

Changing Chapultepec: Construction, Consumption, and Cultural Politics
in a Mexico City Forest, 1934-1944

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Abstract

"Changing Chapultepec: Construction, Consumption, and Cultural Politics in a Mexico City Forest, 1934-1944" asks to whom does the forest belong? A study about how Chapultepec Forest in Mexico City became an emblematic space filled with didactic institutions, it argues that actors involved in social stabilization and economic modernization institutionalized the concept of "nature" in the urban environment, propagating social divisions through metaphors of naturalness to shape subjects in an era of heightened concern with both Mexicanness and foreign investment. Thus it documents the shifting understandings of what constituted nature through four thematic chapters looking at a failed international exposition, two foundational museums, an exhibition-, print- and legislative-based crusade against the use of charcoal, and out-of-doors sporting and consumer activities. These chapters detail conflicts among symbolism and materiality, popular access and privatization, and national goals and an effort to appeal to foreigners. Criminals, presidents, elite and working women, foreign businessmen, schoolchildren, entertainers, scientists, and civil servants among others demonstrate that though Chapultepec is considered a public space, its meaning and usage have been highly constructed and restricted.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

On a summer day in Mexico City in 2005, residents and tourists passed through Chapultepec Forest. On their way to another locale or perhaps stopping for respite or to attend a museum, they may not have noticed the enormous hand-lettered sign billowing across the top third of the entrance to the Museum of Modern Art (*Museo de Arte Moderno*). Large, capitalized letters announced the self-proclaimed intransigence by the Museum workers in light of a large remodeling project.¹ As declared through their sign, the workers would not allow the Museum to be closed during remodeling, for the patrimony of the Forest and the Museum was theirs as much as for tourists, and their jobs provided for their families.

While utilizing an inventive strategy for airing grievances and attempting to protect their livelihood, the employees were making a claim to the ownership and proper uses of Chapultepec Forest. They were not the first to do so. In an earlier episode sixty-two years before, workers who leased concession space in the Forest were pushed out in advance of remodeling that would make Chapultepec more appealing to visitors.² These working-class Mexicans advocated their case directly to the president, utilizing blurred lines of jurisdiction and employing rhetoric related to both the recent social revolution's constitutional guarantees and to older understandings of gender and class evident in claiming their widow and therefore familial provider status. These

¹All translations are mine unless otherwise noted. Eliva Diaz and Martha Nulart, Museo de Arte Moderno, personal communication, 2 August 2013.

²A.G.N. Presidentes, M.A.C., 418.5/35, fs. 1, 3 abr 1943.

protests of 1943 and 2005, a public space more often a scene of recreation than dissent, prompted me to investigate the underpinnings of these emblematic power struggles.

To whom does the Forest belong? To what do we owe the presence of numerous built institutions in Chapultepec? How is the idea of "nature"—present through the very name Forest—defined and utilized?

I started this dissertation with the goal of understanding how the public used the Forest and, through their use, reinforced or changed understandings of Chapultepec. Néstor García Canclini has called for studies into how the public receives, uses and changes cultural space in Mexico.³ Though present to a degree in this study, a lack of sources made this type of sustained inquiry unworkable.⁴ Who had access (civil mobilization and utilization) and what type of use was carried out and why interests me for future research.

This dissertation is on how Chapultepec became the place that it is: the divisions that the state propagated through metaphors of naturalness in a public space to shape subjects and how these metaphors were constituted. As a part of the institutionalization that took place, conflicts developed. This dissertation focuses on three areas of friction: between symbolism and materiality, between popular access and privatization/commodification, and between national goals and an effort to appeal to

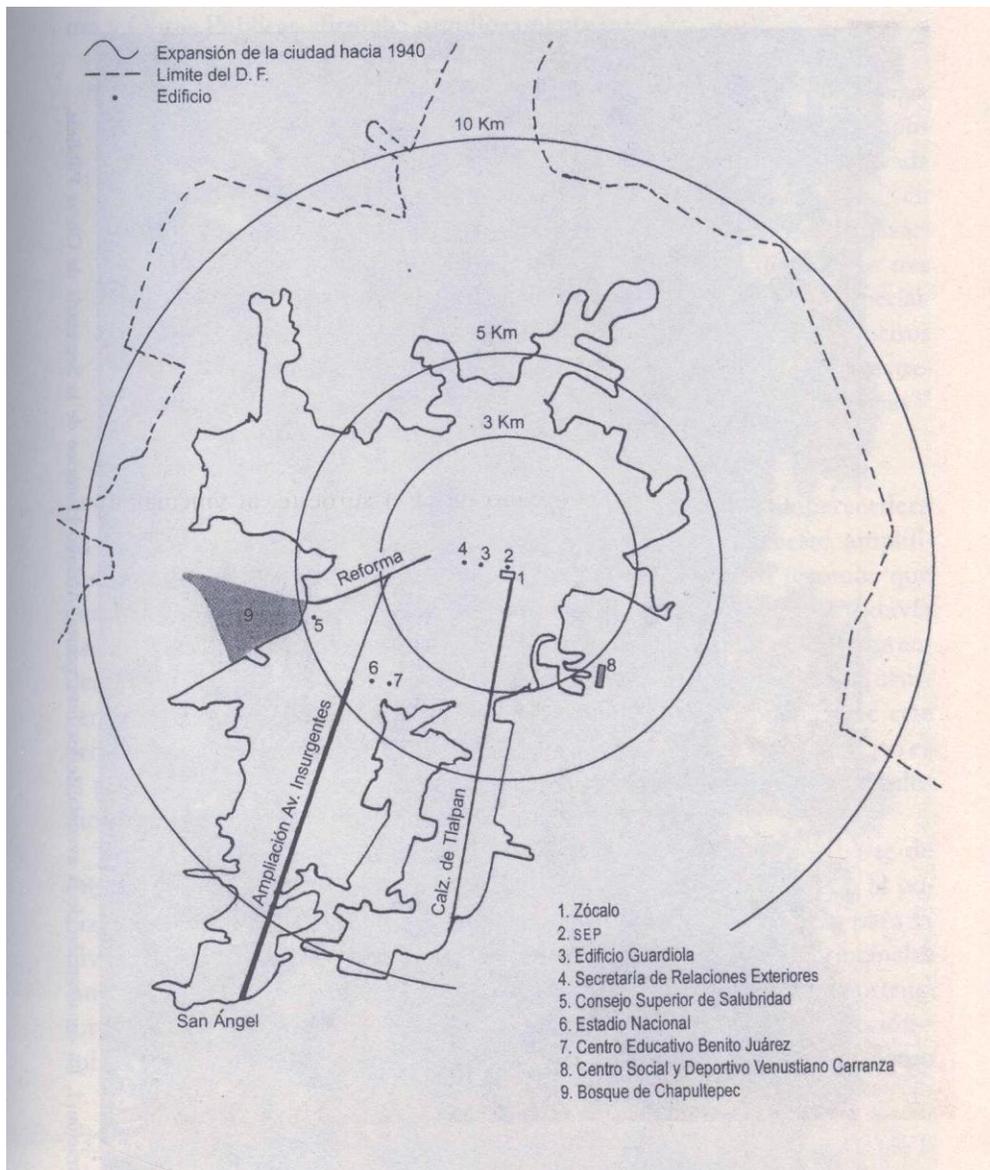
³ Néstor García Canclini, "El patrimonio cultural de México y la construcción imaginaria de lo nacional," in El Patrimonio Nacional de México, ed. Enrique Florescano. Vol. I (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes y Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1997), 73-4.

⁴ Though a shock to have found that most of the archive for Mexico City from the 1930s to the 1970s was physically destroyed, my hope is sustained—at least for now—by the backlog and current cataloging work of some extant municipal-level records at the AHDF (located in what is called the "Archivo de Concentración).

foreigners. Though likely not unique to Mexico, these pressures manifested in distinctive ways.⁵ Although the state attempted to direct behavior, these tensions provided an opening for the publics' interpretation, reception and use of Chapultepec which could encompass unplanned or spectacular variations.

I begin with an overview of Chapultepec that sketches historical and current uses and provides working knowledge for the reader unfamiliar with the space.

⁵ For central, urban parks in the United States, August Heckscher notes encroachments, special uses, public order, and governance as shared categories of concerns. August Heckscher, Open Spaces: The Life of American Cities (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), 186-191.



1-1 Mexico City, with Chapultepec Forest shaded (9). The solid, non-concentric line is the approximate limits of the city in the mid 1930s; the dotted line is the Federal District boundary. Source: Atlas Nacional de México (México: UNAM, 1990), map 3.5 in María Carmen de Collado, "Los sonorenses en la capital," in Miradas Recurrentes, ed. María Carmen Collado (México: UAM, 2004), 107

AN OVERVIEW OF CHAPULTEPEC

On either side of a busy and tree-lined boulevard, dappled shade softens the noises of a bustling city. Abundant trees obscure all but the tops of skyscrapers and offer up branches to birds and trunks to humans. Through clearings, you catch glimpses of buildings and people, and depending on which side of the boulevard you chose, you pass through an ornamental iron enclosure or step off the walkway and onto dusty, well-trodden grassy ground cover.

The *Bosque de Chapultepec* (Chapultepec Forest or Woods, also known as Chapultepec Park) receives over fifteen million visitors a year including tourists who join numerous Mexico City residents.⁶ The reason for the visit is often the renowned Anthropology Museum, or National History Museum. The Modern Art Museum, Zoological Park, Children's Museum and paddle boats are also appealing. Less likely though still of interest is the presidential residence, *Los Pinos*, located in a secluded corner. There is no shortage of recreational and cultural attractions in Chapultepec. Nevertheless, the Forest is the largest of the scarce expanses of green, open space in

⁶ Ana Lidia Domínguez Ruiz and Eduardo Rodríguez Flores, "Chapultepec en la actualidad: cambio y persistencia de la practicas de un parque público," Diario de Campo, El Bosque de Chapultepec: un manantial de historia supplement, no. 36, (October/December, 2005):171. Another estimate is as high as 80,000,000 vists per year. See Miguel Hidalgo: Gobierno de la Ciudad de Mexico (México: DDF, 1997), 127.

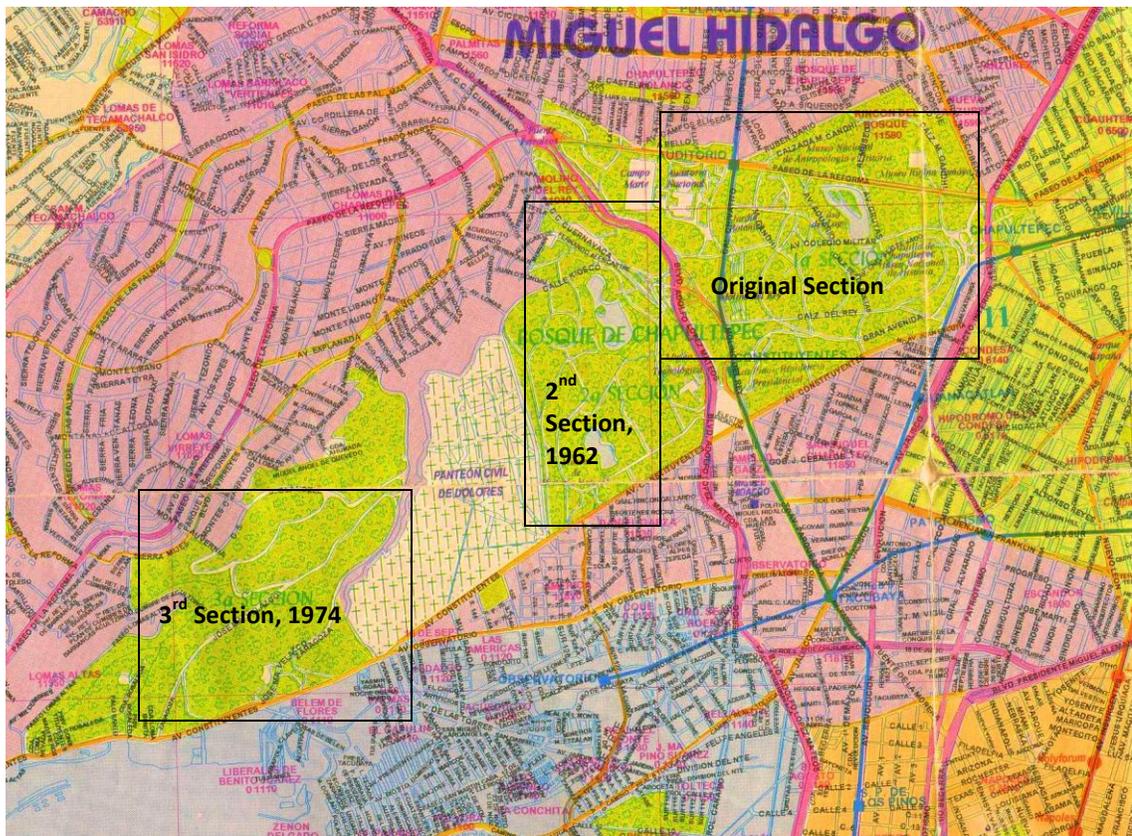
Chapultepec is most often referred to in English as "Chapultepec Park." I don't feel that this gives adequate attention to the Spanish use of "*bosque*" nor to the prevalence of trees and their social and cultural importance. Chapultepec was never declared a national park; the most recent official usage I've found is in the English-language listing of the application for a UNESCO World Heritage Site, where it is "Chapultepec Woods." See <http://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/1273/>.

the immediate metropolitan area, and it is this characteristic that arguably attracts as many visitors as the cultural institutions.⁷

Lying outside Mexico City until 1930, as seen in figure 1-1, today Chapultepec is engulfed by an estimated 20 million metropolitan inhabitants. It is located on an volcanic rock elevation on the southwestern edge of the Basin of Mexico (once largely lakes with interspersed islands) and consists of three sections, as seen in figure 1-2: the first, hewing close to the boundaries of original use with approximately 270 hectares and consisting of the 60 meter hill; the second with 160 hectares added in 1964 for additional institutions and recreational facilities; and the third with 240 hectares added in 1974 and remaining a much less developed, uneven terrain.⁸ Man-made lakes, numerous fountains and sculptures, paved and gravel paths for strolling and exercising, intermittent gardens and regulated sales kiosks are interspersed throughout the moderately wooded expanse.

⁷ I've found only once source that disaggregates visitor numbers. Based on a study conducted by the Program in Urban Studies at Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM), Chapultepec receives an average of sixteen million visits per year. Of these, 2.5 million people—60% of these families—visit the natural, open spaces (as opposed to the cultural institutions). Cited in Mario Schjetnan: Landscape, Architecture, and Urbanism (Washington D.C.: Spacemaker Press, 2007), 25-26.

⁸ Miguel Hidalgo, 127.



1-2 The three sections of Chapultepec Forest in current Mexico City. Miguel Hidalgo is the borough in which the Forest is located. Source: Plano de la Ciudad de México (México: Ediciones Cirsa, 2006).

The elements of nation-building romanticism, which according to Miriam Basilio include the sublime, royalty, militarism, and martyrdom, permit a window into the contextually specific imagining and constructing of the Mexican nation through Chapultepec.⁹ Centrally located in current-day Mexico, Chapultepec has been a source of material and symbolic nature, a key foreign possession, and an important pedagogical public space. In the late nineteenth-century, the exhaustion of its aquifers meant that the value of Chapultepec would change. As the site was no longer a source of drinking

⁹ See Miriam Basilio, "A Pilgrimage to the Alcázar of Toledo: Ritual, Tourism and Propaganda in Franco's Spain," in Architecture and Tourism: perception, performance, and place, eds. D. Medina Lasansky and Brian McLaren (New York: Berg, 2004), 93.

water, it could more fully develop its recreational, instructional, and institutional potential. In the nineteenth century it was largely used to enable contemplation and recreation among the elite. In the twentieth century it was utilized to encourage education among the middle and popular classes. Its contemporary importance is as a green space in an overcrowded urban area and as a home to numerous cultural institutions and activities, as seen in figure 1-3.¹⁰ Its archaeological sites are less well known but equally significant.¹¹ During the first decades of the twenty-first century, the environmental and cultural features of Chapultepec have been restored and it has been incorporated into a broader focus on green space by the Federal District government.¹² Its current uses further encourage inquiry into Chapultepec's history which reflects broader themes of power, environment, class, and identity.

¹⁰ A partial list includes: zoo, amusement park, children's museum, technology museum, natural history museum, history museum, history gallery, anthropology museum, modern art museum, Tamayo museum, botanical garden, children's park, butterfly garden, concert hall, cultural center, seven theaters, national dance school, restaurants, monuments, paths, kiosks, bookstores, fountains, sculptures and outdoor exercise areas.

¹¹ Knowledge about the material remains of pre-Hispanic cultures was common. But particularly in the later twentieth century and largely due to metropolitan infrastructural expansion (the construction of the Metro subway and the Circuito Interior), new and surprising finds were made. See Diario de Campo, supplement, no. 36 (October/December 2005) for a reprint of some of the 1976 articles, as well as from the twenty-first century.

¹² Gobierno del Distrito Federal, 5 Años de Avances: Plan Verde ciudad de México (México: Gobierno del Distrito Federal, 2012). Also Adriana Gomez Licon, "Mexico City Seeks Beauty in Public Space Make-over," Big Story Associated Press, 27 December 2012, accessed at <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/mexico-city-seeks-beauty-public-space-makeover>.



1-3 Bosque de Chapultepec. Source: El Universal, 29 December 2010.

<http://www.eluniversaldf.mx/otrasdelegaciones/nota17186.html>

EARLY USES

There is record of human presence in Chapultepec from the Pre-classic period (600-300 b.c.e.) including Teotihuacanos; the continuous inhabitation of Chapultepec dates to the thirteenth century c.e. and included Toltecs, Tecpanecas, Acolhuas, and Mexica.¹³

Chapultepec was a place of refuge and prestige where all groups fought for the use of its elevation, woods and sources of water.¹⁴ Successive indigenous leaders frequented Chapultepec, and each modified the area through use of its resources, and construction of controls (gates, entrance points, etc.) and structures such as the Mexica shrine, Nezahualcóyotl's palace, and Moctezuma's house and menagerie.¹⁵ Though known for

¹³ Francisco Rivas Castro, "El cerro epónimo de Chapultepec en las crónicas y códices," *Diario de Campo* supplement, no. 36 (October/December, 2005): 20; Guadalupe Espinosa, "Proyecto Arqueológico Bosque de Chapultepec Patrón de asentamiento en la falda sur del cerro de Chapultepec: unidades habitacionales del Clásico," *Diario de Campo* supplement, no. 36 (October/December, 2005): 55.

¹⁴ Rivas Castro, p. 11-13; Jesús Romero Flores, *Chapultepec en la Historia de México*, 2nd edition (México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1947), 7.

¹⁵ María de la Luz Moreno Cabrera, "La arqueología de Chapultepec en el Plano del Real Sitio de 1792," *Boletín de Monumentos Históricos* 3, no. 7 (May-August 2006): 23-24, 26, 34. Accessed at www.boletin-

its trees, particularly *ahuehuetes* (Cypress *Taxodium mucronatum*), water— including springs and "pools"—was of arguably greater value. "Montezuma's pool" was an important supply of water for Mexico City (then Tenochtitlán) from 1418 to the late nineteenth century.¹⁶ Moctezuma Illhuicamina ordered and Nezahualcóyotl designed an aqueduct completed in 1466 to carry freshwater into the city.¹⁷ Numerous codices, maps and pictographs depicted Chapultepec, frequently associating it with water.¹⁸

After conquest, Chapultepec continued to be a privileged site of resources.¹⁹ In 1540, the aqueduct from Chapultepec was rebuilt to serve the vice-regal capital.²⁰ By that time, the King of Spain (Carlos V) had shifted ownership of Chapultepec from conquest *encomenderos* to the city of Mexico for citizens to access its freshwater

cnmh.inah.gob.mx/boletin/boletines/3EV7P21.pdf. For an example of what the pre-Hispanic fenced area contained, Moreno Cabrera provided the following description, "A fenced area known as the *Jardin de los tlatoanis*, included Chapultepec hill with its shrine, royal houses, stairway; the springs with their storage pools canals, aqueducts, floodgates...roads, temples devoted to the aqueduct...,flora mainly the *ahuehuetes*, and fauna." María de la Luz Moreno Cabrera, "Los manantiales del bosque sagrado de Chapultepec." Diario de Campo, El Bosque de Chapultepec: un manantial de historia supplement, no. 36 (October/December, 2005): 48.

¹⁶ Moreno Cabrera, "La arqueología..." p. 29. Miguel Angel Fernández del Villar, Chapultepec: Historia y Presencia, ed. Mario de la Torre (México: Smurfit Cartón y Papel de México, S.A. de C.V., 1988), 144.

¹⁷ Ricardo Armijo Torres, "Arqueología e historia del sistema de aprovisionamiento de agua potable para la ciudad de México durante la época colonial: los acueductos de Chapultepec y Santa Fe," Diario de Campo, El Bosque de Chapultepec: un manantial de historia supplement, no. 36 (October/December, 2005): 82-83.

¹⁸ There are a very few (14) surviving pre-Conquest codices, one of which—Boturini/Tira de Peregrinación—includes Chapultepec. María de la Luz Moreno Cabrera, "Los manantiales...", 45-46. Moreno Cabrera notes the numerous instances of water being associated (and represented) in relation to Chapultepec. Rivas Castro lists eleven *códices* in which Chapultepec is mentioned. Rivas Castro, 20.

¹⁹ For a wonderful early description of Chapultepec see Fernando Cervantes Salazar, México en 1554, tres diálogos latinos, translated and reissued by Joaquín García Icazbalceta, (México: Andrade y Morales, 1875). In it, he describes the high wall encircling the forest "so that passing Indians don't dirty the water and hunters don't kill or scare the abundant game." (269)

²⁰ Moreno Cabrera, "Los manantiales...", p. 50.

springs and woods, and for recreation.²¹ The crown further recognized the attributes of Chapultepec and attempted to relocate Mexico City to its higher elevation.²² Nevertheless, struck by gold fever, Spaniards felled most of the cypresses in Chapultepec in 1615, leaving it a (temporarily) miserable place, according to indigenous chronicler Chimalpahin.²³

As in other instances in the Basin of Mexico and throughout the empire, Spaniards razed indigenous temples and constructed structures on the same site with their debris. A chapel to San Miguel Archangel replaced the pre-Hispanic shrine at the top of Chapultepec hill, and a *Casa Real* vice-regal retreat for privileged members of society replaced those of Nahua lords.²⁴ Chapultepec became a destination for upper-class hunting outings and fiestas. After almost two-hundred years (1550s-1739) as the

²¹ Mónica Verdugo Reyes, "La arquitectura y las fiestas del poder: el palacio de Chapultepec durante el México virreinal," Diario de Campo, El Bosque de Chapultepec: un manantial de historia supplement, no. 36 (October/December, 2005):112, citing Miguel Angel Fernández del Villar, Chapultepec: historia y presencia, 40. The Real Cedula was dated 25 June 1530, and Romero Flores noted that [in 1947], "From then dates the zeal with which the majority of this city's authorities have striven to conserve and beautify the exquisite spot." Romero Flores, 28. Implicit in Romero Flores' comments are the sense of ownership that city officials have developed, and which to this day periodically rear their head in property and governance disputes. See Nayeli Gómez C., "Ebrad va por Los Pinos: le reclama 60 hectáreas," La Crónica de Hoy, 23 November 2007, city section.

²² Manuel Perló Cohen and Antonio Moya, "Dos poderes, un solo territorio: ¿conflicto o cooperación? Un análisis histórico de las relaciones entre los poderes central y local en la ciudad de México de 1325 a 2002," in Espacio Público y Reconstrucción de Ciudadanía ed. Patricia Ramírez Kuri (Mexico: FLACSO Porrúa, 2003),192; T. Phillip Terry, Terry's Guide to Mexico, revised edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927), 390a.

²³ Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, Annals of His Time, eds. James Lockhart, Susan Schroeder, and Doris Namala (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 301-303.

²⁴ The indigenous and subsequent vice regal residence was located on the section of where the Museo de Arte Moderno is now located (at the eastern foot of the hill). Romero Flores, 23. Moreno Cabrera, "La arqueología..."p. 26; Verdugo Reyes, 112 citing Rosamaría Alfonsina Arredondo and José Francisco Coello Ugalde, El Bosque de Chapultepec: un taurino de abolengo (México: INAH, 2001), 19. The chapel was also said to be dedicated to San Francisco Javier. See Icazbalceta, "Introducción al diálogo tercero," in Fernando Cervantes Salazar, México en 1554, 257 citing Diego García Panes y Abellán, Cronología de los Vireyes [sic] de México, manuscript.

preferred site for vice-regal recreation, an order from Spain changing protocol for incoming viceroys had the effect of greatly diminishing the amount of attention given to the *Casa Real* and the forest.²⁵ This would shortly change with the incoming Viceroy Bernardo de Gálvez y Madrid in 1785.

CASTILLO

Due to the deteriorated condition of the former *Casa Real*, Gálvez ordered the construction of a new vice regal country retreat to be built atop the hill in Chapultepec forest.²⁶ This would become known as the *Castillo* (Castle, also known as the *Alcázar*). Gálvez died in 1786, but Spain saw in Gálvez's strategically situated, fortified *Castillo* an effort to rise up against the Crown. The finished structure (1787) was put up for auction by a crown interested in recouping monies.²⁷ There were no buyers, and negotiations by subsequent viceroys intended to use the structure for colonial purposes such as the General Archive. This too was unrealized; eventually the neglected property was sold to Mexico City in the early nineteenth century at a time when sovereignty struggles would occupy both the Spanish Crown and a Mexican independence movement.²⁸

²⁵ Verdugo Reyes, 112.

²⁶ Romero Flores, 39. The original idea is also attributed to Gálvez's father, the previous viceroy Matías de Gálvez who also died in office. See Romero Flores, p. 40, note 1, citing Jorge Flores D., *Historia del olvidado ingeniero, constructor del Castillo, Manuel Agustín Mascaró, constructor de Chapultepec.*

²⁷ Alexander Von Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, vol. 2 (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1811), 105. Miguel Angel Fernández del Villar, *Documentos para la historia de Chapultepec* (Mexico: INAH, 2000).

²⁸ Romero Flores, 44-45.

The *Castillo* would not have a recognized use until its housing of the Military Academy from 1841-1847 and again from 1883-1916.²⁹ The long interruption was due in large part to two international invasions. The first was by U.S. forces in the U.S.-Mexican War. In September 1847 during the advance on Mexico City, U.S. troops strategically overtook Chapultepec. Numerous military cadets joined the fighting and six of them refused to retreat and gave their lives for their country. They became memorialized in the later nineteenth century as the *Niños Héroes* (Cadet Heroes).³⁰ The second disruption was a result of Mexico unable to defend itself against invading French forces sent by Napoleon III on the pretext of collecting unpaid debt. Maximilian the Archduke of Hapsburg was named Emperor of Mexico in 1864 and used the *Castillo* in Chapultepec as his imperial residence until 1867.

In 1872, President Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada chose the *Castillo* as his presidential residence.³¹ His successor, Porfirio Díaz used the *Castillo* as a retreat and summer home. Although Díaz expended considerable expense to improve it (and the entire Forest), it was not his official principal residence.³² In the early revolutionary and post-revolutionary years, most presidents, including Francisco Madero (1911-1913), Venustiano Carranza (1914-1920), Alvaro Obregón (1920-1924), Plutarco Elías Calles

²⁹Fernández del Villar, *Chapultepec*, 86-88. The military academy returned in 1883 until it was demolished in 1917. Fernández del Villar, *Chapultepec*, 134, 153.

³⁰ The cult to the *Niños Héroes* was institutionalized in the Restored Republic (1867-1876), cemented during the rule of Porfirio Díaz (1876-1910), and united with the mythologizing of the Revolution during the Cárdenas era (1934-1940). Enrique Plasencia de la Parra, "Conmemoración de la hazaña épica de los niños héroes: su origen, desarrollo y simbolismos," *Historia Mexicana* 45, no. 2 (1995): 251-243, 255, 263.

³¹ Moreno Cabrera, "La arqueología..."p. 27.

³² Fernández del Villar, *Chapultepec*, 118.

(1924-1928), Emilio Portes Gil (1928-1930), Pascual Ortiz Rubio (1930-1932), and Abelardo Rodríguez (1932-1934), would live in a portion of the *Castillo*. Upon election in 1934, President Lázaro Cárdenas decreed the structure a house of the people to be converted into a museum.³³ The National History Museum would open in 1944. Cárdenas moved the presidential residence to a secluded corner of Chapultepec where it became known as *Los Pinos*. Nevertheless, the *Castillo* would be associated with leaders of Mexico and retained its appeal as a preferred site for official events.³⁴ The *Castillo* has become largely synonymous with Chapultepec.

NATURAL AND PUBLIC SPACE

As noted, Chapultepec had been a destination for recreation since prior to the arrival of the Spanish and throughout the colonial period. One of the earliest constructions of independent Mexico was the botanical garden created in the early nineteenth century.³⁵ Over the course of the century, numerous plans for spectacular infrastructure went unrealized: imperial gardens, a recreation complex centered on the natural springs (the first "baths" phase of which came to fruition), and an international exposition (which

³³ "El General Rodríguez y el General Cárdenas," *El Universal*, 30 November 1934, front page and p. 4.

³⁴ The repurposing was not instantaneous. Cárdenas and his successor Manuel Avila Camacho housed visiting heads of state in the Castillo complex. Until today there are frequent, official presidential uses of the building. For further discussion, see the chapter "House of the People: the Importance of Chapultepec as Seen through Early Museums."

³⁵ According to *Historia de los museos de la Secretaría de Educación Pública: ciudad de México* (México: Museo Nacional de Historia, 1979), 2, the botanical garden was constructed in 1788, but, according to Romero Flores, Viceroy de Güemes (Revillagigedo, 1789-1794) had an unrealized plan for its construction (along with the creation and location of the Archivo General in the Castillo). Citing Alfonso Teja Zabre, Romero Flores dates the botanical garden to 1826. Romero Flores, 44-45.

would be attempted again in the twentieth century).³⁶ What did occur was the accretion of infrastructure to enable contemplation and recreation. In the nineteenth century's era of increasing idealization of the ancient Indian in the service of nation-building, the botanical garden, zoo and observatory replicated indigenous institutions from the pre-Hispanic era.³⁷

The public's access to Chapultepec was facilitated by a tramline built in the 1880s, though it was fundamentally visited by those upper classes that had leisure time to recreate.³⁸ Porfirio Díaz's rule saw a Crystal Palace-like café built at the entrance; a monument to the Cadet Heroes erected; and the Reforma Athletic Club's private courses (golf, cricket and tennis) laid out. During preparations for the Centennial of Mexican Independence, adjacent properties were annexed and many decorative improvements were made to Chapultepec, including adding fencing; constructing artificial gardens, lakes, caverns and promontories; and tracing new paths and roadways.³⁹ Díaz's Treasury Secretary, José Yves Limantour, created a conservation commission and oversaw the improvements recognized for their French-inspired

³⁶ Hugo Arciniega, "La casa de baños de Chapultepec," Diario de Campo, El Bosque de Chapultepec: un manantial de historia supplement, no. 36 (October/December, 2005):124, 127; Aurora Yartzeth Avilés García, "Proyectos para realizar una exposición universal en la ciudad de México," in México en los Pabellones y las Exposiciones Internacionales (1889-1929) (México: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 2010), 174-175.

³⁷ Fernández del Villar, Chapultepec, 28, 84, 131-135. The Mexican observatory at Chapultepec was operational from 1878-1883 before it was moved to Tacubaya.

³⁸ See Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class, reissue (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

³⁹ Fernández del Villar, Chapultepec, 141-142.

aesthetic.⁴⁰ As a reward to Limantour, Díaz gifted a parcel of land on the artificial lake to the Limantour-associated Automobile Club. The newly built *Casa de Lago* opened in 1906 but changed uses after the Revolution.⁴¹

If the Centennial of 1910 activities at Chapultepec were for the elite, the Centennial of 1921 commemorating the consumation of independence was for a more socio-economically diverse audience.⁴² By 1921, rather than banishing or disguising the poor as in the past, the government held a free, public *Noche Mexicana* outdoor festival in Chapultepec and was overwhelmed with popular interest.⁴³ Due in part to the rhetoric of the Revolution and in part to the rapidly expanding city, Chapultepec in the twentieth century would be used to accommodate the elite, the incipient middle classes, and the majority poor. This attempt at mixing the social classes was similar to

⁴⁰ Miguel Angel Fernández del Villar, "El Jardín de Limantour," Arqueología Mexicana: Antiguos Jardines Mexicanos 10, no. 57 (Sept-Oct 2002): 54-55; Lorenza Tovar de Teresa and Saúl Alcántara Onofre, "Los jardines en el siglo XX: el viejo bosque de Chapultepec," Arqueología Mexicana: Antiguos Jardines Mexicanos 10, no. 57 (Sept-Oct 2002): 56-61; Emily Wakild, "Naturalizing Modernity: Urban Parks, Public Gardens and Drainage Projects in Porfirian Mexico City" Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos 23, no. 1 (2007): 108-109, 111-113.

⁴¹ Ana Luisa Vega, Casa del Lago: un anhelo colectivo (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1988), 10.

⁴² María del Carmen Collado Herrera, "Los sonorenses en la capital," in Miradas Recurrentes: la ciudad de México en los siglos XIX y XX, ed. María del Carmen Collado (México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 2004), 118.

⁴³ For 1910 Centennial, many of the poor, rebellious and indigenous were removed from the central areas of the celebration or encouraged to dress in modern, Europeanized-style clothing. In 1921, as many as 500,000 people (of a total city population of 615,367) attended. See Elaine Lacy, "The 1921 Centennial Celebration of Mexico's Independence: State Building and Popular Negotiation," in Viva Mexico, Viva Independencia: Celebrations of September 16, eds. William H. Beezley and David E. Lorey (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2001); and Rick López, "The Noche Mexicana and the Exhibition of Popular Arts: Two Ways of Exalting Indianness," in The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940, eds. Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen E. Lewis (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006). For 1921 population data, see INEGI, Estadísticas Históricas de México 2009, section 1.54, consulted at: http://www.inegi.org.mx/prod_serv/contenidos/espanol/bvinegi/productos/integracion/pais/historicas10/Tema1_Poblacion.pdf

many other late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries' urban public green spaces.⁴⁴

Modifications to Chapultepec for the 1921 festivities may have encouraged broader use of the space or may have been a response to it; likely it was a combination of both.

Additions included a new zoo and botanical garden, fountains and sculptures—one of which was directed at encouraging a literary public—lighting, an embellished entrance, and stands. Private companies donated monies for a large portion of the improvements in an early example of public-private partnership.⁴⁵

The 1930s would witness the first museum in Chapultepec: the short-lived Museum of National Flora and Fauna, which inhabited the Café building and opened in 1937.⁴⁶ It would be followed in 1942 by another short-lived museum, the Technological Museum. The National History Museum in the *Castillo* (1944), the History Gallery (1960), and museums of National Anthropology, Modern Art, and Natural History all of which opened in 1964 characterized the mid-century flourishing of nationalistic institutions located in the Forest.

⁴⁴ Spiro Kostof, *The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form through History* (Canada: Bulfinch Press, 1992), 166-169; Setha Low, Dana Taplin, and Suzanne Scheld, *Rethinking Urban Parks: public space and cultural diversity* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 19-30; Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The Park and the People: a history of Central Park* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 9; Lawrence Herzog, *Return to the Center: Culture, Public Space, and City Building in a Global Era* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006), 13-16; August Heckscher.

⁴⁵ *Anales de la Secretaría de Comunicaciones y Obras Públicas* (México: Estudios Geográficos y Climatológicos, 1924), 10; Collado Herrera, "Los sonorenses...", 118-119.

⁴⁶ I use the Museum of National Flora and Fauna rather than often used Natural History Museum, because as the name in Spanish states (*Museo de la Flora y la Fauna Nacionales*), its focus was not on natural history, but rather a conservatory or botanic garden with a nationalistic theme. Furthermore, there was a Natural History Museum located in another section of the city.

APPROACH

An inquiry into spatially- and socially-produced understandings of nature, "Changing Chapultepec" is more of a cultural history analyzing "constructions that underlie our understanding of 'nature' in the city"⁴⁷ rather than conventional environmental history.⁴⁸ Instead of considering nature as an actor, my focus is on how social actors and groups in an urban setting determined and used ideas of nature. These uses included relationships of power that intertwined the concept of "nature" with education, consumption, and public space to consolidate national stability.

García Canclini defines culture as "all practices and institutions involved in the administration, renewal, and restructuring of meaning."⁴⁹ Culture is necessarily social, as well as political. My study incorporates additional understandings of culture: that of collective artistic achievement, as well as a specific, quotidian usage from the Spanish *cultura* meaning refinement, cultivation and education. The term "nature" possesses almost as many variations at the term "culture." For the purpose of this study, I will use a definition that is based on the natural world, and yet recognizes human modifications. This variation is inclusive of a romanticizing of the nature-culture divide and is inspired

⁴⁷ Dorothee Brantz and Sonja Dümplemann, "Introduction," in Greening the City: Urban Landscapes in the Twentieth Century eds. Dorothee Brantz and Sonja Dümplemann (Charlottesville, V.A.: University of Virginia Press, 2011) ,7.

⁴⁸ Though it can also be considered environmental history as it looks at conceptualizations of nature. See Christian Brannstrom and Stefania Gallini, "An Introduction to Latin American Environmental History," in Territories, Commodities and Knowledges: Latin American Environmental History in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, ed. Christian Brannstrom (London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, 2004), 4; and Sverker Sörlin and Paul Warde, "The Problem of the Problem of Environmental History: A Re-Reading of the Field," Environmental History 12, no. 1 (Jan. 2007): 112.

⁴⁹ Néstor García Canclini, Transforming Modernity: popular culture in Mexico trans. Lidia Lozano (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1993), 10.

by Nils Lindahl Elliot. He notes that rather than using the more correct "environment," the ideal of nature is at the center of an implicit dialectic between nature and culture, and by using the term "nature," this structuring of beliefs is highlighted.⁵⁰

Michel Foucault's theory of "governmentality" and James Scott's studies into strategies of "simplification, legibility, and manipulation" offer a way to understand the instruments that states implement for dealing with populations.⁵¹ Based on my research, I argue that actors involved in social stabilization and economic modernization institutionalized the concept of "nature" in the urban environment. Due to continuing repercussions of the Revolution and to the demands of global industrial capitalism, the state used numerous practices in order to direct social groups, including urban migrants and international investors. A rural imaginary united with nature was particularly important in Mexico.⁵² A blend between "governmentalization of the environment"⁵³ and "governmentalization of culture,"⁵⁴ nature became a cultural tactic, simplified and embedded into Chapultepec through world's fairs, museums, exhibitions and competitions for various political ends.

In this dissertation, I bring together insights from various fields. In order to fully situate my work, below I will summarize influential scholarship related to the nation,

⁵⁰ Nils Lindahl Elliot, Mediating Nature (New York: Routledge, 2006), 2-3.

⁵¹ Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," in The Essential Foucault, eds. Paul Rabinow and Nikolas Rose (New York: The New Press, 1994); James Scott, Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed (New Haven, C.T.: Yale University Press, 1998), 11.

⁵² Gilbert Joseph and Daniel Nugent, "Popular Culture and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico," in Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico, eds. Gilbert Joseph and Daniel Nugent (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1994), 4.

⁵³ Arun Agrawal, Environmentality: Technologies of Government and the Making of Subjects (Durham, N.C., Duke University Press, 2005), 12.

⁵⁴ Tony Bennett, The Birth of the Museum: history, theory, politics (New York: Routledge, 1995), 24.

nature, public space, parks, institutions, consumption and Chapultepec Forest. I

conclude with a brief summary of chapters.

NATION

Nations, as Benedict Anderson argues, are "imagined communities" constructed to bind together distinct peoples on the "shrunk imaginings of recent history."⁵⁵ As a highly contingent project underscored by social relations and actors, shared symbols centered in a common story become central.⁵⁶ Deliberate practices—Hobsbawm and Ranger's "invented traditions"—to construct a unifying history are located in cultural sites as a way to achieve collective memory.⁵⁷ Museums are one of the institutions most tightly bound to the emergence and buttressing of nation-states.⁵⁸

Though the extent to which Mexico's twentieth-century conflagration was revolutionary has been much debated, the Revolution and its institutionalization have strongly influenced official symbols of *mexicanidad* (Mexican identity or Mexicanness).⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, revised ed. (New York: Verso, 2006), 6-7. It is important to note that although Anderson looks closely at Latin America, most scholars disagree with his region-specific argument. For more, see *Beyond Imagined Communities: Reading and Writing in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*, eds. Sarah Castro-Klarén and John Charles Chasteen (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University PPress, 2003).

⁵⁶ Claudio Lomnitz, *Deep Mexico Silent Mexico: an Anthropology of Nationalism* (Minneapolis: U Minnesota P, 2001), 126.

⁵⁷ Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 1; Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1992). Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire* or sites of memory which "anchor, express and condense the exhausted capital of our collected memory." Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26 (1989): 24.

⁵⁸ Sharon Macdonald, "Museums, national, postnational and transcultural identities," *Museum and Society* 1, no. 1 (2003): 1.

⁵⁹ A few of these works include: John Womack Jr., *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1969); Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution: Porfirians, Liberals, and Peasants* vol. 1 (Lincoln, N.E.: University of Nebraska Press 1990); John Mason Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico: the coming and process of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987). For a succinct summary, see

Nevertheless, Mexican identity is also sensitive to foreign influence and questioned by those non-foreigners whose Mexicanness has been disputed (naturalized Mexicans, Mexicans who have spent time abroad, etc.).⁶⁰ The complex role of the United States as hegemonic neighbor and regional and global power is crucial to comprehending practices of twentieth-century Mexican nationalism. Nevertheless, complicated understandings of Mexican nationalism are not new—the concept of “many Mexicos” has been in circulation since 1941.⁶¹

The presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas (1934-1940) is particularly interesting when looking at Mexican nationalism because of the "reciprocal relationship" between the state and social sectors during his administration.⁶² Cárdenas' government was the last of the revolutionary reconstruction administrations. His government oversaw the most ambitious phase of agrarian reform, the nationalization of the oil industry, and heightened *indigenismo*, and yet was tempered by "ideological inconsistency and political pragmatism."⁶³ In order to manage popular influence, Cárdenas "relied on planning to create conceptual authority for the state," which included programs of education and culture.⁶⁴ His immediate successor, Manuel Avila Camacho was the last

Claudio Lomnitz, "Final Reflections: What was Mexico's Cultural Revolution?" in *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940*, eds. Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen Lewis (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006).

⁶⁰ Joseph, Rubenstein, and Zolov, "Assembling the Fragments," p. 16, 21.

⁶¹ Lesley Byrd Simpson, *Many Mexicos* (New York: Putnam, 1941).

⁶² Nora Hamilton, *The Limits of State Autonomy: Post-Revolutionary Mexico* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982), 273.

⁶³ Lomnitz, "Final Reflections...", 336.

⁶⁴ Emily Wakild, "Revolutionary Resource Populism: President Cárdenas and the Creation of Environmental Policies," in *Populism in Twentieth Century Mexico*, eds. Amelia M. Kiddle and María L.O. Muñoz (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), 80.

of the presidents who had fought in the 1910 Revolution. By 1946, ties to revolutionary symbolism were severed from the personal experience of the president, and had to be replaced by other official symbols.

One key symbol was the capital city itself. "The embellishment of a major city, capital of a Nation, is not an issue of academic or abstract beauty, but suggests a cultural element with which to assert our national identity" declared Mexico City regent Aáron Saenz in 1934.⁶⁵ Chapultepec represented nationalism in the 1930s in part due to the post-revolutionary need for hybridized rural imaginary based on the importance of the agrarian revolution and the need for its institutionalization. Ricardo Pérez Montfort describes how Mexicanness in its post-revolutionary form—a countrified and marginalized urban popular condition—contrasted with the Porfirian bourgeois Mexican pueblo centered in Mexico City. Thus, newer Mexicanness had to be tamed of its threatening characteristics, what Pérez Montfort argues was done by replacing the image of the revolutionary with that of the *charro* (gaudy provincial horseman).⁶⁶ Furthermore, the overthrow of Porfirio Díaz allowed the city, which had strong foreign

⁶⁵ Alfonso Valenzuela Aguilera, "Green and Modern: Planning Mexico City, 1900-1940," in Greening the City: Urban Landscapes in the Twentieth Century, eds. Dorothee Brantz and Sonja Dümplemann (Charlottesville, V.A.: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 52, quoting Aarón Saenz, Gobernar a la ciudad es servirla, Informe del C. Jefe de Gobierno del Distrito Federal (México, 1934).

⁶⁶ Ricardo Pérez Montfort, "Una región inventada desde el centro. La consolidación del cuadro estereotípico nacional 1921-1937," in Estampas de nacionalismo popular mexicano (México: CIESAS, 1994), 114, 120, 153.

connotations, to be resuscitated from past invaders and transformed into a symbol of unification and strength.⁶⁷

NATURE

The environment—and specifically the cultural aspect of nature—has not figured prominently in the historiography of modern Mexico.⁶⁸ This scarcity is not unique to the study of Mexico, as Christian Brannstrom and Stefania Gallini note, "the environmental history of Latin American cities is poorly understood," and Frank Fischer and Maarten Hajer lament the "anti-environmentalist bias" in the reintroduction of culture into the study of politics.⁶⁹ The conception of nature has been distinctly developed and understood in Mexico, influenced by indigenous belief and the Spanish colonial experience.⁷⁰ Furthermore, conceptions of nature and the non-urban uniquely intersect

⁶⁷ José Luis Velasco, "Chapultepec," El Excelsior, 6 May 1938, p. 5, p. 10; Wolfgang Schivelbusch, The Culture of Defeat: on National Trauma, Mourning, and Recovery (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2001); Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen Lewis, "Introduction," in The Eagle and the Virgin: National and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940, eds. Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen Lewis (Durham N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006), 3.

⁶⁸ Wakild, "Naturalizing Modernity..." 106.

⁶⁹ Christian Brannstrom and Stefania Gallini, "An Introduction to Latin American Environmental History," in Territories, Commodities and Knowledges: Latin American Environmental History in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, ed. Christian Brannstrom (London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, 2004), 18; Frank Fischer and Maarten A. Hajer, "Introduction," in Living with Nature: Environmental Politics as Cultural Discourse, eds. Fischer and Hajer (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1999), 7. Perhaps one of the more influential works based upon this arbitrary division created between culture and nature is that by Terence Ranger, Voices from the Rocks: Nature, Culture & History in the Matopos Hills of Zimbabwe (London: Currey; Baobab; Indiana U P, 1999).

⁷⁰ See Hans Lenz, Sombras de lo por venir (México: Porrúa, 1998). It is important to note that there was much professional exchange primarily between Mexico and Europe (especially Paris and London) and then the United States after the turn of the 20th century. I say exchange because although Mexican professionals such as Miguel Angel de Quevedo, Carlos Contreras and Mario Pani trained in Europe, received European professionals in Mexico, and readily recognized European intellectual and design influences, they also recognized Mexican influences and the particular Mexican social, political and cultural context of their projects. For more on this, see Diane E. Davis, "El rumbo de la esfera pública: influencias locales, nacionales e internacionales en la urbanización del centro de la ciudad de México,

with centralized modernization in Mexico. Liberalism encouraged centralized modernization, and the Revolution formed symbolic ties to the countryside. The most comprehensive work on environmentalism in Mexico, Lane Simonian's Defending the Land of the Jaguar: A History of Conservation in Mexico, discusses at length seminal Mexican forestry advocate, engineer Miguel Angel de Quevedo's and Lázaro Cárdenas' commitment to environmentalism including their weaknesses as well as the post 1940 period of industrialization.⁷¹ His book does not address, however, the cultural components of Quevedo and Cárdenas' initiatives. And more troublesome is Simonian's extremely short treatment of Avila Camacho (almost entirely about the early years of the Green Revolution).

In his extraordinary Nature, Empire and Nation which looks at imperial and patriotic uses of nature in colonial and early national Latin America, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra includes discussion of Chapultepec.⁷² Through analyzing artistic representations of landscapes including Chapultepec, Cañizares-Esguerra finds that educated Mexicans understood the natural landscape largely as buildings and symbols rather than wilderness, particularly evident in José María Velasco's landscapes and in

1910-1950," in Actores, espacios y debates en la historia de la esfera pública en la ciudad de México, eds. Cristina Sacristán and Pablo Piccato (México: Instituto Mora, 2005), 246, 260.

