

Mexico at the World's Fairs

Crafting a Modern Nation

Tenos
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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]." This, 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

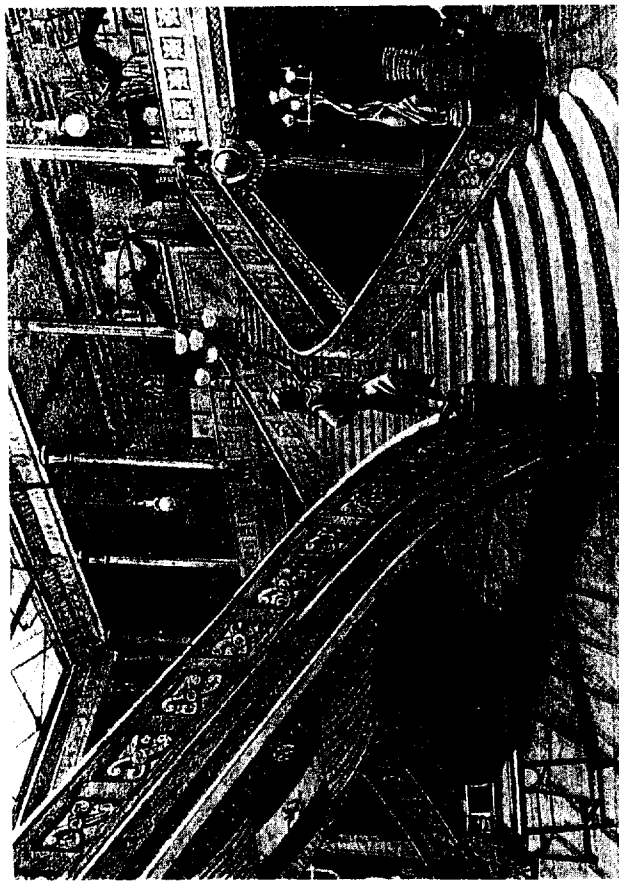
a harmonious, all-inclusive world.² But what was civilized and what was not? What was primitive and what was modern? The fair tried to answer these questions conclusively, but in doing so it made them all the more sonorous and unsolved.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

PARALLEL EXHIBITS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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



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

MEXICAN UNDERSTANDING OF RACE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A Mexican anthropological, ethnographic, and archaeological perspective was fairly well established by 1889.³⁴ In fact, since 1884 the Mexican scientific journal *La Naturaleza* had echoed the anthropological focus of world's fairs by arguing that whereas "old anthropology took charge of moral man," modern anthropology dealt with "the anatomical man" and thus was "the accessory part of comparative osteology that is concerned with the state of variations of the skull in diverse human races."³⁵ Indeed, though neither Indians nor the concept of race were novel for Mexicans, the way these problems were discussed in the late nineteenth century meant a radical change from the previous three centuries.

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

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

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

DEBATING RACE

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

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

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

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

These concerns of Western anthropology had been applied to—and in—Mexico throughout the nineteenth century. European ethnographical, anthropometrical, and archaeological studies of Mexico were abundant sources of scientific discussion for both Mexicans and Europeans. By the 1880s a well-established French anthropological interest existed in Mexico. As E. T. Hamy argued, in the 1860s "Mexico gained . . . its range within the history of humanity's past."⁴¹ J. M. A. Aubin, Brasseur de Bourbourg, Desiré de Charney, G. d'Eichtal,⁴² and, later, the Scientific Commission of Mexico⁴³ provided European minds with a clear ethnographic, anthropological, and archaeological picture of Mexico, which often was adapted by Mexican scholars to study their own country.

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

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

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

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

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

MEXICO SEARCHES FOR AN ENTRANCE INTO THE MODERN DEBATE

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

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

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

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

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

digenous race] lived for so many years, it is the true producer of the republic. . . . One could argue that how is it that being the most vigorous race of the republic, [the Indian race] has endured the Iberian yoke for three centuries. It is because it is not one, but many varied races, each one of them with different types." Thus, though the Mexican Indian race was well fitted for evolution, the promiscuity of various racial types brought about the weakness of the Mexican race as a whole. In such a way, Batres affirmed the validity of phrenology and of the degenerationist antimiscegenation thesis, while supporting the idea of a strong and superior Mexican race that was able to match European races.³⁰

