connection with la Rábida by including a bas-relief of Columbus visiting the rebuilding of the monastery, perhaps recognizing that he allegedly had set sail from Palos because it was only a mile away from this monastery.¹⁴ Fray Diego de Deza, a Dominican, was acknowledged as having strongly supported Columbus at the court in his role as member of the committee to judge the project and as tutor to the heir apparent, Prince Juan. From 1499 to 1506, Deza served as inquisitor general but was removed from his post because of riots in Córdoba.¹⁵

The two figures that relate to Mexico emphasize the humanistic aspect of Spanish evangelization in its colonies. Fray Toribio de Benavente was honored because he had greatly respected and loved the Indians and had lived such a life of poverty that they had called him "Motolinía" ("poor little one"). Furthermore, the Escandóns singled him out because he supposedly founded the city of their birth, Puebla de los Angeles. As for Las Casas, bishop of Chiapas, his defense of the Indians was so well known that his inclusion barely needed explanation.¹⁶

Nevertheless, the statue is meant to honor not only individuals but also:

the Catholic faith, the religion to whose influence is owed not only a new world, but the greatest enterprise of all time. Catholics were the ones who invested in the discovery of the New World . . . the religious zeal of Marchena [*sic*] and Isabel I, who thought only in adding to the already extensive conquests of the Cross, is what America owes for its saving beliefs, its civilization, and its liberty.¹⁷

In effect, the message is a compromise. Fully European in content, even to the extent of having the part of Columbus's letter to the Catholic king describing the success of his voyage carved in Latin rather than in Spanish or Nahuatl (as Rodríguez Arrangoity complained), the statue indicates that some aspects of "creole nationalism" had taken root by the 1870s even among conservative supporters of the empire such as Antonio Escandón and his nephew Alejandro, who had been educated in Europe and had spent much of his life there.¹⁸

The reevaluation of the Aztecs, now referred to as "creole nationalism," had begun in the seventeenth century, notably with the research of the Jesuit Manuel Duarte on the Aztec god Quetzalcoatl previously attributed to Carlos Sigüenza y Góngora, professor of mathematics at the University of Mexico. In his writings, Sigüenza y Góngora contrasted the noble Aztecs with the royalty of the Greco-Roman world and even connected them with the Hebrews, the Egyptians, and the Christians. Further, he conceived the idea that the god Quetzalcoatl was really Saint Thomas the Apostle. The Jesuit priest Francisco Javier de Clavijero fleshed out the new view of the Aztecs in his *Historia antigua de México*, published in Bologna in 1780, even though he never accepted Sigüenza's belief in the Quetzalcoatl-Saint Thomas identification. Clavijero thought that God had permitted the Spanish to conquer the Aztecs as punishment for the Indians' sins, but at the same time he stressed that Aztec polytheism was superior to the Greek or Roman varieties.¹⁹

When creoles identified Quetzalcoatl with Saint Thomas, they effectively centered themselves between the "motivation" and the gift of the Spanish Conquest—the conversion of the Indians to Christianity as expressed on the Columbus statue. If it were true that Saint Thomas had indeed come to the New World after the Resurrection and been remembered or referred to as Quetzalcoatl in Mexico, Viracocha in Peru, and other pre-Columbian deities, then the New World had received the word of Christ centuries before the coming of the Spaniards. And if he had been revealed as the Savior at such an early date, it put the Western Hemisphere on equal terms with Spain and was poignant evidence of creole equality with *peninsulares* at home and in Europe.

Only a few years later, in 1794, the Dominican Fray Servando Teresa de Mier delivered a sermon that affirmed the equality of the Old and New Worlds. In his pronouncement he connected the miraculous appearance of the Virgin of Guadalupe with the missionary work of Saint Thomas. In 1813, while in England, he published his *Historia de la revolución de Nueva España, antiguamente Anahuac*, which explicitly contended that Spain had contributed nothing to Mexico. The implications of that argument were clear: If Spain gave nothing to its colonies and the Aztec religion had connections to Christianity, then the conquest became illegitimate and wrong. Carlos María de Bustamante amplified Mier's arguments, and eventually the theories of these two polemicists found a home in liberal political thought.²⁰ Following the defeat of the French empire, they became an unquestioned part of Mexican nationalism as seen in the redesign of the Columbus monument.

During the years between the time Escandón had commissioned his statue (1873) and its unveiling (1877), Mexico had undergone another change in government. With the victory of the revolution of Tuxtepec in 1876, new men came to power with great plans for their country. One of the leaders was the minister of development, Vicente Riva Palacio, son of General Mariano Riva Palacio, a former governor of Mexico State, and María Dolores Guerrero, the only child of martyred President Vicente Guerrero (1828–29). By 1876, Vicente Riva Palacio had spent twenty years in service to his country. He had attended the Constitutional Convention of 1857 as an alternate and found employment as secretary to the Mexico City ayuntamiento. During the War of the Reform, Félix Zuloaga had imprisoned him for his liberal politics and Miguel Miramón later threw him into solitary confinement. After Juárez defeated the conservatives, Riva Palacio was elected a federal deputy, joined the staff of the newspaper *La Orquesta*, and collaborated with Juan Antonio Mateos on a series of plays. When the French invaded in 1862, Riva Palacio outfitted a band of guerrillas and fought in Puebla under General Ignacio Zaragoza; he later saw action alongside General Jesús González Ortega. When Juárez established his capital in exile at San Luis Potosí, Riva Palacio edited a newspaper there called *El Monarca* and later served as the state's republican governor. Next, he became governor of Michoacán and founded another newspaper, *El Pito Real*, where he published his stirring song, "Adiós Mamá Carlota," which became an anthem of the resistance. In August 1867 he bid farewell to his troops and returned to his former position on the editorial board of *La Orquesta*; that same year he became a magistrate of the Supreme Court.