⁷¹ Lane Simonian, Defending the Land of the Jaguar (Austin: U Texas P, 1995), chapter 5 "Conservation for the Commonweal: the Cárdenas Years." Also see Fernando Ortiz Monasterio, Tierra profanada: historia ambiental de México (México: INAH, 1987); Lenz; José Esteban Castro, Water, Power and Citizenship: Social Struggle in the Basin of Mexico (New York: Palgrave MacMillian, 2006); Joel Simon, Endangered Mexico (San Fransisco: Sierra Club, 1997); and Diane E. Davis, "El rumbo de la esfera pública...".

⁷² Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Nature, Empire, and Nation: Explorations of the History of Science in the Iberian World, Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006, chapter 7.

the frontpieces to the multi-volume México a través de los siglos.⁷³ Investigating the second half of the nineteenth century, Cañizares-Esguerra incorporates Chapultepec into his broader argument about "the nation as urban and rooted in the central Mesoamerican highlands..." with an overwhelming association between nature and history in the service of nation-building.⁷⁴ In addition to serving as exemplary scholarship on investigating cultural conceptions of nature, Cañizares-Esguerra's work sustains my contentions that the centrally-located, urban, built environment of Mexico City is crucial to the understanding of nature in Mexico.

Christopher Boyer's and Emily Wakild's recent scholarship is invaluable for understanding the unique case of post-revolutionary Mexico and its social, political and economic development which utilized and was constrained by the environment. Emily Wakild's article, "Naturalizing Modernity," addresses Porfirian-era Chapultepec garden improvements showing how urban nature was manipulated "as a method of social control, political resiliency, and cosmopolitan legitimacy."⁷⁵ Interestingly and as my work shows, similar means—more broadly popularized and inscribed into built institutions—would be used in the post-revolutionary period. In "Parables of Chapultepec," Wakild broadly traces the uses of Chapultepec as a way for the reader to

⁷³ In these examples, landscape symbolism and the spatial division of the canvas represent historical eras in the making of *mestizo* Mexico. Velasco often included churches, factories, railroads, and cities as emblematic of colonial and modern eras. Cañizares-Esguerra demonstrates how "through the use of geographical landmarks and the manipulation of the various planes in the painting, he [Velasco] sought to convey subtle historical narratives about the nation..." Cañizares-Esguerra,159.

⁷⁴ Cañizares-Esguerra,153.

⁷⁵ Wakild, "Naturalizing Modernity..." 123, 105.

think about contradictions among nature and modernity and environmental ideals.⁷⁶

She notes that despite the value of studying "parks that coexist with seemingly contradictory events and institutions..." there have been few such analyses.⁷⁷ Though she doesn't elaborate on her claim that Cárdenas used Chapultepec as a model for his national parks, it would be important to do so, particularly since administrative jurisdiction over Chapultepec has been and continues to be a point of dispute between municipal and federal levels.⁷⁸ Christopher Boyer's article on "ecological paternalism" shows that efforts to develop the nation through protecting forests were based on policies originating in Mexico City to modify *campesino* behavior.⁷⁹

Joining forces, Christopher Boyer and Emily Wakild co-authored "Social Landscaping in the Forests of Mexico: An Environmental Interpretation of Cardenismo, 1934-1940," in which they focus on Cárdenas "[R]eordering the relationship between

⁷⁶ Emily Wakild, "Parables of Chapultepec: Urban Parks, National Landscapes, and Contradictory Conservation in Modern Mexico," in *A Land between Waters: Environmental Histories of Modern Mexico*, ed. Christopher R. Boyer (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012).

⁷⁷ Wakild, "Parables..." 309.

⁷⁸ Wakild, "Parables..." 311, 319. On the mislabeling of Chapultepec, see: *Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca* I, no. 1 (Sept.-Oct. 1935): 63-64; *Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca* I, no. 2 (Nov 1935-Jan 1936): 238; Miguel Angel de Quevedo, "El Bosque de Chapultepec, Parque Nacional [sic], y los Propósitos del Departamento Forestal para su Conservación y Gobierno," *México Forestal* 13 (January 1935): 6-9. Recent conflicts over jurisdiction include a 2002 dispute between the Federal District's Secretary of Urban Development and Housing and the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the Federal District government's attempt at reclaiming 60 hectares from the presidential residence *Los Pinos* in Chapultepec. See Museo de Historia Nacional, internal document "Documentos Crediticios del Castillo de Chapultepec," PowerPoint, shared by Arq. Rosa Ana Trujillo, January 2011; Nayeli Gomez C., "Ebrad va por los Pinos: le reclama 60 hectáreas," *La Crónica de Hoy*, 23 November 2007, city section.

⁷⁹ Christopher R. Boyer, "Revolución y paternalismo ecológico: Miguel Angel de Quevedo y la política forestal en México, 1926-1940," *Historia Mexicana* 57 (2007).

nature and society."⁸⁰ The Mexican state attempted to modernize through altering rural populations' usage of nature.⁸¹ In their individual and joint scholarship, Boyer and Wakild are not particularly drawn to Mexico City or to the built environment, rather to social arrangements and landscapes. Because Cárdenas' is well known for his attention to rural issues, it is understandable that their work does not engage with urban areas.

Yet the capital was central to many initiatives, as well as being particularly important in the era of growth and modernization in part due to the preference of the powerful for urban areas. As Mauricio Tenorio Trillo notes "Mexican elites (like most Latin American elites) regarded the city as the only form of true civilisation."⁸² One method of highlighting the non-urban in the city was through emphasizing indigenous peoples' connection with tradition and nature. Indigenous symbolism was utilized in constructing institutional culture that both required as well as replaced natural spaces. Rebecca Earle and Mary Kay Vaughan have shown the incorporation of ethnic elements in Mexican national culture. *Indigenismo* was used in nation building in the nineteenth century as seen in Earle's work, and in the twentieth century through formal schools as seen in Vaughan's work, and furthermore in extra-curricular educational institutions such as museums as well as in artwork, movies, and nomenclature.⁸³ In Chapultepec,

⁸⁰ Christopher R. Boyer and Emily Wakild, "Social Landscaping in the Forests of Mexico: An Environmental Interpretation of Cardenismo, 1934-1940," Hispanic American Historical Review, 92, no 1 (2012): 74.

⁸¹ Christopher R. Boyer and Emily Wakild, 76-77, 106.

⁸² Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, "1910 Mexico City: Space and Nation in the City of the Centenario," Journal of Latin American Studies 28, no. 1 (1996): 88.

⁸³ For schools, Vaughan, 5; for museums, Luisa Fernanda Rico Mansard, Exhibir para educar: objetos, colecciones y museos de la ciudad de México, 1790-1910 (Barcelona: Pomares, 2004), 276, 360; for artwork, Desmond Rochfort, Mexican Muralists: Orozco, Rivera, Siqueiros (San Francisco: Chronicle,

museums replaced the more natural spaces associated in common historical memory with Moctezuma and Netzahualcoyotl.

PUBLIC SPACE AND PARKS

In addition to importance as the seat of government and the site of "Aztec" homeland, the capital of Mexico was the most centrally located city with significant patrimony.⁸⁴

Central location was important for cultural institutions such as museums "where they stood as embodiments, both material and symbolic" of the state's power and inclusion.⁸⁵ Though not a guarantee of access, centrality could make sites more accessible, and public use was a constitutive factor in the development of their character.⁸⁶

Henri Lefebvre's work on the three-part possibilities for the social production of space: perceived space, conceived space and lived space; and Jurgen Habermas's conception of the public sphere as an arena for exchange of ideas among civil participants are important theoretical underpinnings for investigations of public space. Scholars have noted shortcomings of Habermas's theory in that his model of the bourgeoisie and developmentalist narrative do not easily apply to other histories

1993); for cinema, Joanne Hershfield, Mexican cinema/Mexican woman (Tucson: U Arizona P, 1996); Jeffrey Pilcher, Cantinflas and the Chaos of Mexican Modernity (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2001); and Julia Tuñón, "Femininity, Indigensimo and Nation: Film Representation by Emilio 'El Indio' Fernández," in Sex in Revolution: Gender Politics, and Power in Modern Mexico, eds. Jocelyn Olcott, Mary Kay Vaughan, and Gabriela Cano (Durham: Duke UP, 2006); for nomenclature, see Patrice Elizabeth Olsen, "Revolution in the City Streets: Changing Nomenclature, Changing Form, and the Revision of Public Memory," in The Eagle and the Virgin: nation and cultural revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940, eds. Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen E. Lewis (Durham: Duke U.P., 2006).

⁸⁴ Patrice Mele, La producción del patrimonio urbano (México: CIESAS, 2006), 107.

⁸⁵ Bennett, 87.

⁸⁶ Rosenzweig and Blackmar, 6.

especially in Latin America.⁸⁷ García Canclini has asserted that other considerations—especially consumption—make up the public sphere, which is about "the status of the struggle for recognition of others as subjects with 'valid interests, relevant values, and legitimate claims'...[a] 'civil grammar'."⁸⁸ It is important to remember that often public sphere is translated in Spanish as *espacio público* rather than *esfera pública*, and, in terms of the public sphere, this dissertation employs spatial materiality rather than abstract arenas. The other half of the term, public, also has varied connotations. For Mexico, Nora Rabotnikof notes numerous possible designations and proposes a simplified three-part definition: "the general and common, the visible and manifest, and the open and accessible."⁸⁹

Although admitting the subjectivity of his distinction, Spiro Kostof classifies parks as "public places" rather than public space, based on destination rather than transit.⁹⁰ Parks, largely in the West but with global variations, developed from nineteenth-century social reform concerns and from earlier traditions of sacred woods and the periodic opening up of royal properties. Most mixed-use central parks date from the mid- to late- nineteenth century.⁹¹ In spite of or more likely because of their public-ness

⁸⁷ François-Xavier Guerra and Annick Lempérière, "Introduction," in Los Espacios Públicos en Iberoamerica: Ambigüedades y problemas, siglos XVIII-XIX, eds. François-Xavier Guerra and Annick Lempérière (Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1998), 9-10. François-Xavier Guerra and Annick Lempérière prefer to discuss "public spaces," which are tangible rather than abstract and with concrete, diverse and recognizable publics. Guerra and Lempérière, 10.

⁸⁸ Néstor García Canclini, Consumers and Citizens: Globalization and Multicultural Conflicts, trans. George Yúdice (Minneapolis: U Minnesota Press, 2001), 21, citing Vera da Silva Telles.

⁸⁹ Nora Rabotnikof, "Discutiendo lo público en México," in ¿Qué tan público es el espacio público en México? ed. Mauricio Merino (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, 2010), 30.

⁹⁰ Kostof, 123.

⁹¹ Kostof, 166,169; Setha Low, Dana Taplin, and Suzanne Scheld, 19-30; Herzog, 13-16.

inclusive of both "ritual" and "freedom of action," governments have long attempted to shape and control the use of these spaces.⁹²

One technique utilized in public parks has been the institution, specifically the museum. Carol Duncan has shown that for the U.S. and Europe, large park sites serve public and symbolic functions for museums through communicating openness and equality. Museums therein situated provided pedagogical training in "ideals of the republican state" and the "unity of the nation."⁹³ The accessibility of the spaces and their usage has led to "a contest between the official and the formal, on one hand, and the vernacular on the other" as Setha Low, Dana Taplin, and Suzanne Scheld have written about for the U.S. case.⁹⁴ Thus and as Kostof warns, "The safer and more well-behaved these places are, the likelier it is that their mission [as public space] has been inhibited."⁹⁵

INSTITUTIONS

The Mexican museum's relationship to its site, both as a cultural construction and technique of social control, is significant. The transfer and display of unique objects meant to unify are often the result of revolution and subsequent nation building.⁹⁶

Luisa Fernanda Rico Mansard applies to the Mexican case specifically the idea that

⁹² Kostof, 123-125; Heckscher, 161-164.

⁹³ Carol Duncan, Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums (London: Routledge, 1995). On public park sites for museums, see pages 11, 57; for class elision of institutions, 55; for museums modeling behavior, 49.

⁹⁴ Low, Taplin and Scheld, 35.

⁹⁵ Kostof, 172.

⁹⁶ Flora Kaplan, "Introduction," in Museums and the Making of "Ourselves": The Role of Objects in National Identity, Flora Kaplan, ed., (London: U Leicester P, 1994), 1.

museums essentially make public what was formerly the private purview of the elite. She focuses on the educational aspects of museums, identifying that it was in the 1950s when informal or extracurricular education within museums rather than simple displays of collections, became a part of official politics.⁹⁷ Nevertheless my research demonstrates that this process began earlier. Miguel Angel de Quevedo undertook museological educational initiatives tied to cultural programs in the 1930s, and during the 1940s, the Forest continued to host events aimed at instructing the citizenry on a popular and mass level, while plans for future additional large-scale institutions were being developed.

In Mexico, “symbiotic relationships among archaeology, the state and the museum formed part of the myth of the Mexican origin,”⁹⁸ and this relationship often included an environmental or natural aspect (as my earlier discussion of indigeneity and nature noted). The symbiosis was heightened during crucial state-defining points in Mexican history: Independence, mid-nineteenth century, the turn of the nineteenth to twentieth century, and post-revolutionary periods. The overwhelming attention to the anthropology museum in Chapultepec at the expense of other institutions is partially explained by this unique politico-cultural association.

To further understand the techniques of controlling public space, I look at the process of institutionalization of nature in the built environment. Not solely in the

⁹⁷ Mansard, *Exhibir para educar*, 276, 360.

⁹⁸ Luis Gerardo Morales-Moreno, “The National Museum of Mexico,” in *Museums and the Making of “Ourselves”*: The Role of Objects in National Identity (London: U Leicester P, 1994), 181.

content of buildings, intended practices could be embedded within location and symbolism. Social actors had to subvert or accede to the disciplining intent of institutions. Patrice Olsen uses buildings as "artifacts" in order to discover the "human motives" of the built environment in post-revolutionary Mexico.⁹⁹ Tony Bennett argues in The Birth of the Museum, "[A] museum's formation needs also to be viewed in relation to the development of a range of collateral cultural institutions, including apparently alien and disconnected ones," because they were utilized by the state "as instruments...for new tasks of social management."¹⁰⁰ As Kevin Hetherington defines museums "as expressions of ordering the social," it is essential to note that the ordering function of museums in Chapultepec occurs within a larger space also subject to ordering, and that its disciplining institutions' relationships to one another are an additional important consideration.¹⁰¹

Social ordering was especially important in post-revolutionary Mexico. García Canclini notes that "In post-revolutionary Mexico, above all during the Cárdenas period, political culture sought to combine the elite culture with the working-class in a system and tried to use it to overcome the country's divisions."¹⁰² This synthesis of classes

⁹⁹ Patrice Elizabeth Olsen, Artifacts of Revolution: Architecture, Society, and Politics in Mexico City, 1920-1940 (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2008), xii.

¹⁰⁰ Bennett, 6. Bennett criticizes Foucault's work on the difference between less-structured fairs and modernizing museums as "too starkly stated" noting that there was an institutional spectrum, which encouraged me to think inclusively about cultural institutions. Bennett, 1-4.

¹⁰¹ Kevin Hetherington, "The utopics of social ordering: Stonehenge as a museum without walls," in Theorizing Museums: Representing identity and diversity in a changing world, eds. Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996), 155.

¹⁰² Néstor García Canclini, "El patrimonio cultural de México y la construcción imaginaria de lo nacional," in El Patrimonio Nacional de México, ed. Enrique Florescano, vol. I (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes y Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1997), 67.

would be difficult; yet a variety of museums, which according to Pierre Bourdieu and Sharon Macdonald negotiate belonging, could help the national project.¹⁰³ The segmentation and proliferation of institutions which accelerated in the 1950s and be broadly realized in the 1960s had its origins in the mid-1930s.

Broadly speaking, Chapultepec's institutions extend much farther back in time, though the important turning point is the mid-1930s with the convergence of planning for the International Exposition, Cárdenas' opening the Castillo to the public, and the ministerial elevation of the Department of Forestry so that Miguel Angel de Quevedo's cultural program of "protection of nature" became seated in Chapultepec. The importance of future national, cultural institutions in Chapultepec that would utilize cultural formations of nature to encourage economic growth through middle-class conceptions of citizenry, tourism, and international investment did not end with the termination Quevedo's ministerial duties and Cárdenas' presidency.

CONSUMPTION

I find that Chapultepec was a place utilized by the state and the market for the formation of citizenry through consumption.¹⁰⁴ Though not a new phenomenon (the Porifiran leisure classes used the Forest as an outpost for their conspicuous consumption), post-revolutionary leaders and businesses in Mexico utilized Chapultepec

¹⁰³ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: a Social Critique of Taste* (Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press, 1984), 1; Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel, *The Love of Art: European Art Museums and their Public*, trans. Caroline Beattie and Nick Merriman (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 14; Sharon Macdonald, "Introduction," in *Theorizing Museums: Representing identity and diversity in a changing world*, eds. Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe (Cambridge: Blackwell, 1996), 4.

¹⁰⁴ In the post-revolutionary, particularly post-1940 "The market powerfully complemented the state in the production of social citizenship." Joseph, Rubenstein, and Zolov, "Assembling the Fragments," 10.

and its institutions to attract diverse social classes, encouraging consumption based upon the practices of the elite with rhetorical and symbolic ties to nature. Insights from Nils Lindahl Elliot, Néstor García Canclini and Piere Bourdieu allow me to more fully understand the possibilities and constraints of audiences being identified as consumers, and what benefits the state, the market, and the individual may have desired from this shift in classification. Particularly when in post-revolutionary Mexico, consumption was equated with democracy.¹⁰⁵

Néstor García Canclini defines consumption as "the group of sociocultural processes in which the appropriation and use of products occur," with the symbolic critical to cultural consumption.¹⁰⁶ Nils Lindahl Elliot notes how, through "pedagog[ies] of massification," "institutions engage in the commodification of nature...as a 'symbolic good'."¹⁰⁷ He finds that these pedagogies of massification of nature were utilized as both a means to as well as an antidote to modernity.¹⁰⁸ With regard to Chapultepec I find this dual tension through the marketing of neighboring housing divisions and their proximity to Chapultepec as a way of escaping the modernizing metropolis, as well as Hudson automobiles advertised as part of a historical fashion show in Chapultepec.¹⁰⁹

García Canclini argues for the inclusion of consumption into studies of the public sphere provocatively stating "[W]e should ask ourselves if consumption does not entail

¹⁰⁵ Julio Moreno, Yankee Don't Go Home: Mexican Nationalism, American Business Culture, and the Shaping of Modern Mexico, 1920-1950 (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 3.

¹⁰⁶ Néstor García Canclini, El consumo cultural en México (México: CONACULTA, 1993), 24, 34.

¹⁰⁷ Lindahl Elliot, 50.

¹⁰⁸ Lindahl Elliot, 3-4.

¹⁰⁹ For the housing developments, see chapter 4, "'A Burning Matter': the Crusade Against Charcoal;" For the fashion show, see chapter 5, "Arbol de la vida: Encouraging Citizen-building in the Out-of-Doors."

doing something that sustains, nourishes, and to a certain extent constitutes a new mode of being citizens."¹¹⁰ He notes the importance of this approach for the more recent eras in which post-revolutionary protectionism and stability shifted.¹¹¹ His approach could be particularly useful for the second phase of my research on public reception, nevertheless even for this project there are some limited examples of individuals identifying with and being active citizens through consumption. As seen in petitions to install fair equipment in Chapultepec, these examples are largely tied back to the concept of the nation-state, for instance as a way to make Mexico modern.¹¹²

Pierre Bourdieu argues that concept of "consumer taste formation" is predicated upon social classes rather than consumer choice.¹¹³ Lindahl Elliot's work appears to provide a theoretical way of combining Bourdieu's and García Canclini's approaches. In discussing the idea of mass audiences with the problem of "consumer choice," Lindahl Elliot argues that "[W]hat I describe as massification goes on in any number of everyday [post-Fordian] contexts where people are routinely transformed into parts of agglomerations: into audiences, visitors, publics, or indeed consumers..."¹¹⁴ I think an important question to answer would be who is doing the transforming. And although my study takes place in an earlier Fordian era, I think Lindahl Elliot's framework is still

¹¹⁰ García Canclini, *Consumers and Citizens*, 26.

¹¹¹ García Canclini, *El Consumo Cultural*, 40.

¹¹² For the fair petition, see chapter 2, "A Calzada without Its Exhibition."

¹¹³ Bourdieu, *Distinction*, chapter 5.

¹¹⁴ Lindahl Elliot, 4.

applicable as 1940s Mexico was a time of lessening protectionism and heightened consumption.¹¹⁵

John Urry, in his study on tourism, has found how culture industries have become "crucial to the economic and cultural transformation of different places."¹¹⁶ Developing the economy and better relations with the U.S. led to tourism becoming a national industry.¹¹⁷ Jean Franco argues that the growth industry of tourism in post-revolutionary Mexico utilized the idea of tradition encompassing nature in order to allure and reassure modernizing economic investors.¹¹⁸ This nature would need to have been located in the urban capital to where financiers arrived. Chapultepec would be a place for materially and symbolically bringing the countryside to urban and international consumers.

WHY CHAPULTEPEC

Chapultepec was (and is) a unique place and a microcosm of Mexico: representative of the nation because of pre-Hispanic practice and repeated foreign incursions, as well as being a geographically central site where local, regional, national, and international populations interact. Because of its resonance with the nation, control over Chapultepec and its usage became especially important to official and political entities. The inclusion of popular sectors in post-revolutionary social planning meant that, as

¹¹⁵ Julio Moreno calls 1940s Mexico a "consumer revolution." Moreno, 2.

¹¹⁶ John Urry, Consuming Places (New York: Routledge, 1995), 2.

¹¹⁷ Dina Berger, The Development of Mexico's Tourism Industry: Pyramids by Day, Martinis by Night (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 119.

¹¹⁸ Jean Franco, "Manhattan Will Be More Exotic this Fall: The Iconization of Frida Kahlo," in Critical Passions: selected essays, eds. Mary Louise Pratt and Kathleen Newman (Durham: Duke UP, 1999), 41.

opposed to earlier mid-eighteenth, late-eighteenth, and early-nineteenth century eras of outright elite control and international influence, leaders in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s became much more concerned with the incorporation, or the appearance of inclusion, of the popular classes.¹¹⁹

Relations of power embedded in Chapultepec Forest were temporally and spatially layered due to historical memory, overproduction,¹²⁰ contradictions between nature and institutions, embeddedness in competing scales, and the rural/urban relationship.¹²¹ Its location in Mexico City, “the crucible of the social, political and ideological project that transforms the countrified common people into a cultural emblem of the country,” allowed Chapultepec to become one of the key sites of this process.¹²² Its connection with nature was endowed with rural aspects, and it was filled with didactic structures, as seen in figure 1-4 and 1-5, to facilitate the desired social conversion.

¹¹⁹ Collado Herrera, "Los sonorenses...", 118.

¹²⁰ John Agnew's conceptualization of 'overproduction' as leading to ideological incoherence. Cited in Karen Till, "Places of Memory," in *A Companion to Political Geography* eds. John Agnew, Katharyne Mitchell and Gerard Toal Malden (MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2003), 292.

¹²¹ Chapultepec has been both at different times in history, as well as having "rural" characteristics during its existence in the urban space. The connections of conceptions of rural and urban to broader culturally produced meanings (revolution, indigenusness, etc.) is further discussed in the chapter, "Arbol de la Vida." Again, this is both a function of spatialities (center/periphery) and of cultural politics (developing national symbols: in this instance replacing the revolutionary with the charro or the Indian). See Pérez Montfort.

¹²² Pérez Montfort, p. 140, citing V. Aurrecochea, Juan Manuel, and Armando Bartra, *Puros Cuentos. La historia de a historieta en México 1874-1934* (México: CONACULTA, 1988), 183. Also see Julio Moreno, 114-5.



1-4 Chapultepec ca. 1940. Acervo Histórico de Fundación ICA, NEG 4814

Chapultepec embodied an inherent tension between national goals and appealing to foreigners. As numerous works show, international influence was ubiquitous in the post-revolutionary era.¹²³ Even for the 1921 Centennial of the Consummation of Independence, when Chapultepec was the recipient of many improvements ostensibly directed at the national population (fountains, entrances, refreshment kiosks, and lighting), the number of foreign-related companies providing

¹²³ Helen Delpar, The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1920-1930 (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992); Jorge H. Jiménez Muñoz, La Traza del Poder: Historia de la Política y los Negocios Urbanos en el Distrito Federal, de sus orígenes a la desaparición del Ayuntamiento (1824-1928) (México: Codex Editores, 1993), 140-144; Hamilton, 104; Thomas O'Brien, The Century of U.S. Capitalism in Latin America (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), especially chapter 3.

funding for these improvements was remarkable.¹²⁴ This dissertation shows that international influence was combined with a utilization of nature through the built environment to direct social cohesion, during an era which is thought to have been nationally focused.

Though this dissertation is not comparative, Chapultepec shares temporal and institutional similarities with regional and global sites such as Quinta da Boa Vista and Parque de Tijuca in Rio, Parque Simón Bolívar in Bogotá, Parque Lenin in Havana, Parque Tres de Febrero in Buenos Aires, Balboa Park in San Diego, Central Park in New York, and the Bois de Boulogne in Paris. Similar facilities include gardens, museums, and attractions with their development centering on the later nineteenth and the mid-twentieth centuries. It is important to understand the parks' specific socio-historical context, yet the simultaneous formation of many similar sites belies any one's exceptionalism.¹²⁵ Interesting work remains to be done on the circulation of culturally-inspired understandings of nature and placement of institutions within Latin American cities, particularly in the World War II era.

Periodically throughout the twentieth century, private and governmental books about Chapultepec and its history have been published. By and large they utilize a familiar historical narrative of Chapultepec to achieve environmental restoration or

¹²⁴ See Anales de la Secretaría de Comunicaciones y Obras Públicas, appendix, 25-28. Many of the contributors were fraccionadores for residential developments. For further information on these individuals and companies, see Jiménez Muñoz, appendix.

¹²⁵ "[C]oncepts of nature always have to be viewed in relation to the cultural context in which they arose...and understood in reference to geohistorical specificities," Brantz and Dümplemann, 1-2.

historical commemoration.¹²⁶ Scholarship has focused on the U.S. invasion and the mythologized U.S.-Mexico War cadet heroes (*Niños Heroes*) who died defending Chapultepec.¹²⁷ Academic works have looked at beautification and expansion of areas in and surrounding Chapultepec: the late-eighteenth-century construction of the *Castillo* which reflected a growing distancing of New Spain from the motherland; Emperor Ferdinand Maximilian of Hapsburg's *Paseo de la Emperatriz* (later changed to *de la Reforma*), which evidenced conservative overreach and direct European rule; the early-twentieth-century Porfirian/Limantour improvements related to the Centennial celebration of Independence in 1910, which concretized the detachment between elites and the rest of Mexico; and the early twentieth-century development of neighboring, affluent housing *colonias*, which continued Porfirian-like policies.¹²⁸ Chapultepec has

¹²⁶ See Rubén M Campos, *Chapultepec: Its Legend and Its History*, trans. Luis Bozzo, Jr. (México: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1922); Vega; Hermilo de la Cueva, *Chapultepec: biografía de un bosque*, (México: Libro Mex, 1957); Jesús Romero Flores, *Chapultepec: Biografía de un bosque*, (México: SEP, 1947); Miguel Angel Fernández del Villar, *Chapultepec*; Elena Horz, ed., *Bosque de Chapultepec* (México: Horz Asociados, BXT, 2011).

¹²⁷ For Niños Heroes, see Enrique Plasencia de la Parra, "Conmemoración...", 241; and *Independencia y nacionalismo a la luz del discurso conmemorativo: 1825-1867* (México: CONACULTA, 1991). There are numerous U.S. military history works that deal with the U.S.-Mexican War, but more engaging are works such as: Shelly Streeby's *American Sensations: Class, Empire and the Production of Popular Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), which includes representations of the U.S.-Mexican War in a broader discussion of race, society and culture in the U.S.; *The View from Chapultepec: Mexican Writers on the Mexican-American War*, trans. and ed. Cecil Robinson (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989); and Krystyna Libura, Luis Gerardo Morales Moreno, Jesús Velasco Márquez, *Echoes of the Mexican-American War*, trans. Mark Fried (Toronto: Groundwood Books, 2004).

¹²⁸ In general, see Ramona I. Pérez Bertruy "La construcción de paseos y jardines públicos modernos en la ciudad de México durante el Porfiriato: una experiencia social," in *Los Espacios Públicos de la Ciudad, siglos XVIII y XIX* (México: Instituto de Cultura de la ciudad de México, 2002); Diane E. Davis, "El rumbo de la esfera pública..."; and Michael Johns *The City of Mexico in the Age of Porfirio Diaz* (Austin: U Texas Press, 1997). For the *Castillo*, see Campos, *Chapultepec*; Romero Flores, *Chapultepec*. For the Paseo de la Reforma see: Carlos Assad Martínez, *La patria en el Paseo de la Reforma* (México: Fondo de la Cultura Económica, 2005); Barbara Tennenbaum, "Streetwise History: The Paseo de la Reforma and the Porfirian State, 1876-1910," in *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance*, eds. William Beezley, Cheryl English Martin and William French (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1994); and Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the*

been the object of ethnographic and archaeological study as well.¹²⁹ Though the National Museum of Anthropology located in Chapultepec has received sustained critique, as seen in the work of Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, Claudio Lomnitz and Néstor García Canclini,¹³⁰ the placing and accumulation of institutions in Chapultepec have not been analyzed as part of what Mary Kay Vaughan calls “the Mexican cultural state.”¹³¹ And none of this substantial scholarship sustains inquiry into the overlap of these topics which could have allowed for solidification of meaning or creation of room for interpretation.

World’s Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation (Berkeley: U California P, 1996) and “1910 Mexico City...”. On Limantour, see Wakild, “Naturalizing Modernity...”, 101-123; Fernández del Villar, “El Jardín de Limantour,” 54-55; Tovar de Teresa, 56-61; Fernández del Villar, Chapultepec; Heath Schenker, Melodramatic Landscapes: urban parks in the nineteenth century (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009). On residential development, see Carol McMichael Reese “The Urban Development of Mexico City, 1850-1930,” in Planning Latin America’s Capital Cities, 1850-1950, ed. Arturo Almandoz (London: Routledge, 2002); Armando Cisneros Sosa, La ciudad que construimos: registro de la expansión de la ciudad de México, 1920-1976 (México: UAM-Iztapalapa, 1993); and Ariel Rodríguez Kuri, La experiencia olvidada: el ayuntamiento de México: política y gobierno, 1876-1912 (México: UAM-Azcapotzalco, 1996).

¹²⁹ Carlos Vázquez Olvera observes Chapultepec and the use made of it in an ethnographic sketch included in a collection of vignettes on Mexico City, “Chapultepec: paseos y recreación, entre la historia y el mito,” in La ciudad desde sus lugares: trece ventanas etnográficas para un metrópoli, (México: UAM-Iztapalapa: Porrua, 2001), 385-422. Though his title clearly refers to the past and its interpretation, most of this version of Vázquez Olvera’s article focuses on an interpretation of the experience of the space of Chapultepec. For an outstanding portrait of Chapultepec see Salvador Novo, Los Paseos de la Ciudad de México 2nd ed. (México: Fondo de la Cultura Económica, 2005). There are numerous works on Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, the architect of many structures in Chapultepec—most architect-published.

¹³⁰ Guillermo Bonfil Batalla, Mexico Profundo: Reclaiming a Civilization (Austin: Texas UP, 1996), 54-55; Claudio Lomnitz, Deep Mexico Silent Mexico, chapter 6, especially p. 133, and chapter 11, especially p. 254; Néstor García Canclini, Hybrid Cultures, chapter 4, pgs. 120-132. For histories of Mexican museums which include Chapultepec, see Luisa Fernanda Rico Mansard, Exhibir para educar: objetos, colecciones y museos de la ciudad de México, 1790-1910, (Barcelona: Pomares, 2004); Miguel Angel Fernández del Villar, Historia de los museos de México (México: Promotora de Comercialización Directa, 1988); Historia de los Museos de la Secretaría de Educación Pública, Ciudad de México.

¹³¹ Mary Kay Vaughan, “Transnational Processes,” in The Eagle and the Virgin: nation and cultural revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940, eds. Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen E. Lewis, (Durham: Duke U.P., 2006), 471.

This oversight is unfortunate, for Chapultepec brings together in one location diverse environmental, anthropological, historical, political, artistic, and tourism-related ventures: all of which figure into the formation and utilization of national culture. In García Canclini's discussion of cultural reconversion, "symbolic patrimony [is transferred] from one site to another in order to conserve it, increase its yield, and better the position of those who practice it."¹³²

For "Changing Chapultepec" I consulted federal, municipal, and private archival sources consisting of letters to officials; government documents including internal memos and notations; and departmental work plans, summaries, inventories, and reports. I also made extensive use of newspaper articles, editorials and pictures; magazines; photographs; maps; and published secondary material including literature, memoirs, travel books, pamphlets, and histories. The variety of sources enabled a closer approximation to varying uses and understandings of Chapultepec, as well as a better blending of fields of study. Social agents included working people, presidents, children, criminals, ministers, entertainers, elite women, entrepreneurs, and civil servants.

The time period covered in this dissertation is important because it was part of the post-revolutionary attempt to overcome national divisions while at the same time reassuring foreigners. As Mexico shifted from rural to urban, the period of this study

¹³² Néstor García Canclini, "Cultural Reconversion," in On Edge: the crisis of contemporary Latin American Culture, eds. George Yúdice, Jean Franco and Juan Flores, (Minneapolis: U of MN Press, 1992),31-32.

comprises a post-revolutionary turning point when the government located and exploited national cultural institutions with connections to nature for these ends.¹³³

I purposefully move beyond the common 1940 break, which corresponds to the presidential change from Lázaro Cárdenas to Manuel Avila Camacho. Though there were differences in administrations and priorities, there was much more continuity in policies than has been acknowledged.¹³⁴ Perhaps more importantly, many ideas attributed to Avila Camacho or even Miguel Alemán were started or nurtured under Cárdenas.¹³⁵ Though many of his policies were redistributive, Cárdenas was also very much interested in investment, consumption and capitalist strategies.¹³⁶ Although Gilbert Joseph, Anne Rubenstein and Eric Zolov do note the continuities and question the easy chronology of the 1940 break, they still utilize it.¹³⁷ I refute that convenient periodization. In this project I find that practices utilizing increasing urbanization and consumption dated to pre-1940s and continued in the post-1940s and were manifested in Chapultepec as a microcosm of Mexico. I also disagree with Bill Beezley and David

¹³³ By 1960 Mexico was 50% urban / 50% rural. The decade of 1940-1950 was when the largest shift began and was sustained: approximately 7.5%/decade; earlier it averaged 2.5%/decade. Mexico City's population was 906,063 in 1920; 1,229,536 in 1930; and 1,757,530 in 1940; and 3,050,442 in 1950. The national population was 14,334,780 in 1920; 16,552,722 in 1930; 19,653,552 in 1940; and 25,791,017 in 1950. Mexico City's population was 6.5% of the nation in 1920; 7.5% of the nation in 1930; 9% of the nation in 1940; and 12% of the nation in 1950. Mexico City as a percentage of the total Mexican urban population was 20% in 1920; 22% in 1930; 25% in 1940; and 28% in 1950. "Población total, urbana y rural por sexo: cuadro 1.16," Estadísticas Históricas de México 2009: Años censales seleccionados de 1790 a 2005 (México: INEGI, 2009).

¹³⁴ Joseph, Rubenstein, Zolov, "Assembling the Fragments," 8-9. Hamilton, 275.

¹³⁵ The National Museum of History for instance. See also, Dina Berger for the example of tourism.

¹³⁶ Schuler; Hamilton.

¹³⁷ Joseph, Rubenstein, and Zolov, "Assembling the Fragments," 8-9. Perhaps furthering the conversation started with Fragments, The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940 also utilizes 1940 as an endpoint.

Lorey's contention that after 1938 (Cardenas' Independence Day speech via radio in 1938) public spaces lost their importance to new technologies of communication and private arenas.¹³⁸

As the editors of the influential anthology Fragments of a Golden Age argue, the "complex intertwining of rural and urban cultural sensibilities became a hallmark of lo mexicano [Mexican identity] in the 1940s and 1950s..."¹³⁹ Yet, I locate an important and overlooked aspect of this interweaving in the late 1930s-early 1940s planning and construction of cultural institutions linked to Chapultepec's national natural environment. A turning point as significant as the construction of the *Castillo*, the presence of Maximilian, or the improvements for the 1910 Centennial, the late 1930s-early 1940s shaped the future Chapultepec as an international stage for the large-scale museums and cultural events (including the Olympics) for which Chapultepec and Mexico would be renowned. This precursor to the 1960s events and venues is still poorly known.¹⁴⁰ Overall, the institutionalization of Chapultepec—Chapultepec as institution and as recipient of numerous pedagogical sites—is most clearly developed during the era covered by this dissertation.

¹³⁸William H. Beezley and David E. Lorey, "Introduction: The Functions of Patriotic Ceremony in Mexico," in Viva Mexico, Viva Independencia: Celebrations of September 16, eds. William H. Beezley and David E. Lorey (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2001), xv.

¹³⁹ Joseph, Rubenstein, and Zolov, "Assembling the Fragments," 11.

¹⁴⁰ An example of which is that many scholars believe that the National History Museum is the earliest museum in Chapultepec. See Fernández del Villar, Chapultepec, 182. Even recent, careful scholars often misunderstand the trajectory of the institutions in the Forest. Wakild in "Parables of Chapultepec" carefully footnotes "Cárdenas called for the change [from Castillo to museum] which Avila Camacho implemented." Yet the lions' share of the decisions and the work readying the National History Museum occurred during Cárdenas' tenure. Wakild, "Parables...", 321, note 47.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS

Beginning from the wide perspective of the entire northern edge of the Forest, chapter two, "A *Calzada* without Its Exposition: the Long-term Impact of Planning for the Mexican International Exposition of 1940" looks at the Mexican World's Fair that was planned to be held in the late 1930s. Intended for Chapultepec Forest, the unrealized fair suffered from numerous challenges, particularly in defining what uses of Chapultepec were deemed acceptable. Though Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo has done magnificent work looking at Mexico in World's Fairs, neither he nor Hugo Arciniega have considered the unrealized fair of the 1930s.¹⁴¹ It is critical to broaden our view, I argue, since it was the exposition to be based in Chapultepec. The planning for and discussion around the fair made possible the future cultural and social uses of the Forest.

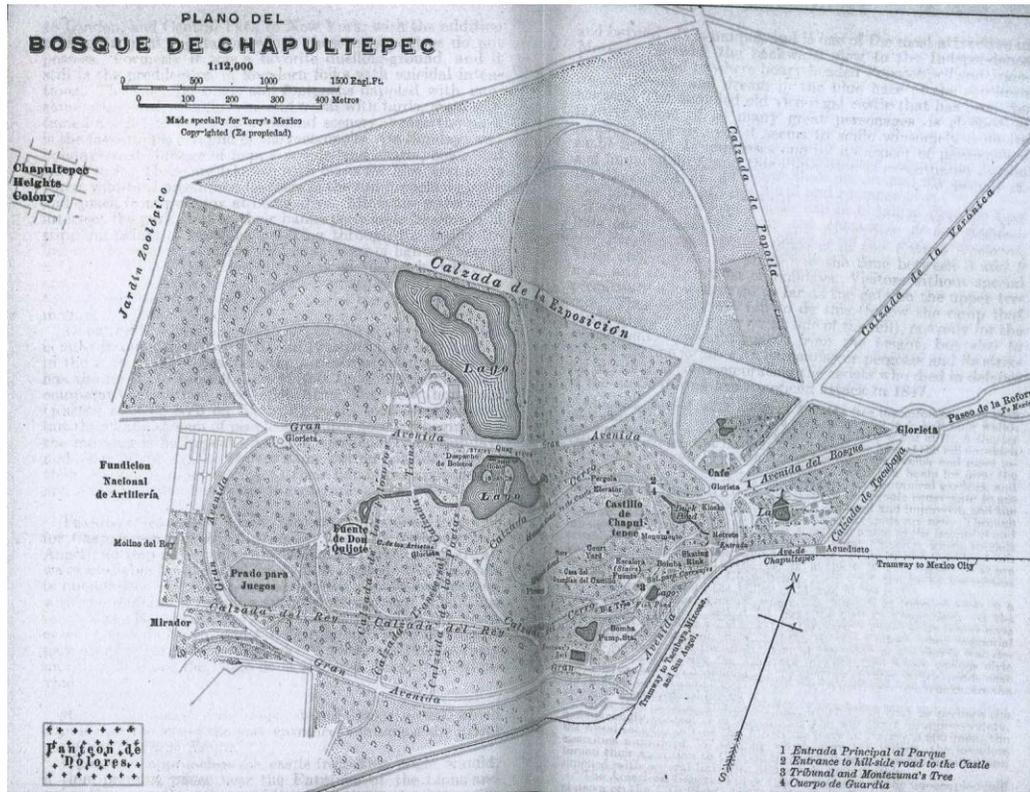
Chapter three, "House of the People: the Importance of Chapultepec as Seen through Early Museums" moves more deeply into the Forest with a close study into two pre-existing buildings transformed into the first of Chapultepec's many museums. Though both initiatives began at the same time (1935), the Museum of National Flora and Fauna would open sooner and subsequently be closed by the official inauguration of the National Museum of History (1944). Often incorrectly cited as the first museum in Chapultepec, the National Museum of History could be considered as consisting of several iterations in the lapse between declaration and inauguration. Through the

¹⁴¹ Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, Mexico at the World's Fairs; Hugo Arciniega Ávila, "La exposición internacional mexicana de 1880," in México en los Pabellones y las Exposiciones Internacionales (1889-1929) (México: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 2010).

institutions, this chapter continues the theme begun in chapter two on the complexity involved in official uses. These museums promoted didactic citizenship and institutionalized nature in the service of nationalism.

Chapter four "'A Burning Matter': the Crusade against Charcoal, 1938-1942" shows how an environmental concern—that of quotidian charcoal use—was linked to Chapultepec and disseminated throughout the capital. Through a temporary exhibition in the Museum of National Flora and Fauna in 1938, an ongoing challenge to charcoal consumption was mounted, which encompassed periodicals, legislation, and advertising. The urbanizing would not change their behavior solely due to elite appeals for civilization.

Chapter five, "Arbol de la Vida: Encouraging Citizen-building in the Out-of-Doors," focuses on an era of increasingly active paradigms for citizen development in Chapultepec. A partner to the didactic citizenship of museums, and similarly aimed at training and instructing, I show how creating citizens through participatory outdoor activities, including advocacy, sports, gatherings, and competitions were important to the post-revolutionary government's program of constructing a modern, stable Mexico. I argue that these outdoor activities enabled the citizenry to conceptualize and later patronize the institutions that would dominate Chapultepec's natural spaces. Conceptions of gender were especially significant in the context of a fecund Forest and its connections to the growth of the nation, and in part underpinned a campaign to regenerate Chapultepec and hence society.



1-5 Chapultepec map from 1935. Source: T. Phillip Terry, Terry's Guide to Mexico, revised ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1935).

Chapter 2 A *Calzada* Without Its Exposition: the Long-Term Impact of Planning for the Mexican International Exposition of 1940

In July of 1937 President Lázaro Cárdenas signed a proclamation giving former President Pascual Ortiz Rubio (1930-2) and his associates—*Compañía Organizadora de la Exposición Internacional de Mexico, S.A.*— exclusive rights as concessionaire for a 1940 Mexico World's Fair or International Exposition.¹⁴² That important Mexican businessmen and politicians desired such an exposition was not unusual. World's Fairs were well-known vehicles for promoting nations among a growing international audience of consumers;¹⁴³ the proclamation for the Exposition considered that it would improve international relations, provide Mexicans with examples of the most advanced progress, and bring a commercially—significant stream of tourists.¹⁴⁴ Even with, or perhaps because of the effects of the Great Depression, the 1930s were a time of yearning for a brighter future through economic and nationalistic boosterism.¹⁴⁵ That the 1939-40 New York World's Fair and the 1939-40 Golden Gate International Exposition would be occurring simultaneously was seen positively: the Mexican organizers wanted to build on the momentum of the other fairs and even represent that

¹⁴² Centro de Estudios de Historia de México CONDUMEX, Fondo CMLXXV (975), Legajos 1/56, carpeta 316/493, documento 29253, 2 hojas, 8 julio 1937. This initial proclamation states that the fair should take place from 20 Nov 1939-May 1940.

¹⁴³ Robert Rydell, John E. Findling and Kimbly D. Pelle, Fair America: World's Fairs in the United States (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2000), 5.

¹⁴⁴ Centro de Estudios de Historia de México CONDUMEX, Fondo CMLXXV (975), Legajos 1/56, carpeta 316/493, documento 29253, 2 hojas, 8 julio 1937.

¹⁴⁵ "National development" was the overarching goal as early as 1938. Friedrich Schuler, Mexico between Hitler and Roosevelt: Mexican foreign relations in the age of Lázaro Cárdenas, 1934-1940 (Albuquerque: U New Mexico P, 1998), 195-196.

natural areas in and around the city and increased tourism and it invested heavily in parks and gardens—particularly Chapultepec Forest.¹⁴⁷ Chapultepec was a powerful symbol of nature. Tourists, many of whom had been enticed to Mexico by marketing of its natural beauty, were able to experience a portion of it at Chapultepec. The Forest had long been a showcase for important visitors, as the views from the hilltop situated *Castillo* were reportedly the finest in almost all the world.¹⁴⁸ Much care was taken to prepare the Forest for large tourist groups. Under the auspices of the Cárdenas-created Autonomous Department of Forestry, Fish and Game, Chapultepec had been primed for a high-profile international fair by a 1935 International Rotary *Noche Mexicana*¹⁴⁹ and the soon-to-open National Flora and Fauna and *Castillo* museums. The Forest was earlier shaped by the *Calzada de la Exposición* (Exposition Way).¹⁵⁰ As early as 1935,

¹⁴⁷ *El Excelsior*, 22 September 1940, p. 15, 'FUERTE EROGACION HECHA EN JARDINES.'

¹⁴⁸ Frances Calderon de la Barca, *Life in Mexico* reprint (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), cited in "Letter the Eighth," December 31; and Alexander Von Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain*, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1811), 43.

¹⁴⁹ The 1935 Rotary Convention drew over 5,000 Rotarians, and the festival alone attracted over 20,000 automobiles—not to mention passengers and those who used other means of transportation. It demonstrated serious flaws in the usage of Chapultepec for large-scale events. Parking and automobile congestion were so bad that it took two hours to travel by automobile less than 1 km. *Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca*, Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 233. An earlier *Noche Mexicana* was held for the 1921 Centennial and drew as many as 500,000 attendees. See Elaine Lacy, "The 1921 Centennial Celebration of Mexico's Independence: State Building and Popular Negotiation," in *Viva Mexico, Viva Independencia: Celebrations of September 16*, eds. William H. Beezley and David E. Lorey (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2001); and Rick López, "The Noche Mexicana and the Exhibition of Popular Arts: Two Ways of Exalting Indianness," in *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940*, eds. Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen E. Lewis (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

¹⁵⁰ By the late 1920s, the *Calzada de la Exposición* became the *Prolongación del Paseo de la Reforma*. In some sources it is referred to as "Paseo de la Reforma, formerly Calzada de la Exposición" (Atlas General del Distrito Federal, Mexico: DDF, 1930, p. 190); in others it is still referred to as the *Calzada de la Exposición* as late as the late 1940s. (T. Phillip Terry, *Terry's Guide to Mexico*, revised ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947), map between pgs. 696-697.) Miguel Angel de Quevedo, in his Forestry Department's monthly report attributes the name *Calzada de la Exposición* to the initial northern enlargement of the Forest and its underlying motive of being a space for expositions. *Boletín del*

Cárdenas via Forestry Department head Miguel Angel de Quevedo was reconfiguring Chapultepec by attempting to add neighboring properties to be the "basis for a draft plan designed to organize the program of expositions."¹⁵¹ Although the properties were not expropriated and the Exposition never occurred, this episode did significantly further both the symbolic and material use of Chapultepec as a place for institutions promoting Mexico to a national and international audience. As noted in the above quote, Cárdenas and his officials were preparing not only for the International Exposition but for a larger program of expositions, which would influence future use of the Forest.

In this chapter, I show that high-level politicians and ministers and transnational businessmen attempted to utilize Chapultepec Forest for an economically and socially beneficial World's Fair. Municipal and federal civil servants, entrepreneurs, homemakers, and academics both approved of and disagreed with conceptions of how the public, natural space of Chapultepec should be used.

