

# CREATING AN ARCHETYPE THE INFLUENCE OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION IN THE UNITED STATES

Symposium and Cultural Festival  
Commemorating the 100th Anniversary of the Mexican Revolution  
September 23–25, 2010



Smithsonian  
National Museum of American History  
Kenneth E. Behring Center



The illustrations used in this booklet are from the 1947 publication *Estampas de la Revolución Mexicana*, a 42 x 28 cm. portfolio of 85 woodcut illustrations by various Mexican artists depicting scenes of the Mexican Revolution, held in the Marta Adams papers (1929–1991) at the Smithsonian’s Archives of American Art. [www.aaa.si.edu/collections/searchimages/images/item\\_9105.htm](http://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/searchimages/images/item_9105.htm)

*On the cover:*

- (l) 1910s photograph of Emiliano Zapata, courtesy of the George Bain Collection, Library of Congress
- (r) 1976 United Farm Workers poster for a fund-raising dance for Cesar Chavez’s legal defense fund (on display in *iMexican Revolution! American Legacy* in the Artifact Wall exhibit space, first floor center)

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The Mexican Revolution (1910–20) was one of the most influential social upheavals of the 20th century. Its centennial commemoration is an ideal opportunity to address cross-cultural views of the revolution, given that Mexican and U.S. cultures, economies, and societies are now more interconnected than ever.

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An edited publication with all of the papers presented during the symposium will be published by Smithsonian Scholarly Press.

KEYNOTE

September 23 9:30AM

*The Mexican Revolution and the United States:  
Fury, Romance, and National Identities*

**Mary Kay Vaughan**  
University of Maryland

The 1910 Mexican Revolution initiated decades of tension between Mexico and the United States. Although it emerged from World War I as the world's only creditor nation, the U.S. government was unable to gain full control of the southern neighbor that U.S. society had long held in contempt. This inability stemmed partially from disputes between U.S. ruling factions and from conjunctural weakness. If America expelled thousands of Mexican workers during the Depression because they were "taking U.S. jobs," the U.S. government had to accept Mexico's nationalization of foreign oil wells in 1938 because the United States needed the full support of its neighbor in the approaching world war. Around and through these political disputes, a rich, varied, and ambiguous cultural dialogue began: in the arts, literature, anthropology, and ethnic politics, both countries' artists, intellectuals, and activists not only influenced one another, they defined separate but mutually created national identities, addressing the question of forging national identities and democracies in multiracial and multiethnic societies wracked by intense class conflict.

PANEL I

September 23 10:30–11:30AM

The Mexican Revolution and U.S.-Mexican Relations: Intellectual Endeavors

*From Antagonism to Accord:  
The Controversy over the Mexican Revolution in the Political Culture of the United States*

**John A. Britton**  
Francis Marion University

The Mexican Revolution was the subject of controversy in the United States for three decades. Mexico's civil strife, political instability, radical ideas, and social movements elicited commentary from presidents, secretaries of state, senators, and diplomats as well as journalists, editors, and academics. The radical provisions of the Constitution of 1917 were especially controversial. Previous scholarly studies of the impact of the revolution in the United States have concentrated on diplomacy, ideology, border problems, business, and art. The focal point of this essay is the importance of this controversy in the political culture of the United States. The controversy arose when diplomats and policymakers on one hand, and journalists and academics on the other, attempted to explain the revolution to the public in the United States. Journalists Ernest Gruening and Carleton Beals and academic Frank Tannenbaum traveled to Mexico City in the late 1910s and early 1920s and contributed to the establishment of an informal community made up of both "gringos" and Mexicans that concentrated on the social and economic goals of the revolution. By contrast, the administrations of Presidents Woodrow Wilson, Warren Harding, and Calvin Coolidge usually disagreed with the revolutionary sympathies of this group and accused some of its members of being Bolsheviks. A long-term subject of disagreement was the status of private property under the Constitution of 1917. These rival camps engaged in the first extended discussion, within the political culture of the United States, of a social revolution in a developing nation. The journalists and academics who tended to defend the Mexican Revolution made their observations in Mexico, and formed their conclusions and wrote many of their essays and books in Mexico City. The purposes of this essay are to explore the nature of this controversy and to discuss the community of U.S. writers who wrote from the perspective of Mexico City, assessing their unique contribution to the political culture of the United States.