As the Restored Republic began, Riva Palacio joined with Ignacio Altamirano to promote a national literature. He began to write novels such as the romantic *Calvario y Tabor*, exalting the national soldier, *el chicaco*, but soon switched to romances of the colonial period with special emphasis on the social problems of the church. After losing his position on the Supreme Court because his rival, José María Iglesias, had the backing of President Sebastián Lerdo, he founded the newspaper *El Ahuizote* and joined the opposition. When the followers of Porfirio Díaz were victorious in the Revolt of Tuxtepec, the new president named Riva Palacio minister of development on November 29, 1876.²¹

While in this post from 1876 to 1880, Riva Palacio embarked on an ambitious program to beautify Mexico City in general and the Paseo de la Reforma in particular as he became the champion of a new group, the "nationalist mythologizers." As he noted in the *Memoria del Ministerio de Fomento, 1876–1877*:

Public monuments exist not only to perpetuate the memory of heroes and of great men who deserve the gratitude of the people, but also to awaken in some and strengthen in others the love of legitimate glories and also the love of art, where in those monuments one of its most beautiful expressions is to be found. To create recreational areas or boulevards, is to distract members of society with licit diversions within reach of all and allow them to mingle while avoiding the isolation and the vices which are common in populations which lack those means of communication.²²

This statement demonstrated Riva Palacio's concern for all the residents of the capital, rich and poor alike. The Paseo de la Reforma, in his view, was to educate Mexicans about the nature of the national past, or, as Justino Fernández commented, "to present living and important examples from our history to point out to future generations the names of heroes and patriots, that is, history artistically made into objects with a moral sense."²³ With this introduction, Riva Palacio opened a competition for the best "monument dedicated to Cuauhtémoc and to the other leaders who distinguished themselves in defense of the nation in the period." He planned two other monuments to keep the statue of Columbus company in the *glorietas* of the avenue: one to honor Hidalgo and the heroes of Independence; and the second to pay homage to Juárez, the patriots of the Reform, and those who distinguished themselves during the War against the French (called the Second Independence). Eventually, Riva Palacio changed his mind and, instead of the third statue, ordered two—one for Juárez and the Reform and the other for Zaragoza and the heroes of the War against the French.²⁴

Only two of the proposed statues ever appeared on the Paseo de la Reforma. The first, an homage of Cuauhtémoc, was planned in 1876 and finally unveiled in 1887, despite the fact that Mexico City already had a monument to the last Aztec emperor, a bust that had been unveiled on the Paseo de la Viga on August 13, 1869, the anniversary of the conquest of Tenochtitlan. In the customary tributes given on that occasion, the speakers added three new themes to the "creole nationalism" that had already become part of Mexican patriotism.

First, the orators continued firmly in the Mier-Bustamante tradition, speaking of the Spaniards as bloodthirsty villains and Cuauhtémoc as a hero. Gerardo María Silva characterized Cortés as a leader "whose laurels if they hadn't been stained by so many vile betrayals . . . would have made him a hero, but history and legend do not grant such a title except to those who have fought for their country or have liberated the land from the monsters who oppress it, and not to those very monsters who have desolated it with their cruelties."²⁵ No mention here of Aztec human sacrifice and oppressive tribute collections. For the sake of consistency the speakers then came to the second theme—that those Indians, such as the Tlaxcalans, who collaborated with the Spaniards and fought against the Aztecs, must be considered traitors to the Mexican nation.²⁶ As a result Cuauhtémoc and the Aztecs became synonymous with the entire republic, regardless of the fact that at the time of the conquest there were perhaps as many as two or three hundred different Indian groups living in the territory that became known as New Spain. Finally, the third theme announced that day connected Cuauhtémoc to other national heroes of later periods. In his address, Antonio Carrión noted that "the public spirit of the Mexicans that was extinguished with the breath of Cuauhtémoc, certainly did not remain dead forever, but stayed dormant for three hundred years to rekindle itself again in Dolores on the night of September 15."²⁷

Despite the public support for the cult of the Aztecs, these three new ideas about the pre-Columbian past and the conquest were by no means universally accepted in 1867, least of all by Vicente Riva Palacio. In an address given in the Alameda of Mexico City on September 16, 1871, the soon-to-be leader of the "nationalist mythologizers" spoke of the conquest in quite different terms. He described the pre-Columbian indigenous leaders as "monarchs, who without more law than their caprice, bloody and terrible most of the time, governed the ancient people of the Americas, [and] fell to the energy of the soldiers of Cortés, Pizarro, and the Almagros; the monarchy disappeared to give way to the colony"—a statement much more fa-

vorable to the conquest than the one that the conservative Escandones were willing to enshrine. Riva Palacio also stressed that because of *mestizaje* (which he referred to as "the amalgamation of conquerors and the conquered") the New World was the continent predestined for democracy and republicanism.²⁸

By the time he announced the competition for the statue of Cuauhtémoc only six years later, Riva Palacio had undergone a startling ideological about-face and had become a firm champion of the newly enlarged cult of the Aztecs. Although there were undoubtedly many reasons for this, it seems probable that Riva Palacio had started to view the past more propagandistically, looking for potential heroes rather than for historical truth. This tendency fit the requirements of the time, for the men of Tuxtepec who had made Díaz president wanted to create something unique to proclaim their new epoch, as those of Ayutla had made the Reform.

