University of New Mexico

UNM Digital Repository

Art & Art History ETDs

Electronic Theses and Dissertations

Summer 8-2022

Constantino Escalante's Lithographs in La Orquesta and the National Legacy of the Mexican Constitution of 1857

Steven V. Cary

Follow this and additional works at: https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/arth_etds



Part of the History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology Commons

Recommended Citation

Cary, Steven V.. "Constantino Escalante's Lithographs in La Orquesta and the National Legacy of the Mexican Constitution of 1857." (2022). https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/arth_etds/110

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Electronic Theses and Dissertations at UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Art & Art History ETDs by an authorized administrator of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact disc@unm.edu.

Steven Vaughn Cary
Candidate
Art History
Department
This thesis is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication:
Approved by the Thesis Committee:
Professor Hernandez-Duran , Chairperson
Professor Anderson-Riedel
Professor Lumpkin

Constantino Escalante's Lithographs in *La Orquesta* and the National Legacy of the Mexican Constitution of 1857

 $\mathbf{B}\mathbf{y}$

Steven Vaughn Cary
B.S., Geology, Tufts University, 1970
M.S., Civil Engineering, Tufts University, 1972

THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts
Art History

The University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

August 2022

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is a genuine pleasure to express a deep sense of thanks and gratitude to an inspirational teacher, mentor, and advisor, Professor Ray Hernández-Durán. His dedication and interest in 19th century Mexican politics, history, and art created the path that led to pursuing this thesis. His suggestions, enthusiasm, and intellectual dynamism have greatly helped to complete this task.

I also thank my committee members, Professor Susanne Anderson-Riedel and Professor Olivia Lumpkin for their probing, insightful, and valuable recommendations regarding this thesis. Their superb Art History classes provided essential underpinnings for my work and professional development.

It is a privilege to thank my spouse, Melanie Kenderdine, for her constant encouragement, love, and support. Her remarkable career in government and business, expressed in her keynote address at the UNM 2021 Graduation Ceremony, continues to be an inspiration to me and many others.

Constantino Escalante's Lithographs in *La Orquesta* and the National Legacy of the Mexican Constitution of 1857

By

Steven Vaughn Cary
B.S., Geology, Tufts University, 1970
M.S., Civil Engineering, Tufts University, 1972
M.A., Art History, University of New Mexico, 2022

ABSTRACT

An examination of the lithographic prints of Constantino Escalante in the Mexican publication, *La Orquesta*, was undertaken for the years 1861 through 1868. Foremost among *La Orquesta's* concerns and repeatedly appearing in Escalante's work, is the importance of the Constitution of 1857 as the Liberal instrument for Mexico's journey to become a sovereign, modern state. During a tumultuous period of 19th century Mexican history, Escalante and *La Orquesta* dealt with sustained threats and censorship, causing frequent and intermittent shutdowns. An early supporter of Benito Juárez, *La Orquesta* radically amended its positive view of Juárez following the unsuccessful attempts of his Administration in 1867 to dismantle and corrupt the Constitution of 1857, which for Escalante held the keys to a progressive and successful future, for Mexico.

Table of Contents

List of Figures
Introduction
Chapter 1. Politics and Printmaking in Mexico
Origin of the Mexico Constitution of 1857
Social and Historical Milieu of 19 th century Mexico
History of Printmaking in Mexico
The Meaning of Caricature in Printmaking
Chapter 2: Brief Summary of Mexican History
Prelude to 19 th Century Mexico
Mexican History in the 19 th Century
La Reforma and the History of the Constitution of 1857
The Life and Presidency of Benito Juárez
The French Intervention
Chapter 3: The Life and Work of Constantino Escalante
Escalante's Lithographs in La Orquesta
Works during the Early Juárez Presidency
Underpinnings of the French Intervention
The French Invasion of Mexico
Censorship
French Military Departure61
The Republic after Maximillian

Conclusion	69
References	72
Figures	

List of Figures

Figure 1 : Constantino Escalante, <i>Frontispiece</i> in <i>La Orquesta</i> , March 1, 186176
Figure 2 : Hesiquio Iriarte, <i>C.Escalante</i> in <i>La Orquesta</i> , November 14, 1868
Figure 3 : Cruces y Campa, <i>Benito Juarez</i> , c.186078
Figure 4 : Constantino Escalante, <i>False Hands</i> in <i>La Orquesta</i> , March 9, 186179
Figure 5: Constantino Escalante, Bored Chorus in La Orquesta, April 17, 1861 80
Figure 6: Constantino Escalante, Haircut for the Poor in La Orquesta, May 8, 1861 81
Figure 7: Constantino Escalante, Gift to Subscribers in La Orquesta, June 29, 186182
Figure 8: Constantino Escalante, Illusions of Men in La Orquesta, September 7, 1861. 83
Figure 9: Constantino Escalante, Time to Attack in La Orquesta, November 9, 1861 84
Figure 10: Constantino Escalante, No Divisions in La Orquesta, December 21, 1861 85
Figure 11: Petronilo Monroy, <i>Allegory of the Constitution of 1857</i> , 1869
Figure 12: Constantino Escalante, Mayo Assault in Las Glorias Nacionales, 1862 87
Figure 13: Constantino Escalante, Caught in Agave in La Orquesta, May 21, 1862 88
Figure 14: Constantino Escalante, Juárez atop Cactus in La Orquesta, July 19, 1862 89
Figure 15: Constantino Escalante, Besting Napoleon III in La Orquesta, July 5, 186290
Figure 16 : Constantino Escalante, <i>Watched</i> in <i>La Orquesta</i> , November 12, 186191
Figure 16a: Honoré Daumier, Unbalanced Napoleon III in La Charivari, 1848 91
Figure 17: Constantino Escalante, <i>Plug Out</i> in <i>La Orquesta</i> , November 29, 1862 92
Figure 18: Constantino Escalante, Prefer Local in La Orquesta, December 21, 1864 93
Figure 19: Constantino Escalante, Lights Out in La Orquesta, March 11, 1865 94
Figure 20 : Constantino Escalante, <i>Slippery Terrain</i> in <i>La Orquesta</i> , April 5, 1865 95
Figure 21: Constantino Escalante, <i>Don't Copy</i> in <i>La Orquesta</i> , April 26, 1865 96
Figure 22 : Constantino Escalante, <i>Juárez Hiding</i> in <i>La Orquesta</i> , July 1, 1865 97
Figure 23: Constantino Escalante, Removing Badge in La Orquesta, October 7, 186598
Figure 24: Maximillian, <i>Mexican Hapsburg Coat of Arms</i> , 1864
Figure 25: Constantino Escalante, <i>Audience</i> in <i>La Orquesta</i> , March 21,1866 100

List of Figures (Cont.)

Figure 26: Constantino Escalante, <i>Three Saints</i> in <i>La Orquesta</i> , June 29, 1867 101
Figure 27: Constantino Escalante, Cabinet in La Orquesta, August 24, 1867102
Figure 28: Constantino Escalante, <i>Vote</i> in <i>La Orquesta</i> , September 28, 1867 103
Figure 29: Constantino Escalante, Opposition in La Orquesta, October 12, 1867 104
Figure 30: Constantino Escalante, Massive Lens in La Orquesta, March 7, 1868 105

Introduction

Two different, but not mutually exclusive ideas, help describe the milieu that led to the creation of the Mexican periodical *La Orquesta*, which featured the satirical lithographs and caricatures of Constantino Escalante. First, the idea credited to Charles Baudelaire, that caricature is a constituent element of modernity, and second, the less flattering idea from José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, author of *El Periquillo Sarniento*, that Spain in the 18th and early 19th centuries, was under the cultural control of France – so consequently Mexico was twice removed from any source of originality or authenticity. Both concepts are useful in examining the origins of Escalante's efforts in *La Orquesta* to influence politics and public opinion with his work, including the scope - and ultimately the limitations of - his belief in the ideals and puissance of the Mexican Constitution of 1857.

As an attribute of modernity, Escalante's use of caricature reflected an era allowing freedom of the press and the new type of debate by which societies evolve for the greater good.² Further, the Mexican Constitution of 1857 - originally resulting from the French Enlightenment, and elements of the 1812 Spanish Constitution of Cadiz - would be forever represented in Escalante's world as an exemplar for the primacy of the rule of law and democratic governance, providing the underlying lodestar for his work. This thesis examines how Escalante understood the Constitution of 1857 to be the key to Mexico's

¹ Nancy Vogeley, *Lizardi and the Birth of the Novel in Spanish America* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2001), 84.

² Todd Porterfield, *The Efflorescence of Caricature*, 1759-1838 (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), 2.

modernization, and its future as an independent nation, reflected in the prints he produced for *La Orquesta*.

Chapter One opens with a brief assessment of the zeitgeist in mid-19th century

Mexico and Europe, the spirit of the times that was propitious for the creation and

publication of unique, humorous, and satirical lithographic prints. In addition, a

summary and explication of the important constitutional products of the Enlightenment is
included, reflected in the Constitutions of France and Spain. These documents provide
the roots of the elemental components in the Mexican Constitution of 1857. To describe
the social milieu of the era, reference is made to the observations of Charles Baudelaire,
who as a poet and art critic accurately identified the constituents of the modern, in art and
society. Further, a review of the history of printmaking in Mexico, and a description of
the meaning of modern caricature are included. The components in Chapter 1 describe
and comprise the essential underpinnings for viewing and understanding the significance
of the art of Constantino Escalante, driven by his dedicated pursuit of Liberal ideals and
his desire to seek an effective form of governance for Mexico to become a modern nation
state.

Chapter 2 charts the historical events (both in Mexico and in Europe) that preceded and later accompanied the creation of lithographic prints by Constantino Escalante. Without an understanding and summary of the history of the era and its precedents, it is not possible to truly appreciate the weight of Mexican history which was prologue to the work of Constantino Escalante in *La Orquesta* and *Las Glorias Nacionales*. The first section of Chapter 2 describes activity during the Colonial era, and moves sequentially through Mexican history in the 19th century, to the creation of the Constitution of 1857

and the period known as *La Reforma*, before focusing on the life and presidency of Bento Juárez, and concluding with the French Intervention. Without these historical elements as background, the prints of Constantino Escalante are difficult to decipher, because they represent events of 19th century Mexico that were ephemeral, and quickly overtaken by not infrequent transformational activity.

Chapter 3 describes the details of the life and work of Constantino Escalante, in chronological order. During the tumultuous time accompanying his work at *La Orquesta*, the rate of change in governance and censorship in Mexico was so rapid, and the outcomes so unpredictable, that there were times when Escalante and his associates were jailed or fined likely without understanding why. The unpredictable nature of guerilla warfare, especially during the rule of Maximillian, was a further contributor to the national chaos and dearth of reliable news and information. Chapter 3 describes and analyzes Escalante's lithographic prints that focus on the early Juárez presidency, the prelude to the French Invasion and its underpinnings, the Invasion itself, and the Mexican defense. Selected lithographic prints regarding censorship, the French military departure, and the Republic after Maximillian are also examined. Throughout, Escalante never tired of using his intelligence and skill in his oeuvre to emphasize the importance of the elements of personal freedom and republican governance in the Constitution of 1857, as the keys to Mexico becoming a modern and independent nation state.

Chapter 1. Politics and Printmaking in Mexico

The underpinnings of the thesis that the liberal ideals in the Mexican Constitution of 1857 are reflected, either directly or indirectly, in the lithographs of Constantino Escalante in the publication *La Orquesta*, requires the following: a) an initial examination of the origins of the Mexico Constitution of 1857; b) a description of the social and historical milieu of 19th century Mexico; and c) an examination of the historical precedents of printmaking in Mexico, beginning with the Colonial Era. The assemblage of these historical components is essential to understanding the path that put Mexico on solid footing as a modern nation state. This chapter also includes an explanation of the meaning of caricature within the history of printmaking.

Following independence from Spain in 1821, Mexico experienced an almost dizzying array of political governance in the 19th century, ranging from the most dictatorial leadership and a foreign intervention, to the most liberal of constitutional republics.

During this tumultuous era, it would be difficult to derive a single image of culture and nationhood that would begin to represent the embodiment of the national for Mexico.

However, Stacie Widdifield suggests that there was, in fact, a dramatic and public demand for the creation of a national culture, especially following the end of the French Intervention.³ It was the role of artists, authors and even journalists to seek to create the pictorial national narrative that would approach the embodiment of the Mexican soul and spirit.

³ Stacie G. Widdifield, *The Embodiment of the National In Late Nineteenth-Century Mexican Painting* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1996), 3.

The work of Constantino Escalante in the publications *La Orquesta* and *Las Glorias Nacionales* contributed to this national image-making, although in perhaps unrecognized ways. For example, Widdifield's examination recognizes the two major constructs of the figure of the Indian and the figure of the contemporary hero, ultimately identified in Petronilo Monroy's *Allegory of the Constitution of 1857*, exhibited in 1869 as part of a competition held at the Academy of San Carlos. A similar identification and recognition of the importance of the Constitution of 1857, and its author and champion Benito Juárez, a Zapotec Indian, reflects the legacy of work that Escalante completed from 1861-1868, prior to his untimely death.

Although Escalante's lithographs did not fit the definition of fine art, they were major expressions of popular culture, and hundreds of published prints were created with the purpose of expressing the importance of the principles and the affirmation of rights in the written Mexican Constitution of 1857.

Origin of the Mexican Constitution of 1857

One of the notable, positive outcomes of the French Revolution was the creation of the *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizens*, in August 1789. Its goal was to remove the hereditary royal monarchies and to establish new institutions based on the principles of the Enlightenment. It describes the representatives of the French people - the newly formed National Assembly – needing to act, due to the "ignorance, neglect, or contempt of the rights of man, as the sole causes of public misfortune and governmental corruption to declare the natural, inalienable and sacred rights of man." Further, it requires that the

⁴ Lynn Hunt, The French Revolution and Human Rights (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 77-79.

legislative and executive powers respect these "simple and incontestable principles" in order to maintain the constitution and the general welfare.

The Declaration includes 17 rights of citizens, and although all are important, the most impactful are Number 3 (all sovereignty rests essentially in the nation); Number 4 (liberty is the ability to do whatever does not harm another); Number 6 (the law is the expression of the general will); Number 9 (every man is presumed innocent until judged guilty); and Number 11 (free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the most precious rights of man). Every citizen may speak, write, and print freely, if he or she accepts their own responsibility for any abuse of this liberty in the cases set by the law.

