PRIMARY EDUCATION AND LITERACY IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY MEXICO: Research Trends, 1968–1988*

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Mexico as a nation has endowed education with magical meaning. From the moment when twelve Franciscans set foot in the New World in 1524 to evangelize, education assumed a transforming mission in Mexico. If schooling during the colonial period slumped into the less grandiose task of transmitting relatively fixed values and knowledge to new generations, it resumed its transforming role with the Enlightenment. Under the Bourbon kings, the first steps were taken toward introducing free primary education as a means of modernizing society. With independence, liberals and conservatives alike came to perceive primary schooling as critical to citizen formation, political stability, and economic progress. But the obstacles to realizing mass literacy have been multiple and prolonged. In 1910 an estimated 68 percent of all Mexican adults could not read. Yet even this limited proportion of literate adults were active and contributed significantly to the Revolution of 1910.

Few histories of Mexican primary education were written before 1968. They ranged from descriptive chronologies to polemical tracts by liberals or Catholics excoriating each other's educational projects.[1] But with the publication of James Cockcroft's "El maestro de primaria en la Revolución Mexicana" (1968) and Josefina Vázquez's *El nacionalismo y la educación* (1970), a new generation of scholars began to scrutinize the history of primary education in Mexico.[2]

New research on nineteenth-century schooling is now contributing important material on educational policy, programs, teaching methods, and expansion. Regional and local studies are also beginning to emerge. Meanwhile, broader regional histories that are not specifically focused on schooling or studies of socio-ideological movements such as

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the resurgent Catholic movement or the growth of Protestantism in the late nineteenth century, are providing insights into the social contextualization of schooling.

Most historians agree that in the late eighteenth century, Mexico entered a period of rapid change linked to the development of the modern state, penetration of the market, and a process of secularization.[3] The results were significant social movement and differentiation. Within this context, primary education played a noteworthy role.

Two historians of Mexico have recently constructed a paradigm for framing this process. François Guerra and Andrés Lira both argue broadly that modernization undermined the old regime of hierarchically ordered groups, each with its rights and obligations, which functioned as a whole through king-father-adjudicator, networks of personal relations, and religious rituals. The antithesis of such a society is one made up of autonomous individuals who are equal before the law but have been uprooted from their traditional collectivities, defined by work, and spiritually decimated.[4] Guerra's and Lira's typology of the modern world seems to approximate loose formulations of modernization theory: a world of individuals who are achievement-oriented, merit-bound, profit-conscious, market-sensitive, and capable of accepting impersonal authority and responding to bureaucratic rules and initiatives.

Most historians of education agree that modernization has undermined the corporate world and that primary education has served in a process of changing "mentalités." They disagree, however, about the nature and extent of the process, the role of schooling in it, and the ways in which the traditional and the modern, the sacred and the secular have interacted in schooling. Historians also argue about who or what killed or threatened to kill the old system. For Guerra and Lira, the threat was political and ideological: the attempt by the state to implement an eighteenth-century project for constructing an improved society. Historians focusing on central state policy in education might be comfortable with this interpretation because of their emphasis on its intention to create productive, scientifically grounded citizens. New research is tempering this interpretation, however, by depicting the fragmented nature of the state and the mediation of society in implementing state policies and shaping change. For many scholars, the economy has become the key to secularization. As the modern market penetrated Mexican society, it broke up old productive units and moved individuals into new configurations. Commercialization, migration, and urbanization all promoted the utility of the written word for pragmatic ends.

To understand the complex problems of continuity and change in mentalités, the history of Mexican schooling must be recast as social history in which the interplay among state, economy, and society can be analyzed in its specificity. Although scholars have not yet advanced far in

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studying education as social process, they are poised to make this leap. The present examination of recent historiography on education in nineteenth-century Mexico will attempt to show how recent research has altered old notions and opened the way for new approaches. In organizing any body of research, a reviewer runs the double risk of imposing interpretation and speculating on a slim data base. Although these pitfalls invite and merit criticism, my intention here is to place recent research within a digestible complex of processes that can inform future scholarship. The essay is organized chronologically around three major periods in Mexican history. In discussing each period, the new research will be examined according to themes determined by the material itself.

BOURBON REFORMS THROUGH INDEPENDENCE, 1786–1854

Although various dates can be used to bracket analysis,[5] recent studies have located the origins of modern Mexican primary schooling in the period of Bourbon reforms (1754–1810) and the enthusiasm for education generated by the Enlightenment. In their study of the early independence period, historians have dismissed the traditional assumption of a national liberal challenge in 1833 to an obscurantist clerical monopoly of primary education. They describe instead a significant interpenetration between religious and public powers in primary education throughout this period. Scholars have demonstrated that initiative in the area of schooling came less from the national government and more from a multiplicity of institutions and individuals, despite a detectable tendency toward greater state control. Economic depression, civil war, and foreign invasion all took their toll on educational initiatives but did not destroy them.

Dorothy Tanck de Estrada has shown how the Spanish Crown's educational policy under the Bourbons sought to further modernization. After expelling the Jesuits in 1767, the state acted to promote scientific research and training in "useful" careers in higher education. At the same time, the state promoted free schooling at the primary level in order to transform the poor into productive social subjects.[6]

Promotion of schooling responded to growing enthusiasm for the written word. A flourishing economy and an expanding bureaucracy required more literacy. With the advent of the Enlightenment, education and reading became the keys to building an "improved" society. In Spain and Mexico, private associations of prominent laypersons and clerics sponsored schools for the poor. In Mexico *ayuntamientos* (town councils), religious orders, and the secular clergy opened free schools. Also, teachers experimented with new and more efficient methods of instruction. Nor were Indian communities immune from this process. The state began to assume control over these communities' resources and endowed many

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of them with schools in order to teach them Spanish, integrate them into the larger society, and stimulate Indian consumption of market goods.[7]

Jurisdiction in primary education was complicated, however. The state was not a neatly secular institution nor was the Catholic Church a traditional monolith. The Spanish Crown urged town councils, religious orders, and parishes to open free schools. While it left the functioning of schools in the hands of such corporations, the Crown assumed ultimate supervision. Its educational policy was linked to subordinating corporate institutions as the state sought to direct modernization. Clerics, however, played an important role in engendering and implementing state policy. The reformers left the religious content of the primary curriculum intact, intending this instruction to not only save souls but mold citizens to act within the material world.[8] Recent research shows that these tendencies persisted in educational policy and practice in the period of early independence in Mexico.

Statesmen of independent Mexico supported national plans for education because they believed that the new nation required an educated citizenry, technical cadres to run it, and stability.[9] But under the Primera República Federal (1824–1836), policymakers respected private and religious initiatives as well as the jurisdiction of state governments and town councils. In the 1820s, the lay and clerical intelligentsia formed Compañías Lancasterianas in Mexico City and elsewhere to promote what was known as the mutual system of learning.[10] Following the abolition of guild restrictions and given a relative absence of professional requirements, many individuals opened schools.

In reassessing the liberal reforms of Valentín Gómez Farías in 1833, Dorothy Tanck de Estrada has argued that the reforms did not attack the clergy's role in primary education.[11] Rather, the religiosity of the primary school program was reaffirmed, although a political catechism was added. The laws called on churches and convents to open schools, but the state maintained the right to supervise church schools. Scholars note throughout the period, under liberal as well as conservative governments, a persistent interaction among church representatives, secular authorities, and private associations in primary education. For example, priests acted as inspectors and overseers as well as members of state and local educational councils and Compañías Lancasterianas.[12]

Under the Primera República Federal, most state constitutions left primary schooling in the hands of town councils while providing for state government oversight. The latter ranged from a minimal "stimulating" role to more defined intervention, like that taken by the state of Jalisco in 1826, when the legislature defined the school curriculum, created a directing junta to prepare textbooks and examine teachers, and established a normal school to teach the Lancaster method.[13] Even so, Jalisco left ayuntamientos in charge of funding and maintaining public schools.

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Some state governments directly subsidized municipal schools, others expected municipal taxes to provide funding, and still others practiced a mixture of the two. At the local level, ayuntamientos created schools, absorbed existing facilities, and subsidized private and church schools.[14]

In general, the trend was toward greater participation by state and central governments.[15] Gradually, state governments created *juntas de instrucción* like that in Jalisco to oversee the functioning of municipal schools. Then in 1842, under the conservative rule of General Antonio López de Santa Anna, the national government attempted to centralize education at all levels.[16] The new Dirección General de Instrucción Primaria was entrusted to the Compañía Lancasteriana, which was supposed to operate through branches in the states. The laws required stricter licensing of teachers and inspection of private and religious schools. The legislation also proposed the creation of a normal school to train teachers. Although the centralist policy collapsed with the return to federalism in 1846, state governments continued to bid for more control over primary education.[17]

The question of "creeping" state control has created a controversy among historians. Andrés Lira and François Guerra have depicted an insensitive assault on traditional corporations by urban promoters of an "improved" society. Lira suggests that state and federal politicians were quick to accuse town councils of irresponsibility because these urban men of means were captives of their social prejudices and projects and particularly because in a period of shrinking capital, they wanted to capture all resources for themselves.[18]

Nevertheless, regional and central government initiatives in primary education can also be interpreted as a step toward nation building within a context of increasing disintegration—the loss of Texas, the U.S. invasion, the threatened secession of Yucatán, and repeated regional revolts that were often backed by peasant mobilization. Politicians from various factions viewed education as a mechanism for achieving national unity. Many believed that town councils lacked the will and the funds to promote schooling and that freedom of teaching had opened the way for charlatanism and incompetence.

State governments frequently intervened in order to secure funding for schools.[19] Admittedly, their intervention allowed them to siphon off municipal funds during an increasingly desperate situation of bankruptcy. In fact, the military emergencies provoked by civil war and foreign invasion were cutting deeply into the capacity of both municipalities and state governments to support primary schooling.[20]

While war and economic depression weakened the capacity of colonial corporations (municipal councils as well as church bodies) to support education, sequestering of scarce funds by regional and federal governments, conservative and liberal alike, further corroded the re-

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source base of the corporations. Statistics for the cities of Puebla and Mexico document a drop in the number of church-run schools relative to the state and private sectors between 1821 and 1851.[21] Although the question of church participation in primary education needs systematic study at local and regional levels, research to date suggests that as the church lost the ability to sponsor church schools, it increasingly exercised its role in primary education through the public power. Once the liberals separated church and state in the Constitution of 1857 and expelled the church from public primary education, the struggle for this disputed space became intense.