So the government opened its competition for the best design for the Cuauhtémoc statue. Riva Palacio assembled a blue-ribbon committee of judges including the English graphic artist and design teacher at the Academy of San Carlos, Juan Santiago Baggally; the future architect of the Café Colón and the renovations of the Iturbide Palace, Emilio Donde Preciat; the former "First Imperial Architect" who converted the ruins of Chapultepec into a palace for Maximilian, the builder of the monument to the Niños Heroes of 1847, and the manager of the original Columbus statue project, Ramón Rodríguez Arrangoity; the former architect of Mexico City, Manuel Gargollo y Parra; and, of course, Riva Palacio himself.²⁹

Francisco M. Jiménez y Arias, an engineer, won the competition's prize of one thousand pesos. He knew how to write winning proposals for Riva Palacio; he also received the commission for the monument to Hidalgo in Chihuahua and the one in honor of the cosmographer Enrico Martínez that was to stand in the Palacio Nacional.³⁰ Jiménez carried favor with Riva Palacio in his submission for the Cuauhtémoc contract by mentioning that

no style of architecture would be more suitable than a rebirth which would include those beautiful details which today are seen in the ruins of Tula, Uxmal, Mitla, and Palenque, conserving as much as possible the general character of the architecture of the ancient inhabitants of this Continent, architecture which contains richness and detail so beautiful and appropriate that they can be borrowed to develop a characteristic style which we can call the national style.³¹

Riva Palacio, in search of a national literary style for Mexico, saw Jiménez as a kindred spirit who offered a similar project in the visual arts.

As originally proposed, the monument was to contain three bronze figures—Cuauhtémoc (4 meters high); Cacamatzin, king of Texcoco (2.8 meters high); and Cuitlahuac, identified in the proposal as “chief of the priests and Aztecs who led the struggle on the Noche Triste” (2.8 meters high). The total budget for the proposed statue came to \$152,032, approximately 20 percent of the amount that the ayuntamiento of Mexico City had collected in taxes for the year 1877. Nevertheless, Jiménez left the description of the actual statue and its pedestal rather vague while promising that it would “not only take the character of Aztec architecture, but that of the ruins of various parts of the country in order to show architectural advances in all the parts which compose the Mexican republic.”³²

By the time the statue was unveiled, its design had altered substantially. By then, Riva Palacio was no longer involved in the project. In 1880, he had been part of a group which proposed that the Ministry of Development sponsor a Universal Mexican Exposition that same year so foreign nations could exhibit their products and Mexico its own. Porfirio Díaz rejected the idea because he viewed the exposition as a way for some members of his administration to obtain the 1880 presidential nomination for themselves. Following Díaz’s reaction, Riva Palacio resigned from the ministry on May 17, 1880.³³

After leaving the presidency, Díaz became development minister on December 1, 1880, and held the post until June 1881. He was succeeded by Carlos Pacheco, who also handled all of the former president’s business affairs in Mexico City. When Jiménez presented his new plans for the statue on December 9, 1881, the “sculptural part” of the monument had been reduced by more than 50 percent, allegedly for “budgetary reasons.” The lion’s share of the budget cuts came from a \$44,637 reduction in the allotment for sculpture; the new design omitted the secondary statues of Cuitlahuac and Cacamatzin and two of the four bas-reliefs. The changes left a single figure—Cuauhtémoc on top of the substantial pedestal—and significantly altered the meaning of the statue.³⁴

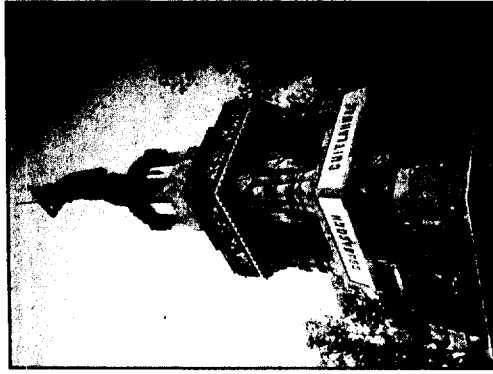
By the time the monument was unveiled on August 21, 1887, Jiménez, its designer, had died, and Riva Palacio, its promoter within the government, was in unofficial exile as minister plenipotentiary to Spain and Portugal. Minister of Development Pacheco had commissioned Miguel Noreña, professor of sculpture at the Escuela Nacional de Bellas Artes, to fashion the statue, and Gabriel Guerra, who remained true to the “national style” that Jiménez and Riva Palacio had envisioned, to do the two remaining bas-reliefs. The ayuntamiento organized modest festivities to inaugurate the monument. The *festividad cívica* was dedicated “to the memory of the heroic defender of the capital of Mexico during the conquest, the Immortal Cuauh-

témoc, last ruler of the Nation, who valiantly preferred to see homes destroyed before he would accept a peace with the opprobrium of slavery.”

At 8 A.M. on the morning of August 21, 1887, civil and military leaders, the members of the ayunta-miento, workers’ societies, students, and invited commissions representing various communities gathered at the *glorieta* where the Paseo de la Reforma meets the Avenida de los Insurgentes. Upon the arrival of President Díaz, soldiers fired a twenty-one-gun salute and military bands played the national anthem. Then Lic. Alfredo Chavero, author of the first volume of the liberal history that Riva Palacio had edited, *México a través del los siglos*, delivered his address. After the chief justice of the Supreme Court unveiled the monument and another twenty-one-gun salute was fired, Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, director of the National Museum, delivered an address in Nahuatl. Francisco Sosa, Eduardo del Valle, and Amalio José Cabrera each recited poems, Demetrio Mejía read a prose selection, and the bands played. Afterward, the assembled guests sang the national anthem once more and the president departed to another twenty-one-gun salute.³⁵

The new monument evoked the same sentiments expressed at the unveiling of the bust of Cuauh-témoc in 1869. As described by Francisco W. González in *El Monitor Republicano*, the standard identification of the Aztecs as the symbolic representation of the entire nation was stated and amplified.³⁶ But it was Francisco Sosa, Riva Palacio’s successor as the leading proponent of official nationalism, who most explicitly identified Mexico solely with its Aztec past. In his pamphlet written on the occasion of the unveiling, Sosa noted that “our government is paying a debt of gratitude owed by the Mexican people for over three centuries by inaugurating the magnificent monument which will honor permanently the last of the Aztec emperors to whom goes the credit as the first and most illustrious of the defenders of the nationality founded by Tenoch in 1327.”³⁷

Sosa did not mention that the government had decided to use such a public commemoration of the Cuauhtémoc cult for its own benefit when it had eliminated the other two figures, concentrating solely on



Monument to Cuauhtémoc

Cuauhtémoc, and had placed the monument in such a prominent location. The Porfirians wanted the statue to inculcate an official liberal “national” history for the country and create public support for their domination of its present and future.