*The "Other" Novel of the Mexican Revolution*

**Yolanda Padilla**  
**University of Pennsylvania**

This presentation examines how early-20th-century Mexican-American writers responded to the crisis of the Mexican Revolution, arguing that they grappled with the war's meanings and consequences in ways that were shaped by their positions as border subjects marginalized by and alienated from the national cultures of both Mexico and the United States. I read these Mexican-American engagements with the war as part of the preeminent Mexican narrative thematic, the novel of the revolution. Mexican-American writers such as Leonor Villegas de Magnón, Conrado Espinoza, Josefina Niggli, Américo Paredes, and José Antonio Villarreal all wrote versions that share many of the key concerns of the Mexican tradition, including an emphasis on the betrayal of the revolution. However, as I argue, while narratives written south of the border express a largely national orientation, those written to the north express a fundamentally transnational orientation, one that asserts the centrality of Mexican-Americans to the revolution, and thus to the emerging Mexican national narrative. Mexican-Americans produce, then, what I call "the 'other' novel of the revolution," narratives that insist that Mexicans in the United States be accounted for in the Mexican national project. In so doing, they insert issues into the Mexican tradition that reflect their local conditions as members of an emerging and embattled ethnic group, and that consequently point to and critique the neocolonial relationship between Mexico and the United States. Such issues include dispossession, racial and ethnic conflict, and debates about cultural integrity.

*Race, Ethnicity, and the Acculturation Paradigm: Indigenismo, Applied Anthropology, and North-South Dialogues*

**Karin Roseblatt**  
**University of Maryland**

From the 1910s through the end of World War II, U.S. and Mexican anthropologists engaged in sustained discussions regarding the place of ethnic and racial minorities within the nation. U.S. scholars viewed Mexico as a laboratory for studying acculturation. They saw the indigenismo of the post-revolutionary state as a novel form of applied anthropology in which the state intervened in acculturation processes. Knowledge regarding Mexico and post-revolutionary state policies toward native peoples might help the United States deal more effectively with its own minorities, and post-revolutionary Mexican anthropology influenced both immigration debates in the United States and the Indian New Deal implemented by U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier. This paper explores scholarly exchanges between Mexico and the United States and the ideas regarding race and ethnicity that emerged from those exchanges.



*Transnational Collaboration and the Shaping of Mexico's Ethnicized National Culture*

**Rick López**  
Amherst College

In the 1920s and into the 1930s, advocates of an ethnicized Mexican national identity lamented that their fellow Mexicans had less appreciation than did foreigners for “things Mexican.” The art critic Justino Fernández recalled that during that era the interpretation of the country’s history and culture was a “knockout fight between Indianists and Hispanophiles, with the foreigner acting as a referee.” Such comments suggest that in the debates over a post-revolutionary national identity, Mexicans’ attitudes were far from monolithic, and foreigners were more than passive observers. My presentation analyzes the role of foreign–Mexican collaboration in the consolidation of a post-revolutionary national identity, particularly in relation to the promotion of popular art as *muy mexicano*. It challenges common assumptions about nativist nationalism as a discourse that inherently defended national culture against the despoiling gringo invader. It considers the motivations of key individuals and traces the transnational circuits of their activities. An individual who will receive particular attention is Anita Brenner, a Jewish Mexican-American woman who was raised in Aguascalientes and Texas before entering into the heart of artistic circles in Mexico City and New York City. She coined the term “Mexican Renaissance” to describe the post-revolutionary cultural florescence, and is best known for her influential book *Idols Behind Altars*, which defined Mexican culture as a façade of Western modernity masking enduring indigenous traditions and worldviews. An analysis of Brenner’s life and intellectual development, alongside the broad movement of which she was part, provides novel insight into the transnational construction of Mexican national identity, the contested nature of this transnationality, and the concerted efforts after the mid-1930s to erase traces of this transnationality in favor of hardened boundaries of national culture.

*Brown, Black, and Blues:**Miguel Covarrubias and Carlos Chávez in the United States and Mexico*

**Mary Kay Vaughan and Ted Cohen**  
University of Maryland

Modernist aesthetics swept the American continents in the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution and the collapse of Europe in World War I. The Americanist avante-garde drew on historically despised popular cultures (Indian, black, mestizo, the urban poor) as well as spectacular new technologies and novel modes of perception and sound to create new cultural nations in the Western Hemisphere. Although their art contributed ultimately to the forging of inclusive, populist nationalism, their transnational exchange was as intense as it was indispensable. This essay examines two young men, caricaturist Miguel Covarrubias (1904–1957) and composer Carlos Chávez (1899–1978), who came to New York in the early 1920s where they initiated aesthetic dialogues that profoundly influenced artistic expression in both the United States and Mexico.

Through the prominent photographer and newspaper critic Carl Van Vechten, Covarrubias began to illustrate for *Vanity Fair*, *Vogue*, and *The New Yorker*. His flair for line and geometry translated Cubism to a mass audience and gave rise to a new, enduring style of caricature. With his *Negro Drawings* (1927) he became one of the first graphic interpreters of the Harlem Renaissance. He designed sets and costumes for Josephine Baker’s *Revue Nègre* (1927).