A lack of agreement over the use of Chapultepec went back hundreds of years. Cortes had his encomienda which included Chapultepec revoked by the Spanish crown, purportedly because of its valuable sources of water (and the threat the crown saw of

Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca , Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 235. It is noteworthy that the Mexican National Exposition and Land Company from whom the government bought Rancho de Anzures [near what would become Polanco] in 1904 is important in the genesis of "Exposición" name. Property map, Secretaría de Patrimonio Nacional, 1963 (later copy 1986), viewed at the Museo Nacional de Historia, June 2011, in possession of Arq. Rosa Ana Trujillo, MNH. There was heightened interest in expositions approaching the Centennial.

¹⁵¹ "Bases de un anteproyecto tendiente a organizar el programa de exposiciones...", Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca , Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 19-21.

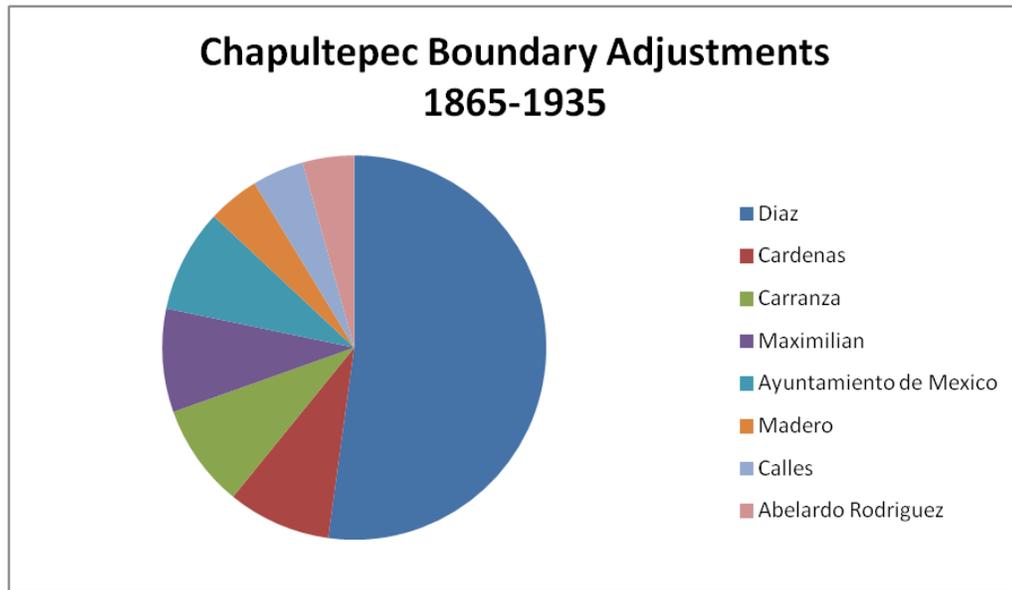
his accumulating power). Hugo Arciniega has identified pre-Porfirian nineteenth-century plans for baths and hotels in the forest influenced the upper-class penchant for European ideals including sanitation and leisure time.¹⁵² As seen in figure 2-2, many boundary shifts occurred during Porfirio Díaz's rule (the Porfiriato, 1876-1910) in part because of its stability, and duration, as well as the lengthy Independence Centennial beautifying project.¹⁵³ The scope of usage had broadened since colonial times to be international and included planning for several International Expositions based near Chapultepec.¹⁵⁴ By the twentieth century, broader social classes had been recruited through healthful and didactic recreation to assist in the consolidation of the post-revolutionary Mexican nation-state.¹⁵⁵

¹⁵² Hugo Arciniega, "La casa de baños de Chapultepec," Diario de Campo, El Bosque de Chapultepec: un manantial de historia (supplement) no. 36, October/December, (2005):123-145.

¹⁵³ Based on Property map, Secretaria de Patrimonio Nacional, 1963 (later copy 1986), viewed at the Museo Nacional de Historia, June 2011.

¹⁵⁴ Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, "1910 Mexico City: Space and Nation in the City of the Centenario," Journal of Latin American Studies 28(1) 1996:79-81. See also: Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation (Berkeley: U California Press, 1996); Hugo Arciniega Ávila, "La exposición internacional mexicana de 1880," and Aurora Yartzeth Avilés García, "Proyectos para realizar una exposición universal en la ciudad de México," both in México en los Pabellones y las Exposiciones Internacionales (1889-1929) (México: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 2010).

¹⁵⁵ See "Citizen Building in the Out-of-doors" in this dissertation.



2-2 Chapultepec Boundary Adjustments, 1865-1935

Emily Wakild sees Chapultepec as exemplifying ideals of nature, as well as reflecting and shaping cultural developments, particularly modernization. As Wakild notes, Chapultepec became a contradiction: an urban forest in a teeming metropolis, and actions toward Chapultepec reflected the larger discussion around parks and conservation.¹⁵⁶ Chapultepec was enmeshed in struggles over whether to protect its nature and in what way, and whether to provide modern and appropriate entertainment to the rapidly expanding constituencies of the city, constituencies that included foreign, mostly U.S. tourists.

In studies on the development of the Mexican tourist industry, Dina Berger and Alex Saragoza found that, although Miguel Alemán is often credited with largely

¹⁵⁶ Emily Wakild, "Parables of Chapultepec: Urban Parks, National Landscapes, and Contradictory Conservation in Modern Mexico," in *A Land between Waters: Environmental Histories of Modern Mexico*, ed. Christopher R. Boyer (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012), 301.

developing tourism while he was Manuel Avila Camacho's minister of the Interior (1940-6) and later during his own presidency (1946-52), it was the earlier years of the 1930s when tourism was developing rapidly through politically-connected developers—"revolutionary capitalists"—who were fulfilling "purposes of political consolidation, economic stability, and hemispheric solidarity."¹⁵⁷ Governmental policies used to support tourism encouraged both national and international growth.¹⁵⁸ Cárdenas, for example, met the U.S. hotelier delegation at the *Castillo* in October 1938.¹⁵⁹ That tourism from the U.S. was growing is clear, and it was helped by the earlier opening of the Laredo-Mexico highway, as well as an increase in number and quality of air-travel routes.¹⁶⁰ These were the very same tourists that Exposition boosters hoped to lure.

International Expositions had a long and celebrated history. A European phenomenon in the early 1800s, World's Fairs quickly became a world-wide economic and cultural exercise with education in the ideals of "Peace..., Education, Trade, and Progress" directed toward the urbanizing proletariat. There was a money-making

¹⁵⁷ Dina Berger, *The Development of Mexico's Tourism Industry: Pyramids by Day, Martinis by Night* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 3, 5.

¹⁵⁸ Alex Saragoza, "The Selling of Mexico: Tourism and the State, 1929-1952" in *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico since 1940*, eds. Gilbert M. Joseph, Anne Rubenstein, and Eric Zolov (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 91-115.

¹⁵⁹ *El Excélsior*, 3 October 1938, front page. Over 150 hoteliers accompanied by the Governor of Arkansas and assorted officials listened to Cárdenas reassure potential tourists Mexico would be authentic, not shielding its poverty from tourists. Though this may seem unusual—perhaps tourists would rather not see poverty—it could be explained by the allure to (largely) U.S. tourists of Mexico as exotic and unusual. Observing poverty could have been considered as another aspect of entertainment. I do not believe that Cárdenas intended his remarks in this fashion. Rather, I perceive he was trying to encourage tourism while protecting his progressive social agenda. *El Excélsior*, 6 April 1939.

Relatedly, Helen Delpar notes many left-leaning and progressive tourists were drawn to Mexico because of its revolutionary heritage and social commitments. Helen Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1920-1935* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992), 118.

¹⁶⁰ New Air Route from Newark (N.Y.) to Mexico via Eastern Airlines (16 hours flying time).

motivation to holding an exposition; yet making a profit was not assured.¹⁶¹ As early as 1854, but particularly in the years leading up to the Centennial to commemorate Mexican Independence, there were several proposals for a Mexican International Exposition.¹⁶² As Paul Greenhalgh notes in his classic work on World's Fairs, "the appearance of the site itself was the single greatest factor in entertaining the crowds, and hence generating a profit."¹⁶³ Nearly all of the proposals were for International Expositions to be held along the *Paseo de la Reforma*.

Mauricio Tenorio Trillo argues for the importance of the *Paseo de la Reforma* as the base of an "ideal city" during the Porfiriato. In this idealized vision of Mexico, the "path of power" is traced from the ancient then colonial center, along the *Paseo* until reaching the *Castillo* at Chapultepec, and connects the pre-Hispanic era with European modernity.¹⁶⁴ The *Paseo* could be seen as combining national specificity reflected in the pre-Hispanic with European modernity's universality, thus joining two central ingredients of World's Fairs.¹⁶⁵ Yet, this vision had to be altered during the post-revolutionary era. Perhaps, by virtue of its role as the "house of the people," Chapultepec rather than the *Paseo* was chosen as an Exposition site, thereby avoiding

¹⁶¹ Profit was at best a fifty-fifty prospect. Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988, eds. John E. Findling and Kimberly Pelle (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1990), 378-381.

¹⁶² See Tenorio Trillo, Mexico at the World's Fairs, especially chapter 3, pgs. 44-47; Viva Mexico, Viva Independencia: Celebrations of September 16; and México en los Pabellones y las Exposiciones Internacionales (1889-1929).

¹⁶³ Paul Greenhalgh, Ephemeral Vistas: The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 16, 20, 46.

¹⁶⁴ Tenorio Trillo, "1910 Mexico City," 173-5.

¹⁶⁵ Tenorio Trillo, Mexico at the World's Fairs, 2-10.

the uncomfortable teleology implied by elite neighborhood of Chapultepec Heights at the *Paseo's* terminus.¹⁶⁶

The failed International Exposition of 1940 was a post-revolutionary attempt at similar Porfirian proposals. Yet the national and world contexts were distinct. In Mexico, allegiance to revolutionary ideals of access and fairness would meld with broader Exposition concepts of didactic education and entertainment. Simultaneously, Mexico was attempting to rebuild ties with international investors and fight economic imperialism. It is especially interesting that the aborted Exposition was followed by Chapultepec being imagined as a cultural space with concrete proposals from citizens, investors and politicians. Permanent, large-scale institutions would be built utilizing many similar motifs within two decades on the very areas that had been proposed as International Exposition grounds.

DIFFICULT TIMING

The timing of the International Exposition appears ill-informed and begs many questions. Director of the Forestry Department, Miguel Angel de Quevedo noted that an International Exposition was projected for 1937.¹⁶⁷ Yet, according to Presidential decree, it was to have been from 20 November 1939-20 May 1940.¹⁶⁸ Furthermore, the organizing company appears to have shifted the dates to February 24, 1940 through

¹⁶⁶Upon election, President Cárdenas opened the *Castillo* or castle of Chapultepec to the people of Mexico and permanently moved the presidential residence. See "House of the People: the importance of Chapultepec as seen through early museums" in this dissertation.

¹⁶⁷ Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 237.

¹⁶⁸ Centro de Estudios de Historia de Mexico CONDUMEX, Fondo CMLXXV (975), Legajos 1/56, carpeta 316/493, documento 29253, 2 hojas, 8 julio 1937.

September 24, 1940. This final shift would have spanned the election of a new president.¹⁶⁹ Historically the transfer of presidential power in Mexico had been a very delicate matter.¹⁷⁰ A strong sense of unease—largely based on threats from the defeated candidate and his supporters—lasted until the December oath of office, at which time President Manuel Avila Camacho was able to bring about a general sense of calm while vigorously pursuing his policy of *Unidad Nacional*.

Originally planned to coincide with Cárdenas' tenure, the International Exposition appeared a better fit with Avila Camacho's politics of "unity" which encompassed much-improved relations with the United States.¹⁷¹ This desire for friendly relations with the U.S. was to an extent due to World War II, which the U.S. and Mexico would soon enter. Yet after the pugnacious first half Cárdenas' presidency and the nationalization of the petroleum industry, Cárdenas himself would begin a pattern of reconciliation, evident in his choosing moderate Avila Camacho as the presidential candidate over leftist Francisco Múgica. Unfortunately for the *Compañía Organizadora*, the petroleum expropriation occurred less than one year after the first International

¹⁶⁹ Advertisement, *El Excélsior*, 12 mar 1939, p. 13.

¹⁷⁰ A newly elected president had been assassinated as recently as July 1928, and Lázaro Cárdenas was a polarizing president, accused as communist by conservatives and by the United States. Cárdenas was finishing his six-year term and his selected successor General Manuel Avila Camacho was elected on July 7 and sworn in on December 1, 1940. The Avila Camacho election was marred by violence and charges of fraud, as noted in by Hudson Strode, where Strode repeats Cantinflas' routine about choosing the next president, since no one voted for Avila Camacho. Hudson Strode, *Timeless Mexico*, (Harcourt, Brace, and Company: New York, 1944), 362.

¹⁷¹ Manuel Avila Camacho from Sep. 1, 1941 report to Congress, DIARIO DE LOS DEBATES DE LA CÁMARA DE DIPUTADOS DEL CONGRESO DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS MEXICANOS, AÑO II.- PERIODO ORDINARIO XXXVIII LEGISLATURA TOMO I.- NUMERO 2, SESIÓN DE LA CÁMARA DE DIPUTADOS EFECTUADA EL DIA 10. DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 1941. Accessed at <http://cronica.diputados.gob.mx/DDebate/38/2do/Ord/19410901.html>

Exposition proclamation. This was harmful for several reasons, mostly related to the fact that the United States—diplomatically, economically, and popularly—was aghast at the expropriation. Response spanned boycotts to calls for invasion.¹⁷² President Roosevelt wisely avoided the latter, but it would be until April 1942 when U.S. companies would be willing to move beyond the events of 1938.¹⁷³ At the same time, the largest audience for the International Exposition, because of proximity, size of market, and the events unfolding in Europe, was the United States. This can be seen in the increasing numbers of tourists into Mexico during the late 1930s. In January 1940, of 13,000 tourists, 12,000 were from the United States.¹⁷⁴ Most came from four states, two of which—California and New York—would be concurrently holding expositions.¹⁷⁵ Even if Avila Camacho was amenable to the holding of a World's Fair, it seems that global events conspired to make it impossible. There would be no International Expositions until the 1950s.¹⁷⁶

Political relationships—including an earlier extreme grip on power by former President Calles which bred bitterness and vengeance, as well as a municipal

¹⁷² See Catherine Jayne, Oil, War, and Anglo-American Relations: American and British reactions to Mexico's expropriation of foreign oil properties (1937-1941 Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 2001), chapters 3, 4, 5.

¹⁷³ Interestingly, it was only a few months earlier in November of 1941 that property losses of U.S. citizens from the Revolution were settled.

¹⁷⁴ El Excelsior, 29 March 1940, front page.

¹⁷⁵ Elizabeth Fagg, "Across the Rio Grande," New York Times, 17 Aug 1941, p. 21. Due to the favorable exchange rate, the Pan-American highway and war in Europe, estimates for U.S. tourists are 250,000 for 1941. Most tourists (almost half) come from Texas, California, Illinois, and New York, in that order. Fagg cites 1937 when 130,637 American tourists arrived due to the opening of the Pan-American Highway.

¹⁷⁶ The last were San Francisco, New York, and Lisbon. Like Mexico City, Los Angeles, Toyko and Rome all planned but never held International expositions in 1940. Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs..., p. 380, 405.

reorganization creating the Department of the Federal District (DDF) with an appointed rather than elected leader—may have marred the ability of the incoming president to support the International Exposition,. The head of the Organizing Company was former president Pascual Ortiz Rubio.¹⁷⁷ Ortiz Rubio was the second in a succession of two-year presidents during the period known as the *Maximato* throughout which former President Calles controlled most governing from behind-the-scenes. Although described as "old friends,"¹⁷⁸ Cárdenas' affinity with Ortiz Rubio may have had to do with the latter's resignation of the presidency in 1932 in objection to Calles' overt political machinations, much like Cárdenas' own subsequent refusal to bow to Calles' demands.¹⁷⁹ The fact that Cárdenas allowed Ortiz Rubio's company complete control over the planning and execution of the Exposition did not help it appeal to the various power factions present, and although Avila Camacho appeared to be ideologically inclined to support an

¹⁷⁷ "HABRA UNA EXPOSICION INTERNACIONAL PARA EL AÑO DE 1939, EN MEXICO," *El Excelsior*, 20 January 1938, front page, p. 13. Other members of the Company were described in a front page newspaper article: "[Partners along with Ortiz Rubio] Arnulfo Mendoza, author of the initiative and expert on cosmopolitan issues, and M. Tomas Morlet....The other officials are Francisco R. Salido and E. Pesquiera, general managers; Cornelio Walthaven, treasurer, who represents in Mexico Holland's largest bridge construction company and who is in charge of similar projects for the *Ferrocarril del Sureste*. Secretary of the Company...is Representative Ricardo G. Hill, and as adviser Luis Montes de Oca, Director of the *Banco de México*. Theodore Gildred will serve the same roll. The distinguished artist Leonardo Herrera is named artistic director of the Exposition, and publicity director is José Luis Velasco. Technical director on behalf of DAPP will be Engineer [and Archaeologist, not presidential candidate] Francisco Múgica y Díez de Bonilla. Company offices will be in the "Hamburgo" building, Avenida Juárez 56."

¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, they were both from Michoacán, both former governors of their home state. "Llegó Ayer el Ing. don Pascual Ortiz Rubio," *El Universal*, 27 December 1934, front page.

¹⁷⁹ In order to fully wrest power from Calles, Cárdenas expelled him in 1936, and Calles did not return to Mexico until 1944 by order of Avila Camacho (and died the following year).

International Exposition, he was likely unenthusiastic to assist those associated with political rival Juan Andreu Almazán.¹⁸⁰

As head of the Secretariat of Communications and Public Works during the Alvaro Obregón presidential administration (1920-1924), Ortiz Rubio would have been very knowledgeable about Chapultepec and made numerous infrastructural improvements—sculptural fountains, entrances and electric lampposts—in observance of the Centennial of the Consummation of Independence.¹⁸¹ Furthermore, as president, Ortiz Rubio decreed the creation of the Mexican Forestry Research Institute (*Instituto Mexicano de Investigaciones Forestales*). In so doing, he was aware of natural environment issues and would have known not only Miguel Angel de Quevedo, director of the Mexican Forestry Society, but its members as well, including Luis Montes de Oca, director of the *Banco de Mexico* and future Organizing Company member.

While president, Ortiz Rubio received an intriguing proposal for Chapultepec from the De La Lama y Basurto, S.A. urban residential development company of José G. and Raoul de la Lama and Raul and Gustavo Basurto. Though interested in tourism, José de la Lama was not a true "revolutionary capitalist" since he had been active in Porfirian times.¹⁸² Unlike tourism developers, some housing developers persevered through the

¹⁸⁰ During his presidency, Ortiz Rubio appointed Juan Andreu Almazán Minister of Communications and Public Works, a post Ortiz Rubio had held in the 1920s. Almazán would bitterly fight Manuel Avila Camacho for the 1940 presidency. Though there is no conclusive evidence, many believe that Almazán was the winner of the presidential election.

¹⁸¹ See Anales de la Secretaría de Comunicaciones y Obras Públicas, 3rd ed., vol. VIII (México: Dirección de Estudios Geográficos y Climatológicos, 1924), especially pages 28-30 of the appendix.

¹⁸² By building homes in Santa Maria de la Ribera and Colonia del Paseo. Jorge Jiménez Muñoz, La Traza del Poder: Historia de la Política y los Negocios Urbanos en el Distrito Federal, de sus orígenes a la

revolutionary years, and de la Lama reinvented himself for the post-revolutionary years by partnering with Raul Basurto.¹⁸³ Together they developed numerous Insurgentes-area and Chapultepec-area neighborhoods,¹⁸⁴ and in 1930, De La Lama y Basurto, S.A. proposed a massive (over one million square meters) center for tourist spectacle on the border of Chapultepec.¹⁸⁵

In a description of the project from August 11, 1930, Basurto enumerated both the content of the project and the reasons it was needed. According to him, tourists had nowhere for social entertainment and spectacle. His company, therefore, was proposing to build:

an artificial beach and solarium, a hotel, a theater and cinema, a restaurant, a cantina, a casino, individual parking garages, a tea room, a billiard and bowling hall, a three-track hippodrome, a large sports center for all types of sports, a great entertainment center—identical to Coney Island, a cabaret, a handball stadium, a bull-ring, and an organization working in the main markets of the United States to recruit tourists.¹⁸⁶

Their idea could be considered an innovative offshoot of their residential development company, as the improvements were to have benefitted nearby residents of upscale

desaparicion del ayuntamiento (1824-1928) (Mexico: CODEX, 1993), 272-3. For more on Jose G. de la Lama, see María del Carmen Collado, "José G. de la Lama en la expansión urbana de los años veinte" in En la cima del poder. Elites mexicanas (1830-1930), ed. Graziella Altamirano (Instituto Mora: México, 2000).

¹⁸³ Jiménez Muñoz, 155.

¹⁸⁴ Jiménez Muñoz, 272-3. They developed: Parque de la Lama, Lomas de Chapultepec, Chapultepec-Polanco, Insurgentes-Jalisco, Insurgentes-Hipodromo, Insurgentes-Mixcoac, Insurgentes-Del Valle, part of Colonia Roma and a portion of Santa Maria de la Ribera. 266, 272-3.

¹⁸⁵ A.G.N., Presidentes, A.L.R., 21, 162.1/16, fs. 7, 11 August 1930, also 28 August, and 2 December.

¹⁸⁶ A.G.N., Presidentes, A.L.R., 21, 162.1/16, fs. 7, 11 August 1930, p. 2.

Chapultepec-area neighborhoods. They were proposing to invest 5 million pesos, and were requesting that the government support their venture by agreeing to a 99-year moratorium on any construction—by the government or any other party—that would obstruct the views from the *Calzada de la Exposición* and Chapultepec forest toward the center.¹⁸⁷ It was a private-public partnership—with De La Lama paying for the planting and upkeep of surrounding gardens and the installation and cost of street lighting—and it may have influenced Ortiz Rubio's ideas for the International Exposition.¹⁸⁸

Though the municipal government is that which bears upon the everyday concerns of most citizens as the interface between state power and the society, Jordi Borja has shown "[T]he more authoritarian and class-ridden a state is, the more local government is reduced to the role of a conveyor belt for transmitting the orders of the state apparatus for their execution at the lowest level."¹⁸⁹ In Mexico, though issues may have been managed at the municipal level, as a federal district, the metropolitan government was controlled by the President, and citizens recognized where decisions were made, as witnessed by their written presidential appeals. The reorganization of Mexico City by presidential decree in 1928 resulted in a shift from a council of municipalities with elected heads, to districts with appointed leaders. The president

¹⁸⁷ A.G.N., Presidentes, A.L.R., 21, 162.1/16, fs. 7, 2 December 1930, p. 1-2.

¹⁸⁸ What precluded the tourism center from being realized, I do not know, but de la Lama noted in his last correspondence of the file, that a finalized version of the plans would need the support of the Ministry of Communication and Public Works and its Minister, Juan Andreu Almazán. A.G.N., Presidentes, A.L.R., 21, 162.1/16, fs. 7, 2 December 1930, p. 1-2.

¹⁸⁹ Jordi Borja, "Past, Present, and Future of Local Government in Latin America," in Rethinking the Latin American City, eds. Richard M. Morse, et al. (Washington D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 1992), 137-8.

appointed the head of the DDF, who in turn appointed the district leaders. Assumed to further centralize power and lessen conflict, the change did not ensure that municipal-level authorities and other federal departments agreed with presidential directives.¹⁹⁰

MIXED MESSAGES

The proposed site of the International Fair was one such issue where dissention was evident. Both for the public and officials, the de facto limits of the Forest were often more encompassing than the de jure boundaries.¹⁹¹ By the late 1930s, the comparably heavily forested, largely unbuilt space was being defined by surrounding residential developments. In earlier times, Chapultepec was surrounded by haciendas (and prior to that, encomiendas). Though unclear and often inconsequential, the boundaries became critical when the government exercised its authority to expropriate property, evict squatters, or enforce regulations. Numerous parties, including the president, wanted to use Chapultepec for the Exposition. Others, including municipal entities did not. Appropriateness of the endeavor to the Forest was one point of contention, and recognizing who was responsible for the decision was complicated by changing jurisdiction (responsibility for the land of Chapultepec shifted to DDF in 1936) and shifting property lines (the official boundaries of the Forest were frequently adjusted).

¹⁹⁰ Miguel Angel de Quevedo was incensed over this undemocratic shift and, later, argued to president Manuel Avila Camacho for a return to a system of election and accountability for municipal-level heads and departments. See 'RESUMEN DEL PROGRAMA DE LAS OBRAS Y DISPOSICIONES POR DICTAR PARA QUE MEJOREN LAS ACTUALES DEFICIENTES O MALAS CONDICIONES DE SALUBRIDAD Y BIENESTAR EN LA CIUDAD DE MEXICO, EN LOS PUERTOS Y CIUDADES FRONTERIZAS Y EN OTROS LUGARES DEL TERRITORIO' in A.G.N. Presidentes, M.A.C. 501.1/39, fs. 5, n/d, p. 2.

¹⁹¹ For a comparison, see illustrated photograph in El Universal, 12 April 1942, p. 16 as compared to legal description in Diario Oficial, 15 June 1942, p. 9.

Full-page advertisements for the International Exposition ran in the leading Mexico City daily, El Excélsior for six successive Sundays in February and March of 1939.¹⁹² An observer may have perceived something amiss reading the text of the March 19th advertisement, "MEXICO ante el mundo":

Issue: The location of the lands on which the International Exposition of Mexico will be celebrated has been approved. Responding to the official memorandum, no. 111 and dated the 3rd of the current month and year [March, 1939], and by decision of the Head of Department [Autonomous Department of Press and Publicity], permit me to declare that, in complying with the fundamental rules approved by Mr. President, for the celebration of the International Exposition of Mexico, this Department expresses its opinion, in the sense it has no objection that the noted exposition be carried out in Chapultepec forest in accordance with the plans formulated and presented by the organizing corporation of the exposition. Director, José Rivera P.C. (signed)¹⁹³

Presidentially-approved "Fundamental rules" appeared to have trumped any objections that made their way to the public sphere, but the strict and bureaucratic language used was undoubtedly uncharacteristic from the other advertisements.

In order to consolidate the numerous messages from his administration and its departments, Cárdenas created a centralized communications department

¹⁹² Feb. 19, 26, March 5, 12, 19 and 26, 1939. All Sundays, all in the primary section except for March 26.

¹⁹³ "MEXICO ante el mundo," El Excélsior, 19 March 1939, p. 15.

(*Departamento Autónomo de Prensa y Publicidad*, or DAPP) in 1937.¹⁹⁴ It lasted only until 1939, and the example above provides evidence of failure of its mission. The information included in the statement signed by Director Rivera and in the March 19th advertisement did not appear in the press as a news item until April 2.¹⁹⁵ In the meantime, a volley of press releases from the Department of the Federal District and from the Department of Forestry further confused the public, with a Forestry release—in the English-language section, *Mexicanía*—stating, "Lands bordering on Chapultepec Park have been selected as the site of the International Exposition or World's Fair which has been announced for this city in 1940...",¹⁹⁶ and the Federal District, "Declar[ing] in relation to the varied news items that have been published in the capital dailies on the subject of the announced 1940 International *Business* Exposition, that this will in no way set up its *stands* [English in original] in Chapultepec Forest."¹⁹⁷ It is interesting to note that after this public disagreement, no further advertisements for the International Exposition appeared.

While DAPP was struggling to promote a unified message from the federal and municipal-level directors and their departments to promote Cárdenas' presidency, a lack of uniformity in responsibilities may have made their job more difficult. In 1936, the President had transferred control over the space of Chapultepec from the Forestry

¹⁹⁴ Fernando Mejía Barquera, "El Departamento Autónomo de Prensa y Publicidad (1937-1939)," *Revista Mexicana de Comunicación* No. 2, (Nov-Dec. 1988): 46-49, accessed at

<http://wikicomunicacion.org/1/departamento-autonomo-de-prensa-y-publicidad-1937-1939-2/>

¹⁹⁵ "LA EXPOSICION INTERNACIONAL," *El Excélsior*, 2 abril 1939, p. 13.

¹⁹⁶ *El Excélsior*, 30 Mar 1939, second section, p. 4

¹⁹⁷ *El Excélsior*, 31 Mar 1939, p. 10.

Department to the DDF, while retaining control over institutions: a de facto change enacted into law in 1942.¹⁹⁸ The naming of an Honorary Committee for the Conservation of the Forest in late 1935 further complicated Chapultepec directives.¹⁹⁹ The federal-level focus for Chapultepec was no longer on the day-to-day upkeep of gardens and forests. Rather, principal duties for Chapultepec included infrastructural improvements based upon technical knowledge and didactic and entertainment events such as those at the Museum of National Flora and Fauna.²⁰⁰ In addition to upholding the spirit of the 1530 decree giving ownership of the park to Mexico City, this was a way for the federal level government to retain control over the representational quality of the site.²⁰¹ It also shifted the budgetary responsibility. Newspapers reported the large sum spent by DDF on beautification—2 million pesos from 1939-1940 for "conservation in parks and gardens to beautify the city and to, at the same time, stimulate tourist appeal."²⁰² Most of these improvements were focused in and around Chapultepec. Newspaper columns complained about the lack of clarity in the way these figures were

¹⁹⁸ Diarío Oficial, 15 June 1942. This can also be seen in the transferring of another park, Fuentes Brotantes. El Universal, 25 July 1942, p. 4. Research remains to be done on the six-year interregnum for the concretizing of Cárdenas' decision.

¹⁹⁹ Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p 225.. Formed at the behest of President Cárdenas and Miguel Angel de Quevedo, the Commission was comprised of: "A D.D.F. delegate, Director of Parks and Gardens Arq. Nicolás Ramírez de Arrellano; another delegate from Secretaría de Educación Pública Department of Conservation of Historic and Colonial Monuments, Jorge Enciso; a delegate from the Planning Commission, Arq. Carlos Contreras; zoo founder Alfonso Herrera; Dr. Jesús E .Monjaraz as hygienist; Swiss national and expert in the field Alberto Lenz, and presider Miguel Angel de Quevedo," and was responsible for inspection and work directives.

²⁰⁰ Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 239-240.

²⁰¹ Patrice Mele, La producción del patrimonio urbano (México: CIESAS, 2006), 107-108.

²⁰² "Cerca de dos Millones de Pesos Gastó el Departamento del D. Federal," El Excélsior, 22 sep 1940, p. 15.

presented. A November 1940 editorial demanded more accountability through a greater breakdown of where taxpayer monies were going: gardens were worth the cost, but the benefits were not spread evenly. Furthermore, it was impossible to complain if one did not know how much was spent and where.²⁰³ The ultimate success of the division of responsibilities may have been to mute dissent through confusion.

During the time leading up to the proposed International Exposition, the Forestry Department's quarterly report, Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, addressed struggles over boundaries of Chapultepec. In the second-ever volume, Miguel Angel de Quevedo detailed activities carried out during the entire previous year including efforts to better fix the defined space of the Forest. These efforts were particularly directed at the northern border where groupings of houses had been built near the planned upscale Chapultepec-Polanco sub-division.²⁰⁴ Quevedo had a strong desire to create an *ensanche* or expanded border of the forest based on preventing building in this section in order "to periodically celebrate national expositions, others pan-American in character and even a Universal Exposition in the space between the *Calzada de la Exposition* and the *Calzada de la Piedra Redonda*."²⁰⁵ In the Boletín, there are repeated references to the "*Exposicion Nacional*" and how the areas above mentioned needed to be annexed in order to be used for "a program of upcoming

²⁰³ Rafael Garcia Granados, "Nuestra Ciudad: el Abandono de Nuestros Jardines," El Excelsior, 18 November 1940, p. 4.

²⁰⁴ Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año I, Mexico, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 19-21.

²⁰⁵ Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año I, Mexico, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, 234-5.

biannual expositions," meaning that much planning for the exposition occurred up to two years prior to the ceding of development rights to Ortiz Rubio's group.²⁰⁶

Miguel Angel de Quevedo, working at Cárdenas' behest, appears as an early and ardent supporter of an International Exposition not only in Mexico, but particularly in Chapultepec. Apart from the contradiction inherent in his desire for a pure *ensanche*—surely with his travel and his references to the Brussels, Paris and U.S. Expositions, he knew the extensive infrastructure required for such an Exposition—his ongoing efforts to police the uses of Chapultepec and other green spaces poses the question of what audiences he was willing to have use the Forest.²⁰⁷ He envisioned the "agreeable encounter between the inhabitants of Saxon America and of Latin America...including European tourists...all of which would bring considerable commercial and industrial developmental advantages and encourage an advantageous colonization with positive foreign elements, thus promoting the progress and culture of our proletariat classes in keeping with the *Plan Sexenal* (Six-year Presidential Plan)."²⁰⁸ Yet he would concurrently bemoan the shabby street-theatres, vendors and garbage generated in public spaces. Quevedo developed the Mexican Arbor Day celebrations—began in 1912

²⁰⁶ *Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca*, Año I, Mexico, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 30.

²⁰⁷ Miguel Angel de Quevedo, *Relato de mi vida* (México: 1943), p. 9-10. Quevedo was hired in French and translate into Spanish a report on the Basin of Mexico drainage project for the Paris Exposition of 1889. Furthermore, Quevedo was still in France as of late 1887. He returned from his studies to Mexico in September 1888.

²⁰⁸ *Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca*, Año I, Mexico, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 236. In many earlier writings, Quevedo has an at-times combatively paternalistic relationship with poor, indigenous-descended campesinos. He strongly criticizes their behavior towards the forests—permitting and even facilitating illegal logging, and slash-and-burn agriculture, yet mostly he calls for their education rather than punishment. See Christopher Boyer, "Revolución y paternalismo ecológico: Miguel Angel de Quevedo y la política forestal en México, 1926-1940." *Historia Mexicana* 57 (2007): 93-94.

and resumed in 1922—in part to change the public's use of green spaces.²⁰⁹ His support of an International Exposition to change public behavior shared similarities with his Arbor Day events, albeit on a much larger scale.

The Organizing Company sought to head off objections, such as those about audience insinuated by Quevedo, with a description in their March 12, 1939, advertisement: "The plan for the Exposition...will be supervised in such a way to keep the magnificent local atmosphere that enhances the beautiful size and character of our historic Chapultepec Forest, while at the same time being suitable for the practical requirements of national, private and foreign exhibitors."²¹⁰ Perhaps heeding both the Organizing Company, as seen above, and Quevedo, who stated that it was to the DDF that the job of fixing the forest's boundaries fell, the DDF expelled squatters from the edges of the forest on March 25, 1939.²¹¹

Regardless of the political alliances and dissonances or perhaps because of them, the ultimate downfall of the Exposition came down to timing. The New York World's Fair planning began in 1935, and the Golden Gate Exposition was exactly that—celebration of the completion of construction of the San Francisco to Oakland and Golden Gate bridges (1933-1936/37).²¹² If you begin with Quevedo's preparations, the Mexican International Exposition followed a similar timeline. But if you consider that

²⁰⁹ Mexico Forestal, Tomo XV, March-April 1937, nos. 3-4, p. 20.

²¹⁰ Advertisement, El Excélsior, 12 Mar 1939, p. 13.

²¹¹ "Mexicanía" column, El Excélsior, 25 March 1939, p. 10.

²¹² Robert Rydell, John E. Findling and Kimbly D. Pelle, Fair America..., 91, 96. See also James and Earle Vonard Weller, Treasure Island, "the magic city," 1939-1940; the story of the Golden gate international exposition (San Francisco: Pisani Publishing, 1941) accessed online at <http://archive.org/details/treasureislandma00jamerich>

the proclamation was not issued until July 1937, and that as of July 1939 nothing had been constructed, the Exposition was unlikely to reach fruition.²¹³ As late as March 26, 1939, apparently in an attempt to boost confidence, an advertisement for the Fair lists the eight concessionaries who had purchased their spots. No large names, no large countries, and no large industries; just eight exhibitors, two of which were small-size U.S. knitting mills. This advertisement—the last that I found—is buried deep in the second section of the newspaper, unlike those previous that were all in the principal section, and it follows the ad from two weeks earlier with the bolded paragraph: "THE FINANCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE 1940 INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION OF MEXICO RESTS ON SOUND FOOTING."²¹⁴ With less than one year until opening of the event and construction yet to commence, this would not have been a reassuring declaration.

At the time of the planning for the International Exposition, Chapultepec had two newly-created museums situated in existing buildings: the National Museum of Flora and Fauna in the former Restaurant Chapultepec, and a history museum in the process of becoming the National Museum of History in the historic *Castillo*.

Chapultepec also boasted a zoo, botanical gardens, several sculptural fountains and monuments. It was a destination for strolling, playing, cruising and riding. But it was still largely space rather than constructions.

²¹³ Los Angeles Times, 18 July 1939, A8. Again, at the time of this report, there had been no construction. It is interesting to note that this news item appears much after any further coverage in Mexican dailies. The article notes "Jose B. Lewels, representative in the Western United States for the Mexican enterprise."

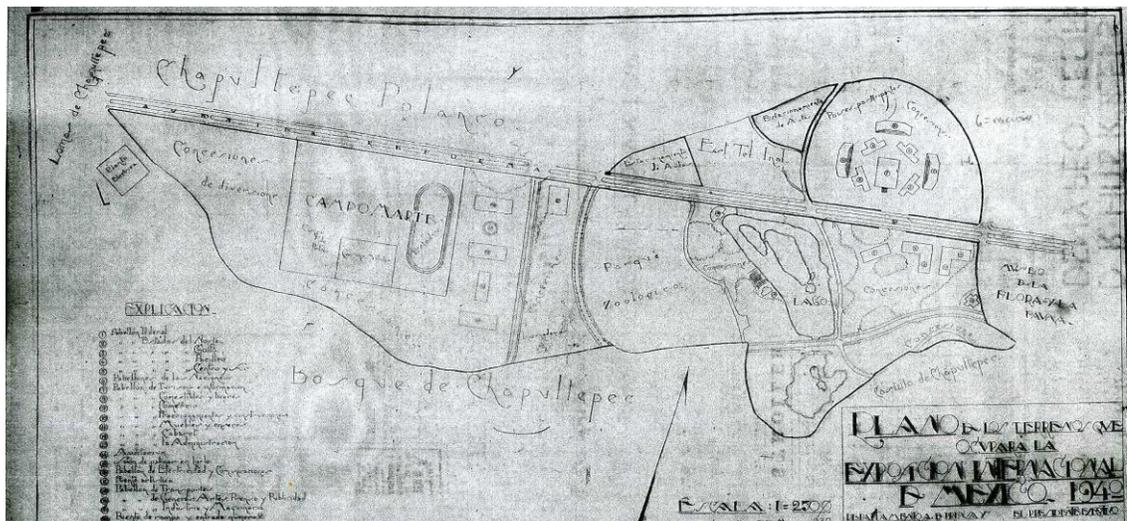
²¹⁴ "LA ESTRUCTURA FINANCIERA DE LA 'EXPOSICION INTERNACIONAL DE MEXICO' DE 1940 DESCANSA SOBRE UNA BASE SOLIDA," El Excelsior, 12 March 1939, p. 13.

For the Exposition, the pavilions were planned in Chapultepec on both sides of a portion of the *Paseo de la Reforma* (also known as the *Calzada de la Exposición*), as seen in figure 2-3. Yet the site would have been divided rather than contiguous because of already existing features such as the lake, the zoo, the military and polo grounds of *Campo Marte*, and the location of the new Chapultepec-Polanco neighborhood development on the far north side of *Paseo*. The grouping of Mexican pavilions—a federal building along with those for Northern, Gulf, Pacific, and Central and Southern states—other nations' pavilions, and two parking areas would be east of the new Polanco development on northern side of *Reforma*—what had been in the early 1900s the *Reforma* golf course, and would become in 1942 the Azteca Golf Club and later the Anthropology museum.²¹⁵ On the south side of *Reforma* from this first grouping of buildings, between the National Museum of Flora and Fauna and the lake was another grouping of pavilion buildings for tourism and information; foods and liquors; trade; housing development and construction; furniture and finishes; and a café.²¹⁶ The *Casa del Lago*—an elegant building on the lake's edge—is listed as "auditorium" and a nearby

²¹⁵ "Plano del Bosque de Chapultepec y de la Red Telegráfica, Telefónica y de Fuerza y Luz," July 1913, Museo Nacional de Historia, June 2011; *El Excelsior*, 5 August 1942, second section, p. 4. Also July 9, 17, and 28, 1942.

²¹⁶ This is called a "cabaret" in the plan, which would have been highly unlikely in the Cárdenas era of concern with not only public health, but international perception and the reining in of foreign-related excesses as seen in the closure of the Foreign Club and the Casino de la Selva at the outset of his presidency. The Museum of National Flora and Fauna was created with appeals to foreign opinion in an effort to oust a cabaret from the very same Chapultepec. Cabarets were closed in 1931 under the Mexico City Reglamento de Café's Cantantes, Cabarets y Salones de Baile, and again in 1937 under the Departamento de Salubridad Pública. Bliss, *Compromised Positions*, pp. 173–5, 197, 201–5. See also, Amelia Kiddle, "Cabaretistas and Indias Bonitas: Gender and Representations of Mexico in the Americas during the Cárdenas Era," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 42 (2010): 286; and Gretchen K. Pierce, "Parades, Epistles and Prohibitive Legislation: Mexico's National Anti-Alcohol Campaign and the Process of State-Building, 1934–1940," *Social History of Alcohol and Drugs*, vol. 23, no. 2 (2009): 151–180.

building facing *Reforma* was the administration. The subsequent section of land between the western edge of the zoo and the *Calzada Chivatito* held an indoor ice-skating rink. The final grouping of buildings between *Chivatito* and the stadium at *Campo Marte* was for electricity and communications; transportation; art, science, press and publicity; and industry and machinery. Spread along the edges of all the pavilion areas were large swaths of space designated for concessionaires, accompanied after *Campo Marte* by a final large area for "entertainment concessions."



2-3 Map of proposed layout for International Exposition. Source: El Excelsior, 5 March 1939, second section, 11.

As recently as 1934, the government acquired a parcel of land (what would become in 1952 the *Auditorio Municipal*—later *Nacional*—and the *Unidad Artistica del Bosque*) along the *Paseo de la Reforma* bordered by *Calzada Chivatito* and *Campo Marte*. Yet of the two Cárdenas land transfers pertaining to the primary section of the forest, only one is in the vicinity of where the Exposition was to take place near the

Paseo de la Reforma, west of the railroad to Cuernavaca and beyond the limits of the first section.²¹⁷

Many future cultural institutions were placed exactly where Exposition pavilions were proposed.²¹⁸ Two factors underlay this shift in land use. Miguel Angel de Quevedo, in his role as director of the Forestry Department during the Cárdenas administration, heavily promoted the use of parks as tourist attractions. The relatively concurrent opening in the later 1930s of the two museums in Chapultepec would provide the impetus for further museums being located in the forest.

The Forestry Department promoted a connection among nature, conservation and tourism. The Boletín covering the department's first year of operation contained a radio message given by Quevedo about utilizing parks for tourism, as well as a proposal for using a renovated Chapultepec Café as an exhibition space to draw tourists.²¹⁹

Quevedo would promote tourism through publicizing parks.²²⁰ Though DAPP failed in its mission of sending a unified message to the public about the plans for the International Exposition, DAPP largely and successfully promoted tourism.²²¹ The exposition battle may have been lost, but the tourism battle with a greater long-term benefit was won.

²¹⁷ 1986 Copy of Map H-15, Museo Nacional de Historia, June 2011.

²¹⁸ El Excélsior, 5 March 1939, second section, p, 11.

²¹⁹ Boletín, Nov. 1935-Jan. 1936, p. 149-52 and 239-40.

²²⁰ It is interesting to note that these initiatives were reported only in the English-language section, *Mexicanía*, of the daily newspaper El Excélsior. "MEXICANIA," El Excélsior, 26 August 1938 p. 10. "MEXICANIA," El Excélsior, 2 April 1939, second section, p. 8.

²²¹ Mejía Barquera; Berger.

PUBLIC PROPOSALS

The public was aware of the plasticity of Chapultepec space, due in part to President Cárdenas changing the meaning of the *Castillo* upon his election in 1934.²²² Several proposals from citizens, such as Gonzalo Lozano's project "to improve Chapultepec Forest, not only from a material perspective, but from cultural, touristic and social ones,"²²³ echoed ideals of connecting nature and culture in the service of the nation. Gonzalo Lozano's proposal was forwarded to Miguel Angel de Quevedo, and subsequently to Cárdenas, with handwritten administrative notations including the words, "material, cultural..."

Citizen proposals were not only received during Cárdenas' administration. Maria Luisa de la Garza y Farias wrote to President Avila Camacho in 1942 of her "original and wonderful initiatives for the beautification and enlargement of Chapultepec Forest." These were to include abundant plantings of trees and areas for gardens, a natural history museum (transferring the distant *Museo del Chopo*), and various paved pathways: all to be accomplished without taking down any trees.²²⁴ Other citizens wrote of the need for more developed eating establishments and the importance of

²²² Cárdenas ended the habit of Mexican leaders residing in the *Castillo*, and vowed to make into a museum, accessible to all. See "House of the People: the Importance of Chapultepec as Seen through Early Museums" in this dissertation.

²²³ A.G.N. Presidentes L.A.C., 140bis, 141/2, fs. 6, 15 feb 1935 .

²²⁴ A.G.N. Presidentes, M.A.C., 418.711, fs. 7, 8 marzo 1942. The *Museo del Chopo* was the Natural History Museum located in an entirely different part of the city to the northeast of Chapultepec, and housed in a crystal palace originally constructed for a hoped-for, turn-of-the-century Mexican World's Fair.

improved accommodations benefitting—directly or indirectly—environmental ideals and tourism.²²⁵

At the conclusion of the 1945 September Independence celebrations, business owner Francisco Cárdenas requested that the modern mechanical rides his company had installed for the celebrations be left in place, as he claimed they had garnered the public's approval. His overriding concern for leaving his business to function semi-permanently was one of modernity: Mexico being compared to "civilized cities" with their "advanced parks" where the public had access to fun and healthy leisure.

Recognizing the environment in the fullest sense of word, Francisco Cárdenas pledged to "put all of our effort into beautifying the surrounding area where our equipment is installed, taking special care with conservation, reforestation and permanent beauty." Finally, in accordance with jurisdictional divisions pertaining to the Forest, Francisco Cárdenas requested that the contract be made with the director of the Federal District, who "will surely agree to give his consent to our request due to its important goal."²²⁶

Professor Roberto de la Cerda Silva, of the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), was equally confident about his Children's City of the Americas proposed in 1946.²²⁷ Based on research trips to Canada and the United States and published in the weekly magazine, Mañana, his plan had the goal of "making apparent

²²⁵ A.G.N. Presidentes, M.A.C., 562.4/107, fs. 2; 21 agosto 1941, Proposal from Antonio Lomeli G., Jefe del Departamento de Acción Juvenil de la Secretaría de Educación Pública.

²²⁶ A.G.N. Presidentes, M.A.C., 418.5/35, fs. 2, 10 oct 1945.

²²⁷ A.G.N. Presidentes, M.A.C., 534/230, fs. 2, 17 enero 1946.

an expression of continental unity."²²⁸ This unity was to be channeled through elementary-school aged children, and the "city" would consist of twenty-one buildings: one for each country of the hemisphere. Buildings for activities in the city would include, "a movie theater, a gymnasium, a library and lecture hall, a gallery, a toy store, sand beaches, suitable swimming pools, a stadium, a cafeteria with kitchen, animal and plant parks, an outdoor playground with a children's scenic train ride, a banquet hall, an administrative center, and medical and social service centers." Perhaps some of Professor de la Cerda's confidence came from his close friendship with and support of former President Cárdenas, to which he referred in a letter to President Avila Camacho. Nevertheless, the project did not come to fruition, perhaps in part because it replicated many of the opportunities already available in Chapultepec. Its putative distinction was a pan-hemispheric identity as well as an exclusively primary-school aged audience, both of which were already being served as demonstrated by the recent Chapultepec Conference and by the children's park, zoo, botanical gardens, skating rink, and numerous other child- and family-friendly diversions.²²⁹

Not yet in abundance were museums.²³⁰ The late 1920s-1940s appear as an era of museum mania, but the demand was not met until the 1960s when most high-profile museums were located in Chapultepec. Some examples of early museum planning

²²⁸ "La Ciudad del Niño de América: un vigoroso proyecto para la unidad continental," Mañana: La Revista de México, 26 January 1946, no. 126, p. 64-65.

²²⁹ The Chapultepec Conference was the "Inter-American Conference on War and Peace" held at the Castillo in Chapultepec February 21- March 8, 1945, a direct precursor to the O.A.S.