Number 11, freedom of press and opinion, is one of the underpinnings of modern journalism which ultimately allowed the publication of the written components of *La Orquesta*, with the satiric caricatures of Constantino Escalante. The principle came to Mexico via Spain and its 1812 *Constitution of Cadiz*, which presaged the beginning of constitutional rule in Spain and Latin America. It carried forward many of the components of France's *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizens*. The *Constitution of Cadiz's* origins lie within the events of the Peninsular War, beginning with the invasion and occupation of Portugal by France and Spain. In 1808, Napoleon occupied Spain, its former ally. Immediately following the French occupation, the Bourbon monarch Ferdinand VII was removed, and Napoleon placed his brother Joseph Bonaparte on the Spanish throne. The chain of events led to the creation of a *Junta*, located in Cadiz, a city in southwestern Spain beyond Napoleonic control, where Spain's military high command and the Cortes (parliament) remained for the duration of the war. It was Cadiz where the liberal Spanish *Constitution of 1812* was promulgated and ratified on

March 19, 1812 by the Cortes of Cadiz, the first Spanish legislature to include delegates from the entire nation of Spain, as well as from the Spanish colonies in the Americas and the Philippines. It became a model for later Spanish and Spanish-American liberal constitutions in the 19th century. This seminal document, the *Constitution of 1812*, created a multitude of changes. It weakened the power of the monarch, strengthened the role of the legislative Cortes, gave representation to Spanish America and the Philippines, extended equal citizenship to all (except those of African ancestry), established public education from primary school through university, ensured freedom of the press, and maintained Roman Catholicism as the state religion.

The Spanish *Constitution of 1812*, though reflecting well many of the ideals of the Enlightenment, followed a rocky road to implementation – mirroring later events in Mexico. The Constitution would be removed, but then restored repeatedly.

Ferdinand VII, returning to power in 1813, reestablished himself as absolute monarch and rejected the liberal *Constitution of 1812*. Later, a revolt in 1820 forced him to restore the *Constitution of 1812* for a three-year period, but Ferdinand's absolute rule was later sanctioned by the Congress of Vienna in 1823. He remained king until his death in 1833. During this period of his rule, the Liberal press was suppressed, and he jailed many of its editors and writers. Ferdinand's feckless rule also helped create the climate for Mexican Independence in 1821, and by the end of his rule, Spain had lost nearly all of its American colonies. Later, following his death, civil war broke out in Spain.

Despite all the turmoil in Spain in the early 19th century, the original model of the Spanish *Constitution of 1812* would remain an ideal for Mexico, and would influence its later Constitutions of 1824, 1857, and 1917.⁵

Ratified on February 5, 1857, the *Mexican Constitution of 1857* was designed to ensure a weak central government, a strong legislature, with an independent judiciary. It established individual rights such as freedom of speech (Article 7), freedom of conscience (Article 5), freedom of the press (Article 7), freedom of assembly, and the right to bear arms (Article 10). It also reaffirmed the abolition of slavery, elimination of debtors' prisons, and all forms of cruel and unusual punishment. Article 50 specified the Division of Powers, creating the separation of powers - executive, legislative, and judicial - while asserting that the sovereignty of the nation comes from the people (Article 39).

The Social and Historical Milieu of 19th Century Mexico, for La Orquesta

When Charles Baudelaire claimed that caricature is a constituent element of modernity, he was referencing the new freedoms encouraged by the Enlightenment, sovereign democratic self-rule, and a new role for the artist.⁶ The Enlightenment stood for the advancement of thought and reason, aiming at liberating human beings from fear, and making them masters of their own fates through self-rule. Mid-19th century Mexico was a time of new liberties, especially freedom of the press, which Mexico's liberals had advocated as an essential right that was formalized in the Constitution of 1857.

⁵ Heather Thiessen, "Spain: Constitution of 1812." *Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture*, vol. 5. (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons 1996), 166.

⁶ Todd Porterfield, *The Efflorescence of Caricature*, 1759-1838 (New York, NY: Routledge, 2016), 164.

For the artist, Baudelaire's premise included first, the freedom from classical forms and styles, with a focus on painting or etching present-day (modern) life, and second, the freedom to create and represent an individual, subjective view. Caricature fits both these conditions because it is preoccupied with the quotidian, including topical matters such as politics, society, and the culture of the time. In such matters, the artist can give greater emphasis on uncomfortable truths rather than idealizing them via classical forms.

Secondly, each caricature is highly individual, reflecting the artist's subjective view of the world as it appears through original drawings and cartoons. Third, Baudelaire stressed the importance of the ephemeral in describing modernity. By this definition, art is meant to be transitory and perishable, dealing with fleeting events derived from the topics of the day. This attribute makes caricature subject matter almost certainly obscure for future generations, but is part of the nature of caricature, per Baudelaire.

Modernity has additional meanings beyond the artist's understanding. Modernity also included applying the rational thought processes of science to politics, and the recognition of the rights of man. Consistent with the ideas of John Locke's social contract theory, government was created through the consent of the people, to be ruled by the majority. During the working life of Constantino Escalante, Mexico was dealing with the Lockean transition, although it was not a straight path to modernity (or national identity). The decades following independence from Spain in 1821 displayed almost whiplash-like changes of dueling conservative and liberal leadership - or attempts at leadership - that failed and were quickly replaced. The conditions harken back to the

⁷ Charles Baudelaire, "Le Peintre de la Vie Modern," from Le Figaro (1863), translated by A.S. Kline,

⁸ Charles Baudelaire, "Le Peintre de la Vie Modern," from Le Figaro (1863), translated by A.S. Kline, (2020):18.

words of Lizardi, that Mexico is twice removed from any source of originality, and unfortunately the turmoil of France and Spain in the 19th century would be repeated, in one form or another, in Mexico.

The History of Printmaking in Mexico

The precursors to the lithographic printmaking of the 19th century are closely examined and described in Kelly Donahue-Wallace's dissertation, *Prints and Printmakers in Viceregal Mexico City 1600-1800*. She reveals a comprehensive and almost painstakingly copious view of the history of printmaking during the aforementioned era. It will be employed as a principal source in the following description.

Mexico has the oldest printmaking tradition in Latin America. The first presses were established there in the 16th century, as early as 1539, mainly to print devotional images for religious institutions.⁹ Prior to that, however, DeRose indicates that immediately following Cortés' landing in the "New World," forms of woodcuts and engravings were employed as signs of authority and as didactic tools for conversion.¹⁰

Several reasons exist for the difficulty in effectively documenting early printmaking – the ephemeral nature of paper as a medium, the transient uses of printed matter, and the general belief that prints were not considered art, and thus not retained or held to the level

⁹ Kelly Donahue-Wallace, "Prints and Printmakers in Viceregal Mexico City 1600-1800," *Dissertation, Doctor of Philosophy, Art History, The University of New Mexico, May 2000*, 9.

¹⁰ Elizabeth C. DeRose, "Pictorial Satire in Viceregal Mexico: Francisco Agüera Bustamante's Engravings." *Hemisphere: Visual Cultures of the Americas Vol II, Issue 1, 2009:* 87.

of appreciation generated by fine art such as paintings or sculpture. Donahue-Wallace indicates that most surveys of Colonial Art exclude prints completely, ¹¹ implying a general lack of regard for prints, and an absence of scholarship in this area.

The first printmaking technique practiced in viceregal Mexico City was the woodcut. ¹² The earliest of these were printed from blocks cut in Europe and brought to New Spain by typographers. Local block-cutting began sometime in the mid-16th century, and over the next 200 years, Mexican printmakers created innumerable, small woodcuts, primarily of religious and heraldic themes. Eventually, marginalized sectors of society would appropriate and exploit the strategies used by both the colonial regime and the clergy for satirical purposes. Woodcuts would remain the most popular printmaking medium until the early 18th century when engraving became the preferred process. ¹³

One of the earliest woodcut printers in Mexico was Juan Ortiz (born circa 1538, active in Mexico City 1568-1574). Ortiz was the first printmaker in the Americas whose name is found in the archival record. During his time in Mexico, virtually all biographical and professional information known about him comes from the trial records of two Inquisition cases between 1572 and 1574. The French-born Ortiz, and the typographic printer Pedro Ocharte were tried by the Holy Office of the Inquisition in 1572 on charges of heresy. Upon conviction in 1574, Ortiz was expelled from New Spain. Because Ortiz spent just under six years in Mexico City, the last two in jail, his known oeuvre is understandably small. ¹⁴ Inquisition records show that the authority of the Crown and the

¹¹ Kelly Donahue-Wallace, "Prints and Printmakers in Viceregal Mexico City 1600-1800," *Dissertation, Doctor of Philosophy, Art History, The University of New Mexico, May 2000*, 16.

¹² Donahue-Wallace, Prints and Printmakers, 21.

¹³ Donahue-Wallace, Prints and Printmakers, 22.

¹⁴ Donahue-Wallace, Prints and Printmakers, 31.

Church was continuously challenged, revealing the early use of satirical prints as a means to subvert authority.¹⁵

Copperplate engraving began to be practiced in Mexico City in the early 17th century, producing engraved luxury book illustrations as well as devotional and heraldic images. Engravings assumed primacy over woodcuts for all types of surviving Mexican prints around 1730, nearly two centuries after the same phenomenon occurred in Europe. 16 Samuel Stradanus is generally credited with the popularization, if not the introduction, of copperplate engraving to New Spain.¹⁷ He was active in Mexico City between 1604 and 1622. During that period, he is known to have produced seven copperplate engravings, including a 1615 engraving of the Virgin of Guadalupe. Born in Antwerp, Stradanus was also known for his engraving of the coat of arms for Viceroy Diego Carrillo de Mendoza y Pimentel (1621-1624), and a self-portrait. Other printmakers active in Mexico City from 1720-1750 include Joaquin Sotomayor (active 1729-1744) who created devotional and biographical texts, coats of arms, and a map of Zacatecas; Diego Trancoso (active 1740-1787) who created interpretive engravings, based on designs by the painter Miguel Cabrera (1695-1768); Jose Antonio Amador (active 1717-1748), and Antonio del Castillo (active 1728).

A new standard for engraving in Mexico was established by Jeronimo Antonio Gil who was born in 1731, in Zamora, Spain. He studied painting, drawing, and medal in

¹⁴ Kelly Donahue-Wallace, "Prints and Printmakers in Viceregal Mexico City 1600-1800," *Dissertation, Doctor of Philosophy, Art History, The University of New Mexico, May 2000*, 37.

¹⁵ Elizabeth C. DeRose, "Pictorial Satire in Viceregal Mexico: Francisco Agüera Bustamante's Engravings." *Hemisphere: Visual Cultures of the Americas Vol II, Issue 1, 2009:* 87.

¹⁶ Donahue-Wallace, Prints and Printmakers, 45.

¹⁶ Donahue-Wallace, Prints and Printmakers, 48.

¹⁷ Donahue-Wallace, Prints and Printmakers, 55.

1778, where he lived and worked in Mexico City until he died in 1798. Gil was sent by the King of Spain to Mexico City in 1778 to replace Alexo Madero as Principal Engraver in the Royal Mint's Oficina de Grabado (formerly known as the Oficina de Talla). Gil was also charged with establishing a school for medal and coin engravers. Within a year of his arrival, Gil offered drawing classes for prospective engravers and was reportedly overwhelmed by the number of students who attended. By 1783, Gil had persuaded the viceregal government to sponsor an academy of art, and the Royal Academy of San Carlos officially opened under his direction in 1785. Gil served as Principal Engraver of the Royal Mint as well as Director General and Director of Medal Engraving at the Academy for the rest of his life.

Francisco Agüera Bustamante (active 1784-1829) was an independent printmaker active in the last decades of the viceregal era. He appears not to have had any relationship with the Royal Academy of San Carlos or its faculty. The only record of his existence is the engravings and etchings he left behind. Bustamante provided engraved and etched illustrations for several typographic printers, and created over 60 engravings during his career. The majority of his work were small devotional images, and while he possessed a thorough knowledge of engraving techniques and the principles of proportion, anatomy, and linear perspective, he worked in the non-academic style. His engravings in Joaquin Bolanos's *La portentosa vida de la muerte* demonstrate his non-academic approach, while the illustrations of the skeletal figure of Death show the artist's familiarity with human anatomy. Sharing traits of contemporary Neoclassical printmaking, Bustamante's

¹⁸ Kelly Donahue-Wallace, "Prints and Printmakers in Viceregal Mexico City 1600-1800," *Dissertation, Doctor of Philosophy, Art History, The University of New Mexico, May 2000, 61.*

¹⁹ Donahue-Wallace, "Prints and Printmakers, 65.

illustrations for *La portentosa vida de la muerte* are entirely devoid of ornamentalism, and stress narrative clarity over decoration.²⁰ The prints were censored by the Inquisition for their fabrication and perceived treatment of death – a criticism against Bourbon reforms of funerary practices designed to undermine the Catholic stratagem of propagating representations of death to instill the fear of God in the faithful.²¹

Much like the political cartoons that pervaded 19th century newspapers and broadsides, Bustamante's engravings employ the satirical strategies of inversion, lampoon, and humor to ridicule societal mores. Pictorial satire in Mexico would mirror the development of narrative publications that proliferated with the liberalization of the press, following Mexico's declaration of independence in 1821.²²

In 1826, Italian artist Claudio Linati introduced the recently invented medium of lithography to Mexico. In its most basic form, the lithographer draws upon a polished, high-quality limestone with an oily ink, crayon or grease pencil. Next a solution of diluted nitric acid and gum arabic is spread on the stone to fix the drawing, and the surface of the stone is washed with water. Ink is then rolled across the surface, sticking only to the oily image, not to the limestone. With the inked stone placed on a press, paper is lain on the stone's surface and run through the press, printing an image transferred in reverse. By repeating the process, thousands of copies of a print can be produced cheaply from the same stone. ²³

²⁰ Kelly Donahue-Wallace, "Prints and Printmakers in Viceregal Mexico City 1600-1800," *Dissertation, Doctor of Philosophy, Art History, The University of New Mexico, May 2000*, 68.

²¹ Elizabeth C. DeRose, "Pictorial Satire in Viceregal Mexico: Francisco Agüera Bustamante's Engravings." *Hemisphere: Visual Cultures of the Americas Vol.II, Issue 1, 2009:* 92.

²² DeRose, Pictorial Satire, 84.

²³ Michael W. Mathes, *Mexico on Stone – Lithography in Mexico*, *1826-1900* (San Francisco, CA: Artichoke Press, 1984), 14.

Linati established a weekly publication, *El Iris*, in 1826 that contained articles about politics and antiquities, with hand-colored lithographs of fashions. *El Iris* lasted for 40 issues, before disagreements led Linati to return to Europe. Due to his debts to the government, his lithographic presses and equipment reverted to the Secretariat of Foreign Relations, who later gifted them to the Academy of San Carlos in 1827, ostensibly for teaching lithography. However, they languished there, and little lithographic production took place.²⁴ It would be several years before commercial lithography would be established on a wide scale in Mexico, spurred by new industrialized methods of typesetting and printing, greatly expanding the production of printing and the need for lithographic content.