Carlos Chávez joined the International Composers' Guild and the Pan American Association of Composers. The musicians sought both to introduce European modernist music and to draw on American popular cultures in their compositions. Chávez's atonal, modernist works that interpreted ancient Mesoamerican sounds and instruments as well as the cacophony of modern industrial cities made a deep impression and gained him lifelong colleagues and collaborators. His close relationship with Aaron Copland and Leopold Stokowski resulted in intense institutional exchange when Chávez founded the Symphony Orchestra of Mexico in 1928 and became the first head of the Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes (1947). In the late 1920s, as head of the Mexican Conservatory of Music, he initiated investigations of Mexican ethnomusicological traditions, an endeavor he shared with Charles Seeger's direction of similar research in the Resettlement Administration of the Roosevelt administration. When Seeger became head of the musical division of the Organization of American States after World War II, he worked with Chávez and other Latin American ethnomusicologists to promote Americanist "folk music" as part of a nationalist and Pan American repertoire. From the 1930s, Chávez became a major interpreter of Latin American indigenous cultures, popular arts, and a director of modern Mexican dance in collaboration with U.S. choreographers.

### *American Political Culture and the Cinema of the Mexican Revolution*

**Adela Pineda**  
**Boston University**

This presentation studies the exemplary case of *Viva Villa!*, a movie produced by David O. Selznick and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer in 1933 and released in 1934. I will document the movie's reception in Mexico and in the United States as reported by the press, showing that it elicited antagonistic views about Villa. I will relate this reception to the ambiguous use of cinematic genre conventions displayed in the movie. On one hand, the movie articulates an illusionistic reality effect built around the epic story of Villa; on the other, it has a comic subtext that parodies the epic visual regime. I will argue that the ambiguous use of genre conventions may have been the result of multiple factors: an economic strategy on the part of the studio system willing to please an indiscriminate audience; a consequence of Hollywood's political calculations to comply with Mexico's official cultural politics regarding Villa's diminished historic memory at a moment of national reconfiguration; the unintentional outcome of the troublesome incidents surrounding the movie's production; or a deliberate strategy exercised by the makers of the movie in order to address other themes and conventions relevant to the cinema of the depression years. On the whole, *Viva Villa!* set off a transnational debate about the cultural image of Mexico brought about by the Mexican Revolution.



## The Mexican-American Experience

*Charting the Legacy of the Revolution:**How the Mexican Revolution Transformed El Paso's Cultural and Urban Landscape***David Dorado Romo****Independent journalist and writer**

At the turn of the 20th century, El Paso, Texas, was an ideal launching pad for a revolution in Mexico. Having the largest ethnic Mexican population in the United States and a location at the crossroads of major binational railroad lines made it the most strategic site along a 1,900-mile border from which to carry out arms smuggling, espionage, recruitment, and publication of newspapers denouncing the dictatorial regime of Porfirio Díaz. Although several historians have written about El Paso's significant role in helping spark the Mexican Revolution, fewer scholars have explored how the historic conflict profoundly transformed this border city's cultural and urban landscape. My paper documents change over time of El Paso's built environment during the late 19th and early 20th centuries and its connection to demographic and cultural transformation brought about by upheaval across the border. El Paso has more than 100 surviving buildings with stories to tell about the Mexican Revolution. These sites served as radical-newspaper offices, recruitment centers, revolutionary headquarters for the various factions involved in the military conflict, movie theaters, detective agencies, and stash houses. In the words of John Reed, who arrived in El Paso in 1914 in search of Pancho Villa, every bar and hotel lobby in the city served as a plotting ground for "revolutionaries, counter-revolutionaries, or counter-counter revolutionaries." The stories connected to specific urban spaces are pieces of a puzzle that tell much broader historical narratives related to issues that resonate today, including immigration, racialized public health policies, and the militarization of the border. My investigation is part of a collaborative public history project at the University of Texas at El Paso with historians, graduate students, and members of the community involved in the centennial commemoration of the Mexican Revolution. The project, "Museo Urbano 2010," is currently creating multilayered GIS mappings, public landmarks, and outdoor exhibits for more than 100 sites of memory of the Mexican Revolution along the U.S.-Mexico border.

*The Line that Divides: How the Mexican Revolution Remade the U.S.-Mexico Border***Benjamin H. Johnson****Southern Methodist University**

Today the border between the United States and Mexico is the source of conflict and controversy, a highly policed line that is assumed to divide two very different countries. It was not always so. For generations after the border's creation in 1848, the governing classes of both nations more often than not cooperated in its administration. There were no restrictions on the entry of Mexicans into the United States, and the American government spent more resources monitoring its border with Canada. The Mexican Revolution, however, changed this dramatically. When revolutionary violence spilled onto American soil, when the United States twice sent its military forces into Mexico, when Mexican and Mexican-American laborers rebelled in countless ways against exploitation and occupational discrimination, the U.S. government came to see its open border with Mexico as an unacceptable threat to national security and race and employment hierarchies. The fences, inspections (including dangerous and demeaning chemical baths), and, by the 1920s, deportations, and the widespread use of the term "illegal alien"—all of these were in one way or another responses to the revolution.



