

# Deconstructing Indians, Reconstructing *Patria*

## Indigenous Education in Yucatan from the *Porfiriato* to the Mexican Revolution

By

Paul K. Eiss

CARNEGIE MELLON UNIVERSITY

---

---

### RESUMEN

---

---

Durante las primeras décadas del siglo XX, las atenciones de varios grupos reformistas yucatecos y mexicanos se fijaron en la educación indígena en Yucatán, situando a ese estado en la vanguardia de la educación indígena en México. Las propuestas de los hacendados yucatecos reformistas, y de los gobiernos constitucionalistas y socialistas del período revolucionario, evidenciaban marcadas diferencias teóricas y prácticas en cuestiones educativas, conforme a sus distintas políticas e ideologías. Pero a pesar de las diferencias, muchas de las propuestas para la educación de las poblaciones mayas de Yucatán se basaban en un racismo utópico, según el cual las poblaciones indígenas se consideraban como poblaciones degeneradas, primitivas, y atrasadas, o sea por herencia biológica, o por formación cultural o lingüística. Sólo a través de un proceso educativo que “liberara” a los “indios” de su idioma, costumbres, y cultura, se podrían asimilar a la patria mexicana como ciudadanos leales y productivos. Los diversos reformistas, en proyectos llevados a la práctica, se proponían eradicar toda manifestación de diferencia étnica, para inculcar en su lugar una conciencia de mexicanidad y de modernidad. Este proceso fue concebido—tanto por hacendados, reformistas, revolucionarios, y socialistas—en términos espirituales, como un proceso de redención.

PALABRAS CLAVES: México, educación, indígena, raza, nación. KEYWORDS: Mexico, education, indigenous, race nation.

---

---

FROM 1909 through the early 1920s Yucatan was the setting for a series of attempts to establish schools for indigenous children in pueblos and on haciendas throughout the state. A variety of groups, including *hacendados*, teachers, revolutionaries,

*The Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 9(1):119–150, copyright © 2004, American Anthropological Association

and government officials in Mexico City and Yucatan, made education the centerpiece of broader strategies for the governance of indigenous populations. These proposals, and the policies and schools eventually established, varied strikingly, taking their inspiration from a wide range of educational theorists (Torres Quintero 1918b), and from models that ranged from vocational schools, to residential schools for African American and Native American children in the United States, to “Rationalist” schools established by Spanish anarchist Francisco Ferrer in Barcelona. Some reformers proposed to establish indigenous education voluntarily at private initiative, while others sought to do so through governmental intervention and the mandate of law. The curricula proposed were remedial or vocational, religious, or anti-clerical, and moral, civic, or political in content. Instruction was to be aimed at turning children into disciplined workers and loyal citizens, at instilling hygiene or historical memory, at countering the spread of socialism or inspiring revolutionary fervor. Schools took diverse forms, ranging from those based on the haciendas, to an urban boarding school aimed at transforming Mayan children into teachers of their own communities.

Despite such differences, however, the diverse proponents of indigenous education shared a broad set of assumptions—as utopian as they were racist—about education as a process based upon nation-making and racial improvement. Educational reformers from the Porfiriato through the Mexican Revolution (Knight 1990) referred to Yucatec Maya populations as “Indians” (*indios*), a pejorative term with connotations of ignorance, marginalization, and primitivism. Reformers often noted the descent of Indians from pre-Hispanic greatness to a condition of contemporary racial “degeneracy.” While they differed on whether such degeneration was biological and inherited, or cultural and hence susceptible of remedy, educational reformers of various periods and strikingly different political affiliations shared a view of “Indians” as primitives whose ignorance, backwardness, laziness, and apathy blocked the progress of Mexico. Indian “regeneration” was thus taken to be the primary goal of education, one that would require the remedy of imputed deficits and the extirpation of presumably inferior cultural traits of the “Indian race”—from language, to customs and dress, to morality. For porfirians, hacendados, and revolutionaries alike rural schools were to be the advance front of a wider process of biological, cultural, and political assimilation through which indigenous populations, to borrow from Marisol de la Cadena’s study of racial politics in Peru, might be “de-Indianized” (de la Cadena 2000).

Once “Indians” were liberated of their language, customs, and culture, they could be assimilated as loyal citizens of tomorrow’s Mexican *Patria*. Race was to be eradicated as a form of essential difference separating Indians from Mexicans, while sublimated as a unifying component of the nationalist ideology that projected the new Mexican patria as a united and homogeneous race. In that new “bronze” race

the descendants of Spaniards and Indians would be joined, miraculously, as one. Like social reformers and revolutionaries elsewhere in Mexico (Vasconcelos 1920/1929) and in Latin America, Yucatecan educational reformers were ardent proponents of what Jeffrey Gould has called the “myth of mestizaje” (Gould 1998)—though not as an achieved reality or historical fact, but rather as the desired future of the Mexican patria. Liberal reformers and even anti-clerical revolutionaries conceived of the project of deconstructing Indians and reconstructing patria in almost religious terms, as analogous to a process of spiritual conquest or conversion. Hence, from the porfiriato through the revolution of Salvador Alvarado (1915–1918), indigenous education in Yucatan was imagined, organized and instituted under the sign of redemption.

### **Rural Education and the *Liga de Acción Social***

Long before the onset of the Mexican Revolution, the education of rural indigenous populations was a concern of reformers and policymakers at the national level. The topic was raised in the context of the establishment of national primary education under the direction of Joaquín Barranda (1883–1901). Barranda argued that it would be impossible for Mexico to achieve the progress desired by ruling elites as long as a majority of the population remained illiterate, and outside the educational system. Drawing upon metaphors of spiritual conquest and civilization, he called on teachers to become “missionaries” and conceived of the establishment of rural schools as a means of educating “the backward, uncivilized indigenous tribes” (Barranda cited in Meneses 1983:342; Bazant 1993; Vaughan 1982). Barranda’s successor, Justo Sierra, became a more outspoken advocate of indigenous education. In the spirit of Spencer and Comte, Sierra viewed Mexican society as a hierarchically structured organism that could evolve and progress to higher forms if only exposed to favorable social, cultural and political conditions. Despite economic “progress” under the regime of President Porfirio Díaz, Sierra considered Mexico a country divided by race and language, whose indigenous majority remained outside the cultural and political life of the nation and impeded its development (Meneses 1983; Vaughan 1982, 1997).

For Sierra, a broad-based program of popular education was the only way for the state to “regenerate” Mexico, securing social and cultural unification, and economic and political progress. In a speech to the national congress, Sierra declared the need for the “dignification” and “uplift” of indigenous souls through schooling:

Let us put our coat-of-arms on the forehead of the indigenous children. They are the strength of our Nation. They are the secret of the future. Let us raise up the suffer-

ing, fallen race, the dead race, to a life of the spirit, and of civics! Let us infuse them with the vigor of the nation, so that they may stand with us, as the bulwark of our liberties and the foundation of our institutions.” (Sierra cited in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913: v-vi)

Like Barranda, Sierra used religious, even messianic, metaphors to describe the process of rural education, which he envisioned as a process of “spiritual construction.” Teachers would be “apostles” or “missionaries,” carrying out the “holy work” of Mexicanization, and the school was to be a “civic church” where the “religion of the patria” would be taught (Meneses 1983:504,565,621; Bazant 1993:29,36). In place of a previous emphasis on rote learning, the rural schools proposed by Sierra and others who worked with him (like Gregorio Torres Quintero, who years later would direct revolutionary period educational reforms in Yucatan), would place an emphasis on pedagogy that was both practical (focusing on agricultural and domestic work, to increase the productivity of rural laborers) and patriotic (focusing on Spanish competency and literacy, as well as the teaching of the national anthem, national history, etc.) (Vaughan 1982:31,85).

Despite such proposals, Porfirio Díaz’s lack of interest in and support of the rural schools left them unrealized. The onset of the popular insurgencies that eventually toppled the Díaz regime in 1911 and installed popular leader Francisco Madero in power lent the issue greater urgency for both middle-class reformers and popular insurgents. In 1911, Gregorio Torres Quintero was charged with developing a program of “rudimentary instruction” via a national system of indigenous schools, and in June a law was passed authorizing the federal government to create rural schools for the “indigenous race” throughout Mexico (Vaughan 1982:51; Meneses 1983:485–486, 632; Meneses 1986:90). While rudimentary education focused on the teaching of the Spanish language, the new reformers proposed a model of pragmatic “integral education” that would involve agricultural and manual work (Meneses 1983:567; Meneses 1986:105). Like Justo Sierra, they expressed shame over the supposed lack of “civilization” and national sentiment among indigenous populations, and described education as a “crusade” of “redemption,” in which, to use Abraham Castellanos’ words, the “races will be fused, to bring about national unity” (Castellanos cited in Meneses 1983:574). Informed by civil warfare during the revolutionary years, the new reformers explicitly conceived of education as a way to assimilate, “civilize,” reform and control populations that otherwise might join rebellions or fall under the sway of radical agrarian leaders (Vaughan 1982:88; Meneses 1986:147).