In relation to the practice of primary schooling during this period, Mexico actually operated far more schools than historians previously thought. Anne Staples has provided a helpful panorama of educational activity in a synthesis of state reports on schooling from the Archivo General de la Nación. The governor of Guanajuato reported schools in nearly all the thirty ayuntamientos under his jurisdiction in 1826. In 1849 Puebla's governor counted six hundred municipal schools.[22] Carlos Espinosa's study of Coahuilan education notes that in 1829 about 10 percent of the school-age children in Coahuila and Texas were attending twenty-seven schools, some of them in small towns and others on haciendas.[23] Moreover, Guerra believes that state-level statistics underestimated the number of schools in communities and on haciendas.[24]

Staples has identified several factors that blocked the sustained development of schools in Mexico: long distances between scattered settlements, lack of funding and political will, a scarce supply of teachers, and limited social demand. These factors were aggravated by deepening bankruptcy, civil war, and foreign invasion. In her judgment, central Mexico fared better than the outlying provinces. Local research done in Mexico City, Puebla, and Guadalajara confirms these variables. These cities exemplified a relative concentration of funding, teachers, political will, experience, and social demand. In the 1830s, their city councils expanded public schooling for the poor.[25] At this point, perhaps one-third to one-half of eligible children attended school in these cities. By 1842 in Guadalajara, 53 percent of the students were in municipal schools, exceeding the municipal share of enrollments in both Puebla and Mexico. Throughout the period in the last two cities, growth in private school enrollments outstripped that in state and religious sectors.[26]

The increase in private schooling attests to social demand. But among what social sectors in which areas did such demand arise, and why? Something is known about the major cities, but no studies have been made of rural areas or small towns. Local and regional enrollment trends (with controls for gender, ethnicity, and parent occupation) must be reconstructed through material in municipal and notarial archives.[27] Although historians have noted a new interest in women's education,

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female enrollments have yet to be broken down by class, ethnicity, and region.[28]

Published research has now canceled the long-held supposition that schooling in nineteenth-century Mexico was a closed elite system. Staples observed that the opening of new professional opportunities in bureaucratic, medical, and technical careers made it logical for comfortable classes to invest in their sons' schooling.[29] François Guerra goes further in his biographies of future liberal politicians by demonstrating that the striving poor also invested in schooling. To cite a famous example, Porfirio Díaz's mother worked in an inn and sacrificed mightily for her children's education.[30] In Mexico City, Puebla, and Guadalajara, the children of "poor people"—artisans, traders, construction workers, domestic servants—went to school.[31] But how representative these parents were of their occupations or which occupations were more schooled than others remains unclear.

Nor is it evident what motivated these parents to send their children to school—the possibility of religious instruction, the coaxing of priests or employers, an opportunity for child care for working parents, or some perception of the relevance of literacy to economic skills, dignity, or social mobility? Lira has provided some insight in his exemplary study of indigenous barrios of Mexico City. Here school attendance for male children seems to have corresponded to economic resources. Better-off families sent their children to school, even if irregularly, but poorer families were less willing to do so. Although parents may have had religious motives in seeking schooling for their sons, the data suggest that the more successfully families were integrated in the urban economy, the more accessible and useful literacy became.[32]

Primary-school curriculum was strikingly similar across Mexico. It consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic, and the religious catechism—often embellished by a political catechism, morality, urbanity, and sacred history. A privileged child could also learn foreign languages, history, geography or bookkeeping. Girls were generally taught reading, religious catechism, sewing, and embroidery; they frequently learned to write but were taught less arithmetic than boys. Textbooks were carryovers from the colonial period: the catechism of Ripalda and the sacred history of Fleury. Although a civics catechism was required after 1820, Tanck de Estrada believes that it was not commonly taught in Mexico City until 1833. Methods varied widely from the timeworn approach of teaching reading and writing separately and individually to the new method developed by Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell of teaching reading and writing simultaneously.[33]

Recent analysis of curriculum has emphasized continuity rather than change. A high premium was placed on discipline in the schools. Children had to be clean, punctual, and quiet. They were expected to

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learn by recitation and memorization rather than by questioning.[34] For all the concern voiced by statesmen about the urgency of forming Mexican citizens, programs like that in Puebla reflected little Mexican content or reference to the constitution. Rather, the Puebla schools' concept of citizenship derived from the traditional state, with emphasis on obedience to God, elders, and the laws.[35] Staples has argued that the new political catechism, paralleling its religious counterpart, fortified an ethic of obedience by making children repeat a creed of constitutional articles, laws, rights, and obligations.[36] She believes that the religious program dovetailed with liberals' desire to create docile citizens. Staples maintains that the real change in content occurred in higher education in the study of constitutional law, where the relationship between governed and government could be scrutinized. Presumably, in the new literary institutes of higher education created by the states, dogma was challenged and doubt flourished.[37] This secularization of higher education helps to explain the subsequent liberal period. Guerra has demonstrated that many of the next generation's liberal leaders attended these institutes. Yet many artisans, who received no formal schooling beyond the religious program, also joined the liberal cause and became ardent proselytizers of education as the key to worldly perfection.

The impact of the primary-school curriculum can be viewed in another perspective. François Furet and Jacques Ozouf have argued that in France the church contributed to secularization through its domination of primary education well into the nineteenth century. The Christian school lay at the crossroads of two ways of thinking: one religious and the other instrumental, or concerned with normalizing social behavior through internalization of a practical morality.[38] This dual intent certainly imbued Mexican clerics who had been influenced by the Enlightenment. Priests became intermediaries, willing or unwilling, between the closed corporate society and the secularizing process. As overseers of teachers, schools, and attendance, priests legitimized the new institution that imparted skills useful to survival in a changing world: reading and writing in Spanish. The church, together with the public power, was an equalizer of literacy in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Mexico. The education imparted was free to those who could not afford to pay. Both the public power and the church taught children regardless of their class, race, or caste. Implicitly, then, both church and state fostered the emergence of a more open society.

The skills imparted seemed to have had a dynamic potential in a society that had lately discovered the excitement of reading. In an imaginative essay on reading, Staples concludes that a fundamental change in mentality occurred during this period with the acceptance of freedom to read despite the church's attempt to mobilize powers and individuals against the influx of new thoughts.[39] She points out how the production of

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pamphlets and periodicals as well as cheaper techniques of printing made the written word more available to broader groups. Reading publics became differentiated when magazines began to be directed toward women, artisans, children, and families.

During the same period, sermons and political speeches were being published to propagate ideas beyond the immediate hearers. The use of the written word increased because of the exigencies of state formation in publishing laws, decrees, and military edicts, propagating ideologies and principles, and elaborating plans, manifestos, and leaflets geared toward political mobilization. When all this activity is placed in the context of the new work currently being conducted on social movements, especially peasant revolts, one can perceive the genesis of a language of rebellion and ideological dispute—a language that was written as well as oral.[40] Larger groups were drawn into a circle of politically engaged readers to an unusual degree for a predominantly agrarian, mostly illiterate society.

The role of the written word in peasant revolts raises questions about language and the social relations of literacy in indigenous communities. In the colony, Spanish literacy was confined to a few interpreters who acted as intermediaries between Indian communities and the Spanish hierarchy, creating a significant distance between the ordinary villager and Spanish texts.[41] Did language and literacy barriers break down as a result of new schools under the Bourbons or in the course of the social upheaval that began with the insurgency? Did ordinary villagers identify more integrally with new Spanish texts of peasant rebellion or were these texts composed only by *principales*, interpreters, and political actors from the dominant society? Scholars need studies of peasant movements that focus on the role of the written word.

CIVIL WARS AND LIBERAL VICTORY, 1855–1876

During this period of civil wars, the liberals triumphed over the conservatives and the church. The Constitution of 1857 and the laws of the Reform separated church and state, abolished corporate property, and banished the clergy from public education. In primary education, important legal and institutional changes at the federal level included creation of the Ministry of Justice and Public Instruction and the establishment of obligatory primary education, lay and free in public schools in the Federal District and territories. These changes have been detailed in works by Josefina Vázquez and Teresa Bermúdez.[42] Imitated by the states, this legislation continued the trend toward greater state government supervision of primary education but left intact the municipality as the basic jurisdictional unit and source of funds.

A crucial component of this legislation was the mandating of

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changes in primary-school curriculum. Morality replaced religion in public schools, and the program was amplified to include the metric system of weights and measures, rudimentary physics, chemistry and practical mechanics, national history, geography, the Constitution of 1857, and singing. Girls were required to study hygiene and *labores manuales*, which were intended to introduce them to the new sewing machine.

Research in the past twenty years has shed light on the context in which this extended curriculum developed. Bermúdez's analysis of teacher advertisements in the capital press indicates that a more scientific, practical, and nationalist program was neither a simple state imposition nor an exclusively liberal outcome. It developed in a social milieu that was urban, Europeanized, and comfortable. Further, a large majority of Mexicans in this setting were Catholic and conservative. The Catholic movement, which organized into the Sociedad Católica, cannot be categorically associated with the "old system." Although Catholic leaders contested the liberal version of a modern project and its godless schooling, they accepted the secularizing world of science, commerce, and nationhood. Both liberals and conservatives in these social circles sought pedagogies that would enhance the personal development of children in contrast to more traditional methods of teaching that viewed children as receptors of rules and information.[43]

As Bermúdez notes, against a backdrop of civil war and foreign invasion, education became if not a panacea, at least a critical mission for those interested in nation building and social transformation. The Sociedad Católica shared this hope as did new groups who entered the political arena as "educationalists": liberals from areas peripheral to Mexico's central core and artisans from the central cities. Artisans believed that through education, they could assume a leadership role in the economic progress of the country. Associated with the artisans but intent on creating a Prudhonian utopia in the countryside, the anarchist Plotino Rhodakanaty set up a school among the peasants of Chalco in the state of Mexico.[44] While these projects all accepted the Enlightenment view that education improved society, they also attested to a high level of social conflict and ideological dispute. Moreover, they represented distinct class interests. While artisan societies believed that education would catapult them into national leadership and anarchists believed that it would free peasants from oppression, many liberal intellectuals as well as leaders of the Sociedad Católica viewed education as a means of "moralizing" workers by disciplining them in habits of work and obedience.

