

Mexico at the World's Fairs

Crafting a Modern Nation

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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."¹

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."² The effort to be authentically Mexican was combined with that of

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.²¹ 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.²²

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.²³ 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.²⁴ He was the prototype of the late-nineteenth-century Mexican indigenist.²⁵

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."²⁶ 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.²⁷ 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."²⁸ He concluded with an evolutionist view of the growth of Aztec preeminence: "Thus started gestating the three [Otomí, 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."²⁹ 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 Balleza, the number of subscribers reached 7,000 in 1882 but declined to

3,000 by 1889.³⁰ On the other hand, the book was meant to be, like the Aztec Palace, a modern monument, as Riva Palacio put it, "a monument worthy of the advancement that typography has achieved in our century."³¹ 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.³² 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.³³ *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).³⁴

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."³⁵ 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

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*.³⁶ Jean Frédéric Waldeck's lithographs of the pre-Hispanic architecture of the Maya region were also used by Salazar.³⁷ In addition, Salazar was influenced by the pioneering work of Capt. Guillerme 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.³⁸ 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*.³⁹

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.⁴⁰ 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.⁴¹

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."⁴²



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).

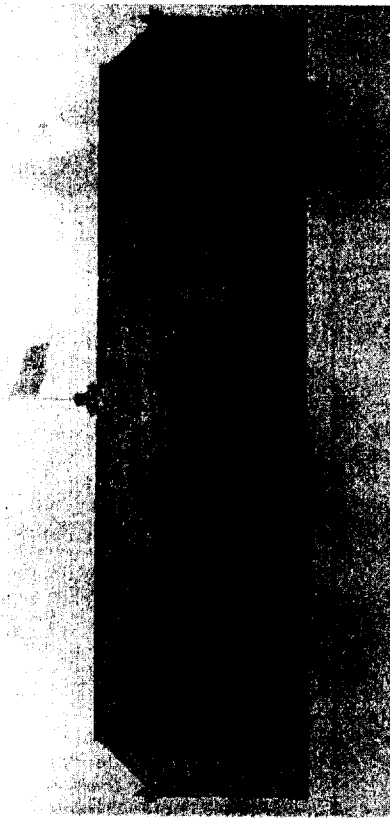
In formulating his proposal, Peñafiel followed the official historiography, especially Chavero's account in *México a través de los siglos*, and his own research. In addition, he incorporated into his project the investigations of the Prussian scholar Edward Seler in European archives.⁴³ In the end, Peñafiel considered only the Aztec people as being worthy of pride and celebration, the true antecedent of the Mexican modern nation.⁴⁴ 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*.⁴⁵ He maintained that it was to be constructed in steel for easy disassembly and reconstruction in Mexico, "should the government deem it appropriate,"⁴⁶ 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).⁴⁷

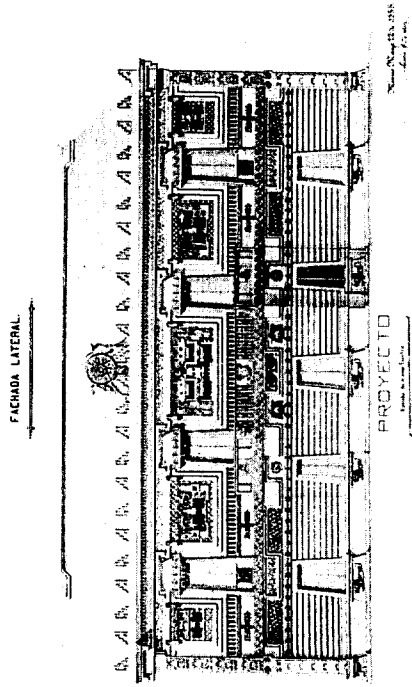
What Peñafiel did was to select, from what he knew of Aztec architecture, the elements that would meet the requirements of modern nineteenth-century allegorical architecture. Therefore, he looked for Mexican-style columns to substitute for the Greco-Roman columns so common in the neoclassical constructions 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."⁴⁸

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."⁴⁹ 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 façade of the Aztec Palace was divided