Even as debates over rural education legislation took shape at the national level in the early revolutionary years, reformers and educators in the state of Yucatan considered how to put such ideas into practice. After decades of crisis in the wake

of the Caste War of the mid-nineteenth century, from the 1870s onward Yucatecan elites had found what they considered to be their salvation in the cultivation of henequen, a plant used in the manufacture of rope and twine. Confronted by difficulties securing enough labor to meet the demands of the burgeoning henequen economy, local elites and the state government set in place a legally-sanctioned system of debt servitude to force Maya speaking populations to work and to live on the haciendas (Joseph 1982; Wells 1985; Wells and Joseph 1996; Topik and Wells 1998). By the end of the porfiriato, however, an intense economic, social and political crisis emerged in the peninsula. From 1907 forward, declining prices for henequen fiber on the international market troubled the hacienda economy, as many *hacendados* faced bankruptcy, and compensation for workers declined. Social unrest became characteristic of the hacienda zone in the same period, as workers and pueblo residents took part in revolts and uprisings with increasing frequency. With the onset of popular insurgencies and political conflict at the national level, Yucatan entered an era of growing political violence and insurgency as well. The eventual end of indigenous debt servitude seemed inevitable. To many, however, the prospect of liberation suggested the possibility of another Caste War, or of the wholesale abandonment of the haciendas by emancipated workers, either of which seemed to forebode the collapse of henequen agriculture in Yucatan (Wells and Joseph 1996).

Several organizations of reform-oriented Yucatecan *hacendados* emerged amid the deepening crisis. In February 1909 the *Liga de Acción Social* was created by a group of *hacendados* led by Gonzalo Cámara. The group was dedicated to the modernization of Yucatecan society through social reform, and sought to counter “socialist” perspectives with an “individualist” philosophy founded upon private initiative and “self-help” (Correa Delgado 1959; Wells and Joseph 1996). The *Liga* immediately took up the issue of rural and indigenous education as its primary cause, and by June, Cámara issued a proposal for schools to be established on haciendas throughout the peninsula. Frustrated by a lack of governmental interest in the proposal, however, members determined to proceed with the plan to inaugurate the schools through private initiative. The *Liga* issued a proposal to *hacendados* of the peninsula asking for their support, and organized a press and propaganda campaign, alongside a series of twelve conferences dedicated to the theme of rural education over the course of 1910 and 1911 (*Liga de Acción Social* 1913). By the time of the celebrations for the centennial of Mexico’s independence in September 1910, 17 rural schools were ready to be inaugurated, bringing to a total of 27 the number of schools reputedly established on the haciendas, largely under the auspices of *hacendados* who were members or supporters of the *Liga* (Correa Delgado 1959:66). After Madero’s ally, José María Pino Suárez, took power as state governor in 1911, the state government became an advocate for the program, and a rural education law was passed in August 1911 (*Diario Yucateco* 1911a, 1911b, 1911c, 1911d, 1911e). Yucatan



*School on Hacienda Sacapuc. Yucatán Escolar 1918, 1:6, 39.*

became the first state to organize rural schools under the national law for rudimentary education, earning the *Liga* praise from Justo Sierra for taking “a rapid and decisive step toward the awakening of our great races” (Sierra cited in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:vi).

While there is very little surviving documentation relating to the functioning of these schools, the publications of the *Liga* provide abundant insights into the educational philosophy and racial discourse of the Yucatecan reformers. Like national educational reformers of the Porfiriato, the members of the *Liga* adopted an evolutionary, organicist, and hierarchical perspective on culture and society. In view of the stark contrast between the extraordinary wealth, education, and “civilization” of the upper echelons of Yucatecan society, and the enduring ignorance, poverty, and “backwardness” of the peninsula’s indigenous majority, Cámara and the other members of the *Liga* pronounced Yucatan a “sick” and “deformed organism”—with a large Hispanic head but “scrawny” or “atrophied” indigenous limbs or “viscera” (Cámara in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:80–82; Cantón Frexas in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:64; Ayuso y O’Horibe in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:101–104; Castellanos Acevedo in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:142; Irigoyen Lara in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:170; Novelo in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:241). The *Liga* reformers ascribed such social disparities neither to henequen monoculture, nor to the institution of indigenous debt peonage. Rather, they sought the origins for Indian “degeneration” in the Spanish conquest and colonization of the Maya. While the Spanish had conquered the Maya materially and politically, in three centuries of colonial rule they had not realized what one member called the “moral penetration of spirits” necessary to realize the “desiderata of racial homogeneity, and the communion of interests and aspirations”

(Escalante Galera in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:132). The result was a persistent separation of Spanish and indigenous or “aboriginal” populations into distinct races, joined only by the domination of the former over the latter. While Indian labor had produced great wealth for Yucatan and Mexico, such persistent and deep ethnic division made national unity impossible. Ethnic homogeneity was the only possible basis for order and progress. Ethnic heterogeneity, the *Liga* reformers typically argued, could bring only stagnation and conflict.

The diminished condition of Yucatan’s Indians derived not only from an imputed lack of “civilization,” but also from a continuing process of racial “degeneration.” In a letter to the governor of the state, Gonzalo Cámara decried the precipitous descent of the “Mayan race” from the greatness of its pre-Hispanic civilization: “today, they have become an indifferent and stupid race. If their intellectual and moral condition does not improve, they will surely reach such a level of idiocy, that that they will be of no use to the society in which they vegetate. At best, they will serve as unthinking machines, incapable of contributing to the progress of their country” (Cámara in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:23). The *Liga* reformers viewed this process of biologically inherited degeneration as the product of multiple factors, including illness, infant mortality, unhygienic living conditions, bad nutrition, and hard labor (Rendón in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:114; Patrón Correa in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:92). Worst among these was alcoholism, a form of “collective suicide” that threatened to bring about the “extinction of the race” (Escalante Galera in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:135), and was to blame, according to one medical doctor who wrote for the *Liga*, for the

great number of idiots and imbeciles that we find among the indigenous race. . . . many of [whom] manifest such a grade of degeneration that they deserve only internment in jails, hospitals, or insane asylums, or to be kept as savage beasts, working under the overseer’s whip. . . . Most of the extremist revolutionary agitators are descendants of alcoholics. . . . (Erosa 1914).

As a response to this presumed process of racial degeneration, Gonzalo Cámara, and later Carlos Menéndez, editor of the *Revista de Yucatán*, proposed that the *Liga* and the state government of Yucatan take on the responsibility for “regenerating” indigenous Mayan populations through rural education on the haciendas of the henequen zone (Cámara in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913; Miquis 1913). To broach that idea in Yucatan, however, was to risk triggering the fears of Yucatecan *hacendados* for whom the idea of indigenous education, in Ricardo Molina Hübbe’s words, evoked the prospect of “black bands of outlaws emerging from the rural schools armed with bombs and daggers, proclaiming the redistribution of goods and the destruction of properties” (Molina Hübbe in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:189). The

reformers of the *Liga* responded to such fears by arguing, like their counterparts in government in Mexico City, that far from posing such dangers, rural education was the only way of combating the radicalization of indigenous workers and their eventual mobilization as agrarian socialists. Making implicit reference to agrarian insurgents in Yucatan and elsewhere in Mexico, Molina opined that “sooner or later, whether by our peace and love, or amid bloody conflicts and in response to the interests of other people, this natural evolution must take place. The education of the Indians will be done by us, without us, or against us” (Molina Hübbe in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:193). Given what Cámara called the “essentially communist” nature of the ancient Mayas, indigenous populations were especially susceptible to the “pernicious seed” of socialism, which once “planted” in Yucatan might prove impossible to eradicate (Cámara in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:78,84–85; Cantón Frexas in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:67–69; Rivas in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:84).

Fortunately, according to Cámara, that had not yet happened. The “soul” of the Indian was like “wax, on whose surface nothing has yet been engraved, and which tenderly awaits its molding by the principles of a good education” (Cámara in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:84). Despite their views on biologically inherited inferiority and racial degeneration, in advocating for rural education Cámara and other *Liga* members also espoused a view of the Indian race as eminently malleable in character, and susceptible of improvement via the extirpation of Indian racial deficits. The goal, according to José Patrón Correa, was to “convert our workers from the living machines that they are, into thinking beings, capable of collaborating with us in their work, and able to reason about the tasks they are given” (Patrón Correa in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:94). The curriculum proposed by the *Liga* made agricultural labor for boys, and domestic chores for girls, integral parts of the four-year educational program. Moral instruction would aim at eliminating alcoholism and other vices, and at inculcating virtues and self-reliance (Correa Delgado 1959). The *Liga* reformers hoped to combat what they saw as indigenous propensities for apathy and laziness, by transforming students into eager, responsible, hard-working, and intelligent workers. Civic and moral components of the curriculum were intended to teach responsibility to future workers, and to instill in them a sense of solidarity with their employers, whom they would come to see, according to Arturo Erosa, “not as their oppressors, but rather as their brothers in the daily struggle for survival” (Erosa 1914). For Erosa, like other reformers of the *Liga*, restrictions on the sale of alcohol and the introduction of rural education would make the haciendas into places full of industrious workers and free of revolutionaries, utopian paradises where “*hacendados* would live on the *fincas* with their families, [and their children] will be little Spanish teachers for their future servants, who will love them . . . and everyone will live in happiness and fraternity” (Molina Hübbe in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:185; Maldonado in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:251; Rivas in *Liga de Acción*

*Social* 1913:259). In Irigoyen Lara's equally utopian formulation, the *Liga's* plan was to transform Indian children into an ideal working class, by implanting a "school in each hacienda, and a hacienda of the future, in every school. . . ." (Irigoyen Lara in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:173).