The design of the statue, like that of its Columbus counterpart, has a story to tell. Justino Fernández states that the monument is the first example of the “neoindigenist style” and that it opened “the possibilities for a genuine national architecture.”³⁸ The base of the statue was formed by a replica of the pyramid of the sun from Teotihuacan, topped with designs from the Zapotec and Mixtec buildings at Mitla in Oaxaca. The middle portion contains a structure designed to resemble the Temple of the Inscriptions at the Maya site of Palenque in Chiapas but is supported by columns meant to look like those from Tula in the state of Hidalgo, thought to be the Tollan that the Aztecs believed was the center of the Toltec empire. The column formed by these structures made the pedestal for the statue of Cuauhtémoc, draped in a garment concocted from the pictographs in the codices but one that easily could have passed for something Socrates might have worn.³⁹ The statue vividly proclaims the government’s decision that Mexico would officially identify itself with its pre-Columbian Indian past. This message is strongly conveyed in the bas-relief known as “the torment of Cuauhtémoc,” carved into one side of the base by Gabriel Guerra, depicting how the Spaniards put his feet to the fire. The inclusion of such a specific incident in the monument makes an official statement—Cuauhtémoc is a national hero who was brutally treated by the villainous Spaniards.⁴⁰ Cuauhtémoc is also a martyr, as Francisco W. González notes in his essay:

In Cuauhtémoc we do not see the last descendant of the Aztec kings . . . we view in him the hero of the fatherland. . . . Cuauhtémoc conquered, Cuauhtémoc imprisoned and enchained, Cuauhtémoc powerless to defend his throne by means of arms, defended it suffering valiantly the wicked and terrible torments which the inhuman conquistadores applied to him to extract from him the renunciation of his rights, sealing with such heroic sacrifice the most solemn protest against usurpation, which later should produce its greatest and most precious fruits.⁴¹

González concluded his statement with the familiar de rigueur linkage of the martyrdom of Cuauhtémoc with the insurrection of Hidalgo seen in the addresses at the Paseo de la Viga in 1869. He proclaimed, “The seed of the heroic sacrifice of Cuauhtémoc came to flower in the year 1810 under the hoe of the immortal *cura* of Dolores,” thus seconding another theme of the 1869 evocation of the Aztec cult that he then converted into an identification with Jesus Christ by giving

the impression that it took the noble Aztec not three days, but three centuries, for his resurrection from the dead.⁴²

The statue also telescoped the Porfirian intention to assert that the rulers of Tenochtitlan henceforth would represent the entire Mexican nation. Although the statue does include elements from other Indian groups—the Zapotecs, the Mixtecs, the Maya, the Toltecs—these are shown as mere forerunners or supporters of the Aztecs, the pedestal from which the latter triumphantly rose. Through this identification not just with the Indian as opposed to the Spanish past but specifically with the Aztecs *per se*, the Porfirians, the then-current rulers of the Valley of Mexico, positioned themselves as heirs to their predecessors’ imperial legacy. Their official version of Mexican history was to play itself out neatly down the Paseo de la Reforma as exemplified in the proposed additional statues, as Cuauhtémoc flowed into Hidalgo into Juárez into Zaragoza into, of course, the current occupant of the recently renovated Chapultepec castle, Porfirio Díaz—another hero in the war against the French and clearly its triumphal product. The official historians not only used the symbolism of the Aztecs to validate Díaz’s stewardship of the country but also intended to use the monument to Cuauhtémoc and the official veneration of the Aztecs to reconfirm the power of Mexico City and its right to rule the nation by inheritance. Guerra’s frieze of Cuauhtémoc’s torture at the hands of the Spaniards bears the inscription “To the memory of Cuauhtémoc and of the warriors who heroically struggled in defense of their country.” Yet, the Aztecs ruled over the majority of the population of Mexico in a tyrannical fashion and more Indians fought against Cuauhtémoc than with him. Therefore, the statue pays tribute to someone who “heroically struggled” *against* the majority of indigenous Mexicans and tries to legitimate him as the personification of Mexican identity and his capital of Tenochtitlan as its ancient seat of power.

The Porfirians had fiscal goals in mind as well. By insisting on Cuauhtémoc as their first ancestor, they asserted their rights over state revenues as the Aztecs had once taken tribute payments of revenue and goods by force and terror. The statue thus delivered the symbolic coup de grace to political and fiscal federalism and proclaimed the primacy of the central state as embodied in and ruled by Mexico City. It served notice that the Porfirians planned to include centralism in their definition of liberalism now that the former’s original conservative proponents had been thoroughly defeated and discredited. Indeed, as early as 1873 most of the conservatives were either dead, exiled, or, like Escandón and Somera, active collaborators in the new order.

True to the program embodied in their monument, the Porfirians quickly began their assault on what remained of Mexican federalism. Although the liberal Constitution of 1857 strongly supported freedom of internal trade in article 124, declaring that eleven *alcabalas* (sales taxes) and internal tariffs cease by June 1, 1858, subsequent governments had never been able to implement the provision. Nor had they been able to enforce any of the laws affecting the freedom of internal trade passed since that time. The Porfirians reopened the war on the state *alcabala* in October 1877, two months after Riva Palacio announced the proposed construction of the monument to Cuauhtémoc. The struggle heated up near the end of the term of President Manuel González in 1883, when the state of Veracruz called a meeting of governors to discuss the issue. According to the results of a survey assembled by the representatives to that meeting, the *alcabalas* remained in place because they supplied up to 68 percent of state revenue, most of which went to the major cities. On November 22, 1886, fifteen legislatures accepted the proposition that states could not tax foreign products or keep goods from entering or leaving their territories. Although this was a step forward, most states continued to collect *alcabalas*, much to the annoyance of those like Veracruz that had abolished them. The issue dragged on until May 30, 1895, when Minister of Finance José Ives Limantour finally abolished the *alcabala* effective July 1, 1896, and with it the financial independence of the states from Mexico City.⁴³