Conflicts over educational space and curriculum became particularly intense when liberal governments began to implement their nonreligious program. Anecdotal evidence from Jalisco, San Luis Potosí, Puebla, and Mexico City points to resistance from teachers, Catholic groups, and parents.[45] In studying this critical passage, historians should

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examine the ways in which liberals incorporated established social forms and ways of thinking into the new ideology and practice.[46] Guerra has posited that liberals voiced an individualistic ideology but their power continued to be based on an older world of patrimonial relations, a suggestive thesis that should be explored in terms of education.

For instance, several recent works have shown how state educators utilized the *academia,* a traditional guild forum or instructive seminar, to introduce new methods and ideologies to skeptical teachers.[47] While the organization of academias may have been purely instrumental, the proliferation of religious terminology and the use of collective ritual in the liberal school movement suggest more than a tactical response to Catholic resistance. They suggest an unconscious synthesis of traditional behavior with new principles. In Puebla proselytizers of liberal education hailed it as "el bautismo regenerador de la inteligencia." In the realm of poetic oratory, the school ascended to become "la puerta del sanctuario" and the teacher became "el sacerdote de la idea" who gave youth "la Comunión bendita de la ciencia" and placed upon "el altar de la Patria cien miembros útiles." The old-style corporate ritual legitimized the new school. The *velada* became a civic ceremony, a secular church service, in which teachers, children, families, and government officials all celebrated the hero patriots with music, poetry, and speeches and reconsecrated patriotic sacrifices to the progressive mission of schooling. The governor presided over the congregation, which affirmed its unity to the strains of the national anthem.[48]

Although little attention has been paid thus far to the transition to secular schooling, two case studies have provided important insights into liberal education in indigenous communities. Some scholars view the state school as a liberal assault on indigenous Mexico while others believe that liberalism took root in some indigenous communities through wars and struggles. Guy Thomson has shown how liberal generals Juan Francisco Lucas, Juan Bonilla, and Juan Méndez mobilized national guard units from indigenous communities in the Sierra Norte of Puebla to fight the French. According to Thomson, in order to give ideological meaning to the struggle and to counteract the clergy, the liberals sought to create a new political culture through schools and the elaboration of patriotic ritual. These liberals partially succeeded because they left intact Indian landownership and relative communal autonomy. More interested in administration than in commerce, the mestizo powerholders protected the communities from the rapacities of market penetration during the Porfiriato.[49] These same conditions, however, may also explain why school attendance was low. Instruction was given in Spanish, and such communities probably had little practical need for this kind of literacy.[50]

In contrast, Lira paints a hostile reaction to schools in the Indian barrios of Mexico City. When the liberal victory unleashed the floodgates

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of state and market expansion, these communities lost control over their resources. The municipal council determined their budgets and their teachers. The Indian communities besieged the council with complaints of teacher absenteeism and cruelty to children. These communities had long been accustomed to schooling. Integrated as they were into the urban market, literacy was useful to those who could afford to master it. They disputed with the liberals to some degree about the content and purpose of schooling. After requesting scholarships for youth to study canon law at the seminary, they were offered scholarships to the new Escuela de Artes y Oficios. But when residents of the barrio of Tlatelolco protested the moving of their school a few blocks from its traditional location, the community was primarily protesting its loss of relative autonomy and control.[51]

Although it is inadvisable to hypothesize on the basis of isolated cases, these two examples suggest that the variable in indigenous response to schooling was not ethnicity per se. Other factors must be taken into account, including the nature of reciprocal relations with outside powerholders, questions of community control, the perceived utility of Spanish literacy, and the "packaging" of literacy in the school curriculum.

THE PORFIRIATO, 1876–1910

Twenty years ago, historians believed that little had transpired in the practice of primary education during the Porfiriato—at least not in the rural areas and not for the poor. This belief, however, has been altered by the substantial scholarship produced in the last twenty years on market expansion and economic growth, state development, and regional history. Scholars have detailed the legislative, administrative, and bureaucratic history of the primary school in Porfirian Mexico. By examining numerical data, they have gained insight into the regions and social sectors favored by school expansion. Scholars have also begun to explore renascent religious movements, Protestant as well as Catholic, and their impact on primary education. Most controversial has been the prolific attempt by historians to establish a link between schooling and the Mexican Revolution of 1910.

During the Porfiriato, the number of public primary schools more than doubled from roughly five thousand in 1878 to almost ten thousand in 1907; and enrollments more than tripled to nearly six hundred thousand students.[52] When religious and private enrollments are included, more than eight hundred thousand children were attending school in 1907, which represented 31 percent of children between the ages of six and ten.[53] Meanwhile, public expenditures on education multiplied by a factor of ten. The teaching profession expanded more rapidly than any other—from nearly thirteen thousand teachers in 1895 to twenty-one

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thousand in 1910. Official statistics show that literacy defined as the capacity to both read and write increased from 17 percent of the population over six in 1895 to 29 percent of the population over twelve in 1910 (33 percent male literacy and 13 percent female).[54] These low literacy rates in the midst of school expansion may be explained in part by levels of population growth, which reached an overall annual rate of 1.4 percent during the Porfiriato. In any case, these national figures conceal important regional variations that reflected the varying impact of economic growth, policy, social movements, and processes.

In the area of primary-school jurisdiction, the role of the federal government continued to be limited. After 1889 the central government made a real effort to extend its school program and administrative model to the states by calling two pedagogical congresses and by creating or reforming normal schools. Whether or not these models were actually implemented depended largely on state governments. In regard to jurisdiction, the Porfiriato continued the trend of increasing state government control over municipalities, although the amount of control varied from state to state. Most states set up some form of inspection and established or revamped normal schools. Several states, however, left funding up to the municipalities.

Whether a region or locality was commercially prosperous and hence revenue-rich was critical to school expansion. Higher per capita revenues—which were associated with foreign investment, production for export, urbanization, and industrialization—correlate with expenditures on education. As a result of these factors, northern Mexico and Yucatán overtook central Mexico (with the exception of the Federal District) and far surpassed the impoverished south. The northern states spent the most on primary schooling, enrolled the highest percentage of school-age children, and achieved the highest adult literacy rates at the end of the period: an average of 45 percent, compared with 27 percent in the center and 14 percent in the south.[55]

As François Guerra has noted, political will was an important variable in school expansion. Whether or not state governors were willing to subsidize local schooling was critical. Governors oriented toward education clustered in the north, especially by the end of the period. They governed elsewhere as well—in Tlaxcala, Jalisco, Zacatecas, Veracruz, and Yucatán[56]—but were noticeably absent in other states. Jesús Romero Flores attributes the poor school indicators in Michoacán to the corrupt, unenlightened governor, Aristeo Mercado, who followed the more education-minded Mariano Jiménez in the 1890s.[57] In Puebla momentum in educational expansion that had been built under governors Juan Crisóstomo Bonilla and Rosendo Márquez disappeared during the administration of Mucio Martínez (1892–1910).

Because school systems expanded unevenly during the Porfiriato,

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the range of variables and correct periodization must be identified. Official statistics indicate a 9 percent annual increase in total enrollments between 1878 and 1900 and a 2 percent yearly increment between 1900 and 1907. Although the base figure represents an underestimation, the distinction between the periods is valid. Between 1900 and 1907, enrollments fell from 42 to 31 percent of children between the ages of six and ten.[58] Between 1900 and 1910, certain regions expanded in primary education—especially the northern states, Yucatán, and Jalisco. But in many other states, enrollments declined in absolute numbers or relative to population growth. The last decade of the Porfiriato was a period of rapid growth compounded by crisis—hacienda expansion at the expense of villages, inflation, international financial crisis, a national credit squeeze, and industrial depression. To understand this decade's impact on schooling, state-level school data must be correlated with data on patterns of demography, production, revenue, and wealth.

The relationship between sluggish or declining schooling and the impoverishment of municipalities in central Mexico bears closer scrutiny. It has frequently been argued that privatization of corporate property, dating from liberal legislation in the 1850s and continuing through the Porfiriato, impoverished towns.[59] Yet privatization is a remarkably understudied process at the local level, and its impact on schooling remains obscure. In Puebla the number of village schools grew until around 1900, when many began to close. Schools in Puebla depended on a local head tax and commercial revenues. Unlike his counterparts in Tlaxcala and Morelos, Governor Mucio Martínez did not subsidize municipal schools in distress. An unreformed fiscal system and patterns of economic growth were critical variables in the decline of schooling. Especially hard-hit were towns in districts that traditionally produced grain. In times of industrial depression, residents left these towns not for the cities but for more prosperous hacienda and frontier regions. In the hacienda regions, the absence of pueblos meant a dearth of schools and a declining proportion of the overall school-age population enrolled in school.[60]

Examining sectoral distribution of schools (public, private, and religious) reveals that although public schooling greatly overshadowed private and religious instruction in the first decades of the Porfiriato, private and religious education increased more rapidly in the last two decades (from 15 percent of total enrollments in 1895 to 21 percent in 1907).[61] This increase averaged 13 percent per year between 1895 and 1907, compared with a 5 percent yearly increase in public enrollments.

Guerra believes that the "society" assumed responsibility for its education by reasserting "ancient" modes of schooling.[62] It seems more likely, however, that private and religious enrollments reflected growth, change, and social stratification. Rising demand and income stratification led to the development of private schooling at a moment when state

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neglect was prejudicing the poor. Further impetus came from effervescent religious movements with expanding school networks. Private and religious enrollments were concentrated in cities like Mexico City, Puebla, and Guadalajara. When they spilled over into the countryside and small towns, they were often associated with Catholic and Protestant churches, which shared the financial burden of schooling with villagers.