Such visions related indigenous education to a much broader project: that of assimilating indigenous populations into a reconstructed Mexican Patria. Proponents of the *Liga's* plan for indigenous education, like Porfirian reformers, shared a determination to eradicate all manifestations of ethnic difference, and replace them with a spirit of national sameness. The goal, in the words of Rodolfo Menéndez, was to "empty all of the ethnic groups into the great, common mold of the Nation" (Menéndez in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:xx). In calling for the assimilation of the Indian race, one member argued for the fusion of two distinct races into one, "making that pernicious division of the Mexican population disappear, connecting and blending those two organisms, who thenceforth will live as one, animated by the same soul, the same spirit. . . ." (Castellanos Acevedo in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:151). In their discussions of rural education, members of the *Liga* repeatedly evoked the interests and glory of the patria—a patria that presumably did not yet exist among indigenous populations. According to Fernando Patrón Correa the schools were to be places not only for the transmission of knowledge, but would be a "shared home where, through example and the orientation of the sentiments, the hearts of future citizens are heated by sacred love for the Patria, which they will be taught to love" (Patrón Correa in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:244). For Indian children who for the most part did not speak Spanish, instruction in the national language would be the first and most important step in eroding the barriers of ethnic and cultural difference. Beyond language instruction, indigenous students were to be drilled intensively in national rituals, like the singing of the national anthem, and ceremonies surrounding the display of the Mexican flag. National history, or *historia patria*, would be an important part of the curriculum as well, as teachers worked at inculcating a shared memory of the glories of Yucatan and of Mexico in the minds of indigenous students (Irigoyen Lara in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:172; Trava Rendón in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:197). Such teachings were not unrelated to the question of agricultural production. If properly infused with the national spirit, the once surly indigenous worker would "offer the fruit of every action of his life as a sacrifice to the patria;" even while performing agricultural work, he would do so "with his eyes gazing lovingly at the future of the Patria, like a true patriot" (Patrón Correa in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:244–246).

The *Liga* seconded Justo Sierra's view of indigenous education as aimed at the "spiritual construction" of Mexico, and its members evoked the process of deconstructing Indians and reconstructing patria in explicitly religious terms. For members like José Trava Rendón, "Love for the patria is a religion, and patriots are its

priests” (Trava Rendón in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:216). *Liga* members often represented their own advocacy of the rural school program in evangelical terms, as a matter of “faith” and a “sacred duty,” and described the first generation of rural teachers as “apostles” of the Indian’s “redemption” (Irigoyen Lara in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:42; Rivas in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:260; Torre Díaz in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:270). As one member declared triumphantly, with the establishment of the rural schools, “now we can go and say to the Maya that the hour of his redemption is nigh, and that we will save him, no matter what the cost” (Cantón Frexas in *Liga de Acción Social* 1913:76). The rural schools, they imagined, would exterminate the stigma of race once and for all, by transforming Indian children into Mexican workers.

### **Indigenous Education in Alvarado’s Yucatan**

A series of political upheavals interrupted the further elaboration of the *Liga*’s educational projects in Yucatan. These included the overthrow and execution of Mexican president Francisco Madero and Vice President (and former governor of Yucatan) José María Pino Suárez, the dictatorship of Victoriano Huerta and ensuing civil war, the eventual victory of the Constitutionalist movement led by Venustiano Carranza, the abolition of indigenous servitude in 1914, and a military coup that deposed the Constitutionalist governor of Yucatan in early 1915. Carranza sent General Salvador Alvarado to lead a military invasion to retake the peninsula, and appointed Alvarado as new governor of the state. The General moved aggressively to eliminate the remnants of indigenous debt servitude, and avowed an uncompromising commitment to the betterment of working and living conditions on the haciendas. Via a series of radical and unprecedented reforms, he brought about locally and nationally unprecedented levels of state intervention into the conditions of labor and land use, the production and sale of henequen fiber, and the provision of education and social services. By 1917, under Alvarado’s rule Yucatan had already earned the reputation of being a social “laboratory” for progressive social reforms that later would be applied throughout Mexico, and historians have generally viewed his achievements as revolutionary and vanguardist, both at the state and national levels (Joseph 1982; Paoli 1984; Aguilar Camín and Meyer 1993; Wells and Joseph 1996).

Notable among these visionary policies were the measures Alvarado took to educate Yucatan’s indigenous populations, which generally have been seen as remarkable, progressive, and innovative, anticipating national educational policies of the 1920s and 1930s (Vaughan 1982:100; Vaughan 1997; Meneses 1986). Alvarado and other officials of his government clearly distinguished their policies from the

earlier efforts of reformist Yucatecan *hacendados*, a judgment seconded by most historians of the period (Alvarado 1915a; Joseph 1982:107–8; Vaughan 1982:98–108; Chacón 1985). The new governor dismissed the education proposals of the *Liga de Acción Social*, and the rural education law of 25 Aug. 1911, as the “mere desires of well-intentioned men who saw in the culture of the Indian race the future growth of the Republic’s social vitality.” In the official newspaper of the revolutionary government, *La Voz de la Revolución* (The Voice of the Revolution), one author who took the pen name of Cuauhtémoc described pre-Revolutionary *indigenismo* as limited to the passing of legislation subsequently left unenforced, the founding of ineffectual societies, and the production of inconsequential oratory, articles, and poetry (Cuauhtémoc 1916). Although Yucatecan elites had promised much to “the Indian” in poetry and even in legislation, they had not taught indigenous populations Spanish, nor had they worked to “liberate” them from their “primitive” and “superstitious habits and preoccupations” through education. Fortunately, Cuauhtémoc argued, “the Indians” were still disposed to “evolve” and “receive the gifts of civilization,” and the new revolutionaries were poised, at last, to help them. They would be “regenerated” through the “metamorphosis of their race,” and their integration into the “physical, moral and intellectual greatness of our Patria” (Cuauhtémoc 1916).

As is clear from these ruminations on regeneration, redemption, and patria, Alvarado’s new educational revolution may have shared a good deal more with the visions of his predecessors in the *Liga* than he was prepared to admit. The General frequently expressed views on Indian “degeneration” that showed close affinities with the racial ideas of *Liga* members. In a widely disseminated letter to *presidentes municipales* in the pueblos, for instance, Alvarado argued for the use of public education as a “powerful weapon” against what he called Yucatecan rural populations, which according to him existed as “simple organisms, leaving as their only trace their organized detritus, confused among that of the rest of the beings of creation, as in prehistoric times” (Alvarado 1915f). Likewise, Alvarado often made reference to the “degenerate” condition of the “Indians,” a condition he perceived to be the product of the domination of *hacendados*, alcoholism, and the efforts of the clergy to inculcate them in Christian “fanaticism.” While Alvarado rejected racist theories that ascribed indigenous inferiority to biological inheritance, he continued to hold to a view of the moral and intellectual inferiority of Indians, as *historically* derived. For Alvarado, the effect of a previous history of slavery and degradation had been to convert indigenous workers into something like animals, and to eject them from the realm of human history into an amoral, brutal, unreasoning, pre-historic nature. He concurred with his predecessors in viewing the Maya as a *raza triste*—a sad and degraded race (Alvarado 1915g).

Alvarado did not so much reject the educational philosophy of the *Liga*, as

appropriate and expand its scope, from the *Liga's* vision of the tutelage of indigenous workers (i.e. the educated) by *hacendados* (i.e. as educators), to the tutelage of the *pueblo* (i.e. the educated) by the *government* (the educator) (Alvarado 1915c; Alvarado 1915d). Alvarado established a new state Department of Education with national educational reformer Gregorio Torres Quintero at its head, and in May 1915 issued a voluminous rural education decree targeting the “illiterate race” (Alvarado 1915a). Alvarado declared that for his regime education would take precedence over all else, as the best means of securing the redemption of indigenous laborers as citizens, following their liberation as workers (Alvarado 1915f). While commentators for *La Voz de la Revolución* applauded the decree as heralding the imminent “redemption” of the Indians, the director of Alvarado’s Information and Propaganda Office called the education decree a blow against “fanaticism and tyranny” that would “fill a great void in the national soul” (Avila y Castillo 1915:32). “Out of the Rural School,” he declared, “the responsible citizen will emerge, and within it the enslaved pariah will be buried forever” (Avila y Castillo 1915:32).

In the rural schools, agricultural labor would play a critical role in the project of deconstructing Indians and reconstructing patria. On 31 May 1915 Alvarado ordered teachers to make the cultivation of gardens on school grounds a central part of their pedagogical strategy (Alvarado 1915b). Citing the experience of other countries (in which schoolchildren reportedly learned to cultivate the land and recited poems dedicated to “fields, wheat, sheep and flowers”) an editorialist for *La Voz* called for teachers to “accustom [students] to labor” and thereby transform them into “men who seek their happiness cultivating a piece of their patria,” rather than in alcoholism and other vices (*Voz de la Revolución* 1916c). Working the land was so critical for indigenous education, according to Torres Quintero, because “the Yucatecan Indian is a laborer par excellence, not a proprietor” (Torres Quintero 1916b). From communities originally engaged in “rudimentary” or “primitive” communal agriculture with no individual attachment to the land, the Indians of the haciendas had become a landless “proletariat.” Only through sustained contact with the land under the eyes of their teachers, Torres argued, could indigenous children form the “affection” and “attachment” to the land that would make them diligent workers and committed farmers and, just as importantly, forge a physical connection between them and the patria. The children would receive nominal wages for their labors, to be held for them in savings banks as a “civilizing practice” that would teach them the value of labor and how to manage their earnings (Calvillo 1916; *Voz de la Revolución* 1916a, 1916b, 1916c, 1917f, 1917g; Alvarado 1988; Mimenza Castillo 1917).