In an 1889 article, Batres gave another example of how Mexicans were locating themselves in the in-betweens of the European scientific discussion. Following the classificatory obsession of European anthropology, Batres developed a method for identifying "the physiognomic type of the principal inhabiting tribes of Mexico." He was on risky scientific ground: "I will not enter into the difficult question of polygenesis and monogenesis because, in dealing with America, it would be very hazardous to give an opinion in whichever of the two senses." Batres then measured the skulls of Indians from various regions of the country in order to "compare the type of living Indian with that of the sculptures of his predecessors, and in this way to establish the type from that which can be called ancient tribes." He combined ethnography, phrenology, and archaeology, as well as the well-accepted Indian past with the difficult issue of the Indian present. And in this way the Indian past acquired greater veneration, and the live Indians a clear classificatory structure; that is, a scientific definition that directly linked live Indians both to the great Indian past—overlooking but not neglecting degeneration—and to a modern anthropological specificity that provided Mexican Indians with a secure spot in modern ethnography.³¹

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

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

Mexican pavilion to the international anthropological community, as an incorporation of ancient ruins into modern architecture.³² But for the European scholarly community, not all archaeological ruins were interpreted in the same way. If ruins were considered part of the general evolution of humankind (as Garnier assumed with the Greco-Roman dwellings in his "History of Habitation") they were seen as mythic ancestors of all European culture, removed from the present by mythical time. However, if ruins were considered merely exotic, they were distanced from the European present by a "cultural space."³³ Hence, although written in the same terminology, Peñafiel's archaeology could not overcome the cultural space. However scientific his archaeology, his palace belonged to the realm of the exotic. Thus for Europeans, the exhibit of Mexican ruins attested to the veracity of evolution; for Mexicans, to furnish European sciences with elements to affirm Europe's superior evolution was at least a first step in entering into the mainstream flow of evolution.

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

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

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

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

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

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

63. *La Lanterne*, 24 June 1889. See also *Exposition Universelle. 1889, Pavillon du Mexique. Musique militaire-orchestre. Programmé du 22 juin*, SRE Le. 1104. Mexico spent more than 10,000 francs on the inauguration (Díaz Miriagá's estimate, EXP, Box 12, Exp. 6, p. 243).

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

65. *L'Événement*, 24 June 1889.

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

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

6. MEXICAN ANTHROPOLOGY AND ETHNOGRAPHY

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

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

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

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

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

14. 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 tolteques," 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 Paris 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-*

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

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

28. *Ibid.*, 10.

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

30. García Cubas, *Étude*, 17-20.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

39. Stocking, *Victorian Anthropology*, 76.

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

41. E. I. Hamy, "La Science française au Mexique," reprinted in his *Décades Américaines: Mémoires d'archéologie et d'ethnographie américaines* (Paris, 1884), 116. Hamy refers to various travel accounts published by Baradère. See also Anne-Christine Taylor, "L'Américanisme tropical: Une frontière fossile de l'ethnologie," in *Histoire de l'anthropologie (XVIIe-XIXe siècles)*, ed. Britta Rupp-Eisenreich (Paris, 1984), 213-32; and Raoul d'Harcourt, *L'Américanisme et la France* (Paris, 1928).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7. MEXICAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN PARIS

1. See Ramírez, "Dioses," 201-53; Ramírez, "Anotaciones iconográficas," 15-85; and Ramírez, "Vertientes nacionalistas." See also Fernández, *El arte del siglo XIX*.
2. José María Velasco, "Memoria grupo primero," manuscript, 28 December 1889, EXP, Box 18, Exp. 12.
3. For an example of parallel phenomena in India, see Tapati Guha-Thakurta, *The Making of a New "Indian" Art: Artists, Aesthetics and Nationalism in Bengal 1850-1920* (Cambridge, 1992).
4. For a description of the interior of the Argentine building, see RUP 2:213-14. See also Vitali, "1889," 29-37.
5. RUP 2:213-32.
6. Mier, *México en la Exposición Universal*, 220. For the 1900 Paris fair, see chapter 11.
7. For shifts in European taste, see Raymond Rudorff, *Belle Époque: Paris in the Nineties* (London, 1972), chap. 3; and Debora L. Silverman, *Art Nouveau in Fin-de-Siècle France: Politics, Psychology, and Style* (Berkeley, 1989), 1-11.
8. Ignacio Manuel Altamirano, "La pintura histórica en México," *El Artista* 1 (1874):8, reprinted in Ida Rodríguez Prampolini, *La crítica de arte en el siglo XIX*, vol. 2 (Mexico City, 1964).
9. Luis Miguel Aguilar, *La democracia de los muertos* (Mexico City, 1988), 106.
10. For an itemized description of the various styles, see Israel Katzman, *Arquitectura del siglo XIX en México* (Mexico City, 1973), 63-219.
11. In this regard, see Çelik's analysis of Oriental pavilions at world's fairs: Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 135-37. See also chapter 11.
12. For an analysis of the *arquitectura de la ingeniería*, see Renato de Fusco, *Historia de la arquitectura contemporánea* (Madrid, 1992), 30-63.
13. Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 136.
14. Garnier's dislike is referred to by Katzman (*Arquitectura del siglo XIX en México*, 256) and by Tepozacoatezin Calquetzani, the pseudonym used by the opponent of Luis Salazar's pro-pre-Hispanic article, "Bellas Artes: Arquitectura, arqueología y arquitectura mexicana," *El Arte y La Ciencia* 1 (December 1899), reprinted in Rodríguez Prampolini, *La crítica*, vol. 2, 379-80.
15. See Ballu, "La arquitectura en la Exposición Universal," 370-71 on Mexico, 377 on Argentina.
16. Minutes, session of the Mexican commission, 1 June 1889, EXP, Box 12, Exp. 3.
17. *El Nacional*, 11 September 1890, 7 November 1890, reprinted in Rodríguez Prampolini, *La crítica*, vol. 3, 254.

