

A History of Mexico 1821-1924

HILA 131, Fall 2012

Monday-Wednesday, 5-6:20 p.m.

HSS 1330

Ev Meade, Department of History

Office Hours: Wednesdays, 6:30-8 p.m.

H&SS 6044

A History of Mexico, 1821-1924

Culture and Ideology, History and Memory

The future was black, like the night shadows over the abyss.

The torch was lit, and its reddish light shone over a sea of bayonets, and over this sea of bayonets floated the banner of Spain, and the standard of the *Santo Oficio*.

On the other side was liberty.

The old man and the young nation did not vacillate.

To cross that ocean of dangers, the nation needed only to have faith and constancy; sooner or later, their triumph was assured.

The man needed to be a hero, almost a god, for his sacrifice was inevitable.

The thought could only begin. In that enterprise, hope was but temerity.

To undertake it was the sublime suicide of the patriot.

The man who did such deserves to have altars—the Greeks would have located him among the constellations.

For this, among us, Hidalgo symbolizes glory and virtue.

Virtue knit his brows with the silver crown of age.

Glory surrounded him with his halo of gold.

Then, eternity received him in its arms.

— Vicente Riva Palacio, *El Libro Rojo* (1870).



"EL GRITO DE INDEPENDENCIA"

On July 30, 1811, in an abandoned Jesuit Monastery in remote Chihuahua City, Padre Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla met his maker. Lion of Mexican independence, herald of *El grito de Dolores*, leader of the people's rebellion, doyen of national liberation, Padre Hidalgo waded through a "sea of bayonets," shimmering in the early-morning torchlight, and faced the same firing squad that had dispatched many of his colleagues over the preceding weeks. The Church condemned him as a heretic, a military tribunal as a traitor. Despite the pleas of some of the very churchmen who had denounced him, the wall awaited. Worn but resilient after four months of incarceration and trial, the fifty-eight-year-old priest strode into the courtyard and offered candies and kind words to the soldiers. The officer in charge snapped everyone to order and back to reality. The rebel priest stiffened. He stood with his back to the wall and a crucifix in his hand. As historian Hugh Hamill notes, "because he was priest, he was given the consideration of a private execution and the right to be shot in the chest instead of the back, subtle privileges which had been denied Allende and his secular colleagues." Three lines of infantrymen each fired, but failed to hit him square. The officer approached and ordered two trembling soldiers to press their muskets to the dying man's chest. After the execution, royal soldiers decapitated the cadavers of Hidalgo and his slain comrades – Ignacio Allende, Juan Aldama, and José Mariano Jiménez – and transported them to Guanajuato. Rotting in iron cages slung from the four corners of the Alhóndiga de Granaditas, the severed heads remained on display for ten long years, until Mexico achieved independence from Spain.

Hidalgo's execution was an act of desecration – he was a priest; it aroused the sting of foreign tyranny – he was executed by Spaniards; the spectacle at the Alhóndiga was infamous – the decomposing heads of heroes were placed on public display; and it became an international symbol of Mexico during the Age of Revolution – the story of the killing of the rebel priest circulated widely in post-Revolutionary France, the newly-independent United States, and elsewhere, and Mexicans knew that this wider world was watching. All of these elements of Hidalgo's execution set a pattern of remembering patriotic sacrifice through which new generations could imagine a shared past despite endemic civil conflict.

Hidalgo's execution wasn't an isolated event, even excepting the struggle for Independence. He wasn't nor would he become a Mexican Nathan Hale. Over the next half century, a seemingly unending string of national leaders faced execution at the hands of their political enemies, usually their own countrymen. The underlying political instability that these executions represent made it incredibly difficult to craft a coherent national history for succeeding generations after Mexican Independence. How could one narrate the history of what seemed to be a *nation of enemies*? What does it tell us about what we call "History" that this task seems so onerous?

Sixty years later (1870), Liberal chroniclers Manuel Payno and Vicente Riva Palacio used Hidalgo's death as a way of imagining an organic national sovereignty that transcended internal political divisions and bloodletting. In *El libro rojo* [The Red Book], they crafted a pantheon of national martyrs that ran from the Spanish Conquest (1520) to Mexico's triumph over the French Intervention (1867). In high Romantic fashion, they included plagues, murders, and other tragedies along with formal executions in their "red book," helping the authors to primordialize the struggle for national sovereignty – to make it appear to be something inevitable, natural, set in stone, a triumph over evil, injustice, and even nature itself. And they did so with pictures, including illustrations that ranged from plague-ridden Indians covered with lesions, to the severed heads of rebellious slaves on pikes, and a murdered Mexico City merchant, hung bleeding from a hook in his cellar, to more conventional portraits of fallen heroes on the battlefield or before the firing squad. Although pictures can be received very differently by different observers, the idea that a single illustration could capture some common essence among those who died for the nation was implicitly reductive, the spectacle of their sacrifice designed to stick out, and, perhaps, even to overshadow the particular contexts in which they died. From the section dedicated to the death of Hidalgo forward, *El libro rojo* recounts executions exclusively. It tells a history the Mexican Republic through ritualized, premeditated death. In addition to Hidalgo, Allende, Jiménez, and Aldama, the next generation of independence leaders, including Matamoros, Morelos, Iturbide, Mina, and Guerrero, all faced the firing squad (or at least died at the hands of their political enemies) and found their glory on the pages of *El libro rojo*, as did fallen state-builders Ocampo, Valle, Degollado, Comonfort, Romero, Arteaga, and Salazar, along with emperor Maximilian von Habsburg and his two Mexican collaborators, Mejía and Miramón.