Along with labor, one critical means of racially improving and nationally assimilating indigenous children was through language. Education in the rural schools was thus to be aimed at inculcating students in Spanish and suppressing the use of Maya—which was seen by government officials and reformers of the period as an



*Homage to the Flag, Yucatán Escolar 1917, 1:1, 45.*

impediment to education and nation-making (Alvarado 1915a; Sales Cepeda 1918). As one contributor to *La Voz de la Revolución* explained, “to think is to speak internally—thus a language is needed” (Agripa 1918). Since Maya, in his view, did not constitute a language, but only a “poor dialect,” Maya speakers were incapable of venturing far into the “domains of reason,” could never “identify themselves with the spirit of our civilization,” and thus remained “alien to all the progress of human culture.” Rather than teaching Indian children bilingually, he argued that the first step was thus to be the thoroughgoing “castilianization” or “nationalization” of “the Indian” through language instruction. This, he argued, would eliminate “the true cause of the spiritual isolation of the Indian from the civilized and cultured portion of his fellows, [and the end of the] natural division that, due to race and language, has always existed between the sons of the country. . . . In the future the collective soul of the Yucatecan pueblo will be united” (Agripa 1918).

That “collective soul” was, of course, the reconstructed patria, which in Alvarado’s words could only be realized by making indigenous children understand that “we are all part of the great Mexican family, and that we should harbor noble ideas and sentiments of greatness and prosperity for our patria” (Alvarado 1915a). As he proclaimed, “patrias exist only through the union of their members in the pursuit of a shared set of ideals and ends: and our patria, the virile patria of Juárez, will become strong only through the union of all Mexicans” (Alvarado 1915a). The education decree placed a special emphasis on the observance of the secular rituals involving the Mexican flag as well as the singing of the national anthem, in order to inspire “love for the patria,” and to incite students not only to “venerate our great

men,” but also to “imitate their great works” (Alvarado 1915a). As Gregorio Torres Quintero declared, since the national anthem was a “bond of union among all Mexicans,” it was vital for indigenous children to “sing it, and even more important, that they feel it” (Torres Quintero 1916b). Through such practices, the “idea of patria” would be realized, and the resulting “fraternal bonds” would join all Mexicans as one people (Alvarado 1915a; Anonymous 1915a; *Voz de la Revolución* 1918b). In schools named after national heroes like Juárez and Morelos, indigenous children were to be instructed in Spanish, to learn the anthem, and to be inducted into the “cult of the fatherland” (*Culto a la Patria*). In addition, the teachers would prepare their transformation from slaves into free workers by instilling in them a sense of the sharp historical break between the times of slavery and the times of liberty. The rural teachers would foster students’ “racial sentiments” by instructing them in the history of their “race,” that is, of “centuries of slavery and suffering, and of frustrated attempts at liberation” (Alvarado 1915a). As Alvarado made clear in his education decree, the rural teachers were also to teach them to whom their present liberty was owed. The teachers would “tell the students that they are free because of the Constitutionalist revolution; that before they were not free, because a dictatorship of more than thirty years had crowned the slavery of the Conquest” (1915a). The inculcation of historical consciousness of an oppressed “Indian” past, and of a liberated revolutionary present, was critical to fomenting the consciousness of the future Mexican patria in the future in indigenous hearts and minds (Alvarado 1915a; Avila y Castillo 1915:55,93). Even school gardens came to be imbued with national sentiment, as children in at least one school were put to work amid plants and shrubs arranged in the form of a crude map of Mexico (see photograph in *Yucatán Escolar* 1919, 3:2, 188).

Like their predecessors, the new reformers continued to imagine indigenous education in explicitly religious terms, as comparable to redeeming idolatrous heathens by bringing them to the secular faith of the Patria (Menéndez 1918). Writing of the difficulties of education in the state, the director of Yucatan’s Department of Education, Gregorio Torres Quintero, declared that “a people cannot be transformed in one minute. Faith has not died. The faith of a people is not something that scatters like fog before a zephyr. The friars of the conquest baptized and Christianized Indians, but secretly they continued to venerate their bloody gods” (Torres Quintero 1916a). Torres, like other revolutionary officials, situated revolutionary educational policy in a history of the struggle of civilization and enlightenment against ignorance and savagery, and he appropriated the metaphors of “conquest” and “redemption” to characterize the project of educating Yucatecan “Indians.” Cleverly, however, he inverted the terms of the comparison. While in colonial times the friars had struggled to convert Indians, now Christianity itself had become a vehicle for the Indians’ inveterate ignorance, thus becoming part of the savage “idol-



School garden in shape of Mexico. *Yucatán Escolar* 1919, 3:2

try” targeted by the Revolution. Torres was avowedly pessimistic about adult indigenous education, saying that “adults are generally already lost to us.” He expressed faith, however, that if the Revolution reached out to their children via education, then “the masses who scream insults [at us] today, will shout praise tomorrow” (Torres Quintero 1916a).

### **Utopia in Action: the *Escuela Rural* and the *Ciudad Escolar de los Mayas***

By all accounts, the extent of Alvarado’s program quickly dwarfed the *Liga*’s earlier efforts, driven by the General’s declaration that the Revolution should “lay down the sword and gun to rust . . . wear out the printing presses making books, and exhaust construction materials building new schools. . . .” (Alvarado 1915f). As the educational decrees went into effect, exhaustive census data was collected on the fincas to determine the school-age population of the fincas, and to prepare for the establishment of rural schools throughout the henequen zone (*Censos escolares* 1915). Within the year, as Gregorio Torres reported in October 1916, more than six hundred rural schools had been established throughout the countryside (Torres Quintero 1916b; Irigoyen Rosado 1973:26). The same year, a government publication summarizing the first year of Alvarado’s administration reported triumphantly, if improbably, that “it is known with complete precision that at this moment every single school-

age child, without exception, is attending school. The evident proof of that is that of the more than three hundred thousand inhabitants of the State, more than eighty thousand are attending school" (Anonymous 1915a).

With the establishment of the new schools, a corps of rural teachers was hired, charged with becoming the vanguard of Alvarado's redemptive educational campaign. As rural teachers took up their posts throughout the state, they often enacted redemptive dramas, and provided the government with narratives of their encounters with indigenous hacienda workers and their children. Teachers and government agents reported that they were met by grateful hacienda and pueblo residents, who welcomed them, saluted Governor Alvarado, and, like workers on fincas near Motul, "offered to cooperate in such a great work of redemption of the indigenous race, and to contribute to the success of the Revolutionary Government" (Alvarado 1915e; *Oficina de Información y Propaganda Revolucionarias* 1915b; Pacheco Cruz 1915; Recio 1915). In their communications and correspondence government officials and rural teachers frequently used spiritually charged metaphors of illumination, light, and vision to describe the institution of indigenous education in haciendas and pueblos. An agent on a finca near Ticul described schools there, for instance, as "charged with diffusing the Light that dissipates the shadows of ignorance in which the Mayan Race has been mired for so many years, up until now, when the glorious Constitutionalist Revolution has come to fight for its rights and to secure its moral and intellectual benefit through Instruction" (Castillo 1916; Centeno 1916; Vázquez 1917; Tut 1916). Such rhetoric was perhaps most dramatically represented in the work of revolutionary poet Ricardo Mimenza Castillo (Mimenza Castillo 1915, 1918). Mimenza dedicated several poems to indigenous education, notably one entitled "The Laborers," which was dedicated to "those who work for the Redemption of the Indian" (Mimenza Castillo 1915). Like the reports of teachers and government agents, Mimenza drew heavily on the metaphors of illumination and redemption as he portrayed the "transfiguration" of Indians upon hearing the "word of patria," typically conveyed in the verses of the national anthem (Mimenza Castillo 1915).

Despite the extraordinary investment of resources into indigenous education through the rural schools, Alvarado's utopian vision soon encountered difficulties. The arrival of teachers on the haciendas, and the new measures calling for hacienda owners to cover the cost of the rural schools, met the resistance of *hacendados* on multiple fronts. The punishment of such obstructionists with severe fines and other penalties is amply documented in the archives of the Alvarado government and newspaper reports in *La Voz de la Revolución*, where offenders were termed "slavers" and "enemies of the light" (*Oficina de Información y Propaganda Revolucionarias* 1915a, 1915c, 1915d; Gamboa 1915; Pérez H. 1915; Castillo 1916; Vivas 1917a; *Voz de la Revolución* 1915a, 1915b, 1915c). Teachers were sometimes accused of incompetence,

or of allying themselves with *hacendados* against the interests of workers and their children, inspiring Alvarado to issue a measure condemning the corruption or “prostitution” of teachers by *hacendados* in September 1915 (Alvarado 1915e; Torres Quintero 1916a; Vivas 1917b; Navedo 1918; Blanco 1917a; Pacheco Cruz 1953). Indigenous parents sometimes actively opposed the schools, whether because—according to educational officials—they “did not want the eyes of their children opened,” or because they depended upon their children’s labor in the *milpas* (subsistence plots) or at home (Rejón 1915; Briceño 1915; Blanco 1917b; Torres Quintero 1917a). Perhaps the most conflict-ridden areas of the new educational programs were the school gardens, which foundered after much publicity. The gardens went largely uncultivated, in part due to difficulties cultivating the thin, rocky and arid soil of northwestern Yucatan, and in part due to the staunch resistance of students and their families. Frustrated by the widespread failure of the gardens, Gregorio Torres Quintero blamed schoolchildren for their resistance, adolescents for being “rebels,” and especially adult “Indian *campesinos*” for becoming angry when their children were forced to take part in such “educational and productive labor” (Inspector Primero 1916; Torres Quintero 1916b; *Voz de la Revolución* 1917k).