*American Ethos:**Reveling in Patriotism on the U.S.-Mexico Border during the Mexican Revolution***Elaine Peña****The George Washington University**

This essay considers the Mexican Revolution through the eyes of the Improved Order of Red Men (IORM), a fraternal organization akin to the Sons of Liberty and the Saint Tammany societies. Formally established in Baltimore, Maryland, in the winter of 1834, this group celebrates a particular form of “American Ethos” in the border town of Laredo, Texas, and its sister city Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas. “American Ethos” refers to concepts of democracy and liberty circulating among patriots prior to the American Revolution. The IORM sought to disseminate these values in Laredo by celebrating February 22, George Washington’s birthday. In 1898, the fraternity organized a series of patriotic events, including a modified reenactment of the Boston Tea Party on the Rio Grande River (boxes of candy labeled “tea” performed as a proxy for the contentious commodity). Much of the celebration’s initial success can be attributed to Porfirio Díaz’s open-arms embrace of binational industrial and railroad development. Further, post-1848 shifts in national identity excavated ideological space for power transfers based on physical appearance, class status, linguistic ability, kinship networks, and American will.

Contrary to popular assumptions, the annual commemoration does not disavow Mexican culture and traditions; it promotes selectively—viewing them from a safe distance, politically and geographically. Indeed, aside from the year 1899, the festivities have continued uninterrupted throughout the 20th century and into the 21st, including the Mexican Revolution (1910–20) and the Great War (1914–18)—the focal points of this analysis. In addition to explicating the political and economic processes leading up to the Mexican Revolution on both sides of the border, this essay outlines how IORM participants tempered patriotic acts to accommodate the fraternity’s ideological commitments. It explains how seemingly innocuous expressions can affect international relations and delineate citizenship criteria as well as other markers of national identification through nonviolent performances.



**John A. Britton** is Gasque Professor of History and chair of the History Department at Francis Marion University (Florence, South Carolina) where he has taught Latin American history since 1972. He has published several books and articles on the Mexican Revolution and the responses in the United States to the Mexican Revolution, including *Revolution and Ideology: Images of the Mexican Revolution in the United States* (1995). He also wrote *Carleton Beals: A Radical Journalist in Latin America* (1987); Beals wrote extensively about the Mexican Revolution in a career that extended from the 1920s to the 1970s. Britton has published articles in *Historia Mexicana*, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *The Americas*, *Hispanic American Historical Review*, *Journalism History*, *Business History Review*, *Technology and Culture*, and *The Latin Americanist*. He has been a contributing editor to *The Handbook of Latin American Studies* since 1992. His current research interests include the role of international information flows and their impact on international relations, journalism, and government policies.

**Eduardo Díaz** is the director of the Smithsonian Latino Center. He is responsible for fulfilling the center's mission of fostering appreciation of Latino culture by sponsoring, developing, and promoting Smithsonian exhibitions, collections, research, and public programs, both in Washington and across the United States. Previously, Díaz was the executive director of the National Hispanic Cultural Center (NHCC), the largest Latino cultural center in the United States. The center offers year-round programs in the visual arts, performing arts, literary arts, history, and education. In 2001, Díaz co-founded the International Accordion Festival, a free outdoor music festival in San Antonio. He continues to serve on the festival's board and participates in the event each year. Díaz earned a law degree (1976) at the University of California, Davis, and a bachelor's degree (1972) in Latin American studies at San Diego State University. He is fluent in Spanish and Portuguese.

**Adela Pineda Franco** (Ph.D. University of Texas) is a faculty member in the Department of Romance Studies and the Latin American Studies Program at Boston University. She is the author of *Geopolíticas de la cultura finisecular en Buenos Aires, París y México: Las revistas literarias y el modernismo* (2006) and coeditor of *Hacia el paisaje del mezcal* (2002) and *Alfonso Reyes y los estudios latinoamericanos* (2004). She was awarded a grant by the U.S.-Mexico Fund for Culture and the Rockefeller Foundation, and was a member of the Sistema Nacional de Investigadores in Mexico (1999–2001). She is currently at work on a book project on Mexico City and its lettered culture, film, and the Mexican Revolution.