The Protestant movement, which has been explained in works by Baldwin and Bastian, flourished in the north, in market-penetrated districts of the center, south, and coastal states, and in old rural liberal jurisdictions.[63] Protestant school enrollments increased from almost three thousand in 1888 to eleven thousand in 1911.[64] The Catholic social movement was concentrated in the west and north-central states of Mexico; its efforts in primary schooling have been initially described by Agustín Vaca and Diana Romero de Swain for Jalisco, by Jesús Tapia Santamaría for Michoacán, and by Rosa Helia Villa de Mebius for San Luis Potosí.[65] In west and north-central states, private and religious enrollments represented 36 to 55 percent of total enrollments, compared with 10 percent in Sonora, 13 percent in Coahuila, and 11 percent in Puebla.[66]

Neither Catholic nor Protestant movements promoted traditional education. Bastian has described the modernizing purpose of the Protestants. Research on the Catholic movement indicates that although it may have maintained a Thomistic philosophical framework and articulated a "revanchist" political agenda of sacred reconquest, its leaders rejected superstition and emphasized reading, respect for science, national history, trades, professions, and the social issues raised by modernization.[67] Both movements had networks offering post-primary education that led to careers, and both educated women. The wealthy western states of Jalisco and Aguascalientes achieved some of the highest levels of female enrollment in the country in 1907—50 percent and 43 percent respectively, compared with 37 percent in Puebla and 29 percent in Guerrero.[68]

Guerra has suggested that hacienda schools played an important part in private education.[69] We need to know their extent, the trends in expansion or retraction, and what kind of schooling they offered to which sectors of the labor force. In 1899 San Luis Potosí reported 305 hacienda schools, which equaled the number of public schools. But by 1905, the total number of primary schools in this state had been halved, and it remains unclear what happened to hacienda schools.[70] Puebla statistics display scant evidence of hacienda schools. Coahuila had schools on haciendas, but if Francisco Madero exemplified hacienda owners, these schools were part of modernization projects. Jan Bazant has produced a singular study of the school on the hacienda of Protasio Tagle, another modernizer and a Porfirian minister of state.[71]

Recent historiography suggests that throughout Mexico an expanding middle sector, upper levels of the nascent working class, and

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portions of the artisan sector attended primary school and sent their children to school. Urbanization fanned out from the central core cities to peripheral areas in the center and regions peripheral to the center. While many small towns languished, others grew in population and occupational diversification. Those who benefited from schooling were rancheros, artisans, muleteers, state employees, merchants, and teachers. Regional histories, such as Frans Schryer's work on the Huasteca area of Hidalgo or Ian Jacobs's monograph on the Figueroa family in Guerrero, have confirmed this trend.[72] The education of this sector helps to explain the impact of a relatively reduced national literacy on a major revolution: this expanding sector, which was being excluded from political and economic power commensurate with its perceived needs and principles, played a key role in the Revolution. With the extension of railroads, members of this sector had access to an expanding national press, as has been detailed in an essay by Milada Bazant.[73] In relation to illiterate Mexicans, members of this sector were often critical intermediaries between the local universe and the nation, between viscerally experienced grievances and a national movement of ideological principle and program articulated by a proliferating opposition press during the last decade of the Porfiriato.

While no systematic studies have been carried out on demand, Luz Elena Galván's combing of Porfirio Díaz's archive for correspondence on schools has documented that education became important when market penetration made life more unpredictable and mobile, yet more promising. Schooling became a mechanism for controlling change as employment opportunities requiring literacy opened in government, commerce, industry, and services. When the market caused the break-up of peasant and artisan families as productive units, education often figured in survival strategies. Lacking property and funds for dowries, modest families perceived education as an inheritance that they could leave their children—the patrimony of a *trabajo honrado,* which could also serve as social security in the parents' old age. Families that could no longer protect their women from the tainted public sphere sought to educate them for respectable jobs in teaching and office work. Sons of campesinos who wanted to be *comerciantes* asked for scholarships to night schools, as did rural boys who wanted to learn a trade other than their fathers' work.[74]

The number of peasants and industrial and service workers who went to primary school is unclear. Recent work suggests that education became important as the rupturing of old integrations of thought, discipline, and routine prompted a search for new integrations. Education could play a role in such strategies of reconstruction. Lira has captured this moment in the life of the community of Magdalena in Mexico City. Although the community lost its struggle to control its own resources and government, its leaders gained a new appreciation of schooling. When fighting the appointment of a woman teacher, they argued, "our children

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. . . are attending school to obtain an education that will make the future easier for them. The meager and insignificant instruction a woman can provide will not pull them out of the dejection in which they find themselves. After obtaining magnificent grades in their studies, they will have to go back to tending cattle."[75] Similarly, Bastian has shown that Protestantism and Protestant education were attractive to agrarian and worker communities where market intrusion had broken down the old solid amalgamation of church, community, and hacienda. Protestant schooling offered an ideological-social space where individuals could embrace new values of self-discipline and self-actualization, sobriety, solidarity, freedom of thought, and the acceptance of impersonal authority.[76]

Yet on the eve of the Revolution in 1910, most Mexicans remained illiterate and unschooled. To be sure, the "poor" were neglected. In some parts of Mexico, citizens actually had less access to schooling at the end of the Porfiriato than they did in the 1880s or 1890s. One compelling question for research, however, is resistance to schooling. The presence of a school guarantees neither attendance nor learning.[77] A glance at the attendance lists for nineteenth-century Mexican primary schools in municipal archives confirms this point. Lira has argued that those attending often remained illiterate because the school was so incompatible with their interests, needs, and values.[78] Whether for reasons of poverty, the viability of old integrations, lack of need for Spanish literacy skills, or defense of cultural autonomy among the indigenous, many Mexicans shunned official secular schooling, if not all formal schooling. This resistance needs to be studied because opposition to revolutionary schooling in rural communities after 1920 was far more widespread than scholars have been willing to admit.

The real debate over Porfirian primary education centers on its ideological impact. The discussion has been marred by two problems: ideological discourse often becomes confused with practice, and the Mexican Revolution has been the optic through which primary education is viewed. Both problems stem from the perspectives of political, rather than social, history. Since James Cockcroft published his 1968 essay on the participation of primary-school teachers in the Revolution, historians have uncovered much material to substantiate his claim. Understanding of teachers as intermediaries between dissidents in rural and industrial communities and a broad movement for restoring constitutional rights has been enriched by the work of Alan Knight, François Guerra, Jean Pierre Bastian, Raymond Buvé, David LaFrance, John Womack, and others.[79] But the focus on this political effervescence of the last years of the Porfirian regime has overshadowed the real history of schooling. Moreover, it has inadvertently contributed to confusion between political rhetoric and what was actually practiced and learned in schools during this time.

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In his monumental work on Porfirian Mexico, Guerra argues that Porfirian ministers Joaquín Baranda and Justo Sierra, backed by a corps of "social engineers" led by pedagogue Enrique Rébsamen, introduced a pedagogy of modernity through legislated national school programs and normal schools. This pedagogy contained the vision of society based on individual citizens in contrast to the old system of collectivities and corporate, patrimonial relations. Teachers trained in these schools imbibed the vision and, by implication, its practice. In a "descending diffusion of ideology," they transmitted in their schools an ideology of liberalism that was associated with individualism, constitutional rights, and a history of patriot heroes.[80] Guerra's analysis, however, is an incomplete reading of the "text," that is to say, the official program and normal school curriculum. The emphasis on discourse and "vision" underestimates the possible persistence of older values and forms of political, social, and ideological behavior in teachers. The thesis of a descending diffusion of ideology underestimates the strength of liberal ideas among teachers who lacked official normal-school training. Finally, the argument does not answer the critical question as to which ideological messages were in fact transferred through schooling.

It can be argued instead that the official primary-school program was more disciplinary and authoritarian than liberal. The focus of intellectual historians on the liberal-positivist debate in higher education has clouded understanding of the primary program. Some scholars have defined the latter as liberal because it included the teaching of Mexican history and civics as opposed to the overwhelming scientific thrust of the first positivist program in the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria.[81] But faculty development pedagogy, which is based on the objective method of "lessons of things," can be understood as broadly positivist: a technical disciplining of the human mind, body, and emotions.[82] To use Alan Knight's term, faculty development pedagogy was an expression of developmental liberalism in that it emphasized modernization, not rights.[83] For men like Justo Sierra, discipline was key to Mexico's survival. Having lived through the tumult of civil war and foreign invasion, Sierra viewed education as a mechanism for forging a homogeneous, productive nation capable of competing in the struggle for survival.[84] As urbanization raised the specter of masses of poor uprooted from their traditional moorings, he was sensitive to the role of schooling in subordinating the new sectors to a modern discipline. Pedagogues like Rébsamen were influenced by the disciplinarian Johann Friedrich Herbart as well as the gentler Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi.

A disciplinary pedagogy is not incompatible with instruction in constitutional rights or patriotic history. But given the level of controversy raised by these distinct interpretations, more detailed studies are needed of formal Porfirian pedagogy, its European roots, and Mexican adapta-

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tions. Further, the contention that a liberal, individualist ideology penetrated normal schools via Rébsamen and his disciples calls for more systematic study of regional variations in normal-school programs. Several normal schools were scarcely influenced by Rébsamen at all (Michoacán was one example), while others probably mediated his impact with other ideas. Carlos Espinosa describes how Coahuila Director of Education Andrés Osuna, backed by Governor Miguel Cárdenas, jettisoned the Rébsamen program as overly memoristic and authoritarian to pursue more open, child-centered pedagogies then in favor in the United States.[85]

Future studies should focus on differences among normal-school students arising from class, gender, regional traditions, teaching experiences, and political affiliation to determine whether or not they were liberal individualists and propagators of the Revolution of 1910. For example, in relation to gender, Concepción Jiménez Alarcón's history of Mexico City's normal schools notes that they often served as a stepping stone for lower-middle-class men to other careers while normalista women came from higher social echelons.[86] The teaching profession became feminized during the Porfiriato. Milada Bazant explains that between 1878 and 1907, the percentage of men in the profession fell from 58 percent to 23 percent.[87] Researchers need to examine how gender, combined with social class, influenced the behavior of teachers. While some women distinguished themselves in revolutionary activities, the Porfirian ideology of instructive motherhood might well have inclined women teachers to concentrate on the disciplining aspects of the program.[88]

Alarcón's rich descriptions of classroom and student life in Mexico City suggest that the teachers' mission was permeated with elements of the traditional society: religiosity transferred to secular principles, corporate rituals, and relational values and attitudes toward authority rather than individualistic or impersonal attitudes.[89] In student descriptions, the liberal maestro Ignacio Altamirano emerged more as priest than instructor. He has been vividly described as ascending the staircase to his classroom in a striding gait: "Su ademán era de superación como la majestad de un dios olímpico, todas las cabezas se descubrían a su paso y todas las miradas iban a confundirse sobre su fisionomía en respetuosa conjunción." His lectures on Mexican history have been described as a masterful orchestration of voice and gesture, poetry and color sanctifying the nation and its heroes: "Así veíamos al Maestro transfigurado por la elocuencia que operaba el singular efecto de convertir no solo su palabra, sino toda su ser, en una meta de irresistible belleza que producía en su auditorio una maravillosa atracción magnética."[90] I would note that Altamirano's relation to his students was not unlike that demanded by the community leaders of Magdalena when they protested having a woman teacher. No woman, they argued, could teach the practical skills, obedience, respect, or the "sympathy and veneration that the male teacher's

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majestic character inspires, with which he attains order and love for work in his students."[91] Thus the threads of old attitudes and values were woven into the new fabric, producing a hybrid cloth. This complex process merits study.