Such difficulties led to the establishment of the *Ciudad Escolar de los Mayas* (the “School City of the Mayas”), the most dramatic revolutionary experiment in indigenous education ever attempted in Yucatan (and perhaps a forerunner of a similar but better known experimental school, the *Casa del Estudiante Indígena*, that would be established in Mexico City one decade later—Loyo 1999; Dawson 2001). The *Ciudad* may have been inspired, in part, by Mexico City proposals for hacienda-schools for orphans, and ambulatory rural schools (Anonymous 1915b; Macías 1915). Another influence on the *Ciudad* may have been a voyage to the United States by Gregorio Torres Quintero, the director of Yucatan’s Department of Education, in February 1917. Torres’ trip was facilitated by the New York based Mexican Cooperation Society, and most notably by society member and famed anthropologist Franz Boas, who personally intervened with authorities of the U.S. government to obtain permission and support for Torres’ visits. While Torres toured more than forty schools in both urban and rural contexts, he seems to have dedicated special attention to rural and residential schools for African American children (notably the Tuskegee Institute founded by Booker T. Washington), where he collected information on the school for publication in *Yucatán Escolar*. The itinerant director of Yucatan’s department of education was also particularly impressed by the “United States Indian School” in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, where he received offers of admission and scholarships for “two Mayan Indians” (Torres Quintero 1917b, 1918a, 1918d; *Yucatán Escolar* 1917).

The importance of such diverse influences was evident in initial published descriptions of the *Ciudad Escolar*, and in Alvarado’s decree launching it two

months after Torres' northern tour, in April 1917. Alvarado and other proponents of the *Ciudad* argued, in overtly positivistic terms, that despite attempts to educate "aboriginal" populations, their "backwardness," "ignorance," and "apathy" continued to detain national progress, representing a "sickness" of the national organism (*Voz de la Revolución* 1917a). Rural schools had "cultivated the intelligence" of indigenous populations but had not yet "cured" them of their moral "sickness" by bringing them to the "robust health" of "civilization." Citing the educational experiments of Booker T. Washington with "Negroes" in Tuskegee, advocates of the *Ciudad Escolar de los Mayas* argued for a new approach with the "Indians" of Yucatan, who according to *La Voz de la Revolución* were as "thoughtless and infantile as the people of color" in the United States (*Voz de la Revolución* 1917a). One or two children from each hacienda—as many as five hundred in total—would be installed in a boarding school in Mérida, Yucatan's capital city. Unlike the school gardens, which were merely a supplementary part of the curriculum in the rural schools, hard labor in the *Ciudad* thus was to be the focus of pedagogy, and the primary means by which indigenous students would be "regenerated" and "redeemed" (*Voz de la Revolución* 1917c, 1917d). Housed in an urban environment, far from the countryside's "rustic ignorance," Mayan children would be put to work from dawn until dusk on nearby haciendas and farms. Through daily labor, work would become a "redemptive habit" for them, and contact with the city of Mérida would have a "civilizing effect." (*Voz de la Revolución* 1917c, 1917d). The profits from such labors would be invested into making the *Ciudad* into a commercial as well as educational center, awakening the initiative of teachers and students and eventually yielding sufficient revenues to sustain the project on a continuing basis.

In distinction to the rural schools, which were aimed at directly transforming indigenous students into Mexican workers, the *Ciudad* was directed at transforming "aborigines" into "modern Indians" who were to act as intermediaries in the eventual transformation of the rest of the indigenous population. Through work, and instruction in language and civics, the "passive obeisance" inculcated by friars and *encomenderos* would be consumed as if by a flame, and from those "ashes," what one article termed "our bronze race" would rise (*Voz de la Revolución* 1917a). In the *Ciudad*, the indigenous student would become

an Indian who will have more needs than the present Indian because he will have a superior concept of life; an Indian who will work more because his *standart of life* [sic, English in original] will be higher; an Indian who knows how to read and how to work the land and will know a manual art as well; an Indian conscious of his civic rights and of his obligations toward society. . . . (*Voz de la Revolución* 1917a).

"Regenerated" as "modern Indians," indigenous children would return to their

communities, and to the “bosom of their race” as teachers and “apostles.” They would bring the “miraculous fertilizer” of their knowledge with them, would “preach” the “good news” of the Revolution to fellow Indians, and would lead them, by their example, toward progress and Patria. Thus, in the view of Alvarado’s educators, the “sleeping Maya” finally would awake from “centuries of lethargy” and would join in modern life as “valuable parts of the sum total of our population” (*Voz de la Revolución* 1917a; Gómez 1917k).

At Alvarado’s orders educational inspectors searched out “aboriginal” boys and girls on haciendas throughout the henequen zone, telling their parents of the innumerable benefits the institution would bring to their children and to “the race” in general (Alvarado 1917; Srio. Gral. 1917a; Vivas 1917c; Domínguez 1917; Gómez 1917d, 1917h; Ruiz y Molina 1917). The question of the ethnicity of the children at the *Ciudad* became an issue in the case of two students with Spanish surnames who, according to Alvarado were not pure “Mayan aborigines” for whom the school had been established, and who thus occupied places that should have been given to two “Mayan Indians” (Domínguez 1917). Alvarado’s secretary demanded that the two students be expelled since they were not of the “aboriginal race.” The director of the *Ciudad*, Gonzalo Gómez, responded that the students were in fact mestizos, since their mothers were of the “aboriginal race”—but that some twenty other students in the school were similarly *mestizo* (Gómez 1917a). Sidestepping the subtlety of the director’s use of the ethnic category of *mestizo*, according to Yucatecan practice, to refer to Maya speakers of the hacienda zone, the secretary allowed the students to stay, citing Gómez’s reply as evidence that the two students were, in fact, “aboriginal” (Sec. Gral. 1917b).

Soon the *Ciudad* was fully staffed with 7 teachers and classes began. With the arrival of more students, the *Ciudad* reached a maximum of 142 students, with an additional 27 young children attending a Montessori school for children below the age of seven, an annex of the *Ciudad* called the *Case dei bambini*. When not studying, the students labored on a nearby henequen finca, and by late December the students’ savings had reached 560 pesos (*Voz de la Revolución* 1917e, 1917h, 1917i; Mena Brito 1933; Gómez 1917c, 1917d, 1917j, 1917l; Torres 1917; Ruiz y Molina 1917). But while the director of the *Ciudad* announced confidently in July that the school was destined to become a model for similar schools on haciendas and ranches throughout the state, shortly after opening its doors the *Ciudad* began to experience problems. *Hacendados* refused to pay for the upkeep of students taken from their fincas, leading the director to tender his resignation to Alvarado in protest in early September (it was not accepted). Alvarado rejected as imprudent proposals by the director to support the school and expand the ranks of students through a direct tax on henequen fiber exports, and denied a request by teachers and staff for a pay raise to counter inflation. Most importantly, increasing numbers of the children began to

disappear, fleeing from the *Ciudad* or declining to return after vacations. The ranks of students diminished steadily despite the director's attempts to use district administrative inspectors to track down missing students in their areas of origin, and force them to return them to the *Ciudad*, with punishments and dismissal for repeat offenders. In some cases, inspectors were threatened by the families of the students that they were attempting to capture (Gómez 1917b, 1917c, 1917e, 1917f, 1917g, 1917i; Sec. Gral. 1917c; Almeida 1917; Torres Quintero 1918e; Pacheco Cruz 1953).

The crisis seemed to reach its peak in October, when a government official was sent to inspect the workings of the *Ciudad*, and discovered it to be foundering less than six months after its inception. Due to the opposition of *hacendados* and the flight of students, the number of students in the school had fallen by 50%, to just seventy-five students. *Hacendados* had fired the parents of some students and dismissed them from the fincas, as a means of avoiding the obligation to pay for the schooling of their children. The beautiful garden and agricultural experiments anticipated in the proposals had never materialized. The inspector concluded his report with a terse and pessimistic verdict on the *Ciudad* that faulted the director for a lack of initiative, and focused above all on the disappointing results of the central role of pedagogical agriculture, which he reported was "ABANDONED" in the *Ciudad* (emphasis in original, Ruiz y Molina 1917).

While the director of the experimental school pleaded with Alvarado to save the school, the death knell of the *Ciudad* was not long in coming, with an extremely critical report submitted by Gregorio Torres Quintero to Alvarado in January 1918. Torres mentioned problems in the school's administration and curriculum, and particularly the practice of forcing indigenous children to attend the school in spite of their resistance and that of their families, as being among the reasons that the school was a "failure" (Torres Quintero 1918e). But more damning was Torres' verdict on the fundamental proposition of the school—that of "educating the Indian, by the Indian"—an ideal he called "beautiful, but impractical." In Torres Quintero's view, attempts at "removing the Indians out of their little corner of the world and then later returning them as redeemers to their fincas" were doomed to failure because, as he stated repeatedly, "Indian teachers will always be inferior to teachers coming from more civilized families." The director of Yucatan's Department of Education once again cited the Tuskegee school he had visited and publicized one year before, but now used it as an example of how the quality of African American teachers schooled there remained deficient despite fifty years of efforts toward the "redemption of their race." Moreover, teaching crafts and industrial trades to indigenous children in the *Ciudad* was like "throwing pearls to swine;" in addition to wasting time teaching the "Indians" arts they would never use, such a curriculum might deter them from their "natural occupations" on the haciendas, leading to eventual labor supply problems. Torres Quintero concluded that the state govern-

ment should abandon the *Ciudad* as fundamentally flawed in conception, and a failure in practice. He advised the governor to continue efforts to train rural teachers for Yucatan, but to recruit students from urban or rural non-indigenous populations for that purpose, rather than continuing to attempt to form a corps of indigenous teachers.