²³⁰ The 1929/30 Atlas General del Distrito Federal lists the Museo Nacional de Historia y Etnología, Museo de Historia Natural (el Chopo), Museo del Instituto Geológico, and the Museo Cívico; p. 182-189.

include: art magazine *FORMA*'s 1926 proposal for a modern art museum—*Arte de las Americas*;²³¹ the 1934 *Museo del Palacio de Bellas Artes*;²³² Roberto Montenegro's efforts on behalf of the *Museo de Arte Popular* in 1935;²³³ 1939 efforts to create the *Museo de la Revolución*;²³⁴ and María Asúnsolo Morand's 1940 efforts for the creation of a *Museo Nacional de Arte Moderno*.²³⁵ These latter plans were picked up in 1953 by Carmen Barreda, who formed a trust which would become in 1964 the *Museo de Arte Moderno* located in Chapultepec on the former site of the Museum of National Flora and Fauna.²³⁶ Nelson Rockefeller, whose affinity for Mexican culture and especially folk art was well known, provided foundational support to the fledgling National Institute of Anthropology and History (*Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, INAH) formed in 1938.²³⁷ In 1941 he communicated with INAH director Alfonso Caso for a museum

²³¹ *FORMA: Revista de artes plásticas*, 1 (1926), p. 98.

²³² Ana Garduño, "The Munal and its Art Collection: Past, Present and Reality," in *Transformaciones del paisaje* (México: Munal-ICA, 2012), 206.

²³³ Archivo Histórico de la Secretaría de Educación Pública, *Guía 1921-1936*, 1935.

²³⁴ Archivo Histórico Institucional del INAH, INAH sección: Gobierno, serie: Dirección General; vol. 17, exp. 309, fs. 16 (oficio no. 396), 11 ago 1939, de Castillo Ledon to Profesor Rafael Ramos Pedrueza.

²³⁵ A.G.N. Presidentes, M.A.C., vol. 660, exp. 535/1, fs. 1, 16 dic 1940 " De María Asúnsulo [sic], Paseo de la Reforma 137, depto. 8 "Sugiere se funde el Primer Museo Nacional de Arte Moderno en México, para lo cual solo se requiere la cesión de un local adecuado. Don Moisés Sáenz [hermano de Aarón Sáenz], Don Alberto J. Pani y otras personalidades están dispuestas a donar algunas de la obras de arte que poseen."En manuscrita abajo:

"Fue turnado a la Sec. de Educación Pública para su estudio y consideración. [Sirvase?] rogando ser sometido al acuerdo del Sr. Presidente." Presidentes, M.A.C., vol. 660, exp. 535/1, fs. 1, 23 dic 1940, "Al C. Oficial Mayor de la Presidencia de la Republica "Al quedar enterado el C. Secretario del Contenido de su atento correograma 4162 de fecha 18 del actual, me encarga manifestar a usted que ya se estudia el Proyecto de la señorita María Asúnsolo y para la fundación del Primer Museo Nacional de Arte Moderno en México, con objeto de llevarlo a la consideración del C. Presidente de la Republica, en su próxima acuerdo."

"El Secretario Particular, Lic. Rubén E. Gómez Esqueda" Secretaría de Educación Pública

²³⁶ *Artes de México*, XVII, no. 127 (1970): 5-10; Helia D'Acosta, *Veinte Mujeres* (México: Editores Asociados, 1971), chapter 2.

²³⁷ Salvador Novo, *La vida en México en el periodo presidencial de Manuel Avila Camacho* (México: Empresas Editoriales, 1965), 47. "Cuando martillaron [la marimba] *Soy Puro Mexicano*, Mac Andrews hizo

that would educate American tourists, as well as help them collect the proper works.²³⁸

Though Rockefeller was desirous of a folk arts museum, reviving Montenegro's proposal for a *Museo de Arte Popular*, his conversations occurred at the same time as the deputy director of the Education Secretariat (SEP, which oversaw INAH) was in conversation with President Avila Camacho about a new anthropology museum.²³⁹

The growing importance of anthropology and its glaring absence at Chapultepec led to increased focus on buildings that could fill the gap.²⁴⁰ The Los Angeles Times described the "14 exhibit palaces of Mayan and Aztec architecture" to be built in Chapultepec as a part of the 1940 Exposition.²⁴¹ The International Exposition advertisements contained artistic and architectural renderings of these neo-indigenous buildings proposed to be a legacy of the fair.²⁴² In 1938, the Danish archaeologist Frans Blom, working and living in Mexico, suggested a museum housed in a replica of *Chichén Itzá* and containing materials from Tulane University's Middle American Research

la pertinente revelación de que aquella era una pieza escrita por Nelson A. Rockefeller. Y en realidad, si no es cierto, bien podría serlo."

²³⁸ INAH Microfilm, Reel 10, vol. 24, no. 192, October 30, 1941. Letter from Nelson Rockefeller to Alfonso Caso regarding the establishment of a museum of popular art in Mexico City.

²³⁹ INAH Microfilm, Reel 14, vol. 33, 25 July 1941. "Future museum to be funded through a tax on tourism."

²⁴⁰ Claudio Lomnitz describes the period from 1940-1960 having been called the "golden age" of Mexican anthropology. Claudio Lomnitz, Deep Mexico Silent Mexico: An Anthropology of Nationalism (Minneapolis: U Minnesota Press, 2001) 254-255.

²⁴¹ Los Angeles Times, 18 July 1939, A8.

²⁴² El Excelsior, March 19, 1939, p. 15, and March 26, second section, p. 5. Though this neo-indigenous style was not the only option to represent Mexicanness in circulation at the time. Mexico's design by Manuel Chacón for the Paris Exposition of 1937 was modernist. See Raquel Franklin U, "La interpretación de 'lo mexicano' en los pabellones posrevolucionarios: (1922-1929)" in México en los Pabellones y las Exposiciones Internacionales (1889-1929). (México: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 2010), 38. Although Franklin calls Chacón's design "the last effort at presenting a Mexican pavilion prior to the outbreak of World War II" if the designs for the unbuilt Mexican International Exposition are taken into account, then modernism did not yet have the last word.

Institute. Blom wanted the museum building to relate directly with its contents.²⁴³ With the National Museum of History moved to the *Castillo*, the Ethnography and Archaeology sections of the former *Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia y Etnografía* remained at their original 19th-century downtown location. As early as 1941, it was clear that a new anthropology museum would be built but not at a downtown location.²⁴⁴ A scant three years later, Alberto J. Pani, former government minister (Treasury, Foreign Relations) along with renowned artist Dr. Atl, sent a proposal to Avila Camacho, "to convert Chapultepec Forest into the most beautiful and important archeological site in the world."²⁴⁵ In 1964 the National Museum of Anthropology opened in Chapultepec Forest on the edge of where the national pavilions were to be located for the 1940 International Exposition.

The official repeal of the International Exposition concession from December 1941 noted that within the original timeframe it was not possible to accomplish the project, and that although there had been a recent financial agreement in July 1941 postponing the fair to October 1942-May 1943, the war that was affecting most of the world's nations would prohibit countries from participating and their citizens from attending.²⁴⁶ President Avila Camacho no longer wanted to contribute funds toward the Exposition's fulfillment. Nonetheless, the ideals of the International Exposition—

²⁴³ *El Excélsior*, 2 January 1939, third section, p. 11. This would be the concept behind Diego Rivera's Museo Anahuacalli, as well as Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, Jorge Campuzano and Rafael Mijares' Museo Nacional de Antropología.

²⁴⁴ President Avila Camacho rejected the downtown sites. INAH Microfilm, Reel 14, vol. 33, 25 July 1941.

²⁴⁵ Alberto J. Pani, *Apuntes Autobiográficos*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (Mexico: Porrúa, 1950), 324-26.

²⁴⁶ *Diario Oficial*, 27 December 1941, p. 1-2.

"economic, political, social and artistic exchange with various countries, and tourism"—
were eventually realized through the institutionalization of Chapultepec.²⁴⁷ It took a
period of twenty-five years, but Chapultepec ended up permanently hosting many
activities and themes from the Exposition plan. The unrealized Exposition was
important. As Tenorio Trillo states, "unmaterialized projects expressed ideas..."²⁴⁸
Though it never occurred, the International Exposition planning encouraged the cultural
institutionalization of Chapultepec, underscoring the importance of international
economic investment and tourism.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁷ Diario Oficial, 27 December 1941, p. 1.

²⁴⁸ Tenorio Trillo, "1910 Mexico City...", p. 79.

²⁴⁹ This unrealized exposition is not listed in the Historical Dictionary, "Fairs that Never Were" (p. 403-410), nor in Mexico at World's Fairs, chapter 3, subsection "A Mexico City Fair?" (p. 44-47).

Important too were the western development of the city and the growth of affluent *colonias* in support of economic growth.

Chapter 3 "House of the People": the Importance of Chapultepec as Seen Through Early Museums

Shortly before being sworn in as Mexico's president in 1934, Lázaro Cárdenas declared he would not reside in the *Castillo*, or Castle of Chapultepec which overlooked the expanding city of Mexico.²⁵⁰ Subsequently, he declared that it would become a "house of the people" and converted entirely into a museum.²⁵¹ Though Cárdenas' intentions to symbolically disentangle the patrimony of the country from the hold of the foreign-connected elite were noble, there were many pragmatic and contradictory reasons for the shift. The declaration came at the same time as a call for a wave of museum reorganization, and the downplaying of a symbol of foreign intervention would prove important for encouraging foreign tourism and investment.

Cárdenas was not the first person to note the museum-like potential for the imposing building. In 1921, Frank Bohn suggested as much in his report on the recently-elected President Obregón: "In no capital in the world is the national palace or executive mansion more shut off from the reach of the popular pulse and mind....Much better to turn Chapultepec into a national museum and build a simple executive residence like No. 10 Downing Street, for instance, in the midst of the city. The palace suggests the office."²⁵² Bohn's first suggestions would come to pass; his final would not, as a new,

²⁵⁰ "El General Rodríguez y el General Cárdenas," *El Universal*, 30 November 1934, front page and p. 4.

²⁵¹ "Temas Metropolitanos: Mugre Democrática," *El Excelsior*, 15 January 1935, p. 5. .

²⁵² Frank Bohn, "Mexico Under the New Regime. What Will Be the Influence of Chapultepec Castle During the Next Four Years?" *New York Times*, 14 February 1921, p. 8.

and more humble presidential residence was indeed constructed, but in an even more remote portion of Chapultepec Forest.

This chapter details the state "programs of culture" that were developed and situated in the first two museums in Chapultepec Forest. Through construction, collections, and competitions, the public accepted and altered intentionally crafted messages that intertwined history and nature.

If Bohn perceived the *Castillo* as imposing and inaccessible, Chapultepec itself was not. By the 1930s Mexico City was beginning to overtake the forest and efforts were being made to protect and enlarge it. For hundreds of years it had served as a recreational space, in earlier times among well-connected Spanish-descended families, later among those wanting to acquire the sensibilities of Europeans, and most recently among those following the dictates of hygiene and public health. Chapultepec's location to the west of downtown meant that its neighbors were of affluent means, as many newer housing developments for the upper- and upper-middle classes appeared in the area taking advantage of the formerly abundant springs, the elevation and the open and wooded green areas. But in the post-revolutionary era, all sectors of society were more actively using the forest, with numerous shanty dwellings were located around and even within its perimeter, and streetcars shortening the distance citizens had to travel from downtown and beyond. For over fifty years a public show was made of the affluent in carriages and on horses, and there were many spectators. Sundays and special

occasions brought out tens of thousands of Mexicans along with numerous foreign residents and visitors in an outdoor frenzy.

Public green space had grown in importance in Mexico as in other nations throughout the later 19th century and well into the first half of the twentieth. Parks developed beyond a marker of class-based aesthetics to a tool for the Progressive movement.²⁵³ Most of the current literature on modern public parks centers on Europe and settler colonies. It is important to note that Mexico was heavily influenced by the same currents of thought but possessed additional considerations unique to its pre-Conquest history and later mythologizing. The concept of uniqueness especially as pertaining to the natural world (including indigenous peoples) was shared by other Latin American nations in justifying and consolidating their nationhood. As Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra has written, this was especially strong in Mexico, in part as a reaction to European conquest and intellectual possession.²⁵⁴

Different types of parks including landscape gardens, open spaces, pleasure grounds, woodland reservations, and recreation facilities had different purposes and distinct audiences.²⁵⁵ Chapultepec as a space included numerous contemporaneous uses: what Spiro Kostof has called a "social mix" crucial for modern public parks, with

²⁵³ Setha Low, Dana Taplin, and Suzanne Scheld, Rethinking Urban Parks: public space and cultural diversity (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), p. 20, 26.

²⁵⁴ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Nature, Empire, and Nation (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), 6. chapter 7, "Landscapes and Identities: Mexico, 1850-1900" where Cañizares-Esguerra details the ways nineteenth-century Mexican intellectuals used the landscape and representations of it as a way to argue for the uniqueness and strength of Mexican nationhood.

²⁵⁵ Setha Low, Dana Taplin, and Suzanne Scheld, Rethinking Urban Parks: public space and cultural diversity (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), p. 20-32.

"the park as a medium for public education and a mingling of social classes."²⁵⁶ These *volksgarten* often included built structures with historical content (monuments, statuary and buildings).²⁵⁷ In Mexico, even in the post-revolutionary era, leaders connected the desire for social education and civilizing efforts explicitly to ideas of classic antiquity—including Arcadia.²⁵⁸ To this were added the progressive, consumerist, and hygienic models for metropolises practiced in Mexico in the budding 20th century especially as U.S. dominance grew.²⁵⁹

As with the uses of Chapultepec, ownership was also mixed. It was an immense prize consisting of several conflicting claims including those of descendants of Spanish explorers, the municipal-level Federal District Department (DDF), the federal government, and UNAM. The Spanish crown decreed Mexico City the owner of Chapultepec since early colonial times in order to protect water supplies and rein-in Hernán Cortés (who had taken the lion's share of Chapultepec as his own).²⁶⁰ In practice, determining jurisdiction was a much muddled affair, especially since many heads of government since the late 1850s had resided at least part of the year in

²⁵⁶ Spiro Kostof, *The City Assembled: the elements of urban form through history* (London: Little, Brown and Company, 1992), p. 169.

²⁵⁷ Kostof cites the Munich Englischer Garten of the late 19th century. Kostof, 169. Also note the Volksgarten in Vienna which opened in 1820.

²⁵⁸ Kathryn O'Rourke, "Building a Modern Nation: Mexico's State-sponsored Modern Architecture, 1925-1934" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2008), p. 326, citing N. Ramirez de Arellano, "El moderno concepto de parques y jardines," *Obras Publicas* (Jan. 1930), 11-12.

²⁵⁹ Arturo Almandoz, "Urbanization and Urbanism in Latin America: from Haussmann to CIAM," in *Planning Latin America's Capital Cities, 1850-1950*, ed. Arturo Almandoz (London: Routledge, 2002), 20-21.

²⁶⁰ This may partially explain why one of Quevedo's first acts in declaring Chapultepec a National Park was not carried out. A similar federal-municipal back-and-forth occurred with the first national park, *Desierto de los Leones* and later with *Fuentes Brotantes*.

Chapultepec. A de facto agreement during Cárdenas' term stated that the federal government had control over all the buildings in Chapultepec (except the *Casa del Lago* which housed the Institute of Biology and passed to UNAM upon its autonomy in 1929),²⁶¹ and the DDF had control over the land.²⁶² An administrative oversight delayed until 1942 the codification of this law.²⁶³ Such has been the legal status of Chapultepec since.

As the 1930 General Atlas of Mexico City demonstrated, the buildings in Chapultepec were central to its identity and classification. The "Chapultepec Castle and Forest" (*Castillo y Bosque de Chapultepec*) were listed under "Public Buildings" (*Edificios Públicos*) rather than in the section "Monuments, parks, and tourist attractions."²⁶⁴

Museums were able to further the connection between the natural environment, the nation, and the public-ness of Chapultepec. As Carol Duncan shows, it was important for museums to be built in public parks as a way for them to be seen as part of patrimony.²⁶⁵ Not only were museums sited in open or public space, but as Tony

²⁶¹ Ana Luisa Vega, *Casa del Lago: un anhelo colectivo* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1988), p. 25.

²⁶² Though the buildings were national property and were planned at the federal level, construction of future museums would be administered by city-level government. The greenhouse at the Museum of National Flora and Fauna would be one of the first instances of this partnering on construction and costs. See "Disposiciones que conviene dictar para que se ponga en buenas condiciones el Gran Invernadero o Conservatorio de Plantas Tropicales en Chapultepec," *México Forestal*, XVIII, November-December 1940, p. 104.

²⁶³ See Department of Forestry, *Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca*, vol. I, no. 2, p. 239; "Decreto que destina al servicio del Departamento del Distrito Federal el Bosque de Chapultepec," *Diario Oficial*, 15 June 1942, p. 9.

²⁶⁴ *Atlas General del Distrito Federal: Geográfico, Histórico, Comercial, Estadístico, Agrario* (México: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1930), 1:150.

²⁶⁵ Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 10, 57.

Bennett demonstrates, their arena for instruction was one of an "open and public space [which] sought rhetorically to incorporate the people into the process of the state."²⁶⁶

One of the results of the Revolution was a symbolic correlation among the pre-Hispanic culture, the countryside and the nation.²⁶⁷ Additionally, stewards of the nation attempted to connect knowledge about and appreciation of endemic species with being a good citizen. The foreign valuation of the natural environment and of historic monuments was used to encourage Mexicans to have pride in their nation. The history museum's placement in Chapultepec connected colonial and modern history to the natural environment and to the pre-Hispanic era.

Yet not all modern history was positive. The U.S. Marines overran Mexican forces in 1847 in Chapultepec in the larger U.S.–Mexican War, which Mexico lost. Although not publically commemorated until the 1870s, the cult to the *Niños Héroes* (Cadet Heroes, literally "Heroic Children") focused on their spiritual victory rather than the actual military defeat.²⁶⁸ With the monuments, ceremonies and popular and official references, the U.S. invasion was (and is) an important element in the understanding of Chapultepec. Furthermore, the invasion and capture functioned similarly to what Miriam Basilio has found for the Alcázar of Toledo in Spain, where capture and

²⁶⁶ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: history, theory, politics* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 87.

²⁶⁷ Enrique Florescano, "El patrimonio nacional. Valores, usos, estudio y difusión," in *El Patrimonio Nacional de México*, ed. Enrique Florescano (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes y Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1997), 1: 17-18. See also Pérez Montfort.

²⁶⁸ Enrique Plasencia de la Parra, "Conmemoración de la hazaña épica de los niños héroes: su origen, desarrollo y simbolismos," *Historia Mexicana* 45, no. 2 (1995): 241-279. This is consistent with Wolfgang Schivelbusch's "culture of defeat" with the losers emphasizing "their faith in their cultural and moral superiority" and their "moral authority." Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *The Culture of Defeat: on National Trauma, Mourning, and Recovery* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2001), p. 19, 32.

martyrdom were crucial to history-based mythmaking which entailed developing a "sacred aura" allowing it to be used as "a patriotic tourist destination whose experience was akin to religious devotion."²⁶⁹

Though important alterations were made to Chapultepec during the tenure of Porfirio Díaz (1877-1911) most of them centered on garden preparations for the celebration of the Centennial of Independence in 1910. I argue that more important changes occurred in the 1930s in the opening of institutionalized didactic spaces meant to further the official control over purported public space. Activities in conjunction with the Centennial of the Consummation of Independence in 1921 and subsequent improvements in 1924 and 1926 were important ideological investments in the Forest.²⁷⁰ Yet the creation of educational institutions in Chapultepec begins with the repurposing of the Restaurant Chapultepec into the Museum of National Flora and Fauna and the simultaneous transformation of the *Castillo*.²⁷¹

At the same time that Cárdenas changed the presidential residence, he elevated the Department of Forestry to its own secretariat. Though seemingly unrelated, this change would have a profound effect upon Chapultepec Forest. The director of the

²⁶⁹ Miriam Basilio, "A Pilgrimage to the Alcázar of Toledo: Ritual, Tourism and Propaganda in Franco's Spain" in Architecture and Tourism: perception, performance, and place, eds. D. Medina Lasansky and Brian McLaren (New York: Berg, 2004), 93, 95, 101.

²⁷⁰ In the 1920s, the Forest was the beneficiary of numerous improvements in many cases related to the 1921 Centennial of the culmination of Independence. These included fountains, entrances, refreshment kiosks and lighting. Anales de la Secretaría de Comunicaciones y Obras Públicas (México: Estudios Geográficos y Climatológicos, 1924), especially pages 1-21.

²⁷¹ Presidents Venustiano Carranza (1917-1920) and Plutarco Elías Calles (1924-1928) both decreed funds or plans for small museums to be included in the *Castillo*. I have no definitive proof of their realization, and if created, they were on a much more modest scale and included within a building complex functioning as the presidential residence. See this chapter.

Department of Forestry was engineer Miguel Angel de Quevedo, an aged, French-trained civil engineer and renowned "Apostle of the Tree." Quevedo would use his department to focus on a program of cultural activities largely centered upon the Museum of National Flora and Fauna. Though Cárdenas transformed the *Castillo*, Quevedo's Museum of National Flora and Fauna would be the first destination museum in Chapultepec Forest. Its content and its creation were devoted to didactically altering national behavior and to connecting the natural world with the nation.

The turn-of-the-century café/restaurant, as seen in figure 3-1, was located at the foot of the *Castillo*. Originally a destination for the Porfirian smart set, the café had fallen into ill repute through a sublease from a beer company to a third party who had turned it into a cabaret—this at a time of increasing anti-alcoholism efforts by the government.²⁷² One of Quevedo's first priorities was to cancel the lease, which the federal government held, in order to better utilize the location for a "museum of lighted scenes from various national parks...to promote thusly the interest in developing grand tour tourism in Mexico."²⁷³ The idea and planning for this museum occurred early into 1935, scarcely a few months from Cárdenas' *Castillo* declaration.

²⁷²It was advertised as a "jardin cerveza." Advertisement, *El Universal*, 3 December 1934, p. 7. Gretchen K. Pierce, "Parades, Epistles and Prohibitive Legislation: Mexico's National Anti-Alcohol Campaign and the Process of State-Building, 1934–1940," *Social History of Alcohol and Drugs* 23, no. 2 (2009): 151–80.

²⁷³ *Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca*, Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 47-49.



3-1 Café Chapultepec. The C. L. Sonnichsen Special Collections Department - University of Texas at El Paso Library, PH025-1-1-025. Source: UTEP Library Special Collections Department.

It is instructive that many of the most prominent initiatives of Quevedo's tenure were directed at tourism, and the president whom he served was very much interested in attracting tourists with their economic potential. The Museum fit a pattern in which leaders in the developing world built museums in order to reassure their Western donors and investors.²⁷⁴ Cárdenas encouraged numerous projects including road and tourist-facility construction, as well as fledgling marketing, and the formation of the Mexican Tourist Association.²⁷⁵ At the close of his administration, Cárdenas declared "A Biennial of Tourism" as World War II encouraged Mexican and hemispheric unity.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁴ Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 21.

²⁷⁵ On tourism in Mexico, especially the Cárdenas years, see Dina Berger, *The Development of Mexico's Tourism Industry: Pyramids by Day, Martinis by Night* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), especially pages 1-2 and 74-77.

²⁷⁶ Berger, 84-85.

Once open, the Museum of National Flora and Fauna would attract only 1.5% foreign visitors, yet a significant motivation for its creation was tourism.²⁷⁷ It is important to note that the desired tourist was not solely foreign, but overriding interest was in attracting foreigners, particularly Americans from the U.S. who would be able to motor down the recently constructed Pan American highway.²⁷⁸ As discussed in chapter 2, Quevedo worked tirelessly to further the goal of an International Exposition to be held in Chapultepec in the late 1930s: indeed, he worked on a plan whereby the entire Chapultepec Forest would be a stage for numerous, future expositions; and he advanced among influential organizations and the press the idea of natural resources as a tourist draw.²⁷⁹

The *Castillo* had long been an attraction for foreign tourists: Fanny Calderon de la Barca wrote at length about it in 1839.²⁸⁰ Ironically, at the time that Cárdenas was declaring it a house of the people, significant effort was spent on trying to shape the home of the *Castillo*—Chapultepec Forest—into the forest of the foreigner. But the

²⁷⁷ For the month of January, 1939, according to a report in "Mexicanía," *El Excélsior*, 29 January 1939, third section, p. 2.

²⁷⁸ The Pan American highway (Laredo to Mexico City) was completed in 1936 after eight years of construction. Berger, 45. Quevedo specifies "international gran tourism" in *Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca*, Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p 149-151, reprint of radio address given Nov 10, 1935 on XECR of the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores.

²⁷⁹ Tony Bennett, working off of Michel Foucault's work on the museum versus fair, notes the connections among museums and modern fairs and expositions. See Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: history, theory, politics* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 6. For Chapultepec as stage, see *Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca*, Año I, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 239. For tourism, see again *Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca*, Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p 149-151, reprint of radio address given Nov 10, 1935 on XECR of the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores. "Mexicanía," *El Excélsior*, 26 August 1938, p. 10. "Mexicanía," *El Excélsior*, 2 April 1939, second section, p. 9.

²⁸⁰ Frances Calderon de la Barca, *Life in Mexico* reprint (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), cited in "Letter the Eighth," December 31. Accessed online at <http://digital.library.upenn.edu/women/calderon/mexico/mexico.html>.

Castillo had additional roles to that of becoming a popular museum and tourist draw. It had long hosted and housed visiting dignitaries and continued to do so, long after Cárdenas' declaration, and for years it housed some of the employees of the president's staff, in an ongoing struggle which I discuss below.²⁸¹

The National Museum of History and the Museum of National Flora and Fauna were two didactic institutions physically located in Chapultepec but meant to represent the entire country. They shared intertwined timelines. The Museum of National Flora and Fauna was designed after Cárdenas had declared his intention to shift the purpose of the *Castillo*, but it opened prior to the National Museum of History. Their creation cannot be understood by recounting an inaugural date.²⁸² It is useful to compare these

²⁸¹ Some of the press coverage of dinners and guests to the *Castillo* during the years it was transitioned to a museum: "FUERON INVITADOS A UNA COMIDA EN CHAPULTEPEC, POR EL SR. PRESIDENTE, ALGUNOS PERIODISTAS EXTRANJEROS," *El Excélsior*, 13 May 1938, p. 3. "UN BANQUETE EN CHAPULTEPEC PARA LOS MILITARES CUBANOS," *El Excélsior*, 20 September 1938, front page. "Comida al Dr. Ramos en Chapultepec"[Cuban Extraordinary Ambassador], *El Excélsior*, 21 September 1938, second section, p. 3. "BANQUETE OFRECIDO A LOS SRES. HOTELEROS EN CHAPULTEPEC," *El Excélsior*, 3 October 1938, second section, p. 3. *El Excélsior*, 13 October 1938, second section, p. 2. "RINDIO NUESTRA CIUDAD UN RESPETUOSO HOMENAJE A LA SEÑORA D. DE SOMOZA," *El Excélsior*, 25 November 1938, second section p. 2. "EL PRESIDENTE Y EL CORONEL," *El Excélsior*, 7 February 1939, second section, p. 2. "CENA A BASSOLS EN EL CASTILLO," *El Excélsior*, 2 April 1939, p. 15. "EN EL ALCAZAR DE CHAPULTEPEC," *El Excélsior*, 28 September 1939, second section, p. 3. "EL DIA 29 SERAN RECIBIDOS POR EL PRESIDENTE CARDENAS LOS EMBAJADORES ESPECIALES," *El Excélsior*, 20 November 1940, front page. "EN HONOR DE LAS ESPOSAS DE LOS SEÑORES EMBAJADORES FUE SERVIDO UN TE EN EL HISTORICO ALCAZAR DE CHAPULTEPEC," *El Excélsior*, 30 November 1940, second section, p. 2. "HOY SE INAUGURARA EN CHAPULTEPEC LA SEGUNDA CONVENCION INTERAMERICANA DE AGRICULTURA," *El Universal*, 6 July 1942, second section, front page. *El Universal*, 22 November 1942, second section, front page; And even after the inauguration of the museum, the president of Venezuela stayed in the *Castillo* upon his visit to Mexico to inaugurate a statue of Bolivar: A.G.N., Presidentes, M.A.C., 110.1/54, fs. 2, 10 julio 1946.

²⁸² It is most often the case with the National Museum of History. Its history is collapsed into two dates: the declaration in 1940 of the *Castillo* belonging to INAH (often conflated with the decree creating INAH) and the inauguration in 1944. The complexities in the creation of the institution and all of the cultural, social and political history are lost. A further frustration is that even the formation dates are divergent. INAH was created on 31 December 1938 and published in the official record, *Diario Oficial* on 3 February 1939. The Chapultepec *Castillo* became property of INAH on 20 November 1940 and published in *Diario Oficial* on 13 December 1940. An example of this simplification by a well-respected historian can be seen

two institutions in order to better recognize what their official purposes were and how citizens participated in these projects of national instruction. It is important to understand their trajectories as they were the precursors to the numerous national cultural institutions created in Chapultepec Forest during the mid- to late-twentieth century.

THE MUSEUM OF NATIONAL FLORA AND FAUNA

Throughout his long career in environmentally-related public works, Miguel de Quevedo advocated the necessity of education as a key component to conservation.²⁸³ As a *científico* in both uses of the word—a scientist as well as a Porfirian-era technocrat—Quevedo, as Christopher Boyer explains, "attempted to cure what were considered campesinos' inadequacies by means of proclamations and intensive education for the popular classes."²⁸⁴ In fact, he often lamented the inability of the indigenous peoples and the uneducated masses to understand the concepts behind actions: both theirs that damaged the environment and others' that would better the natural world.²⁸⁵

Furthermore, the decree that formed the Autonomous Department of Forestry, Fish and

with Amparo Gómez Tepexicuapan, "Historia del Alcázar y los Gobernantes que lo Habitaron," in El Castillo de Chapultepec: Testigo de una Nación, ed. Victor Hugo Rodríguez H., et. al. (Mexico: Agueda Editores, 2004), p. 82.

²⁸³ Christopher R. Boyer, "Revolución y Paternalismo Ecológico: Miguel Ángel De Quevedo y la Política Forestal en México, 1926-1940," Historia Mexicana, 57 (2007):93, 108.

²⁸⁴ Boyer, "Revolución y Paternalismo...", 107.

²⁸⁵ This can be seen in Quevedo's recommendation that all forested areas of Mexico be turned over to his department for management, rather than entrusted to campesinos. Christopher R. Boyer and Emily Wakild, "Social Landscaping in the Forests of Mexico: An Environmental Interpretation of Cardenismo, 1934-1940," Hispanic American Historical Review, 92, no 1 (2012): 97.

Game stated specifically that the department educate the population through schools and museums among other means, and provided Quevedo with the clout to do so.²⁸⁶

The Department of Forestry was created by President Cárdenas in December 1934. As quickly as January 1935, Quevedo publically described Chapultepec's "improvements and related services of the Zoo and the Botanical Garden which will be enlarged with the Flora and Fauna Museums..."²⁸⁷ The Department first officially mentioned the proposed museum in the October monthly report and elaborated more extensively in the year-end summary of activities, where there were several entries related to the project. The October report stated:

The lease to a brewery of the building used as a restaurant, which was subleased to a third-party without authorization from Treasury and used as a cabaret for extreme drunkenness and other improper activities, with immoral acts extending to the neighboring building in the same parcel leased to the concessionaire, and the complete neglect of the buildings with formerly beautiful gardens and lovely paths, all a complete disaster, being used to raise pigs and tend laundry, has been dissolved by the Department in agreement with the Conservation Commission and with Treasury and the Department of the Federal District, in order to eliminate the inappropriate cabaret, which dishonors the high esteem that, even

²⁸⁶"DECRETO QUE CREA EL DEPARTAMENTO AUTONOMO FORESTAL Y DE CAZA Y Pesca," México Forestal, Tomo XII, no. 12, December 1934, p. 201.

²⁸⁷"El Bosque de Chapultepec, Parque Nacional, y los Propósitos del Departamento Forestal para su Conservacion y Gobierno," México Forestal, Tomo XIII, January 1935, p. 9.

abroad, the current government has achieved in its fight against alcoholism and gambling. The idea is that a decent restaurant, as in years past, sets up there, or, if not possible, that the Forestry Department establishes in partnership with the Secretary of the National Economy, a Museum of illuminated landscapes from the various National Parks...²⁸⁸

The concerns above are multiple, but mainly with the reputation of the government regarding its public health efforts. (Quevedo would pursue similar improvements in Chapultepec regarding morality as reflected in public health: principally closing the main swimming area because of young men not wearing sufficient swimwear in view of women.²⁸⁹) By the end of the year, the plan had progressed so that a new restaurant was no longer discussed. The museum idea, based on an exposition of flora held at a recent national agriculture expo, along with the suggested landscape images of National Parks was to be combined with indoor and outdoor areas for competitions in which the public would participate. Contests among owners of plants and domesticated animals, along with didactic exhibitions would constitute what Quevedo called a "program of

²⁸⁸ Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca , Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 48.

²⁸⁹ Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca , Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 227-228. "The swimming pool that had been at the left-hand entrance to the Forest on Avenida Principal, per the concession awarded a high-ranking employee of the Forest was agreed to be closed because of complaints from various institutions about older boys without proper swimming attire—even mingling with the opposite sex, this nudist camp reflected poorly on the magnificent entrance to the Forest. The Main Children's Park should be completed by next year."

culture that pertains to the Forestry Department," and allow him to pursue "popular education in these subjects for public enrichment."²⁹⁰

Through such complaints as those pertaining to the destruction of trees, citizens questioned how much culture was in Quevedo's program. In the summer of 1937, Jorge Vizcaíno complained to President Cárdenas about damage to trees in Chapultepec.²⁹¹ The official justification given to Vizcaíno on a personal tour in early December by a forestry inspector was that the trees were removed for the construction of the Museum of National Flora and Fauna, "whose cultural benefits all social classes are already beginning to reap." There was no official concern with the contradiction inherent in destroying trees to educate people about the environment. Although Vizcaíno remained unconvinced, substituting the natural environment with institutions meant to educate about and evoke nature would only increase during subsequent decades.²⁹²

Quevedo and his department forged ahead with their showcase. The site and buildings were deeded to the Department in December 1935 to be used for "permanent exhibitions."²⁹³ Though the main building and additional structures already existed, much restoration and repair was required to turn the dilapidated restaurant into a national museum. And, as noted in the citizen complaint, there was construction, which

²⁹⁰ Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 239; Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año II, México, no. 6, Jan-March, 1937, p. 16-17.

²⁹¹ A.G.N., Presidentes, LCR, 140bis, 141.1./1, 21 ago 1937. It is interesting to note that in 1927 Alfonso Herrera proposed moving the Natural History museum to Chapultepec and consolidating it with the zoo and botanical gardens, in part utilizing the Casa del Lago. He decided against it due to the number of trees that would be destroyed upon construction, as well as being deterred politically. Vega, 21-24.

²⁹² A.G.N., Presidentes, LCR, 140bis, 141.1./1, 20 dic 1937.

²⁹³ "Decreto que destina al servicio del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca el 'Restaurant de Chapultepec' y sus anexos, en el D.F.," Diario Oficial, 31 December 1935, 1594.

included a massive central conservatory greenhouse and the paving of paths and roadways. Some of the tasks undertaken included: landscaping the exterior; painting maps, landscapes, murals, and the general interior; reconditioning the exterior; constructing and installing display tanks and cases; and mounting the large illuminated pictures referred to in the original plan.²⁹⁴ The Museum consisted of an upper level dedicated to fauna, a lower level for forests, a basement for workspace and storage, a section devoted to National Parks, an area focused on fish, a botanical garden, and a grand conservatory (under construction) especially for tropical plants and animals, as well as an annex for competitions and exhibitions, as seen in figure 3-2.²⁹⁵

Originally scheduled to open in early spring 1937, and pushed back to fall and again to winter, the inauguration occurred on December 15, though many tasks remained and the conservatory was not near completion.²⁹⁶ The "soft" opening was nevertheless received warmly. Members of the Mexican Forestry Society noted after their special visit that the institution "constituted a center of indisputable culture."²⁹⁷ The public would take several months to attend the cultural center en masse. The first month for which attendance numbers are available is March, 1938, three months after

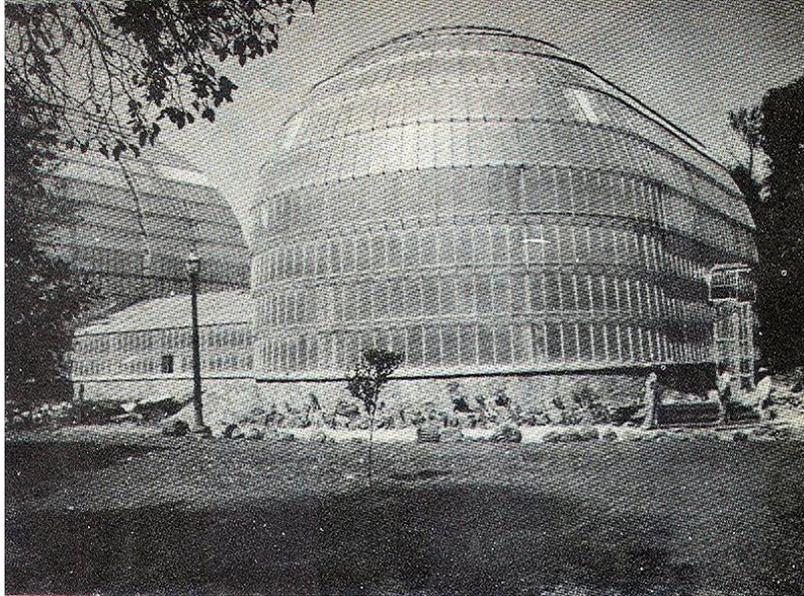
²⁹⁴ Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año III, no. 7, April-Aug. 1937, p. 117; Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca Año III, no. 8, Sept.-Nov. 1937, p. 74, 83-84; Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca Año III, no. 9, Dec. 1937-Feb. 1938, p. 58, 68.

²⁹⁵ Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año III, no. 7, Abril-Aug. 1937, p. 117; Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca Año III, no. 10 March-May 1938, p. 50; Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca Año III, no. 9, Dec. 1937-Feb. 1938, p. 58.

²⁹⁶ Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año III, no. 7, April-Aug. 1937, p. 117; Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca Año III, no. 10 March-May 1938, p. 50.

²⁹⁷ México Forestal, Tomo XVI, April-May and June, 1938, nos. 4-5-6, p. 19.

the opening, during which 12,000 persons visited. This would increase over the spring to an all-time high of 59,000 in June, 1938.



3-2 Aspect of the *Gran Invernadero* (Greenhouse). Source: <http://www.skyscrapercity.com/showthread.php?t=595779&page=189>

Even June's record is below Quevedo's expectations expressed in the planning stages for the museum and comparing it to the national livestock and agricultural exposition held in San Jacinto D.F. where attendance was 2,000-3,000 persons per hour.²⁹⁸

Nevertheless, when compared to the National History Museum which recorded 277,191 annual visitors (for 1947), the Museum of National Flora and Fauna did attract the public in strong numbers.²⁹⁹ Interestingly, the public that attended the museum

²⁹⁸ Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año I, México, Nov. 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 239. For more on the national expositions that were held in San Jacinto from 1928 to 1944, see Pedro Saucedo Montemayor, Historia de la Ganadería en México (México: UNAM, 1984), p. 41-42.

²⁹⁹ Secretaría de Educación Pública, Memorias 1947-1948, p. 535. A further comparison would be the annual total for all 19 SEP-related museums throughout the country, which attracted 1,469,574 visitors, an average of 77,346 visitors per year per museum. "Los Organismos Auxiliares" [part of a report on SEP], El Excelsior, 16 September 1938, third section, p. 11.

consisted largely of school children and families.³⁰⁰ The wished-for foreigner to whom Mexican tourism marvels could be marketed never materialized.³⁰¹

Even before the Museum opened, there were plans for replica institutions in state capitals located in zones of ecological interest throughout the country. These were to open by groups of ten starting in 1938 but were never built.³⁰² The idea to replicate the Museum of National Flora and Fauna is one that would further extend the link nature and the homeland, as well as further consolidate control by the Mexico City-based federal government. But this effort remained an ideal. Not only was the central basin already representative of the nation, but most Mexicans, as their counterparts throughout the world, had been trained to see human technology as more valuable than nature.³⁰³ As a part of teaching nascent environmentalism, foreign valuation of Mexico's natural bounty would be needed to spur Mexicans' interest.

1938: March—12,000 from the Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca Año III, no. 10 March-May 1938, México, p 72. April—45,912, May—53,484, June—59,300, from the Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año III, no. 11 June-Aug. 1938, México, p. 62, 70, 79. July—53,154, Sept—56,000 from the Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año IV, no. 12 Sep-Nov 1938, México, p. 54, 71. 1939: Jan—32,939, March—29,682, from the Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año IV, no. 14 March-May, 1939, México, p. 67. June—34,784, Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca Año IV, no. 15, June-Aug. 1939, México, p 102.

³⁰⁰ Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca Año III, no. 10 March-May 1938, México, p 72. In a report, one third of visitors were estimated to be school children in the company of their teachers: see El Excelsior, 17 May 1938, second section, p. 2.

³⁰¹ Only 1.5% of the visitors were foreigners [for the month of January, 1939], according to a report in "Mexicanía," El Excelsior, 29 January 1939, third section, p. 2. El Excelsior, 23 May 1938, second section, p. 6, states that foreign visitors did come, but largely for research purposes.

³⁰² Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca Año III, no. 8, sept.-nov. 1937, p. 17.

³⁰³ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra provides examples from the nineteenth century, where Mexican intelligentsia and elites made pains to counter the European-crafted stereotype of tropical paradise started by travelers such as Humboldt. See Cañizares-Esguerra, 153-156. See also Shawn William Miller, An Environmental History of Latin America (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), chapter five.

Those who did not visit in person learned of the plants exhibited at the Museum of National Flora and Fauna through media coverage which fashioned a strong sense of national pride. In a regular column in El Excelsi3r, "Mexico by Day and Night," Jos3 Juan Tablada suggested that the popularity of Mexican flora abroad should encourage Mexican citizens (especially with children) to visit the Museum, familiarize themselves with "the most Mexican of plants" (*las plantas mexican3simas*) and thereby learn to love their country.³⁰⁴ Tablada regretted that Mexican plants, especially cacti, were esteemed by British royalty and cosmopolitan New Yorkers, yet virtually unknown by Mexicans. Rather than an outright rejection of nineteenth-century insistence upon valuing human technology over nature (captured by foreigners through cataloging and gazing), Tablada's esteem was directed not solely at the plants, but at the pedagogic institution as well.³⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the Museum of National Flora and Fauna as well as the National Museum of History would teach appreciation of Mexican riches vis-3-vis covetous foreigners.³⁰⁶

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF HISTORY

Though often credited with both being the first Mexican leader not to live at the *Castillo* and creating a museum in the residence, L3zaro C3rdenas was not the first to do either. Former presidents had proposed museums for *Castillo*. After the Revolution, President

³⁰⁴ El Exc3lsior, 5 April 1938, p. 5—editorial section, and Jos3 Juan Tablada, "M3xico de D3a y de Noche," El Exc3lsior, 16 May 1938, p. 5—editorial section.

³⁰⁵ See note 55 on Mexican reaction to European and U.S. views.

³⁰⁶ Schivelbusch notes as a characteristic of the "culture of defeat" "the appropriation by the victor of the losing side's cultural symbols..." as well as the loser "learning from the victor" through "cultural adaptation." 21, 34.

Venustiano Carranza decreed the *Museo del Imperio Mexicano* (Museum of the Mexican Empire) in a section of the *Castillo*, and in 1926, President Plutarco Elías Calles, upon assuming office, designated funds and developed remodeling plans for the *Castillo* to include the addition of a historical museum.³⁰⁷ Sources disagree on whether these museums ever officially opened, but rooms were reunited with their imperial furnishings, and tours of these historic rooms and their contents were encouraged.³⁰⁸ Many leaders of Mexico had chosen not to live in the Castle, others resided there or in the former military academy headmaster's quarters only part of the year.³⁰⁹ What Cárdenas did do was to put a definitive end to the practice. It was opened for drop-in visitors from 9 am to 6 pm daily, newspapers announced in January 1935.³¹⁰ Sources demonstrate that decisions on where to live and what to do with the *Castillo* evolved

³⁰⁷ Salvador Rueda Smithers, "La Apasionada Atracción por la Historia," in *El Castillo de Chapultepec: Testigo de una Nación*, eds. Victor Hugo Rodríguez H., et. al. (México: Agueda Editores, 2004), p. 60. "Mexicans Will Repair Castle," *Los Angeles Times*, 4 September 1926, p. 7.

³⁰⁸ Miguel Angel Fernández, *Chapultepec: Historia y Presencia* (México: Smurfit S.A., 1988), 154-157. T. Phillip Terry, *Terry's Guide to Mexico*, revised edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927), 387-390.

³⁰⁹ Rulers of Mexico that lived at least part time in the *Castillo* or *anexas* included: Maximiliano de Hapsburg, Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, Manuel González, Porfirio Díaz, León de la Barra, Francisco Madero, Venustiano Carranza, Alvaro Obregón, Pascual Ortiz Rubio, Abelardo Rodríguez, and Plutarco Elías Calles. *Guía del Museo Nacional de Historia, Castillo de Chapultepec*, México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1950, p. 7; Salvador Novo, *Los Paseos de la Ciudad de México* 2nd ed. (México: Fondo de la Cultura Económica, 2005), 84; María del Carmen Collado Herrera, "Los sonorenses en la capital," in *Miradas Recurrentes: la ciudad de México en los siglos XIX y XX* ed. María del Carmen Collado (México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 2004), 119.

The references to the Castle (*Castillo*), the *Alcázar*, and the Chapultepec residences were in many ways synonymous. *Alcázar* descended from Arabic, connoted the Castle as fortification and seat of power. *Castillo* was the same in many ways except it consisted of several areas of residence. Furthermore, Chapultepec residences could include other buildings, both connected and not to the *Castillo* (*anexas* (annexes) if attached). The varied spaces making up the *Castillo* were used in many divergent ways, as discussed below. Many leaders preferred to reside (or not) in the areas Maximilian and Carlota inhabited. These were generally referred to as the *Alcázar*. Museum-wise, the National History Museum differentiated between the *Castillo* and the *Alcázar* as early as 1936, as distinct exhibition spaces.

³¹⁰ Francisco Muñoz Altea and Magdalena Escobosa Hass de Rangel, *La Historia de la Residencia Oficial de Los Pinos* (México: Fondo de la Cultura Económica, 1988), 136.

over approximately a year.³¹¹ In a decree transferring ownership of the Castillo to INAH in 1940, Cárdenas noted "in 1934 the Chapultepec residences were given totally and completely to the service of popular historical culture, and the Castle, converted to a museum, opened to the public without restriction."³¹²

Declaring shortly after his election in 1934 that the *Castillo* would not be a presidential residence, Cárdenas eventually chose to live in an area of Chapultepec known as Ant Ranch (*Rancho La Hormiga*).³¹³ This southwest corner of the Forest, would be renamed *Los Pinos* where the Cárdenases would live in a comfortable chalet with intensively reforested grounds.³¹⁴ Amenities added for or near to *Los Pinos* yet accessible to the public included a grand Children's Park and polo fields. While *Los Pinos* met the housing needs of the President, the *Castillo* would need to be converted into a museum while at the same time as serving numerous official programmatic functions.

³¹¹ "Cambiará de Residencia el Presidente de la República," El Universal, 30 December 1934, front page; Muñoz Altea and Hass de Rangel, La Historia de la Residencia Oficial..., 136; Archivo Histórico Institucional del INAH, INAH sección: Gobierno, serie: Dirección General; vol. 9, exp. 199, fs. 5, 22 julio 1936, "Plan para la formación del Museo Histórico Nacional, en el edificio anexo al Castillo de Chapultepec y en el propio alcázar..."

³¹² A.G.N., Presidentes, L.C.R. 40-Bis, 143.2/2, fs. 3, 20 nov 1940. "servicio de la cultura histórica popular..."

³¹³ This was not an immediate decision. Cárdenas lived at his personal residence in Guadalupe Inn while locating appropriate housing. The press reported in late December that he would inhabit the *Casa del Lago* (the neoclassical former Automobile Club on the lake not far from the *Castillo*). Plans were for the UNAM's Biological Institute, then occupying *Casa del Lago*, to move to *Rancho La Hormiga*. "Cambiará de Residencia el Presidente de la República," El Universal, 30 December 1934, front page.