**Brent D. Glass** became director of the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History in December 2002. He was named the Elizabeth MacMillan Director of the Museum in 2008. The National Museum of American History recently reopened to the public after a two-year renovation of its center core. During its reopening year, Glass oversaw the addition of more than twenty exhibitions, including *Abraham Lincoln: An Extraordinary Life* and *On the Water: Stories from Maritime America*, as well as the presentation of eighty public programs and 2,500 theater performances. Before joining the Smithsonian, Glass was executive director of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission in Harrisburg, a position he held from 1987 to 2002. He was executive director of the North Carolina Humanities Council from 1983 to 1987. Glass received a bachelor's degree from Lafayette College (1969), a master's degree from New York University (1971), and a doctorate in history from the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill (1980). He has written about industrial history and various topics related to the history of Pennsylvania and North Carolina.

**Guillermo Gómez-Peña** is a performance artist/writer and director of the art collective La Pocha Nostra. Born in Mexico City, he came to the United States in 1978. Since then he has been exploring cross-cultural issues with the use of performance, multilingual poetry, journalism, video, radio, and installation art. His performance work and eight books have contributed to the debates on cultural diversity, identity, and U.S.-Mexico relations. His artwork has been presented at over 700 venues across the United States, Canada, Latin America, Europe, Russia, and Australia. A MacArthur Fellow and American Book Award winner, he is a regular contributor to National Public Radio, a writer for newspapers and magazines in the United States, Mexico, and Europe, and a contributing editor to *The Drama Review* (NYU-MIT).

**Benjamin Heber Johnson** is associate professor of history at Southern Methodist University and interim director of the William P. Clements Center for Southwest Studies. A native of Houston, he received a B.A. summa cum laude at Carleton College and a Ph.D. at Yale University. He was a postdoctoral instructor at the California Institute of Technology and an assistant professor at the University of Texas at San Antonio before coming to SMU in 2002. His primary areas of research and teaching include environmental history, North American

borders, Texas history, and western history. He is author of *Revolution in Texas: How a Forgotten Rebellion and Its Bloody Suppression Turned Mexicans into Americans* (2003), *Bordertown: The Odyssey of an American Place* (2008), and several journal and anthology articles on environmental politics in the early-20th-century United States. His edited volumes include *Steal This University: The Labor Movement and the Corporatization of Higher Education* (2003), *The Making of the American West* (2007), and *Bridging National Borders in North America* (2010). He is the recipient of the Popular Culture/American Culture Association's Browne Award for *Bordertown*, the Ralph Hidy Award for the best article in the journal *Environmental History*, and grants from the Huntington Library, Marshall/Baruch Foundation, National Endowment for the Humanities, and American Council of Learned Societies. Johnson is currently researching a book on American environmentalism in the early 20th century. **Rick A. López** is associate professor of history at Amherst College and currently chair of the Mexican Studies Committee of the Conference of Latin American Studies. He completed his Ph.D. at Yale University, and is author of *Crafting Mexico: Intellectuals, Artisans, and the State after the Revolution* (forthcoming fall 2010), and coeditor of *Moviendo Montañas: Transformando la Geografía del Poder en el Sur de México* (2003). López has published seven articles on Mexican and Mexican-American cultural history, and currently is working on two manuscripts: a study of fascism in postrevolutionary Mexico, and "Science, Nationalism, and Aesthetics in the Shaping of Mexico's Environmental Imagination," which analyzes the development of Mexico's nationalist ecological imagination from the 1780s through the 1910s. He has been the recipient of numerous honors and awards, including a J. Paul Getty Postdoctoral Fellowship in the History of Art and the Humanities, the James Alexander Robertson Prize for Best Article on Latin America, and the New England Council of Latin American Studies' Best Dissertation Prize.

**Jaime Marroquin** was born in Mexico City in 1971. He obtained his Ph.D in Hispanic literature at the University of Texas at Austin. He has published *La historia de los prejuicios en América: La conquista* (2007) and is currently an assistant professor of Spanish at The George Washington University.

**Yolanda Padilla** is assistant professor of English at the University of Pennsylvania. She earned her undergraduate degree from the University of California, Davis, and her Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. Her primary area of specialization is U.S.-Latina/o literature and culture, with additional interests in transnational American studies, border studies, and the study of race and gender in the Americas. She coedited (with William Orchard) *The Plays of Josefina Niggli: Recovered Landmarks of Latino Literature* (2007), which was chosen as one of twenty-four "Best of the Best Books Published by University Presses" by the American Library Association. She is currently working on a book manuscript entitled *Revolutionary Subjects: The Mexican Revolution and the Transnational Emergence of Mexican American Literature and Culture*. The book examines the role of the Mexican Revolution in shaping early-20th-century Mexican-American letters and politics. She has published essays related to this project in *Women's Studies Quarterly* and *CR: The New Centennial Review*.