Although in the future the *Ciudad* would be accounted among the great achievements of the Alvarado era (Irigoyen Rosado 1973:30), it had collapsed by early 1918 due to internal crisis and a withdrawal of government support. Proposals continued to be made for the revival of the *Ciudad* in some form, but it was never reopened (Castro Morales 1918; Castro 1918; Molina Ramos 1918). While Torres Quintero's successors criticized his harsh verdict on the *Ciudad*, his words signaled the beginning of the end for the revolutionary experiment in indigenous education, and the return to prominence of the idea that imputed indigenous racial deficits posed an entrenched or insurmountable obstacle to the very idea of education.

### **Conclusion: Deconstructing Indigenous Education**

Alvarado's ambitious plans and policies met their denouement with the general's fall from power in Yucatan in 1918. His labor and land reforms had gone far beyond what the Constitutionalist government at the federal level was willing to accept. As a result Alvarado faced increasing opposition from Mexican President Venustiano Carranza, who had most of the reforms annulled. Declared ineligible for the state gubernatorial elections of 1917 due to residency requirements, Alvarado was transferred out of the state by Carranza shortly thereafter. At the same time, discontent and conflicts were on the increase in the henequen zone. Many demands of workers went unmet, or were rolled back with the annulment of the reforms. Simultaneously, the Yucatecan Socialist Party, established during Alvarado's rule, began organizing resistance leagues in pueblos and haciendas across the state. From 1917 onward work stoppages and strikes grew frequent on haciendas, as indigenous workers and pueblo residents demanded improved wages, working conditions, or access to lands suitable for subsistence agriculture. In the process, they often drew upon the notions of revolution, citizenship, and patria to make claims beyond those previously envisioned by the Constitutionalist revolutionaries. The situation grew increasingly violent with the occupation of the haciendas by federal forces in 1918 and 1919, and increasingly desperate with the precipitous decline of fiber prices following the end of World War I. In the years leading up to the government of radical socialist Felipe Carrillo Puerto (1920–1923) open violence frequently erupted between the Yucatecan socialists and the Liberal party, the latter organized in large part by *hacendados* opposed to the measures taken and proposed by Alvarado and

by the Socialists (Joseph 1982; Eiss 2002).

After departing the peninsula, Alvarado defended his record, and frequently cited the results of his educational policies as the best evidence of the success of the Revolution, and of his work as governor. According to Alvarado, despite the initial resistance of *hacendados* and even of the “Indians” themselves through rural education the latter had been transformed from an ignorant “slave” that worked like a “beast of burden,” into diligent, educated, rational men, who worked for their own benefit and that of society (Alvarado 1920:50–51). Opponents of Alvarado, and of the Socialists, however, published numerous works attacking the former governor, by critiquing his indigenous education policies. Tomás Pérez Ponce, at one point an electoral contender, bitterly attacked the General’s claim to have “regenerated” Indian laborers in a 1918 tract. According to Pérez Ponce, Alvarado’s teachers were illiterate, violent and irresponsible, and thus were incapable of fulfilling the “sacred mission” that corresponded to teachers as members of an “apostolate” (Pérez Ponce 1918:22–29). Moreover, such pedagogical efforts were doomed to failure, for Yucatecan Indians were “irrevocably lost to civilization and to the patria;” there was no way for them to recover the use of the “eyes of their souls” to glimpse the patria, for “the old soul of that race has been blind for four centuries and there is no oculist in the Universe capable of removing its cataracts” (Pérez Ponce 1918:12–15). Similarly, another bitter critic of Alvarado, Luis Rosado Vega, ridiculed Alvarado’s educational policies, writing that “they say that there have been one hundred thousand schools founded in our countryside, but we all know that taken together the hundred thousand don’t even add up to one school worthy of the name” (Rosado Vega 1919:54–55). For Rosado Vega, as for Pérez Ponce, far from redeeming the Indians and assimilating them within the patria, Alvarado’s teachers had left them, as before, “without patria, God or law” (Rosado Vega 1919:117). The “poor Maya” had a mind already “broken” by servitude, and education was pointless. Only through the practice of securing the immigration of “superior elements” (non-indigenous working populations) to the peninsula would the “Indian” gradually undergo a gradual process of regeneration and “true redemption” through contact with their racial and cultural betters (Rosado Vega 1919:54, 255).

By 1918, the difficulties surrounding rural education and the intensifying social and political conflicts on the peninsula brought about a return of arguments about the biological and inveterate nature of Indian racial inferiority, and even the advocacy of a kind of eugenics as the only regeneration possible. On 26 July 1918, an editorial was published in *La Voz de la Revolución*, the official organ of the revolutionary government, under the title “Can Alcohol Really Be the Cause of the Indian’s Degeneration?” (*Voz de la Revolución* 1918b). It suggested that Indian “degeneracy” was not caused by alcoholism, but by a “deeper” cause, one “ethnological” in origin. The author proceeded to lament the failings of rural education,

which he considered futile as long as indigenous children continued “‘living’ in the same surroundings, in contact with the same men, living in the same dismal and non-hygienic straw huts, consuming the same deficient and wretched food.” According to the author, “biological chemistry, based on the nutrition of a people, tells us how that people feels and thinks,” and hence the living conditions of the “Indian race” doomed it to inferiority. The revolutionaries, “feeling our hearts beat with love,” had attempted to raise up indigenous workers, but had failed. Knowing that Indian “sickness” could not be “cured with the remedies we offer,” they watched indigenous populations perish while the only cure for their racial “illness” was withheld from them (*Voz de la Revolución* 1918b).

The remedy suggested in *La Voz de la Revolución* was more radical, and brutally so. The author of the editorial proposed to “tear the little Indians from the arms of their mothers” immediately after birth and transport them to a new city, that would differ radically from both the *Ciudad Escolar* and Alvarado’s rural schools. It would be a “modern” city constructed for them, with “straight and broad streets, covered with asphalt, with magnificent parks and gardens where the hustle and bustle of city life fades before the song of birds and the murmur of beautiful fountains.” In that new utopia, the Indian children would be tended by a corps of capable nurses, given good food, and raised in hygienic conditions, “like all the strong and civilized peoples.” Through a process of “assimilation,” the author concluded, “perhaps we will be able to effect the production of more gray matter in their brain cells, so that the flames of thought might be ignited—all this over the course of centuries until, finally, we can save that miserable, sick race” (*Voz de la Revolución* 1918b).

Of course, this sardonic editorial was not a genuine proposal for educational reform. It was rather an embittered disavowal of the rural schools and, like the views of Pérez Ponce and Rosado Vega, a return to a racism predicated on the idea of biologically inherited racial inferiority (for another example see Moguel y Gamboa 1925). Such might seem paradoxical in a revolutionary era, and at odds with what many have described as the progressive content of *indigenista* educational reform (for instance Loyo 1999; Dawson 1998, 2001). As this examination of indigenous education has revealed, however, such views, and those of Alvarado’s critics, were in some sense further expressions of the latent principles behind indigenous educational policy in Mexico, from the porfiriato onward. Like the views of the educational reformers who preceded them, these were not so much survivals, as further elaborations, of the utopian racism that long informed state policy toward indigenous populations in Mexico and Yucatan. Such views hardened when “redemption” failed to occur on schedule in Yucatan—when “Indians” did not de-Indianize, when a “new race” did not emerge, when the “pernicious seed” of socialism sprouted, when workers did not labor complacently for the patria, or dared to question its meaning. Under the Carrillo Puerto government educational reform would remain

on the agenda for socialists, government officials, and educators. Outside of an attempt to foster bi-lingual education through a bi-lingual newspaper called *Lakin* (De la R. 1919; Ayuso y O'Horibe 1919; *Yucatán Escolar* 1919b), the proposals of those years would no longer focus on indigenous education. The two major developments were "rationalist" schools founded in urban areas, and schools intended to train mostly non-indigenous students to form them into a "glorious legion" of teachers who on graduating would "plant the seeds of the true life in the minds of the Indians of our countryside" (*Yucatán Escolar* 1919a). Perhaps the best quantitative indication of the declining, or deferred, emphasis on indigenous education was the declining number of rural schools, which decreased in number from more than 600 in 1916, to 477 in 1919 (with daily attendance of 11,000 children), to 101 in 1925 (with daily attendance of only 3100) the year after the fall of the Carrillo Puerto government (Torres Quintero 1916b; *Yucatán Escolar* 1919b; Gahona 1925).