³¹⁴ For more on Los Pinos, see Muñoz Altea and Hass de Rangel, La Historia de la Residencia Oficial... Upon Manuel Avila Camacho's election to the presidency, several citizens would request that the *Castillo* be returned to use as the official residence. Muñoz Altea and Hass de Rangel, La Historia de la Residencia Oficial..., 150-151.

And although Cárdenas' proclamation in 1934 was noteworthy, some tourists continued to believe that the Castle was the presidential residence.³¹⁵

Rotarians from around the world who visited Mexico City in 1935 may have erroneously been told that the Mexican leader lived in one wing of the Castle, but that the other wing housed a historical museum was correct.³¹⁶ The Chapultepec Park Museum was an intermediary step in the shift from palatial residence to people's museum. Not only was it noted in the Rotary material, it was also referred to by the Terry Guides of 1938 (as "recently opened") and of 1944 (inaccurately, since it was obsolete by the inauguration of the MNH).³¹⁷ A source with much greater reach, the New York Times published an extensive article about the opening of the museum in 1937, with numerous photos of Indians in the Castle and a declaration of a "return of a land to its people after four centuries of alien domination."³¹⁸

The overall content and plan of the National Museum of History (*Museo Histórico Nacional*, later *Museo Nacional de Historia*) was designed by July 1936.³¹⁹ The

³¹⁵ Picturesque Mexico Rotary Conference Pamphlet, 1935, p. 14; Terry's Guide to Mexico (Hingham, Mass.: 1935), p. 386-387; Terry's Guide to Mexico (Hingham, Mass.: 1938), p. 386-387; Terry's Guide to Mexico (Hingham, Mass.: 1944), p. 387-390. The Rotarian's guide was likely written in late 1934 (in November 1934 Mexican press was filled with reports about negotiations regarding the impending conference) and therefore would not have included all of the residential changes reported since the swearing in on November 30, 1934. The Terry's Guide would have had access to the changes.

³¹⁶ Picturesque Mexico: Mexico City, June 17-21, 1935. Rotary International, 1935, p. 14.

³¹⁷ Terry, T. Phillip, Terry's Guide to Mexico revised ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1938), p. 380; and Terry's Guide to Mexico revised ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1944), p. 380.

³¹⁸ Betty Kirk, "A Proud Castle Welcomes Humble Mexicans," New York Times, 6 June 1937, p. 150. The language used is doubly meaningful, as Cárdenas was deeply involved in increasing post-Revolutionary land redistribution.

³¹⁹ Archivo Histórico Institucional del INAH, sección: Gobierno, serie: Dirección General; vol. 9, exp. 199, fs. 5, 22 July 1936; and Secretaría de Educación Pública, caja 12, expediente 27, 6 de julio de 1937, 2 pages.

layout and remodeling process would continue for the following several years. The ten-year period from Cárdenas' change of residence to the inauguration of the National Museum of History was filled with preparation, yet the building continued to be used for several purposes—some extraofficial.

Throughout the years of transition, the *Castillo* continued to be used for official events, including the hosting of banquets, conferences, and foreign heads of state.³²⁰ As work on the museum progressed, additional areas of the Castle needed to be reconfigured. It was noted that the *Alcázar* had no appropriate comforts for the distinguished guests of state hosted there, and a suggested solution was that the attached house (actually a lower, off-set level), where many presidents had chosen to live, could be conditioned to serve as distinguished-guest lodging.³²¹ Since a portion of the *Alcázar* would be open to the public, this appeared a sensible proposal, though

³²⁰ Jesús Romero Flores, *Chapultepec en la Historia de México* (México: SEP, 1947), 77. Muñoz Altea and Hass de Rangel, *La Historia de la Residencia Oficial...*, 171. A selection of news reports on the use of the *Castillo*: "FUERON INVITADOS A UNA COMIDA EN CHAPULTEPEC, POR EL SR. PRESIDENTE, ALGUNOS PERIODISTAS EXTRANJEROS," *El Excélsior*, 13 May 1938, p. 3. "UN BANQUETE EN CHAPULTEPEC PARA LOS MILITARES CUBANOS," *El Excélsior*, 20 September 1938, front page. "Comida al Dr. Ramos en Chapultepec," *El Excélsior*, 21 September 1938, second section, p. 3. "BANQUETE OFRECIDO A LOS SRES. HOTELEROS EN CHAPULTEPEC," *El Excélsior*, 3 October 1938, second section, p. 3. *El Excélsior*, 13 October 1938, second section, p. 2. "RINDIO NUESTRA CIUDAD UN RESPETUOSO HOMENAJE A LA SEÑORA D. DE SOMOZA," *El Excélsior*, 25 November 1938, second section, p. 2. "EL PRESIDENTE Y EL CORONEL," *El Excélsior*, 7 February 1939, second section, p. 2. "CENA A BASSOLS EN EL CASTILLO," *El Excélsior*, 2 April 1939, p. 15. "EN EL ALCAZAR DE CHAPULTEPEC," *El Excélsior*, 28 September 1939, second section, p. 3. "EL DIA 29 SERAN RECIBIDOS POR EL PRESIDENTE CARDENAS LOS EMBAJADORES ESPECIALES," *El Excélsior*, 20 November 1940, front page. "EN HONOR DE LAS ESPOSAS DE LOS SEÑORES EMBAJADORES FUE SERVIDO UN TE EN EL HISTORICO ALCAZAR DE CHAPULTEPEC," *El Excélsior*, 30 November 1940, second section, p. 2. "HOY SE INAUGURARA EN CHAPULTEPEC LA SEGUNDA CONVENCION INTERAMERICANA DE AGRICULTURA," *El Universal*, 6 July 1942, second section, front page. *El Universal*, 22 November 1942, second section, front page, [Ecuadorian Presidential Visit]. A.G.N., Presidentes, M.A.C., 110.1/54, fs. 2, 10 julio 1946, for Venezuelan Presidential stay at Alcázar.

³²¹ INAH microfilm, Rollo 13, vol. 30, 9 June 1943, 4 pgs.

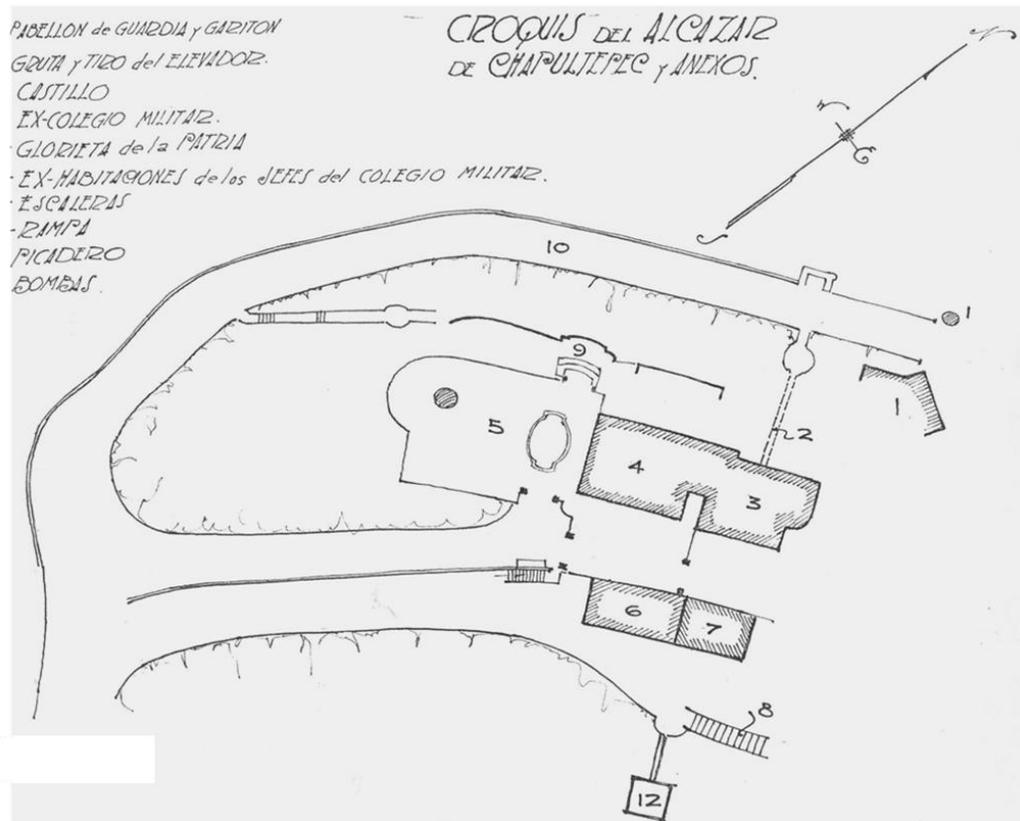
apparently not carried out, for in 1946 emergency funds were requested to improve the "residential section of the *Alcázar*" for the visit of the Venezuelan president.³²²

On the last day of 1938, Cárdenas created by decree the National Institute of Anthropology and History (*Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, or INAH). This Institute would be charged with investigating and preserving Mexico's rich history, which had in large part been co-opted by foreign experts, and thereby returning more than the *Castillo* to Mexicans. As Guillermo Palacios has found, the Social Sciences were institutionalized during the Cárdenas years to gain legitimacy in Mexico and on the international stage.³²³ INAH was deeded the *Castillo* and related buildings, as seen in figure 3-3, as well as the responsibility for the museum located therein.³²⁴

³²² A.G.N., Presidentes, M.A.C., 110.1/54, fs. 2, 10 julio 1946.

³²³ Guillermo Palacios, "The Social Sciences, Revolutionary Nationalism, and Interacademic Relations: Mexico and the United States, 1930-1940," in Populism in Twentieth Century Mexico, eds. Amelia M. Kiddle and Maria L.O. Muñoz (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2010), 58-59.

³²⁴ A.G.N., Presidentes, L.C.R. 140-Bis, 143.2/2, fs. 3, 20 nov 1940, and Diario Oficial, 3 Feb 1939; also Diario Oficial, 13 December 1940, and Archivo Histórico Institucional del INAH, sección: Gobierno, serie: Dirección General; vol. 19, exp. 324, fs. 20, 27 agosto 1958.



3-3 1940 layout of the structures that were to form part of the MNH via INAH. 1). guard building and sentry box; 2). grotto and elevator shaft; 3). Castle; 4). former Military Academy; 5). garden; 6) and 7). former Academy directors' rooms; 8). stairs; 9). [in diagram but not specified]; 10). ramp; 11). area for horses; 12). pumps. Source: MNH.

Official entities, such as the National Statistics Bureau, had been using portions of the *Castillo*. Their transfer was concretized through administrative proceedings; yet upon such actions, many ongoing quasi-official uses were discovered, or rather, made known to a broader scope of society.³²⁵ The recently created INAH and its employees directing the National Museum of History ran into numerous individuals from other presidential-related dependencies using and living in sections of the *Castillo*.³²⁶ The

³²⁵ MNH PowerPoint, 19 March 1941, Portion of document by Luis Castillo Ledón, Director del MNH.

³²⁶ This was not a new situation, as presented in an editorial by Carlos González Peña in which he lauded former President Obregón for having beautified the *Castillo* and ejected copious military-related squatters

plumber, manservant, and electrician of the President, as well an electrician and another employee of the museum were using rooms in the northern portion; in the southern portion were an employee and a bricklayer from the office of the President, former President Cárdenas' chauffeur, and a young assistant to the office of the President. In the riding area were a chauffeur for the supervisor of the Presidential residences, a chauffeur of the private secretary of the President, and "many other people about whose occupations we have no idea."³²⁷ Recovering the space would be contentious, as the President's office had given official permission for some individuals to continue their use of the *Castillo*.³²⁸ Tirso W. Cházaro, head of the Department of Presidential Residences, used his position to generate the official permission to continue to reside in the former military academy headmaster's quarters (residence to various presidents) along with securing continued lodging for fellow associates.³²⁹ Museum staff needed these occupied spaces. It was proposed that the current guards be given rooms in the riding area when made available since, due to remodeling, they had nowhere to stay. The various smaller annexes were proposed to be used for employees of the museum.³³⁰ There were security concerns as well, when considering the value of the patrimony the museum safeguarded. Perhaps more pressingly, the museum's

then living in the ruins of the Military Academy. "UNA VISTA AL CASTILLO," El Universal, 12 June 1941, p. 3, y cont. p. 7.

³²⁷ INAH microfilm, Rollo 13, vol. 30, 9 June 1943, 4 pgs.

³²⁸ MNH PowerPoint copy, 16 June 1941, referencing Oficio 5352, Expediente 00/, 11 feb 1941, Dirección de Bienes Nacionales through the head of the Departamento de las Residencias Presidenciales, "en cuyo documento se manifiesta que por orden del Señor Presidente de la Republica pueden seguir ocupando dichos anexos los referidos señores Luna y Sánchez."

³²⁹ MNH PowerPoint copy, 16 June 1941, referring to Oficios Números 5360, 5386 y 5407, 14 feb., 7 marzo y 28 marzo, 1941 by señor Tirso W. Cházaro.

³³⁰ INAH microfilm, Rollo 13, vol. 30, 9 June 1943, 4 pgs.

opening was dependent upon having the building as complete as necessary. The unwanted squatters needed to go.³³¹

Newspaper articles called attention to the problem in the summer and early fall of 1941. Describing the unwanted tenants both as shameful and avaricious, the critiques publicized the situation in a direct albeit sensationalized fashion. In his series of editorials on Chapultepec, respected Mexican intellectual Carlos González Peña described the slum-like living conditions that spilled out from the edge of the *Castillo*: chicken coops, garbage piles, laundry lines, even pig pens belonging to unknown persons inhabiting shacks. He called this "barbarity" an assault on Chapultepec and its future, and demanded strict methods of security to restore the Forest.³³² A few months later, a front-page article described the same concern with a different theme: "living the good life in Chapultepec."³³³ Recalling Maximilian and Carlota, the era of Porfirio Díaz and other presidents, the article was concerned with the fact that these inhabitants were living off of the government's dime, many in comparatively luxurious surroundings, while the Museum was short on funds and had to make do with subpar installations:

That small and sumptuous city on the beautiful hill of Chapultepec was in the hands of vested interests. In one of the lovely homes, lives Major

³³¹ The official inauguration of the National Museum of History was held November 25, 1940. "Se inaugurará hoy un museo," El Excélsior 25 November 1940, p. 3. Nevertheless, additional objects waiting to be moved during 1940, and files were transferred in 1941. INAH microfilm, Rollo 13, vol. 30, 9 June 1943, 4 pgs.

³³² "Chapultepec y la Barbarie," El Universal, 3 July 1941, p. 3.

³³³ "Forma Fantástica de Darse Buena Vida en Chapultepec," El Universal, 23 October 1941, front page, p. 8.

Luis Sánchez Gómez, who was assistant to General Lázaro Cárdenas; in another lives the plumber of the presidential residences, Felipe Hernández Torres; in another the master electrician José Luna Domínguez; in another Mr. Antonio González Domínguez, employee of the Treasury Department; in another Mr. Valente Sánchez Espinosa, caretaker of the National Palace [seat of executive power]....There is no way to evict them. The lodgings have been requested, and the individuals are unmoved....The current head of an artillery regiment is another of those who have acquired benefits. He has four cars; his chauffeurs also live there in the old servants' quarters.

Furthermore, the supposedly "public" space had private passages and even a sign that said, "Strictly Prohibited" to protect the residential areas. To add insult to injury, the article reported several historic pieces missing, principally Maximilian's billiard suite, which was inappropriately taken and used at the nearby Military Casino, already in poor graces for having carved private property out of the Forest.³³⁴ Perhaps the expectation created by returning the *Castillo* to the people was taken to extremes both by those taking literal possession of the Forest and those demanding complete compliance. As late as November 1952, "vested interests" related to the presidency continued to

³³⁴"Forma Fantástica de Darse Buena Vida en Chapultepec," El Universal, 23 October 1941, front page, p. 8. The Artillery Captain may have been the fiancé of the President's niece, Paz Consuelo Orozco. See Muñoz Altea and Hass de Rangel, La Historia de la Residencia Oficial..., 152.

inhabit the annexes of the *Castillo*, which they vacated on December 1, just in time for the presidential change of power.³³⁵

The process for determining the didactic content of the museum was less contentious, though almost as lengthy. The decision from early on was to leave materials from prior to the colonial era downtown in the Archaeology Museum, and place those up to the Revolution in the *Castillo*.³³⁶ The overriding concern was that the building "should be kept as it is: a historic mansion; residence of all [sic] the heads of state and their families, and stage of great patriotic acts."³³⁷ The museum would have thematic galleries, largely in the annex portion, and the *Alcázar* would retain period rooms from historic personages. This did not imply less work: the terraces would need to be modified, historical murals added to empty stretches of walls, and extensive remodeling completed as each president—and often those whose periods in office were the shortest—adapted the residence, creating "damage with their lack of taste".³³⁸ The budget for 1937 was approximately \$160,000 pesos, and there were occasions when emergency appropriations were required in addition to the annual budgeted funds.³³⁹

³³⁵ MNH PowerPoint, 16 July 1953, 'Memorandum sobre el Anexo del Castillo de Chapultepec'.

³³⁶ Secretaría de Educación Pública, caja 12, expediente 27, 6 de julio de 1937, 2 pages.

³³⁷ Secretaría de Educación Pública, caja 12, expediente 27, 6 de julio de 1937, 2 pages.

³³⁸ Secretaría de Educación Pública, caja 12, expediente 27, 6 de julio de 1937, 2 pages.

³³⁹ This included administration, secretary, History department, Colonial Ethnography department, Publications department, library, printing and binding, photography, framing, photoengraving, restorer, carpentry, plumbing, electrician, telephone operator, maintenance department for annex and for Alcázar, director, typist, caretakers, master builders, painters, elevator operator, barbers, and guards. Archivo Histórico del Museo Nacional de Antropología, Vol. 102, exp. 16, fs. 124-127, 1937, "Proyecto de Presupuesto para el año de 1937, del Museo Histórico Nacional, Que se formara en el Edificio Anexo al Castillo de Chapultepec y con el Propio Alcázar." In October 1941, an additional \$75,000 was hurriedly decreed by President Avila Camacho. A.G.N., Presidentes, M.A.C., 110.1/54, fs. 2, 14 oct 1941.

The planning for the didactic content of the museum varied little in the almost nine years prior to the official opening of the museum apart from an overall increase in the number of thematic galleries. In 1936, the content was decided to consist of twelve galleries in the main exhibit: 1). pre-Hispanic era; 2). Colonial era; 3). War for Independence; 4). Independent Mexico, Regency, Iturbide's Empire; 5). Provisional government, Federal Republic, Centralized Republic, North American Invasion; 6). Anarchy and Dictatorship, The Reforma; 7). French Intervention and Maximilian's Empire; 8). Restoration of the Republic; 9). Porfirian Dictatorship; 10). Social Revolution; 11). Colonial Ethnography; 12). Modern Ethnography. There would be additional exhibits, to include: Gallery of Leaders of Independent Mexico; Hall of Weapons and Flags; Hall of Currency; religious chapel; sacristy; and a Gallery of Carriages. The building would also house a library, room for special events, conference room, shop for publications and photographs, and a photography studio and a drawing and painting studio.³⁴⁰ Rather than the original eighteen galleries, upon official inauguration on September 27, 1944, thirty were included. The pre-Hispanic content was omitted, remaining at the Archaeology Museum. The U.S. intervention would have its own exhibit, and that of the French Intervention would be included with the Reform. Numerous additional galleries would be dedicated to arts, crafts and decorative and utilitarian objects.³⁴¹ Yet, as late as August 1945, some galleries were not yet opened to

³⁴⁰ Archivo Histórico Institucional del INAH, sección: Gobierno, serie: Dirección General; vol. 9, exp. 199, fs. 5, 22 July 1936.

³⁴¹ On the lower level were: Conquest, Missionaries, Colonial Weapons, Vice Royalty, War of Independence, Iturbide's Empire, The Republic, American Intervention, the Reform and the Second

the public, including: Jewels, Chroniclers of the Colonial Era, Leaders, Flags, and Historical Carriages.³⁴²

By 1947, the National Museum of History was fulfilling its purpose, receiving 277,191 annual national and international visitors. This compares to the 83,073 visitors to the National Museum of Anthropology still at the downtown location.³⁴³ Rather than being "shut off", the *Castillo* was more visited and accessible than ever before.³⁴⁴

MUSEUMIFICATION

Both the Museum of National Flora and Fauna and the National History Museum in Chapultepec would be planned and opened at a time of ongoing official concern with "culture": a level of education deemed sufficient for a modernizing country, as well as an attunement to the specifics of a constructed, shared Mexican story; and with related tourism. Mexican officials would use an internationally accepted tool, the museum, to

Empire; the Porfirian Era, the Revolution, Colonial Heraldry, Weapons, Flags, Historic Carriages, and Sentry/Guard [Sala de Guardia]. On the upper level were: Religious Art, 18th Century Furniture and Objects, Mexican Ceramics, Crafts from 15th-18th Centuries, Artistic Production, Numismatics, 19th Century Historical Folk Painting, Colonial Chroniclers and Historians, Jewelry, Chinese and Japanese Art, and Temporary Exhibitions. Historia de los museos de la Secretaría de Educación Pública: ciudad de México (México: Museo Nacional de Historia, 1979), p. 37-38. These would change again by 1950 to combine American Intervention with Iturbide, and separate the French Intervention in its own gallery; Maps and Images of Mexico City; removing the weapons, and moving carriages to the upper level. The second level changes were adding a gallery dedicated to malachite art and one to colonial academics, and removing the Chinese and Japanese art. The two story Alcázar consisted of period rooms and the terrace. Guía del Museo Nacional de Historia, Castillo de Chapultepec (México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1950). For intervening plans, see: Archivo Histórico Institucional del INAH, sección: Gobierno, serie: Dirección General; vol. 17, exp. 309, fs. 16, 3 enero 1939, and Archivo Histórico del Museo Nacional de Antropología, Vol. 116, exp. 51, fs. 165-167, 12 dic 1940. The inauguration in November 1940 opened the colonial and revolutionary galleries, as reported in the press. "Se inaugurará hoy un museo," El Excelsior, 25 November 1940, p. 3.

³⁴² Archivo Histórico del Museo Nacional de Antropología, Vol. 138, fs. 109, 6 sept. 1945.

³⁴³ Secretaría de Educación Pública, Memorias 1947-1948, p. 535.

³⁴⁴ The *Castillo* would continue to house the National Museum of History, and in 1960 would receive a semi-detached *Caracol* Gallery of History (so named due to its shell-like shape), its content aimed at young people.

encourage citizens to do the things officials directed, whether this be recognize specific national heroes in certain ways, be knowledgeable about cacti and fish, compete in friendly pet competitions, or view the grandeur of Mexico City from the heights of Chapultepec hill.

Though only four museums were listed in the Mexico City Atlas in 1930, the subsequent decade would lead to an era of museumification (*Revolución, Higiene, Tecnológico, Casa Carranza, Museo del Palacio de Bellas Artes*, and others).³⁴⁵ In December 1934, the public education secretariat (*Secretaría de Educación Pública*, or SEP) responsible for museums reported a planned extensive reorganization with the goal of scientifically displaying more of the vast collection held by the National Museum of Archaeology, History and Ethnography.³⁴⁶ This initiative included planning for new space. It is probable that this proposal was taken into consideration when determining the definitive use of the *Castillo*. The SEP plan was publicized after Cárdenas changed precedent but before the decision to move the National History Museum to Chapultepec.³⁴⁷

The Museum of National Flora and Fauna and the National History Museum occupied a central position in both national narrative and geography. As their successes

³⁴⁵ Atlas General del Distrito Federal: Geográfico, Histórico, Comercial, Estadístico, Agrario (México: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1930), 1:182, 189.

³⁴⁶ "Habrán Museos de Historia, Arqueología, Religioso, Etc," El Universal, 24 December 1934, front page.

³⁴⁷ Later it was referred to by the National History Museum director in official correspondence with the SEP director in 1937. See Archivo Histórico Institucional de INAH, sección: Gobierno, serie: Dirección General; vol. 9, exp. 200, fs. 1, 14 mayo 1937.

were noted,³⁴⁸ and as additional organizations were created to aid in the education of Mexicans and foreigners, the number of museums and cultural institutions centered in Chapultepec grew.

This growth was accomplished in part by the very stream of tourists that were being courted. The day after the 1934 announcement of the SEP plan for reorganizing museums, El Universal published an editorial specifically linking better-organized museums with increased tourism.³⁴⁹ By 1939 and borrowing from an earlier U.S. proposal by Robert Moses, the SEP (which INAH was under) decided to charge small entrance fees to historical sites. In this way, tourists would be financing the construction of further museums, which, in turn, would encourage further tourism.³⁵⁰ It was noted, "the majority, if not all foreigners who come to Mexico, search out places in which there are museums and archaeological or colonial monuments..."³⁵¹

An initiative allowing for a tax on these entrance fees was added just two years later in order to finance a future new home for the National Museum of

³⁴⁸ An example of which is José Juan Tablada's editorial-page column, 'México de Día y de Noche' entitled MUSEOS MUERTOS Y VIVACES (Lifeless and Lively Museums), Tablada contrasts "passive" museums in the past which seemed "dead" with those of today (focusing on the Museum of National Flora and Fauna) which he described as "active" and "lively." El Excelsior, 23 April 1938, p. 5.

³⁴⁹ "Los Museos, la Educación Social y el Turismo," El Universal, 25 December 1934, page 3.

³⁵⁰ "Tourism is simultaneously a cultural product and producer of culture..." D. Medina Lasansky, "Introduction," in Architecture and Tourism: perception, performance, and place, eds. D. Medina Lasansky and Brian McLaren (New York: Berg, 2004), p. 1.

³⁵¹ INAH Microfilm, Rollo 7, vol. 17, March 27, 1939 [same as Archivo Histórico del Museo Nacional de Antropología, vol. 113, exp. 8, fs. 62-66] . The earlier reprint of a Robert Moses initiative to charge small admission fees to enter recreation areas of the city was in Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año II, no. 5, Sept-December 1936, p. 283-7.

Anthropology.³⁵² In 1941 President Manuel Avila Camacho rejected the downtown *Ciudadela* site for the new building without designating an alternative,³⁵³ but he would be heavily lobbied in 1944 by Alberto J. Pani, architect of the modern Mexican financial system, and famous artist Gerardo Murillo (Dr. Atl) not only to construct the new building for the museum in Chapultepec, but to make the entirety of Chapultepec a living, open-air archaeological museum for citizens and international visitors alike.³⁵⁴ Though Avila Camacho did not take up Pani and Murrillo's suggestion directly, within twenty years Chapultepec Forest would host the newly constructed National Anthropology Museum, as well as a conglomeration of other museums, sites and activities that made it if not an open-air archaeological site, then one dedicated overall to the nation.

The central conservatory of the Museum of National Flora and Fauna was never officially completed or inaugurated. By 1940 the Museum was under the control of the Department of Agriculture, as Forestry had been closed down and its responsibilities reintegrated into Agriculture. As Quevedo no longer had a ministry to head, he was out. Secretary of Agriculture Dr. José G. Parres made a final effort to understand why the

³⁵²In 1964 this museum would open in Chapultepec Forest across the *Paseo de la Reforma* from the *Castillo* and the former Museum of National Flora and Fauna. INAH Microfilm, Rollo 14, vol. 33, 25 julio 1941, "Acuerdo" from Subsecretary Dr. Enrique Arreguin, Jr. to Director General de Enseñanza Superior e Investigación Científica, Departamento de Antropología e Historia, Secretaria de Educación Pública."

³⁵³ INAH Microfilm, Rollo 14, vol. 33, 25 julio 1941, "Acuerdo" from Subsecretary Dr. Enrique Arreguin, Jr. to Director General de Enseñanza Superior e Investigación Científica, Departamento de Antropología e Historia, Secretaria de Educación Pública."

³⁵⁴ Alberto J. Pani, *Apuntes Autobiograficos* 2d ed. (México: Porrúa, 1950), 2: 324-325. Pani, being a partisan of Plutarco Elías Calles, was not involved with cultural issues during Cárdenas' administration; his absence was a large reason why the fine arts were largely nonexistent from 1934-1940. See Ana Garduño, "The Munal and its Art Collection: Past, Present and Reality," in *Transformaciones del paisaje*, (México: Munal-ICA, 2012), 206.

conservatory was neglected and never finished. Quevedo stated that the greenhouse was unfinished and the Museum in disregard because of rumors of extreme expense—unpopular in a nation struggling with effects of the Great Depression and ongoing poverty—and preoccupation with an upcoming presidential election.³⁵⁵ In fact, President Cárdenas had recently closed Forestry arguing a lack of funds.³⁵⁶

In early 1940, the head of the Federal District toured projects of "positive collective good" with the Museum's greenhouse as the first stop. In news reports, the building was extensively described and its uniqueness noted (it was only the third of its kind in Latin America after Buenos Aires and Rio de Janeiro). The planned inauguration complete with fiesta, traditional dress and regional music, would be at the end of the month. The cost of the greenhouse was reported as six hundred thousand pesos.³⁵⁷ The article noted that this was a veritable bargain, though the public having heard through other sources its cost as high as 2 million pesos, perceived it as excessive. Quevedo, though no longer Forestry Director, made pains to refute the negative perception of his pet project by publishing in the Mexican Forestry Society's magazine a copy of his exhaustive explanation to the Agriculture Secretary. His defense included

³⁵⁵ "Disposiciones que conviene dictar par que se ponga en buenas condiciones el Gran Invernadero o Conservatorio de Plantas Tropicales en Chapultepec," México Forestal, XVIII, November-December 1940, p. 105.

³⁵⁶ Christopher R. Boyer, "Revolución y paternalismo ecológico: Miguel Angel de Quevedo y la política forestal en México, 1926-1940," Historia Mexicana 57 (2007): 124-125; Lane Simonian, Defending the Land of the Jaguar: A history of conservation in Mexico (Austin: University of Texas, 1995), 107. Campesino complaints about Quevedo's style and motives were also a factor. Emily Wakild, Revolutionary Parks: Conservation, Social Justice, and Mexico's National Parks, 1910-1940 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011), 165.

³⁵⁷ "EN EL DISTRITO FEDERAL SE ESTAN CONSTRUYENDO OBRAS DE GRAN INTERES COLECTIVO," El Excélsior, 10 January 1940, front page, p. 10.

ledgers with details on partnerships with the Monterrey Ironworks and with a Belgian windowpane manufacturer to acquire materials at extremely low cost. The actual cost was \$311,163.31 (the equivalent to less than two years' restoration work for the National History Museum).³⁵⁸ To no avail, the museum would fall into disuse within a few years and the buildings transferred to the Public Education Ministry (SEP) in 1951.³⁵⁹ Quevedo's critics said that the Museum was not of benefit to Mexico.³⁶⁰

Why was Raul Castellano, head of the Federal District touring the greenhouse rather than Secretary of Agriculture Parres? There was difficulty in determining who exactly was responsible for Museum of National Flora and Fauna in part due to the strong centralization of the Mexican political system: Mexico City was a federal district governed by a presidential appointee. Castellano's tour had more to do with promoting the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas and construction projects attributed to his term than with works actually undertaken by the city. They were essentially one and the same, yet with attendant confusion and power struggles.³⁶¹ Mexico City was (and is) the seat of federal power and the largest city in the nation. As Cárdenas' term was coming to an

³⁵⁸ "Disposiciones que conviene dictar par que se ponga en buenas condiciones el Gran Invernadero o Conservatorio de Plantas Tropicales en Chapultepec," México Forestal, XVIII, November and December, 1940., p. 106.

³⁵⁹ The Museum of National Flora and Fauna is difficult to find in any sources after the early 1940s, though there is not official closure mentioned, either. Author Gustav Regler mentions attending a meeting "In 1944 I was present at a meeting in his [Quevedo's] forestry museum..." Gustav Regler, A Land Bewitched: Mexico in the Shadow of the Centuries, trans. Constantine Fitzgibbon (New York: Putnam, 1955), 42. Historia de los museos de la Secretaría de Educación Pública: ciudad de México (México: Museo Nacional de Historia, 1979), 143.

³⁶⁰ "Disposiciones que conviene dictar para que se ponga en buenas condiciones el Gran Invernadero o Conservatorio de Plantas Tropicales en Chapultepec," México Forestal, XVIII, November-December 1940, p. 104.

³⁶¹ That the division was not really that stark or of concern was clarified to me by personal communication with Arquitecta Rosa Ana Trujillo, Museo Nacional de Historia, Mexico City, January 2011.

end, it was important to publicize the public works attributed to his beneficence. A further complexity was that city-level government assisted in the cost and work in the construction of the greenhouse, though it was a federally planned and owned building (this pattern would continue with subsequent museums built in Chapultepec).

Why was Agriculture rather than Education responsible for the museum? The Museum of National Flora and Fauna was under the Department of Forestry and subsequently Agriculture, rather than SEP as other museums. It could be argued that the Museum of National Flora and Fauna should have always been administered by SEP, its existence under a distinct ministry a definite outlier. Located in Chapultepec where competing and conflicting jurisdictions had long been common, Quevedo suggested that his critics were both at the Federal District, which after losing its autonomy (as occurred in the redistricting of Mexico City in 1929)³⁶² and receiving control of Chapultepec's land in 1936, became known for lack of follow-through, and at the Federal Agriculture Department, where after Cárdenas returned Forestry under Agriculture, populist land distribution overrode conservation and cultural concerns.³⁶³

Eventually the Museum of National Flora and Fauna was repurposed as a modern art gallery and children's art workshop, and later designated by President Ruiz

³⁶² For more on this shift, see Jorge H. Jiménez Muñoz, La Traza del Poder: Historia de la Política y los Negocios Urbanos en el Distrito Federal, de sus orígenes a la desaparición del Ayuntamiento (1824-1928) (México: Codex Editores, 1993).

³⁶³ "Disposiciones que conviene dictar para que se ponga en buenas condiciones el Gran Invernadero o Conservatorio de Plantas Tropicales en Chapultepec," México Forestal, XVIII, November-December 1940, p. 104; Lane Simonian, 108-110.

Cortines to be the site for a Museum of Modern Art.³⁶⁴ For the arts, the 1930s and 1940s were characterized by private citizens and organizations furthering the goals of promoting modern art.³⁶⁵ By the late 1940s, President Miguel Alemán resumed stronger support for the arts, specifically creating the National Institute of Fine Arts (*Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes*, or INBA) at the end of 1946.³⁶⁶ In 1951, administrative authority for the buildings of the Museum of National Flora and Fauna passed from the Agriculture Secretariat to SEP. The former buildings were used by the recently created INBA (under SEP) for an exhibition gallery, *Galerías Chapultepec*, and a children's art school, *Escuela Dominical de Arte*, which opened in 1956.³⁶⁷ *Galerías* was instrumental as an exhibition space for provincial and unknown artists, but would gain international attention with a corresponding shift in works exhibited during the First Inter-American Biennial of Painting and Printmaking in 1958 and in 1959 during a United Nations conference in Mexico.³⁶⁸ The Modern Art Museum would open in 1964, its location reportedly cemented by the built-in audience resulting from the custom of Sunday family outings.³⁶⁹

³⁶⁴ I find it unusual that a museum heavily influenced by U.S. modern art activities would be built at the foot of the hill where the cadets met their fate. I examine more closely the international relationships involved in the formation of the Modern Art Museum in a forthcoming project.

³⁶⁵ Ana Garduño, "Lo privado y lo público: la Sociedad de Arte Moderno y la fundación del Museo Nacional de Artes Plásticas," *Discurso Visual: digital magazine of Cenidiap* 8 (January-April 2008), p. 1.

³⁶⁶ Garduño, "Lo privado y lo público...", p. 3.

³⁶⁷ *Historia de los museos de la Secretaría de Educación Pública: ciudad de México* (México: Museo Nacional de Historia, 1979), 143.

³⁶⁸ *Exposición de arte mexicano de la época prehispánica a nuestros días: en honor de los delegados al XXVII Consejo Económico y Social de las Naciones Unidas, 7 abril al 30 mayo 1959, Galerías Chapultepec* (México: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1959), title page.

³⁶⁹ Carmen Barreda, "Historia del Museo," *Artes de México*, 17, no. 127 (1970): 5.

The architect of both of the Modern Art Museum and its renowned neighbor—the National Museum of Anthropology—Pedro Ramírez Vázquez—had been named director of the Artistic and Cultural District of the Forest (*Unidad Artística y Cultural del Bosque*) a set of cultural institutions located on a former portion of the *Campo Marte* polo grounds. In the 1950s, Ramírez Vázquez remodeled equestrian-related facilities into theaters and artistic spaces, including the National Theatre School, which opened in June 1955.³⁷⁰

It is clear that by the mid 1950s, the Forest's new institutions were assuming the mantle of artistic production and consumption.³⁷¹ The cost- and class-consciousness which proved the undoing of the Museum of National Flora and Fauna would not be an obstacle for contemporary-focused, arts establishments in Chapultepec. This follows the museum trajectory Carol Duncan has found where museums with a focus on public education give way to the "aesthetic museum."³⁷² The Cárdenas administration's policies benefitting both the rich and poor (Avila Camacho, often credited with "*unidad*" was but furthering a Cárdenas project) led to "fundamental internal inconsistencies"

³⁷⁰ 60 Años de la Escuela de Arte Teatral del INBA (México: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 2008), p. 32.

³⁷¹ Perhaps it is only fitting that in 1953, on the cusp of the artistic turn for Chapultepec, the same U.S. periodical that in 1921 called for the *Castillo* to become a museum reported on its "vanishing art treasures."

"The Mexican Government has ordered an investigation of what has come to be known here as 'The Case of the Vanishing Art Treasures.' Nobody seemed to have noticed that various pieces from Mexico's national museums were not on display, until a fortnight ago, when David Alfaro Siqueiros, the painter, opened an exposition of portraits he had painted during the last few years....On the day of the exposition, a Mexico City newspaper published the story of the disappearance of the picture. The same evening two workmen deposited the picture at the art gallery, but the only explanation they had was that it had been found suddenly 'in some old corner of Los Pinos.'..." "Mexico Inquiry Seeks 'Lost' Art Treasures," New York Times, 8 July 1953, p. 20.

³⁷² Duncan, Civilizing Rituals, 16.

reflected in the multitude of didactic institutions in Chapultepec.³⁷³ The late 1940s' renewed government interest in the arts, INBA's creation, and the high profile obtained by Mexican modernists—particularly in painting (the *Ruptura* movement) and literature (Novo, Villarrutia, Gorostiza)—helped to center the institutional focus on the arts.

CONCLUSION

Regardless of the type of museum, its placement in Chapultepec retained the connection to national natural myth. What had begun in the 1870s with the cult to the cadet martyrs, was linked in the 1920s through Arbor Day festivities in Chapultepec Forest directly tying the symbolism of trees to the health of the nation.³⁷⁴ Once the Museum of National Flora and Fauna had underscored the importance of the natural world, and the National Museum of History reiterated the connection between the forested site and the nation, additional institutions were able to share in and shape the "structured experience that relates to the history or meaning of the site."³⁷⁵ As Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel note, the true function of museums "is to reinforce for some the feeling of belonging and for others the feeling of exclusion."³⁷⁶ There were many constituencies to serve for the "house-of-the-people" concept to be fully carried out,

³⁷³ Patrice Elizabeth Olsen, Artifacts of Revolution: Architecture, Society, and Politics in Mexico City, 1920-1940 (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2008), p. 248.

³⁷⁴ Boyer, "Revolución y paternalismo..." 110, quoting Escudero, "La 'Fiesta del Árbol' en el Año de 1922", p. 19: "En la década de 1920, el discurso de los ingenieros forestales comenzó a asociar el bienestar de los árboles con la nación misma. La Sociedad Forestal organizó la celebración del día del árbol de 1922, durante la cual se plantaron árboles en Chapultepec, en honor de "los Niños Héroes, muertos en defensa de la Patria en la Invasión Americana", con lo que se estableció un vínculo entre la defensa de la patria y la expansión de los bosques."

³⁷⁵ Duncan, Civilizing Rituals, 12.

³⁷⁶ Pierre Bourdieu and Alain Darbel, The Love of Art: European Art Museums and their Public trans. Caroline Beattie and Nick Merriman, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 112.

hence a variety of institutions were required. Arts museums drew more specialized audiences as opposed to science and history museums.³⁷⁷ It is possible that fragmentation ensured more tailored, and hence successful, messages for particular populations as part of a nation-building strategy.³⁷⁸ While admittedly not located in the designated house-of-the-people proper, the arts museums were located within Chapultepec Forest, and the *Castillo* and Chapultepec were often conflated.

Chapultepec Forest, its material replaced by simulacra through replacing trees with buildings, would only grow in its importance as a center of national didactic institutions for Mexican and international audiences. The Museum of National Flora and Fauna and the National Museum of History in the *Castillo* influenced the National Anthropology Museum, which aimed to "share the patrimony of the nation among all Mexicans" and did so in a centrally-located, heavily visited, natural and symbolic site.³⁷⁹ By 1966 the "apogee of Mexican museology" had been declared.³⁸⁰ Ramírez Vázquez, who shifted the direction of Chapultepec from bucolic recreation to arts and culture,

³⁷⁷ Vera Zolberg, "'An Elite Experience for Everyone': Art Museums, the Public, and Cultural Literacy," in Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles, eds. Daniel J. Sherman and Irit Rogoff (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 51.

³⁷⁸ Phillip Corrigan and Derek Sayer, The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985), quoted in Gilbert Joseph and Daniel Nugent, "Popular Culture and State Formation in Revolutionary Mexico," in Everyday Forms of State Formation, eds. Gilbert Joseph and Daniel Nugent (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1994), 20.

³⁷⁹ Miguel Ángel Fernández, Historia de los museos de México (México, 1988), p. 220, cited in Gordana Segota, "La ambición cosmopolita. Cultura y museos en México en la década de 1960," Discurso Visual: digital magazine of Cenidiap 8 (January-April 2008), p. 2.

³⁸⁰ Yani Herreman, Sergio González de la Mora and Guillermo Schmidhuber, "Mexico: museums, 1972-80," Museum 32 no. 3 (1980), p. 89.

was named the president of the organizing committee for the 1968 Olympics.³⁸¹ By the 1960s the entirety of Chapultepec had been turned into an aesthetic museum different from the Porfirian landscaped stage of the late 19th century. In essence, a "museum without walls."³⁸²

³⁸¹ He had also been involved in the designing of the *Ciudad Universitaria* (University City) the immense ex-urb campus built and opened in the 1950s to where UNAM was relocated.

³⁸² Kevin Hetherington applies Malraux's concept to Stonehenge, taking what was a theory of art museums and technological replication and extending it to socially ordered spatiality external to museums' buildings in a non-art-specific setting. "[T]he museum is a spatial relation that is principally involved in a process of ordering that takes place in or around certain sites or buildings" and concerns "what the site means and what it should be used for." (155, 157) Kevin Hetherington, "The utopics of social ordering—Stonehenge as a museum without walls." Theorizing Museums: representing identity and diversity in a changing world, eds. Sharon Macdonald and Gordon Fyfe (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1996).

Chapter 4 "A Burning Matter": the Crusade Against Charcoal, 1938-1942

The issue of charcoal and the campaign against its production and particularly against its consumption were especially important in the modernizing and burgeoning capital of Mexico. The growing metropolis was quickly exhausting its immediate natural resources. And the capital's concerns as seen by national and international visitors in the major dallies, were in the foreground of politicians' vision.

As Mexico City grew, its inhabitants consumed more resources. Stressors to the ecosystem were nothing new and had been a concern for hundreds of years.³⁸³ Yet the pace of change accelerated in the post-revolutionary 1930s and 1940s with Mexico City's percentage of the national population and percentage of total urban population increasing.³⁸⁴ As the Revolution was institutionalized (particularly with the party's governmental Six-year Plan and the exile of former president Plutarco Elías Calles in

³⁸³ For examples of earlier concerns, see Don Domingo de San Antón Muñón Chimalpahin Quauhtlehuanitzin, *Annals of His Time* eds. James Lockhart, Susan Schroeder and Doris Namala (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 301-303; Elinor Melville, *A Plague of Sheep: Environmental Consequences of the Conquest of Mexico* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 56-7; and Shawn William Miller, *An Environmental History of Latin America: New Approaches to the Americas* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), chapter 1.

³⁸⁴ Mexico City's population was 906,063 in 1920; 1,229,536 in 1930; and 1,757,530 in 1940; and 3,050,442 in 1950. The national population was 14,334,780 in 1920; 16,552,722 in 1930; 19,653,552 in 1940; and 25,791,017 in 1950. Mexico City's population was 6.5% of the nation in 1920; 7.5% of the nation in 1930; 9% of the nation in 1940; and 12% of the nation in 1950. Mexico City as a percentage of the total Mexican urban population was 20% in 1920; 22% in 1930; 25% in 1940; and 28% in 1950. *Estadísticas Históricas de México 2009: Años censales seleccionados de 1790 a 2005*, "Población total, urbana y rural por sexo: cuadro 1.16," (Mexico: INEGI, 2009), available at http://www.inegi.org.mx/prod_serv/contenidos/espanol/bvinegi/productos/integracion/pais/historicas10/Tema1_Poblacion.pdf.

1934), Mexicans returned to stability and economic growth as primary concerns.³⁸⁵ But the visible and rapid deforestation in the hills surrounding the Basin of Mexico claimed increased importance, in part as large numbers of economically well-off Mexicans moved to the newly created commuter suburbs of Lomas (originally known by its English "Heights"), Hipódromo, and Polanco, and others on the western side of the city. Residents were drawn by the proximity to Chapultepec, a 270 hectare, historic, forested wood seen as an oasis of health and tranquility, only to arrive and witness or read about the decimation of the forests due to slash-and-burn field preparation and charcoal production. Those moving to Chapultepec Heights and those relying on ancient subsistence methods were of divergent social, spatial and economic groups, and the ensuing campaign—the "crusade" against charcoal—illuminates the shifting growth of the capital city, its ongoing preeminence in national policy, and the long-standing recourse to dualities of barbarism and civilization still very much alive in the 1930s and 1940s.³⁸⁶

In this chapter, I demonstrate how charcoal use highlighted divergent conceptions of Mexican resources, documented shifting understandings of what constituted nature, and underscored economic divisions. Altering consumption was a

³⁸⁵ "The approximately one hundred points [of the Six-year Plan] group themselves about three central ideas: (1) "centralization of the national economy, in the interest of greater efficiency, lower costs, and larger volume in production;" (2) a somewhat systematic and thoroughly responsible participation of the working class in the "economy" of the country, i.e., the management; (3) and the enforcement of the principle of "functional democracy." Mary Margaret Harker, "A New Six-Year Plan for Mexico," *Historian* 2, no.1, Dec. 1939, 69.

³⁸⁶ I borrow the term "crusade" from an editorial by José Juan Tablada that appeared in *El Excélsior*, 11 May 1938, p. 5.

way for Mexico to appear more modern and build its economy, but the working-class populations prevailing in the capital were hard pressed to find the resources for daily survival let alone for durable goods and middle-class affectations.

In his influential article on Mexican forestry policy, Christopher Boyer terms "ecological paternalists" the post-revolutionary specialists who attempted to alter the rural poor's usage of forests through instruction, concomitantly conserving resources and improving the citizenry.³⁸⁷ Those who used the forest in a way deemed incorrect were considered to be impeding the development of the nation. Boyer mentions initiatives to abate charcoal usage, but his focus is largely on attempts to change mentalities and practices of rural *campesinos* whose production of charcoal was the larger concern.

I look at attempts to alter behavior of the urban charcoal consumer. This shift of focus is especially important since by 1940 small-scale rural producers were largely pushed out of forestry production and the population was becoming more urban.³⁸⁸ By focusing on a four-year period beginning in 1938 with a prominent exhibition advocating charcoal abolition (and coinciding with the expropriation of petroleum) and ending in 1942 with the opening of a museum highlighting the value of wood as an economic resource, I argue that the major actions and discourses used in the struggle against charcoal reveal a deeply ambivalent populace and an elite which attempted to capture

³⁸⁷ Christopher R. Boyer, "Revolución y Paternalismo Ecológico: Miguel Ángel De Quevedo y la Política Forestal en México, 1926-1940," *Historia Mexicana*, 57 (2007): 93-94.

³⁸⁸ Boyer, 129. As early as 1932, Quevedo argued that the forests around Mexico City were no longer able to support the livelihoods of those engaged in small-scale production. *México Forestal*, Nov 1932, p. 135.

popular opinion through publicizing changes to consumption in an emblematic public space. Based in Mexico City and with Chapultepec as a backdrop, the "ecological paternalists" waged their campaign tied to issues of nation building through environmentalism. Yet deficient citizens were not only the charcoal-using, rural-descended masses, but also the "ecological paternalists" who were unable to comprehend the realities of urban inhabitants.