The celebration of Hidalgo's execution and the sad parade of national leaders who mirrored his march to the scaffold over the next half-century in *El libro rojo* illuminate a central problem facing statesmen and reformers fifty years after Mexico achieved independence from Spain: many potential national heroes were bitter enemies; the pantheon of fallen national figures included many who had fought, condemned, and tried to kill one another. While virtually all attempts to narrate national histories deal with such conflict – think about the Civil War in the U.S. – the crisis of legitimacy in the central government persisted longer and at a higher intensity in Mexico than in any major Western counterpart, and it happened in a place that a century earlier had been of one the wealthiest and most powerful Christian kingdoms in the world, and the center of the Hispanic world.

After a prolonged struggle for independence from Spain, after a catastrophic race war, after the secession of two sizable states, after two major foreign invasions, after the loss of more than half of the national territory, and after enduring thirty national governments in fifty years, most of which fell in coups and revolts, after all of this national turmoil, the only thing uniting Mexico's repertoire of slain national leaders in 1870 was *death itself*. Indeed, fifty years later, when the cultural avatars of the Mexican Revolution sought to create a new national identity which would unite Mexicans across lines of race, class, religion, region, they turned to death as the great metaphor, celebrating it, as Claudio Lomnitz illustrates, as a "national totem."

Thanks to political instability at the national level, persistent misinterpretations of the use of national symbols, like death, and the imposition of the contemporary baggage of the relationship between the U.S. and Mexico onto the past, the nineteenth century is often labeled "the century of chaos" where "the rule of law" remained elusive. In the absence of "the rule of law," sounds the common refrain, "the law of the knife," or "Herod's Law" sanctions official corruption, impunity, and political violence. Under its all-encompassing yellow hue in Steven Soderbergh's *Traffic*, officials are bribed, suspects tortured, and witnesses and informants murdered on the Mexican side of the border. The symbols of state authority – flags, uniforms, and police badges – melt into mafia icons. Every detail of Mexican life with an historical tinge becomes an exhibit in the case against Mexican modernity, evidence of the persistence of nineteenth-century chaos, *desmadre*, and even death. The image of primeval Mexican corruption and lawlessness, however, is far from the exclusive preserve of popular culture and political rhetoric.

In historical scholarship, the primordial *caudillo* (strongman) and his magnetic personality supplant constitutional articles; socioeconomic 'realities' render legal rights irrelevant; archaic religiosity subverts secular authority; and family networks and *camarillas* (cliques) undermine 'principled' politics. The net result is the absence of the "rule of law," the predominance of corruption, and the retardation of democracy in Mexico. So constructed, the 'rule of law' does not specify the content of the legal regime that it seeks to impose – the particular laws to be enshrined or rights to be protected. Nor are "corruption" or "democracy" defined with any specificity, only by their absence. Governance itself, the paradigm implies, is the route to the protection of people – the transformation of human beings into citizens the vehicle to democratic expression. Historical scholarship on modern Mexico has more often than not fallen into the clutches of the rule of law polemic and its assumption of the primacy of governance in the foundation of democracy, and the lack of both in Mexican history.

The process of modern state-building in Mexico has produced what Claudio Lomnitz labels a fundamental "fissure between culture and ideology" in modern Mexico. That is to say, the modern ideologies of the state – models for governments, constitutions, and public morality (many of which came from outside of Mexico) – have often been at odds with predominant social practices and beliefs, even those of the individuals within the state itself. As Fernando Escalante Gonzalbo illustrates, often the moral beliefs, priorities, and social commitments of Mexican politicians and ideologues have prevented them from implementing and/or obeying the very political principles and ideological positions to which they have dedicated their careers. The "citizens" about whom state-builders have discoursed so eloquently, have often been "imaginary," ideal types whom their orators never intended to represent the actual mass of Mexican people. And yet, historical assessments of this imaginary quality of citizenship, and the apparent fissure between culture and ideology that it represents, have assumed an essential antipathy between that which is quintessentially Mexican and modern democratic practices and ideals, leading to a failure or immaturity narrative of Mexican History.

Perhaps the most eloquent exposition of the failure narrative of Mexican history is Nobel laureate Octavio Paz's *The Labyrinth of Solitude* (1949). For Paz, a chronic sense of failure derives from the imposition of European interpretive and organizational forms on Mexican realities. The false application of modern foreign forms (ideology) on traditional Mexican realities (culture), conflates that which is considered quintessentially Mexican with the imperfect achievement of ideological ideals and vice-versa. The archetypal Mexican is left trapped in a perpetual "labyrinth of solitude," alienated equally from the modern world and from his authentic self (the metaphor is male); Mexico is stuck in pathological adolescence. For Paz, then the question is one of colonialism and its inescapable legacy of perpetual comparison with the modern metropolis.

Historian François Xavier Guerra frames the problem differently. Like Paz and other commentators, Guerra acknowledges that political life in Spanish America has often been "very far from reflecting not only constitutional clauses but even certain rules generally accepted in Western democracies." He explains, "political regimes are often ephemeral and dictatorships frequently interrupt institutional continuity... *Pronunciamientos*, coups d'etat, rebellions and revolutions have been common means to coming to power, at least as common as elections." And yet, Guerra rejects the assertion that the foreignness of modern political ideas in Spanish America accounts for the gaps between their ideology and practice. He emphasizes instead the precocity of modern political ideas in Spanish America: These are countries which belong in their own right – at least in terms of their elites' origins and culture – within a European cultural area. Countries which were among the first within this cultural area to set up modern political regimes and which, since their independence in the early nineteenth century, have adopted national sovereignty as their legitimizing principle and the representative republic as their form of government.

Following Guerra's lead, in order to accurately assess the historical reality of nineteenth-century Mexico, it is necessary to maintain a critical eye to the various institutions that have represented Mexican people and the various regimes of public morality or normative orders that historical actors themselves have constructed and by which they have organized social life, either as alternatives to or components of the modern state. Put another way, rather than documenting gaps between Mexico and different kinds of ideal types that imply comparison with the U.S. and Europe, we'll try to explore Mexico on its own terms, or at least our closest approximation. This process, of course, will raise as many questions as it does answers.