What was the Mayan experience of these projects for racial "redemption," and their denouement? Here the archives are almost silent. There is evidence of considerable indigenous resistance in the revolutionary schools, particularly the resistance to labor in the school gardens, the flight of students from the *Ciudad*, and threats of parents against school inspectors who attempted to retrieve them (Torres Quintero 1918e). The education-related sources available for this period, however, are almost entirely framed within the rhetoric of government officials and reformers, providing scant basis for inquiry into indigenous perceptions of—or contestation of (Rockwell 1994)—indigenous education and its racial politics. One suggestive exception is a document from the pueblo of Cuzamá, where parents lodged a formal complaint against a schoolteacher in 1916 (Inspector Primero 1916). In addition to criticizing her complete ignorance of Maya—the only language spoken by students—the parents excoriated her for having students haul water, carry wood, weed, and perform other tasks in the school garden: "If the children are going to school to learn *that*," they declared, "it would be better if *we* taught them." The sarcasm of the people of Cuzamá was surely aimed at questioning the value and purpose of indigenous education, and at deflating the pretensions and rhetoric of government officials. Their statement implied, as well, a critique of the notions that Maya was a primitive and irrational dialect, and that the purpose of education was to remedy racial deficits through hard labor. Deconstructing "Indians," their comment suggests, was no way to go about constructing patria. The questions of how they might have imagined the patria, and might have understood Mayanness and mestizaje, are questions that must be left, for the moment, unanswered.

## Acknowledgments

I am grateful for the comments and suggestions provided by Quetzil Castañeda, Ben Fallaw Richard Fantina, Sergio Quezada, the other contributors to this collection, and anonymous reviewers for the *Journal of Latin American Anthropology*. In addition, I thank both Carnegie Mellon University and the National Academy of Education-Spencer Postdoctoral program for supporting this project.

## References Cited

Agripa, Menenio

1918b Por la raza triste. *Voz de la Revolución*, August 29.

Aguilar Camín, Héctor, and Lorenzo Meyer

1993 In the Shadow of the Mexican Revolution: Contemporary Mexican History, 1910–1989. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Almeida, E.

1917 October 25. Letter to Governor. Archived material, Archivo General del Estado de Yucatán (AGEY), Poder Ejecutivo (PE), Gobernación (GOB), 593.

Alvarado, Salvador

1915a Decreto que establece la Enseñanza Rural en el Estado, Decreto No. 108. Mérida.

1915b May 31. Letter to Comandantes Militares y Profesores de educación primaria. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 490.

1915c July 17. Circular a los Agentes de Propaganda del Estado. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 490.

1915d September 3. Cartilla revolucionaria para los agentes de propaganda. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 473.

1915e September 28. Letter. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 475.

1915f October 27. Letter to Presidentes municipales. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 505.

1915g December 31. Letter. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 474.

1916 November 31. Draft of “Informe,” to Venustiano Carranza. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, Box 556.

1917 April 17. Letter to Junta de Beneficencia ‘Remigio Nicolí.’ Undated material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 593.

1920 Mi actuación revolucionaria en Yucatán. México, D. F.: Impresa Franco-Mexicana.

1988 Carta al pueblo de Yucatán. Mérida: Maldonado Editores.

Anonymous

1915a Breves apuntes. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, Box 471.

1915b Proyecto par el establecimiento de la Hacienda-Escuela en el Estado de Yucatán. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 487.

- Avila y Castillo, Florencio  
 1915 Diario revolucionario. Mérida: Imprenta y linotipia "La Voz de la Revolución."
- Ayuso y O'Horibe, Hircano  
 1919 Indicaciones a los C.C. Inspectores Escolares respecto al uso que deberán hacer del periódico 'Lakin.' Yucatán escolar: boletín mensual del departamento de educación pública 3:1, 105.
- Bazant, Milada  
 1993 Historia de educación durante el porfiriato. México, D.F.: El Colegio de México.
- Blanco R., Liborio  
 1917a February 24. Letter to Gobernador. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 601.  
 1917b December 24. Letter to Gobernador. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 601.
- Boletín de Educación Primaria  
 1925 Surcos nuevos. 1:1, 5.
- Briceño, Aurelio  
 1915 August 26. Letter to Jefe de la OIP. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 475.
- Calvillo, F. E.  
 1916 May 16. Letter to Salvador Alvarado, Tacubaya, D. F. Archived material, AGEY, PE, FOM (Fomento), 521.
- Cámara, Gonzalo  
 1922 Paralelo entre las escuelas racionalistas de Barcelona y Mérida. Boletín de la Liga de Acción Social 2:17, 66–70.
- Castillo, J. T.  
 1916 June 5. Letter to Governor. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 531.
- Castro Morales, C.  
 1918 N.d. Letter to CC. Representantes del pueblo. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 623.
- Castro, J. C.  
 1918 June 17. Letter to C. Castro Morales, Gobernador. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, Box 648.
- Centeno, J. Isaac  
 1916 October 21. Letter to Governor. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 517.
- Chacón, Ramón D.  
 1985 Rural Educational Reform in Yucatán: From the Porfiriato to the Era of Salvador Alvarado. *The Americas* 42:207–228.
- Censos Escolares  
 1915 Archived material, AGEY, FOM, 491.
- Correa Delgado, Manuel  
 1959 Breve relación histórica de la Liga de Acción Social. Sus principales trabajos durante los cincuenta años de su existencia. Mérida: Ediciones de la Liga de Acción Social.
- Cauhtémoc  
 1916 La redención de la raza indígena. *Voz de la Revolución*, April 30.
- de la Cadena, Marisol

- 2000 Indigenous Mestizos: the Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru, 1919–1991. Durham: Duke University Press.
- De la R., N.  
 1919 Una opinión sobre ‘Lakin.’ Yucatán escolar: boletín mensual del departamento de educación pública 3:2, 197.
- Dawson, Alexander  
 1998 From Models for the Nation to Model Citizens: *Indigenismo* and the “Revindication” of the Mexican Indian, 1920–1940. *The Journal of Latin American Studies* 30 (2):279–308.  
 2001 “Wild Indians,” “Mexican Gentlemen,” and the Lessons Learned in the Casa del Estudiante Indígena, 1926–1932. *The Americas* 57 (3):329–361.
- Diario Yucateco  
 1911a La cuestión social de Yucatán: los señores hacendados celebraron anoche una importante reunión. *Diario Yucateco*, June 11.  
 1911b Manifiesto del Lic. José M. Pino Suárez, Gobernador Interino de Yucatán, al pueblo yucateco. *Diario Yucateco*, June 15.  
 1911c La Liga de Acción Social y las Escuelas Rurales. *Diario Yucateco*, June 25.  
 1911d El triunfo de las escuelas rurales en Itzincab. *Diario Yucateco*, July 12.  
 1911e Se expidió la ley de escuelas rurales. *Diario Yucateco*, August 19.
- Dominguez, E.  
 1917 June 14. Letter to A. L. Peón. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 593.
- Eiss, Paul K.  
 2002 Redemption’s Archive: Remembering the Future in a Revolutionary Past. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 44 (1): 106–136.
- Erosa, Arturo  
 1914 La regeneración de la raza indígena. *Revista de Yucatán*, March 5.
- Gahona, Eutimio Vera  
 1925 Datos estadísticos de las escuelas primarias del estado, correspondientes al mes de enero de 1925. *Boletín de Educación Pública* 1:1, 16–17.
- Gamboa, Ceferino  
 1915 July 30. Letter to Jefe de la OIPR. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 475.
- Gómez, Gonzalo  
 1917a July 4. Letter to Sec. Gral. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 593.  
 1917b July 14. Letter to Of. May. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 593.  
 1917c July 27. Letter to Of. May. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 593.  
 1917d August 3. Letter to Gobernador. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 593.  
 1917e August 7. Letter to Of. May. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 593.  
 1917f October 23. Letter to Gobernador. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 593.  
 1917g October 26. Letter to Gobernador. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 603.  
 1917h November 7. Letter to Gobernador. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 593.  
 1917i November 8. Letter to Gobernador. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 593.  
 1917j November 15. Letter to Sec. Gral. de Gobierno. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 593.

- 1917k November 27. Letter to A. Torre Díaz, Sec. Gral. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 593.
- 1917l December 17. Letter to Sec. Gral. de Gobierno. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 593.
- Gould, Jeffery
- 1998 *To Die in this Way: Nicaraguan Indians and the Myth of Mestizaje, 1880–1965*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Inspector Primero del Departamento de Educación Pública
- 1916 December 15. Letter to Jefe del Dep. De Ed. Pub. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 572.
- Irigoyen Rosado, Renán
- 1973 *Salvador Alvarado, extraordinario estadista de la Revolución*. Mérida: Ediciones del gobierno del estado.
- Joseph, Gilbert M.
- 1982 *Revolution from Without: Yucatan, Mexico and the United States, 1880–1924*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Knight, Alan
- 1990 *Racism, Revolution and Indigenismo: Mexico, 1910–1940*. In *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940*. Richard Graham, ed. Pp. 71–113. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Loyo, Engracia
- 1999 *Gobiernos revolucionarios y educación popular en México, 1911–1928*. Mexico: Colegio de México.
- Liga de Acción Social
- 1913 *Trabajos de la ‘Liga de Acción Social’ para el establecimiento de las escuelas rurales en Yucatán*. Mérida: Imprenta Empresa Editora Yucateca, S.A.
- Macías, Carlos
- 1915 November 10. Letter to Salvador Alvarado. Archived material, AGEY, PE, Hacienda (HAC), 557.
- Medina S., M.
1911. *El alcohol y la salud del indio, como influirá en el porvenir de la raza*. Diario Yucateco, December 7.
- Mena Brito, Bernardino
- 1933 *Bolshevismo y democracia en México*. Mérida.
- Menéndez, Rodolfo
- 1918 *El culto de la patria: educación cívica*. Yucatán escolar: boletín mensual del departamento de educación pública 2:1, 46–50.
- Meneses Morales, Ernesto
- 1983 *Tendencias educativas oficiales en México, 1821–1911*. México, D.F.: Editorial Porrúa.
- 1986 *Tendencias educativas oficiales en México, 1911–1934*. México, D.F.: Centro de Estudios Educativos.
- Mimenza Castillo, Ricardo