CHARCOAL

After the Revolution, innovative forestry initiatives resumed in Mexico largely because of the "Apostle of the Tree," engineer Miguel Angel de Quevedo. Trained in France, Quevedo strongly advocated for scientific management of forests with reforestation for erosion control. Quevedo had been a technocrat for projects carried out since the rule of Porfirio Diaz, and had advocated tirelessly for the need of Mexico and Mexicans to protect and preserve the trees and forests. His arguments for preservation were ecosystem-based, and were influenced by the historic and recurring flooding of the city and the area's diminishing aquifers. His creation of and advocacy for (proto)environmental practices in Latin America cannot be understated. Though, as Boyer notes, Quevedo's methods backfired by pushing *campesinos* to prefer agricultural over forested lands.³⁸⁹

Charcoal production in 1930s Mexico was largely unchanged from centuries past. Though scientists and entrepreneurs advocated for modern, metal charcoal ovens,

³⁸⁹ Boyer, 128, citing Beltran, La batalla forestal.

producers used a traditional method of mounding dirt, branches and leaves over wood, which, once burning, needed constant, experienced vigilance.³⁹⁰ What was different was distance. The properties around the capital were deforested, so charcoal production shifted further away outside of the Basin of Mexico.³⁹¹ Small scale production still occurred around the city, but it was most significant for flaunting laws and policies aimed at protecting and restoring wooded areas. Approximately twenty-five percent of all logged wood went into charcoal production as compared to other uses (i.e. railroad ties, construction footings, furniture etc.)³⁹² The purchase of this charcoal was subject to taxes and restrictions in an attempt to conserve forests, yet an estimated ninety-five percent of capital residents used charcoal-burning stoves.³⁹³

As the capital city's borders were expanding outward encompassing and surpassing many (de)forested areas, the late 1930s became an important time for discussions about the much venerated Chapultepec forest. Post-revolutionary nation-building initiatives rested heavily upon an idealized vision of rural Mexico emanating from the "authentically national values" of the revolutionary movement.³⁹⁴ As Mexico—especially the capital—became more urban, this rural mythology combined

³⁹⁰ Boyer, 107 citing Rafael Marín, "Hornos Metálicos para la elaboración moderna y económica de Carbón Vegetal en la República Mexicana," *México Forestal*, VIII, May 1930, 99.

³⁹¹ In the twenty years, from 1913 to 1932, the forested land in the Federal District diminished 75% from 22,000 to 6,000 hectares. Miguel Angel de Quevedo, "La Cuestión del Carbón Vegetal y sus Explotación en los Bosques del Distrito Federal, que Importa Poner en Veda," *México Forestal*, X, Nov-Dec 1932, 135.

³⁹² "HOY SE INAUGURAN LA CONVENCION FORESTAL," *El Universal*, 18 Aug 1941, front page and p. 6.

³⁹³ "Un recurso más a la preservación forestal," *El Universal*, 2 Jan 1936, p. 3. "SE TRATA DE ABOLIR EL USO DEL CARBON," *El Universal*, 29 September 1941, front page.

³⁹⁴ Enrique Florescano, "El patrimonio nacional. Valores, usos, estudio y difusión," in *El Patrimonio Nacional de México*, ed. Enrique Florescano. Vol. I. (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes y Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1997), 17; and Ricardo Pérez Montfort, *Estampas de Nacionalismo Popular Mexicano: ensayos sobre cultura popular y nacionalismo*, (México: CIESAS, 1994).

with a reaction to the oppressive sense of modernity to encourage a quasi-environmental sensibility as seen in suburban growth marketed to capitalize on a desire for "natural space."³⁹⁵ Yet the Revolution's rural symbolism did not glorify the European landscape garden ideal of upper classes, who were purchasing the tracts in these new developments, nor of the middle classes aspiring to the sophisticated suburbs by buying apartments in the more accessible *edificios*.³⁹⁶ However, in the post-revolutionary era, national symbols were forged out of dissonant combinations in the service of social peace and economic stability.³⁹⁷ Furthermore, heightened interest in forests occurred as forests formed a significant proportion of the property provided during land redistribution (at its zenith during the administration of Cárdenas, 1934-1940).³⁹⁸ It is possible that a portion of the interest came from inconformity with, if not the spirit, then the reality of agrarian reform by those of the upper, educated, and largely urban classes.

The 1930s was an administratively active decade, inaugurated with the First National Forestry Congress (1930). The Six-year Plan (1933) dedicated a prominently-placed section—*Riqueza Forestal*—to forestry riches and, upon election in 1934,

³⁹⁵ Julio Moreno, *Yankee Don't Go Home: Mexican Nationalism, American Business Culture, and the Shaping of Modern Mexico, 1920-1950* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 215.

³⁹⁶ Advertisement for *Edificio Chapultepec* in *El Universal*, 25 January 1942, 16.

³⁹⁷ Enrique Florescano, "El patrimonio nacional, 18.

³⁹⁸ Boyer, 117.

President Lázaro Cárdenas elevated the Department of Forestry to an autonomous secretariat, freeing it from its dependency under the Ministry of Agriculture.³⁹⁹

PROGRAM OF CULTURAL DIDACTICISM

As director of the Autonomous Department of Forestry, Miguel Angel de Quevedo worked toward developing a didactic cultural program for the populace and reforesting vast tracts of land—largely in the central Basin of Mexico.⁴⁰⁰ The Department's newly constructed Museum of National Flora and Fauna located in Chapultepec encouraged a mediated relationship between the nation and its environment, the goals of which were to consolidate a post-revolutionary citizenry and market Mexico abroad through foreign visitors. Quevedo initiated a campaign against charcoal, advocating for reducing the production and use of forestry products consumed in heating and cooking. He utilized the "Exhibition of Cooking Appliances and Fuels to Replace Charcoal and Wood" for these ends. Lasting for only two weeks in July, 1938, the exhibition helped to generate a public discussion which, through daily newspapers, a forestry convention, and legislation, lasted into 1942. This campaign was not the first against charcoal (in 1930), but it was unique in its ability to garner mass public attention in part by linking the concern to Chapultepec.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁹ Boyer notes that Cárdenas' tenure in as governor of Michoacán provided motivation for this seminal act, 118.

⁴⁰⁰ Department of Forestry, Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca , Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 239; Department of Forestry, Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca , Año II, México, no. 6, enero-marzo, 1937, p. 16-17.

⁴⁰¹ Quevedo promoted discussion of the issue as early as 1929 in the pages of Mexico Forestal which he edited, and at the First Forestry Congress in 1930 an exhibit very similar to that of 1938 was included in the halls of the building where sessions were held (though the Secretary of the Department of Agriculture

The Museum of National Flora and Fauna was the prototype of future museums in the significant socio-historic space of Chapultepec Forest. In large part through its museums, Chapultepec encouraged a mediated relationship between the nation and its environment, the goals of which were to consolidate a post-revolutionary citizenry and market Mexico abroad through foreign visitors.⁴⁰² In 1937, the Museum of National Flora and Fauna replaced a high-profile café cum cabaret located at the foot of the former presidential palace (see figure 3-1). As a centerpiece of Quevedo and of his Department's goal of cultural education, it did not survive his removal, yet it lived on in the subsequent practice of placing museums within the bounds of Chapultepec to connote a symbolic nation-environment connection.⁴⁰³ This relationship was deepened with the inclusion of heroic indigenous figures, once a romanticized, historically-bound Indian became an acceptable aspect of constructing Mexico's past.⁴⁰⁴ Historic

and Development, General Manuel Pérez Treviño was credited with the idea for this exhibit). See "Informe sobre la necesaria aplicación de medidas tendientes a corregir las malas prácticas en la Explotación de Maderas de los Bosques de México," México Forestal, VII, November 1929, p. 228-232; México Forestal, March 1930, p. 99 and 24 respectively. Also, 1924 German coal, noted in article Leopoldo Salazar Salinas (published in México Forestal, January 1931); Rafael H. Martín, "Hornos metálicos para la elaboración moderna y económica de carbón vegetal en la República Mexicana," México Forestal, VIII May 1930, pp. 99-100.

⁴⁰² On mass mediation of nature, see Nils Lindahl Elliot, Mediating Nature, (New York: Routledge, 2006).

⁴⁰³ For more on the relationship among parks, state power and interest in nature, see Emily Wakild, "Parables of Chapultepec: Urban Parks, National Landscapes, and Contradictory Conservation in Modern Mexico," in A Land between Waters: Environmental Histories of Modern Mexico, ed. Christopher R. Boyer (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2012), especially pages 300-301 and 322-323. On museums in landscape/park space, see Carol Duncan, Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums, (London: Routledge, 1995), 10, 57.

⁴⁰⁴ On indigenous incorporation into the national history, see Rebecca Earle, The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-making in Spanish America, 1810-1930, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007). Also Stacie Widdifield, The Embodiment of the National in Late Nineteenth-century Mexican Painting (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996) and Fausto Ramírez, "El proyecto artístico en la restauración de la república: entre el fomento institucional y el patrocinio privado (1867-1881)," and "México a través de los

indigenous figures had spent time at Chapultepec Forest: Netzahualcōyotl planted his flower gardens and built the aqueduct, Montezuma II developed his menagerie, and Cuauhtémoc inhabited a sacred hilltop structure.⁴⁰⁵ And as the historical indigenous kings became objects of pride, the connection was used to build stronger ties to the Forest and to subsequent institutions such as the zoological and botanical gardens.⁴⁰⁶

The museums were not the first official attempt at educating citizens and delimiting the definition of nature through sites in the forest. Precursors to the institutions were governmental monuments including fountains and markers, and celebrations including commemorating since 1871 the *Niños Héroes* of the U.S.-Mexican

siglos (1881-1910): la pintura de historia durante el Porfiriato," in Los Pinceles de la Historia: la Fabricación del Estado, 1864-1910 (México: Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, 2003).

⁴⁰⁵ In 1938 Smithsonian researchers claimed that what had been billed as Moctezuma's zoo, was in fact "a collection of animals"—or menagerie—misreported by Bernal Díaz del Castillo in his Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España. "No Tuvo Parque Zoológico el de Moteuczoma," El Excelsior, 11 August, 1938, p. 2. It was subsequently called "the first zoo of the Americas." In effect, it is a somewhat subjective determination as to when menageries and collections of animals changed to zoological gardens, largely having to do with a scientific intent underlying the collection. This is also complicated by the fact that documentation of Moctezuma's zoo is in the center of Tenochtitlán rather than at Chapultepec. It is highly likely that animals were also kept at Chapultepec, though what qualifies for a zoo may likely have been more of the *totcalli* (house of animals) near the *Templo Mayor*. "First zoo..." quotation in Kathleen Babb Stanley, "Los zoológicos en México: una visión del pasado y sus tareas actuales," in Relaciones hombre-fauna: una zona interdisciplinaria de estudio, eds. Eduardo Corona-M. and Joaquín Arroyo-Cabrales (México: INAH, 2002), 55. On the history of zoos, see Nigel Rothfels, Savages and Beasts: the Birth of the Modern Zoo (Baltimore, M.D.: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), chapter 1; and Yi-Fu Tuan, "Animals: From Powers to Pets," in Dominance & Affection: The Making of Pets (New Haven: Yale U.P., 1984). On Moctezuma's *totocalli*, see Alicia Blanco Padilla, et al., "El zoológico de Moctezuma: ¿mito o realidad?," AMMVEPE [revista de la Asociación Mexicana de Médicos Veterinarios Especialistas en Pequeñas Especies] 20 n. 12 (March-April 2009): 28-39.

A pre-Hispanic structure (teocalli) believed to be used regularly by Moctezuma Xoyocotzin was replaced by the Spanish with a chapel to San Miguel Archangel. Miguel Hidalgo: Gobierno de la Ciudad de Mexico (Mexico: DDF, 1997), 68. For a contemporary elision to the Aztec kings, see "Los Jardines, Parques y Arboledas de la Ciudad de Mexico," Mexico Forestal, May-June 1942, p. 35. Chapultepec was important to the Aztecs and other indigenous groups for many possible reasons, but primarily for its natural springs and for its *cerro*, or hill, as *cerros* were inhabited by deities. Ana Lidia Domínguez Ruiz, and Eduardo Rodríguez Flores. "Chapultepec en la actualidad: cambio y persistencia de la practicas de un parque público," Diario de Campo, El Bosque de Chapultepec: un manantial de historia (supplement) no. 36, October/December, (2005), 168.

⁴⁰⁶ It is important to note that this connection did not extend to contemporary indigenous peoples.

War.⁴⁰⁷ Policymakers established a strong connection between nature and nation: Chapultepec became the site of Arbor Day celebrations (in the Forest since 1922), the National Zoo, and the presidential palace.⁴⁰⁸ Yet this relationship was not static. The closing of the Museum of National Flora and Fauna and the coincident opening of the Technological Museum in Chapultepec represented the trend whereby forests were highlighted as economic— and particularly during wartime, strategic and military— resources for use, rather than cultural or environmental assets for admiration, illustrating a further shift in the understanding of what constituted nature.⁴⁰⁹

In the 1930s, the urban consumer became an important focus of Quevedo's crusade as witnessed not only by the exhibition, but by the existence and importance of the Museum.⁴¹⁰ It is unclear the degree to which Boyer's argument about ecological/scientific paternalism includes the urban consumer. A rural consumer is suggested in terms of *campesino* producers being pressured toward consuming metal charcoal ovens, saws, and other mechanical, modern aids. And it is possible to extend the paternalistic obligation of teaching proper conduct to urban consumers of forest products. Indeed it is clear through an earlier Forestry Congress exhibition (discussed

⁴⁰⁷ For the cult to the cadets, see Enrique Plasencia de la Parra, "Conmemoración de la hazaña épica de los niños héroes: su origen, desarrollo y simbolismos," *Historia Mexicana* 45, no. 2 (1995): 241-279.

⁴⁰⁸ Boyer, 110, quoting ESCUDERO, "La 'Fiesta del Árbol' en el Año de 1922", p. 19

⁴⁰⁹ On the military value of the forests, see Presidentes M.A.C. 501.1/39, fs. 5, n/d; A.G.N., Presidentes, M.A.C., 501.1/39, fs. 2, 5 September, 1944; and Lane Simonian, *Defending the Land of the Jaguar*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 122. These shifts in correspondence would continue up to today. Some are noted in Wakild's "Parables of Chapultepec...".

⁴¹⁰ For an interesting related discussion, see Wakild: "However compelling, couching debates as conservation versus rural life sidesteps the elephant in the room. The greatest pressures on both large expanses of contiguous nature and remaining concentrations of indigenous peoples do not come from one another but from the industrializing processes of resource use and agribusiness that have relegated parks and native peoples to the periphery." Wakild, "Parables...", 307.

below) and later exhibition at the Museum that consumers mattered to Quevedo. In fact, his overall approach to conservation included resource-based logic, though that was not his driving motivation. Quevedo's marketing of parks, encouraging tourism, and holding events—including planning for international expositions—all were designed to encourage consumption and create profits.⁴¹¹

The focus on consumption as well as Chapultepec became especially important when, as early as 1932, Quevedo argued that the remaining forests in and around the Federal District of Mexico City were "insignificant" in terms of providing a living for populations therein.⁴¹² This warning did not stop the gathering of wood from nearby parks and forests, Chapultepec and *Desierto de los Leones* among others.⁴¹³

Nevertheless, Quevedo's point was that production in the Basin of Mexico was essentially inconsequential; hence modification of behavior would need to occur away from the city or in terms of urban consumers. It is important to note that there were divergent opinions as to scales of value and levels of consumption. The subsistence-level importance of dead wood was seen when in 1942 The Secretary of Agriculture recognized the importance of dead wood to subsistence strategies when he opened

⁴¹¹ On parks as tourist destinations, see "MEXICANIA: A plan for developing national parks..," *El Excélsior*, 2 April 1939, second section, p. 8. The Mexicanía column was an English-language column of regional and national news. On Quevedo's work preparing Chapultepec for possible future expositions, Forestry Department, *Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca*, Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, pgs. 235-7.

⁴¹² *México Forestal*, Nov. 1932, p. 135.

⁴¹³ Ezequiel Pérez wrote in 1942 bemoaning harvesting for charcoal from ostensibly protected Mexico City-area forests. Ezequiel Pérez, "Escandalosa Tala de Arboles...", *El Universal*, 6 February 1942, p. 5. An interesting point here is that the park status of *Desierto de los Leones*, where the illegal logging took place was never mentioned. Rather, the complaint is based on the scenic naturalness of the place and its convent and religious background. Furthermore, the threat is toward water availability, a logic that was used repeatedly as the metropolitan-area water sources ran low.

Federal District forests for harvesting dead wood as an economic resource for the *campesinos* living in the area.⁴¹⁴

Changing rural *campesinos'* ways fits easily into the long-standing dichotomy of "civilized" and "barbaric."⁴¹⁵ Legendary for their disdain of traditional, subsistence, and plebeian behavior, the Porfirian *científicos* were part of the Enlightenment-based drive for rationality and quantification. Quevedo and many of his Forestry Society and ministry colleagues were attuned to European countries' activities, and they desired to modernize Mexico through changing what they saw as "barbaric," "indigenous," "backward," and "wasteful" practices.⁴¹⁶ Even as Secretary of Forestry, Quevedo could not help but recur to pure preservation measures of entirely protected forest reserves and replacement all charcoal braziers with modern appliances, rather than advancing a more moderate notion of conservation based on managed use and preferred by Cárdenas.⁴¹⁷ A civilized/barbaric duality was applied to many inhabitants of the urban capital of Mexico. Though lacking the rural spatial location that was inherently backward, elite Mexicans contended that urban primitives had not adapted adequately to the civilizing influences of city life.⁴¹⁸ It is telling that while Quevedo campaigned

⁴¹⁴ "Acuerdo que autoriza la explotación de maderas muertas existentes en terrenos forestales del Distrito Federal," *Diario Oficial*, 9 January 1942, p. 2-3,

⁴¹⁵ This dualism emerged from the post-Independence nation-building clash between conservatives and liberals, though had its roots in colonial divisions of the independence struggle. The classic work, dealing with Argentina is Domingo Faustino Sarmiento's *Facundo* (1845). For Mexico, see authors/politicians/educators Manuel Payno and Ignacio Manuel Altamirano.

⁴¹⁶ Boyer, 129.

⁴¹⁷ Boyer, 119, note 55: "Se Tendrá Como Intocable Nuestra Reserva Forestal," *El Universal*, 7 January 1935.

⁴¹⁸ An example of this is seen in a front page article about the destruction of historic fruit trees in Tlanepantla (outskirts of Mexico City) by agrarian activists. What made this attack even more

against the popular use of charcoal and wood-fueled stoves, bourgeois Mexico City Boy Scouts were encouraged to use the disgraced technique to enhance their outdoor education.⁴¹⁹

It was through his Autonomous Department of Forestry that Quevedo had access to the scale of resources and publicity necessary to try to change Mexicans' behavior. Prior to the opening of the Museum of National Flora and Fauna, and under the Six-year Plan mandate, Quevedo reported that his department had "carried out a dogged campaign designed to substitute the use of forest-product fuels," including legislation to institute a graduated tax scale for charcoal, which along with a senate initiative, heavily taxed the Federal District's charcoal in hopes of abating through expense the demand for charcoal.⁴²⁰ But, he lamented "the age-old habit of using charcoal and wood for domestic purposes makes this a difficult task." Quevedo recognized the unmet need and hence requested assistance of the Secretary of the Economy for alternative fuels.⁴²¹ Quevedo did not provide further detail of this "dogged campaign" which did not appear in dailies or other archival sources. Perhaps he was in part referring to the preparations for the special exhibition that took place in July 1938.

troublesome was that the site was said to be a potential tourist draw. "ESTAN DESTRUYENDO LA PRIMERA HUERTA DE AMERICA DONDE SE PLANTARON ARBOLES FRUTALES DE EUROPA," El Excélsior, 30 March 1938, second section, front page.

⁴¹⁹ Emily Wakild, Revolutionary Parks: Conservation, Social Justice, and Mexico's National Parks, 1910-1940 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011), 49.

⁴²⁰ "Un Recurso más de Preservación Forestal," El Universal 2 January 1936, p. 3.

⁴²¹ Forestry Department, "Informe del Jefe de Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, sobre los trabajos desarrollados en cumplimiento de los mandatos del Plan Sexenal, por lo que respecta a la Conservación de las riquezas Forestal, de caza y pesca y su incremento" bajo "Conservación de la Riqueza Forestal" letter 'G'. Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año III, no. 7, April-Aug. 1937 México, p.3.

The opening of the Museum of National Flora and Fauna in Chapultepec Forest in December 1937 provided a public site for Quevedo's crusade against the use of charcoal as the primary cooking fuel of Mexicans. An exhibition the following year mimicked an exhibition held during the First National Forestry Congress in 1930, where an "Exhibition of Modern Fuel Methods Which Eliminate Charcoal and Wood" was held at the site of the Forestry Congress. Subsequent interest in the question of charcoal usage was attributed to this 1930 congress with its consumer- and Mexico City-focus.⁴²² Ironically, this first exhibition was not of Quevedo's devising. An initiative of the Secretary of Agriculture, the "Exhibition of Modern Fuel Methods Which Eliminate Charcoal and Wood" highlighted modern electric, petroleum, gas and coal appliances. Underlying credit for the campaign against wood and charcoal usage "in order to preserve the Forest [caps original]" was given to the El Universal daily newspaper, which had initiated its own self-proclaimed "crusade" in defense of the environment at the time.⁴²³

The Museum of National Flora and Fauna held the "Exhibition of Cooking Appliances and Fuels to Replace Charcoal and Wood" ("*Exposición de Aparatos de Combustión y Combustibles, Substitutos del Carbón Vegetal y la Leña*") from July 10-24, 1938, as seen in figure 4-1. From its December opening, museum attendance had been increasing from 12,000 in March to an all-time high of 59,300 in June.⁴²⁴ Though there is

⁴²² México Forestal, November, 1932, p. 136

⁴²³ México Forestal, VIII, March, 1930, p. 24.

⁴²⁴ For a sense of attendance, the population of Mexico City in 1940 was 1,448,422 inhabitants (INEGI, 1986, vol. I, p. 24). The Museum had originally been scheduled to open in the spring of 1937. Forestry

no exact attendance number for the special exhibition, during the month of July over 53,154 people visited the museum.⁴²⁵ One could speculate that some 26,000 persons visited the exhibition, though it is noteworthy that it did not appear from attendance numbers to draw additional visitors.⁴²⁶ The exhibition consisted of at least two galleries with distinct thematic areas focusing on equipment—stoves of various types and brands—, symbols of trees, alternative fuels, and governmental strength.⁴²⁷

Department, Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca , Año II, México, no. 6, Jan-March, 1937, p. 16-17.

⁴²⁵ 1938: March—12,000 from the Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca Año III, no. 10 March-May 1938, México, p 72. April—45,912, May—53,484, June—59,300, from the Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año III, no. 11 Jun-Aug. 1938, México, p. 62, 70, 79. July—53,154, Sept—56,000 from the Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año IV, no. 12 Sep-Nov 1938, México, p. 54, 71. 1939: Jan—32,939, March—29,682, from the Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año IV, no. 14 March-May, 1939, México, p. 67. June—34,784, Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca Año IV, no. 15, June-Aug. 1939, México, p 102. For a comparison, though approximately a decade later, the downtown-located Museo Nacional de Antropología had 83,073 and the Museo Nacional de Historia had 277,191 total visitors for 1947. Secretaría de Educación Pública, Memorias 1947-1948, p. 535. So the Museum of National Flora and Fauna's attendance numbers were comparatively high. In terms a special exhibitions, a comparison could be with special art exhibitions, though as Ana Garduño notes, fine art exhibitions were highly truncated during the Cárdenas years and resumed with the formation of INBA in 1947. Ana Garduño, "The Munal and its Art Collection: Past, Present and Reality," in Transformaciones del paisaje (México: Munal-ICA, 2012), 206.

⁴²⁶ This calculation is also arrived at by the daily average of 1800 persons given by the Department. See "MEXICANIA," El Excélsior, 17 May 1938, second section, p. 2.

⁴²⁷ Visible from photographs and descriptions included in the Forestry Department's monthly report. Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año III, no. 11 Jun-Aug. 1938, México, p. 108-114.



4-1 Portion of charcoal exhibition. Source: Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca 3, no. 11 (June-August 1938): 110.

The Mexican government's oil expropriation on March 18, 1938 allowed the crusade against charcoal to highlight a nationalistic campaign for development of Mexico's mineral carbons.⁴²⁸ The area of the exhibition dealing with alternative fuels was crowned with a large "PETROLEOS MEXICANOS" (PEMEX) sign, and compared natural gas, gasoline, kerosene, diesel, petroleum and oil against wood and charcoal. The fossil fuel side stated, "Your consumption is constructive and clean, fast, economical..." and displayed shiny barrels and cylinders emblazoned with the PEMEX

⁴²⁸ This was explicitly announced in a press release in Mexicanía, "El Excélsior, 1 July 1938, second section, p. 2. "In a campaign to conserve the forests of Mexico and at the same time to suggest new methods of consumption of oil, the Department of Forestry has announced an exhibition of inexpensive household appliances which use that fuel. The exhibition well open Sunday, July 10 in the annex to the Museum of Native Flora and Fauna in Chapultepec Park."

logo. This was contrasted with the forest-product side, "Your consumption is destructive and dirty, inadequate, unclean and wasteful," depicting split wood dumped in an untidy pile.⁴²⁹

Subsequent to the exhibition, PEMEX marketed its gas and stoves as part of the struggle to protect forests. As seen in figure 4-2, one full-page advertisement, featuring an overcast desolate landscape, vulture, and decimated burro announced, "Let's save the trees!"⁴³⁰ The introductory text claimed, "The substitution of plant by mineral fuels is the most helpful support the public can provide authorities in their combating the excessive felling of trees. And this is an easy task, because mineral-based fuels for cooking are cleaner, easier to use, and if that wasn't enough, cheaper!" The left-hand side of the page listed national, family and budgetary reasons to use PEMEX gas, and the right-hand side listed a broad cost-per-kilo analysis. The bottom of the page stated, "Another PEMEX social investment" and "PETROLEOS MEXICANOS a business with a public service core." In the comparison between a barren wasteland in the advertisement and a verdant landscape as represented by the site of the exhibition, the health of Chapultepec and its trees was equated with that of the nation. PEMEX, as a national asset, was emphasizing its role in strengthening the nation through consuming petroleum fuels.⁴³¹

⁴²⁹ Boletín, jun-ago, 1938, 110.

⁴³⁰ El Universal, 14 April, 1941, second section, p. 8.

⁴³¹ Though promoted in a less visible manner, the association between petroleum products alleviating the strain on the nation's forests predated PEMEX. Prior to the expropriation and the formation of PEMEX, a precursor called PETROMEX (*Petroleos de Mexico*) was featured in 1934 in a Mexico Forestal article. Entitled "A New National Company 'Petroleos de Mexico'—Petromex—will contribute indirectly toward



4-2 Pemex advertisement. Source: El Universal, 14 April 1941, second section, 8.

protecting Mexican forests," the *Mexico Forestal* article was essentially a reprint of the open letter written by the Secretary of the National Economy, with an afterword commentary by the Mexican Forestry Society. The letter made visible the connection between exploitation of the national petroleum reserves, cheaper non-plant-based cooking fuels, and a reduced strain on the forests. "La nueva Empresa Nacional 'Petroleos de Mexico' –Petromex- contribuirá indirectamente a la proetccion de los bosques mexicanos," *México Forestal*, May 1934, p. 101-2.

Petromex was a mixed capital company designed to replace the public *Control de Administración del Petróleo Nacional* and to focus on the internal petroleum market. Because of a lack of investment, Petromex became the government-controlled *Administración General del Petróleo Nacional* to which the expropriated petroleum properties were entrusted in 1938. Joel Álvarez de la Borda, "Un panorama de la industria petrolera, segunda parte", <http://petroleo.colmex.mx/index.php/linea/116>, accessed 25 June 2012, citing Lourdes Celis Salgado *La industria petrolera en México. Una Crónica I: de los inicios a la expropiación*, (México: Petróleos Mexicanos, 1988), 323-324.

Because there is no numerical data for readership of the membership-based México Forestal, it is impossible to compare the scope of attempts to alter charcoal use through its articles to those of congress attendance, exhibition attendees, and daily newspaper readership.⁴³² It is important to point out that the Mexican Forestry Society, publisher of México Forestal, claimed many of the most influential scientists and numerous politicians and businessmen as members. The masthead regularly averaged some 40-50 individuals. Similarly, Congress attendees, though not numerous—188 names were listed on the attendee registry—were much attuned to environmental and economic concerns.⁴³³ Yet overwhelmingly, the 1938 exhibition with some estimated 26,000 attendees, and coverage in the dailies were the mass means for communicating the message of the charcoal crusade.⁴³⁴

⁴³² Martín Cortez Noyola has an excellent, unpublished, multi-chapter thesis on the Mexico Forestal magazine, "Revista México Forestal (1923-1953), un acercamiento a la conservación forestal en México" (B.A. thesis, Universidad Michoacana de San Nicolás de Hidalgo, Morelia, Michoacán, 2009). Available through the History department of the Universidad Michoacana San Nicolás de Hidalgo.

⁴³³ Mexico Forestal, March 1930, p. 28-9.

⁴³⁴ The Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía reports that in 1930, 61.2% of Mexicans 15 yrs. and older were illiterate based on census data. Though not specific to Mexico City and thus necessitating rough estimation, of a total population of 1,229, 536 for Mexico City and subtracting 40% of the total for being under the age of 15, there could be 295,088 possible readers, of which only a portion would be able to use discretionary income on a newspaper. INEGI "Estadísticas a propósito del día internacional de la alfabetización," 8 Sep 2011, accessed at <http://www.inegi.org.mx/inegi/contenidos/espanol/prensa/contenidos/estadisticas/2011/alfabetizaci%C3%B3n11.asp?s=inegi&c=2808&ep=69>

José Luis Ortiz Garza reports the literacy rate at 50% and that "Mexico's mass media reached at best fifteen percent of the population [in the early 1940s] and was heavily concentrated in a few metropolitan areas." José Luis Ortiz Garza, "Fighting for the Soul of the Mexican Press: Axis and Allied Activities during the Second World War," in ¡Américas unidas!: Nelson A. Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs (1940-46), eds. Gisela Cramer and Ursula Prutsch (Madrid: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2012), 182, 203. Maria del Carmen Collado Herrera, though not providing numbers, does give a sense of the difference between the two biggest dailies in the 1920s. El Excélsior was seen more conservative, with El Universal more aligned with pro-Catholic social reforms. Empresarios y políticos: entre la Restauración y la Revolución, 1920-1924 (México: Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos de la Revolución Mexicana, 1996), 26.

PUBLICIZING THE CRUSADE

The major Mexico-city-based dailies El Excélsior and El Universal picked up the campaign. The papers published letters from notable as well as concerned citizens, along with numerous editorials and guest editorials which sustained public visibility of the issue. During the years of 1940-1942, which encompassed the Forestry Convention and the revised Forestry Law, there appeared an article every month or two. The editorials shared themes, especially relating to scarcity of water, unused carbon fuel deposits, and deficient *campesino* and indigenous practices.⁴³⁵ Over these two years, a general shift occurred whereby the call for an all-out replacement of charcoal by electric and fuel stoves changed to suggestions of gradual substitution of charcoal in recognition of the need for ease and economy.⁴³⁶ Only a few editorials appeared discerning poor people's motives in terms of using the forests and forest products, and holding opportunistic politicians and unscrupulous contractors responsible.⁴³⁷

Over the same period that the editorials about charcoal use were published, regular editorials lamented the declining condition of Chapultepec Forest. These were accompanied at the end of 1941 by updates on improvements to the Forest undertaken by the government of the Federal District. The content of the editorials and articles reiterated many of the same motifs as those related to the charcoal crusade, including

⁴³⁵ See El Excélsior, 13 April 1940, p. 5; El Excélsior, 1 September 1940, second section, p. 2, 4; El Universal, 18 April 1941, p. 3, 13.

⁴³⁶ See El Excélsior, 26 October, 1940, p. 4; El Universal, 8 June 1941, p. 13; El Universal, 15 September 1941, p. 3;

⁴³⁷ See El Universal, 14 April 1942, p. 6.

desolation, destruction, scarcity of water, and ignorance—especially of the laboring classes.

In addition to the numerous editorials, at least ten front-page articles about the Forestry Convention were printed around its August 1941 celebration.⁴³⁸ Most of the articles focused on an interesting presentation or innovative initiative from the conference and provided additional summaries of speakers and sessions. It is notable that on the day the coverage of the closing ceremony appeared on the front page of El Universal, so too appeared an article about the advisory committee of local Mexico City government lauding a plan with the headline "The Revival of Chapultepec Forest."⁴³⁹ The environment was a priority at all levels of government in 1941, and Chapultepec continued in its role as the symbol for the environmental health of the city and therefore the nation.⁴⁴⁰

The Forestry Convention focused the actions and proposals for eliminating charcoal. From the early announcements in July, the elimination of the use of charcoal

⁴³⁸ "Primera Convencion...", El Universal 16 August, 1941, front page; "Hoy se Inaugura..." El Universal 18 August 1941, front page and p. 6; "Las Reservas Forestales," El Universal 19 August 1941, front page and p. 14; "Pasan de 200 Ponencias..." El Universal 20 August 1941, front page and p. 2; "Como Podran Reforestar..." 21 El Universal August 1941, front page and p. 12; "Los Impuestos..." El Universal 24 August 1941, front page; "En Defensa de los Arboles" El Universal 25 August 1941, front page and p. 5; "Sistema Unitario para Reforestar" El Universal 26 August 1941, front page and p. 12; "Inminente Peligro" El Universal 27 August 1941, front page; and "Clausura de la Convencion" El Universal 28 August 1941, front page.

⁴³⁹ "El Resurgimiento del Bosque de Chapultepec," El Universal, 28 August 1941, front page.

⁴⁴⁰ It is important to note that the local government of the Federal District had been responsible for the space of Chapultepec in a de facto fashion since 1936. This was officially codified into law in 1942. The federal government was responsible for the buildings.

was a prominent point of action.⁴⁴¹ Coverage from the opening session of the convention declared the goal of "replacing charcoal for home use as quickly as possible with another fuel that is easily obtained." The same session coverage stated that 25% of the forest destruction is directly attributable to the consumption of charcoal.⁴⁴² It is important to note that from the original goal of charcoal abolition, concluding Convention proposals were for using wood by-products for charcoal production and for the creation of a forestry development bank to encourage large-scale mining of coal.⁴⁴³ Even Miguel Angel de Quevedo along with the Mexican Forestry Society shifted their activity away from charcoal abolition, working with the Netzahualcóyotl Company in October 1941 to develop "artificial charcoal."⁴⁴⁴

The public, or at least a portion thereof, perceived the softening of forestry protection ideals. An August 1941 editorial reported the only actions approved upon the conclusion of the Forestry Convention were to request reforestation funds, establish a unified reforestation system, relate to Congress the lack of forestry matters in the Agrarian Law, and protect the rapidly diminishing fir trees.⁴⁴⁵ Nothing about charcoal. Nothing about prohibitions.

⁴⁴¹ On reducing the use of charcoal, see "ESTUDIO DEL PROBLEMA DE DESFORESTACION," El Universal, 2 July 1941, front page, p. 14.

⁴⁴² "HOY SE INAUGURAN LA CONVENCION FORESTAL," El Universal, 18 August 1941, front page, p. 6.

⁴⁴³ On a gradual movement away from charcoal stoves by restricting charcoal, see, "EL PROYECTO DE REFORMAS A LA LEY FEDERAL FORESTAL," El Universal, 3 December 1942, p. 14. On the development bank, see "INICIATIVA PARA CREAR UN BANCO N. FORESTAL," El Universal, 30 August 1941, second section, p. 12. This coal exploration initiative was reiterated in an editorial two weeks later by Juan de Dios Avellaneda, "La Primera Convención Forestal," El Universal, 15 September 1941, p. 3.

⁴⁴⁴ "Hoy Celebra una Sesión la Sociedad Forestal Mexicana," El Universal, 24 October, 1941, p. 9.

⁴⁴⁵ "Buenas, Pero Insuficientes Medidas," El Universal, 28 August, 1941, p. 3.

LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVES

Yet in the fall of 1941 legislative initiatives increased, due in large part to the recently concluded Convention and its increased visibility of discussions. And perhaps as a response to the paucity of prohibition language from the Convention, the city declared a ban on charcoal in September 1941. More of a misguided effort to gain control over the charcoal trade than a workable plan for its replacement—especially as only 5% of the population used non-charcoal stoves—it would soon be overridden by Presidential declaration.⁴⁴⁶

As opposed to former President Cárdenas, President Manuel Avila Camacho's all-encompassing priority was the economy, and he was able to solidify the charcoal issue as one of a resource for exploitation.⁴⁴⁷ Avila Camacho issued a series of charcoal-related decrees at the end of 1941 and early 1942, with the forestry issue a long-term objective and consumer access to charcoal a short-term priority. There was a back and forth effect to his decrees, with economical access to charcoal and the health of the forests at the two poles, and Mexico City being the only population considered. In chronological order, Avila Camacho decreed a maximum price for charcoal on the last day of 1941; dictated a six-part short- and long-term "charcoal solution" on January 5,

⁴⁴⁶ See *El Universal*, 28 November 1941, p. 3; *El Universal*, 22 January 1942, p. 3; and *El Universal*, 14 April 1942, p. 6. *El Universal*, 29 September 1941, front page, 'SE TRATA DE ABOLIR EL USO DEL CARBON'.

⁴⁴⁷ Simonian, 122. President Cárdenas tried to balance the environment and the recommendations of Quevedo, with the needs of *campesinos*. Though there was notable political favoritism in the granting of forestry-related licenses, which resulted in requesting a change in procedure around the time of the Forestry Convention, Cárdenas was (and is) seen as environmentally attuned. Boyer, 124-5. See A.G.N., Presidentes, LCR, 140bis, 141.1/1, 16 August 1937, De C. Juan Peña Ruiz al Presidente Cárdenas. See "ESTUDIO DEL PROBLEMA DE DESFORESTACION," *El Universal*, 2 July 1941, front page, p. 14. Simonian, 85.

1942; opened Federal District forests to deadwood harvesting on January 9; and prohibited the use of charcoal braziers and stoves in Mexico City on February 17.⁴⁴⁸ It is important to note that the Federal District was a department of the federal government, so decrees applying only to Mexico City were generated at the presidential level. In the accord fixing the maximum price (31 December 1941), charcoal was referred to as a "necessity" and therefore was regulated under the Code for Necessary Consumer Goods.⁴⁴⁹ A scant six weeks later, home charcoal usage was prohibited in new construction and all Mexico City residents were given up to one year to switch over to fossil fuels.⁴⁵⁰ Renters and owners of properties of higher taxable value were given six months, and those of lower value were given a full year to make the switch.

The federal-level Congress and Senate concerned themselves, too, with charcoal: both its effect on forestation and on consumer frustration.⁴⁵¹ The Senate's own Forestry Commission prepared a proposal in the fall of 1941 that would outlaw charcoal stoves in newly constructed homes (replicated in Avila Camacho's February 17, 1942 decree), and audit heating systems of large urban manors.⁴⁵²

⁴⁴⁸ "Acuerdo que señala el precio máximo para la venta del carbón vegetal," Diario Oficial, 31 December 1941, p. 5. "Acuerdo tendiente a solucionar el problema del carbón vegetal en el D.F.," Diario Oficial, 5 January 1942, p. 2-3. "Acuerdo que autoriza la explotación de maderas muertas existentes en terrenos forestales del Distrito Federal." Diario Oficial, 9 January 1942, p. 2-3. "Decreto que prohíbe el uso de braseros y estufas que quemem carbón vegetal o leña," Diario Oficial, 17 February 1942, p. 8.

⁴⁴⁹ "Acuerdo que señala el precio máximo para la venta del carbón vegetal," Diario Oficial, 31 December 1941, p. 5.

⁴⁵⁰ "Decreto que prohíbe el uso de braseros y estufas que quemem carbón vegetal o leña," Diario Oficial, 17 February 1942, p. 8.

⁴⁵¹ "EL CONGRESO ESTUDIA EL PROBLEMA FORESTAL," El Universal, 15 February 1941, p. 3.

⁴⁵² "SE TRATA DE ABOLIR EL USO DEL CARBON," El Universal, 29 September 1941, front page and, p. 7.

The Mexico City Advisory Committee, an appointed board of members who responded to citizen concerns and provided initiatives to the federally-directed municipal government, also took up the charcoal consumption issue.⁴⁵³ In 1941, the committee collected data from the charcoal wholesalers' union in order to find a way to reduce the price of charcoal in response to price-gouging accusations. At the same time the committee advised on beautification of Chapultepec, thus advancing and further linking two salient metropolitan matters related to trees and green space.⁴⁵⁴ The momentum provided by the Advisory Committee's initiatives resulted in improvements to Chapultepec and in the recognition of charcoal's substitution as the first of "the most important problems that urgently need solving."⁴⁵⁵ Political considerations of consumer frustration over ongoing shortages were more of a concern than the long-argued environmental impact to Mexico's trees and forests.

The Advisory Committee was not the only organization vigilant about the Federal District's work to be done. The Forestry Society as early as 1932 had reminded the local government of its responsibility to encourage alternative methods of heating and cooking.⁴⁵⁶ In March 1941, the editors of México Forestal publically reiterated an earlier, though not original, suggestion of legislation made around the time of the

⁴⁵³ Lorenzo Meyer, " Sistema de gobierno y evolución política hasta 1940," in Atlas de la Ciudad de México (México: Departamento del Distrito Federal, 1987), 375.

⁴⁵⁴ "La Cooperación del Consejo Consultivo de la Ciudad," El Universal, 1 October 1941, second section, p. 2, 8. "El Resurgimiento del Bosque de Chapultepec," El Universal, 28 August 1941, front page.

⁴⁵⁵ "El Departamento del Distrito Combatirá las Inmoralidades," El Universal, 24 January, 1942, front page.

⁴⁵⁶ "La Cuestión del Carbón Vegetal y su Explotación en los Bosques del Distrito Federal, que Importa Poner en Veda' Informe Rendido al Departamento del Distrito Federal por el Presidente de la Sociedad Forestal Mexicana," México Forestal, X, November 1932, p. 133-6.

Museum of National Flora and Fauna's exhibition.⁴⁵⁷ The editorial noted that any declaration would have needed to come from the Secretary of the Economy and from the Health Department, underscoring the complexity of instituting any change among the centralized levels of government and their agencies. Product scarcity and regulation complexity would be the bane of charcoal legislation.

The new 1942 Forestry Law focused on the rational use of the forest as a national economic resource, which meant larger-scale industrial use and private companies utilizing the forest rather than *campesinos* and their traditional ways.⁴⁵⁸ The Law detailed reserves, reforestation, protection, registries, taxation, penalties, and exemptions. Exceptions for small-scale "indigent campesinos" required using fallen wood. Alternatively, and if no deadwood existed, permission was required for *campesinos* to cut officially-designated trees and then only for their personal use.⁴⁵⁹ In terms of overall household charcoal consumption, "the policy should be one of gradual restriction, procuring the substitution of charcoal with any other fuel that does not require the destruction of mature trees."⁴⁶⁰

CRIMINALIZATION

Charcoal as a discreet necessity became a lucrative criminal commodity. Under Quevedo's Forestry Department, forestry officials had been involved in the trafficking of

⁴⁵⁷ Mexico Forestal, March 1941 p. 27-8.

⁴⁵⁸ Heidi Cedeño Gilardi, and Diego R. Pérez Salicrup, "La legislación forestal y su efecto en la restauración en México," Temas sobre restauración ecológica, ed. Oscar Sánchez et al. (México: Instituto Nacional de Ecología, 2005). Available online at <http://www2.ine.gob.mx/publicaciones/libros/467/cedenoyperrez.html>.

⁴⁵⁹ "Ley Forestal de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos," Diario Oficial, 17 March 1943, 8.

⁴⁶⁰ "EL PROYECTO DE REFORMAS A LA LEY FEDERAL FORESTAL," El Universal, 3 December 1942, p. 14.

charcoal. Their criminal complicity was one of the factors in Cárdenas' decision to fold the Forestry Department back under the Secretary of Agriculture.⁴⁶¹ More broadly, criminals of all social strata were involved in the charcoal trade. From influential politicians misappropriating logging licenses, humble *campesinos* selling their products without the proper permits, violent criminals shooting (and killing) forestry guards with machine guns, to price fixing by local vendors, many steps of the production and distribution of charcoal contradicted the ideal of a modern Mexico.⁴⁶² This was the era in Mexico when, according to Andrew Salvador Mathews, two "official discours[es]" were at odds with each other: the political, stating that the government has instituted development and stability; and the environmental, highlighting increasing destruction and chaos.⁴⁶³ In an era of increasing centralization, Mexican officials required the triumph of order.

In late 1941, the Mexico City Advisory Council called for an investigation into illegal practices associated with charcoal.⁴⁶⁴ In 1942, additional forestry police were created specifically to combat illegality around charcoal production and distribution.⁴⁶⁵

To criminalize consumption was essentially impossible. In a January 5, 1942 accord to

⁴⁶¹"GUARDAS FORESTALES QUE COMETEN ABUSOS," *El Excelsior*, 11 August 1939, p. 7. Simonian, 107. Boyer, 125. Though demoting Forestry under Agriculture did not end such abuses. See "ENEMIGO DE NUESTROS EMPOBRECIDOS BOSQUES," *El Universal*, 18 May 1941, second section, front page.

⁴⁶²"Buenas pero Insuficientes Medidas," *El Universal*, 28 August 1941, p. 3; , "Guarda Forestal Herido...", *El Universal*, 21 February 1941, front page; "Doble Asesinato de Guardas Forestales," *El Universal*, 20 October 1942, second section, p. 12; "El Problema del Carbón," *El Universal*, 28 November 1941, p. 3.

⁴⁶³ Andrew Salvador Mathews, "Suppressing Fire and Memory: Environmental Degradation and Political Restoration in the Sierra Juarez of Oaxaca, 1887-2001," in *Environmental History* 8, no. 1 (2003): 80.

⁴⁶⁴"La Cooperación del Consejo Consultivo de la Ciudad," *El Universal*, 1 October 1941, second section, p. 2, 8.

⁴⁶⁵"Ha Sido Aumentado el Número de Policías Forestales," *El Universal*, 22 January, 1942, second section, p. 4.

deal with an immediate shortage, the second point abrogated any penalties even for criminal charcoal production and distribution: "transportation and introduction of charcoal into the Federal District is permitted even when its legal origin is not proven, and without imposing punishment established by the Forestry Law and Code."⁴⁶⁶

Clearly, the government's concern was with gaining and maintaining (the appearance of) control and order rather than with saving the sylvan ideal of a wooded Mexico.⁴⁶⁷ That model would be confined to enacting improvements at Chapultepec Forest and at the increasing national parks.

It is important to remember that this was largely a Mexico City battle. Though abuses were rhetorically tied to a lack of education and jobs among certain classes, politicians approved charcoal from further off, passing along the national problem rather than relating metropolitan behavior to the larger nation.⁴⁶⁸ The quality of the air was presented as a luxury for the rich to consume by purchasing homes located near Chapultepec Forest. But the logic was at a distance: by burning large quantities of trees through antiquated charcoal production methods, and by utilizing charcoal as a quotidian fuel, there would be fewer trees to provide ambiance and the smell of

⁴⁶⁶ "Acuerdo tendiente a solucionar el problema del carbón vegetal en el D.F.," Diario Oficial, 5 January 1942, p. 2-3.

⁴⁶⁷ The Federal District government headed by Engineer Francisco Javier Romo Castro, pursued the charcoal issue—that of scarcity and possible criminal activities—as "the most important problem that urgently needs solving and that considerably affects metropolitan and neighboring inhabitants." "El Departamento del Distrito Combatirá las Inmoralidades' 'Llamado al comercio y a la industria para que denuncien toda irregularidad," El Universal, 24 January 1942, front page.

⁴⁶⁸ "Seguramente el carbón vegetal es necesario para las atenciones del hogar: pero pensamos que sería preferible traerlo de otros montes más lejanos del Capital...." citizen Ezequiel Pérez on the felling of trees in Desierto de los Leones by clandestine charcoal makers. "Escandalosa Tala de Arboles en el Desierto de los Leones," El Universal, 6 February 1942, p. 5.

"tranquility." Overriding concerns were of desertification, lack of beauty, a need for hygienic space, and the waste of an economic resource. Only one advertisement, for the Anzures residential development in Mexico City, as seen in figure 4-3 marketed a direct connection between modern pollution and the purifying effects of trees—the millenary cypresses of Chapultepec, specifically.⁴⁶⁹ This was not pollution from cooking with charcoal, but from an industrializing economy, and its putative remedy was to preserve a few emblematic trees.