**Elaine Peña** (Ph.D. Northwestern) was born and raised in Laredo, Texas. She is the author of the forthcoming book *Performing Piety: Making Space Sacred with the Virgin of Guadalupe* and "Beyond Mexico: Guadalupan Sacred Space Production and Mobilization in a Chicago Suburb" in *American Quarterly*. The Council of Editors of Learned Journals recently named the issue including this article the best special issue of 2009. She also edited and co-penned *Ethno-Techno: Writings on Performance, Activism, and Pedagogy* with performance artist Guillermo Gómez-Peña (2005). She is currently preparing the essay "Women on Foot: Making Space Sacred in Central Mexico" for a special issue of *Women's History Review* based on papers presented at St. Hilda's College, University of Oxford. Peña is an assistant professor of American studies at The George Washington University and also directs the Latino D.C. History Project for the Smithsonian Latino Center.

**David Dorado Romo** is an essayist, historian, and translator. He is the author of *Ringside Seat to a Revolution: An Underground Cultural History of El Paso and Juárez, 1893–1923*. His book received several awards in 2006 including the Writers' League of Texas Violet Crown, the Western Literature Association Non-Fiction Book of the Year, the Western Writers of America Spur Award, and the Latino Literacy Now International Book Award. Romo translated *Questions and Swords* by Subcomandante Marcos in 2001 and *Soldaderas* by Elena Poniatowska in 2006. He was the executive director of the Bridge Center for Contemporary Art in El Paso and has also worked as a freelance journalist for the *Texas Observer* and Controradio in Florence, Italy. Romo is the curator for a two-part exhibition, *El Paso: The Other Side of the Mexican Revolution*, that will be displayed at the El Paso Museum of History and at the University of Texas at El Paso's Centennial Museum in 2011.

**Karin Roseblatt** studies the relation between gender, racial/ethnic, and class identities and governance and social policy. She is the author of *Gendered Compromises: Political Cultures and the State in Chile, 1920–1950* (2000), which won the Berkshire Prize for the best first book by a woman historian. The book examined how feminists, socialists, labor activists, social workers, physicians, and political leaders converged around a shared gender ideology and how that ideology shaped labor, health, and welfare policies. With Nancy Appelbaum and Anne Macpherson she edited the anthology *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America* (2003). She is currently at work on a book that considers how scholarship on race and poverty has shaped discourses of social mobility, cultural difference, and national development in Mexico and the United States from 1920 to 1970. This transnational study examines the biographies and writings of influential sociologists and anthropologists to understand when and how ideas about race change as they move across national borders. Roseblatt has held fellowships from Fulbright and the National Endowment for the Humanities and been a fellow at New York University and the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study. She served as director of Latin American studies at Syracuse University, where she taught from 1995 to 2008. Roseblatt received her Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1996.

**Mary Kay Vaughan** specializes in the cultural, gender, and educational history of modern Mexico. Her book *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants, and Schools in Mexico, 1930–1940* received the Herbert Eugene Bolton Prize as the most outstanding book in Latin American history in 1997 and the Bryce Wood Award of the Latin American Studies Association for best book on Latin America published in English. She is also the author of *The State, Education and Social Class in Mexico, 1880–1928* (1982) and coeditor of several collections, including *Women of the Mexican Countryside, 1850–1990: Creating Spaces, Shaping Transitions* (1994) and *Escuelas y sociedad en el periodo cardenista* (1998). Her most recent publications are *The Eagle and the Virgin: Cultural Revolution and National Identity in Mexico, 1920–1940* (2006), coedited with Stephen Lewis, and *Sex in Revolution: Gender, Politics, and Power in Modern Mexico* (2006), coedited with Jocelyn Olcott and Gabriela Cano. Vaughan is former editor of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* and current president of the Conference on Latin American History. She has received fellowships from the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Council for International Exchange of Scholars (Fulbright), and the Social Science Research Council, and grants from the MacArthur Foundation, the Fulbright-Hays Program, and the Illinois Humanities Council. She has been visiting professor at the Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla and the Departamento de Investigaciones Educativas in Mexico City. She is currently completing the life history of painter Jose Zuniga, a biographical approach to understanding the Mexico City youth rebellion of the 1960s.

**Steve Velasquez** is an associate curator for the Division of Home and Community Life, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution. He started at the Smithsonian as an intern in the National Museum of Natural History in 1995 and joined the National Museum of American History in 1997. His background is in Latin American archaeology, collections management, and material culture studies. His research interests include Latino history, identity, and material culture, Spanish American colonial history, and immigration/migration. He was co-curator for the Bracero Oral History Project and associated traveling exhibit, *Bittersweet Harvest: The Bracero Program 1942–1964*. Past exhibits and projects include *Mexican Treasures at the Smithsonian*; *¡Azúcar! The Life and Music of Celia Cruz*; *A Collector's Vision of Puerto Rico*; *Julia Child's Kitchen at the Smithsonian*, and the Toluca Valley Archaeology Research Project, as well as many other exhibit cases and special projects.