Why did Padre Hidalgo and so many of his successors in the movement for Mexican Independence die such violent and ritualized deaths? Why did priests play such a prominent role in both the Mexican Independence movement and attempts to quash it? How did the fledgling Mexican Republic fit into the broader Western world in the Age of Revolution and beyond? How does Mexican Independence from Spain compare with American independence from Britain? What were the defining obstacles and local conditions which affected efforts to create a modern state in nineteenth-century Mexico? What role did agrarian, ecological, and other socio-economic conditions play in social and political movements from Mexican Independence through the Mexican Revolution? How much and in what ways did everyday people shape the nature of political community in Mexico? How did Mexico's burgeoning relationship with the United States affect efforts to develop a legitimate national state in the center of the country and on the periphery? How and why did Mexico lose half of its national territory to the United States? What are the relationships between racial and cultural identities and socio-economic transformations? How and why did Maya rebels nearly drive all whites and *mestizos* from the Yucatán peninsula? Why do Mexican Liberals of the nineteenth century seem so secular, if not outwardly anti-Catholic to us? What was the relationship between church and state, sacred and secular and how did it change over time in nineteenth-century Mexico? How did foreign invasion and domination by the U.S. and later the French shape Mexican national identity and political community in the generations that followed? How did the revolution in commerce and communications of the early twentieth-century shape the revolution for social and political change that swept Mexico after 1910? How does the constitution to emerge from the Mexican Revolution compare with the U.S. and other constitutions? To what degree and how did the regime that emerged from the Mexican Revolution achieve the legitimacy that its nineteenth-century predecessors found so elusive?

This course will attempt to answer the above questions through the examination of historical scholarship and primary documents, and the application of a series of analytical tools and social scientific categories of analysis. In particular, we will explore the differences between culture and ideology, and between history and other forms of memory, and we will pay special attention to places and times when they diverge or overlap. In addition to complementing your basic knowledge of the history of modern Mexico, I hope to hone your critical thinking and writing skills, giving you some new tools with which you will be able to better ask and answer your own historical, cultural, and political questions about Mexico and the wider world.

Books

The following texts, available at the UCSD bookstore and through the Geisel Library Course Reserves, contain most of the assigned readings for this course. They are listed in the order in which I have assigned them.

Gilbert M. Joseph and Timothy J. Henderson Eds., *The Mexico Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

Paul Sullivan, *Xuxub Must Die: The Lost Histories of a Murder in the Yucatán* (Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004). [Kindle Ed. Available].

Paul Vanderwood, *The Power of God against the Guns of Government: Religious Upheaval in Mexico at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

Reading Assignments

Do the reading; it is good for your brain and you will get a great deal more out of the lectures. The readings for each class are listed according to the days on which they are due. *Please note that the readings for weeks #5 and #7 are from a single text, and cover the entire week; there are no additional readings for each session those weeks. The notations below for those readings not included in the texts above either contain electronic links (such as those to the Jstor journal browser), or will be provided on the course Ted page or library reserves, as noted next to each entry. The "supplementary readings" listed below are for the graduate students taking the course as HIGR 298, and to provide those of you interested in further reading on a particular topic with a point of departure. They may also be helpful to you in writing your essays.

Writing Assignments

"A good essay must have this permanent quality about it; it must draw its curtain round us, but it must be a curtain that shuts us in, not out."

—Virginia Woolf, "The Modern Essay" (1925).

Writing clear, concise, critical essays is an invaluable skill and one that will help you for the rest of your life. There are three writing assignments for this class. Each will consist of a short essay (1200-1500 words). Your task is fourfold: 1)introduce the work in question and identify a central question or problem the author addresses; 2)make an argument as to how the author addresses that question; 3)support your argument with evidence from the text; and 4)explain the broader significance of your argument, or what we learn as readers from the author's unique approach. *Remember: your essay should analyze how a particular author approaches a question; it should not recount an historical event using the author as a source. You are writing an essay, an argument, not a report.* The more nuanced and sophisticated the question you ask of an author, the more sophisticated and nuanced your answer is likely to be, and the better your essay. While short, these essays should be well-organized and slick – edit for grammar and style, and give your work a creative title. Write something you would want to read.

All of the assignments are due on Fridays, by 6:00 p.m., submitted electronically via Ted/Ted. We will not accept email or paper copies, and late papers will be penalized. If they are not submitted by class time the following Monday, you will not get any credit. Your work must be attached in the form of a Word document, formatted in a 12 pt font, double-spaced, and the pages should be numbered. Please do not cut and paste your work into the assignment page. We will grade your work quickly, and provide detailed comments, particularly on the first couple of papers, so that you'll have time to make changes and improve upon your writing for upcoming assignments. Please follow the "syllabus" link (not the tab) on the front page of our Ted site in order to find specific resources for writing these essays.

Essay # 1

Write an essay examining how one of the following authors explains the meaning of Mexican Independence. After you chose one of these authors and read the selection carefully, you might then explore some more conventional depictions of Mexican Independence. For example, check out the bicentennial site set up by the Government of Mexico in 2010 <http://www.bicentenario.gob.mx/> (English version) <http://english.bicentenario.gob.mx/>. Then, think about how and why the depiction of Independence by the author you have chosen offers a different perspective, and what implication that perspective has for our understanding of modern Mexico.

1. Claudio Lomnitz, *Death and the Idea of Mexico* (Brooklyn: Zone Books, 2005), 263-339. [Ted]
2. Enrique Florescano, *National Narratives in Mexico: A History*, Hancock trans (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 127-260. [Ted]
3. David Brading, *Mexican Phoenix: Our Lady of Guadalupe: Image and Tradition across Five Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 1-75, 201-257. [Ted]
4. Will Fowler, *Santa Anna of Mexico* (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 3-109. [Ted]
5. Enrique Krauze, *Mexico: Biography of Power*, Heifetz trans (New York: Harper Collins, 1997), 92-151. [Ted].