⁴⁶⁹ "Centinelas de la Salud," El Universal, 29 November 1942, p. 16. In an editorial, Rafael Garcia Granados mentioned "the importance of trees purifying the atmosphere" along with parks as areas for children and adults to be able to stretch out, as factors of public health. However, his editorial was focused on the lack of accountability and results for the parks and gardens budget. The mention of fighting pollution was in passing. See "Nuestra Ciudad" column, "El Abandono de Nuestros Jardines," El Excelsior, 18 November 1940, p. 4.

Centinelas de la salud

El Bosque de Chapultepec con sus majestuosas ahuyahates en el hermoso rincón de la Capital donde se respira un ambiente de tranquilidad y de salud. Para no sólo dentro del mismo Bosque, está su beneficio, toda la ciudad en mayor o menor escala - según su cercanía - más fuente de vitalidad - recibe la influencia purificadora de nuestro gran parque.

Los gases del tránsito moderno, las estufas modernas, y en general todas las impurezas de la atmósfera de una ciudad grande, cerca del Bosque se transforman en aire limpio y saludable.

La Nueva Colonia Anzures, vecina inmediata del Bosque de Chapultepec es una de las zonas que tienen primer acceso a este ambiente benéfico. Vivir en Nueva Anzures significa respirar aire puro a toda hora. Cuando usted llega cansado a su casa no tendrá que pensar en su mansión vecina, pero este día y noche será el constante benefactor que impartirá salud a usted y a los suyos - y recuerde que LA SALUD NO TIENE PRECIO.

Por esta razón y por otros que aparecen condensados en esta página, la compra de terrenos en Nueva Anzures es una verdadera oportunidad que no debe desaprovecharse. Visite Ud. esta colonia excepcional y compravéale su repique.

Este con las ventajas, venden con diligencia a la Nueva Colonia Anzures.

- La más cercana al Centro
- Ubicación privilegiada
- Vecina del Bosque
- Zona residencial de prestigio
- Restricciones inteligentes
- Mercados,
- Escuelas y Templos
- Centros Deportivos
- Comunicaciones abundantes
- Urbanización de calidad
- Precios moderados
- Facilidades de pago
- Inversión ventajosa
- Valor firme

Mapa showing streets: BOQUELON, CHAPULTEPEC, CARRIADO ESPEROS, TIBER, REFORMA, VALORES FLORES, FICASA.

Nueva Colonia ANZURES

SAN JUAN DE LETRAN NO. 21 DESPS. 310-11-12 • ERIC. 12-76-70 MEX. J 39-03

4-3 Anzures advertisement. Source: El Universal, 29 November 1942, 16.

CONCLUSION

In the spring of 1942 the Technological Museum opened right next door to the Museum of National Flora and Fauna where the exhibition against charcoal use was held in July 1938.⁴⁷⁰ In this institution, forests were highlighted as large-scale economic resources, while the Museum of National Flora and Fauna would die a death of neglect in the early-1940s. The Technology Museum signaled the prevailing approach that the government

⁴⁷⁰ "QUEDO INSTALADO EL MUSEO TECNOLÓGICO DE LA AMÉRICA," El Universal, 14 April 1942, p. 7.

would take toward the environment in the future.⁴⁷¹ Yet it was the scale rather than the direction that was new. Findings from a 1930 report were to better utilize the woods, rather than stop charcoal production.⁴⁷² Boyer notes that the importance of economic recovery after the Revolution led to public discussion on growing the national economy in which forestry experts were active participants, "The more conservative technocrat scientists constantly focused on economic value and repeatedly assured the public that one day the profits from forestry would rival those of petroleum."⁴⁷³ The national fervor surrounding petroleum expropriation helped power the charcoal crusade by highlighting PEMEX fuels and equipment in the 1938 exhibition and in newspaper advertisements. International events around World War II helped Mexico move away from idealized conservation and into industrial exploitation.

Yet as late as 1965, articles published in México Forestal still struggled with charcoal-related concerns. An article by Ruben Marti discussed domestic and industrial uses and that "could provide work to thousands of *campesinos*" while producing a useful product made from leftovers, stumps, and sawdust.⁴⁷⁴ Although the implementation of technology begot a "gradual restriction" rather than crusade,

⁴⁷¹ Presaged in the creation of the Consejo Técnico Consultivo (El Universal 9, 14 April 1941), and war occasioned that of strategic and military resource (El Universal, 21 March 1942). Also: Boyer, 128-130; Simonian, 109.

⁴⁷² "Dictamen de la Comisión encargada de redactar las conclusiones relativas al aprovechamiento y preservación de los bosques de propiedad particular' del Primer Congreso Forestal," México Forestal, VIII, May 1930, p. 106.

⁴⁷³ Boyer, 109, footnote: 32 citing México Forestal, 1:1, p. 14. See also El Excelsior 20 February 1963.

⁴⁷⁴ México Forestal, 39, November 1965, p. 24.

charcoal usage continued for over two decades.⁴⁷⁵ Lane Simonian finds the failure of the government's attempt to ban charcoal in that "it did not offset the cost between cheap wood and expensive fossil fuels."⁴⁷⁶ Ultimately, the growth of the city and the modern methods implemented in developing new neighborhoods helped to shift rather than to stop the public's usage.⁴⁷⁷ Like the symbolic substitution of Chapultepec Forest for the formerly vast woods of the Basin of Mexico, the city's growth led to an unrealizable ideal of a modern Mexico.

⁴⁷⁵ "Proyecto de Reformas a la Ley Federal Forestal," El Universal, 3 December 1942, p. 14.

⁴⁷⁶ Lane Simonian, Defending the Land of the Jaguar: A History of Conservation in Mexico (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), 92.

⁴⁷⁷ Jorge H. Jiménez Muñoz, La Traza del Poder: Historia de la Política y los Negocios Urbanos en el Distrito Federal, de sus orígenes a la desaparición del Ayuntamiento (1824-1928) (México: Codex Editores, 1993), 222.

The metropolitan area of Mexico City grew to 15.5% of total population by 1960 from 10% in 1940. INEGI, Indicadores Sociodemográficos de México (1930-2000) (México: Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática, 2001), p. 34.

Chapter 5 Arbol de la Vida: Encouraging Citizen-Building in the Out-of-Doors

In an alarmist editorial published in 1941, influential Mexican intellectual Carlos González Peña decried the "neglect and barbarism" destroying Chapultepec. This disaster was, in his view, due to an "absence of education and of aesthetic sensibility," along with technical and administrative oversights. Though González Peña called for "education" he criticized severely the instructive events previously held and planned for in the Forest. These included "Mexican Nights" (*Noches Mexicanas*), sports, and picnicking. His conclusion did not list any type of education to improve the "*incuria y barbarie*," rather, severe rules with strict vigilance.⁴⁷⁸

Those who lacked the proper behavior were not the elite, but the masses (who were not afforded the proper aesthetic and cultural education), despite the efforts of the post-revolutionary government to educate the poor and the indigenous. Some of their methods—such as the "Mexican Nights" and sport—were meant to teach consumption rather than González Peña's desired refinement. As Mary Kay Vaughan notes, "[I]n modern society consumption is a potent force shaping identities and subjectivities. It generates social citizenship. It becomes a critical dimension of an

⁴⁷⁸Carlos González Peña, "Chapultepec y la Barbarie," *El Universal*, 3 July 1941, p. 3 [editorial page]. He did refer to "materia de educación" but with "education" used in the sense of "manners" rather than of "instruction." This is a good snapshot of the opposing camps of those who were supportive of progressive methods and those who were convinced that the masses were incapable of a more enlightened existence.

imagined national community and an arena for democratization."⁴⁷⁹ Due to his calls for strict almost violent vigilance, it is doubtful whether González Peña was much interested in democratization; nonetheless as Friedrich Schuler argues, Cárdenas and his technocrats would define, "the social label of the Mexican individual...by living standards and consumptive power."⁴⁸⁰

This chapter shows the diverse social actors that participated in outdoor activities. Behavior in Chapultepec was understood as tied to the nation. Writers, athletes, models, presidents, businesses, and nannies among others used Chapultepec physically as well as imaginatively, and this outdoor activity paved the way for the later built institutionalization of the Forest.

González Peña's appeal occurred toward the end of an era of increasingly active paradigms for citizen involvement with connections to health, nature, the environment and the outdoors. A partner to the "didactic citizenship" of museums, and similarly aimed at training and instructing, creating citizens through participatory outdoor activities was important to the post-revolutionary government's program of constructing a modern, stable Mexico. Outside of the city, activities such as camping were used for social cohesion and for understanding and appreciating nature.⁴⁸¹ Within the growing urban area, Chapultepec Forest was used as a symbolic stand-in for larger

⁴⁷⁹ Mary Kay Vaughan, "Transnational Processes and the Rise and Fall of the Mexican Cultural State: Notes from the Past" in Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico since 1940, eds. Gilbert M. Joseph, et al. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 477.

⁴⁸⁰ Friedrich Schuler, Mexico between Hitler and Roosevelt: Mexican foreign relations in the age of Lázaro Cárdenas, 1934-1940 (Albuquerque: U New Mexico P, 1998), 28-29.

⁴⁸¹ Emily Wakild, Revolutionary Parks: Conservation, Social Justice, and Mexico's National Parks, 1910-1940 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2011), 58.

parks. It was even briefly—and erroneously—included as a national park.⁴⁸²

Furthermore, President Lázaro Cárdenas through opening the *Castillo* to the public, encouraged all Mexicans to embrace Chapultepec Forest.

The association between the nation and a rural, agrarian-focused nature became emblematic after the Revolution in contrast to the elite ideal of a European, landscape-garden nature previously dominant in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁴⁸³ Additionally, in the post-revolutionary period, the ideological inclusion of indigenous peoples with nature was a “fundamental reference in attempts to define Mexicanness.”⁴⁸⁴ Through association with notable indigenous figures such as Chimalpopoca, both Moctezumas, Netzahualcoyotl, Cuauhtémoc and others, the rural and garden ideals were able to merge. These historical leaders' pursuits, exploits and beliefs, which included elaborate flora and fauna gardens and efforts to restrict access,

⁴⁸² Miguel Angel de Quevedo, "El Bosque de Chapultepec, Parque Nacional [sic], y los Propósitos del Departamento Forestal para su Conservación y Gobierno," *México Forestal*, Tomo XIII, January 1935, p. 6-9; *Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca*, Año I, no. 1, sept.-oct. 1935, pgs. 63-64, 94-95; *Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca*, Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 238.

⁴⁸³ Ricardo Pérez Montfort, *Estampas de Nacionalismo Popular Mexicano: ensayos sobre cultura popular y nacionalismo* (México: CIESAS, 1994); Enrique Florescano, "El patrimonio nacional. Valores, usos, estudio y difusión," in *El Patrimonio Nacional de México*, ed. Enrique Florescano (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes y Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1997); Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Nature, Empire, and Nation* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006), 132; Miguel Angel Fernández, "El Jardín de Limantour," *Arqueología Mexicana: Antiguos Jardines Mexicanos* 10, no. 57 (Sept-Oct 2002): 54-55; Lorenza Tovar de Teresa and Saúl Alcántara Onofre, "Los jardines en el siglo XX: el viejo bosque de Chapultepec," *Arqueología Mexicana: Antiguos Jardines Mexicanos* 10, no. 57 (Sept-Oct 2002): 56-61; Emily Wakild, "Naturalizing Modernity: Urban Parks, Public Gardens and Drainage Projects in Porfirian Mexico City," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 23, no. 1 (2007): 101-123.

⁴⁸⁴ Pérez Montfort, 166, 165. Rebecca Earle, *The Return of the Native: Indians and Myth-Making in Spanish America, 1810-1930* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 189. Alan Knight, Racism, Revolution, and *Indigenismo: Mexico, 1910-1940*, in *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1940*, ed. Richard Graham (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 81.

echoed that of modern-day elites.⁴⁸⁵ Chapultepec was one site in which outdoor, citizen-building activities could accommodate the divergent natural imaginaries.⁴⁸⁶

The relationship between Chapultepec and the nation was continually being refined. It was rapidly becoming one of the few large, public places available to residents of Mexico City for enjoyment of their free-time. Long a space claimed by the elite though used by all strata of society in differing ways, after the Revolution Chapultepec was officially made more inviting to more Mexicans. Leaders utilized the idea of cultural and physical education as a way to improve the masses.⁴⁸⁷ Recent presidents were not necessarily more benevolent than their predecessors: the state was becoming aware of the importance of green space for the ability to modernize Mexico.⁴⁸⁸ Furthermore, modern times, with attendant growth, urban migration and

⁴⁸⁵ Chapultepec's materiality reinforced long-term, pre-Hispanic associations. These included: an ancient aqueduct portions of which were still standing; millennial cypress trees; springs which had for centuries provided drinking water; representational glyphs—their partial destruction decried in an era of ascendant anthropology; caves with mythical uses; and remnants of the surroundings of the demolished *teocalli* (raised spiritual structure); among others. An instructive source for many of these pre-Hispanic objects is Suplemento de Diario de Campo, no. 36 (Oct/Dec 2005).

⁴⁸⁶ The rural can be seen in the presence of Charros and illegal hunting and gathering. The garden is more evident in the presence of structured gardens and activities associated with them: strolling, picnicking, contemplating.

⁴⁸⁷ Christopher R. Boyer, "Revolución y Paternalismo Ecológico: Miguel Ángel De Quevedo y la Política Forestal en México, 1926-1940" Historia Mexicana, 57 (2007): 107-108.

⁴⁸⁸ Alfonso Valenzuela Aguilera, "Green and Modern: Planning Mexico City, 1900-1940" in Greening the City: Urban Landscapes in the Twentieth Century, eds. Dorothee Brantz and Sonja Dümplemann (Charlottesville, V.A.: University of Virginia Press, 2011), 50-52. Valenzuela Aguilera attributes the remodeling of Chapultepec, as well as the increase in sports clubs to the influence of Arq. Carlos Contreras' 1933 Master Plan for Mexico City, and states, "It is widely acknowledged that the physical infrastructure played a crucial role in achieving the Mexican miracles of the steady growth period (1940s to 1970s)."

clock-regulated labor led to the populace desiring rural-like open and green spaces as an antidote to their daily life.⁴⁸⁹

Christopher Boyer and Emily Wakild have termed "social landscaping" the idea that the correct utilization of the environment would bring social reform.⁴⁹⁰ Their insightful analysis focuses on rural areas and peoples, at a time when the majority of Mexico's population still lived in the countryside. Yet concepts of imagining and using the environment simultaneously developed in the rapidly growing capital of the country. Chapultepec Forest, used as an open-air classroom, marketing vehicle, rural synecdoche, and fountain of heritage, was central to the activities linking the natural world to the nation, and the bureaucrats with whom this didacticism rested became increasingly influential.⁴⁹¹

Engineer Miguel Angel de Quevedo was employed by presidents from 1889 until 1940 and would play a crucial role in the changing usage of Chapultepec Forest. Quevedo believed in the need for mass education, but he also directly associated the natural world—especially trees—with the nation and its health. Furthermore, as early as 1922, Quevedo held Arbor Day festivities in Chapultepec directly connecting the

⁴⁸⁹ Julio Moreno, Yankee Don't Go Home: Mexican Nationalism, American Business Culture, and the Shaping of Modern Mexico, 1920-1950 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 215.

⁴⁹⁰ Christopher R. Boyer and Emily Wakild, "Social Landscaping in the Forests of Mexico: An Environmental Interpretation of Cardenismo, 1934-1940," Hispanic American Historical Review, 92, no 1 (2012): 74.

⁴⁹¹ Boyer and Wakild, "Social Landscaping...", 77. Friedrich Schuler wrote of this trend of "bureacratismo" and its importance to the Cárdenas presidency especially in foreign relations. Friedrich E. Schuler, Mexico between Hitler and Roosevelt, 5.

health of the flora with that of the nation.⁴⁹² As director of the Forestry Department during the Cárdenas administration, he would pursue a "program of culture."⁴⁹³ Though Quevedo never explicitly defined "culture," his usage—similar to that of González Peña—encompassed refinement, cultivation and education. His program of culture was intended to provide "popular education...and public enrichment."⁴⁹⁴ This cultural program would be centered in Chapultepec Forest, largely at the Museum of National Flora and Fauna which he created, and would consist of competitions for plant and animal enthusiasts, as well as didactic exhibitions. Furthermore, Quevedo explicitly used Chapultepec to teach "Protection of Nature" in which he envisioned all social classes caring for the Forest and preserving it through gathering therein and recreating.⁴⁹⁵

Connected to the natural world, Chapultepec was seen as a generative space. By focusing on life and health, Chapultepec was ripe for displays of gendered and mother-child metaphors in addition to the already-mentioned associations to the indigenous. Chapultepec symbolized well-being through recalling its monumental cypresses, crystalline air and abundant fresh-water springs. The springs had long since stopped providing water, the air was no longer crystalline, and the cypresses, though still standing, were overwhelmed by numerous other species—particularly the invasive

⁴⁹² Christopher R. Boyer, "Revolución y paternalismo ecológico: Miguel Angel de Quevedo y la política forestal en México, 1926-1940," *Historia Mexicana* 57 (2007): 93, and 110 (quoting Escudero, "La 'Fiesta del Árbol' en el Año de 1922", p. 19).

⁴⁹³ *Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca*, Año II, México, no. 6, Jan-March, 1937, p. 16-17.

⁴⁹⁴ *Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca*, Año II, México, no. 6, Jan-March, 1937, p. 16-17.

⁴⁹⁵ Miguel Angel de Quevedo, "El Bosque de Chapultepec, 9.

eucalyptus. As seen with the Health Ministry's new headquarters built next to Chapultepec which took advantage of "the modern belief of light and air to health,"⁴⁹⁶ as well as a maternity clinic built on land within the bounds of the forest and new upscale housing developments which utilized their proximity to Chapultepec in order to market the cypresses as "Guardians of your Health,"⁴⁹⁷ the cultural representations of nature were what mattered.

Though a putative beacon to health, and representing a modern conception of space—whereby the antiquated Spanish grid and *traza* layout of the downtown was superseded by a less monotonous experience that encouraged "self-actualization"⁴⁹⁸—Chapultepec suffered from many of the modern ills that it was supposed to cure. Traffic was becoming a nightmare (as seen in the several kilometer back up at the *Noche Mexicana* Rotary convention extravaganza).⁴⁹⁹ Automobiles were ubiquitous in photographs from the era.⁵⁰⁰ Parking, crime, littering, and immoral acts were common. This should not be surprising, since parks and woods do not exist apart from society. Yet at certain points in time, these uses were decried as unacceptable and effort and funds were expended to reestablish a more unspoiled version of nature, and in the case of Chapultepec, the nation.

⁴⁹⁶ Kathryn O'Rourke, "Building a Modern Nation: Mexico's State-sponsored Modern Architecture, 1925-1934." (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2008), 51.

⁴⁹⁷ *El Universal*, 29 Nov 1942, p. 16.

⁴⁹⁸ *Anales de la Secretaría de Comunicaciones y Obras Públicas* (México: Estudios Geográficos y Climatológicos, 1924), caption to photograph between pgs. 10 and 11; O'Rourke, "Building a Modern Nation..."328.

⁴⁹⁹ *Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca*, Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 233.

⁵⁰⁰ Salvador Novo notes driving to and through the forest, and the congestion. Salvador Novo, *Nueva Grandeza Mexicana: Ensayos sobre la Ciudad de México y sus Alrededores en 1946* 2nd ed. (México: Editorial Hermes, 1947). See also FOTOTECA NACIONAL, image # 2705.

CITIZEN INVOLVEMENT

Science, especially hygiene, was widely used after the Revolution to improve Mexican citizens.⁵⁰¹ The physical well-being of the citizens was directly linked to the strength of the nation. This was the era of eugenics, hygiene, and social improvement under progressivism; and the outdoor space necessary for not only physical wellness but improvement became a national priority.⁵⁰² Gardens, especially those with open space and children's areas, were a part of this moral physical education.⁵⁰³ At the same time, influential, upper-class Mexicans appreciated gardens as well. This affinity was a marker of a certain segment of society, as well as becoming a commodity for class-conscious Mexicans. The elite in power saw the appreciation of nature as a desirable trait for all Mexicans.⁵⁰⁴

Reforestation, park creation, and tax breaks for owners of wooded property were all characteristic of this time.⁵⁰⁵ In a massive reforestation effort from 1935-1938, 2.5 million trees were planted in parks, open areas, hillsides and other property around Mexico City.⁵⁰⁶ Chapultepec received much of the activity during this campaign.⁵⁰⁷ The

⁵⁰¹ Boyer, "Revolución y Paternalismo Ecológico..." 108, citing Catherine Bliss "The Science of Redemption: Syphilis, Sexual Promiscuity, and Reformism in Revolutionary Mexico City," The Hispanic American Historical Review, 79:1 (feb. 1999): 1-40.

⁵⁰² The importance of hygiene can be seen in the creation of the National Museum of Hygiene. "SE INSTALARA UN MUSEO NACIONAL DE HIGIENE," El Universal, 15 April 1941, p. 5.

⁵⁰³ "Mejoramiento de los Parques y Jardines," El Universal, 1 October 1941, second section, p. 6,

⁵⁰⁴ This can be seen in the actions of Quevedo, Luis Montes de Oca, and many others. Centro de Estudios de Historia de México CONDUMEX, Fondo CMLXXV (975), Legajos 1/56, carpeta 487/493, documento 43198.

⁵⁰⁵ On tax breaks, see México Forestal 15 (June-August 1936): 52; El Excélsior, 23 August 1938, p. 6; El Universal, 3 December 1942, p. 14.

⁵⁰⁶ El Excélsior, 19 July 1938, front page and p. 15.

⁵⁰⁷ El Excélsior, 14 May 1938, second section, p. 5.

population was updated on the progress through newspapers, and through periodic, symbolic events and workdays often scheduled to coincide with Arbor Day. Once areas were reforested, school groups took responsibility for caring for the recently planted saplings.⁵⁰⁸ Though celebrated, these efforts were not enough. In 1941 federal soldiers placed 825,000 saplings, whose planting was deemed critical because of the overwhelming deforestation, in the hills surrounding the capital city; and in 1942 reforestation efforts satisfied the need for both "contemplation" and "strategic refuge" against aerial attack.⁵⁰⁹

A struggle developed around the need for natural space and its role in the betterment of society versus the actual protection of these areas and their proper use. The removal of trees to create sunny, recreational open areas, as well as their destruction for construction of the Museum of National Flora and Fauna buildings conflicted with their value as important ecological actors.⁵¹⁰ And the public perceived this contradiction. While expending great effort at reforestation, the government justified the destruction of trees for the "great cultural benefit all social classes have received" and for a healthy populace.⁵¹¹ Meanwhile, concerned citizens complained about political favoritism, unnecessary logging, and illegal economic gain.⁵¹²

⁵⁰⁸ El Excelsior, 8 March 1938, p. 8.

⁵⁰⁹ El Universal, 17 May 1941, front page; El Universal, 22 May 1941, p. 4; El Universal, 22 June 1941, p. 11; El Universal, 26 January 1942, p. 5; El Universal 21 March 1942, front page and p. 15.

⁵¹⁰ El Excelsior, 24 August 1938, second section, p. 6; A.G.N., Presidentes, LCR, 140bis, 141.1/1, 20 dic 1937.

⁵¹¹ A.G.N., Presidentes, LCR, 140bis, 141.1/1, 20 dic 1937.

⁵¹² A.G.N., Presidentes, LCR, 140bis, 141.1/1, 16 ago 1937; A.G.N., Presidentes, LCR, 140bis, 141.1/1, 18 nov 1937.

Carlos González Peña was distressed not by the felling of trees, but by how the majority of Mexicans utilized the forest.⁵¹³ Rather than strolling, contemplating or meditating—all refined, solitary actions—his compatriots played sports which damaged the forest, picnicked with the expected and unsanitary post-lunch "outpourings," and generally misused trees and trampled the undergrowth.⁵¹⁴ González Peña's ideals for citizen usage were more aligned with such projects as the *Fuente Quixote*, an earlier improvement to Chapultepec. A sculptural grouping with a fountain, pictorial tiles recounting the story of Don Quixote, and bookshelves holding books, the *Fuente Quixote's* outdoor location was important as it was seen to encourage individual intellectual development, contemplation and refreshment.⁵¹⁵

That González Peña was not supportive of the custom of picnics is instructive. The habit had developed in Porfirian times both with Romanticist tendencies as well as a response to the improvements to Chapultepec.⁵¹⁶ Because of the need for leisure time, picnicking was an upper-class practice. Many elite traditions, particularly those associated with the Porfiriato were encouraged to become (or at least appear) accessible to the majority of Mexicans in the post-revolutionary years. Furthermore

⁵¹³ In the 1942 Forestry Law, forests (in forest reserves) were to have an average of 40 trees per hectare. "Ley Forestal de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, Diario Oficial, 17 March 1943, p. 2.

⁵¹⁴ Carlos González Peña, "Chapultepec y la Barbarie," 3.

⁵¹⁵ "Don Quixote in Montezuma's Forest," New York Times, 29 November 1925, p. SM20. The work was a delayed donation for the Centennial of the Consummation of Independence by the Mexican ambassador to Spain upon his return. The fountain would later become the object of vandalism and ridicule. Once, employees of the Forest absconded with Sancho Panza and led authorities on a wild search. "Ayer Apareció Sancho Panza en Chapultepec," El Excélsior, 27 July 1939, second section, front page.

⁵¹⁶ Manuel Larrosa, "La ciudad de México, ensayo sicológico," Artes de México, no. 58/59 (1964): 15-20. Ana Lidia Domínguez Ruiz and Eduardo Rodríguez Flores, "Chapultepec en la actualidad: cambio y persistencia de la practicas de un parque público," Diario de Campo, El Bosque de Chapultepec: un manantial de historia (supplement) no. 36, October/December, (2005): 169-170.

picnicking developed into a practice tied to anti-modern sentiment. Nevertheless, Manuel Larrosa notes, it too became "mechanistic" in its "weekly rhythm" of picnicking on Sundays.⁵¹⁷ By the 1940s, Salvador Novo observed that "the poorest families will find the shade of an ash tree under which to set up their divine banquet of sandwiches."⁵¹⁸

Though the importance of green space was largely agreed upon, its expense was not. Part of the active engagement of the citizenry became their advocacy over parks and how they were funded, maintained, and utilized. As park users began noticing lack of improvements corresponding to the budget, they complained. Many of their concerns were published in newspapers. However, considering the social status required to purchase and read the paper, write a response and be published, opinions from diverse social class were not widely represented.⁵¹⁹ Perhaps on the defensive, Quevedo lobbied chambers-of-commerce and rotary clubs for their support of increased resources for forestry.⁵²⁰

In the late 1930s, the Federal District government was dedicating large sums to the beautification of parks and gardens. In spite of these amounts (1,678,079.57 pesos in the 1938-1939 budget year with similar amounts for the following year), citizens

⁵¹⁷ Larrosa, "La ciudad de México, ensayo psicológico," 15-20.

⁵¹⁸ Novo, Nueva Grandeza Mexicana, 176-177.

⁵¹⁹ José Luis Ortiz Garza reports the literacy rate at 50% and that "Mexico's mass media reached at best fifteen percent of the population [in the early 1940s] and was heavily concentrated in a few metropolitan areas." José Luis Ortiz Garza, "Fighting for the Soul of the Mexican Press: Axis and Allied Activities during the Second World War," in ¡Américas unidas!: Nelson A. Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs (1940-46), eds. Gisela Cramer and Ursula Prutsch (Madrid: Iberoamericana/Vervuert, 2012), 182, 203.

⁵²⁰ "JIRA DEL JEFE DEL FORESTAL," El Excelsior 16 July 1939, p. 13.

noted the poor condition of the public spaces.⁵²¹ Emblematic areas such as Alameda and Chapultepec were most often held up as examples of funds not going toward their intended purpose.⁵²² Numerous citizens complained to daily newspapers hoping not only to draw attention to the problem but to coerce officials into fixing the "impassable mud hole" or "pasture."⁵²³ In El Excélsior, Rafael García Granados linked the lack of maintenance of parks and gardens to a larger concern of "teaching workers to show the fruits of taxpayer's expenditures."⁵²⁴

In addition to concern over maintenance and expenditures, citizens provided numerous suggestions for improving Chapultepec for the benefit of the nation.⁵²⁵ Gonzalo Lozano M. wrote to President Cárdenas suggesting improvements to Chapultepec. He utilized language recognizing the "cultural, touristic and social" importance of Chapultepec that, he thought, had been overlooked.⁵²⁶ Handwriting on a related memo (most likely that of Cárdenas or his secretary José Hernández Delgado) reiterates the key word "cultural," the very same which Miguel Angel de Quevedo began to advance at the Forestry Department in plans for the Museum of National Flora and

⁵²¹ "Fuerte Erogación para los Parques," El Excélsior, 11 October 1939, second section, p. 6.

"Embellecimiento de Jardines y Parques," El Excélsior, 17 September 1939, p. 10.

⁵²² "Embellecimiento de Jardines y Parques," El Excélsior, 17 September 1939, p. 10. Rafael García Granados, "El Abandono de Nuestros Jardines..." El Excélsior, 18 November 1940, p. 4.

⁵²³ "Embellecimiento de Jardines y Parques," El Excélsior, 17 September 1939, p. 10. Rafael García Granados, "El Abandono de Nuestros Jardines..." El Excélsior, 18 November 1940, p. 4.

⁵²⁴ Rafael García Granados, "El Abandono de Nuestros Jardines..." El Excélsior, 18 November 1940, p. 4.

⁵²⁵ A.G.N., Presidentes, LCR, 140bis, 141/2, fs. 6, 15 feb 1935; AGN, Presidentes, M.A.C., 562.4/107, fs. 2; 21 agosto 1941; A.G.N., Presidentes, M.A.C., 418.711, fs. 7, 8 marzo 1942; A.G.N., Presidentes, M.A.C., 418.5/35, fs. 2, 10 oct 1945; A.G.N., Presidentes, M.A.C., 534/230, fs. 2, 17 enero 1946;

⁵²⁶ A.G.N., Presidentes, LCR, 140bis, 141/2, fs. 6, 15 feb 1935.

Fauna.⁵²⁷ As Chapultepec was a recognized symbol of Mexico, initiatives used a logic relating improvements to Chapultepec to the citizenry and the nation.⁵²⁸

PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT

In the 1930s, President Cárdenas was committed to encouraging physical activity and sport. Sports clubs had been started by wealthy non-Mexican residents, but the government, by combining concern for hygiene and health with post-revolutionary social ideals, began building resources for all citizens. By the end of the 1920s, sports-related clubs and facilities were numerous, along with a developing message that participation would not be limited to the privileged.⁵²⁹ Additionally, the popular effects of sport were promoted shortly after Mexico began to compete internationally in the 1920s as a means to showcase the progress of the Revolution, and, as Joseph Arbena argues, to gain acceptance and investment from the international community.⁵³⁰

The connection among sport, individual and national improvement was seen in "The Progress of Our Homeland is Intimately Tied to Progress in Physical Education," the inaugural radio program in 1938 for the national radio series "Homage to the Athlete." According to the press materials, the campaign aimed to popularize sport: "We hope for a great number of sportsmen, a great number of men who, conscious of their

⁵²⁷ , Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca , Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 239.

⁵²⁸ Miguel Angel de Quevedo, "El Bosque de Chapultepec..." 8.

⁵²⁹ Patrice Elizabeth Olsen, Artifacts of Revolution: Architecture, Society, and Politics in Mexico City, 1920-1940 (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2008), 52.

⁵³⁰ Joseph L. Arbena, "Sport, Development and Mexican Nationalism, 1920-1970," Journal of Sport History 18 no. 3 (winter 1991):354, 361. For further discussion on the history of Mexican sports, see Joseph L. Arbena, "The Later Evolution of Modern Sport in Latin America: The North American Influence," in Sport in Latin American Society: past and present, eds. J.A. Mangan and Lamartine P. DaCosta (Portland, OR: Frank Cass Publishers, 2002); and Richard McGehee, "Sports and Recreational Activities in Guatemala and Mexico, late 1800s to 1926," Studies in Latin American Popular Culture, vol. 13 (1994).

responsibilities to society, will strengthen their body...a homeland constituted of healthy men, disciplined and clear of vice..."⁵³¹ With gendered conceptions of men as vigorous providers not only to their own families but to the nation, improvement was heavily dependent upon alternatives to drinking, gambling and crime, which the Cárdenas administration was tackling with modified prohibition campaigns.⁵³² The "Homage to the Athlete" program was hosted by General Tirso Hernández, director of the recently created Autonomous Department of Physical Education whose involvement exemplified the close connection between sport and the military, of particular concern in the later 1930s with world events unfolding in Europe. Cooperative and disciplined sport would ready male citizens for military service and allow them to perform at a level comparable to other nations.⁵³³

Chapultepec Forest was a central site for Cárdenas' physical education initiatives. Cárdenas created the Autonomous Department of Physical Education in 1935 and decreed in 1937 that financial institutions should play a leading role in developing their employees' physical culture (earlier he had publically acknowledged the role played by

⁵³¹ "El Progreso de Nuestra Patria Está Íntimamente Ligado al Progreso de la Educación Física," El Excelsior, 22 July 1938, pg. 11. This was partially sponsored by a Mexican subsidiary of a U.S. company, Fabricantes de los Medicamentos '666' [Monticello Drug Company]. This type of sponsorship would increase in subsequent years as well as become more transparent. See below regarding soapbox derbies.

⁵³² Olsen, Artifacts of Revolution, 185. On prohibition, see Gretchen Pierce, "Parades, Epistles and Prohibitive Legislation: Mexico's National Anti-alcohol Campaign and the Process of State Building, 1934-1940," The Social History of Alcohol and Drugs 23, no. 2 (2009): 151-180. On the international perception of the campaign, see Amelia Kiddle, "*Cabaretistas* and *Indias Bonitas*: Gender and Representations of Mexico in the Americas during the Cárdenas Era," Journal of Latin American Studies 42 (2010): 263-291.

⁵³³ Arben, "Sport, Development and Mexican Nationalism...", 356. Realización del Plan Sexenal, 1935-1936 (México: Secretaría Particular de la Presidencia de la República, Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1936), 76-77.

the private sector in the development of sport).⁵³⁴ The former resulted in an exponential growth of sports activities and competitions—especially held in Chapultepec Forest—and the latter led to the Mexican Central Bank buying the renowned Reforma Athletic Club at the entrance to Chapultepec and converting it into the *Centro Deportivo Chapultepec*.⁵³⁵ Cárdenas lived in Chapultepec and added numerous exercise facilities to the area around *Los Pinos*. These were located particularly around the Aquiles Serdán, a public school created by the Cardenases for the children of poor laborers and campesinos. The Cárdenases wanted to influence the upbringing of their own child, Cuauhtémoc, in addition to providing a year-long opportunity for disadvantaged children. Here students would also learn sport, as Cárdenas (largely through his departmental directors) relocated all children's play equipment nearby and built a new skating rink.⁵³⁶

Because of Chapultepec's facilities, including a skating rink, bicycle and running paths, and areas for swimming, sport drew visitors. Naturalized citizen Hans Jacobi

⁵³⁴ Realización del Plan Sexenal, 1935-1936 (México: Secretaría Particular de la Presidencia de la República, Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1936), 76-77; www.cdch.com.mx; and Centro Nacional de Información y Documentación de Cultura Física y Deporte, Escuela Nacional de Entrenadores Deportivos, "Historia del Tenis Mexicano y su Estructura," in Manual para Entrenador de Tenis, at http://ened.conade.gob.mx/documentos/ened/sicced/tenis/practica/capitulo_1.pdf.

Realización del Plan Sexenal, 1935-1936 (México: Secretaría Particular de la Presidencia de la República, Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1936), 76-77.

⁵³⁵ The Club Deportivo Chapultepec was an intermediary use of the property from the transformation of Reforma Athletic Club to Centro Deportivo Chapultepec. Reforma relocated in 1927, and Banco de Mexico purchased the Club Deportivo Chapultepec property in 1939, with an inauguration in 1940. I have found mention of a prior Club Olímpico, but have not yet been able to document its history. See www.cdch.com.mx; Centro Deportivo Chapultepec. Recuerdo de la Inauguración de Nuevos Edificios (México: Centro Deportivo Chapultepec, 1950); Atlas General del DDF, 1929, p. 249; New York Times, 14 October 1929, p. 31; New York Times, 23 March 1931, p. 29; and "Inauguración en el Centro Deportivo Chapultepec," El Excélsior, 27 February 1939, second section, p. 2.

⁵³⁶ Romero Flores, *Chapultepec en la Historia...*, p. 77.

petitioned President Cárdenas for the "privilege" to continue instructing the nation in its physical and moral improvement, as swimming instructor at Chapultepec.⁵³⁷ Sporting competitions increased in number and by 1938-1939 a total of thirty-eight separate, large-scale public sporting competitions were held in Chapultepec.⁵³⁸

Though the support for sport and its identification with Chapultepec continued beyond the Cárdenas presidency, its focus became more elite. President Manuel Avila Camacho started a private athletic club, *Club Los Pinos*, based at the sports facilities of the presidential grounds.⁵³⁹ Further construction of facilities in the early 1940s focused on, as in the early part of the century, transnational corporate connections and more exclusive sports such as golf and polo. In 1941, a General Motors-sponsored soapbox derby was held in Chapultepec. It drew 50 children competitors, over 8,000 spectators, and was broadcast over the radio. The winner advanced to the finals in Akron, Ohio.⁵⁴⁰ The opening of the Azteca Golf Club in the summer of 1942 on Chapultepec grounds was accompanied by a flurry of articles and photographs attesting to the public interest in and social connections behind the new club.⁵⁴¹ Ironically it was located on the same site as the former Reforma Athletic Club's golf course, closed down by city authorities in

⁵³⁷ AGN, Presidentes, L.C.R., 678, 532/1, fs. 2, 18 dic 1934.

⁵³⁸ Departamento del Distrito Federal, Memoria del Departamento del Distrito Federal: del 1o de Septiembre de 1938 al 31 de Agosto de 1939 (México: Talleres Gráficos de la Penitenciaría, 1939), 252-254.

⁵³⁹ Francisco Muñoz Altea and Magdalena Escobosa Hass de Rangel, La Historia de la Residencia Oficial de Los Pinos. México: Fondo de la Cultura Económica, 1988, p. 153.

⁵⁴⁰ El Universal, 4 August 1941, second section, front page, 8.

⁵⁴¹ El Universal, 24 June 1942, second section, p. 2; El Universal, 5 August 1942, second section, p. 4; also El Universal, July 9, 17, 28, 1942.

1913 for "occupying vast areas... as well as the danger posed to Forest visitors being hit by balls."⁵⁴²

Well-known for his love of horses and his affection for the sport of polo, President Avila Camacho facilitated the construction of the Metropolitan Association of Charros' ring within Chapultepec Forest.⁵⁴³ He also declared a portion of the military polo grounds, *Campo Marte* a national sports park (*Parque Nacional Deportivo Anáhuac*).⁵⁴⁴ Ostensibly so that all sectors of society would have access, more than likely this declaration was a reaction to a scandal whereby *Campo Marte* was walled off from being accessible to public visitors of the Forest. Editorials objected to the taking of public land as well as the large-scale destruction of trees.⁵⁴⁵ The intent to level the access to sport from Obregón's time expanded under Cárdenas yet became more socio-economically stratified again by the mid 1940s. Chapultepec Forest would continue as a focal point not only for sport but its accompanying social divisions in the shaping of the national citizenry.

CIVIC GATHERINGS

Like sports, civic gatherings were a method of inculcating healthy, nationalistic behaviors. Some of the activities were specifically directed at teaching hygienic

⁵⁴² AHDF, Gobernación, Obras Públicas, Junta Superior del Bosque de Chapultepec, vol. 1241, exp. 13, 11 de Septiembre 1913, 1pg.

⁵⁴³ "Detalle de la Ceremonia de Colocación de la Primera Piedra del Rancho del Charro, de la Asociación Metropolitana en Terrenos de Chapultepec," *El Universal*, 2 July 1942, second section, 4. Salvador Novo refers to him as "el polojugador." Salvador Novo, *La vida en México en el periodo presidencial de Lázaro Cárdenas* (México: Empresas Editoriales, 1964), 702.

⁵⁴⁴ *El Universal*, 5 September 1941, p. 12; Reforma-Polanco advertisement, *El Universal* 12 April 1942, p. 16.

⁵⁴⁵ Carlos González Peña, "Una Dentellada a Chapultepec," *El Universal*, 4 December 1941, p. 3.

behavior, while others celebrated connections among health, nature and nation. The 1940 National Sanitary Day was a popular celebration coinciding with the end of the Third Annual National Week of Hygiene. Chapultepec was the site for the closing "allusive program" that metaphorically honored activities from throughout the country.⁵⁴⁶

Militaristic events or those celebrating defense of the nation were often held in Chapultepec. In the 1930s such events relived the social change and sacrifice of the Revolution, such as a banquet honoring over one thousand revolutionaries.⁵⁴⁷ In the early 1940s, the focus of events shifted, largely because of World War II, to defending the nation.⁵⁴⁸ All ceremonies, even the Revolutionary banquet, focused on young people.

Civic gatherings included celebrations of spring and nature. Arbor Day had been celebrated in Mexico prior to the Revolution, and was resumed in 1922 in a program at Chapultepec evoking the Cadet Heroes. In the 1930s and 1940s Arbor Day activities in Chapultepec followed a similar script of refined lyricism, and editorials declared the ability of the celebration to "notably contribute to general refinement of not only children but everyone."⁵⁴⁹ While Quevedo was leading the celebration as director of the

⁵⁴⁶ "Día de Saneamiento en Toda la Nación," El Excélsior, 17 November 1940, p. 8.

⁵⁴⁷ "Un Banquete Monumental," El Excélsior, 22 November 1938, p. 3.

⁵⁴⁸ "En la Tribuna Monumental de Chapultepec, se Celebró Ayer una Ceremonia en la Que Juraron la Bandera los Nuevos Miembros del Pentathlon [Sic] Universitario," El Universal, 2 February 1942, second section, front page. "Hoy por la Mañana se Efectuará un Festival Cívico en Chapultepec," El Universal, 27 December 1942, second section, p. 14.

⁵⁴⁹ "HACENSSE APRESTOS PARA CELEBRAR ESTE AÑO EN TODO MÉXICO EL DIA DEL ÁRBOL," El Excélsior, 30 January 1938, p. 11.

Mexican Forestry Society and later as head of the Forestry Department, the event consisted of poetry, dance, classical music, speeches and dignitaries planting saplings. By 1940 when Quevedo was no longer the head of Forestry, the Department of Agriculture coordinated the event, which became less elaborate yet still "typical," "lyrical" and "formal," with children's choral groups, ballet, speeches by government secretaries, and planting of symbolic saplings.⁵⁵⁰ Observers complained about the approach, calling it "lacking in follow-through" and "transitory."⁵⁵¹ Editorialists voiced serious concern about the young plantings being destroyed by other "corny" events regularly held at Chapultepec.⁵⁵² By 1942 the celebration of Arbor Day was written into the new Forestry Law, which specified annual spring "public acts of forestry propaganda" focusing on "benefits that derive from tree conservation and propagation."⁵⁵³

Carnival, like Arbor Day previously celebrated and then abandoned, was officially "resuscitated" by the Federal District in 1939 in part to encourage tourism. In 1942, the government Social Action Department held one of many "Spring Fiestas." It was promoted as "sporting" and "popular" thereby combining multiple governmental goals into one event.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵⁰ "Agricultura Da Hoy una Fiesta Típica," El Excélsior, 15 March 1940, second section, p. 5. El Universal, 17 March 1941, p. 10; El Universal, 15 March 1942, p. 12. "Typical" rather than meaning typically Mexican (regional archetypes such as the *charro* and the *china poblana*), likely meant consistent with previous celebrations.

⁵⁵¹"Fiesta y Funerales del Árbol," El Universal, 8 March 1941, p. 3.

⁵⁵²"Mañana por la Mañana Será la Fiesta del Árbol en Chapultepec," El Universal, 13 March 1942, p. 5.

⁵⁵³ "Ley Forestal de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos," Diario Oficial, 17 March 1943, p. 2.

⁵⁵⁴"Festival Popular en el Bosque el Domingo," El Universal, 29 May 1942, p. 11.

Citizen organizations assumed the task to educate the public on the value and proper use of natural spaces with the concomitant connection to the nation. Examples were the long-standing Mexican Forestry Society (*Sociedad Forestal*), and its alternative for women, *Amigas del Arbol y de la Flor*, and the Department of Forestry's *Sociedades de Amigos del Árbol* for youth, among others.⁵⁵⁵ The committees related to the Forestry Department collaborated with the Education Secretariat to organize secondary students throughout Mexico, as youth were of overwhelming importance to education-centered, citizen-building programs.⁵⁵⁶

ADVERTISING THROUGH CULTURAL SPECTACLE

Events sponsored by a company often to market a particular product were not that distinct from other civic events in Chapultepec. Often with similar content of music and speeches given by government functionaries and located in similar sites within the Forest, these marketing spectacles or "collective promotional activities" were part of what Julio Moreno describes as an "effort to legitimize advertising during the 1930s."⁵⁵⁷ Though printed publicity meant to promote consumption of certain products was used as early as 1874, events such as those in Chapultepec were able to multiply their

⁵⁵⁵ El Excélsior, 9 March 1938, p. 8; El Excélsior, 16 October 1938, second section, p. 7; El Excélsior, 20 November 1938, second section, p.7.

⁵⁵⁶ El Excélsior, 9 October 1938, p. 13.

⁵⁵⁷ Julio Moreno, 27.

exposure through advertisements for the event, news coverage of the event, and those who attended (and told others).⁵⁵⁸

The promoted products were almost exclusively cigarettes and beer. The El Aguila Cigarette Company offered annual series of concerts, which in 1941 was to benefit the Red Cross.⁵⁵⁹ Its competitor, the Buen Tono Cigarette Company, had been utilizing spectacular promotional events such as free movie showings and airplane flybys since the early part of the century as a tool to compete with other cigarette manufacturers, and by 1923 they had even created their own radio station, *XEB*.⁵⁶⁰ Surprisingly for some events in Chapultepec, such as the "Poor Child's Christmas," Buen Tono would transmit the event or lend an M.C. even though El Aguila was also involved.⁵⁶¹

Promotional concerts inspired other events in Chapultepec such as a series of fashion shows celebrating Cuauhtémoc Brewery's fiftieth anniversary.⁵⁶² Held on two consecutive April Sundays in 1940, the series was interesting for numerous reasons: the public celebration of beer during a time of recent anti-alcohol efforts, the glorification of

⁵⁵⁸ Julieta Ortiz Gaitán, "Mandatos seductores: publicidad y consumo como símbolo de modernidad en la ciudad de México (1900-1930)" in *Miradas Recurrentes: la ciudad de México en los siglos XIX y XX*, ed. María del Carmen Collado (México: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, 2004), 86.

⁵⁵⁹ "Los Conciertos de 'Embajadores' en Chapultepec, que Patrocinará la Cruz Roja Mexicana," *El Universal*, 21 February 1941, second section, p. 8. Though specific numbers were not given, an "abundant audience" was present at the final concert, where the famous and infamous Elias Breeskin conducted. "EL CONCIERTO QUE SE CELEBRO EN EL BOSQUE," *El Universal*, 17 March 1941, p. 11.

⁵⁶⁰ Thelma Camacho Morfín and Hugo Pichardo Hernández, "La Cigarrera 'El Buen Tono' (1889-1929)" in *Poder público y poder privado: gobierno, empresarios y empresas, 1880-1980*, eds. María Eugenia Romero, José Mario Contreras Valdez, Jesús Méndez Reyes (México: UNAM Facultad de Economía, 2006), 91, 104.

⁵⁶¹ "EL MAGNO FESTIVAL DEL DOMINGO PROXIMO," *El Universal*, 7 November 1941, second section, front page.

⁵⁶² "CHAPULTEPEC SERA EL MARCO PARA EL DESFILE DE TRAJES," *El Excélsior*, 17 March 1940, front page.

the Porfirian years during the Cárdenas presidency, the exceptional amount of publicity expended on the event, and perhaps most fascinating, the representation of tradition and modernity through a comparison of Mexican and foreign gender roles with the incorporation of pedigreed dogs as modern fashion instruments.