EXPOSICION INTERNACIONAL DE PARIS
EDIFICIO DE MEXICO



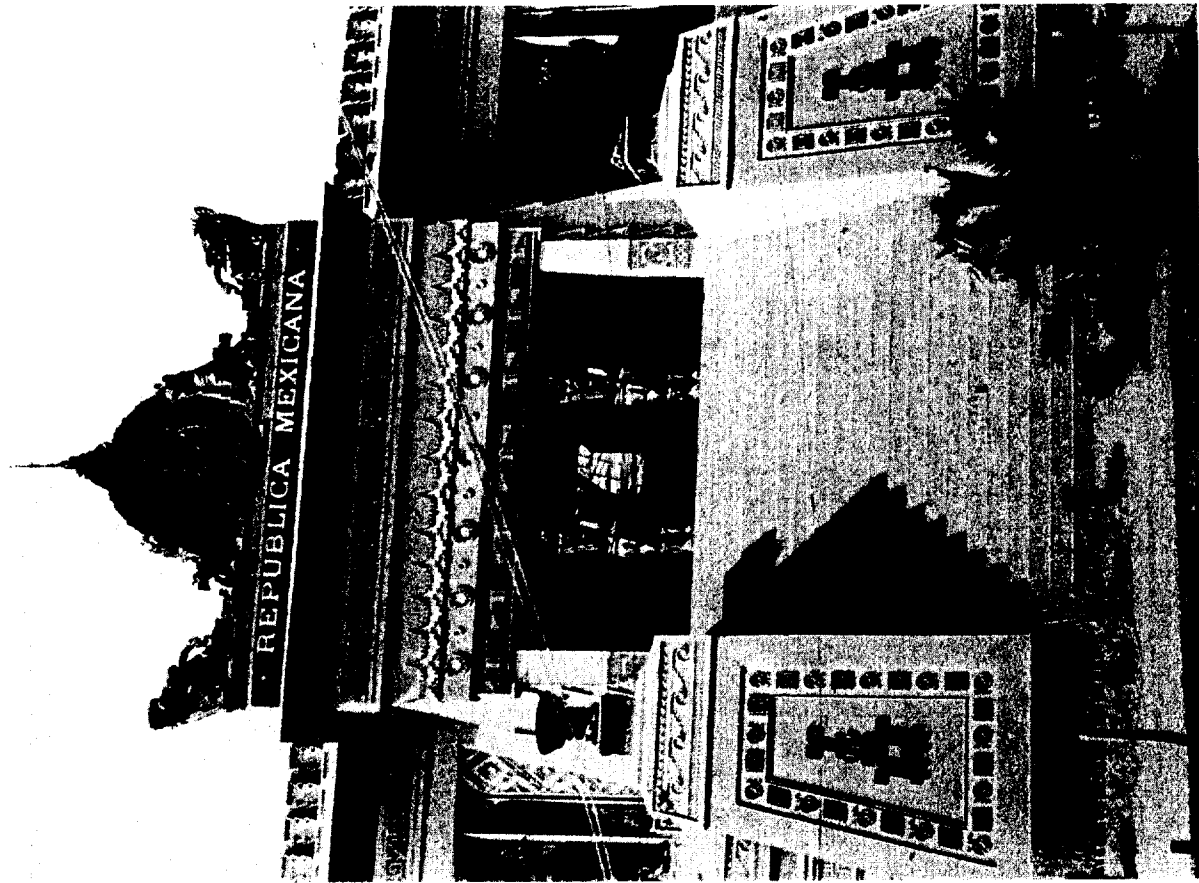
4. Plans for facades of the Mexican palace at the 1889 Paris Universal Exhibition, by Luis Salazar (top) and J. M. de Alva (bottom). Source: México, Secretaria de Fomento, *Proyectos de edificio para la Exposición Internacional de París 1889* (Mexico City, 1888).

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 Chalchitlicue (goddess of water). On the left side were Xochiquetzal (god of arts), Camaxtli (god of hunting), and Yacatecuhli (god of commerce). In the central facade were six representations of Aztec heroes: on the right, Itzcoatl, Nezahualcoyotl, and Totoquihuatzin; on the left, Cacama, Cuiclahuac, 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."⁵⁰ His classicism was also expressed in his metaphors of the heroes Cacama, Cuiclahuac, 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."⁵¹

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.⁵²

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,"⁵³ 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