*The selections listed above are all available on Ted, along with the introductions to each text (which I highly recommend that you read – without reading the introduction, it will be difficult to contextualize the subsequent chapters). You may also want to check out the full text at the library or to purchase your own copy (new and used copies are widely available).

Essay #2

Write an essay examining how one of the following texts explains the Caste War in Yucatán, and/or how it defines historical narrative:

1. Paul Sullivan, *Xuxub Must Die: The Lost Histories of a Murder in the Yucatán* (Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004).
2. Nelson Reed, *The Caste War in Yucatán* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964).
3. Don Dumond, *The Machete and the Cross, Campesino Rebellion in Yucatán* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1997).
4. *En español* – Justo Sierra O'Reilly, *La Guerra de castas: testimonios de Justo Sierra O'Reilly y Juan Suárez y Navarro* (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 1993)

Essay #3

Write an essay examining how one of the following texts explains the Tomóchic rebellion and/or the transformation of Mexico's northern frontier into "the border":

1. Paul Vanderwood, *The Power of God against the Guns of Government: Religious Upheaval in Mexico at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).
2. Luis Alberto Urrea, *The Hummingbird's Daughter* (Boston: Little Brown, 2005).
3. *En español* – Heriberto Frias, *Tomóchic: novela histórica mexicana* (México: Editorial Nacional, 1973).

Or, write an essay examining how one of the following sources explains the Mexican Revolution [the originals of the latter three are available *en español* as well]:

1. John Reed, *Insurgent Mexico* (New York: International Publishers, 1969).
2. Nellie Campobello, *Cartucho and My Mother's Hands*, Meyer trans. (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1988).
3. Martín Luis Guzmán, *The Eagle and the Serpent*, Onís trans. (Gloucester Mass.: P Smith, 1969).
4. Mariano Azuela, *Los de Abajo*, Fomoff trans. (Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992).

Please check Ted <http://ted.ucsd.edu/> for a writing guide, with helpful tips and guidelines for producing clear, creative, and well-documented essays.

Optional Writing Workshops

We will hold three optional workshops this quarter, each of them emphasizing themes from class to develop unique, exciting, and well-crafted essays using some of the required readings. Each session will begin with a general discussion, designed to give you an opportunity to ask questions and discuss important questions that arise in class in a more intimate setting. After about thirty minutes of general discussion, we will open the floor up to specific questions regarding your essays and use the group to help you to flesh out your ideas, structure them, and make them exciting to your readers. After an hour, These workshops will take place after class on selected evenings, as noted below, in the History Department conference room, HSS 4th floor (we'll remind and direct you). While attendance is optional, it is strongly recommended, and, if you choose to attend, we ask that you stay for an hour.

Important Dates:

- Optional Writing Workshop #1 – Wednesday, October 24, (after class) 6:30-8:00 p.m.
- Essay #1 Due – Friday, October 26, submit electronically via Ted by 6:00 p.m.
- Optional Writing Workshop #2 – Wednesday, November 7 (after class) 6:30-8:00 p.m.
- Essay #2 Due – Friday, November 9, submit electronically via Ted by 6:00 p.m.
- Essay #3 Due – Friday, November 30, submit electronically via Ted by 6:00 p.m.
- Final Exam – Thursday, December 13, 7-10:00 p.m. (in our regular classroom)

A Note on Plagiarism

Don't cheat; it's wrong. If we (the Readers and I) believe that we have caught anyone in an act of plagiarism, we will immediately report the incident the proper authorities, who will investigate the matter in a full and fair way. My general inclination is to fail, for the class, any student confirmed cheating on any particular assignment. I know that the vast majority of you would never even consider submitting anything other than your own work, and I hope that you don't take the above warning the wrong way. I have included it in this syllabus for two reasons. First, plagiarism is plaguing college campuses across the country, and many, if not most, college professors have looked the other way. More important, I maintain a strict policy on cheating in defense of your integrity as creative, hard-working students. Our ideas and our words define us; when an honest student stays up all night working on a paper and gets a B, and a colleague copies one off of the internet, or worse, a fellow student, and gets an A, we all lose.

Final Exam

The final for this course will take the form of a matching/identifications exercise, followed by a short reading comprehension section. I will provide you with a list of approximately 75 important names, dates, places, and concepts, in advance. On the exam, you will find that same list, along with a corresponding list of one-to-three-sentence definitions to match up with the provided terms. The exam will cover all readings and lectures. The central goal of the final will be to reward you for coming to class and doing the readings; the questions will involve basic factual information and interpretation, in place of the more rigorous and subjective

analysis demanded in the papers. For those of you who are worried about your essay-writing skills, the exam should present a good counter-balance to the other assignments.

Extra Credit

In order to receive what amounts to a perfect score for 10% of your grade, you must submit 4 written reports of approximately 150 words, explaining the relevance of four outside events or sites to the material covered in class. Conference presentations, outside readings, film screenings, and web-based materials are all suitable, so long as you engage with them in a meaningful way (meaning you spend an hour and a half or more) and you make a clear argument as to their relevance to the materials covered in this course in your report. I will post a series of campus events and other suggestions on our Ted page to help you get started.

Grading

Papers = 60%
Final Exam = 30%
Extra Credit = 10%
(65/35 without extra credit)

Class Participation

Show up for class, show up on time, and show up alert, awake, and ready to think. Caffeinate, stretch, do whatever it takes. I will try to make the course as exciting and interesting as possible, and I'll do my best to prod and provoke your thinking in different directions. We will circulate an attendance record at the beginning of each session. *If you miss more than four sessions over the course of the quarter, we may be inclined to lower your final grade.* Inside of this range, I realize that you are all busy adults and may have to miss class a few times; there is no need to bring notes or offer explanations.