It must be noted that several outstanding lithographers, including Frederick

Catherwood and Carl Nebel, worked in Mexico describing Mexican scenes and subjects.

Their work was made from their paintings or watercolors and were later printed in

Europe or the United States, so they did not directly contribute to the history of printmaking in Mexico.

After the war with the United States, Casimiro Castro (1826–1889), a Mexican painter and lithographer who trained at the Academy of San Carlos, emerged as a new lithographic talent. He is now highly regarded as a leading graphic and landscape artist in 19th century Mexico, best known for *México y Sus Alrededores (Mexico and its Environs)*, published in Mexico in 1855. This work included 42 plates of Mexico City and surroundings, featuring aerial views drawn from balloons and rooftops. A copy of

²⁴ Michael W. Mathes, *Mexico on Stone – Lithography in Mexico*, 1826-1900 (San Francisco, CA: Artichoke Press, 1984), 16.

the work was given to Maximillian I of Mexico as he prepared to become Emperor of Mexico.²⁵

During *La Reforma*, a host of new publications arose, including in 1861, *La Orquesta*, "a periodical of political satire that established lithographic caricature as a field of its own through the excellent work of Constantino Escalante, a virtual pillar of the publication until his untimely death in 1868."²⁶ Other publications at this time included *La Tarántula* (*the tarantula*), and *El Padre Cobos* (*Father Cobos*), illustrated by Santiago Hernández and Alejandro Casarín, neither of whom were trained at the San Carlos Academy, but learned from leading newspaper's cartoons drawn in France or England. ²⁷

The liberal Mexican writer Carlos Monsivais (1938-2010) regarded Constantino

Escalante as the best cartoonist Mexico ever had. Escalante is frequently cited as the
father of political cartoon in Mexico, and a precursor to a line of cartoonists, including

José Guadalupe Posada. Posada's subject matter included advertising art, religious
images, illustrations for posters, flyers, brochures, and books. The *calavera* (skull)
images created by Posada were perhaps the most well-known work he produced. He is
credited with popularizing these images, which profoundly influenced a modern
generation of Mexican artists including Diego Rivera, José Clement Orozco, and Ruffino
Tamayo, with both Orozco and Tamayo creating their own prints.

25

²⁵ Michael W. Mathes, *Mexico on Stone – Lithography in Mexico*, *1826-1900* (San Francisco, CA: Artichoke Press, 1984), Mathes, *Mexico on Stone*, 34.

²⁶ Mathes, Mexico on Stone, 37.

²⁷ Carlos Mùjica Suárez, "Under the Brushstroke of the Opposition," *Graphic exhibition at the Benito Juarez Hall of Honor*. August 25, 2015

²⁸ Jose Clemente Orozco, *The Artist in New York – Letters to Jean Charlot and Unpublished Writings* (1925-1929) (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1974), 16.

Analysts suggest that Posada's prints incorporated realistic qualities that put his work in the popular mind, with references to everyday lives of the Mexican people, focusing on their unfortunate economic and social condition.²⁹ He is credited as the master of a rough, tough style, telling horrendous tales printed on cheap paper dyed sulfur yellow, magenta, or bright green. These were illustrated with bold images cut quickly in wood or metal, depicting horrific accidents, revolts, and revolutions which proved to be a boon to his trade.³⁰ Earlier weeklies like *La Orquesta* and their lithographic cartoons reached a high-brow and middle-brow audience, while the later, cheaper broadside sheets featuring illustrations by Posada were preferred by a low-brow audience,³¹ who were less literate and suffered from poverty and low social status.

The Meaning of Caricature in Printmaking

Caricature is defined as exaggeration by means of often ludicrous distortion of parts or characteristics.³² A caricature is generally a picture, description, or imitation of a person, where certain striking attributes are exaggerated in order to create a comic or grotesque effect. The origin of modern caricature (caricatura) is attributed to Annibale and Agostino Carracci, who employed it as a teaching device at their Bologna Academy, to provide a diversion from the tedious and demanding academic routine of the students. As caricature evolved, a feature was added that contributed to one of its essential elements,

²⁹ Jose Clement Orozco, *The Artist in New York – Letters to Jean Charlot and Unpublished Writings* (1925-1929) (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1974), 16.

³⁰ Orozco, The Artist in New York, 17.

³¹ Orozco, The Artist in New York, 17.

³² Merriam-Webster Dictionary, Eleventh Edition (Springfield, MA: Merriam Press, 2020), 81.

namely simplification - distilling down to a few quickly sketched lines the targets of the creators.³³

Four basic modes of caricature have been identified – portrait or definition, satire, comedy, and grotesque.³⁴ Although any given caricature may contain several of these modes, one usually predominates. Portrait caricature includes line drawings of a single figure, usually shown at full length and in profile. The backgrounds are generally blank, and there is an implied contrast between the portrait caricature and actual formal portraiture. Instead of showing a grand or ideal image, with the sitter as he or she may prefer to be seen, portrait caricature diminishes the sitter in its scale, refusing the ideal and cutting the sitter down to size, inviting ridicule.³⁵ The degree of ridicule will vary with the sophistication of the audience, and its knowledge of the subject. Portrait caricature generally includes humor and satire, but displays no moral perspective. Instead, it holds up the subjects seen with their exaggerated characteristics.

Satiric caricature has two components: representational – the drawing itself - and rhetorical – the theme or narrative of the caricature. Satiric caricature first shows or represents an individual, scene or satiric object, but it also tries to make the viewer adopt a certain attitude towards what is drawn, attempting to persuade the observer to see the caricature in a certain way. Northrup Frye, in *Anatomy of Criticism*, refers to satire as "militant irony" – irony with an axe to grind. Satiric caricature requires more than drawings of the exaggerated, distorted or grotesque. It presents them as the expression of

-

³³ E.H. Gombrich and E. Kris. *Caricature* (Middlesex, UK: Penguin Books, 1940), 25.

³⁴ James Sherry, "Four Modes of Caricature: Reflections on a Genre," *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities* (1987), 4.

³⁵ Sherry, Four Modes, 7.

³⁶ Sherry, Four Modes, 11.

moral conditions. Unlike portrait caricature's generally static figures, satiric caricature usually reveals a dramatic scene, where a moral judgement is introduced (i.e., a satiric situation).³⁷ Different from portrait caricature, which has an audience of mostly elites, the satiric caricature is public – its myths, parodies, and figures are part of the public domain. Satiric caricatures educate their audience using the identity of the figures and their actions by appearance and association. Most of the lithographic prints of Constantino Escalante in *La Orquesta* fall within this category.

Comic or humous caricature departs from the irony generated by the exaggeration and deflation of the caricatured portrait or figure.³⁸ Its only goal is recognizing and exploiting the absurdity of human nature. Caricature is an ideal medium for this purpose. Comic caricature allows the viewer the freedom of childish humor and pleasure in nonsense. The simplicity of caricature also helps quickly show that viewers need not take the work too seriously. Sherry further suggests that the nature of comic caricature also distances the viewer from the cruelty that may accompany comic exposure.³⁹

Grotesque caricature explores the limits of the human.⁴⁰ Caricaturists who proceed too far in the exaggeration of features, risk making them hideous or frightening, and instead of laughter, produce horror. Somewhat like Charles Le Brun, who defined and promoted the facial expressions of the emotions in painting displayed in his book *Méthode pour apprendre à dessiner les passions* (1698), Francis Grose, in 1788,

-

³⁷ James Sherry, "Four Modes of Caricature: Reflections on a Genre," *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities* (1987), 12.

³⁸ James Sherry, "Four Modes of Caricature: Reflections on a Genre," *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities* (1987), 22.

³⁹ Sherry, Four Modes, 23.

⁴⁰ Sherry, Four Modes, 31.

published *Rules for Drawing Caricatures*, which classified basic categories of the contours and features of faces. He also drew sub-categories for the eyes, the nose, and the mouth, creating a systematic set of drawings. Grose warned caricaturists to be careful not to "overcharge the peculiarities of their subjects" or may risk inciting horror. The grotesque may include fantastic or exaggerated forms that cross the boundaries of civility and rational social behavior. One notable example of grotesque caricature may be found in Francisco Goya's *Los Caprichos*, which reflects a rejection of naturalism and embraces concepts of the imagination. Goya's grotesque caricatures generally don't depict specific individuals, unlike those from Britain or Italy. He focuses on the failure of the ideas of vision, reason, and perception, which were important elements of the European Enlightenment, in making *Los Caprichos*. One of Goya's etchings, *El sueño de la razon produce monstruos*, reveals the contents of the mind of a sleeping artist, showing images that emerge from a dream. Goya's absence of conventional compositional structure amplifies the confusion and bewilderment of a nightmare.

Upon examining *Los Caprichos*, Charles Baudelaire described the effect caused by the grotesque images, arguing that it places new demands on the viewer, which he regarded as a great achievement for Goya. He concludes "No one has ventured further than he in the direction of the possible absurd. All those distortions, those bestial faces, those diabolical grimaces of his... in a word, the line of suture, the junction between the real and the fantastic is impossible to grasp - it is a vague frontier which not even the subtlest

University Press, 2005), 70.

⁴¹ Andrew Schulz, Goya's Caprichos – Aesthetics, Perception, and the Body (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge

⁴² Andrew Schulz, *Goya's Caprichos – Aesthetics, Perception, and the Body* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 71.

analyst could trace."⁴³ While the influence of Goya on Constantino Escalante is yet an open question, history reveals in Goya, retrospectively, an excellent example of the grotesque print genre for consideration. Next, it is important to turn to the history and the politics of Mexico in the 19th century, to assist in explaining the liberal ideals in the work of Constantino Escalante, and how those ideals became the lodestar for his dedication to his craft, and to Mexico's future as a modern nation state.

Chapter 2. A Brief Summary of Relevant Mexican History

The politics reflected in the caricatures of Constantino Escalante are underlain with the history of Mexican Independence and the governance that followed, as well as international events in France and Spain. In the context of his work, it is useful to examine the prelude to 19th century Mexican history, the historical period from 1900 up through *La Reforma*, and the French Intervention that placed Maximillian on the throne of the Mexican Empire, controlled by France. The life and presidency of one of Escalante's favorite subjects, Benito Juárez, is also considered.

The Argentine writer, Jorge Luis Borges, employed the image of the labyrinth when describing Latin American history, as it demonstrated the endless, frequently backtracking process of passing from colony to nation-state. It also reflected the difficulty of the road to nationhood, requiring new leaders to make choices without knowing the certainty of the outcome. 44 Essentially these leaders had little choice but to "make it up" as they moved fitfully through the maze. Mexico is no exception to Borges'

⁴³ Charles Baudelaire, "Quelque Caricaturists Etrange", from the Complete Works of Charles Baudelaire, Vol II (p 426) Levy Brothers, 1868.

⁴⁴ Jeremy Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 1.

generalization. Its history in the 19th century is replete with wrong turns, dead ends, and rapidly changing political leadership and governance. Mexico was further affected by the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, which ultimately led to Spain's own tumultuous journey from empire to sovereign state. It is this journey that perhaps created and demonstrated the European example of the labyrinthine model from which the Latin American experience was gleaned. It makes prophetic the words of Lizardi that the influence of France and Spain was so pervasive that Mexico was twice removed from any source of originality or authenticity.⁴⁵ Mexico unfortunately mimicked very flawed models from France and Spain.

Prelude to 19th Century Mexico

Constantino Escalante was an advocate for the Constitution of 1857, believing that it was the key to Mexico's modernization and its future as an independent nation. To better understand his perspective, it is useful to examine the preceding historical context. The origins of 19th century revolt and the search for sovereignty in Mexico likely had their roots in the change at the end of two centuries of laissez-faire Hapsburg rule, to the "efficient" Bourbon rule in 1700. The Bourbon leaders restructured colonial Mexican governance, creating administrative units called intendancies.⁴⁶ These were created to help in quantifying social and economic data, with the ultimate intent to increase the revenue from Mexico to Bourbon Spain. The Bourbon rulers sought to create clear lines

⁴⁵ Nancy Vogeley, *Lizardi and the Birth of the Novel in Spanish America* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2001), 84.

⁴⁶ Megali M. Carrera, *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011), 55.

of authority for their designated bureaucrats, curtail the power of the Catholic Church, promote economic reforms, and increase revenue by assessing new taxes.

The discontent of the Mexican population was ignited by the Bourbon Reforms, which included the expulsion of the powerful and wealthy Jesuit religious order in 1767, leading to political dissent and social unrest. Under the Hapsburgs, there had at least been an element of self-rule and sovereignty, due to colonial inattention, but the Bourbons were committed to making Mexico a dutiful, disciplined colony, tightly bound and entirely subservient to the mother country. By the early 19th century, the effects of economic changes and a chain of natural disasters causing severe food shortages, made many Mexicans think that they had little left to lose regarding their path to independence, as the 19th century began.

Mexican History in the 19th Century

The disruption of Spain's national sovereignty, caused by the Napoleonic invasion of 1808, allowed colonial grievances to surface in the form of revolt, beginning with Father Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, a priest in the town of Dolores. He issued his "*Grito de Dolores*" (Cry of Dolores) on September 10, 1810, advocating rebellion against Spain, and quickly raised an army of thousands of supporters, who sacked several towns and killed hundreds of Spanish men, women, and children.⁴⁷ The horror of these violent events led the existing authorities in Mexico, supported by Creole elites, to crush the

⁴⁷ Cheryl E. Martin and Mark Wasserman, *Latin America and its People* (New York, NY: Pearson Education, 2005), 244.

rebellion, and execute Hidalgo. Another priest, Jose Mario Morelos, assumed leadership to continue to fight in southern Mexico, until his ultimate defeat in 1815.

Back in Europe, Spain waged guerilla warfare against the Napoleonic forces, starting in 1808, and cities and towns formed political bodies named juntas to govern in place of the displaced King Ferdinand VII. 48 A *central junta* was also established that convened in Cadiz in September 1810, as was the Cortes, a parliamentary body which would recommend and enact major political changes for Spain and Spanish America. Primary among these changes was the representation of overseas colonial territories in Spain, and the creation of the Constitution of 1812, which resolved to end the absolute monarchy in Spain. Instead, it created a constitutional monarchy that would require consultation with representatives chosen by the people. Not only did it affirm national sovereignty, separation of powers, and freedom of the press, but it also established Roman Catholicism as the official religion. The Constitution of 1812 further allowed the formation of elected municipal councils or *cabildos* in towns with more than 1,000 residents, and hundreds of towns exercised this option. In Mexico, after the enactment of the Constitution of 1812, over 900 cabildos were created, though women were excluded from voting.⁴⁹

When Napoleon was defeated, and Ferdinand VII returned to power in Spain, the period of self-rule during the earlier five-year interval showed many colonists that they were capable of governing themselves. However, in a change of events in Spain in 1813, Ferdinand sought a return to absolute monarchy, and ordered the abolition of the

⁴⁸ Cheryl E. Martin and Mark Wasserman, *Latin America and its People* (New York, NY: Pearson Education, 2005), 240.

