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

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

On the other side was liberty.

The old man and the young nation did not vacillate.

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

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

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

To undertake it was the sublime suicide of the patriot.

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

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

Virtue knit his brows with the silver crown of age.

Glory surrounded him with his halo of gold.

Then, eternity received him in its arms.


On July 30, 1811, in an abandoned Jesuit Monastery in remote Chihuahua City, Padre Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla met his violent end. Lion of Mexican independence, herald of *El Grito de Dolores*, leader of the people’s rebellion, doyen of national liberation, Padre Hidalgo waded through a “sea of bayonets,” shimmering in the early-morning torchlight, and faced the same firing squad that had dispatched so many of his colleagues over the preceding weeks.

The Inquisition condemned him as a heretic; a military tribunal declared him a traitor. Despite the pleas of some of the very churchmen who had denounced him and his own expressions of repentance, the desolate wall awaited. Worn but resilient after four months of incarceration and trial, the fifty-eight-year-old priest strode into the courtyard and offered candies and kind words to the embarrassed soldiers. The officer in charge, Pedro Armendáriz, snapped everyone to order and back to the grim reality of the proceedings. The rebel priest stiffened; he stood with his back against the wall and a crucifix in his hand. As Hugh Hamill notes, “because he was priest, he was given the consideration of a private execution and the right to be shot in the chest instead of the back, subtle privileges which had been denied Allende and his secular colleagues.” Three lines of infantrymen each fired, but failed to hit him square. Armendáriz approached and ordered two trembling soldiers to press their muskets to the dying man’s chest. After the execution, Royal soldiers decapitated the cadavers of Hidalgo and his slain comrades—Allende, Jiménez, and Aldama—and transported them to Guanajuato. Rotting in iron cages slung from the four corners of the *Alhóndiga de Granitas*, where rebel rioters had massacred cowering civilians in March, the severed heads remained on display for ten long years, until Mexico achieved independence from Spain.

The political caliber of Hidalgo’s execution, the sting of foreign tyranny that it aroused, the infamy of the spectacle at the Alhóndiga, and the international audience for which it represented Mexico during the Age of Revolution, formed an instant trope in the nationalist repertoire, an enduring icon around which new generations could imagine a collective past; ‘the nation was born as its father died.’ In 1870, noted intellectuals Vicente Riva Palacio and Manuel Payno sought to capture this experience, and craft it into a pantheon of national martyrs. They named their text *El libro rojo*, The Red Book (‘red’
for the blood of patriots, presumably). The inclusion of plagues, murders, and other tragedies along with formal executions in *The Red Book* helped Riva Palacio and Payno to construct the battle for national sovereignty in Mexico as a triumph against human nature and nature more broadly. From the section dedicated to the death of Hidalgo forward, however, *The Red Book* recounts executions and deaths on the battlefield exclusively. In addition to Hidalgo, Allende, Jiménez, and Aldama, the next generation of independence leaders, including Matamoros, Morelos, Iurubide, Mina, and Guerrero, all met their deaths on the scaffold, as did the subsequent generation of Liberal statesmen like Ocampo, Valle, Degollado, Comonfort, Romero, and Arteaga y Salazar. The two authors also included Emperor Maximilian von Habsburg—who ruled his Mexico as a French satellite for four years, and his two Mexican collaborators, Generals Mejía and Miramón. The memorialization of Hidalgo's execution and the sad parade of national leaders who mirrored his march to the scaffold over the next half-century in *The Red Book* illuminate a central problem facing statesmen and reformers fifty years after Mexico achieved independence from Spain: many potential national heroes were bitter enemies; the pantheon of fallen national figures included many bitter enemies who had fought and sought to kill one another. While virtually all attempts to narrate national histories deal with such conflict—think about the Civil War in the U.S.—the crisis of legitimacy in the central government persisted longer and at a higher intensity in Mexico than in any major Western counterpart, and it happened in a place that a century earlier had been one of the wealthiest and most powerful Christian kingdoms in the world, and the center of the Hispanic world. After a prolonged struggle for independence from Spain, after a catastrophic race war, after the secession of two sizable states, after two major foreign invasions, after the loss of more than half of the national territory, and after thirty national governments in fifty years, most of which fell in bloody coups and revolts, after all of this national turmoil, the only thing uniting Mexico's repertoire of slain national leaders in 1870 was death itself. Indeed, fifty years later, when the cultural avatars of the Mexican Revolution sought to create a new national identity which would unite Mexicans across lines of race, class, religion, region, they turned to death as the great metaphor, celebrating it, as Claudio Lomnitz illustrates, as a "national totem." (Imagine the grim reaper as the national mascot).