Ted

All of the lecture notes, many readings, podcasts, and an electronic copy of this syllabus are posted on our Ted page. <https://ted.ucsd.edu/webapps/login/> The mail function on this page is the best way to get in touch with me, and it helps me to stay on top of any problems or questions you have about the course. Make sure that you log in and deal with any hardware or software conflicts as soon as possible, so that you don't run into trouble five minutes before your first assignment is due. Please note: I am always updating the notes and adding extra features to this page. I will add "F 2012" to the end of all notes which are final and up-to-date. *Also, this material is intended for your use in this class and all of the lectures are copyright protected; please do not distribute them.*

Week #1 – Mexican Independence in the Age of Revolution

Monday, October 1

Muertes Históricas:

The Death of Padre Hidalgo and the Question of National History

Background Readings:

Enrique Florescano, "Chapters 3 and 4: 'The Western Canon vs. the Mesoamerican Canon,' and 'The Conquest and the Imposition of the Christian Canon as History,'" *National Narratives in Mexico: A History*, 67-126. [Ted]

Supplementary Readings:

1. Claudio Lomnitz, "Introduction," *Death and the Idea of Mexico* (Brooklyn: Zone Books, 2005), 23-58.
2. Serge Gruzinski, *Images at War: Mexico From Columbus to Blade Runner (1492-2019)* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 1-6, 96-160.

Wednesday, October 3

The City of God and the Modern State – Religious Revolt and Political Independence

Readings:

Enrique Florescano, "Chapters 5, (part of) 6, and (part of) 7: 'The First European Versions of the American World and the Origin of the Mestizo Chronicle,' 'The Canon of Memory Wrought by the Títulos primordiales,' 'From Creole Homeland to the History of the Nation'," *National Narratives in Mexico: A History*, 127-183, 220-237. [Ted].

Supplementary Readings:

1. David Brading, "Chapter 10: Last Resort," *Mexican Phoenix: Our Lady of Guadalupe: Image and Tradition across Five Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 228-57.

2. *The Memoirs of Fray Servando Teresa de Mier*, translated from the Spanish by Helen Lane ; edited and with an introduction by Susana Rotker (New York ; Oxford : Oxford University Press, 1998), (Editor's Introduction).

Week # 2

El Pueblo, Los Pueblos, y La Nación

Monday, October 8

The Autonomists and "The Other Rebellion":

Elite and Popular Actors and the Struggle for Independence, 1810-21

Readings:

1. Enrique Florescano, "Chapter 7: Creole Homeland to History of the Nation," *National Narratives in Mexico: A History*, 237-260. [Ted]
2. Enrique Krauze, "Chapter 6: The Insurgent Priests," *Mexico: Biography of Power* (New York: Harper Collins, 1997), 92-118. [Ted].
3. *El Grito de Dolores* (English) (1810), Stable URL: <http://historicaltextarchive.com/sections.php?op=viewarticle&artid=551>
4. Lucas Alamán, "The Siege of Guanajuato," *The Mexico Reader*, 171-88.
5. Josefina Zoraida Vazquez, "The Mexican Declaration of Independence." *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 85, No. 4. (Mar., 1999), pp. 1362-1369. Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0021-8723%28199903%2985%3A4%3C1362%3ATMDOI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Z>
6. *El Plan de Iguala* (English) (1821), Stable URL: <http://historicaltextarchive.com/sections.php?op=viewarticle&artid=538>
7. Federal Constitution of the United Mexican States (1824). Stable URL:
8. <http://www.tamu.edu/ccbn/dewitt/constit1824.htm>

Supplementary Readings:

1. Jaime Rodríguez O., *Mexico in the Age of Democratic Revolutions* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994), 1-17. [Ted]
2. Claudio Lomnitz, "Chapter VI: Modern and Macabre: The Explosion of Death Imagery in the Public Sphere, 1790-1880," *Death and the Idea of Mexico*, 263-303. [Ted]
3. Eric Van Young, "Islands in the Storm: Quiet Cities and Violent Countrysides in the Mexican Independence Era." *Past and Present*, No. 118. (Feb., 1988), pp. 130-155. Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0031-2746%28198802%290%3A118%3C130%3AIIITSQC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-V>
4. _____, *The Other Rebellion. Popular Violence, Ideology, and the Struggle for Mexican Independence, 1810-1821*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 1-67, 225-69.

Wednesday, October 10

The Passion of the Caudillo, Part I:

The Federalist Revolts of 1824 and 1833, and the Mier Expedition

Readings:

1. *In Mexican Prisons: The Journal of Eduard Harkort* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1986), 7-24, 27-74. (I included the full text in case you're interested, or decide to use Harkort for one of your papers). [Ted]
2. Enrique Krauze, "Chapter 7: The Collapse of the Creoles," *Mexico: Biography of Power*, Heifetz trans. (New York: Harper Collins), 119-51. [Ted].