18. Manuel Francisco Álvarez, *Las ruinas de Mitla y la arquitectura* (Mexico City, 1900), 258.

19. See Fusco, *Historia de la arquitectura contemporánea*, 59-63.

20. In this regard, see F. Seitz, "Architects et ingénieurs: L'Exposition de 1889," *Revue d'histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* 39 (July-September 1992):483-92.

21. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., vol. 2, 441.

22. César Daly, "Discours prononcé au nom des anciens élèves de Félix Duban" (1871), quoted in Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 136.

23. Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé, "À travers l'Exposition. II. L'Architecture.—Les Feux et les eaux.—Le Globe," *Revue des Deux Mondes* 94 (July-August 1889):441.

24. See Çelik, *Displaying the Orient*, 115-16.

25. For a discussion of this appeal, see Álvarez, *Las ruinas de Mitla*, 257-59. Álvarez was for many years the director of the Escuela de Artes y Oficios, and as such he traveled to the 1900 Paris fair to attend the congresses related to architecture. For information about him, see the introductory study to a re-edition of some of his articles, Elisa García Barragán, "Manuel F. Álvarez," in *Manuel F. Álvarez: Algunos escritos*, selection by Elisa García Barragán (Mexico City, 1981-1982), 8-16.

26. For typical view in this regard, see E. Barbetot, *Histoire des styles d'architecture dans tous les pays depuis les temps anciens jusqu'à nos jours*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1891).

27. See Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, "Les Nahuas, les Toltèques," in his *Histoire de l'habitation*, 278-92. See also his long prologue in Desiré de Charnay's *Cités et ruines américaines* (Paris, 1863), 10-103. On Viollet-le-Duc in Mexico, see Vicente Martín Hernández, *Arquitectura doméstica de la ciudad de México* (Mexico City, 1981), 256-57.

28. See the entry "Style," in Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc's *Dictionnaire raisonné*, as reprinted in *The Foundations of Architecture: Selections from the Dictionnaire raisonné*, introduction by Barry Bergdoll, trans. K. D. Whitehead (New York, 1990), 231-63.

29. See Jesús T. Acevedo, "Apariencias arquitectónicas," a lecture delivered in the last years of the Porfirian period at the Sociedad de Conferencias, included in Jesús T. Acevedo, *Disertaciones de un arquitecto* (Mexico City, 1967), 35-54.

30. See Jaime Genaro Francisco Javier Cuadriello Aguilar, "La arquitectura en México (ca. 1857-1920): Ensayo para el estudio de sus tipos y programas" (Tesis de Licenciatura, Universidad Iberoamericana, 1983); and Katzman's explanation for the decline of classicism in Mexico (*Arquitectura del siglo XIX en México*, 69).

31. See Katzman, *Arquitectura del siglo XIX en México*, 313; and Nicolás Mariscal, *La enseñanza de la arquitectura en México* (Mexico City, 1902), 13-16. See also M. Bazant, "La enseñanza y la práctica de la ingeniería durante el porfirato," in *La educación en la historia de México: Lecturas de historia mexicana* (Mexico City, 1992), 167-210.

32. See letter from E. Bonaffe to Jean-Camille Formigé, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 2 (1889):167-73. See also Seitz, "Architects et ingénieurs."

33. He constructed the Mexican pavilions for both the 1889 and the 1900 Paris fairs. In addition, he finished the penitentiary in Mexico City. See Katzman, *Arquitectura del siglo XIX en México*, 266.

34. See J. F. Godoy, *Enciclopedia de contemporáneos* (Washington, 1898), 48-49. Two other architects, Vicente Reyes and José María Alva, participated in the design of Salazar's project. See Katzman, *Arquitectura del siglo XIX en México*, 291.