⁴⁹ Martin, *Latin America*, 245.

Constitution of 1812. The liberal leaders responsible for the Constitution were arrested. In Mexico, the development of *cabildos* led to the diffusion of power away from the colonial state to the localities, which furthered the disintegration of viceregal authority in Mexico.⁵⁰ During this time, the guerilla army of Vicente Guerrero maintained the fight for self-rule. Guerrero was an uneducated mule driver prior to his role in the independence movement, starting in 1810, with Miguel Hidalgo and José Morelos. Guerrero was of mixed-race ancestry - his mother, María de Guadalupe Saldaña, was of African descent, and his father Pedro Guerrero, was a mestizo – of Hispanic and Indian descent. Historically, the mule drivers or *arrieros* of Mexico were Blacks or mulattos. Indian and mestizo mule drivers worked in the highlands, where their numbers were actually few because "their susceptibility to lowland tropical fevers made it dangerous for them to descend to the fever-infested ports."⁵¹ In some ways Guerrero's genetic makeup conferred upon him an "invulnerability", while his being a mule driver also armed him with a knowledge of the topography and character of the region southwest of Mexico City. This would later assist his success in military action. As a mule driver Guerrero also developed an understanding of Indian languages, further helping his ten-year experience and success in active guerrilla warfare.

New events in Peninsular Spain were having a major impact on Mexico and its future.

A military revolt on March 1820 forced Ferdinand VII to declare a restoration of Spain's liberal Constitution of 1812, and the Viceroy of New Spain, Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, ordered allegiance to the king and the new constitution. This action resulted in great

E (

⁵⁰ Brian R. Hamnett, *A Concise History of Mexico* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 184.

⁵¹ William Forest Sprague, *Vincente Guerrero*, *Mexican Liberator*. *A Study in Patriotism* (Chicago, IL: Donnelley and Sons, 1939), 6.

disaffection by the Conservatives and the high officials of the church in viceregal New Spain, who now decided that their future would be better protected with an independent Mexico. To that end, they sought the cooperation of General Iturbide, by slyly recommending his leadership to Viceroy Apodaca, who agreed. Agustin de Iturbide was of pure Spanish descent – his father was a native of Spain and his mother was Creole. He had a military education and demonstrated military success. The viceroy recommended that Iturbide offer a pardon to Guerrero to avoid more bloodshed. Iturbide left Mexico City on his campaign ostensibly to subdue Guerrero but, in reality, he would create a truce that would lead to independence.

In his memoirs Iturbide gives no credit to Guerrero for the plan, but, with Guerrero's agreement, they became united as the Trigarante Army, or the Army of the Three Guarantees, which would defend Religion, Independence, and Unity - meaning that Mexico would be a Catholic nation, independent from Spain, and united against its enemies. The agreement was made on February 21, 1821, and the Army of the Three Guarantees marched to Mexico City on September 27, 1821. Juan O'Donoju, the acting viceroy, seeing that the situation was hopeless, agreed to Mexican independence.

After achieving independence in 1821, Mexico continued to struggle for its freedom as a constitutional republic. Within a year, the vainglorious Iturbide proclaimed himself Emperor Agustin I, and "accepted" the imperial crown at a staged coronation, as Mexico's first leader following independence. Over the next 35 years, Mexico would have nearly 50 governmental changes due to economic uncertainty and military coups. During this time, two major political groups became established – Conservatives and Liberals. Conservatives wanted a centralized republic that maintained clerical and

military privileges, while Liberals sought publicly supported education, reduced power for the church and the military, and a federal republic similar to the United States.

In 1855, Juan Alvarez Hurtado de Luna gained power and established a liberal coalition in Mexico City. From 1855 to 1860, a time called *La Reforma*, major changes were undertaken including Mexico's becoming a secular federal republic governed by the liberal Constitution of 1857. This Constitution prohibited limits on freedom of speech and the press; abolished slavery and special courts, and prescribed that Mexico be a representative, democratic republic.

La Reforma and the History of the Constitution of 1857

La Reforma was a period in Mexican history in the 1850s, where landmark reforms, including a new constitution, were passed by the Liberal Party of Mexico, under the Presidency of Ignacio Comonfort. Two of his cabinet officials, Benito Juárez (Secretary for Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs), and Miguel Lerdo de Tejada (Finance Minister) passed controversial laws that resulted in Conservative opposition and resistance. The Juárez Law of November 1855 sought to subordinate ecclesiastical corporate privilege to the civil law, and the Ley Lerdo of 1856 sought to convert properties owned by the church into units of private ownership.⁵²

The adoption of the Liberal Constitution in 1857, ratified in February 1857, dictated elections that year. Comonfort won the presidency, and Benito Juárez was elected

⁵² Brian R. Hamnett, *A Concise History of Mexico* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 212.

president of the Supreme Court. Under the law, the president of the Supreme Court was next in line as Mexico's president in the event of a vacancy.⁵³

During the ensuing three years (December 1857 - December 1860), the War of Reform was fought between the Liberal and Conservative parties over the Constitution of 1857. It was a bitter conflict where tens of thousands died in mostly guerilla fighting. President Comonfort was ousted from office near the end of 1857 and exiled to the United States by military general Félix Zuloaga. Most Mexicans, confused by the fastmoving events, could not tell who their president was. 54 Juárez was the constitutional president, but he was not safe in Mexico City. In the midst of the ongoing guerilla war, Juárez moved from city to city for his own safety, ending up in Veracruz for a time. With the assistance of funds and supplies from the United States, and the leadership of a young general named Porfirio Diaz, the liberal cause would succeed after three bitter and bloody years. Fighting ended in January 1861, and Juárez returned to Mexico City to govern according to the terms of the Constitution of 1857. In March 1861, Juárez, having been President in absentia for three years, was elected President of the Republic. His election was likely based on his insistence of the rule of law mandated in the Constitution of 1857, and voters' admiration for his bravery and steadfast devotion to the nation of Mexico and its people.

Mexican Conservative ex-patriots in Europe redoubled their resistance during *La Reforma* by encouraging Napoleon III's colonial ambitions toward Mexico in 1861, about the time of the first weekly copy of the satirical publication *La Orquesta* hit the streets.

⁵³ Conrad R. Stein, *Benito Juárez and the French Intervention* (Greensboro, NC: Morgan Reynolds Publishing, 2008), 78.

⁵⁴ Stein, Benito Juárez, 82.

Its publication and distribution were undertaken during a period of freedom of the press in Mexico, encouraged by the principles and rights guaranteed in the Constitution of 1857.

The Life and Presidency of Benito Juárez

It is useful to examine and understand the history of Benito Juárez, based on his importance as a Mexican leader during La Reforma, and in light of the focus of his personage in La Orquesta. Benito Juárez was born on March 21, 1806, in the village of San Pablo Guelatao, in the state of Oaxaca. When he was three years old, both his parents, who were Zapotec Indians, died. Benito went to live with his Uncle Bemardino Juárez, who worked him hard on his farm, but also taught him to read and write in passable Spanish. When he was 12, Benito ran away to the city of Oaxaca, where one of his sisters worked as a cook for the well-to-do family of Don Antonio Maza. There he received lodging in exchange for household chores. Later he would work for Antonio Salanueva, a bookbinder by trade, who would help improve his Spanish and continue his education. At age 15 he enrolled in the Santo Domingo Church Council Seminary to prepare for the priesthood. It is noteworthy that he was the only full-blooded Indian attending classes there. 55 He later changed course and instead studied law at the Oaxaca Institute of Sciences and Arts, graduating in 1831. Ironically, the Oaxaca Institute of Sciences and Arts was also the alma mater of Porfirio Diaz, who studied law there and would succeed Juárez, ruling Mexico with a dictatorial hand for three decades in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

⁵⁵ Conrad R. Stein, *Benito Juárez and the French Intervention* (Greensboro, NC: Morgan Reynolds Publishing, 2008), 27.

Juárez started his political career when elected, in 1831, as an alderman for the City of Oaxaca, heading a neighborhood government unit. In 1833 he was elected to the state legislature, and in October 1847, was elected Governor of Oaxaca, where he would serve two consecutive two year terms. As Governor his highest priority was improving education, building 300 new schools (insisting that they be co-ed), and eight teacher colleges. He brought the latest agricultural techniques to Oaxaca, and set the Mexican state of Oaxaca on a progressive course. ⁵⁶ He was also named Director of the Institute of Science and Arts. In 1853, Antonio López de Santa Anna and his Conservative government sought to punish all their Liberal enemies, and Juárez was arrested, imprisoned in Veracruz, and then banished from Mexico without a trial. He initially went to Cuba, but eventually sailed to New Orleans in 1854, where he plotted to return home, never having lost his faith in the importance of the law. ⁵⁷

Juárez returned to Acapulco in 1855 to join the resistance against Santa Anna, whose power was waning. Later that year, in August, Santa Anna slipped out of Mexico City taking as much gold as he could loot from the nation's treasury,⁵⁸ setting the stage for *La Reforma*, when Juárez was named Minister of Justice in Ignacio Comonfort's temporary government. Despite the strife in Mexico during this time of transition, a convention composed of mostly lawyers and political leaders met in 1856 to create a new

⁵⁶ Conrad R. Stein, *Benito Juárez and the French Intervention* (Greensboro, NC: Morgan Reynolds Publishing, 2008), 61.

⁵⁷ Stein, *Benito Juarez*, 63.

⁵⁸ Stein, Benito Juarez, 72.

constitution. Juárez was one of the principal authors, and he hoped that the new Constitution of 1857 would guide Mexico to a new era of peace under the law.⁵⁹

During *La Reforma*, General Félix Zuloaga seized power and exiled President Comonfort to the United States in 1858. This action created a vacancy that was filled by Juárez who became President of Mexico, according to the line of succession noted in the Constitution. Juárez was not safe in Mexico City, and he fled with several advisors, seeking a safe place to establish a base and set up a rival government.⁶⁰ He retreated to Guadalajara and then to the liberal city of Veracruz, where he received money and supplies from the United States.

In August of 1860, the liberal army won a major battle at the city of Silao, and by the end of 1860, after much bitter fighting, Conservatives recognized that defeat was inevitable. Their leadership fled the capital, allowing Juárez to return to Mexico City in January 1861 as the constitutional president. Elections would be held later that year, when Benito Juárez was elected president. The poet and philosopher Octavio Paz wrote, "The reform movement founded Mexico and denied the past. It rejected tradition and sought to justify itself in the future." Paz's commentary reflects the theme of the thesis that the Constitution of 1857 and the reform movement that fought to defend it was the key to Mexico's modernization and to its future as an independent nation, which was also reflected in the lithographs of Constantino Escalante.

-

⁵⁹Conrad R. Stein, *Benito Juárez and the French Intervention* (Greensboro, NC: Morgan Reynolds Publishing, 2008), 78.

⁶⁰ Stein, Benito Juárez, 82.

⁶¹ Stein, Benito Juárez, 92.

The French Intervention

Napoleon III sought to invade the helplessly unstable country of Mexico and begin to rebuild an empire in an effort to restore France's international prestige. Mexico had borrowed heavily from European banks during the War of the Reform, and the unpaid debts were the basis for a planned European invasion and takeover, which anticipated benefits from Mexico's natural resources, including silver mining, coffee, and sugarcane. As President, Juárez struggled to pay Mexico's staggering debts in 1861, and he announced a two-year moratorium on foreign debts, which resulted in Great Britain, Spain, and France bringing their warships to Mexico. While Spanish and British claims were settled through negotiation, French claims were not. Using the sizable debts as a pretext, Napoleon III ordered his armies to march on Mexico City in 1862.

When war with France began, Constantino Escalante, rather than creating satirical caricatures in Mexico City, went to the field as a war correspondent, producing 11 black and white lithographs and 5 in color. These were later assembled into a chronological compendium, with articles by Hesiquio Iriate, titled *Las Glorias Nacionales*.

Las Glorias Nacionales shows the important episodes in the conflict between the French expeditionary corps and the Mexican army, in which the Mexican people discovered, through encounters with a different culture, their own distinctive traits. 62 It shows pictorial scenes from the early successful delaying action at Las Cumbres de

⁶² Constantino Escalante and Hesiquio Iriarte, *Las Glorias Nacionales* (Puebla, MX: Colegio de Puebla A.C., 2012), 7.

Acultzino on April 28, 1862, and documents the great victory at La Garita de Amozoc, in Pueblo on May 5, 1862.

The French army, embarrassed by its defeat, would regroup and never make the mistake of underestimating its Mexican foe again. This marked the first French military defeat in 50 years, with the loss of over 1,000 soldiers at Puebla. But Napoleon III redoubled his efforts, sending 30,00 additional French troops to Mexico. With its greater numbers, the French won the second Battle of Puebla in March 1863.

As the French army approached Mexico City, in May 1863, Juárez was again forced to flee to avoid the French arrest. At a time when Austrian Archduke Maximilian and his wife Carlota were being installed as Emperor and Empress of Mexico, Juárez was setting up a government in exile in Paso de Norte, a town on the border with the United States.

In what was a surprise to Conservatives, Maximillian sought to improve public education, signed laws forbidding child labor, and reduced the power of the military over the people. He even made overtures for Benito Juárez to serve in his government. But his most stunning decision was his refusal to restore property and legal privileges to the Catholic Church, even spurning the Pope's special envoy to address these matters. The support of Conservatives declined due to these actions, and likely also because of Maximillian's practice of adopting local customs, including wearing Mexican-style clothes in public.

⁶³ Conrad R. Stein, *Benito Juárez and the French Intervention* (Greensboro, NC: Morgan Reynolds Publishing, 2008), 100.

In France, Napoleon III was displeased with Maximillian's free spending habits, lavishing large sums of money to rebuild Chapultepec Castle as a royal residence, and to extravagantly entertain. During Maximillian's first six months in office, he and Carlota hosted 20 banquets, 70 lunches, and 16 grand balls for European dignitaries, French army officers, and upper-class Mexicans.⁶⁴

In April 1865, the end of the U.S. Civil War signaled the end of the French Intervention, as the violation of the Monroe Doctrine could now be enforced. At this time, Juárez and his loyal soldiers removed from northern Mexico and began a reconquest of the land, using arms and munitions provided by the United States, and undertaking guerilla warfare in the towns and farming communities.

In early 1866, Napoleon III announced that he was recalling French troops from Mexico. The decision was made for several reasons: the troops were needed in Europe for potential warfare, the mission was costly and unpopular with the French people, and finally, Maximillian's rule was liberal-minded and confusing. Maximillian refused to leave when the French troops departed in March 1867. He was captured, legally tried, and executed by firing squad in June 1867 in the small town of Querétaro. Juárez as President had the power to pardon Maximillian, but he refused to reverse the legal outcome, perhaps as a lesson for the loss of national sovereignty due to foreign aggression.