- 1915   Rebeldía: cantos revolucionarios. Mérida: La Voz de la Revolución.
- 1917   El culto al trabajo. Yucatán escolar: boletín mensual del departamento de educación pública 1:1, 19–20.
- 1918   La maestra rural. Yucatán escolar: boletín mensual del departamento de educación pública 1:4, 18.
- Miquis, Augusto
- 1913   Al margen del último mensaje presidencial. Revista de Yucatán, April 17.
- Moguel y Gamboa, Rafael
- 1925   Bases biológicas de la educación. Boletín de Educación Primaria 1:1, 6.
- Molina Ramos, A.
- 1918   February 5. Proyecto de reformas al plan y reglamento de estudios de la Escuela de Agricultura del Estado. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 648.
- Navedo P., A.
- 1918   February 7. Letter to Jefe Departamento de Trabajo. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 622.
- Oficina de Información y Propaganda Revolucionarias (OIPR)
- 1915a   September 1. Notas de la OIPR. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 490.
- 1915b   September 8. Notas de la OIPR. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 475.
- 1915c   September 18. Notas de la OIPR. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 475.
- 1915d   October 14. Notas de la OIPR. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 487.
- Pacheco Cruz, Santiago
- 1915   September 29. Letter to C. Jefe de Información y Propaganda. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 475.
- 1953   Recuerdos de la propaganda constitucionalista en Yucatán. Mérida.
- Paoli, Francisco José
- 1984   Yucatán y los orígenes del nuevo estado mexicano: gobierno de Salvador Alvarado, 1915–1918. México, D.F.: Ediciones Era.
- Pérez H., Antonio
- 1915   August 30. Letter to Florencio Avila Lopes [sic] Jefe de la OIPR. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 475.
- Pérez Ponce, Tomás
- 1918   Las coronas del General Salvador Alvarado. México, D.F.
- Recio, E.
- 1915   October 18. Letter to F. Avila Castillo, Jefe de la OIP. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 472.
- Rejón, J. Teodosio
- 1915   August 28. Letter to Gobernador. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 507.
- Revista de Yucatán (RY)
- 1914a   Hagamos ciudadanos para hacer patria. Revista de Yucatán, July 25.
- 1914b   Una fiesta de la educación y del trabajo en la finca Sacapuc. Revista de Yucatán, November 15.
- Rockwell, Elsie
- 1994   Schools of the Revolution: Enacting and Contesting State Forms in Tlaxcala,

- 1910–1930. *In* *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico*. Gilbert Joseph and Daniel Nugent, eds. Pp. 170–208. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Rosado Vega, Luis
- 1919 El desastre. Asuntos yucatecos. La obra revolucionaria del General Salvador Alvarado. Havana: Imprenta “El Siglo XX.”
- Ruiz y Molina, A.
- 1917 October 29. Letter to Gobernador. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 603.
- Sales Cepeda, Manuel
- 1918 El predominio de la lengua maya es el principal obstáculo para la difusión de la enseñanza popular. *Yucatán escolar: boletín mensual del departamento de educación pública* 2:1, 27–29.
- Sec. Gral. Depto. de Ed. Pub.
- 1917a April 26. Circular. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 593.
- 1917b July 6. Letter. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 593.
- 1917c September 1. Letter to G. Gómez, Dir. Ciudad Escolar. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 603.
- Topik, Steven C., and Allen Wells
- 1998 *The Second Conquest of Latin America: Coffee, Henequen and Oil during the Export Boom*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Torres, E.
- 1917 October 8. Letter to Sec. Gral. de Gobierno. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 593.
- Torres Quintero, Gregorio
- 1916a June 6. Letter to S. Alvarado. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 519.
- 1916b October 7. Letter to Governor. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 557.
- 1917a January 11. Letter to Gobernador. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 572.
- 1917b Informe general del jefe de educación pública acerca del viaje que hizo por los estados unidos del norte. *Yucatán Escolar* 1:1.
- 1918a Informe general del jefe de educación pública acerca del viaje que hizo por los estados unidos del norte. *Yucatán escolar: boletín mensual del departamento de educación pública* 1:2, 3–13.
- 1918b Los métodos extranjeros. *Yucatán escolar: boletín mensual del departamento de educación pública* 1:2, 39–40.
- 1918c Circular sobre huertas escolares. *Yucatán escolar: boletín mensual del departamento de educación pública* 1:2, 50.
- 1918d Una escuela interesante en la isla de Santa Elena, Carolina del sur (notas del viaje). *Yucatán escolar: boletín mensual del departamento de educación pública* 1:4, 3–16.
- 1918e Dictámen acerca de la ‘ciudad escolar de los mayas.’ *Yucatán escolar: boletín mensual del departamento de educación pública*, 2:1, 33–42.
- Tut, Miguel
- 1916 November 21. Letter to Governor. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 544.

- Vasconcelos, José  
 1920/1929 La raza cósmica. Misión de la raza iberoamericana. Paris: Agencia mundial de librería.
- Vaughan, Mary Kay  
 1982 The State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico, 1880–1928. Dekalb, Ill.: Northern Illinois University Press.  
 1997 Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants, and Schools in Mexico, 1930–1940. Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Vázquez, Agustín  
 1916 November 13. Letter to Governor. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 575.
- Vivas, David  
 1917a February 16. Letter to Gobernador. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 572.  
 1917b April 4. Letter to Gobernador. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 572.  
 1917c May 8. Letter to Gobernador. Archived material, AGEY, PE, GOB, 593.
- Voz de la Revolución, Mérida, Yucatán (VdR)  
 1915a Con motivo de que algunos propietarios del partido de Temax pagan con mucho morosidad las cantidades que corresponden al sostenimiento de las escuelas rurales. Voz de la Revolución, November 10.  
 1915b Otro enemigo de la luz que trata mal al director de una escuela rural. Voz de la Revolución, November 11.  
 1915c Que no se trata como se debe a la Directora de la escuela rural. Voz de la Revolución, November 20.  
 1916a Raza nueva. Voz de la Revolución, January 8.  
 1916b La agricultura base del Estado II. Voz de la Revolución, October 11.  
 1916c De la educación agrícola en las escuelas fincas. Voz de la Revolución, December 11.  
 1917a La ciudad escolar de los mayas: en Yucatán la revolución realizará el ideal de Boocker T. Washington. Voz de la Revolución, March 25.  
 1917b Se establecen en todas las escuelas del estado las cajas de ahorros: quiere el gobierno del estado cultivar en los niños los hábitos de sobriedad y economía, bases de las riquezas privada y pública. Voz de la Revolución, March 27.  
 1917c La ciudad escolar de los mayas: senda abierta a la regeneración del indio. Voz de la Revolución, April 3.  
 1917d La aspiración suprema del gobierno constitucionalista es velar de un modo efectivo por el progreso: la ciudad escolar de los mayas tendrá por base el trabajo y por finalidad la formación de maestros para las escuelas rurales. Voz de la Revolución, April 10.  
 1917e Primera semana de labores en la “Ciudad Escolar de los Mayas.” Voz de la Revolución, May 21.  
 1917f El culto al trabajo. Voz de la Revolución, June 24.  
 1917g Desarrollando el amor a la agricultura en los niños. Voz de la Revolución, June 26.  
 1917h Entrega de la bandera a los alumnos de la “Ciudad Escolar de los Mayas”: lo hará

- el General Alvarado, fundador de la trascendental institución. *Voz de la Revolución*, July 23.
- 1917i El banquete ofrecido anoche al Señor General Alvarado: ayer se entregó su bandera a los futuros sembradores de la idea entre la raza triste. *Voz de la Revolución*, July 27.
- 1917j La educación y la revolución. *Voz de la Revolución*, July 28.
- 1917k Presenta serias dificultades la huerta escolar entre nosotros. *Voz de la Revolución*, October 29.
- 1918a ¿Será el alcohol la causa de la degeneración del Indio? *Voz de la Revolución*, July 26.
- 1918b Nuestros indios mayas. *Voz de la Revolución*, September 10.
- Wells, Allen
- 1985 *Yucatan's Gilded Age: Haciendas, Henequen and International Harvester, 1860–1915*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Wells, Allen and Gilbert M. Joseph
- 1996 *Summer of Discontent, Seasons of Upheaval: Elite Politics and Rural Insurgency in Yucatan, 1876–1915*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Yucatán Escolar
- 1917 El instituto de Tuskegee: último informe anual. *Yucatán escolar: boletín mensual del departamento de educación pública* 1:1, 27–28.
- 1919a La primera escuela normal superior. *Yucatán escolar: boletín mensual del departamento de educación pública* 3:2, 177–178.
- 1919b La labor del Departamento de Educación Pública. *Yucatán escolar: boletín mensual del departamento de educación pública* 3:1, 96–102.