Although no editorials appeared discussing the government's motives for building this expensive monument to Cuauhtémoc, neither were Mexicans naive enough to read any *indigenista* messages in its design. On the face of it the public homage to that pre-Columbian royal Indian could have been seen as a way to inspire the Indians living at the time to lift themselves out of their degraded state. After all, the statue offered a heroic representation of what Indians had once been and could be again—strong, intelligent, leaders of nations—a kind of social Darwinism in stone that promised greatness perhaps to the lucky few. But the honor accorded to Cuauhtémoc and the Indian, or at least the Aztec past, occurred at the time Indians and their mestizo descendants were being deprived of their lands through increased use of the Reform laws, new legislation, and economic development. Furthermore, through the centuries those creole thinkers interested in glorifying the Indians of antiquity, such as Carlos Sigüenza y Góngora and the liberal ideologue José María Luis Mora, concerned themselves with Indian rulers like Cuauhtémoc rather than with real Indians living at the time. Therefore, the Greek details on Cuauhtémoc's costume and his white features are quite deliberate, as were the drawings that appeared in newspapers looking equally white,

if not more so. And it is hardly accidental that the "descendant" of Cuauhtémoc is the creole priest Miguel Hidalgo.⁴⁴

No matter what messages the Paseo de la Reforma conveyed or was supposed to convey to those Mexicans who gazed on it, it was primarily built to impress foreign capitalists. By the time of the unveiling of the monument to Cuauhtémoc in 1887, the Mexican political climate had undergone an important shift. The nation had resumed payments on its foreign debt in 1885 and shortly thereafter began receiving large loans from abroad.⁴⁵ Suddenly, the government pushed for foreign investment, foreign capital, and foreign approval. As *The Mexican Financier* noted on September 9, 1887, in an article entitled "Municipal Embellishments":

On the world-famed Paseo de la Reforma . . . [the] unveiling of that colossal figure [of Cuauhtémoc] the other day gave Mexico one of its noblest works of art on this continent. Thus in many ways the wise rulers of the Municipality are adding to the attractions of the capital . . . The money expended in these notable works of municipal embellishment has been most sagaciously invested, for by beautifying the city, travellers will be brought here to sojourn during the winter months and the spirit of civic pride and enthusiasm evoked. We believe in the future of this City, in the ability of its rulers to make it one of the most beautiful capitals of the world. [Such a city] has demonstrated its right to ask of capitalists the money needed to carry out great works of permanent utility.⁴⁶

The Paseo de la Reforma had been designed as a showpiece, but it started to develop only after 1900. The *Actas del cabildo municipal* for the years 1887–1900 show a divided Mexico City. The capital up to the Alameda Park belonged to its residents while the Paseo de la Reforma seemed somehow apart. The city fathers, for example, planned no celebrations at the new monument to Cuauhtémoc except for those on August 21 while they vigorously supported those headquartered in the Alameda.⁴⁷ And despite the 1889 opening of the Café Colón, built by Emilio Dondé Preciat across from the Monumento de Colón, which became the "in place" for making business deals, few built their homes near the new avenue.

Directly following the unveiling of the Cuauhtémoc statue, Francisco Sosa proposed that each state donate two life-size statues of its patriots to be placed on the grassy areas on each side of the avenue. The government quickly adopted the idea and on October 1, 1887, Carlos Pacheco, minister of development, issued an *iniciativa* calling for each state to pay tribute to the capital of the central valley of Mexico with two statues of its heroes.

Yet once again the national government retained control over the entire process, perhaps to prevent embarrassing selections. The

ayuntamiento of Mexico City, for example, never even discussed which figures should represent the Federal District and only contributed \$2,000 to the project when it routinely spent \$5,000 for the celebrations for May 5 and September 16. The life-size statues were erected between 1889 and 1899, but all were pedestrian and foreign-inspired, most often figures from the Reform, showing nothing of the "national style." Jesús F. Contreras, who built most of these statues, although born in Aguascalientes, received support from the Mexican government to work in Paris from 1886 to 1891. Upon his return he organized the Mexican Artistic Foundation under Díaz's sponsorship and worked on the Reforma bronzes. It is no accident that the first edition of Sosa's biographies of the men so honored was published in French and delivered immediately to its intended audience gathered at the Paris Exposition of 1900. Mexicans would have to wait an entire year for the Spanish edition.⁴⁸

The Porfirians never hid their desire to give Mexico a real capital city in every sense of the word. As Francisco González pointed out,

the Avenue of our most grateful memories, which begins with the truly notable work of Tolsá [the statue of Carlos IV] and ends in the castle of the ancient Mexican monarchs [Chapultepec], today converted into a recreation place for the leaders of the Republic, made lovely with the natural beauties of the soil and with national and foreign artistic creations, will later become one of our priceless treasures, which will provoke envy in other countries.⁴⁹

The Paseo, as González notes, was built only for the elite, and indeed the vast majority of city residents probably rarely saw it until after the Revolution. As the city developed, it turned out that Antonio Escandón and Ignacio Cumplido, much more than Vicente Riva Palacio and Francisco Sosa, had achieved their purpose. The Paseo created new commercial space and excellent sites for land developers. Nevertheless, by the time the last statues were unveiled in 1899, there was still virtually no one living near the Paseo de la Reforma. True, the fashionable thing to do was to drive from the Zócalo to Chapultepec Park on a Sunday afternoon and return home around dusk, but the neighborhoods directly fronting the Paseo—America, Juárez, and Cuauhtémoc—were not built until the first decade of the twentieth century.⁵⁰

The *colonias* known today as Roma and the Zona Rosa date from the last decade of the Porfiriato when new subdivisions were built and the Paseo de la Reforma became the choice site for a new series of mansions erected by the most prominent financiers of the day—Manterola, Scherer, Solórzano, Braniff, Aburto, and others—who all established residences there. A trolley line opened in the years from