**Alia Wong** is a junior at Boston University, where she is a Martin Luther King Jr. scholar pursuing majors in journalism and Latin American studies. She was born and raised in Honolulu and attended Punahou School. Her interest in Latin America arose when she first traveled to Guatemala at the age of sixteen to volunteer in a boys' orphanage. She returned to the country twice to work in the orphanage and to volunteer as a teacher in a grassroots schooling project. She later traveled to Mexico and Argentina to explore other volunteer opportunities and cultivate her interest in Latin America. With this background, she became aware of Adela Pineda's project on the connections between the Mexican Revolution, cinema, and U.S.-Mexican relations. She has been working under Professor Pineda's supervision on the subject since the fall semester of her sophomore year, with the support of an Undergraduate Research Opportunity grant.

FILM SERIES REMARKS

September 24 10:30AM

Adela Pineda and Alia Wong, Boston University

- 11:00AM**     *Viva Villa!* (1934)  
*Viva Villa!* was produced by David O. Selznick and Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. Originally directed by Howard Hawks, the final credit went to Jack Conway. It was filmed on location, 100 kilometers from Mexico City, and critics predicted it would become the greatest cinematic success of the following year. Attention focused on the title role actor, Wallace Beery, a Hollywood top ten box-office performer at the time. Despite many positive reviews, the movie elicited antagonistic views of Villa and the revolution: it articulates an illusionistic reality effect built around the epic story of Villa, yet it has a comic subtext that parodies the epic visual regime. This ambiguous use of genre conventions may have been a deliberate strategy the moviemakers used (particularly scriptwriter Ben Hecht) in order to address other themes and conventions relevant to the American cinema of the depression years.
- 1:00PM**     *The Wild Bunch* (1969)  
 Directed by Sam Peckinpah, *The Wild Bunch* is considered one of the most accomplished and bizarre Westerns of the last century. Film critic Jim Kitses sees it as a dark vision of the American experience. Others have noted its allegorical associations concerning the Vietnam War. *The Wild Bunch* uniquely revealed the redundancy of nostalgic myths of the frontier. Through the depiction of a bloody confrontation between aging American outlaws and Huerista federales during the Mexican Revolution, *The Wild Bunch* advocates a cathartic setback of American policy in Vietnam.
- 3:30PM**     *Viva Zapata!* (1952)  
 This biopic of Emiliano Zapata was directed by Elia Kazan, with screenplay by John Steinbeck, featuring Marlon Brando in the title role. The cinematography was based on numerous photographs taken during the revolutionary years, especially those by Agustín Casasola. Kazan also acknowledged the influence of Roberto Rossellini's *Paisan*. *Viva Zapata!* was filmed during the troublesome years of Kazan's testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee. The film expresses Kazan's philosophical view on politics; it illustrates how a counterrevolution from above was built on the ruins of a prior peasant revolution from below. In this sense, the movie is a critique of the transformation of the revolutionary movement into a repressive state. Similar to the circumstances of the release of *Viva Villa!*, the filming and production of *Viva Zapata!* were met by tension and strict censorship regulations in Mexico.
- NOTE:**     *These films will be re-shown in Corcoran Hall 101, 725 21st St. NW, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C., beginning at 5:00 p.m.*

BOOK SIGNINGS

September 24

- NOON**     *The Underdogs: A Novel of the Mexican Revolution*, by Mariano Azuela  
 Translator Sergio Waisman will sign the book.
- Ringside Seat to a Revolution: An Underground Cultural History of El Paso and Juárez, 1893–1923*, by David Dorado Romo
- Crafting Mexico*, by Rick A. López

PERFORMANCE

September 24

- 6:30PM**     *Strange Democracy* Solo performance by Guillermo Gómez-Peña

September 23

**8:30-9:15 Registration and Coffee**

**9:15 Welcoming Remarks**

Brent D. Glass, Director, National Museum of American History

**9:30 Keynote Address**

*The Mexican Revolution and the United States:  
Fury, Romance, and National Identities*

Mary Kay Vaughan, Professor of History, Department of History,  
University of Maryland

**10:15 Break**

**10:30-11:30 PANEL I**

*The Mexican Revolution and U.S.-Mexican Relations: Intellectual Endeavors*

*Moderator: Adela Pineda, Associate Professor of Spanish, Boston University*

**Exploration of U.S. government and media reactions to the Mexican Revolution and the ideas generated by the historical events**

*From Antagonism to Accord:*

*The Controversy over the Mexican Revolution in the Political Culture of the United States*

John Britton, Gasque Professor of History and Department of History Chair,  
Francis Marion University

*The "Other" Novel of the Mexican Revolution*

Yolanda Padilla, Assistant Professor of English, University of Pennsylvania

*Race, Ethnicity, and the Acculturation Paradigm:*

*Indigenismo, Applied Anthropology, and North-South Dialogues*

Karin Roseblatt, Director, Latin American Studies Center,  
University of Maryland