⁶⁴ Conrad R. Stein, *Benito Juárez and the French Intervention* (Greensboro, NC: Morgan Reynolds Publishing, 2008), 102.

⁶⁵ Stein, Benito Juárez, 125.

Juárez was cheered, leading a triumphant parade into Mexico City on July 15, 1867, as he returned to the presidency. He was reelected later that year, and would focus on building schools and inviting foreign investment to attempt to deal with Mexico's debts from the war years that had ruined the economy and overstressed the tax base. Juárez ran for a fourth term as president in 1871, and won a close election over Sebastián Lerdo de Tejado and Porfirio Diaz. Diaz claimed victory, declaring the election was fraudulent, and Juárez had to quell his insurgency.

Benito Juárez died from a heart condition on July 18, 1872, at age 66, and his death ushered in several years of fighting and turmoil as rivals fought for his office. In 1877, Porfirio Diaz seized control of Mexico, and democracy gave way to his dictatorship for nearly 30 years. Juárez would come to be regarded as the father of the country of Mexico, because of his loyal and indefatigable service, and because he put Mexico on the path to becoming a modern state, ruled by laws and the freedoms in the Constitution of 1857. The international historical description in Chapter 2 sets the stage for an examination of the activity of Constantino Escalante, and for an analysis of his work in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3. The Life and Work of Constantino Escalante

Several months into this thesis research, an unpublished PhD. dissertation by Josephine Lopez at the University of California, Berkeley became available. Her work added an element of interest due to different readings of the prints and an apparently divergent thesis. It quickly became evident that both thesis projects agree that Honoré Daumier and his caricatures were important influences on Constantino Escalante. The Lopez thesis, however, makes the claim that Escalante and *La Orquesta* were disruptive. 66 As the following section will show, the authors of *La Orquesta* sought to make every effort to create a literate and idealistic liberal publication – one that would seek to sooth and entertain its readers, and refuse to follow the path of incessant repetition of entreaties and petitions to the government. By comparison, the French publication La Charivari, a source of many Daumier caricatures, literally translates as a loud and unpleasant noise. It was a brash and in-your-face publication with the expected disruptive caricatures. At issue is what criterion could define disruptive caricature, and one reading may be that a true disruptor employs caricature that is understood, even having no caption. Baudelaire weighs in on this issue in describing the caricature of Daumier, which is unquestionably disruptive. Baudelaire notes that Daumier's work needs no captions: "With Daumier, the idea emerges immediately. We look, we understand. The legends that are written at the bottom of his drawings are of little use, for they could generally do without them."67 This would mean, of course, that Escalante's

⁶⁶ Josephine M. Lopez, "Constantino Escalante: Caricature, Satire and the Project of Modernization in Nineteenth-Century Mexico," *Dissertation, Doctor of Philosophy, Art History, The University of California, Berkeley*, 2015, 1.

⁶⁷ Charles Baudelaire, "Quelque Caricaturists Français", from the Complete Works of Charles Baudelaire, Vol II (p 399) Levy Brothers, 1868.

lithographs would not be considered disruptive, since his lithographs, without captions, are indecipherable.

In summary, the caricatures of Constantino Escalante are regarded in this thesis not as bitter or disruptive, but more as idealistic and mostly comic entertainment for a very politically sophisticated and literate readership. What follows is a summary of Escalante's very short career, with a discussion of his lithographs, attesting to his belief that the Liberal Constitution of 1857 was the key to a better life for Mexican citizens, and the cornerstone for a modern nation.

Constantino Escalante was well known in 19th century Mexico City for his hundreds of published lithographic prints, especially from the satirical publication *La Orquesta*, but little of his life is known. All that remains is a birth certificate, a eulogy, and several photographs.⁶⁸

The eulogy, given by Hilarión Frias y Soto, publisher of *La Orquesta*, states that Constantino Escalante was born in Mexico City in 1836. "He had the fortune of escaping scholastic corruption," he notes, and "his education was artistic although unfortunately very incomplete," likely meaning that Escalante was employed in lithographic workshops, without attending the Academy of San Carlos. Escalante's youth was "obscure" according to Frias y Soto, occupied by his middle-class efforts to meet the material demands of life in Mexico City. Escalante's fame began with the first issue of

⁶⁸ Esther Acevedo, *Constantino Escalante* (Coyocán, México: Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1996),

⁶⁹ Acevedo, Constantino Escalante, 2.

La Orquesta in March 1861, when he was 25 years old. He and Carlos Casarin, who created the text for La Orquesta represented the publication of the first issue this way:

"We want to see if the supreme government, insensitive to arias and petitions in recitation, softens to the chords of an Orchestra. Music has an indisputable influence over animals. We are not trying to make them laugh, which is both a difficult and fleeting thing, nor instruct the sensible and erudite public on them, but to distract them by inserting all that we find which is pleasant and new, without respect for its properties. We will not irritate our readership with non-stop political topics in the comics. Customs will be our primary target, but our journal will not have a single word attacking modesty that cannot be read by the most naïve of lilies. We set out to write for all." (from *La Orquesta*, March 1, 1861).

The manifesto indicates a desire to inform their readership with a multi-faceted, tuneful and "chord-filled" publication whose presentation was neither strident, profane, nor driven by the preoccupation with a single issue. Glowing reviews of the initial issue of *La Orquesta* were published in *El Monitor Republicano* and *El Siglo XIX:* "These talented young men, alone, have come together . . . and alone they march in the footsteps of glory, sustained only by their enthusiasm and their genius." Further, that "Mr. Escalante has an astounding faculty for portraiture. His portraits cast an admirable likeness, they are speaking, living, and moving pieces, because Mr. Escalante is not a vulgar artist, but an intelligent one that imprints a soul onto a work, divining the temperament and character of the people." The article continues, "The portraits in *La*

⁷⁰ Esther Acevedo, *Constantino Escalante* (Coyocán, México: Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1996),
3.

Orguesta are done rapidly, with one flourish of a pen, without study and without having seen the subject but in passing, yet there is such genius in these ephemeral creations."⁷¹

The eulogy followed his untimely death from a streetcar accident, where Escalante attempted to save his wife, who had slipped under the wheels of a moving rail car. In doing so, he injured his foot which required amputation. ⁷² Following his injury, colleagues and friends rushed to help, but in spite of all these efforts and the care of a skilled physician, Escalante died on August 29, 1868. His wife died 48 hours later, and they were buried together in the mausoleum of San Fernando in Mexico City. His funeral included a long procession of journalists, clergy, and artists.

Escalante's Lithographs in La Orquesta

The frontispiece (Figure 1) of the first tomo or volume of La Orquesta, from March 1, 1861, has a foreground that includes the two major creators of the publication. Constantino Escalante (Figure 2) is shown with an oversized lithography crayon in his right hand, and to his left, Carlos Casarin, the author of most of the articles in La Orquesta holds an oversized pen, as they both sit on a string bass. A cluster of other instruments and a musical score around them, reinforces the publication's title and promotes an orchestral theme which reflects how they plan to employ their talents. As an orchestra delivers its music, their words and caricatures would be used to soothe and soften the Mexican government as opposed to the more disruptive, endless petitions.

⁷¹ Esther Acevedo, Constantino Escalante (Coyocán, México: Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1996),

⁷² Acevedo, Constantino Escalante, 4.

Also shown in the foreground is a mythical character - not a lustful, drunken satyr as described by another analyst⁷³ but more likely a faun, with the horns and hooves of a goat, lifting the curtain and shining a candle toward the shadowy mystery behind it.

Fauns are creatures from Roman mythology, who love to dance and play the flute, fitting for this orchestral theme. However, here they also convey a sense of playful, but helpful, mischief. Standing on a drum, the candle-holding faun appears to point the way to the mission of *La Orquesta* – to illuminate the darkness. To the far right, also in the foreground, a small dog is shown urinating on a piece of paper that bears the signatures of Escalante and Casarin. The implied message assures readers that they are not self-righteous and beyond personal criticism, but rather directly admit that their work may be scorned or disliked.

The beginnings of a caricature drawn on Escalante's lap is a prelude to their satire. It shows the enlarged and unmistakable nose of Francisco Zarco, Benito Juárez's Minister of the Interior and Minister of Foreign Affairs, appointed in 1861. Zarco had earlier been editor of the liberal newspaper *El Siglo XIX* (The 19th Century), and Escalante must have had a premonition regarding his ability as a political trickster, although the drawing is not yet completed.

One's eye is drawn to the center of the print where the title of *La Orquesta* is being painted on the curtain by a playful, acrobatic, and well-dressed faun on the left. In the upper level of the print is a group of fiendish looking, misbehaving fauns, one of whom points to the sign indicating "Constitution of 1857 Guarantees Freedom of the Press".

⁷³ Josephine M. Lopez, "Constantino Escalante: Caricature, Satire and the Project of Modernization in Nineteenth-Century Mexico," *Dissertation, Doctor of Philosophy, Art History, The University of California, Berkeley*, 2015, 126.

This was a major part of the promise of a modern Mexico, that sanctioned the work of publications like *La Orquesta* and reinforced the personal belief of the authors, who recognized this as fundamental to their future, and that of Mexico. The print's lack of depth makes the layout seem almost improbable, as the fauns' perch at the top has no structure supporting it, merely sitting atop the fold of a curtain.

Esther Acevedo indicates that a major European influence on *La Orquesta* came from the publications *La Charivari* and *Punch*, and that the work of Honoré Daumier was a direct influence – so much so that Carlos Casarin's pseudonym, Roberto Macario, was based on a character created by Daumier. Further, their caricatures reflected the characteristic language of French caricature in the 19th century, whose formal principles included rapid, sketch-style outlining, distortion of form, and elimination of environment, usually leaving only a faint background.⁷⁴A further discussion of the influence of Daumier, with a visual comparison, is shown in Figure 16 and 16a.

It is appropriate to begin this section with the frontispiece not only because it spells out the rationale for Escalante and Casarin's publication, but also because it is a visual reminder of the importance of the Constitution of 1857, literally being spelled out and pointed to on a sign at the top of the inaugural issue. The assertion of this thesis is that Escalante earnestly sought to display the value and importance of the Constitution of 1857, which may be identified and reflected, directly and indirectly in virtually all his work, as the solid underpinning for a modern Mexican state.

⁷⁴ Esther Acevedo, *Constantino Escalante* (Coyocán, México: Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1996),
7.

Works During the Early Juárez Presidency

On March 9, 1861, less than two weeks after the initial publication of *La Orquesta*, the first political cartoon involving Benito Juárez appears (Figures 3,4), critiquing his passive, but complicit role in his young presidency. While Juárez provides the public face of his government, his appointed officials appear to be acting with their own best interests in mind. The caption for this print indicates, "The administration plays the game of false hands," which reflects a very childish type of deception or ruse, attempting to fool the public.

Interestingly, the drawing of Juárez is not heavily caricatured, perhaps in deference to the early tenure of his presidential term, appearing stoic and impassive. The government official, whose hands are moving in an agitated way, however, appears walrus-like and disheveled. His face is darkened in a shadow behind Juárez, visualizing the presence of a "shadow government" operating independent of formal or constitutional constraints. The print suggests that Juárez may be leaning too heavily on the prestige and public approval based on his earlier activity during *La Reforma*, when he helped save the nation and helped write the Constitution of 1857. Juárez is indirectly criticized as the print focuses mainly on the behavior of his staff while implying that he himself needs to improve the management of his administration.

On April 17, 1861, the Escalante lithograph (Figure 5) in *La Orquesta* titled, "The bored chorus accompanied by *La Orquesta*, performs a not so new opera – bankruptcy," seems to anticipate the problems the bankrupt republic will face with foreign debt-holders – who may start a war with Mexico to get their loans repaid. The print reveals that the

budgetary issue is boring in that it is not new. Mexico appears as an inveterate debtor, and that may hinder the progress promised in the Constitution of 1857.

In this print, Escalante is shown with an outsized lithographic crayon, beating a drum, and Casarin is playing a violin with his pen as a bow. A group of seven irate citizens in the right center provide their vocal support of the message that the Mexican government must work harder to fix its debt and bankruptcy. The repeated frustration with these problems is evident in the disembodied heads of the vocal performers. The metaphor of "beating the drum" implies speaking enthusiastically about a belief or idea in order to persuade others to support it and explains the drum image. Further, the universal expression "playing of the same old violin" describes a person who repeatedly complains about the same thing. The obvious message here, given the size of Escalante's drum and its central location in the print, sends a loud and clear aural and visual message for the Juárez government to bring its budget and debts into conformance with international standards, equating good fiscal health with a successful modern state. It is of note that although Escalante indicates bankruptcy is a "boring" issue, some of the vocal heads in the first row seem very irate and their anger presages the misfortune about to befall Mexico during the French Intervention.

In the May 8, 1861 publication of *La Orquesta* (Figure 6), the national budgetary theme continues, showing two barber shop "customers." One on the far left, facing away from view with a completely shorn head, represents the church, scalped with a scissor titled "*contribuciones*" or tax contributions. A highly caricatured Minister Zarco of the Juárez government wields the scissors, oblivious and unconcerned about the impact of taxes on the Mexican people. The latest victim in the foreground represents the people,

who are asked to pay more taxes, in this case a tobacco tax. Another government official is mocking the "customers" while holding a lock of hair to be shorn from the seated victim. The title indicates: "The supreme government after shaving the church down to its eyelashes, and bearing no fruit, turns to exercise its will upon the poor gentle people of the village." Juárez looks at the face of the person being scalped, but does not actively participate. The print, judging by the placid and deferential behavior of the "customers" implies that they are peacefully and without protest enduring their fate out of the respect they have for Juárez and his government. Escalante's new satirical caricature of Juárez, depicting him with an unflattering recessed chin, heavy eyelashes, a prominent nose, and only passively involved in the hair cutting, is an indication and warning that any future mistakes of his government will not so readily go unnoticed by the Liberal press. Unfortunately, after months of working to resolve the budget issues, the finance minister, Guillermo Prieto, realized that more money was being lost than gained, likely due to corruption. The mismanagement would lead to a declaration of national bankruptcy. ⁷⁶ Juárez may have hoped to initiate new and effective reforms, but his inability to manage and control his new government was problematic. Despite Escalante's Liberal beliefs, he remained critical of the way the Liberal Juárez administration has burdened the citizenry with new taxes, in an attempt to resolve its fiscal chaos.