In their professional lives, normal-school graduates continued to live in a world of relations. In the absence of impersonal rules for job acquisition, promotion, tenure, and retirement or horizontal organizations of defense, it was the world of vertical, patrimonial relations—not individual competition and merit—that continued to serve as a source of survival, protection, and advancement. Galván's description of teachers' correspondence with Porfirio Díaz illustrates the dilemma. To become a teacher, one needed not only a formal examination but a certificate of good conduct. Obtaining such a certificate depended on networks of relations. Keeping one's job also depended on relations. Older teachers with fading powers appealed to the president for pensions as "un acto de justicia." At the end of the Porfiriato, when overproduction of teachers and the economic crisis restricted job opportunities, teachers sought the protection of Díaz. They addressed him as "padre de la Nación a la que pertenezco" and "padre bueno y generoso, señor todopoderoso," signing their petitions as "adictos servidores."[92] Such phrases reflected more than tactical ploys—the dependent condition of teachers was real. It may explain why so many teachers joined the Revolution, why toward the end of the period they began to form teachers' associations, why they railed against favoritism and felt morally outraged at the injustices of the state, and why they embraced the discourse of individual rights and constitutionalism. Yet all their actions and words did not alter the condition of a persistent world of relations refunctionalized through the imperfect workings of the market and the nature of the Porfirian state.

Guerra's thesis of a "descending diffusion of ideology" underestimates the liberal space in which teachers gravitated outside normal schools. Most Mexican teachers throughout the Porfiriato lacked any normal-school training,[93] and some were Protestant-trained. Many of them joined the Revolution. Guerra is aware of this space. He is most convincing when arguing that the regime legitimized itself locally through liberal ritual associated with elections and patriotic holidays.[94] Knight has shown that teachers were the key orators in Independence Day homages to patriot-heroes.[95] He devoted an essay to distinguishing between a popular, constitutional liberalism born of grass-roots protests and patriotic struggle and the developmental liberalism of Sierra.[96] Many teachers emerged from this popular ambience, as the plethora of commemorative teacher biographies reveal.[97] Teachers did not need normal-school degrees to celebrate constitutional rights and the patriotic heroes of popular justice. As Galván has shown, many who lacked adequate textbooks and teaching materials composed their own didactic tracts—histories, stories, maps,

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compositions on the heroes of the patria, oratory, and hymns to the Grito de Dolores.[98]

Jean Pierre Bastian has traced the expansion of this liberal space as Porfirian growth stimulated the creation of new social groups—principally middle sectors, an incipient industrial working class, and displaced peasants—all of whom had a growing list of grievances against an increasingly closed regime.[99] Normalistas were one subgroup in this space, although not all of them participated. Many of those who did may have tended to be developmentalist in their liberalism—unabashedly moralizing and condescending in their approach to the backward society around them. After all, the most studious normalistas had been trained in rather stringent social engineering.

Guerra is aware of most of the conditioning factors described above.[100] But because he has been intent on proving the thesis that an enlightened minority sought to impose its project on a traditional society, he has been more interested in the political discourse of teachers than in the real social tissue of teaching and learning. To advance understanding of primary education in the Porfiriato, researchers must probe beneath formal politics to examine what children actually learned in classrooms. Besides the cognitive skills of reading and writing, what habits, behavior, and attitudes were acquired, reinforced, or transformed? The official goal was to transform traditional individuals into modern individuals: to progress from superstition to science, from laziness to punctuality and hard work, from filth to cleanliness, from favoritism and privilege to award for merit and productivity. To what extent were these goals achieved and how much did the traditional world condition and shape the product?

A tendency exists in the historiography of Porfirian schooling to substitute theoretical archetypes for a more subtle and complex analysis of the interplay between schooling and context. For example, Bastian argues that Protestant education produced modern individuals who were self-disciplined, productive for impersonal authority, punctual, abstemious, and democratic. In contrast, Catholic education supposedly produced docile subjects who remained subordinate to authority, dogma, and priests. Yet the Catholic social movement seems to have insisted as much on abstinence, reading, self-control, work, and time as the Protestant movement. As the work of Ceballos Ramírez has shown, this movement was not a rejection of "progress." Both Catholic and Protestant social movements were participatory, and both propelled followers into the Mexican Revolution. Although these two groups were intensely at odds with one another at the level of discourse and real politics, the actual impact of their education on Mexican society requires more analysis.

Nor should it be assumed that the official program was actually implemented. The most propitious environment for its implementation was in the major cities. For example, per capita primary-school expendi-

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tures were the highest in Mexico City. Some 60 percent of the children were in school in 1910. Although only some teachers held normal degrees, a relatively developed inspection system facilitated program implementation. Yet Díaz Zermeño's essay on these schools shows that inadequate textbooks and supplies, unhygienic conditions, and high rates of student absenteeism (aggravated by epidemic disease) all impeded program implementation.[101] More telling still are the parental complaints against teachers unearthed by Galván in the Díaz archives for absenteeism, lack of punctuality, favoritism in grading, and falsification of grades and certificates—all allegedly occurring in the Mexico City schools, Justo Sierra's jewels of modern pedagogy.[102] In contrast, Romero Flores described the strictest of Lancaster regimes in his primary school in a small town in Michoacán.[103] Questions must therefore be raised about the uniformly progressive consequences of school modernization in relation to the fostering of discipline.

One of the major tasks of modern schooling is to inculcate new notions of time in the transition from agrarian to industrial society.[104] Did the clocks placed prominently in the schools and in town squares facing churches betoken more than symbolic value? If Porfirian schools maintained a respect for the clock, how compatible was this punctuality with the schedules and rhythms of daily life and work? Widespread parental complaints about teachers' failure to perform punctually and competently makes one wonder whether schools may have contributed instead to a disregard for time.[105]

Anecdotal evidence suggests that certain aspects of discipline in Porfirian schools may have reinforced class distinctions in ways not necessarily compatible with motivating performance.[106] Daily inspections for clean hands, hair, clothes, and faces were humiliating for those who did not pass. The obsession with correct behavior, long characteristic of Mexican schools, increased with urbanization and manifested itself in intensified campaigns to moralize the poor. The class conflict inherent in this approach was to work itself out in postrevolutionary education.

The ways in which the old order wove its way into the new should not be dismissed as tactics in a struggle for ideological hegemony or mere rhetorical vestiges of the old system. They are instead testimonies to the strength of society. Annual public examinations in Mexican schools suggest a secular enactment of First Communion, much the role they played in France.[107] Romero Flores recalled his public examinations in Michoacán as replete with a flower-bedecked altar, "celestial" music, poetic oratory, solemn incantations from the students, judgments by state authorities, and approval from parents.[108] Patriotic celebrations maintained a corporate and religious flavor in their spatial orchestration, a mixture of the sublime and the carnivalesque, the pantheon of patriot heroes, the

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sacred text (the Constitution of 1857), collective inclusiveness, and a legitimization of paternal authority.

Within the process of education, new worlds opened up that were built on new bases. The patriotic ritual had a democratizing content: all were Mexicans and equal not just for the moment but in the constitutional text being celebrated and in the heroic images of Hidalgo and Morelos being sanctified.[109] The capacity to read and write might not create the rationality and freethinking attributed to it by English anthropologist Jack Goody, but within the context of turn-of-the-century Mexico, as increasing numbers (the victims of modernization and its by-products) accumulated growing lists of grievances against the regime, they found a common medium and a powerful unifying element in the written word. The capacity to read became revolutionary when ignited by a proliferating opposition press and channeled by a political movement that often relied on the written word in its organizational pamphlets, telegrams, fliers, letters, and minutes of meetings.

CONCLUSION

Paul Vanderwood wrote in a recent essay that Mexican historians recognized the importance of mentalités but did not know how to find them.[110] The recent historiography of Mexican primary education has at least opened the way for a search. The institutional history—of the laws, the programs, and the structures—is now in place. Sensitivity to regional and local variation has grown. Hypotheses have been advanced about the ideological impact of schooling based on sociological archetypes and dichotomies that have heightened awareness of their strengths and weaknesses as analytical tools. In future they can be refined or discarded as they are applied to more in-depth analyses of context. Clearly, concepts such as traditional and modern, corporate and individual, change and stasis require clarification. This epistemological dilemma is shared by scholars throughout the West. As researchers break with developmentalist thinking, they grope for new concepts and tools.

Recent literacy studies have urged scholars not to associate literacy with a set of fixed attributes.[111] Rationality, individualism, industrialism, and abstraction may or may not accompany modern literacy acquisition for the process is mediated by sociocultural context. Social histories of literacy in France, England, and Russia have provided new models.[112] Readings in sociolinguistics, literary theory, and anthropology may lead to a more nuanced understanding of mentalités, as they relate to literacy.[113]

Scholars must now recast the history of education as ethnography. School programs and methods varied widely in Mexico, not only because teacher training varied but because what happened in the classroom

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represented a negotiation between teachers, pupils, parents, and power-holders in small towns and between teachers, directors, the bureaucracy, pupils, and families in large cities. What was learned in the classroom and transferred to daily life depended on context. Hence historians must consult a variety of sources: municipal, parochial, and school-specific archives (in state offices of education and schools) as well as periodical and private archival materials.