**11:30-12:00 Q&A**

**12:00-1:15 Lunch on your own**

**1:30 -2:30 PANEL II**

*U.S.-Mexican Cultural and Artistic Relations in the Age of the Mexican Revolution*

*Moderator: Jaime Marroquin, Assistant Professor of Spanish,  
The George Washington University*

**Exploration of the direct influence of the Mexican Revolution in key works of 20th-century U.S. literature and art**

*Transnational Collaboration and the Shaping of Mexico's Ethnicized National Culture*

Rick López, Associate Professor of History, Amherst College

*Brown, Black, and Blues: Miguel Covarrubias and Carlos Chávez in the United States and Mexico*

Mary Kay Vaughan, Professor of History, and Ted Cohen, Ph.D. Candidate,  
Department of History, University of Maryland

*American Political Culture and the Cinema of the Mexican Revolution*

Adela Pineda, Associate Professor of Spanish, Boston University

**2:30-3:00 Q&A**



**3:00-3:15** Break

**3:15-4:30** **PANEL III**

*The Mexican-American Experience*

*Moderator: Steve Velasquez, Curator, National Museum of American History*

Focus on the geopolitical and cultural impact of the Mexican Revolution in the U.S. border (and near-border) cities

*Charting the Legacy of the Revolution:*

*How the Mexican Revolution Transformed El Paso's Cultural and Urban Landscape*

David Dorado Romo, Journalist and Writer, El Paso, Texas

*The Line That Divides: How the Mexican Revolution Remade the U.S.-Mexico Border*

Ben Johnson, Associate Professor of History, Southern Methodist University

*American Ethos:*

*Reveling in Patriotism on the U.S.-Mexico Border during the Mexican Revolution*

Elaine Peña, Assistant Professor of American Studies, The George Washington University

**4:30-5:00** **Q&A**

**5:30** *Strange Democracy*

Solo performance by Guillermo Gómez-Peña

**6:30** **Concluding Remarks**

Eduardo Díaz, Director, Smithsonian Latino Center

**September 24**

**10:30** **Mexican Revolution Film Festival and Performance**

*Presentation by Adela Pineda and Alia Wong, Boston University*

**11:00** **Film *Viva Villa!* (1934)**

**NOON** **Book signings**

**1:00** **Film *The Wild Bunch* (1969)**

**3:30** **Film *Viva Zapata!* (1952)**

**6:30** *Strange Democracy*

Solo performance by Guillermo Gómez-Peña

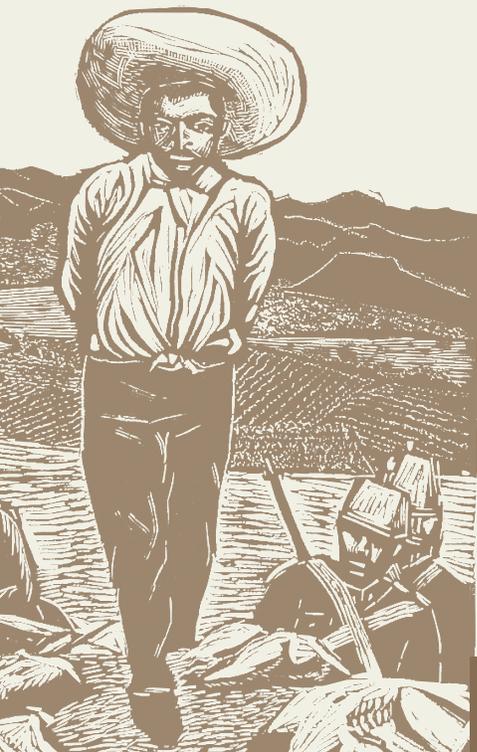
The same films will be shown in Corcoran Hall 101, 725 21st St. NW, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C., starting at 5:00PM.

**September 25**

**11:00 & 1:00** **Listen and learn about *corridos*, interactive cart, first floor**

**NOON & 2:00** **Music by Mariachi los Amigos, Carmichael Auditorium**

Please visit the Museum's commemorative showcase *iMexican Revolution! American Legacy* in the Artifact Wall exhibit space, first floor center, and online at [americanhistory.si.edu/mexicanrevolution](http://americanhistory.si.edu/mexicanrevolution).



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THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY  
COLUMBIAN COLLEGE  
OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

BOSTON  
UNIVERSITY



CREATING AN ARCHETYPE  
THE INFLUENCE OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION IN THE UNITED STATES  
[americanhistory.si.edu/mexicanrevolution](http://americanhistory.si.edu/mexicanrevolution)

All sessions will take place in Carmichael Auditorium,  
National Museum of American History,  
14th Street and Constitution Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20560