1891 to 1902, operated first by mules and then by electricity, which ran up the avenue to Chapultepec.⁵¹

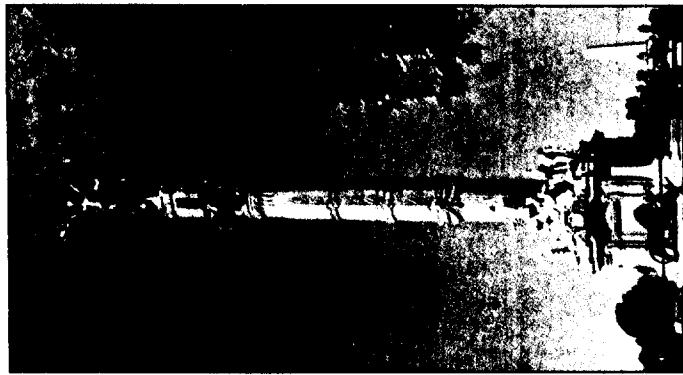
Porfirio Díaz laid the first stone for a new statue to grace the *glorietas* of the Paseo de la Reforma, the monument to Independence, on January 2, 1902.⁵² The idea for the tribute was hardly new; in fact, it had originated even before Vicente Riva Palacio. It derived from Antonio López de Santa Anna's monumental period—October 10, 1841, to September 7, 1844—during which the president had ostentatiously buried the leg he had lost during the defense of Veracruz against the French. A statue in honor of "Independence and Liberty" was designed as early as 1843 by the distinguished Spanish architect Lorenzo de la Hidalga (1810–1872), who came to Mexico in 1838 and remained there until his death. Among his other works, de la Hidalga became famous for his Teatro Nacional (also known as the Teatro de Santa Anna), which was inaugurated in 1844.

The government opened a competition on June 27, 1843, for the best statue honoring Independence to be placed in the corner between the Palacio Nacional and the cathedral in the Zócalo. On July 7, 1843, while working on the Teatro Nacional, de la Hidalga submitted his winning entry:

It must be a grandiose monument . . . whose artistic and philosophical composition would be the open book of history . . . to stimulate a free society to make people who remember their statues, reliefs and inscriptions.⁵³

De la Hidalga divided his proposed statue into two parts. The first was to be a burial place for the remains of the heroes of the first period of independence and the rest to "show the honor and the glory of all those who fought to achieve the great goal." He suggested eight statues on the monument: "History and the wise men who make up the government should designate, in case it is necessary, the names of those who should be represented there, both in statues and in inscriptions."

Although the sculptor coyly shied away from proposing any specific figures, he advocated a particular point of view when noting those subjects he thought appropriate for bronze bas-reliefs—the Grito de Dolores, the Grito de Iguala, the Entrance of the Triumphal Army, and the Battle of Tampico. The committee from the Academia de Bellas Artes de San Carlos selected the composition of Enrique Griffón, which is currently lost to history, but Santa Anna himself awarded the commission to de la Hidalga. And no wonder, for that proposal sought to honor Iturbide (the Grito de Iguala and the Entrance of the Triumphal Army) and Santa Anna himself, who had commanded Mexican troops in the successful defeat of the Barradas' invasion



Monument to Independence

at the Battle of Tampico in 1827. Santa Anna approved the statue on August 23, 1843, and assigned Pedro García Conde, later of U.S.-Mexican boundary survey fame, to supervise its construction, but it was never built because the president was removed from office the following year.⁵⁴ Maximilian too expressed interest in such a monument; in June 1864 he asked Joaquín Velázquez de León to supervise its construction, and he laid its first stone in the Zócalo on September 16 of that year. Once again the plan remained in abeyance.⁵⁵

Although Riva Palacio had envisioned his monument to Independence as one of those to grace the Paseo de la Reforma, the process by which the monument evolved was a far cry from the open competition for proposals generated by the Ministry of Development in 1877.

In fact, the entire evolution of the statue from its beginnings to its unveiling is shrouded in mystery. In May 1878 a proposal by Ramón Rodríguez Arragoity was approved, then in 1886 a new competition was opened and won by the Washington architectural firm of Cluss and Schultze, but once again nothing happened. Finally, in 1900 the commission went to Antonio Rivas Mercado, a Mexican architect who had been trained in France. When Porfirio Díaz laid the first stone on January 2, 1902, a date timed to coincide with the meeting of the International Pan-American Conference in Mexico City, the ceremony left no doubt as to the meaning of the event. The keynote speaker, engineer Ramón de Ibarrola, in keeping with the new Mexico of the 1900s, used the occasion to remind the audience of the glories of the patriarch:

[The cornerstone] is about to be laid by the hand that was strong in battle and magnanimous in victory, by the hand of the citizen whose great practical sense taught him to lead his people away from barren, nay, fratricidal strife and to direct its energies into the useful avenues of public works, so as to connect the principal centers of the country by means of railroads and telegraph lines, to create and improve ports, to erect lighthouses, and multiply by these means a hundredfold the strength and efficiency of his administration.

After the speech and an original poem by Juan de Dios Peza, Díaz, the hero of the hour (if not of Independence itself), took a silver trowel from a silver pail and laid the first stone.⁵⁶

The following year, due to the Law of Public Organization, the Ministry of the Interior, now headed by Ramón Corral, took over the administration of the monument among other matters. By the middle of 1906 construction engineers working on the statue noticed that it was tilting, and the ministry established a commission to study the problem. The monument was dismantled in June 1907, its stones used to build the new national penitentiary at Lecumberri. According to *El Imparcial* the cost of dismembering and reconstructing the base came to \$537,000 and was concluded only in May 1909.