Such studies can reveal who in what community went to school, for how long, and how regularly. Researchers can then comprehend the linkages between education, occupation, and social stratification. They will also discover how literacy served the adult. In studying moments when a community enters into a political movement, researchers can try to determine the role of teacher and literates in these movements, the ideas they espouse, the role of the written word, and the social relations of literacy.

Political movements themselves must become a focus of study because they often provide an easier way to get at answers than using ethnographic studies, which must reconstruct daily life on the basis of written documents, and also because literacy seems to have been consistently politicized throughout the nineteenth century in Mexico. In carrying out these analyses, scholars should try to recover literacy traditions, their continuities, alterations, and relationships to ideology. The peasantry is ripe for such analysis, as are artisans in the central cities who carry an existing tradition of literacy into new modes and ideologies. But how new are the modes and ideologies? What particular craftsmen provide leadership? What do they transmit in literacy traditions to the working class in formation? The artisan press, mainstream and religious newspapers, and notarial and municipal archives can all serve research efforts.

To ascertain the nature of normalista ideology, scholars will have to study the normal schools, their programs, professors, and students. They must also examine the internal dynamics of student life and its relationship to the cities in which the schools were located. Such documentation exists for some normal schools (in Mexico City, Toluca, and Jalapa, at least). Theses written by graduating students often provide a wealth of information on curriculum content and the perceived juxtaposition between the academic corpus and Mexican realities. A large body of pedagogical periodicals and magazines also awaits the scrutiny of historians. Biography approached as social history and the history of mentalités is another angle from which to understand normalista education. Scholars need biographies of not only the great pedagogues like Altamirano and Rébsamen but also the lesser-known teachers and graduates.

Finally, studies of the press, literature, and reading can reveal much about ideology, the contextualization and use of the written word, and the social relations of literacy. A solid start has been made by the

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essays on reading produced by the Colegio de Mexico (cited throughout the endnotes). Needed now are local, regional, and sectoral analyses that can contextualize the role of the written word. With the accumulated understanding of the institutional development and formal ideology of primary schooling, scholars must move into social history. Nourished by the highly creative coming together of historians, sociolinguists, anthropologists, and literary theorists, the traditionally marginalized field of educational history should be able to claim a place on the center stage. This field has much to contribute to the history of Mexican society, culture, and politics if we practitioners will avail ourselves of new tools and perceptions.

NOTES

1. For typical studies in each category, see Francisco Larroyo, *La historia de la educación comparada en México* (Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma, 1948); and Carlos Alvear Acevedo, *La educación y la ley: la legislación en materia educativa en el México independiente* (Mexico City: Editorial Jus, 1962).
2. James Cockcroft, "El maestro de primaria en la Revolución Mexicana," *Historia Mexicana* 16 (1967):565–87; Josefina Zoraida Vázquez, *Nacionalismo y educación* (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 1970).
3. I am borrowing Natalie Davis's definition of *secularistic* as meaning "a wide but interrelated group of phenomena: the explaining, planning, and justifying of events in this-worldly terms; the use of non-religious sanctions and techniques to influence social action; and the assumption by laymen of increasing responsibility in directing social activities formerly directed by the clerical estate." See Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1975), 7.
4. See François Javier Guerra, *Le Mexique de l'ancien régime à la révolucion*, 2 vols. (Paris: Editions l'Harmattan, 1985); Andrés Lira González, "Indian Communities in Mexico City: The Parcialidades of Tenochtitlán and Tlatelolco, 1812–1919," Ph.D. diss., State University of New York, Stony Brook, 1982, published in Spanish as *Comunidades indígenas frente a la ciudad de México* (Zamora: Colegio de Michoacán, 1983). Guerra is concerned less with the emergence of a modern society than with the efforts of an enlightened minority to impose such a society through politics. Lira's analysis of the destruction of the colonial indigenous collectivities in Mexico City is more concerned with showing how the world of "homo economicus" intruded upon and altered the world of "el hombre integral."
5. The year 1786 was the date when the *ayuntamiento* (city council) of Mexico City took the first specific steps toward expanding primary schooling for the poor. The year 1855 marked the triumph of the liberal Revolución de Ayutla over the centralist government of Santa Anna.
6. See Dorothy Tanck de Estrada, *La educación ilustrada (1786–1836)* (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 1977), 1–14; and Tanck de Estrada, "Tensión en la torre de marfil: la educación en la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII mexicano," in Josefina Zoraida Vázquez, Dorothy Tanck de Estrada, Anne Staples, and Francisco Arce Gurza, *Ensayos sobre historia de la educación en México* (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 1981), 34–72.
7. See the following works of Dorothy Tanck de Estrada: "Las cortes de Cádiz y el desarrollo de la educación en México," *Historia Mexicana* 29 (1979):11–12, 20–24; "La enseñanza de la lectura y de la escritura en la Nueva España, 1700–1821," in Seminario de Historia de la Educación en México, *Historia de la lectura en México* (Mexico City: Colegio de México and Ediciones del Ermitaño, 1988), 50, 56–71, 87; and "Tensión," 35–40, 50–51, 63–72. Her discussion of Indian education utilizes Elisa Luque A., *La educación en Nueva España* (Seville: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Hispano-

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Americanas de Sevilla, 1970); and Shirley Brice Heath, *Telling Tongues: Language Policy in Mexico, Colony to Nation* (New York: Columbia Teachers College Press, 1972).

8. Tanck de Estrada, *La educación ilustrada,* 1–14, 204.
9. Anne Staples, "Alfabeto y catecismo: salvación del nuevo país," *Historia Mexicana* 29 (1979):36; and Staples, "Panorama educativo al comienzo de la vida independiente," in Vázquez et al., *Ensayos sobre historia de la educación,* 117–20.
10. See Tanck de Estrada, "Tensión," 70; and *La educación ilustrada,* 180–86. The Lancaster mutual system of learning instructed large numbers of children via the simultaneous teaching of reading and writing through a highly efficient organization of time and human resources. See Tanck de Estrada, *La educación ilustrada,* 232–36.
11. Dorothy Tanck de Estrada, "Ilustración y liberalismo en el programa de educación primaria de Valentín Gómez Farías," *Historia Mexicana* 33 (1984):463–508.
12. Carlos Espinosa, *Historia de la educación en Coahuila* (Saltillo: Escuela Normal de Coahuila, 1970), 36; Alberto Saladino García, *Política educativa: Estado de México, 1824–1867* (Toluca: Instituto Superior de Ciencias de la Educación del Estado de México, 1982), 44, 63, 75–76; Staples, "Panorama educativo," 128; Staples, "Esfuerzos y fracasos: la educación en Veracruz, 1824-1867," *La Palabra y el Hombre* 52 (1984):46; Tanck de Estrada, *La educación ilustrada,* 134–35; Mary Kay Vaughan, "Primary Schools in the City of Puebla, 1821-60," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 67, no. 1 (1987):45–48; and Rosa Helia Villa de Mebius, *San Luis Potosí: una historia compartida* (Mexico City: Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora, 1988), 269–95.
13. Ramón García Ruiz, "Historia de la educación en Jalisco," in *Lecturas históricas de Jalisco: después de la Independencia,* edited by José María Muria, Jaime Olveda, and Alma Dorantes (Guadalajara: Gobierno de Jalisco, Secretaría General Unidad Editorial Guadalajara, 1982), 2:203–14.
14. Espinosa, *Educación en Coahuila,* 30, 32, 36; Saladino García, *Política educativa,* 46–53; Staples, "Panorama educativo," 122–33; Staples, "Esfuerzos y fracasos," 42–44; and Vaughan, "Primary Schools in Puebla," 42–50.
15. José María Muria, Cándido Galván, Angélica Peregrina, *Jalisco: una historia compartida* (Guadalajara: Gobierno del Estado de Jalisco, Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora, 1987), 115–16; Saladino García, *Política educativa,* 53–64, 74–76; and Vaughan, "Primary Schools in Puebla," 47–48.
16. Vázquez, *Nacionalismo y educación,* 32-33; and Staples, "Alfabeto y catecismo," 45–53.
17. *Jalisco, historia compartida,* 1:116; Saladino García, *Política educativa,* 61–63; and Vaughan, "Primary Schools in Puebla," 47–48.
18. Lira, "Indian Communities," 299–300.
19. See, for example, Espinosa, *Educación en Coahuila,* 31; and Saladino García, *Política educativa,* 62–63, 118.
20. García Ruiz, "Educación en Jalisco," 197-202; Staples, "Alfabeto y catecismo," 51; and Staples, "Panorama educativo," 125.
21. Tanck de Estrada, *La educación ilustrada,* 197; and Vaughan, "Primary Schools in Puebla," 56–57.
22. Staples, "Panorama educativo," 123.
23. Espinosa, *Educación en Coahuila,* 30.
24. Guerra, *Le Mexique,* 1:241–42.
25. García Ruiz, "Educación en Jalisco," 203–14; Tanck de Estrada, *La educación ilustrada,* 56–81; and Vaughan, "Primary Schools in Puebla," 43–49.
26. Longinos Banda, *Estadísticas de Jalisco, 1854–1863* (Guadalajara: Gobierno de Jalisco, Secretaría General Unidad Editorial, 1982), 310–14; Tanck de Estrada, *La educación ilustrada,* 197; and Vaughan, "Primary Schools in Puebla," 49–57. In Mexico City, 36 percent of male pupils were in private schools in 1820 and 51 percent in 1838. Although Tanck de Estrada cautions about her statistics for women, her figures show 23 percent of the girls were in private schools in 1820 and 61 percent in 1838. In the city of Puebla, private schools accounted for 57 percent of enrollments in 1851.
27. For a summary of European literature on literacy and occupation, see *Literacy and Social Development in the West,* edited by Harvey Graff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 232–60. In this volume, see also David Cressy, "Levels of Literacy in England, 1530–1730," 105–24; and Natalie Zemon Davis, "Printing and the People:

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Early Modern France," 69–95. See also Roger Schofield, "The Measurement of Literacy in Pre-Industrial England," in *Literacy in Traditional Societies,* edited by Jack Goody (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 311–25; Michael Sanderson, "Education and the Factory in Industrial Lancashire, 1780–1840," *Economic History Review* 20 (1967):266; and Sanderson, "Literacy and Social Mobility in the Industrial Revolution," *Past and Present* 56 (1972):75–104. See also François Furet and Jacques Ozouf, *Reading and Writing: Literacy in France from Calvin to Jules Ferry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 210–22. For an initial attempt to correlate signing with occupation for this period of Mexican history, see Estela Villalba, "El alfabetismo en los instrumentos notariales de la ciudad de México, 1836–1837," *Historia Mexicana* 35 (1986):447–60. She explains well the dilemma in store for Mexican scholars who seek to analyze literacy through signing.