In terms of a public event glorifying beer during an anti-alcohol campaign, the Cuauhtémoc celebration was held toward the end of the Cárdenas presidency, and as Gretchen Pierce notes, although candidate Manuel Avila Camacho campaigned to continue the anti-alcohol campaign, it was under his presidency that the campaign came to an end.⁵⁶³ Perhaps the Cuauhtémoc Brewery was anticipating a shift in policy and therefore consolidating market share; however they packaged the event to be a celebration about the founding of the brewery (1880) and thus focused on national history in a civic gathering place rather than beer per se. It is this shift that most likely allowed first lady Amalia Solórzano de Cárdenas to be present at the final festival event.⁵⁶⁴

The glorification of Porfirato-era lifestyles is also curious, though as Alan Knight points out, "a new nostalgia for the Porfiriato, evident in the cinemas' loving evocation of rancho life" was evidenced by the films of the later named Golden Age of Mexican cinema (mid 1930s-1950s).⁵⁶⁵ It might be argued that some of this nostalgia was due to anti-modern sentiment, particularly with the 1940s being the decade of amplified rural-

⁵⁶³ Pierce, 165-166.

⁵⁶⁴ "EN EL SUNTUOSO DESFILE DE TRAJES EFECTUADO EN CHAPULTEPEC," El Excelsior, 15 April 1940, second section, p. 3.

⁵⁶⁵ Alan Knight, "The Rise and Fall of Cardenismo, c. 1930-c.1946" in Mexico since Independence, ed. Leslie Bethell (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 293.

to-urban migration rather than a longing for the Díaz years. Nevertheless, well-over one-hundred thousand Mexicans attended events focusing on the years 1890-1909 billed as "the most beautiful of Mexico's past."⁵⁶⁶

The amount of publicity generated by the Cuauhtémoc celebration is notable with ten articles—largely front page— and five multiple-page advertisements over four weeks.⁵⁶⁷ Not solely the event, but the personalities involved (such as singer Emilio Tuero) and in attendance (the First Lady) were also of interest and may have created heightened press coverage.⁵⁶⁸ The majority of articles about the celebration occurred once the U.S. burlesque dancer Sally Rand and her troupe agreed to model "ultramodern" 1940s' fashions for the second event. As excitement built for the second and final Sunday, organizers added incentives to tempt potential audience members: the "modern" dancers would bring their "remarkable collection of pure-blood dogs" and arrive in 1940 Hudson automobiles.⁵⁶⁹ As seen in figure 5-1, an advertisement

⁵⁶⁶ "EN EL Suntuoso desfile de Trajes Efectuado en Chapultepec," El Excélsior, 15 April 1940, second section, p. 3.

⁵⁶⁷ This is only in the daily El Excélsior and was likely amplified by coverage and advertisements in other papers. "CHAPULTEPEC SERA EL MARCO PARA EL DESFILE DE TRAJES," El Excélsior 17 March 1940, front page; "NUEVA FIESTA EN EL BOSQUE," El Excélsior 29 March 1940, front page; Advertisement El Excélsior 4 April 1940, p. 7; "LA GRAN FIESTA DEL DOMINGO ENTRANTE," El Excélsior 5 April 1940, front page; Advertisement El Excélsior 6 April 1940, p. 6-7; "LLEGUE USTED A BUENA HORA," El Excélsior 7 April 1940, front page; "FUE MAGNIFICA LA FIESTA DE ANTANO, EFECTUADA EN CHAPULTEPEC," El Excélsior 8 April 1940, second section, p. 2; "SALLY RAND TOMARA PARTE EN LA FIESTA DE LA CUAUHEMOC," El Excélsior 10 April 1940, front page; Advertisement, El Excélsior 11 April 1940, p. 7; Advertisement, El Excélsior 12 April 1940, p. 7; "DESFILE DE CONCURSANTES EN CHAPULTEPEC, PASADO MAÑANA," El Excélsior 12 April 1940, front page; "CINCUENTA Y SIETE PERMIOS PARA LAS VENCEDORAS EN EL CONCURSO DE LA CUAUHTÉMOC," El Excélsior 13 April 1940, front page; Advertisement, El Excélsior 13 April 1940, p. 8-9; "SALLY RAND Y SUS BELLEZAS DESFILARON POR LA CAPITAL," El Excélsior 14 April 1940, front page; "EN EL Suntuoso desfile de Trajes Efectuado en Chapultepec," El Excélsior 15 April 1940, second section, p. 3.

⁵⁶⁸ "LA GRAN FIESTA DEL DOMINGO ENTRANTE," El Excélsior, 5 April 1940, front page.

⁵⁶⁹ Advertisement, El Excélsior 11 April 1940, p. 7; Advertisement, El Excélsior 12 April 1940, p. 7.

encouraged the public to come and "Admire the beautiful girls! Admire the handsome autos!"⁵⁷⁰

VIERNES 12 DE ABRIL DE 1940 EXCELSIOR PAGINA SIETE

La CERVECERIA CUAUHEMOC escogió a HUDSON como el modelo supremo de automóviles 1940



En su gran festival del próximo domingo 14 de abril desfilarán los modernísimos coches Hudson, luciendo en ellos las bellas triunfadoras del concurso de trajes de época, del domingo pasado y las deslumbrantes muchachas con modas ultra-modernas de 1940!

No falte usted con su familia al Bosque de Chapultepec el próximo domingo. Admire a las bellas muchachas! ¡Admire los hermosos y bellos coches Hudson 1940, únicos en su clase!

Los dueños de otros coches de precio popular están cambiando a HUDSON

ES MAS POTENTE QUE CUALQUIER OTRO COCHE EN SU CLASE
En medio del tráfico en la carretera o en ciudad la más exigente, el motor de 4 cilindros (con potencia de 40 caballos) ofrece a sus propietarios el máximo de fuerza.

ES MAS ECONOMICO QUE CUALQUIER OTRO COCHE EN SU CLASE
En una escala de 1000 millas al galón de combustible, el nuevo HUDSON 1940 le garantiza costo al menor precio.

ES MAS SEGURO QUE CUALQUIER OTRO COCHE EN SU CLASE
La patente del nuevo motor, 4 cilindros, 4 válvulas, (hasta regular) construido por un ingeniero de HUDSON.

ES MAS SILENCIOSO QUE CUALQUIER OTRO COCHE EN SU CLASE
Patente de nuevo motor, 4 cilindros, 4 válvulas, (hasta regular) construido por un ingeniero de HUDSON.

HA DEMOSTRADO MAS RESISTENCIA QUE CUALQUIER OTRO COCHE EN SU CLASE
30,000 millas en el día, en una prueba de resistencia, el nuevo HUDSON 1940 ha demostrado que construido por un ingeniero de HUDSON.

AUTO DISTRIBUIDORA MEXICANA, S.A. de C.V.
CALLE DEL EJIDO N°37 MEXICO, D.F.

Concesionarios Exclusivos:

AGUASCALIENTES Auto e Informaciones, S. A.	GUADALAJARA Bibiano Silva	CULIACAN Carlos Pérez Aguirre	PUEBLA Anglo Mexican Motors Co.	MONTERREY Auto Distribuidora Mexicana, S. A.
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5-1 Cuauhtémoc Brewery festival advertisement. Source: El Excélsior, 12 April 1940, 7.

The advertisements pictured Chapultepec as a setting for images of women dressed in Porfirian-era dresses. Though the modern women were represented, they

⁵⁷⁰ Advertisement, El Excélsior, 12 April 1940, p. 7.

were never shown with a Chapultepec background. Perhaps it would have been too iconoclastic. One advertisement proclaimed, "Come and remember. Because to remember is to live....in the midst of the traditional atmosphere of our supreme Forest [caps. orig.], whose natural beauty is famous!"⁵⁷¹ When the text of the advertisement was read in relation to the image, the traditionally dressed (Mexican) women were metonymically those with the "natural beauty."

In the 1940s, contemporary Mexican fashion was inspired by traditional dress. But as Monica Rankin has shown, the influence was not Porfirian, rather provincial and even indigenous, what she terms "*ropa cósmica*."⁵⁷² Furthermore, Rankin's work notes that there was still significant and ongoing resistance to the values and influence of United States fashion.⁵⁷³

If the advertisements caused confusion about the desirability of the foreign/modern—"Half a century of evolution and progress!"—the final news coverage did not. On an interior page of the second section, the day-after coverage did not depict any of the "modern girls," unless you include a young girl in modern-day clothing to the extreme right of the frame, as seen in figure 5-2.⁵⁷⁴ With only one paragraph dedicated to the "modern" portion of the show in over three full columns of text, the article noted that at the end of the event, "Sally Rand with a tiger-skin jacket greeted

⁵⁷¹ Advertisement El Excélsior 6 April 1940, p. 6-7.

⁵⁷² Monica Rankin, "*La ropa cósmica: Identity and Fashion in 1940s Mexico*," Studies in Latin American Popular Culture 28 (2010): 95-111.

⁵⁷³ Rankin, "*La ropa cósmica...*" 101.

⁵⁷⁴ "EN EL SUNTUOSO DESFILE DE TRAJES EFECTUADO EN CHAPULTEPEC," El Excélsior 15 April 1940, second section, p. 3.

the public in English. When asked to speak in Spanish, she could only say 'un momentito' [one moment]."⁵⁷⁵ There was little doubt that the traditional, natural beauty of Mexico was more desirable.



5-2 Photo of competitors from the Cuauhtémoc Brewery fashion show. Source: El Excélsior, 15 April 1940, second section, 3.

The Cuauhtémoc event where women were connected to Chapultepec in order to be used as a marketing tool for a brewery repeated a motif utilized in numerous and non-commercial undertakings: that of associating women and Chapultepec.

Amigas del Arbol y de la Flor was the option for women wanting to participate in the work of the Mexican Forestry Society (*Sociedad Forestal*). Formed by Miguel Angel de Quevedo in 1921, the *Sociedad Forestal* was a conservation organization of scientific character with members from technical, legal, and commercial backgrounds.⁵⁷⁶ As a strategy to maximize its ability to publicize the conservation of Mexican forests, *Sociedad Forestal* proposed creating affiliations with other societies and creating

⁵⁷⁵ "EN EL SUNTUOSO DESFILE DE TRAJES EFECTUADO EN CHAPULTEPEC," El Excélsior 15 April 1940, second section, p. 3.

⁵⁷⁶ Martín Cortez Noyola, "Revista México Forestal (1923-1953), un acercamiento a la conservación forestal en México" (B.A. thesis, Universidad Michoacana San Nicolás de Hidalgo, Morelia, Michoacán, 2009), 37, 39-41.

subsidiaries for women and school children.⁵⁷⁷ Publicized in 1934 in the *Sociedad Forestal's México Forestal* magazine, one of the earliest of these subsidiaries was a Veracruz-based organization, whose members were upper class women with public profiles.⁵⁷⁸ The Mexico City *Amigas del Arbol y de la Flor's* duties covered a wide range: information gathering, teaching, judging competitions, and encouraging all industry related to forestry, agriculture and floriculture, including tourism.⁵⁷⁹ Though they visited areas outside of Mexico City and became a model for provincial emulation, their institutional base was at Chapultepec's Museum of National Flora and Fauna and their work centered on the capital.⁵⁸⁰ As women with important socio-economic connections, the *Amigas* were invested with a long list of activities to stimulate economic and patriotic development.⁵⁸¹ Amalia de Castillo Ledón—artist, writer, suffragist, government minister, diplomat, and wife of historian and National Museum director Luis Castillo Ledón—and Carolina Amor de Fournier—early associate of Carlos Chávez in the Education Secretariat, founder of the influential *Galeria de Arte Mexicano*, and wife of renowned gastroenterologist Dr. Raoul Fournier—indicated the level of

⁵⁷⁷ Cortez Noyola, 38, citing Ángel Roldán, "Finalidades de la Sociedad Forestal Mexicana, C.L." *México Forestal* 2, no. 13-14 (January-February, 1924): 26.

⁵⁷⁸ "La Legión de Custodios del Árbol y la de Amigas del Árbol, Protectoras de la Ciudad de Veracruz: Las finalidades que se persiguen al formarlas y las bases de su organización," *México Forestal* 12 (February, 1934): 36-37.

⁵⁷⁹ *México Forestal*, 17, no. 4-5-6 (April-May-June, 1939): 42-43; "Algunos antecedentes de la campaña de Protección Forestal en México y breve relato de las actividades desarrollados por la Sociedad Forestal Mexicana, C.L.," *México Forestal* 17, no. 7-12 (July-December 1939):65-66.

⁵⁸⁰ "JIRA DEL JEFE DEL FORESTAL," *El Excelsior* 16 July 1939, p. 13.

⁵⁸¹ They along with department and Secretariat heads at the 1939 *Sociedades de Amigos del Arbol* observed a parade to Chapultepec. "Lucido Desfile de 'Amigos del Árbol,'" *El Excelsior*, 11 March 1939, p. 3.

intellectual, social and financial expertise of the *Amigas*.⁵⁸² There was little role for non-elite women.

Women's participation in athletic activities had been increasing during the past decade, both as a corollary to the hygiene movement as well as a by-product of the largely-foreign founded, upper-class social/athletic clubs. Chapultepec was a prominent forum for women's sports as public place tied to the reformist campaigns toward health and hygiene. The governmental Physical Education Department of the Federal District held women's cycling competitions in Chapultepec, dailies documented women cycling for pleasure through Chapultepec, and women tennis players competed at the adjoining and paradigmatic sporting club *Centro Deportivo Chapultepec*.⁵⁸³ By the 1930s, the "*chica moderna*" or modern-girl was very much a part of the Mexican capital.⁵⁸⁴ Even if women were not generally encouraged to spend time in the public eye, focus on the well-being of children meant that often they would be accompanying their own or their employers' children to the Forest.

Photographs from the 1930s captured women's participation in these different roles. Though neither an exhaustive nor a scientific selection, women were shown canoeing, enjoying shade with family members, playing on a merry-go-round with

⁵⁸² On Amalia de Castillo Ledón, see Gabriela Cano, *Amalia de Castillo Ledón: Mujer de Letras, Mujer de Poder* (México: CONACULTA, 2011). On Carolina Amor de Fournier, see Jorge Alberto Manrique and Teresa del Conde, *Una Mujer en el Arte Mexicano: Memorias de Inés Amor* (México: UNAM, 1987).

⁵⁸³ Departamento del Distrito Federal, *Memoria del Departamento del Distrito Federal: del 1o de Septiembre de 1938 al 31 de Agosto de 1939* (México: Talleres Gráficos de la Penitenciaría, 1939), 255-6. "Cualquier Mañana en el Bosque de Chapultepec," *El Excelsior*, 11 June 1939, second section, p. 4. *New York Times*, 14 October 1929, p. 31; *New York Times*, 23 March 1931, p. 29.

⁵⁸⁴ See Anne Rubenstein, "The War on 'Las Pelonas': Modern Women and their Enemies, Mexico City, 1924," in *Sex in Revolution: Gender, Politics, and Power in Modern Mexico*, eds. Jocelyn Olcott, Mary Kay Vaughan and Gabriel Cano, (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006), 57-80.

children, and strolling and exploring rocky caverns with girlfriends, as seen in figure 5-3 and 5-4.



5-3 Images of woman canoeing, people picnicking, and woman with children in Chapultepec. Source: Fototeca Nacional, 3078, 2491, 2503.



5-4 Images of women strolling and in rocky outcropping in Chapultepec. Source: Fototeca Nacional, 87843, 2490.

As handlers in Chapultepec animal competitions, women received abundant press coverage. These contests were another novelty of Miguel Angel de Quevedo, who suggested "successive competitions, in which the public participates, with interesting plants, songbirds and birds of plumage, species of canines of the different working dogs: hunting, domestic and guard; and felines such as cats, etc., all of which fall under the

program of culture that corresponds to the Forestry Department."⁵⁸⁵ The competitions were to be held in the areas surrounding the buildings of the Museum of National Flora and Fauna in Chapultepec. The canine competitions gained a reputation for selectivity and exclusivity and became a series of qualifying events to which earlier winners aspired to the title of "champion."⁵⁸⁶ These competitions were successful enough that six were held for dogs in just over one year. As Quevedo intended, events expanded to include cats, birds, and fish, and then even multiplied to other public areas in Mexico City.⁵⁸⁷ Quevedo's "campaign of cultural propaganda" was successful enough to be extended and replicated.⁵⁸⁸

Though the animal shows were not limited strictly to women, most of the competitors were female owners or handlers. Furthermore, as noted in editorials and in photographs printed in newspapers, the participants were not from the popular classes, as seen in figure 5-5. This followed both the upper-class and "*chica moderna*" roles that were portrayed in the media and social circles of the time, and which were seen in sporting events for women particularly in Chapultepec. Writers, such as Salvador Novo, commented on the upper-class families who attended, and newspapers reported that

⁵⁸⁵ "[E]stableciendo en los terrenos anexos del contorno concursos sucesivos, en que participe el público, de plantas interesantes y de aves canoras y de bello plumaje, especies caninas de las diversas clases útiles de perros de caza, domésticos de guardería y animales felinos como gatos, etc., etc., todo lo cual entra dentro del programa de cultural que corresponde al Departamento Forestal." Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 239.

⁵⁸⁶ "Interesante Exposición Canina," El Excélsior, 13 March 1940, second section, p. 2. El Universal, 14 April 1942, p. 5; El Universal, 27 April, 1942, p. 4.

⁵⁸⁷ "Exposición de Peces en Chapultepec," El Excélsior, 10 August 1939, p. 4. "Doscientos Perros en una Exposición," El Excélsior, 10 March 1940, second section, p. 4. El Universal, 12 May 1941, p. 4 [in Parque de la Lama].

⁵⁸⁸ "Exposición de Peces en Chapultepec," El Excélsior, 10 August 1939, p. 4.

attendees belonged to all social spheres as well remarking on the women who competed.⁵⁸⁹ The dogs were likened to children—playful, coquettish, spoiled and doted upon, with organdy, ribbon and lace accessories.⁵⁹⁰ The women were said to be beautiful but not bright, which, for José Díaz Morales, led to an enviable position for the animals: "[B]etter to be these dogs shown in Chapultepec than men constantly at risk of being destroyed by other men..."⁵⁹¹ The competitions showcased an aesthetic version of nature, tied to the elite and upper classes through leisure time, and further tied to gendered conceptions of women through a focus on breeding and on frivolity.⁵⁹²



5-5 Participants in Canine Competition. Source: El Universal, 27 April 1942, 4.

Though Quevedo practiced a "program of culture," his definition of culture was never clearly defined. Through the *Amigas* and animal competition examples one can

⁵⁸⁹ Salvador Novo, La vida en México en el periodo presidencial de Manuel Avila Camacho (México: Empresas Editoriales, 1965), 516. "Ejemplares Caninos con sus Propietarios," El Excélsior, 12 June 1939, second section, p. 3. José Díaz Morales, "Perros en Chapultepec," El Excélsior, 16 June 1939, p. 5, 8. El Universal, 26 October 1942, second section, front page.

⁵⁹⁰ "Ejemplares Caninos con sus Propietarios," El Excélsior, 12 June 1939, second section, p. 3.

⁵⁹¹ José Díaz Morales, "Perros en Chapultepec," El Excélsior, 16 June 1939, p. 5, 8.

⁵⁹² Yi-Fu Tuan, Dominance & Affection: The Making of Pets (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), 95.

see a conception of culture with upper-class expectations of upbringing, behavior and experiences. Women were important not for their ability to determine the content of this "culture," rather for their ability to represent it. It is notable that in the post-revolutionary era of progressive social change and populist claims, a "republican motherhood" and elite "maternalist"- based program of culture was chosen for the Forestry Department on behalf of President Cárdenas. The use of animals as stand-ins for children is striking.⁵⁹³

As a part of their study into "social landscaping," where the use of the natural environment is linked to social development, Christopher Boyer and Emily Wakild found "cultivation metaphor[s]" and "symbolism between nurseries for trees and nurseries for citizens."⁵⁹⁴ In Chapultepec, such symbolism was reassigned from tree nurseries to the Forest itself. Manifestations of maternal metaphors, focused on growth, and often coupled to the death of the Cadet Heroes, were rooted in the Forest. These were symbolic as in the animal competitions, physical as in the maternity clinic built in the Forest (an exception to a prohibition on building in Chapultepec),⁵⁹⁵ and ephemeral, as in the Mothers' Day and Week events centered in the Forest at the *Tribuna Monumental*

⁵⁹³ Mary Kay Vaughan, "Introduction: Pancho Villa, the Daughters of Mary, and the Modern Woman: Gender in the Long Mexican Revolution," in Sex in Revolution: Gender, Politics, and Power in Modern Mexico, eds. Jocelyn Olcott, Mary Kay Vaughan and Gabriel Cano (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006), 30.

⁵⁹⁴ Boyer and Wakild, "Social Landscaping...", 82.

⁵⁹⁵ "Decreto que retira del uso común y del dominio público, un terreno comprendido entre los límites del Bosque de Chapultepec," Diario Oficial, 15 October 1943, 16. This clinic was exceptional in that it required a presidential decree for its construction. Earlier that year, a prohibition on all construction in Chapultepec had been decreed, "Decreto que prohíbe las Secretarías y Departamentos de Estado, levantar construcciones dentro de los límites del Bosque de Chapultepec," Diario Oficial, 17 May 1943, 8-9.

monument at the rear of the *Castillo's* hill (used for important, highly-symbolic events).⁵⁹⁶

The emphasis on women, reproduction and the nation, then required Chapultepec to be child-accessible, and enabled another type of open-air gathering: that of children, often with caregivers. Editorialist Carlos González Peña, aghast at how children swung from trees and trampled the undergrowth, did not see children—especially of the unmannered masses—appropriately using the Forest. But efforts at making Chapultepec child-friendly could be seen in the early existence of children's play equipment and its subsequent improvement through relocation to the area of *Los Pinos* developed specifically for children. Quevedo, in his 1935 report on the building of the children's park, presaged concerns similar to those of González Peña. Recommending moving playgrounds to create uncluttered open areas, presumably for contemplation rather than use, Quevedo moved the children's play equipment to a temporary spot while a larger, fenced former military installation was readied.⁵⁹⁷

Since women were not properly instructing their children in the usage of the Forest, the state stepped in to shape the space institutionally, facilitating its correct use for the development of Mexican citizens and the image of the nation. Though it took until the second part of 1938 to inaugurate the *Parque Infantil*, it included a cafeteria,

⁵⁹⁶ A.G.N., Presidentes, M.A.C., 545.22/225, fs. 1, 6 mayo 1943. "Homenaje a las Madres," El Excélsior, 8 May 1939, second section, p. 3.

⁵⁹⁷ Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 227-228.

pool, and skating rink.⁵⁹⁸ The pool replaced the one at entrance to the park, closed due to "complaints from various institutions about older boys without proper swimming attire—even mingling with the opposite sex."⁵⁹⁹ Though the concerned institutions were unspecified, unease over the "nudist camp" and how it "reflected poorly on the magnificent entrance to the Forest" reiterated elitist class- and gender-based norms of behavior.⁶⁰⁰

Chapultepec was also used for civic gatherings focusing on children. Often these events occurred around the traditional giving times of the Christmas holidays and Mothers' Day, or around Independence celebrations. Tens of thousands of children gathered at the area known as the Angela Peralta pergola for events coordinated by the Office of Social Action, Department of Childhood Assistance, the Secretary of Public Education, and the Red Cross.⁶⁰¹ Many of these gatherings were to fulfill the short-term, unmet material as well as educational needs of poorer youth, with the state as a surrogate for mothers in the emblematic, generative space of Chapultepec.

REGENERATION

With the symbolism of the nation embedded in Chapultepec and its nature, undesirable, non-conforming and criminal uses of the forest were a liability because of

⁵⁹⁸ El Excélsior, 5 June 1938, second section, front page, p. 8.

⁵⁹⁹ Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca, Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 227-228.

⁶⁰⁰ The one photograph of swimmers I found in the Fototeca archives, shows male youth and young men, clad in undergarments, happily jumping and splashing in the artificial lake. Though not the pool, it paints a different image than that by Quevedo (and the lake could not be shut down). See SINAFO, inventario 87267, "Hombres metiéndose en el Lago de Chapultepec", circa 1945.

⁶⁰¹ El Excélsior, 14 September 1940, p. 12. El Universal, 9 May 1941, second section, front page, p. 13. El Universal, 7 November 1941, second section, front page.

demonstrating non-acceptable behavior to others and by precluding more respectable members of society from gathering. Knowledge of deviant and destructive activities in this public place led to calls by the municipal advisory board for the forest to be regenerated, not with ecological restoration as occurred in the mid-1930s, but with properly functioning police, sanitation, and public behavior. As Tony Bennett argues, "the museum's formation needs also to be viewed in relation to the development of a range of collateral cultural institutions, including apparently alien and disconnected ones," which governments would use for "tasks of social management."⁶⁰² The accretion of built institutions to accompany systemic institutionalization (such as police, sanitation, sport) would further stabilize Chapultepec by further restricting possibilities for citizen participation.

Smaller-scale merchants that had been providing services in the Forest were forced out. Early in his tenure, Quevedo called for the expulsion of the concessionaires, both from the Botanical Garden greenhouse so that it could be used as an exhibition space (until then it had been used by small plant-growing and selling businesses) and with the café that would become the museum.⁶⁰³ There would be a more widespread expulsion and re-orientation of the lessees from the rest of the Forest in the early 1940s. Those who ran stands in the Forest often used their lower social standing as well as gendered understandings of providing for others to argue for their right to remain.⁶⁰⁴

⁶⁰² Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: history, theory, politics* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 6.

⁶⁰³ *Boletín del Departamento Forestal y de Caza y Pesca*, Año I, México, Nov 1935-Jan 1936, no. 2, p. 230

⁶⁰⁴ Many of these individuals noted their widow status. A.G.N., Presidentes M.A.C., 415.2/32, fs. 2, 20 junio 1941, 12 agosto 1941; A.G.N., Presidentes, M.A.C., 418.5/35, fs. 1, 3 abr 1943.

The government however was unsympathetic, contending that in addition to their "mal aspecto" (poor appearance), the small businesses were a threat to the public's health.⁶⁰⁵

Reports of accident and crime could be found in newspapers and scattered throughout records and published works.⁶⁰⁶ The majority of crimes in Chapultepec reported in major dailies were deaths, including suicides.⁶⁰⁷ Chapultepec was renowned as a place for lovesick romantics to commit suicide.⁶⁰⁸ Illicit or inappropriate sexual activity, which undoubtedly occurred more often than reported, made the news when it related to a death—a forest guard surprised a couple having sex in the park and was stabbed.⁶⁰⁹ With the violence in the Forest, by-standers—largely female— were injured. It is unclear whether reporting practices focused on stories of women being injured, more women than men were present in the park, or women were more vulnerable in the public Forest. Reports noted women as innocent bystanders to male violence or as

⁶⁰⁵ A.G.N., Presidentes M.A.C., 415.2/32, fs. 2, 20 junio 1941, 12 agosto 1941.

⁶⁰⁶ It is not possible to consult the archival police or judicial records for the park, including the guardabosques, and criminal reports (Delegación 11). Municipal records were destroyed.

⁶⁰⁷ "UN MOTOCICLISTA SE MATO EN CHAPULTEPEC," El Universal, 15 May, 1941, p. 16; "Un Impresionante Suicidio," El Universal, 6 June 1941, second section, front page.

⁶⁰⁸ Ostensibly due to a sixteenth-century story, yet more likely because its Romanticist connections and its representation as "ubi sunt." On the story about the sixteenth-century prelate Montúfar's hunting dogs, see Jesús Romero Flores, Chapultepec en la historia de México, México: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1947, 32-33. On 19th century Romanticist poetry, Chapultepec, and "ubi sunt," see Daniel Wogan, "Cuatro aspectos de la poesía indigenista," Historia Mexicana 2 no. 4 (April-June 1953): 592-595.

⁶⁰⁹ "Un Guardabosque, Asesinado en el Bosque de Chapultepec," El Universal, 1 June 1941, second section, front page, p. 10. El Universal, 28 August 1941, front page. Katherine Elaine Bliss, Compromised Positions: Prostitution, Public Health and Gender Politics in Revolutionary Mexico City (University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2001); Katherine Elaine Bliss and Ann S. Blum, "Adolescence, Sex, and the Gendered Experience of Public Space in Mexico City," in Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America since Independence, eds. William E. French and Katherine Elaine Bliss (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), 180.

having been assaulted.⁶¹⁰ Most of the reported incidents of violence involved off-duty guards, police or soldiers.⁶¹¹

Police reports published in the newspapers offer a glimpse into the lives of working-class and poor inhabitants of the city. While in the care of a nanny, a young girl was mortally injured by a fall from equipment at the Children's Park. Her nanny was accused of carelessness (due to watching the two other children in her care).⁶¹² The indigent tried to use Chapultepec's tree hollows for shelter: an elderly man's body was found after a particularly cold night.⁶¹³ Poorer women and some men used Chapultepec as their source of income. They ran the various food and drink stands, until the appearance of these led to an overhaul as part of the Citizens' Council of Mexico City's improvement campaign.⁶¹⁴

⁶¹⁰ "Un Mariguano en el Bosque de Chapultepec," El Universal, 28 May 1942, second section, front page.

"Riña de Guardabosques en Chapultepec; una Señora Herida," El Universal, 23 August 1942, p. 11.

⁶¹¹"Riña de Guardabosques en Chapultepec; una Señora Herida," El Universal, 23 August 1942, p. 11.

Guards were also reported to have stolen from the park. "Ayer Apareció Sancho Panza En Chapultepec," El Excelsior, 27 July 1939, second section, front page. "GUARDAS FORESTALES QUE COMETEN ABUSOS," El Excelsior, 11 August 1939, p. 7.

⁶¹² "Cayó de un Tobogán una Niña de 7," El Universal, 28 May 1941, second section, front page, cont. p. 7.

⁶¹³ "El Cadáver de un Anciano en un Ahuehuate de Chapultepec," El Universal, 17 November 1942, second section, front page.

⁶¹⁴ A.G.N. Presidentes M.A.C., 415.2/32, fs. 2, 20 junio 1941, 12 agosto 1941. One woman's [Regina Gutierrez viuda de Li.] request and a response to another for licenses for stands in Bosque de Chapultepec. The request highlights her widower status and having lost both sons in the Revolution. Furthermore, she notes that DDF expends the licenses of which she has been denied. She asks for the president to help her get a license from DDF in order to combat the immorality of the monopoly that it holds. The response to the other woman's [Magdalena Aguilar] request is lacking in any sympathy. These petitions echo what Susie Porter found in her research into Vendedoras and gendered conception of the public sphere. See Susie S. Porter, Working Women in Mexico City: Public Discourses and Material Conditions, 1879-1931 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003), especially chapter six. The campaign to dislodge the peddlers would continue through most of President Manuel Avila Camacho's term. See A.G.N., Presidentes, M.A.C., 418.5/35, fs. 3, 11 dic 1944.

The Citizens' Council of Mexico City, an appointed advisory board to the Federal District government, proposed in late 1941 that the Forest be "reorganized" and "improved."⁶¹⁵ The president of the board and former president of the *Amigas del Arbol Comité de Damas*, Amalia Castillo de Ledón was reported as playing a leading role in the revival of Chapultepec. In addition to noting that "Chapultepec is the most beautiful and popular leisure site in the capital," her initiatives became Federal District directives to "highlight [Chapultepec's] natural beauty of urban cleanliness that makes visiting so pleasant" by eradicating the "regrettable appearance of a street market," replacing vendors and peddlers with decorated kiosks for the sale of appropriate refreshments, and heightening policing to prevent littering.⁶¹⁶ Concerns over the adequate care of the natural environment through watering, gardening and sufficient personnel became secondary to restoring "the shameless pigsty" to a "public recreation site."⁶¹⁷

Over the next three decades, Chapultepec Forest would shift from being identified as a forested recreation site to one of cultural institutions. Whether for celebration, competition, or consumption, civic gatherings in the Forest required ideals of education and inclusiveness. Yet the out-of-doors, citizen involvement may have facilitated both the identification of the Forest with didactic institutions, as well as the public's willingness to patronize them—physically and economically—through increasingly constrained activities. Cárdenas' populist efforts to welcome all Mexicans

⁶¹⁵ "El Resurgimiento del Bosque de Chapultepec," *El Universal*, 28 August 1941, front page.

⁶¹⁶ "Limpieza y Aliño del Bosque de Chapultepec," *El Universal*, 3 November 1941, front page. "Las Obras de Embellecimiento en el Bosque de Chapultepec," *El Universal*, 24 November 1941, front page.

⁶¹⁷ "El Resurgimiento del Bosque de Chapultepec," *El Universal*, 28 August 1941, front page.

into their "home," was coupled with myriad efforts to teach the family members how to behave.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

This dissertation has demonstrated that state directed projects of citizen building led to the accretion of built cultural institutions in Chapultepec Forest and shifts in the understanding of what constituted nature. The transformation of Chapultepec from a largely recreational landscape to one replete with museums and other didactic structures was accomplished by the use of tropes of nature and naturalness. This conversion was influenced by the first museum in the Forest, the Museum of National Flora and Fauna, which tied nature to the nation, and by the Forestry Department's larger "program of culture" which was heavily interested in upper-class models of comportment, middle-class consumption, and foreign tourism and investment. The mid 1930s and early 1940s was the era in which the institutionalization of the Forest was cemented. As opposed to the prevailing view of Cárdenas' presidency, I show that there was greater continuity than often acknowledged with subsequent Avila Camacho and even Aléman administrations. The areas of friction between symbolism and materiality, between popular access and commodification, and between national goals and an effort to appeal to foreigners, would be ongoing.

As seen with mandating physical education, accessing historical patrimony, and altering charcoal consumption, many state-directed projects of citizen building were centered on Chapultepec. The state utilized Chapultepec, capitalizing on its synonymy with the nation and its nationally-central location. In some instances, such as seasonal fundraising events, the government partnered with businesses, and many companies

took notice of Chapultepec's potential for forming not only citizens but consumers. Examples of infotainment such as the Cuauhtémoc Brewery's fashion shows were precursors to later corporate sponsoring and naming initiatives such as the Children's Museum's (*Museo de Papalote*) association with Bimbo Group and later with Banamex.⁶¹⁸

The formation of citizens was facilitated by tying Chapultepec to tropes of nature and naturalness. In post-revolutionary Mexico, although the countryside was an important attribute, it still retained strong ties to the imagery of revolutionaries. In order to soften these threatening aspects particularly during an era of heightened land redistribution, rather than agrarianism, *charrería*—stylized Mexican rodeo—became a focus. Nature in a rural guise was joined with longer-standing associations among nature, indigenous peoples, and the landscape. Additionally, pride in endemic species of flora and fauna created an atmosphere in which nature and the nation were inextricably intertwined. These characteristics materially rooted in Chapultepec through indigenous ruins, *ahuehuetes*, and customary equestrian promenades, were symbolically transferred to buildings and behaviors.

The first of the buildings to explicitly use nature in an institutional and figurative manner in Chapultepec was the Museum of National Flora and Fauna. As part of the

⁶¹⁸ Carlos Romero and Angel Maass, "Bimbo Group and Papalote Museo del Niño," published paper, 25 July 2003, available at [Harvard Business Review](#) website; Marinela Servitje de Lerdo de Tejada, "Papalote Museo del Niño," in [Bosque de Chapultepec](#), ed. Elena Horz (México: Horz Asociados, BXT), 125. Note that the author of this last source is the daughter of Bimbo Group founder, Lorenzo Juan José Servitje y Sendra. See also, Silvia Cherem, [Al grano. Vida y visión de los fundadores de Bimbo](#) (México: Khalida Editores, 2008)

Forestry Department's broader "program of culture," the Museum aimed to alter citizens' behavior, as well as to attract tourists through hosting permanent displays of replicas of Mexican biomes, temporary exhibitions, amateur domesticated animal competitions, and environmental advocacy groups.

The chapters in "Changing Chapultepec" focus on the years 1934 to 1944 when the interlaced tendencies of replacing the natural environment with institutions and incorporating symbolic suggestions of nature in buildings took hold. Beth Lord argues in her article "Foucault's museum" that museums can be a positive force for evading social control. Lord finds museums heterotopias, but unlike Foucault, she argues that:

The museum is a heterotopia not because it contains different objects, nor because it contains or juxtaposes different times, but rather because it presents a more profound kind of difference: the difference between objects and concepts. What every museum displays, in one form or other, is the difference inherent in *interpretation*. Interpretation is the relation between things and the words used to describe them, and this relation always involves a gap.⁶¹⁹

Museums (and other institutions as "space[s] of representation") then enable viewers to question their organizational and representational plans, which in turn open them up as a tool for critique.⁶²⁰ This dissertation creates a foundation to build upon Lord's

⁶¹⁹ Beth Lord, "Foucault's museum: difference, representation, and genealogy," Museum and Society 4, no. 1 (2006):5.

⁶²⁰ Lord, 6-7.

argument, which in addition to being applied to a museum or institution in the Forest, can be applied to the whole of Chapultepec, whereby the institutions therein (similar to the objects contained in a museum) and the concepts underlying their inclusion provide for Lord's "gap." Overbuilding in Chapultepec may have encouraged divergent meanings rather than the desired control and led to individual and group understandings having, if not autonomy, then at least potential. As seen in the opening vignette of "Changing Chapultepec," MAM workers claimed the space and its use for reasons other than those specified by the institution. Indications of additional contestatory possibilities include ongoing recourse to the unclear period of 1936-1942, and interviewing and note taking which have been recently restricted.⁶²¹ Further understanding the public and popular receptions and utilizations of the institutions in particular eras remains as my next step.⁶²²

⁶²¹ Recent conflicts over jurisdiction include a 2002 dispute between the Federal District's Secretary of Urban Development and Housing and the Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, and the Federal District government's attempt at reclaiming 60 hectares from the presidential residence *Los Pinos* in Chapultepec. See Museo de Historia Nacional, internal document "Documentos Crediticios del Castillo de Chapultepec," PowerPoint, shared by Arq. Rosa Ana Trujillo, January 2011; Nayeli Gomez C., "Ebrad va por los Pinos: le reclama 60 hectáreas," *La Crónica de Hoy*, 23 November 2007, city section. For the restrictions on interviewing, see Ana Lidia Domínguez Ruiz and Eduardo Rodríguez Flores, "Chapultepec en la actualidad: cambio y persistencia de la practicas de un parque público," *Diario de Campo, El Bosque de Chapultepec: un manantial de historia* (supplement) no. 36 (October/December, 2005): 183. The prohibition on note taking was communicated to me by a uniformed guard at the exhibition in the Chapultepec Pump House in 2009.

⁶²² Though this would need to take into account the lack of reliability in institutional attendance figures. García Canclini notes that the INEGI's data is disputed by the actual institutions. See Néstor García Canclini, *El consumo cultural en México* (México: CONACULTA, 1993), 16.

Chapultepec as an idea and as a label traveled.⁶²³ Furthermore, as an elite-controlled public space which has changed over time, there exist large urban parks throughout the world similar to Chapultepec. Some of the insights from this study could be applied to meanings of Chapultepec that were transplanted, asking questions about when the transfers occurred and who was involved. How did these "copies" differ from the "original," particularly comparing provincial cities, such as Torreón, Coahuila and diasporic communities, such as San Diego, California? Further work remains to be done putting Chapultepec into comparison with the circulation of culturally inspired understandings of nature and resultant institutionalization within Latin American cities, particularly in the post-World War II era.

"Changing Chapultepec" brought up several important questions, particularly regarding periods of exception and uncertainty. The ambiguous relationship between central and local power within Mexico City during the 1936-1942 period of shifting responsibilities to DDF is an area for further clarification. According to Manuel Perló Cohen and Antonio Moya, such relationships usually worsen within smaller shared space, and generally the central has won out over the local, often in an "overbearing and authoritarian way."⁶²⁴ My research has indicated several innovative strategies pursued by the Federal District government for salvaging power—possibly including the

⁶²³ "INAUGURACION DE UN JARDIN EN COATEPEC," *El Excélsior*, 24 April 1938, second section, p. 6; "TORREON tendrá pronto su Chapultepec," *El Excélsior*, 20 April 1940, p. 15; Fernández, *Chapultepec*, 196.

⁶²⁴ Manuel Perló Cohen and Antonio Moya, "Dos poderes, un solo territorio: ¿conflicto o cooperación? Un análisis histórico de las relaciones entre los poderes central y local en la ciudad de México de 1325 a 2002," in *Espacio Público y Reconstrucción de Ciudadanía*, ed. Patricia Ramírez Kuri (México: FLACSO Porrúa, 2003), 174, 183.

management of such significant park sites such as Chapultepec, Desierto de los Leones, and Fuentes Brotantes—apparently confirming what Perló Cohen and Moya note as a time of improved relations between the federal executive and District directors.⁶²⁵

Scholars have yet to debate the level of United States involvement in the formation of the Modern Art Museum, and whether it included or was a response to pan-American influence. Based on Nelson A. Rockefeller's interest in 1941 in the formation of a popular arts museum and on his influence in Latin America and the modern art world, I imagine that he or other cultural envoys from the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MoMA) and the U.S. were part of the development of MAM. This is even more interesting when put into the context of the resentment Mexicans felt towards U.S. involvement in cultural initiatives, the significance of the site of the museum, and President Truman's wreath-laying at the Niños Héroe memorial in 1947.⁶²⁶ What are not in doubt are the Mexican government's sowing of transnational cultural capital in the 1940s and the U.S.'s often concealed involvement.⁶²⁷

Finally, this dissertation has revealed significant gender differences in the citizen formation projects carried out within Chapultepec. As opposed to the ability of non-elite men to be envisioned and envision themselves as a part of the citizenry through

⁶²⁵ Perló Cohen and Moya, 200-201; *Realización del Plan Sexenal, 1935-1936* (México: Secretaría Particular de la Presidencia de la República, Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1936), 72; "Agricultura Hará Entrega del Parque de las Fuentes Brotantes," *El Universal*, 25 July 1942, p. 4.

⁶²⁶ Gisela Cremer and Ursula Prutsch, "Nelson A. Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs and the Quest for Pan-American Unity: An Introductory Essay," in *¡Américas unidas!: Nelson A. Rockefeller's Office of Inter-American Affairs (1940-1946)*, eds. Gisela Cramer and Ursula Prutsch (Madrid, Frankfurt: Iberoamericana, Vervuert, 2012), 34-35.

⁶²⁷ Mary Kay Vaughan, "Transnational Processes and the Rise and Fall of the Mexican Cultural State: Notes from the Past," in *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico since 1940*, eds. Gilbert M. Joseph, Anne Rubenstein, and Eric Zolov (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 473, 475-6.

sport and other activities, in this study women who were involved in ways other than motherhood tended to be elite. Elite women largely represented citizenship roles (such as in the *Amigas*), but a select few were active in forming the content (though largely confined to the fine arts arena). Such women included Amalia de Castillo Ledón, Carmen Barreda (née Marín), Inés and Carolina Amor, María Asúnsolo, and Guadalupe Solórzano, and we need to know more about their involvement and restrictions.

In 1948, Chapultepec's connection with nature acquired a further association through Olympic equestrianism. At the London Olympic Games of 1948, Mexican general Humberto Mariles Cortés and his horse Arete won Olympic gold medals for individual and team jumping. President Miguel Alemán, who wanted to capitalize on Mexico's new found international fame, began construction on an equestrian center in a portion of the former Campo Marte military polo grounds. Due to the project's cost and size, what would have been an intensification of the site's bucolic image was diverted to cultural institutions, and the beginnings of the hippodrome were utilized for a municipal and subsequently national auditorium, as seen in figure 6-1. The stalls and granary areas were transformed into the Artistic and Cultural District of the Forest, which included several theaters (including the *Teatro El Granero* or Granary Theatre) and the National Theater School, and which opened by the late 1950s.⁶²⁸

⁶²⁸ <http://www.ccb.bellasartes.gob.mx/index.php/ccb>



6-1: National Auditorium. Acervo Histórico de Fundación ICA, NEG 9604.

The symbolic motif of nature was used not just by the 1950s' countryside-themed theaters in the Artistic Grouping, but through stylistic references to nature and deployment of natural materials in successive institutional structures.⁶²⁹ In 1960, the Gallery of the National Museum of History (*Caracól*) opened a short distance from the entrance gates to the *Castillo*, and four years later the internationally renowned National Anthropology Museum, the Museum of Modern Art—on the site that was

⁶²⁹ Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, "The new gallery of the National Museum of History, Mexico, D.F.: 'The struggle of the Mexican people for their freedom'," *Museum* 15, no. 1 (1962): 2-3. Perhaps this type of design could be seen as a version of "integración plástica" where rather than art/artist, the natural environment is collaborating with the architect. For more on the concept of "integración plástica" particularly its relevance in 20th century Mexico as an autochthonous modernist, nationalist idiom, see Edward R. Burrian, "Mexico, Modernity and Architecture: an Interview with Alberto Pérez-Gómez," in *Modernity and the Architecture of Mexico*, ed. Edward R. Burrian (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997), 27, 29; and Marta Olivares Correa, "Reflexiones sobre integración plástica," *Discurso Visual: revista digital de CENIDIAP*, vol. 4 (abril-junio 2005).

formerly the Museum of National Flora and Fauna—and a Natural History Museum (located in the second section of the Forest which had been added in 1962) opened. Three of these four institutions were designed by architect Pedro Ramírez Vázquez who was at the time director of the Artistic and Cultural District. By 1968 the International Olympic Games would be celebrated in Mexico City. Originally responsible for designing the Olympic buildings, Ramírez Vázquez would be named Chairman for the Organizing Committee.⁶³⁰ With equestrian events occurring at Chapultepec's Campo Marte, Aléman's original goal of further international acclaim was brought to fruition in an altered and elevated state.⁶³¹ His envisioned equestrian center did not host the horses, but rather gymnastics as well as numerous associated cultural events (as part of the Cultural Olympiad).⁶³² In the ensuing decades, the Technology (1970), Tamayo (1981), and Children's (1993) museums would open.

If the nineteenth century was given to elite recreation, and the twentieth to didactic institutionalization, the twenty-first century has been a time of intensive restoration. In 1991 the Chapultepec Park Campaign began what would become a theme throughout the next two decades.⁶³³ The Zoo was remodeled in 1992.⁶³⁴ In

⁶³⁰ Olympic Report Mexico 1968, vol 2, part 1 (Mexico: Organizing Committee of the Games of the XIX Olympiad, 1969), 20. Former President Adolfo López Mateos resigned the chairmanship due to health.

⁶³¹ Olympic Report, 77.

⁶³² For more on the Cultural Olympiad, see the Olympic Report, vol. 2, part 1, 269-295. For more on the coordination and construction, see Ariel Rodríguez Kuri, "El otro 68: Política y estilo en la organización de los juegos olímpicos de la ciudad de México." Relaciones: Estudios de Historia y Sociedad 19, no. 76 (Fall 1998): 109-129.

⁶³³ Luz Elena Zavala Grisi, "Chapultepec: a welcome haven amid the pollution," Museum 169, no. 1 (1991): 24.

⁶³⁴ José Bernal Stoopan, "El Zoológico de Chapultepec: Importante Centro de Conservación de Especies de Fauna Silvestre en Peligro de Extinción," in Bosque de Chapultepec (México: Horz Asociados, BXT), 189.

2000, the *Castillo* closed for three years of renovation. The Natural History Museum began remodeling in 2010 amid controversy regarding the destruction of green space for parking and increased institutional space.⁶³⁵ Strains on infrastructure—including gardens, kiosks, pathways, sanitation, and lakes—led to public-private partnerships that held various campaigns for renewal and regeneration of the public space. Chapultepec's usage has remained steadily heavy as Mexico City has grown and attracted tourists. Current-day revitalization campaigns (*Revive Chapultepec* (2004-2007) and *Pro Bosque de Chapultepec* (2009-2012)) and the municipal government's present focus on environmental quality-of-life issues (*Plan Verde* (Green Plan)) have bolstered rehabilitation work.⁶³⁶

Through changes to Chapultepec, we understand the construction of spatial, social and cultural meaning, particularly how nature was institutionalized in a significant urban environment. Chapultepec was an important medium for promoting a stable, modern Mexico, and it will continue to be a vulnerable, debated, and valued place.

⁶³⁵ Eduardo Vázquez Martín, "¿Por Qué un Nuevo Museo de Historia Natural?," *Letras Libres*, November 2009, 102-104.

⁶³⁶ Since 2007, the Federal District government has pursued their *Plan Verde* which has "livability and public space" as one of its seven priority areas. Gobierno del Distrito Federal, *5 Años de Avances: Plan Verde ciudad de México* (México: Gobierno del Distrito Federal, 2012). Also Adriana Gomez Licon, "Mexico City Seeks Beauty in Public Space Make-over," *Big Story Associated Press*, 27 December 2012, accessed at <http://bigstory.ap.org/article/mexico-city-seeks-beauty-public-space-makeover>.

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