Another sore topic for those who lived in Mexico City was the prevalence of flooding following large rainstorms. Since Mexico City is essentially located in a large former

⁷⁵ Esther Acevedo, *Constantino Escalante* (Coyocán, México: Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1996),

⁷⁶ Acevedo, *Constantino Escalante*, 10.

lake basin that had been infilled to create new land, the opportunity for flooding was real. As early as the 17th century, New Spain's viceroys tried to resolve the flooding threat, but it wasn't until the mid-18th century that a large canal was built to redirect overflow waters away from Mexico City. However, as the city continued to grow, the drainage canal proved inadequate for large storm flows, and by the 19th century, flooding became a topic for *La Orquesta*.

Three satirical panels comprise the print (Figure 7) in the June 29,1861 publication. The upper left panel shows a man holding another person by the ankles in a comic pose. The caption reads, "The population of Mexico has had to hire some divers to save their neighbors," while both are in about two feet of flood water. The submerged person throws his hands up in anguish, while most of his head remains underwater.

The second panel on the upper right shows a man with two umbrellas, standing almost knee deep in water. The caption reads, "The canals of Mexico make the use of umbrellas insufficient." Umbrellas can protect citizens from rain, but they are useless against the flooded canals that fill with stormwater and spill over their banks. The print shows how a man foolishly tries to use two umbrellas – one to protect himself from the rain, and the other to comically avoid the flooding.

The third panel takes up the entire lower part of the print. It shows porters carrying a man in a top hat and a women dressed in evening attire, but in this case their "entertainment" is watching people struggling while partially submerged in flood waters. Simply watching their peril with no attempt to help perhaps indicates the social differentiation of the flooded vs. non-flooded neighborhoods. Its caption reads, "Spectacular performances can be seen after a rainstorm with no price of admission."

Escalante may have been familiar with a new plan, devised in 1856 by engineer

Francisco de Garay, to create drainage canals, navigation, and irrigation systems. These were designated in his "General Plan of the Bureau of the Valley of Mexico" to resolve the flooding issues which required substantial funding. The construction of this "Gran Canal de Drenaje" would later become one of the most important engineering works constructed years later under the Porfirio Diaz administration.⁷⁷

In Escalante's print, no government official is specifically held up to ridicule, but the implication is that flooding is a massive a problem that needs the government's attention. Perhaps it is a good example of *La Orquesta's* stated mission – to soothe and entertain with musical overtones, rather than strike a bitter or sour note. It is more comic and entertaining than hostile or embittered.

In spite of these and other solutions, as Mexico City continued to grow, so did its flooding problems. As recently as September 2021, flooding killed 17 people in Tula de Allende on the outskirts of Mexico City, so the potential for tragedy from unchecked stormwater remains today.

Underpinnings of the French Intervention

By September 1861, the staff at *La Orquesta* likely became aware of the plans of France, England, and Spain to invade Mexico in an attempt to collect funds owed by a bankrupt Mexico. On September 7, 1861, Escalante published a print (Figure 8) entitled, "Beautiful illusions of some sleeping men," that shows a large-nosed Napoleon III, (with

⁷⁷ Mathes, W. Michael. "To save a city: the Desagüe of Mexico-Huehuetoca," *The Americas*, 26(4), 419-438, 1970.

an exaggerated, pencil-thin mustache that reaches beyond his epaulets) with Queen Isabela of Spain, and a very rotund Queen Victoria of England. All three wield oversized scissors used to cut out the part of *Republica Mexicana* that they seek, for their own economic and geopolitical interests. They appear unconcerned and nonchalant, not caring or acknowledging that their actions would affect hundreds of thousands of people in Mexico and Europe. They appear to hover on a cloud above the men in prison, floating above earth's realities.

The three greedy European leaders who have the freedom to make the most whimsical of decisions, are juxtaposed with the fate of three men locked in a prison, near the bottom of the print. The three in jail have no ability to make any choices, likely representing prisoners of those European states. Perhaps they also symbolize Mexico's status at this juncture, with little ability to fight back, nor the resources, will or freedom to take any action against the expected onslaught.

By November 1861, the threat of invasion was heightened, and Escalante drew caricatures (Figure 9) of the invading nations, hiding behind a cluster of trees. By this time, ships from these nations were likely already sailing across the Atlantic, as indicated by the vessels on the shoulders of Napoleon III and on the caricature of Spain. Each of the nations wields rather ugly clubs against the allegorical character of Mexico, epitomizing their barbarity. The dark foreground in front of the monarchs reflects their evil and bloody intent. Mother Mexico seems haggard and worn out by the fighting of her two infants representing the Liberal and Conservative factions in Mexico. The infants will never cease fighting, even with an impending international threat. The caption states, "France: Now is the time to attack, they are powerless. Spain: We should

wait. France: Why? Spain: To catch them even weaker." Clearly Mexico is shown here as its own worst enemy.

Escalante's belief in Mexico's sovereignty, the need to repel foreign powers, and the importance of the Constitution of 1857 are reflected in this print. With an impending threat to national sovereignty, it is clearly time to stop the infighting and recognize the threat to the nation's future. The threat is reinforced with Escalante's use of a shadowy, dark foreground, and a dark cluster of trees, which separates the invaders from the images of Mexico, shown in the light.

On December 21, 1861, Escalante made a fervent appeal to Mexico to unite its factions in addressing the upcoming threat. It would be among his most patriotic prints (Figure 10). In the print captioned, "No more divisions when the country is in trouble," an allegorical female figure representing Mexico is holding the Mexican flag in her right hand, and olive branch in her left, with the small banner featuring the word "amnesty," referring to forgiveness of Mexico's burdensome foreign loans. She has flowing white robes, and a small cap on her head. She is pointing the flag's staff at the sunrise in the eastern horizon, labeled "*Porvenir*" or "Future." The sign, carried along with the line of people streaming toward the rising sun, points to Veracruz, where enemy forces will soon be landing. The print is hoping for Mexico's citizens to confront the foreign powers who threaten the sovereignty of their incipient modern national state. In the print foreground, on a small hill overlooking the path to Veracruz, two figures represent the Liberal and Conservative parties. Escalante depicts them putting aside their issues and disagreements to serve Mexico, shown here as the large, striking female figure. The print reveals

another disagreement with an earlier analysis,⁷⁸ which suggests that the scene was a sunset, not a sunrise, implying that the path to Veracruz has been displaced to the west, and the Future of Mexico was depicted as a sunset.

It is worth noting that this female representation of Mexico by Escalante presages the work of Petronilo Monroy by eight years – when Monroy created the oil on canvas painting, *Allegory of the Constitution of 1857* (Figure 11), later exhibited at the Academy of San Carlos in 1869. Widdifield refers to this painting as "a kind of pictorial truce between the sacred and the secular, between liberal and conservative, thus offering an allegory of Mexico as much as the Constitution of 1857,"⁷⁹ an excellent example of representing the national in Mexico's artistic visual history.

Monroy may have employed other classical examples as models, such as the Pompeiian figures he created with Santiago Rebull for Maximillian's private terrace on the upper floor of the Palace of Chapultepec in 1865. 80 Both of these and the *Allegory of the Constitution of 1857* have an uncanny similarity to Escalante's 1861 lithograph showing an allegory of Mexico, which is worthy of further examination and study. Both figures have flowing white gowns with belts, loose dark hair, a dance-like pose, headpiece, and an olive branch reflecting national purpose.

⁷⁸ Josephine M. Lopez, "Constantino Escalante: Caricature, Satire and the Project of Modernization in Nineteenth-Century Mexico," *Dissertation, Doctor of Philosophy, Art History, The University of California, Berkeley*, 2015, 81

⁷⁹ Stacie G. Widdifield, *The Embodiment of the National in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexican Painting* (Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1996), 149.

⁸⁰ Widdifield, The Embodiment of the National, 154.

The French Invasion of Mexico

When the foreign powers arrived in 1862, the British and Spanish forces worked out a compromise over their owed debts, and they retreated from Mexico – but not the French. They insisted on attacking and invading Mexico and, at this point in time, Constantino Escalante became an impromptu war correspondent for *La Orquesta*. A compilation of the written summaries of the warfare by Hesiquio Iriarte, and some of 16 of the lithographs that Escalante prepared were printed in *La Orquesta*. These were also later published separately in a book titled, *Las Glorias Nacionales*. The book covers the early military success of Mexico, including the action at Las Cumbres de Acultzingo on April 28, 1862, and the victory at Battle of La Garita de Amozoc, in Pueblo, on May 5, 1862.

The written text attributes the victory and its glory to the "noble, honorable Mexican forces, who uphold the holy cause of independence, and the battle of a people that rises up to repel invaders." In reality, the French had allotted too few troops and not enough supplies and munitions to win the day. They would return a year later with 30,000 troops and sufficient supplies, indisputably overwhelming the Mexican forces to make their way to Mexico City in triumph.

A remarkable lithograph of the Cinco de Mayo fighting from *Las Glorias Nacionales* is shown as Figure 12. Its action is described as follows,

"A French platoon strikes forth like a bolt of lightning, rapidly, irresistibly, against our parapets with the goal of taking control of ground that would sow problems in

⁸¹Constantino Escalante and Hesiquio Iriarte, *Las Glorias Nacionales* (Puebla, MX: Colegio de Puebla A.C., 2012), 68.

the enemy ranks and open passage to our position . . . When the enemies are almost upon us, our soldiers tended to their arms. In a flash between clouds of smoke, a detonation followed and many of the aggressors rolled lifelessly into the pit. After that moment followed a body-on-body fight. A French soldier managed to reach the cannon's porthole, and supporting himself against its mouth made a move to damage the artillery and defeat the obstacle that opposed his entrance . . . there was no time to reload the guns, so the artilleryman used the shot he had in his hands, delivering a blow to the enemies' head, who was left wounded. The artilleryman with great simplicity had executed such a heroic act and saved the bulwark." The French soldier is from North Africa and part of a regimen of light infantry named the Zouaves, who wore distinctive uniforms that included short, open-front jackets, baggy trousers, and a fez-like head-dress. Because of their familiarity with and adaptability to desert combat, they likely were brought to Mexico as a part of the French invasion.

The episode concludes with the brave artilleryman, seeing the danger now past, honorably carrying the French soldier in his arms to a safe place. The narrative concludes that the Mexicans defended themselves, fighting for the honor and independence of their country, but showed that they were humane and chivalrous in victory, as they were valiant in battle. 83 Escalante risked injury and personal safety when creating the lithographs for *Las Glorias Nacionales*, but such was his sacrifice and devotion to the defense of Mexico's sovereign status.

-

⁸² Constantino Escalante and Hesiquio Iriarte, *Las Glorias Nacionales* (Puebla, MX: Colegio de Puebla A.C., 2012), 70.

⁸³ Constantino Escalante, Las Glorias Nacionales, 72.

Against all odds, Mexico successfully defended itself. On May 21, 1862, Escalante mocked the French attack at Pueblo with a very comedic lithograph (Figure 13) captioned, "El 5 de Mayo – Why aren't the troops advancing? They've been caught up in the agave." The French soldiers reach their arms out helplessly toward their commander, perhaps hoping to be freed from the cactus plants that have ensnared them. They are completely stopped, and their clueless commander, safe behind a protective ridge and lacking a good solution, shouts at them to free themselves and advance on their enemy. It is a prime visual example of the failure of the French military leadership during the 1862 invasion. The agave cactus, grown in dry desert climates, has large, jagged leaves that end in spiny tips. It is a quintessential Mexican plant, known as the source of the alcoholic drink *pulque*. The print suggests that the French were completely unprepared for the local conditions and the prickly resistance of Mexico, and their invasion has been snagged by a lack of preparation and knowledge of Mexico. Escalante shows how unnatural and alien the French threat is to Mexico's national sovereignty.

Retaining the botanical theme in July 1862 (Figure 14), Escalante shows a prickly pear cactus, which is the original emblem of Mexico, and appears on the Mexican flag. The image goes back to Aztec leadership recognizing an eagle on a prickly pear cactus, as the propitious sign to establish the city of Tenochtitlan, right at that spot. The image of Benito Juárez is shown at the top of the cactus with the designation "liberty," and French allies in Mexico are attempting to hook Juárez from the upper reaches, to no avail. The cactus, which represents Mexico, is shown as sturdy, tall, and unyielding, while the spider web likely indicates that it has also been untouched by the European invaders. Juárez would be a marked man for the next five years during the French intervention, as

he represented Mexican liberty and the Constitution of 1857. The final insult depicts a French Zouave figure on the right side of the print, getting a dose of cactus spines to his bottom. He painfully walks away - another expression of the blowback to a foreign power for meddling with Mexico's national sovereignty.

The image of Juárez is also revealed in a July 1862 lithograph (Figure 15) where three pairs of opponents square off in a children's game (probably like the American rhyming game, "Eeny, meeny, miny, moe"), but where the players sing a rhyme while they alternatively either stand or crouch. The winner is the one who remains standing at the end of the game.

In the print, Escalante shows Benito Juárez besting Napoleon III, a Mexican military leader besting a French general, and a Mexican peasant beating a French Zouave, signaling Escalante's unabashed belief in Juárez and the people of Mexico. It shows great disrespect for the French characters, all dwarfed and subordinate to their standing Mexican counterparts. Interestingly, none of the characters are heavily caricatured. Ironically, Juárez, who was actually less than five feet tall, is shown here towering over his rival, Napoleon III. Juarez is shown alert and on his toes, while Napoleon III is caught flat-footed and back on his heels. Maintaining the pictorial view that the French and Mexicans were engaged in a battle of equals was much too optimistic, given the plans of Napoleon III to re-equip and augment the size of the French forces for the next push of the invasion. Escalante must have believed, or wanted his viewers to believe, however, that the French would see the Mexican resolve and retreat.

Later, on November 12, 1862 (Figure 16), Escalante goes full bore to caricature Napoleon III, wearing an oversized hat, oversized boots, and a coat several sizes too

large. It shows a leader who doesn't have the stature to fit into the clothes of his predecessor, Napoleon Bonaparte. It also makes him appear quite silly as he addresses several Zouaves, who, unlike their disheveled leader, appear orderly and battle ready. Napoleon III addresses his troops: "Soldiers! We are being watched from a prominent location by people using telescopes." The observers with telescopes look uncannily like Escalante and Casarin from La Orquesta, a reminder of their vigilant war reporting on France's activities. Escalante is perhaps attempting to attribute paranoia to Napoleon III, who is making plans for a full-blown invasion that will attempt to avoid the missteps of the military loss earlier that year on Cinco de Mayo. It adds another element to the satirical caricature of Napoleon III. In addition to his ridiculous physical appearance, he is also mentally unstable, revealing paranoia about France's Mexico mission, likely resulting from his troops being unable to obtain an easy victory. The troops seem well prepared and organized, but Napoleon III is shown as their sloppy, inept, and feckless leader. With this print, Escalante reveals his advocacy for the Constitution of 1857 – its guarantee of freedom of the press, and its defense of Mexican national sovereignty, despite France redoubling its efforts to conquer Mexico.