By then the administration was frantic; it redoubled its efforts to have the statue ready for unveiling in time for the centenary celebrations on September 16, 1910. Its efforts paid off, for precisely on the anniversary the completed statue known today as *The Angel* was revealed. It contained four seated women representing Peace, Law, Justice, and War, and on its base were written twenty-four names of “precursors, conspirators, heroines, representatives, writers, warriors, caudillos and the makers of the Independence” including Aldama, Allende, Galeana, Matamoros, Mier y Terán, Rayón, and Victoria, and, though a far cry from de la Hidalga’s two bas-reliefs, Iturbide. Four bronze statues, costing \$107,000 and modeled by Enrique Alciati and cast in Florence, Italy, under his direction, depicted Morelos, Guerrero, Mina, and Nicolás Bravo. Then there stood, “forming the cumulative motif of the composition, the apotheosis of the Father of the Country, Hidalgo, with his flag in his hand.” The statue concluded in a long column capped by a lovely Angel with a laurel wreath. The completed monument cost \$2,150,000.⁵⁷

By the time of *The Angel*’s unveiling, Mexico was in the midst of another movement that would change its political history forever. No one can calibrate exactly which factors in what measure provoked the Mexican Revolution but certainly the shift away from the “national style” of the 1870s and 1880s, as seen in the Cuauhtémoc monument, into the generic Europeanism, represented by the Independence column, accurately depicts more than simple artistic differences. As shown so vividly on the street, the Porfirian state had gotten lost; its search for international respectability through the worship of technology ultimately dwarfed even the mighty Hidalgo and what he had wrought.

In the end both the “francophile progressives” and the “nationalist mythologizers” won the war. The Paseo de la Reforma is perhaps the most important and most lovely avenue of the capital, and its messages, in murals of stone, continue to be instilled in generation

after generation of Mexican schoolchildren. But the victory increasingly looks short-lived as the combination of technology and commerce with political centralization so extolled in the statuary of the Paseo de la Reforma continues to poison the air and darken the future of the beloved city that Cuauhtémoc defended.

NOTES

1. Jorge Alberto Manrique, "La ciudad de México en el siglo XIX," in *México-Tenochtitlán, 1325-1975: Pasado, presente y futuro de una gran ciudad* (México, 1976), 23.
2. Justino Fernández looks at this process somewhat differently. While he acknowledges the point of view expressed by Manrique, he emphasizes that "in truth its [neoclassicism's] acceptance and continuation show that it is the expression of a new attitude of renewal that led to our independence movement." See *El arte del siglo XIX en México* (México, 1983), 5.
3. This paper will note some examples of monuments and buildings planned during the 1842-1844 Santa Anna administration when discussing the monument to Independence.
4. For more on the destruction of the ecclesiastical city, see Salvador Novo, *La ciudad de México del 9 de junio al 15 de julio de 1867* (México, 1967), 18-19.
5. Salvador Novo, *Los paseos de la ciudad de México* (México, 1980), 35-36.
6. María Dolores Morales, "Francisco Somera y el primer fraccionamiento de la ciudad de México, 1840-1889," in Ciro F. S. Cardoso, *Formación y desarrollo de la burguesía en México: Siglo XIX* (México, 1978), 188-230.
7. For more information on the relationship between the foreign debt and the development of both Mexico and Mexico City, see Tenenbaum, "Mexico City and the Royal Indian," Latin American Studies Center Ser. No. 14, University of Maryland, College Park, forthcoming; and Tenenbaum, "Liberals without Money—Liberalism and Imperialism in Mexico, 1867-1885," in *Constitutional Order and State Finance in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, ed. Vincent C. Peloso and Barbara A. Tenenbaum (Pittsburgh, forthcoming).
8. Cumplido wrote to his friend León Ortigosa, September 5, 1851: "I wish that in your trip through Europe, you take advantage of the time as you please and enjoy the magnificent spectacle of the [Paris] Exposition and how much more these truly civilized countries present." *Correspondencia de Ignacio Cumplido a León Ortigosa en la Biblioteca del Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey* (Monterrey, 1969), 44.
9. Novo, *Los paseos*, 38.
10. For more on this see Barbara A. Tenenbaum, "Development and Sovereignty: Intellectuals and the Second Empire," in Roderic A. Camp, Charles A. Hale, and Josefina Z. Vásquez, eds., *Los intelectuales y el Poder en México* (Mexico City/Los Angeles, 1991), 77-88.
11. Anthony Sutcliffe, *The Autumn of Central Paris: The Defeat of Town Planning, 1850-1970* (London, 1970), 169; David H. Pinkney, *Napoleon III and the*