Supplementary Readings:

1. Claudio Lomnitz, "Chapter VII: Elite Cohabitation with the Popular Fiesta in the Nineteenth Century," *Death and the Idea of Mexico*, 305-339.
2. _____, *Exits from the Labyrinth: Culture and Ideology in the Mexican National Space* (Berkeley: The University of California), 262-74. [Ted]
3. Will Fowler, *Santa Anna of Mexico* (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 2007), xvii-212.
4. François Xavier Guerra, "The Spanish-American Tradition of Representation and its European Roots," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 26, No. 1 (February 1994): 1-35, Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-216X%28199402%2926%3A1%3C1%3ATSTORA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-U>
5. Frank N. Samponaro, "Santa Anna and the Abortive Anti-Federalist Revolt of 1833 in Mexico," *The Americas*, Vol. 40, No. 1. (Jul., 1983): 95-107, Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0003-1615%28198307%2940%3A1%3C95%3ASAATAA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-5>

Week #3

The 'Century of Chaos' and the Strange Career of Antonio López de Santa Anna

Monday, October 15

The Passion of the Caudillo, Part II

Conservative Rule and the Pretexts for Foreign Intervention in the 1840s

Readings:

1. Claudio Lomnitz, "Chapter VIII: Body Politics and Popular Politics," *Death and the Idea of Mexico*, 343-369.
2. Juan Bautista Morales, "War and Finance, Mexican Style," *The Mexico Reader*, 217-19.
3. Frances Calderón de la Barca, "Women and War in Mexico," *The Mexico Reader*, 196-205.
4. Guillermo Prieto, "The Glorious Revolution of 1844," *The Mexico Reader*, 206-12.
5. Anonymous, "Décimas dedicated to Santa Anna's Leg.," *The Mexico Reader*, 213-16.

Supplementary Readings:

1. Will Fowler, *Santa Anna of Mexico* (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 213-367.
2. Carlos Forment, *Democracy in Latin America, 1760-1900, Volume 1: Civic Selfhood and Public Life in Mexico and Peru*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003), xi-xxiv, 3-37.
3. Fernando Escalante Gonzalbo, *Ciudadanos imaginarios. Memorial de los afanes y desventuras de la virtud y apología del vicio triunfante en la República Mexicana. Tratado de moral pública*. (México: El Colegio de México, 2005) [Introduction + sections on agiotaje].

Wednesday, October 17

'So Far from God, So Close to the United States': Nations and Empires

Readings:

1. Josefina Vázquez Zoraida, "War and Peace with the United States," *The Oxford History of Mexico* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 339-369. [Ted]
2. Pedro Santoni, "The Failure of Mobilization: The Civic Militia of Mexico in 1846," *Mexican Studies / Estudios Mexicanos*, Vol. 12, No. 2. (Summer, 1996), 169-194. Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0742-9797%28199622%2912%3A2%3C169%3ATFOMTC%3E2.0.CO%3B2-A>

Supplementary Readings:

1. Timothy J. Henderson, *A Glorious Defeat: Mexico and Its War with the United States* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007).
2. Charles A. Hale, "The War with the United States and the Crisis in Mexican Thought," *The Americas*, Vol. 14, No. 2. (Oct., 1957): 153-173, Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0003-1615%28195710%2914%3A2%3C153%3ATWWTUS%3E2.0.CO%3B2-6>
3. Matthew Baigell, "Territory, Race, Religion: Images of Manifest Destiny," *Smithsonian Studies in American Art*, Vol. 4, No. 3/4. (Summer - Autumn, 1990): 2-21, Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0890-4901%28199022%2F23%294%3A3%2F4%3C2%3ATRFIOM%3E2.0.CO%3B2-2>

Week #4

Manifest Destiny and Manifest Decadence – War with the United States

Monday, October 22

Wednesday, October 24

Rogues, Legionnaires, and Laborers – The St. Patrick's Brigade

Readings:

Enrique Florescano, "Chapter 8: Oblivion and Memory: From the Collapse of the Republic to the History of the Nation," *National Narratives in Mexico: A History*, 261-309.

Supplementary Readings:

1. Paul Foss, *A Short, Offhand Killing Affair* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2002).
2. James Dunkerley, *Americana: The Americas in the World, around 1850* (London: Verso, 2000), 492-526. [Ted]
3. Peter F. Stevens, *The Rogue's March: John Riley and the St. Patrick's Battalion, 1846-48*. (London: Brassey's, 1988).

Week #5

Push them to the Sea – Race War and Social Transformation in Yucatán

*Reading for the week: Paul Sullivan, *Xuxub Must Die. The Lost Histories of a Murder in the Yucatán* (Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004).

Monday, October 29

'The Machete and the Cross' – The Caste War in Yucatán

Supplementary Readings:

1. Nelson Reed, *The Caste War in Yucatán* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1964), 35-49.
2. Terry Rugeley, "Rural Political Violence and the Origins of the Caste War," *The Americas*, Vol. 53, No. 4. (Apr., 1997): 469-496. Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0003-1615%28199704%2953%3A4%3C469%3ARPVATO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-N>
3. _____. *Rebellion Now and Forever: Mayas, Hispanics, and Caste War Violence in Yucatán, 1800-1880* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009).
4. Don Dumond, *The Machete and the Cross, Campesino Rebellion in Yucatán* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1997), 106-139.

Wednesday, October 31

'Xuxub Must Die' – The Murder of Robert Stephens and Company

Supplementary Readings:

1. Gilbert M. Joseph. 1985. "From Caste War to Class War: The Historiography of Modern Yucatan (c. 1750-1940)." *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 65, No. 1. (Feb., 1985), pp. 111-134. Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0018-2168%28198502%2965%3A1%3C111%3AFCWTCW%3E2.0.CO%3B2-E>
2. Terry Rugeley, "The Forgotten Liberator: Buenaventura Martínez and Yucatán's Republican Restoration," *Mexican Studies / Estudios Mexicanos*, Vol. 19, No. 2. (Summer, 2003), 331-366. Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0742-9797%28200322%2919%3A2%3C331%3ATFLBMA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-0>

Week #6

Noble and Lesser Experiments – The War of the Reform and the French Intervention

The Tyranny of Progress – The Porfiriato

Monday, November 5

For the Pure at Heart – The Constitution of 1857

Readings:

1. The Editors of *El Tiempo*, "A Conservative Profession of Faith," *The Mexico Reader*, 220-25.
2. Mariano Otero, "Considerations Relating to the Political and Social Situation," *The Mexico Reader*, 226-38.
3. Luis González y González, "Liberals and the Land," *The Mexico Reader*, 239-51.
4. Raymond B. Craib, "Standard Plots and Rural Resistance," *The Mexico Reader*, 252-62.
5. Peter Guardino, *Time of Liberty: Popular Political Culture in Oaxaca, 1750-1850* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005), 1-18, 156-222. [Ted]

Supplementary Readings:

1. Florencia Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Post-Colonial Mexico and Peru* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), 1-62.
2. Charles A. Hale, "Jose Maria Luis Mora and the Structure of Mexican Liberalism," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 45, No. 2. (May, 1965): 196-227, Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0018-2168%28196505%2945%3A2%3C196%3AJMLMAT%3E2.0.CO%3B2-1>

Wednesday, November 7

The Unlikely Emperor, the Mexican Lincoln, and their Respective Hatchet Men:

The French Intervention

Readings:

1. Junta of Conservative Notables, "Offer of the Crown to Maximilian," *The Mexico Reader*, 263-64.
2. Empress Carlotta, "A Letter from Mexico," *The Mexico Reader*, 265-69.
3. Benito Juárez, "The Triumph of the Republic," *The Mexico Reader*, 270-72.
4. Silvia Arrom, *Containing the Poor: The Mexico City Poorhouse, 1774-1871* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000), 228-255. [Ted]

Supplementary Readings:

1. Jean Meyer, *Yo, el francés : la intervención en primera persona: biografías y crónicas*. (México: Tusquets, 2002). [Browse letters and journal entries].
2. Robert H. Duncan, "Political Legitimation and Maximilian's Second Empire in Mexico, 1864-1867," *Mexican Studies / Estudios Mexicanos*, Vol. 12, No. 1. (Winter, 1996): 27-66, Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0742-9797%28199624%2912%3A1%3C27%3APLAMSE%3E2.0.CO%3B2-4>

Week #7

The Tyranny of Progress – The Porfiriato

Monday, November 12

Judas at the Jockey Club, Cuauhtémoc at the World's Fair:

The Wizards of Progress in Porfirian Mexico

Readings:

Paul Vanderwood, *The Power of God against the Guns of Government. Religious Upheaval in Mexico at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

Supplementary Readings:

1. John Coatsworth, "Railroads, Landholding, and Agrarian Protest in the Early Porfiriato," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 54, No. 1. (Feb., 1974): 48-71, Stable URL <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0018-2168%28197402%2954%3A1%3C48%3ARLAAPI%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Q>
2. William H. Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club and other Episodes of Porfirian Mexico* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 1987), 3-52.
3. Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs, Crafting a Modern Nation* (Berkeley: The University of California, 1996), 1-12, 64-81.
4. Robert Buffington, *Criminal and Citizen in Modern Mexico* (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska, 2000), 1-9, 38-63.
5. Romana Falcón, "Force and the Search for Consent: The Role of the Jefaturas Políticas of Coahuila in National State Formation," From: Nugent and Joseph eds. *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press), 107-34.

Wednesday, November 14

From the Frontier into the Border – The Social Transformation of Northern Mexico

Readings:

Friedrich Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa*, "Chapter 1—From the Frontier to the Border" (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 11-56. [Ted]

Supplementary Readings:

1. Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Arom, "From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in between in North American History," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 104, No. 3. (Jun., 1999): 814-841, Stable URL <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0002-8762%28199906%29104%3A3%3C814%3AFBTBEN%3E2.0.CO%3B2-E>
2. John Mason Hart, *Empire and Revolution. The Americans in Mexico since the Civil War*. (Berkeley: The University of California), "Chapter 9—Mexico for the Mexicans", 271-305. [Ted]
3. Alan Knight, "The United States and the Mexican Peasantry, circa 1800-1940," From Nugent and Joseph Eds. *Rural Revolt in Mexico. U.S. Intervention and the Domain of Subaltern Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press), 25-63. [Ted]
4. John H. Coatsworth, "Indispensable Railroads in a Backward Economy: The Case of Mexico," *The Journal of Economic History*, Vol. 39, No. 4. (Dec., 1979): 939-960, Stable URL <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0022-0507%28197912%2939%3A4%3C939%3AJRIABE%3E2.0.CO%3B2-O>

Week #8

From the Edge to the Eye of the Storm – Revolution and Civil War

Monday, November 19

"Barbarous Mexico" and the "White City" – Labor and Wealth in Porfirian Mexico

Readings:

1. Channing Arnold and Frederick J. Tabor Frost, "Porfirio Díaz Visits Yucatán," *The Mexico Reader*, 273-78.
2. B. Traven, "Scenes from a Lumber Camp," *The Mexico Reader*, 279-84.
3. James Creelman, "President Díaz, Hero of the Americas," *The Mexico Reader*, 285-91.
4. Anonymous, "Gift of the Skeletons," *The Mexico Reader*, 292-96.

Supplementary Readings:

1. John Kenneth Turner, *Barbarous Mexico*. (Chicago: C.H. Kerr and Company, 1911). [Ted]
2. David W. Walker, "Porfirian Labor Politics: Working Class Organizations in Mexico City and Porfirio Diaz, 1876-1902." *The Americas*, Vol. 37, No. 3. (Jan., 1981): 257-289, Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?si=0003-1615%28198101%2937%3A3%3C257%3APLPWCO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-W>
3. Piedad Peniche Rivero, "La comunidad domestica de la hacienda henequenera de Yucatan, Mexico, 1870-1915." *Mexican Studies / Estudios Mexicanos*, Vol. 15, No. 1. (Winter, 1999): 1-33, Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?si=0742-9797%28199924%2915%3A1%3C1%3ALCDDLH%3E2.0.CO%3B2-V>
4. Gilbert M. Joseph and Allen Wells, "Summer of Discontent: Economic Rivalry among Elite Factions during the Late Porfiriato in Yucatan." *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 2. (Nov., 1986): 255-282, Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?si=0022-216X%28198611%2918%3A2%3C255%3ASODERA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-S>
5. Friedrich Katz, "Labor Conditions on Haciendas in Porfirian Mexico: Some Trends and Tendencies." *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 54, No. 1. (Feb., 1974): 1-47, Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?si=0018-2168%28197402%2954%3A1%3C1%3ALCOHIP%3E2.0.CO%3B2-5>