The influence of Honoré Daumier's art on the figure of Napoleon III by Escalante is evident in an 1848 lithograph from *La Figaro*, entitled, "Monsieurs Victor Hugo and Emile Girardin would like to raise Prince Louis (Napoleon III) on a shield which is not quite balanced." (Figure 16a). The obvious re-use of a large hat, knee-high boots, an oversized jacket, and a huge mustache on Napoleon III by Escalante creates a more recent and contemptible example of the fool that is attempting to rule Mexico.

Later that month, on November 29, 1862, Escalante returned to his more conventional image of Napoleon III (Figure 17), but this time shown in a foolish position, sitting on the shoulders of an allegorical female figure of France. France appears as a loyal supporter of Napoleon III, but he is a heavy load, causing France some open-mouthed consternation. Napoleon III appears unconcerned about being a burden foisted upon France, reflected in the casual way he rests his arm on the head of France, as if nothing untoward has happened. He is fixated on fishing for a solution to drain the swampy pond that is labelled "Mexico". The caption, "The first plug is removed" indicates that perhaps a start has been made to draining the swampy water. The joke is, however, that the material taken from the swampy waters is labeled "Cinco de Mayo", meaning that Napoleon III's "fishing" for a solution to his Mexico problem has failed to make any progress on the swamp's water level. Anyone who has ever gone fishing knows that a false strike can be caused by debris on the hook, creating a premature sense of accomplishment. Likewise, it appears that Napoleon III has been fooled by the contents on his hook, which soon reminds him of the French failure at Puebla on Cinco de Mayo. It also shows that even a little, swampy, mud puddle of a nation like Mexico can obstruct the dominance of a large, powerful nation like France. The stone directly in front of the figures is a literal "stumbling block" to the French invasion.

When France renewed its invasion of Mexico in 1863, *La Orquesta* stopped publication and many patriots, including Benito Juárez and the staff of *La Orquesta*, fled from Mexico City. Once some rules for censorship were put into place, however, *La Orquesta* continued publication. On December 21, 1864, an early example of self-censorship (Figure 18) shows Escalante directly visualizing members of Maximillian's

government, but only showing the back of Maximillian's head – not his face, and not using caricature, except perhaps for Maximillian's identifiable hair and beard.

In this print, the Conservative Mexican minister, Manuel Velázquez de León is offering Maximillian an imported cigarette – a Monzon. He is also offered a local cigar from the Liberal minister, Manuel Doblato, which Maximillian prefers.⁸⁴ The caption reads, "Sir, if you like, these are genuine Monzons. Thank you, gentlemen, but I prefer those that are local."

Although this print seems benign and innocuous, it is not. The two gentlemen on the left are Conservative members of Maximillian's government, while the two men on the right are Liberal members who are also part of his government. Maximillian raised eyebrows in Mexico when he went out of his way to include Liberals in his government, perhaps because he felt the need for a modestly representative government with popular appeal. But the Conservative factions that brought him to power, both in Europe and Mexico, were not pleased. Actions such as these appointments made early in his administration helped undermine his Conservative support, which had earlier worked to bring him to power.

What makes this print so powerful is the body language of Maximillian, who is shown preferring to face his Liberal ministers on the right. The Conservative ministers on the left look remote and even disengaged, but the closeness of the Emperor to his Liberal ministers, and the warmth this conveys, speaks volumes. The naïve idealism of Maximillian would cost him Conservative support, especially from church conservatives,

⁸⁴ Esther Acevedo, *Constantino Escalante* (Coyocán, México: Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1996), 16.

but he insisted on including Liberals as the standard during his rule. Perhaps he saw himself as an enlightened despot. Esther Acevedo reports that the Emperor found Figure 18 particularly comic, both pleasing and entertaining, so Maximillian must have been pleased with his decision to bring even-handed government to the Mexican people. The caricature also adheres to Maximillian's 1865 decree governing the press, which states that penalties would be invoked by attacking the form of government or person of the ruler, so which here Escalante takes pains to avoid. The reality, regardless of Maximillian's views however, was that the political factions shown in Escalante's print were too far apart to reconcile during his rule.

In 1864, early in the administration of Maximillian's government, Maximillian purposely reached out to Liberals by considering Benito Juárez to serve in a high position of his government. No formal request was ever made, but if it had been, Juárez likely would have declined, since he was still the legally elected President of Mexico though exiled within his own country. Given Juárez' intransigence, Maximillian asked his military to arrest or kill him, along with other Liberal leaders who actively led the guerilla resistance. The guerillas would routinely ambush French patrols in the countryside, seizing their weapons and horses, and murdering the soldiers. The guerillas also unofficially received rifles and munitions from the United States, who sympathized with Juárez and favored his cause over the French invaders.

_

⁸⁵ Esther Acevedo, *Constantino Escalante* (Coyocán, México: Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1996), 17.

⁸⁶ Alfred J. Hanna et al., "The Immigration Movement of the Intervention and Empire as Seen Through the Mexican Press," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* Vol.27, no. 2 (1947): 224.

⁸⁷ Conrad R. Stein, *Benito Juárez and the French Intervention* (Greensboro, NC: Morgan Reynolds Publishing, 2008), 115.

On March 11, 1865, Escalante created a lithographic print (Figure 19) that revealed the danger to the Mexican Liberals from Maximillian's military. It shows a triangle-shaped candelabra with candles placed atop the nine heads of Liberal politicians or former Liberal government officials. A menacing, mechanical-type arm and hand are reaching from the left margin of the print. Having an inverted crown as a cuff, this arm represents Maximillian and his henchmen, who have already succeeded in snuffing out four Liberal leaders. It appears that Benito Juárez is next to be extinguished. At the top of the triangle, his death would be the ultimate prize for Maximillian. The print is very dark, sobering, and frightening, as it shows the life and death implications of French rule for the Juárez resistance.

Inside the candelabra, a Phrygian cap or "liberty cap" is shown above an open book with the letters *Ley* (Law) spelled out, indicating the liberal elements of liberty and the law as the underpinnings for a modern state. With the candles being snuffed out, the caption "*Tinieblas*" (literally "Darkness) has a secondary figurative meaning, which is "the lack of knowledge" or "ignorance," also fitting expressions for the loss of liberty under Maximillian's rule, who, as an outsider, was ignorant of the needs of Mexico and its people.

The triangle often is used to symbolize enlightenment, balance, and harmony. Here it rests on a head having wings and prominent sideburns, resembling the great Liberal leader, Vicente Guerrero. Guerrero was not only a hero of the Mexican War of Independence in 1821, but also was martyred when executed by Conservatives following a coup in 1831. The other recognizable head is former Liberal minister Francisco Zarco, shown with a recessed chin, prominent nose, and high forehead, and located two heads

down from Juárez. Zarco would go to the United States for his safety, but return to Mexico when the French Intervention ended and Juárez resumed as President in 1867.

Censorship

In 1864, French Marshall Bazaine convened a meeting of journalists and editors who had reported and published denunciations of what they saw as arbitrary acts committed by military courts, where defendants were sentenced at the hearings. Bazaine detained those who "displayed hostilities toward the military judges and for disseminating false and slanderous news,"88 including the heads of the liberal publications, La Orquesta, La Sombra, La Cucaracha, El Buscapié, and Los Espejuelos del Diablo. Maximillian had not approved this action wherein reporters were sentenced to a month up to a year in prison, some having to bear additional fines. Many of the reporters begged leniency from the emperor and quickly received it. 89 The fight for freedom of the press would not stop here, and in an April 5, 1865 lithograph, Escalante expresses his frustration with Maximillian's censors who interfere with this freedom (Figure 20). The caption reads, "Despite our skates, there are some inconveniences in crossing slippery terrain." It shows editors of the smaller Liberal publications falling down in a comic fashion, while trying to negotiate a slippery surface. Escalante's La Orquesta appears as the third skater from the left, turned away from the viewer, with the name of the paper on his foot.

In the foreground, members of the Conservative press, including *El Pájaro Verde, La Sociedad*, and *La Crónica*, readily navigate the slippery surface. Yet, *L'Estafette*, the

⁸⁸ Esther Acevedo, *Constantino Escalante* (Coyocán, México: Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1996),

⁸⁹ Acevedo, Constantino Escalante, 18.

primary news media organization of the empire, is depicted completely protected inside a sled, literally being pushed as the publication of choice by Maximillian's government.

The trees in the upper left are employed to help define the extent of the icy surface before it, and while the fall of the liberal publications is simultaneous, they are shown united both physically and ideologically in the caricature. 90 The situation clearly reveals that when it comes to freedom of the press, all publications in Mexico are not on equal footing. The Conservative characters in the foreground are shown as stodgy and plodding, while the Liberal press seems freewheeling and agile, despite the slippery obstacles. The February 18,1865 issue of *La Orquesta* commented on Maximillian's censorship in the following way: "The aristocracy (*La Sociedad, El Pájaro Verde*, and *El Croníca*) could commit no offense; the middle class (*La Rázon, L'Estafette*, and *L'ere Novelle*) were allowed merely for the purpose of demonstrating tolerance; and that the other papers received the most severe excommunication and the anathema of all Godfearing men." *La Orquesta* was part of the group that became a regular target for censorship fines and penalties.

Later that same month, on April 26, 1865, Escalante continued to defy Maximillian's censors with a print (Figure 21) captioned, "But didn't we agree we would not copy this figure?" The quote is spoken by a representative of Maximillian's government – someone having both military and editorial credentials, as indicated by the sword on his right ear and a pen on his left ear. The censor is complaining about a portrait of Benito Juárez being drawn by Escalante, who is hidden behind his easel. Juárez is seated and protected

⁹⁰Esther Acevedo, *Constantino Escalante* (Coyocán, México: Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1996), 19.

by a suit of armor, labeled with the important components of the Constitution of 1857 – "equality before the law", "cultural tolerance", "desamortización" (meaning sale of church lands), and "suffrage". The print shows that Juárez, even though expelled from Mexico City and erased from government leadership, still has the power of the Constitution of 1857, which makes him invulnerable to the threats of the empire. Escalante is predicting that these liberal ideas will be protected and promoted by the presence of Benito Juárez, whether in or out of power. The censor knows Juárez is a threat, and implores Escalante to stop.

Escalante labels his portrait "Organic Provincial Statutes" indicating perhaps that liberal ideas originated with the people from places like Juárez's home region of Oaxaca, not the corrupt capital city. By 1865, Juárez is seen as a major threat to the empire of Maximillian, in Escalante's portrayal of the presence of Juárez, and the Constitution he represents (i.e., the armor he wears), both which will not be easily defeated or removed. A print of this nature explains why Benito Juárez is considered the father of his country. Like George Washington in the United States, his personal sacrifice and perseverance would yield the model and the principles for a modern nation. Juarez appears unconcerned and unafraid of the opposition, and very confident in his suit of armor of unfailing liberal ideals.

By mid-1865, Maximillian became more desperate to find and kill Benito Juárez, but Juárez had a knack for eluding the Emperor's soldiers. As long as Juárez was alive - and the actual constitutional President of Mexico - he was a threat. Escalante's print from July 1, 1865 (Figure 22) is a reminder to Maximillian that Juárez is an omnipresent threat, seemingly reported to be in several places at once. The caption reads, "According

to the official press, Juárez finds a new hiding place every day." Juárez is easily identifiable behind each stone wearing his plain black coat. Escalante plays with the theme of Juárez being always on the move, by showing seven stations with Juarez leaning very nonchalantly on each of seven large stones in an oval. Each stone carries the name of the various locations where he had reportedly been seen, including Oaxaca, Monterrey, and Nuevo Leon. Instead of using a linear path, Escalante shows an unending oval, adding to Juárez' continuous, successful elusion, and the fruitless attempts to capture him. The stone pedestals appear to be used by Juárez as lecterns to metaphorically broadcast his message, adding a solidity to each Juárez figure, and implying that his message resonates at each locale. Juárez's crossed arms reveal his patience in waiting out the French Intervention during his guerilla-led actions, until he can return to the presidency and Mexico City. The message to Maximillian and the people of Mexico is clear – Juárez will not shirk from his responsibility to the Mexican nation and will not betray its Constitution. Juárez is only temporarily caught in a circular holding pattern, and in time, will return to govern Mexico, without foreign interference. The print also shows that Juárez never abandoned Mexican national territory, in spite of the hardships. Juárez firmly believed that his continued presence in Mexico, in defense of national sovereignty, prevented the Imperial Government of Maximillian from claiming it alone represented the legitimate government of Mexico.⁹¹

One of Maximillian's priorities was royal protocols and etiquette. He wrote the first book on royal protocol in Mexico for his empire. 92 He created his own coat of arms as

⁹¹ Brian R. Hamnett, *A Concise History of Mexico* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 222.

⁹² Percy F. Martin, *Maximillian in Mexico – The Story of the French Intervention* (London, UK: Constable and Company, 1914), 101.

well, and a corruption of it is found in an October 7, 1865 lithograph (Figure 23) in *La Orquesta* by Constantino Escalante. The actual empire royal coat of arms shows two griffons flanking an emblem with a single eagle, a snake in its mouth, sitting on a prickly pear cactus (Figure 24). Griffons usually have the body of a lion with the head and wings of an eagle, but Maximilian added snake-like tongues to his griffons. In Escalante's print, one of the griffons has stepped out of the escudo, in an attempt to remove what appears to be a large medal of merit on the chest of Juárez, awarded for his service to Mexico and his liberal ideals. These ideals are reinforced by his wearing of a Phrygian cap, a soft conical cap with the apex bent forward, a symbol of liberty made famous during the French Revolution. Juárez, in spite of intrusions on both ends, stands tall and proud - unbowed by the abuse and hostility he has faced from the French empire.

While the griffin from the escudo tries to snatch the medal off Juárez's chest, attempting to discredit Juárez by effacing his standing, there is a further possible interpretation. Since Maximillian went out of his way to embrace many Liberal views (alienating Conservatives in Mexico) perhaps Maximillian thought he should take some of the credit for these ideas, hence the act of purloining the medallion. What Maximillian failed to realize was that as an outsider and foreign invader, his liberal impulses would never replace those of one of Mexico's favorite sons, Benito Juárez.

While Juárez stands tall and proud, he is also being bitten on the left, by a viper snagging the tail of his standard black coat. The viper has a writing plume to indicate that it represents the newspaper, *L'ere Nouvelle*, or the "New Era" – a publication created in 1864 in Mexico City for the Franco-Mexican community and an obvious Maximillian-supported newspaper. The top hat and bowtie indicate it is meant for an elite audience.

Next to the snake, an invisible figure in a top hat with a high white collar is wagging its finger at Juárez, anonymously warning of further threats. However, Juárez ignores it. The final insulting caricature is found at the center of the empire escudo, where a human head replaces the eagle's head in the original. Instead of holding the snake in its mouth, the human seems to be swallowing it. Although the image is blurry, it appears to be Maximillian. All the pomp and protocols of the Empire are merely temporary talismans that mask a lack of connection to the real Mexico.