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

In historical studies, the primordial *caudillo* (strongman) and his magnetic personality supplant constitutional articles; socioeconomic ‘realities’ render legal rights irrelevant; archaic religiosity subverts secular authority; and family networks and *camarillas* (cliques) undermine ‘principled’ politics. The net result is the absence of the rule of law, the predominance of corruption, and the retardation of democracy in Mexico. By inference then, the rule of law refers to the sovereignty of a singular regime of positive law over a defined jurisdiction. So constructed, the ‘rule of law’ does not specify the content of the legal regime that it seeks to impose—the particular natural laws to be enshrined or human rights to be protected. Governance itself, the paradigm implies, is the route to the protection of people—the transformation of human beings into citizens the vehicle to democratic expression. Historical scholarship on modern Mexico has more often than not fallen into the clutches of the rule of law polemic and its assumption of the primacy of governance in the foundation of democracy, and the lack of both in Mexican history.

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

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

Historian François Xavier Guerra frames the problem differently. Like Paz and other commentators, Guerra acknowledges that political life in Spanish America has often been “very far from reflecting not only constitutional clauses but even certain rules generally accepted in Western democracies.” He explains, “political regimes are often ephemeral and dictatorships frequently interrupt institutional continuity… Pronunciamientos, coups d’etat, rebellions and revolutions have been common means to coming to power, at least as common as elections.” And yet, Guerra rejects the assertion that the foreignness of modern political ideas in Spanish America accounts for the gaps between their ideology and practice. He emphasizes instead the precocity of modern political ideas in Spanish America:

These are countries which belong in their own right – at least in terms of their elites’ origins and culture – within a European cultural area. Countries which were among the first within this cultural area to set up modern political regimes and which, since their independence in the early nineteenth century, have adopted national sovereignty as their legitimizing principle and the representative republic as their form of government.

For Guerra, the fundamental question is one of representation. He poses three questions that define an inclusive notion of political representation: 1) “Why must there be representation?”, 2) “Who or what is represented?”, and 3) “How must such representation be made?” “The whole point,” he explains, “is to establish whether modern politics and the type of representation derived from it were the only ones social actors conceived of and recognized, or whether there was an alternative politics, with different forms of representation, which coexisted with modern forms, and constantly modified them.”

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

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

This course will attempt to answer the above questions through the examination of historical scholarship and primary documents, and the application of a series of analytical tools and social scientific categories of analysis. In the end, in addition to complimenting your basic knowledge of the history of modern Mexico, I hope to hone your critical thinking and writing skills, giving you some new tools with which you will be able to better ask and answer your own historical, cultural, and political questions about Mexico and the wider world.

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

**Reading Assignments**
The readings for each class are listed according to the days in which they are due. *Please note that the readings for weeks #5 and #7 are from a single text, and cover the entire week; there are no additional readings for each session those weeks. The notations below for those readings not included in the texts above either contain electronic links (such as those to the JStor journal archive), or will be provided on the course website or library reserves, as noted next to each entry.*

**Written Assignments**
There are three written assignments for this class. Each will consist of an essay of 6-8 pages (12 pt, double-spaced). For each essay, you will have your choice of four options, although you may only choose the same option twice. For each option, I will provide a much more detailed description and suggested materials in a separate document.

**Option #1: The novel and history** -- Compare and contrast a fictional account of a major event in nineteenth-century Mexico (preferably in the form of a novel) with a professional historian’s account of the same event or time period.

**Option #2: Testimonial and history** – Compare and contrast the memoir or other written testimonial of a participant in or witness to a major event from nineteenth-century Mexico with a professional historian’s account of the same event or time period.

**Option #3: Cinema and history** – Compare and contrast a motion picture’s depiction of a major event from nineteenth-century Mexico with a professional historian’s account of the same event or time period.

**Option #4: The News and history** – Compare and contrast contemporary accounts from newspapers or other media outlets of a major event from nineteenth-century Mexico with a professional historian’s account of the same event or time period.

**Option #5: History and historiography** – Compare and contrast two professional historians’ accounts of the same major event or time period in nineteenth-century Mexico.

I will also distribute a writing guide, with helpful tips and guidelines for producing clear, creative, and well-documented essays following each of the above models. I will also hold optional writing workshops before each of the first two essays are due in order to help you brainstorm, think critically about the subject matter, and refine your writing.

**Important Dates:**
Optional Writing Workshop – Monday, January 23, 6:30-8:00 p.m.
Essay #1 Due – Wednesday, February 1
Optional Writing Workshop – Monday, February 27, 6:30-8:00 p.m.
Essay #2 Due – Wednesday, March 1
Essay #3 Due – Friday, March 17
Final Exam – Thursday, March 23, 7:00 p.m.

**A Note on Plagiarism**
Don’t cheat; it’s wrong. If we (the readers and I) believe that we have caught anyone in an act of plagiarism, we will immediately report the incident to the Dean of Students, who will investigate the matter in a full and fair way (no one will be punished without significant evidence). My general inclination is to fail, for the class, any student confirmed cheating on any particular assignment. I know that the vast majority of you would never even consider submitting anything other than your own work, and I hope that you don’t take the above warning the wrong way. I have included it in this syllabus for two reasons. First, aided by the internet, plagiarism is plaguing college campuses across the country, and many, if not most, college professors have looked the other way. More important, I maintain a strict policy on cheating in defense of your integrity as creative, hard-working students. Our ideas and our words define us; when an honest student, trying her best, stays up all night working on a paper and get a B, and her colleague copies one off of the internet, or worse, a fellow student, and gets an A, we all lose.
Final Exam
The final for this course will take the form of an hour-long multiple choice and short-answer examination. It will cover all readings and lectures. The central goal of the final will be to reward you for coming to class and doing the readings; the questions will involve basic factual information and interpretation, in place of the more rigorous and subjective analysis demanded in the papers. For those of you who are worried about your essay-writing skills, the exam should present a good counter-balance to the other assignments.