- Rebuilding of Paris* (Princeton, NJ, 1958), 62-64; and Howard Saalman, *Hausmann: Paris Transformed* (New York, 1971), 14-15.
12. José María Marroqui, *La ciudad de México*, 3 vols. (México, 1900-1903), 1:647; Fernández, *El Arte del siglo XIX*, 170-71; Luis García Pimentel, *El Monumento elevado en la ciudad de México a Cristóbal Colón: Descripción e historia* (México, 1889). Many stories surround this statue. For example, some sources mention that Cordier delayed the shipment of the statue until he had been paid in full.
 13. García Pimentel, *El Monumento*, 3-4; Espasa-Calpe, *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada: Europeo-Americana* (Barcelona, 1921), 43:654-55.
 14. Christopher Columbus, *The Log of Christopher Columbus*, tr. Robert H. Fuson (Camden, ME, 1987), 37.
 15. Espasa-Calpe, *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada: Europeo-Americana* 7:769.
 16. García Pimentel, *El Monumento*, 2-6.
 17. *Ibid.*, 5-6.
 18. Rodríguez Arrangoity, *Apuntes sobre la historia del Monumento de Colón* (México, 1877) as cited in Justino Fernández, *El arte del siglo XIX*, 171-72.
 19. Benjamin Keen, *The Aztec Image in Western Thought* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1971), 192-93, 292-99. For a discussion of the evolution of the creole cult, see Jacques Lataye, *Quetzalcoatl and Guadalupe: The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness, 1531-1813*, tr. Benjamin Keen (Chicago, 1976).
 20. Keen, *Aztec Image*, 317-20; Charles Hale, chapters 1 and 7, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora* (New Haven, CT, 1968).
 21. Clementina Díaz y de Ovando, "Prólogo," in Vicente Riva Palacio, *Cuentos del General* (México, 1968), ix-xx.
 22. *Memoria de Fomento, Colonización, Industria, y Comercio 1876-1877*, 3 vols. (México, 1877), 3:353-54.
 23. Justino Fernández, *El arte del siglo XIX*, 167.
 24. *Ibid.*, 358.
 25. *Discursos pronunciados el día 13 de agosto de 1869 en la inauguración del busto de Cuauhtémotzin erigido en el Paso de la Viga* (México, 1869), 50.
 26. *Ibid.*, 7.
 27. *Ibid.*, 25.
 28. Vicente Riva Palacio, *Discurso Cívico pronunciado en la Alameda de México en el aniversario del glorioso grito de independencia el día 16 de septiembre de 1871* (México, 1871), 8-9.
 29. *Diccionario Porrúa de historia, biografía y geografía de México*, 3d. ed. (México, 1971), 382, 1915.
 30. *Memoria de Fomento 1876-1877*, 3:356; *Memoria de Fomento, Colonización, Industria y Comercio* (1877-1882), 3 vols. (México, 1885), 3:340.
 31. *Memoria de Fomento 1877-1882*, 3:332-33.
 32. *Ibid.*, 332.
 33. Díaz y de Ovando, "Prólogo," xx-xxi. For a different version of these events, see Ralph Roeder, *Hacia el México moderno, Porfirio Díaz*, 2 vols. (México, 1981), 1:119-25.
 34. Donald Coerver, *Porfirian Interregnum: The Presidency of Manuel González of Mexico, 1880-1884* (Fort Worth, TX, 1979), 45; *Memoria de Fomento 1877-1882*, 3:332-39.

35. *El Monitor Republicano*, August 20, 1887.
36. *Ibid.*, August 23, 1887.
37. Francisco Sosa, *Apuntamientos para la historia del monumento de Cuauhtémoc* (México, 1887), 3, 27.
38. Justino Fernández, *El arte del siglo XIX*, 168.
39. *El Monitor Republicano*, August 20, 1887.
40. Esther Acevedo de Iturriaga and Eloisa Uribe, *La escultura del siglo XIX* (México, 1980), fig. 219, 42.
41. *El Monitor Republicano*, August 23, 1887.
42. *Ibid.*
43. Daniel Costío Villegas, *Historia moderna de México*, vol. 2, *El Porfiriato: Vida económica* (México, 1972), 904–18, 1234.
44. Keen, *Aztec Image*, 192–93; Hale, *Mexican Liberalism*, 218–20. Another example is the design by Antonio Peñafiel for the Mexican exhibit at the Columbian Exhibition held in Madrid in 1892, which looks more like an ersatz Grecian temple than anything that Moctezuma would have recognized. See Ignacio Bernal, *A History of Mexican Archeology* (New York, 1980), 153.
45. Jan Bazant, *Historia de la deuda exterior de México (1823–1946)* (México, 1968), 119–35.
46. *The Mexican Financier*, September 9, 1887.
47. *Actas del cabildo municipal*, 1886–1890, “Paseos.”
48. Francisco Sosa, *Los estatuas de la Reforma*, 3 vols. (México, 1974); Matthew D. Esposito, “From Cuauhtémoc to Juárez: Monuments, Myth, and Culture in Porfirian Mexico, 1876–1900” (M.A. thesis, Arizona State University, 1993).
49. *El Monitor Republicano*, August 23, 1887.
50. María Dolores Morales, “La expansión de la ciudad de México en el siglo XIX: el caso de los fraccionamientos,” in *Ciudad de México: Ensayo de construcción de una historia*, coord. Alejandra Moreno Toscano (México, 1978), 190–200.
51. Salvador Novo, *Los paseos*, 41.
52. Francisco de Antuñano, *México. 75 Años. 1910–1985* (México, 1984), 138.
53. Lorenzo de la Hidalga, “Proposal for monument to Independence and Liberty,” July 23, 1843, as printed in Justino Fernández, *El Arte Moderno en México* (México, 1937), 115–16.
54. *Ibid.*
55. “Columna de la independencia,” in *Diccionario Porrúa de historia, biografía y geografía de México*, 2d. ed. (México, 1964), 366.
56. *The Mexican Herald*, January 2, 1902.
57. *El Imparcial*, September 16, 1910.

Proletarians, Politicos, and Patriarchs: The Use and Abuse of Cultural Customs in the Early Industrialization of Mexico City, 1880–1910

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Tony Morgan examines paternalistic industrialism in Mexico City as exemplified by the owner of El Buen Tono cigarette factory, the rise of marketing strategies, and government-business cooperation, especially in the creation of a tame, mutualist society. Morgan, who teaches Hispanic history and the Spanish language, draws on his Ph.D. dissertation completed at Anglia Polytechnic University to provide information on the use of holidays and public spectacles in efforts to tie together government, industry, and labor. Throughout the essay are echoes of the Bourbon project of social control, the Comtian demands for order, and the Victorian industrial paternalism practiced by factory owners in England (William Lever) and the United States (George Pullman).

THE FEDERAL DISTRICT OF MEXICO changed greatly during the years of Porfirio Díaz (1876–1910), especially during the height of the capital's industrial boom from 1890 to 1910. The population mushroomed, new occupations appeared, and old ones were transformed; modern power systems brought electric machines, lights at night, and fast transport. An urban proletariat emerged and had to subsist without adequate housing and health care. Exploitation abounded, but opportunity increased as well. Relations between the classes were strained, although not to the breaking point, as the elite created social distance by physical relocation, departing the colonial city center for their new suburban mansions to the west. The beleaguered ayuntamiento (city council) could not or would not cope with the