28. Silvia Arrom, *The Women of Mexico City, 1790–1857* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1985), 14–25; Staples, "Panorama educativo," 144–49; and Vaughan, "Primary Schools in Puebla," 59–60. Although Tanck de Estrada cautions about her statistics on women for Mexico City, they show that gains in enrollments between 1820 and 1838 in the city were due almost entirely to women. See Tanck de Estrada, *La educación ilustrada,* 197. On the other hand, both Staples and Tanck de Estrada seem to indicate that in Mexico City and Veracruz, indigenous women were left out of the educational expansion. See Staples, "Esfuerzos y fracasos," 36, 43–47; and Tanck de Estrada, *La educación ilustrada,* 197.
29. Staples, "Esfuerzos y fracasos," 46.
30. Guerra's biographies are extremely useful to historians of education. See Guerra, *Le Mexique,* 1:66–96.
31. See Tanck de Estrada, *La educación ilustrada,* 215; and Frederic J. Shaw, Jr., "Poverty and Politics in Mexico City, 1824–1854," Ph.D. diss., University of Florida, 1975, 213–16.
32. Lira, "Indian Communities," 121–34, 161–63, 168–71, 186.
33. Espinosa, *Educación en Coahuila,* 32–36; Villa de Mebius, *San Luis Potosí,* 271; Tanck de Estrada, "La enseñanza de la lectura," 50–86; Tanck de Estrada, *La educación ilustrada,* 232–36; see also Shaw, "Poverty and Politics," 213–15.
34. Staples, "Alfabeto y catecismo," 38–39; Muria, Galván, and Peregrina, *Jalisco, historia compartida,* 116; and Vaughan, "Primary Schools in Puebla," 51–52.
35. Vaughan, "Primary Schools in Puebla," 51–52.
36. Anne Staples, "El catecismo como libro de texto," paper presented at the Conference of Mexican and United States Historians, Chicago, Sept. 1981, 1–25.
37. Staples, "Alfabeto y catecismo," 39–48.
38. Furet and Ozouf, *Reading and Writing,* 60–63.
39. Anne Staples, "La lectura y los lectores en los primeros años de vida independiente," in Seminario de Historia de la Educación en México, *Historia de la lectura en México* (Mexico City: Colegio de México and Ediciones Ermitaño), 117.
40. On social movements, see such examples as Brian Hamnett, *Roots of Insurgency: Mexican Regions, 1750–1824* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Florencia Mallon,"Peasants and State Formation in Nineteenth-Century Mexico," *Political Power and Social Theory* 7 (1988):1–54; Jean Meyer, *Esperando a Lozada* (Zamora: Colegio de Michoacán, 1984); Leticia Reina, *Las rebeliones campesinas en México (1819–1906),* 2d ed. (Mexico City: Siglo Veintiuno, 1984); Guy P. C. Thomson, "Montaña and Llanura in the Politics of Southeastern Mexico: The Case of Puebla, 1820–1920," paper read at the CEDLA workshop, Regional Power Groups in Mexico in the Inter-War Years, Amsterdam, June 1987; and John Tutino, *From Insurrection to Revolution in Mexico, 1750–1910* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986).
41. Heath, *Telling Tongues,* 42–44.
42. María Teresa Bermúdez, "La docencia en oferta: anuncios periodísticos y escuelas particulares, 1857–1867," *Historia Mexicana* 33 (1984):216–17; "Las leyes, los libros de texto y la lectura, 1857–1876," in Seminario de Historia de la Educación en México, *Historia de la lectura,* 128–32; and Vázquez, *Nacionalismo y educación,* 53–57.
43. Bermúdez, "La docencia," 220–21, 227–29, 235–38, 247–53; and Bermúdez, "Las leyes," 141–45. On the Catholic movement, see Manuel Ceballos Ramírez, "Las lecturas católicas: cincuenta años de literatura paralela, 1867–1917," in Seminario de Historia de la Educación en México, *Historia de la lectura,* 155–56.

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44. Bermúdez, "Las leyes," 146; and Jean Pierre Bastian, "El paradigma de 1789: sociedades de ideas y Revolución Mexicana," *Historia Mexicana* 38 (1988):82–85. On artisan press and educational projects, see Luis González y González, "La vida social," in *Historia moderna de México: la República Restaurada,* edited by Daniel Cosío Villegas (Mexico City: Editorial Hermes, 1956), 428–29, 435–36, 447–49. See various items published by the Centro de Estudios Históricos del Movimiento Obrero in 1975 and 1976; and Reynaldo Sordo Cedeño, "Las sociedades de socorros mutuos, 1867–1880," *Historia Mexicana* 33 (1983):72–96. On Rhodakanaty, see John Hart, *Anarchism and the Mexican Working Class, 1869–1931* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), 33–37; and Susana Quintanilla, *La educación en la utopia moderna siglo XIX* (Mexico City: SEP-El Caballito, 1985), 83–98.
45. Alma Dorantes, "Intolerancia religiosa, 1852–1860," in *Jalisco en la conciencia nacional,* edited by José María Muria, Cándido Galván, and Angélica Peregrina (Guadalajara: Gobierno del Estado de Jalisco, Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora, 1987), 2:112; Concepción Jiménez Alarcón, *La Escuela Nacional de Maestros: sus orígenes* (Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1987), 55–56; and Villa de Mebius, *San Luis Potosí,* 269–82.
46. For a detailed and useful discussion of the ways in which social practices mediate and transform pedagogies and educational practice, see Brian Street, *Literacy in Theory and Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
47. Milada Bazant, "La escuela normal," paper presented at the Segundo Encuentro Nacional de Educación Regional, Toluca, 1988, 2; Jiménez Alarcón, *La Escuela Nacional de Maestros,* 54–56, 64–65; Alberto Saladino García, *Estado de México: educación y sociedad, 1867–1911* (Toluca: Instituto Superior de Ciencias de la Educación, 1982), 88; and Anne Staples, "La Constitución del Estado Nacional," in Francisco Arce Gurza, Milada Bazant, Anne Staples, Dorothy Tanck de Estrada, and Josefina Zoraida Vázquez, *Historia de las profesiones en México* (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 1982), 123–24.
48. See *Periódico Oficial* (Puebla) 5, no. 1, 3 Jan. 1874; and *Periódico Oficial* 5, no. 17, 4 Mar. 1874. See also *Emulación* 1, no. 3, 28 Aug. 1879; *Emulación* 1, no. 5, 11 Sept. 1879; and *Emulación* 1, no. 6, 18 Sept. 1879. For an in-depth analysis of the use of ritual in a period of rapid political change, see Mona Ozouf, *Festivals and the French Revolution,* translated by Alan Sheridan (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), especially the chapter entitled "The Revolutionary Festival: A Transfer of Sacrality," 262–82.
49. This material was taken from Thomson, "Montaña and Llanura," paper read at the CEDLA Workshop, Regional Power Groups in Mexico in the Inter-War Years, Amsterdam, June 1987.
50. See Vaughan, "Schooling and Economic Growth in Porfirian Puebla," paper prepared for the International Economic History Congress, to be held in Louvain, Belgium, 20–24 Aug. 1990, 19–23.
51. Lira, "Indian Communities," 445–79.
52. Figures are taken from Moisés González Navarro, *Estadísticas sociales del Porfiriato* (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 1956), 56–58, 123. The 1878 figure represents an underestimate because data are unavailable for ten states.
53. Ibid., 56–58, 109, 123. The percentage of children in school represents a slight overestimation because a small proportion of children from ages ten to fifteen were also in primary school.
54. These percentages are taken from figures in the 1910 census, *Tercer censo de la población* (Mexico City: Dirección General de Estadística, 1918). The literacy percentages indicated in González Navarro's *Estadísticas sociales* are incorrect because they are measured against total population and not against the population over twelve years of age from which the literate were censused.
55. Correlations are taken from Mary Kay Vaughan, *The State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico, 1880–1928* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1982), 41–43. The literacy percentages are from *Tercer censo de la población,* 1910. The figure for central Mexico excludes the Federal District, which had a literacy rate of 64 percent in 1910.
56. Guerra, *Le Mexique,* 1:77–78, 92–93, 375.
57. Jesús Romero Flores, *Historia de la Educación en Michoacán* (Mexico City: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1950), 33.