Grading
Papers = 2/3; and Final Exam = 1/3

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

Office Hours
I enjoy meeting with students individually and in smaller groups. I encourage you to take advantage of my office hours to clarify and discuss questions that arise in our lectures and readings, and I plan to schedule some extra sessions before each of the essays is due, for those of you who want to hone your research and writing skills. I will hold office hours on Monday mornings from 11:00 am to 12:00 pm, and on Tuesday evenings from 6:30-7:30 pm, in my office, H&SS 5053. I look forward to meeting you and helping you to get the best out of your coursework.

Week #1
Mexican Independence

Monday, January 9
The Death of Padre Hidalgo and the Question of National History

Readings:

Wednesday, January 11
The City of God and the Modern State – Religious Revolt and Political Independence, 1810-21

Readings:
2. El Grito de Dolores (English) (1810), Stable URL:

Week # 2
Forging a Nation

Monday, January 16
The Autonomists and “The Other Rebellion”:
Elite and Popular Actors and the Struggle for Independence

Readings:
1. Jaime Rodríguez O., Mexico in the Age of Democratic Revolutions (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1994); pp. 1-21. [WebCT]

Wednesday, January 18
‘Ahi te estás’
Constituting Race, Backwardness, and Political Community in Nineteenth-Century Mexico
Readings:

**Week #3**
The ‘Century of Chaos’ and The Strange Career of Antonio López de Santa Anna

Monday, January 23
The Passion of the Caudillo, Part I:
The Federalist Revolt of 1833 and the Mier y Terán Expedition

*Optional Writing Workshop – H&SS, 4th floor conference room, 6:30-8:00 p.m.*

Readings:

Wednesday, January 25
The Passion of the Caudillo, Part II
Conservative Rule and the Pretexts for Foreign Intervention in the 1840s

Readings:

**Week #4**
Manifest Destiny and Manifest Decadence – War with the United States

Monday, January 30
‘So Far from God, So Close to the United States’

Readings:

Wednesday, February 1
Rogues, Legionnaires, and Laborers – The St. Patrick’s Brigade
*Essay #1 Due at the beginning of class

Week #5
Push them to the Sea – Race War and Social Transformation in Yucatán


Monday, February 6
'The Machete and the Cross’ – The Caste War in Yucatán

Wednesday, February 8
'Xuxub Must Die’ – The Murder of Robert Stephens and Company

Week #6
Noble and Lesser Experiments – The War of the Reform and the French Intervention

Monday, February 13
For the Pure at Heart – The Constitution of 1857

Readings:

Wednesday, February 15
The Unlikely Emperor, the Mexican Lincoln, and their Respective Hatchetmen
The French Intervention

Readings:
4. Letter from Victor Hugo to Benito Juárez asking him to spare the life of Maximilian [WebCT].

Week #7
The Tyranny of Progress – The Porfiriato


Monday, February 20
Judas at the Jockey Club, Cuauhtémoc at the World's Fair:
The Wizards of Progress in Porfriian Mexico

Wednesday, February 22
Chasing Ghosts at the Edge of the Apocalypse – The Tomóchic Rebellion

Week #8
Twentieth-Century Modernity Meets the Generation of the Volcano
The Origins of the Mexican Revolution

Monday, February 27
From the Frontier into the Border – The Social Transformation of Northern Mexico

*Optional Writing Workshop – 6:30-8:00 p.m. H&SS 4th floor conference room

Readings:
Wednesday, March 1
"Barbarous Mexico" and the "White City" – Labor and Wealth in Porfirian Mexico

*Essay #2 – Due at the beginning of class

Readings:

Week #9
From the Edge to the Eye of the Storm – Revolution and Civil War

Monday, March 6
The Soft and Rough Hands of Martyrdom – The Maderista and Zapatista Revolutions

Readings:

Wednesday, March 8
The Dictatorship of Victoriano Huerta, the U.S. Intervention at Veracruz, and The Rise of Villismo

Readings:

Week #10
The Legitimacy of the Law and the Machine Gun:
The Constitutionalist Revolution

Monday, March 13
Secular Scripture and Bloody Rag – The Constitution of 1917

Readings:
1. William O. Jenkins. “Mexico has been Turned into a Hell.” The Mexico Reader, pp. 357-63.
Death, Destiny and Dissonance: The Future of Revolutionary Mexico

Readings:

Friday, March 17
*Essay #3 – Due by 5:00 p.m. in the box marked HILA 131 outside of the History Department office, H&SS, 5th floor.

Thursday, March 23
*Final Exam – 7:00-8:30 p.m.