Wednesday, November 21 [The Day Before Thanksgiving]

Film Screening: *John Reed: Insurgent Mexico*

Week #9

The Legitimacy of the Law and the Machine Gun: The Constitutionalist Revolution

Monday, November 26

The Soft and Rough Hands of Martyrdom – The Maderista and Zapatista Revolutions

Readings:

1. John Womack, *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (New York: Vintage, 1969), ix-x, and 3-9.
2. "The Mexican Revolution: Introduction." *The Mexico Reader*, 333-35.
3. Ricardo Flores Magón. "Land and Liberty." *The Mexico Reader*, 335-38.
4. Emiliano Zapata and others. "Plan of Ayala." *The Mexico Reader*, 339-343.
5. Luis Cabrera. "The Restoration of the Ejido." *The Mexico Reader*, 344-350.

Supplementary Readings:

1. Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution, Volume 1: Porfirians, Liberals, Peasants* (Lincoln: The University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 1-226.
2. Francie R. Chassen-Lopez, "Maderismo or Mixtec Empire? Class and Ethnicity in the Mexican Revolution, Costa Chica of Oaxaca, 1911." *The Americas*, Vol. 55, No. 1. (Jul., 1998): 91-127, Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?si=0003-1615%28199807%2955%3A1%3C91%3AMOMECA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-H>
3. Samuel Brunk, "Remembering Emiliano Zapata: Three Moments in the Posthumous Career of the Martyr of Chinameca." *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 78, No. 3. (Aug., 1998): 457-490, Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?si=0018-2168%28199808%2978%3A3%3C457%3AREZTM%3E2.0.CO%3B2-S>

Wednesday, November 28

The Dictatorship of Victoriano Huerta, the U.S. Intervention at Veracruz, and The Rise of Villismo

Readings:

1. Martín Luis Guzmán, "Zapatistas in the Palace." *The Mexico Reader*, 351-56.
2. John Mason Hart, "The Mexican Revolution, 1910-1920." *The Oxford History of Mexico*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 435-65. [Ted].
3. John Reed, *Insurgent Mexico* (New York: International Publishers, 1969), 75-144, 241-256. [Ted]
4. Friedrich Katz, "Chapter 6—Four Weeks that Shook Chihuahua. Villa's Brief but Far-Reaching Governorship." *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1999), 229-52. [Ted].
5. Collection of news reports from *The New York Times*. [Ted]

Supplementary Readings:

1. Friedrich Katz, *The Secret War in Mexico. Europe, the United States, and the Mexican Revolution*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press), 119-252.

Week #10

Death, Destiny, and Dissonance: The Future of Revolutionary Mexico

Monday, December 3

Secular Scripture or Bloody Rag -- The Constitution of 1917

Readings:

1. William O. Jenkins, "Mexico has been Turned into a Hell," *The Mexico Reader*, 357-63.
2. Oscar Lewis, "Pedro Martínez," *The Mexico Reader*, 375-86.
3. Ricardo Pozas, "Juan the Chamula," *The Mexico Reader*, 387-97.
4. "The Constitution of 1917: Articles 27 and 123," *The Mexico Reader*, 398-402.
5. Friedrich Katz, "Pancho Villa and the Attack on Columbus, New Mexico," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 83, No. 1. (Feb., 1978): 101-130, Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0002-8762%28197802%2983%3A1%3C101%3APVATAO%3E2.0.CO%3B2-Q>
6. Alexandra Minna Stern, "Buildings, Boundaries, and Blood: Medicalization and Nation-Building on the US-Mexico Border, 1910-1930," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 79:1, 41-80, Stable URL: <http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0018-2168%28199902%2979%3A1%3C41%3ABBABMA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-1>
7. Anonymous, "La Punitiva," *The Mexico Reader*, 372-74.

Supplementary Readings:

1. E.V. Niemeyer, *Revolution at Querétaro. The Mexican Constitutional Congress of 1916-1917* (Austin: Institute of Latin American Studies/University of Texas Press, 1974).
2. Marcelo Bildstein, "Política y caudillismo en el Congreso Constituyente mexicano de 1917," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 16(1), Winter 2000, 67-71.

Wednesday, December 5

The Passion of the Mexican Revolution: The Trial and Execution of Felipe Ángeles

Readings:

1. Everard Kidder Meade, "The Passion of the Mexican Revolution: The Trial and Execution of Felipe Ángeles," *Journal of Historical Biography*, Vol. 7 (Spring 2010), 30-99 http://www.ufv.ca/jhb/Volume_7/Volume_7_TOC.pdf

Supplementary Readings

1. Jorge Aguilar Mora, *Una muerte sencilla, justa, eterna: cultura y guerra durante la revolución mexicana* (México: Ediciones Era, 1990).
2. Claudio Lomnitz, "Chapter IX: Death and the Mexican Revolution," *Death and the Idea of Mexico*, 375-411.
3. Olivier Debroise, *Mexican Suite: A History of Photography in Mexico*, Stella de Sá Rego trans. (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 2001).
4. Enrique Florescano, "Chapter 9: The Historical Narrative Coined by the Post-Revolutionary State," *National Narratives in Mexico: A History*, 310-350.

Thursday, December 13

*Final Exam

In our regular classroom, HSS 1330, 7-10:00 p.m.