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

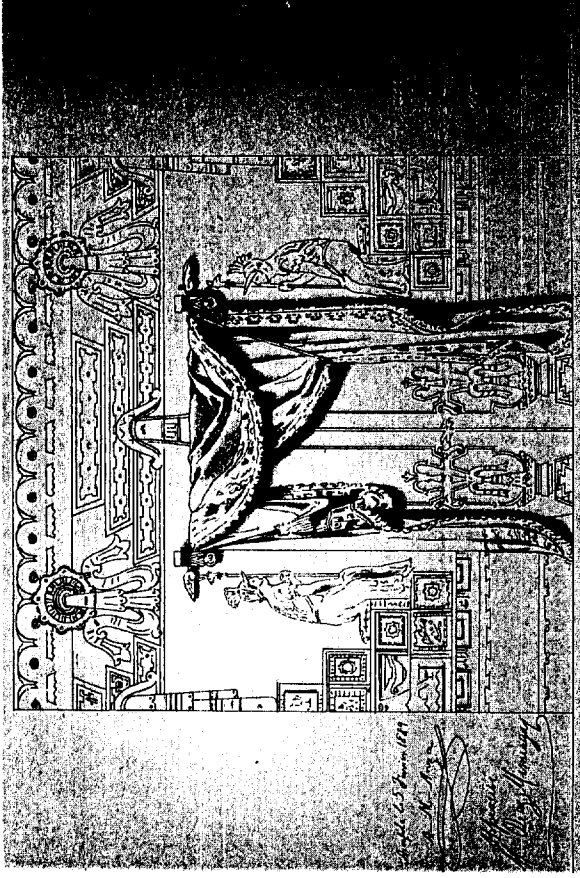
favor of Peñafiel's project.⁵⁴ As a partial consolation, both de Anza and Salazar were put in charge of constructing the Mexican pavilion.

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.⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ 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.⁵⁷

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.⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹ The estimate of total cost submitted by the Cail firm was 385,000 francs, or about 40,600 pesos.⁶⁰

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.⁶¹ 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,⁶² 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."⁶³

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."⁶⁴ 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 [*sutpllice*], being one

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

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.⁶⁷

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]." Because he added, constituted "the fusion of men . . . a crisis of history."¹ 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

60. See Gibbs's study of Porfirian propaganda in the United States between 1877 and 1878: William E. Gibbs, "Diaz' 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 Rignuzzi, "México próspero: Las dimensiones de la imagen nacional en el porfirato," *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 1, 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 30 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. Levasscur, 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 "malgastado." See ULA-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 Porfirismo*, 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, *Ejemplares 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 diversas 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 Yáncas, 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 1886 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 Luis. 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, Balleza published the next general and major history of Mexico, Justo Sierra's *México, su evolución social*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1900-1902). On Balleza's relationship with Riva Palacio, see Victoriano Salado

Álvarez, *Memorias de Victoriano Salado Alvaraz*, vol. 1, *Tiempo Viejo* (Mexico City, 1946), 324-27; and Balleza'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 porfirismo*, 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 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, vírgen 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 *transgressisme*. 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), 295.

24. Compare Chavero, *Xochitl and Quetzalcoatl*, and the criticisms by Vicente Riva Palacio, which were made under the pseudonym of Cerro: *Los Cerros* (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 (Cerro, *Los Cerros*, 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," 397-441.
28. Chavero, *México a través de los siglos*, vol. 1, 67.
29. *Ibid.*, 80.
30. Santiago Ballester'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 país de montanya a la Universal Expositió 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 románica* (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 pittoresques et archéologiques 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 Dupuix, *Antiquités mexicaines: Relation des trois expéditions du Capitaine Dupuix*, 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 Selser, 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. Bابلot, 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 Cia., see BEMP 2 (1888):239.
56. See Diaz 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 Diaz Mimiaga's final report, EXP, Box 12, Exp. 6, p. 4; Letter, Diaz 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 Paris. Contrato."

59. Díaz Mimiaga's final report—and Fausto Ramirez 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 Ramirez, "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*, 335-42. 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. 242).

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 Marré's explanation of the 1889 fair in *Ismaélito*, 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 Enriquez.

4. Stocking elaborates on Thomas Hardy's idea of universal exhibitions as precursors 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 exhibitions—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 Baires, *Monografías de arqueología mexicana: Teotihuacán; o, la ciudad sagrada de los toltecas* (Mexico City, 1889).

13. See Peñañiel, *Monumentos del arte mexicano*; and Peñañiel, *Explicación de l'édifice mexicaine*.

14. Celik, *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 McGraw 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-*