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58. González Navarro, *Estadísticas sociales*, 56–58, 109, 123. The percentages exclude Oaxaca because its enrollment figure is clearly wrong. Again, the percentages are a slight overestimation because a portion of children between ten and fifteen were also in primary school. States experiencing relative or absolute declines in enrollment between 1900 and 1907 included Mexico, San Luis Potosí, Michoacán, Sinaloa, Colima, Campeche, and Puebla.
59. For the hypothesis that community impoverishment hurt schooling in central Mexico, see Alejandro Martínez Jiménez, "La educación elemental en el Porfiriato," *Historia Mexicana* 22 (1973):543–44. See also François Guerra's discussion of state expropriation of village resources beginning with the Bourbons in *Le Mexique*, 1:236–66.
60. See Vaughan, "Schooling and Economic Growth," 13–14.
61. See Guerra, *Le Mexique*, 1:372–73; and Vaughan, *The State, Education, and Social Class*, 39–40. Figures used here are based on the *Anuario Estadístico* for 1895 and 1907 (Mexico City: Dirección General de Estadística) and exclude Oaxaca because of errors in figures.
62. Guerra seems to believe that all schools except the official ones born of the educational congresses between 1889 and 1891 taught an "ancient" curriculum. This contention certainly underestimates changes resulting from the Bourbon reforms and liberal schooling as an outgrowth of the civil wars. See Guerra, *Le Mexique*, 2:314–16.
63. See Deborah Baldwin, "Variation in the Vanguard: Protestants in the Mexican Revolution," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1979. Bastian has written prolifically, including these works: "Protestantismo y política en México," paper presented at the Sixth Conference of Mexican and U.S. Historians, Chicago, Sept. 1981; "Metodismo y la clase obrera durante el Porfiriato," *Historia Mexicana* 33 (1983):39–71; "Los propagandistas del constitucionalismo en México (1910–1920)," *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* 45 (1983):321–51; "Las sociedades protestantes en México, 1872–1911: un liberalismo radical de oposición al porfirismo y de participación en la revolución maderista," Ph.D. diss., Colegio de México, Centro de Estudios Históricos, 1987; "Itinerario de un intelectual popular protestante, liberal y francmason en México: José Rumbia Guzmán, 1865–1913," *Cristianismo y sociedad*, 92 (1987):91–108; "Modelos de la mujer protestante: ideología religiosa y educación femenina, 1880–1910," in *Presencia y transparencia: la mujer en la historia de México*, edited by Carmen Ramos (Mexico City: Colegio de México, 1987), 163–79; and "El paradigma de 1789: sociedades de ideas y Revolución Mexicana," *Historia Mexicana* 38 (1988):79–110. See also Gonzalo Báez Camargo, *Los protestantes en la Revolución Mexicana* (Mexico City: Estudios Ecuménicos, 1971).
64. Bastian, "Las sociedades protestantes en México, 1872–1911," 252. These enrollments represented 2 percent of all enrollments while specifically Catholic schools represented 5 percent of all primary enrollments. The figure for Catholic schools underestimates Catholic education in private schools that do not enter the statistics as Catholic.
65. See Agustín Vaca, "La política clerical en Jalisco durante el Porfiriato," *Jalisco en la conciencia nacional*, 471–79; Diana Romero de Swain, "Las escuelas parroquiales de Guadalajara, 1873–1898," Muria et al., *Jalisco en la conciencia nacional*, 458–70; Jesús Tapia Santamaría, *Campo religioso y evolución política en el Bajío zamorano* (Zamora: Colegio de Michoacán and Gobierno del Estado de Michoacán, 1986); and Villa de Mebius, *San Luis Potosí*, 129–78, 183–89. See also Muria, Galván, and Peregrina, *Jalisco, historia compartida*, 275–85, 317–32.
66. States referred to are Jalisco, Michoacán, Aguascalientes, Querétaro, Guanajuato, and San Luis Potosí. For an interesting treatment of relations between Catholics and the state school effort, see Muria, Galván, and Peregrina, *Jalisco, historia compartida*, 317–32.
67. See, for example, Ceballos Ramírez, "Las lecturas católicas," 153–204.
68. *Anuario Estadístico*, 1907.
69. Guerra, *Le Mexique*, 1:125, 375.
70. Villa de Mebius, *San Luis Potosí*, 287–89.
71. Jan Bazant, "La escuela primaria de la hacienda de San Bartolomé Tepetates: alumnos, maestros, equipo," *Historia Mexicana* 29 (1979):163–80.
72. Frans Schryer, *The Rancheros of Pisaflores: The History of a Peasant Bourgeoisie in Twentieth-Century Mexico* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 23; Ian Jacobs,

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Ranchero Revolt: The Mexican Revolution in Guerrero (Austin: University of Texas, 1982), 79.

73. Milada Bazant, "Lecturas del Porfiriato," in Seminario de Historia de la Educación en México, *Historia de la lectura,* 209–21. See also Guerra, *Le Mexique,* 2:9–12.
74. Luz Elena Galván, "Soledad compartida: una historia de maestros, 1908–1910," Ph.D. diss., Universidad Iberoamericana, 1988, 110, 138, 140–43, 172–73.
75. Lira, "Indian Communities," 471–72.
76. Bastian, "Protestantismo y sociedad en México," 51–63; and Bastian, "Sociedades protestantes en México," 270–76, 288.
77. See Eugene Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1976), 310–27. This work contains an interesting discussion of resistance to schooling; see also Furet and Ozouf, *Reading and Writing,* 154–55, 234.
78. Lira, "Indian Communities," 550–51.
79. See, for example, Raymond Buvé, "Protesta de obreros y campesinos durante el Porfiriato: unas consideraciones sobre su desarrollo e interrelaciones en el este de México central," *Boletín de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe* 13 (1972):1–20. See also Alan Knight, "Intellectuals in the Mexican Revolution," paper presented at the Conference of Mexican and United States Historians in Chicago, Sept. 1981; Alberto Morales Jiménez, *Maestros de la Revolución Mexicana* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Estudios Históricos de la Revolución Mexicana, 1986); David LaFrance, "A People Betrayed; Francisco I. Madero and the Mexican Revolution in Puebla," Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, 1984; and John Womack, *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1968).
80. Guerra, *Le Mexique,* 1:358–63, 380–81, 388–403.
81. See, for example, Jiménez Alarcón, *La Escuela Nacional de Maestros,* 77–98. She bases her discussion on Walter Beller, Bernardo Méndez, and Santiago Ramírez, *El positivismo en México* (Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Mexicana, Xochimilco, 1985).
82. The faculty development program was aimed at channeling and maximizing human intellectual, affective, and physical capacities. "Lessions of things" was a teaching method in which students were introduced to the material world through observation and experimentation with physical objects. Teaching progressed from the simple and concrete to the complex and abstract. See Vaughan, *The State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico,* 25–38.
83. Knight, "El liberalismo mexicano desde la Reforma hasta la Revolución: una interpretación," *Historia Mexicana* 35 (1985):59–85.
84. Vaughan, *The State, Education, and Social Class,* 24–38. See also Vázquez, *Nacionalismo y educación,* 65–66.
85. Espinosa, *Educación en Coahuila,* 97–99; on Protestant opposition to Rébsamen pedagogy as undemocratic, see Bastian, "Las sociedades protestantes en México," 277–78.
86. Jiménez Alarcón, *La Escuela Nacional de Maestros,* 249–51.
87. Milada Bazant, "La República Restaurada y el Porfiriato," in *Historia de la profesiones,* 158.
88. Vaughan, "Women, Class, and Education in Mexico, 1880–1928," *Latin American Perspectives* 11–13 (1977):67.
89. Jiménez Alarcón, *La Escuela Nacional de Maestros,* 81–85, 116–21, 147–51.
90. *Ibid.,* 108–10.
91. Lira, "Indian Communities," 471.
92. Galván, "Soledad compartida," 143, 168, 170, 181, 189.
93. In 1910 Campeche had 14 titled teachers out of 106; Durango had 77 out of 316, and these were not necessarily official titles from the Escuela Normal. Coahuila had a better ratio: 85 normalistas out of 185 in 1910. Pablo Yankelevich has calculated 140 titled school directors and 443 without titles in 1910. See Yankelevich, *La educación socialista en Jalisco* (Guadalajara: Departamento de Educación Pública del Estado de Jalisco, 1985), 12–13. Concepción Jiménez Alarcón, using data from the periodical *La enseñanza normal* (1909), concludes that only 13 percent of teachers in the Federal District had normalista degrees, 23 percent held other titles, and 63 percent lacked degrees altogether. On the basis of data from the Congreso Nacional de Educación Primaria

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(1910-1911), I calculated that 56 percent of Federal District teachers boasted degrees. See Vaughan, *The State, Educación, and Social Control*, 64.
94. Guerra, *Le Mexique*, 1:27-38.
95. Knight, "Intellectuals," 21-26, 33-34.
96. Knight, "Liberalismo," 59-85.
97. J. C. Oropeza, "Paulina Maraver," *Bohemia Poblana*, no. 326 (1972):11-12.
98. Galván, "Soledad compartida," 200, 219-22.
99. See especially Bastian, "El paradigma de 1789," 88-107.
100. See, for example, Guerra, *Le Mexique*, 1:162-63.
101. Hector Díaz Zermeño, "La escuela nacional primaria en la ciudad de México, 1876-1910," *Historia Mexicana* 29 (1979):59-90.
102. Galván, "Soledad compartida," 27-33, 141-43.
103. Jesús Romero Flores, *Historia de la educación en Michoacán*, 27-30.
104. See, for example, E. P. Thompson, "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past and Present* 38 (1967):56-94; and Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, translated by Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1979), 137-53.
105. Galván, "La soledad compartida," 134-35.
106. See the section entitled "La enseñanza primaria" in Moisés González Navarro, *El Porfiriato: la vida social*, vol. 4 of *Historia moderna de México*, edited by Daniel Cosío Villegas (Mexico City: Editorial Hermes, 1957), 564-99.
107. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 329.
108. Jesús Romero Flores, *Historia de la educación en Michoacán*, 32-33.
109. Jean Pierre Bastian has well described liberal and Protestant aggressiveness in infiltrating Independence Day celebrations or staging counterrituals with a more critical, democratic discourse. See Bastian, "El paradigma de 1789," 91-97.
110. Paul J. Vanderwood, "Resurveying the Mexican Revolution: Three Provocative New Syntheses and Their Shortfalls," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 5 (1989):163.
111. See especially Brian Street, *Literacy in Theory and Practice*, and the collection edited by Harvey Graff, *Literacy and Social Development in the West*.
112. Three model studies are Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979); Jeffrey Brooks, *When Russia Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Literature, 1861-1917* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985); and Furet and Ozouf, *Reading and Writing*.
113. For studies in sociolinguistics, see Dell Hymes, *Foundations of Sociolinguists: An Ethnographic Approach* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1974). On sociolinguistics in literary theory, see Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London: Methuen, 1982); and Susan R. Suleiman and Inge Crosman, *The Reader in the Text: Essays on Audience and Interpretation* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980). In anthropology, see Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge: Further Essays in Interpretive Anthropology* (New York: Basic Books, 1983), and Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1969).

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