French Military Departure

In early 1866, Napoleon III announced his plan to begin to remove French troops from Mexico, which would take a year. Maximillian and his wife Carlota must have been in a panic. Maximillian considered abdication when the French army left, but Carlota disagreed and decided to return to Europe. There she would directly appeal to Napoleon III and the Pope in an effort to persuade them to change course and continue supporting the French Intervention. Her presence in Europe would create indecision for Maximillian, but she would never return to Mexico, leaving her husband on his own.

Censorship increased during this period, and Escalante tried to avoid controversial issues, staying with themes relating to customs and city life. As indicated in the March 14, 1866 publication, "*La Orquesta*, sad and disheartened, two broken violins and a disheveled drum, has decided to go for a stroll through the outskirts of the city." An example of this new direction, in the March 21, 1866 issue (Figure 25), shows a concert in Alameda Park with extremely poor attendance. The caption reads, "The respectable audience at Alameda during the festival." While Escalante has drawn a beautiful old

⁹³ Esther Acevedo, *Constantino Escalante* (Coyocán, México: Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1996), 19.

park, with large mature trees and even a merry-go-round, the audience is very sparce, especially when contrasted with the musicians in the jam-packed band pavilion.

Although two figures are seen at the back of the print, the only visible patrons appear to be the operator of the carousel and a snoozing caretaker who holds a shovel while he leans against his caretaker shack. His dog is muzzled not out of respect for the music, but so as not to interrupt his nap. The band appears to resemble an Austrian brass band, likely paid for by the government of the Vienna-born Hapsburg Emperor Maximillian.

The band has no organic appeal to the citizens of this neighborhood in Mexico City, and is a complete flop. Perhaps a string-based, folk-type band would have drawn a larger audience. Compared to Escalante's earlier work, this lithograph is very tame. It reveals an empty and forlorn scene, devoid of the hustle and excitement of normal urban life in Mexico City, and its naturally gregarious presence.

With French troops starting their withdrawal, guerilla warfare in the Mexican countryside surged, and censorship increased. In July 1866, *La Orquesta* was shut down for its publishing truths related to the empire. The paper would reappear following the execution of Maximillian and the return of the Liberal government in June 1867. *La Orquesta* published its first volume on June 26, 1867, a week after the execution of Maximillian with the following message: "After many days of silence, grief, fear of grenades, taxes, of hiding, of hopes, disappointments, long faces, thin bodies, and empty stomachs, *La Orquesta* needs to play, and play some more with drums, violins, trombones, cymbals, triangles and chinoiserie in a big, very big and lavish national

⁹⁴ Esther Acevedo, *Constantino Escalante* (Coyocán, México: Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1996), 20

⁹⁵ Acevedo, Constantino Escalante, 20.

overture dedicated to Independence and to the *Reforma* and to the gloriously restored Republic."

Escalante's comments about the French Intervention were summed up in a June 29, 1867 lithograph (Figure 26) literally titled, "The Three French Saints," but the figurative meaning of "The Three French Saintlike Qualities" makes more sense in the context of the print. These qualities, identified above each image and written in French from left to right are: "precipitate or hurried," "lacking respect," and "lacking ceremony".

The first image on the left shows Napoleon III planting the French flag on the mapped image of Mexico, with the date 1862, and the underlying Spanish subtitle, "The French army never retreats." The image reveals how hurried and poorly planned Napoleon III's 1862 invasion of Mexico was, causing the French defeat at Puebla on Cinco de Mayo in 1862. It would take another year, with a renewed, concerted effort, for the French military forces to successfully invade Mexico and plant their flag. The print reveals how the initial attempts of invasion were arrogant and misguided.

The middle image spells the name of a French army cemetery in Mexico on a large headstone, with the dates 1863-1866. The skeletal head of a deceased French soldier peeks out above the stone, with a rifle and bayonet sticking out on the left and a sword hilt above the stone on the right. The claw-like hands have a death grip on the stone. His skeletal smile is macabre. Many crosses are unceremoniously and haphazardly placed in front of the stone. The Spanish caption reads, "The military question has been resolved" and the setting for the resolution is a graveyard full of dead soldiers. The French army left Mexico with little to show, other than the many deaths of the military force left

behind. The use of a skeletal *calavera* presages its popular appearance in the work of a later caricaturists, including José Guadalupe Posada.

The image on the right shows a French Zouave carrying a heavy load titled "Glory" while entering a boat to disembark from Mexico. The date at the bottom of the image is 1867, the year the last of the French army finally departed from Mexico. The dates on the left image – 1862 – forms a fitting bookend with the date of 1867 on the right image, indicating the hurried beginning, and the indecorous ending. The Spanish caption translates to: "The greatest work of my reign," while the soldier carries a crate of bones and a fowl away from Mexico, dragging the flag of France on the ground, adding further insult. The Pinocchio-type nose of an inveterate liar is shown on the departing soldier, which has the label "*Emprestitos*" or "Loans" referring to the false premise that France employed to undertake the invasion, and create an empire for its puppet, Maximillian. The massive cost of five years of war has only resulted in a meager return for the French, evidenced by the crude wooden box and its contents being carried home. The French Intervention is unceremoniously over.

The Republic after Maximillian

After Juárez returned to Mexico City and the presidency in July 1867, it took him little time to alienate Escalante, by calling for new elections and proposing amendments to the Constitution of 1857 via a referendum, or *convocatoria*. The amendments included increasing the power of the president by providing a significant veto power, while diluting the power of the legislature. Apparently Juárez became convinced, during his long period of internal exile, that Mexico needed a stronger central government – at the expense of its component states. Escalante saw this as a corruption of the Constitution of

1857, and did not spare Juárez from satirical ridicule in his print of August 24, 1867 (Figure 27).

The print shows a man of small stature, likely Juárez, standing up and holding a copy of the Constitution of 1857, while his cabinet ministers cut it or tear it to pieces with hopes of restitching it together with several treacherous amendments. The large size of the scissors indicates that the proposed changes are not small. The cat on the left, playing with the spool of thread, is named "referendum," and likely represents an element of trickery. One of the ministers is preparing the new text for a revised Constitution on a sewing machine. The title of the print is "A cabinet of seamstresses," reflecting and lampooning the duties of Juárez's new cabinet officials. They are literally defacing and destroying the original Mexico Constitution of 1857, making it unrecognizable by removing its true meaning as a Liberal blueprint and beacon of human rights, essential underpinnings for a modern nation state.

When the election was held September 22, 1867, Juárez won reelection over Porfirio Diaz with 72% of the vote. But due to liberal opposition and Juárez's ultimate agreement, the referendum votes were never counted. The referendum was declared moot because the Constitution of 1857 specified that only Congress had the right to amend the Constitution. Perhaps this event revealed the impact and underlying power of Escalante's work in *La Orquesta*, in affecting misguided public policy.

The critique of the Juárez administration continued after the 1867 election, in a lithograph from September 28, 1867 (Figure 28). The caption asks, "Who did you vote for in the last election" with the reply, "I hope for the one who will bring the most money to me". Juárez is shown sitting on a scale, the way a commodity would be weighed to

determine its value, in front of men with political and business interests. Juárez appears unconcerned on the "scale of popularity" being regarded by the scheming businessmen. It is a reminder that the true "scales of justice" for Mexico are being overlooked and ignored. Although Juárez had won the recent presidential election, he is shown in a very undignified and demeaning position. In contrast, Porfirio Diaz, Escalante's new presidential hopeful, is drawn behind him, standing upright, distinguished, and next in line to take Juárez's place as President. Díaz was a decorated military general known for his leadership and success in the War of the Reform and the French Intervention. He was now supported by Escalante likely due to his youthful energy and being an effective alternative to Juárez, who had attempted to corrupt the sacrosanct Constitution of 1857 via referendum.

Escalante's fervent belief in the value and importance of the Constitution of 1857, and his view than Juárez was willing to abandon its principles, would lead to a string of outright and unforgiving negative lithographs regarding Juárez in *La Orquesta*, that continued until Escalante's untimely death in 1868. In 1867, Porfirio Diaz was a well-regarded choice for President, and it must have been Escalante's fervent hope that Diaz would uphold the Constitution of 1857 and lead Mexico to modern national status. However, he never lived to see that outcome.

On October 12, 1867 (Figure 29), assailing Juárez continued. A painter is creating an unflattering portrait of Benito Juárez that focuses on the negative aspects of his character. It is entitled, "A page from history under the opposition," which refers to Escalante's role as a member of the political opposition to the Juárez administration. It is a very darkly shaded print, with the dark coat of the painter mixing in with the shaded foreground and

background. It is a sad and sobering view. The lighter canvas of the painting draws attention to the grotesque fabricated creature of Benito Juárez. Barely discernable in the portrait is a cat that forms the nose, eyes, sideburns, hair, and ear of Juárez. Written on the feline is the word *convocatoria*, as in Juárez's call for a constitutional referendum. The letters "cat" cleverly perform dual functions here for English-speaking viewers, as these letters stand out in the middle of the cartoon's hair, as a part of the word *convocatoria*. As seen in the earlier "seamstress" print, the cat is a metaphor for trickery.

What appears to be an oil can, labeled Constitution, forms the mouth. Likely it represents Juárez's lip service to the Constitution of 1857, and describes his slippery and unsatisfactory approach to protecting the Constitution as it is. A wooden carpenter's mallet labeled "VETO" forms the neck and chin. It would be employed to metaphorically beat down opponents with its injudicious use – an executive power Juárez sought to expand with his proposed suite of amendments to the Constitution of 1857.

The shoulders of Juárez are formed by an umbrella labeled, "FACULTADES," meaning authority or power, which he uses to protect himself from the criticism of the Congress and the public. In this print Escalante finds a way to assign and personify a host of negative attributes to Juárez, and his manner of running his government. It is not a flattering portrait, and one that points to the ills of Juárez that violate the spirit and the letter of the Constitution of 1857.

On March 7, 1868, Escalante produced a print (Figure 30) titled "The Massive Lens," which merges the eyes of two of Juárez's finance ministers with the image of Juárez himself. It has a very avant-garde aspect, decades ahead of its time. The Juárez eyeglasses, shared with two of Juárez's finance ministers, show a shared vision focusing

on "public tribute," words etched on the two lenses. The ongoing reason for Mexico's budget woes is the failure to examine the government's expenditures, and to search only for new income via levying additional taxes, or "contibutiones," depicted as a syringe injecting funds into the national budget. Deficits were an unfortunate outcome of this approach, as was the disorganization of the finance ministry, which suffered five changes in office leadership between December 1867 and September 1869. 6 Escalante was concerned about the high salaries of public employees (including the President)⁹⁷, the high costs of maintaining the military, and the high cost of public works, all proceeding without examination under the Juárez budget exercise. The strange spider-web scalp and pointy hair, with the few baby teeth holding the syringe, add to the truly ugly appearance of Juárez in the lithograph. A real reform candidate would be more rational in making budget decisions, but Juárez likely didn't want to rock the boat and reduce or eliminate moribund programs, or the high costs of political patronage. Instead, he continued to pass those costs along to the citizens. Escalante must have felt that a truly modern nation should create an effective budget process, and with Juárez, he saw none. The use of a medical syringe further implies a serious and frightening medical condition, and adds to the chilling image created by Escalante.

In 1868, passing away due to injuries from a trolly car accident in Mexico City would prematurely end the magnificent, idealistic, and artistic career of Constantino Escalante and terminate his caricatures that provided Liberal political and social commentary, and made him revered in his time.

⁹⁶ Esther Acevedo, *Constantino Escalante* (Coyocán, México: Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1996),

⁹⁷ Acevedo, Constantino Escalante, 24.

CONCLUSION

The decision of Escalante and Casarin to name their publication La Orquesta – "The Orchestra," was not random. They specify that their goal was to create soothing sounds, like music, to make their point – and not rely on the annoying, loud, and repetitive recitation of petitions. It is quite the opposite of the title of the well-known French satirical publication, Le Charivari, which featured the work of Honoré Daumier, and undoubtably made its way to Mexico City from Europe. Le Charivari means a loud, unpleasant noise, frequently employed to publicly shame wrongdoers. Similarly, *Punch*, the British publication, was subtitled *The London Charivari*, for the same reason, it meant to be brash and noisy – these publications wanted to be disruptors, unlike the publication created by Escalante and Casarin, who were more idealistic persuaders, and who unswervingly supported the liberal ideals expressed in the Constitution of 1857. In addition to Escalante's graphics, the tone of the stories, written by Casarin, were fablelike and relied on their readers' heightened ability to recognize the names of the officials and activities cited in their narratives. The stories are more like puzzles or quizzes, using allegories that are not immediately recognizable, without further thought and consideration, and they promised "not to irritate their readership with non-stop political topics."

Foremost among *La Orquesta's* concerns, and frequently appearing in Escalante's work, is the importance of the Constitution of 1857 as the instrument for Mexico's journey to become a sovereign national entity. The threat to national sovereignty by a foreign power posed the greatest threat to Mexico, and Escalante's lithographs take that

threat seriously, yet comedically, in Figures 8, 9, 10, 12, and 13. The next threat to successful governance, essential to maintain the rights specified in the Constitution of 1857, was the inability of the government to resolve Mexico's budget and fiscal mismanagement – also a major topic of Escalante's prints in Figures 5, 6, and 30.

The issue of defying the Constitution of 1857, with a referendum illegally called by President Juárez (usurping the actual power of referendum belonging only to the legislature) was called out by Escalante in Figures 27 and 29. At first glance a referendum appears like a basic democratic act, but not if proposed by the branch of government not mandated to do so in the Constitution. It would radically change Escalante's view of and respect for Benito Juárez.

Finally, freedom of the press was ensured in the 1857 Constitution, and although Escalante and his peers would spend time in jail and be forced to pay significant fines for their work, instead of outrage, Escalante went comic, with his print of Liberal press skaters slipping on the ice, while the Conservative press readily moved forward unimpeded in Figure 20.

Due to Constantino Escalante's early and untimely death in 1868 at age 32, his idealism was never tested as it would have been in subsequent years when Porfirio Diaz was elected President, following the death of Benito Juárez. Diaz would become the virtual dictator of Mexico until 1911. Perhaps Escalante's idealism would have been soured by an unconstitutional path of national economic development that favored the rich, while leaving behind lower-class labor and the peasantry. No one knows what would have happened, but perhaps it is sufficient to note that the work of Escalante and

others during the Golden Age of Lithography⁹⁸ had a small role in guiding Mexico to sovereign national status, and that their popular art would be an inspiration that would produce iconographic memes, likely picked up and employed by the fine art academic community, as well as other popular printmakers.

-

⁹⁸ Michael W. Mathes, *Mexico on Stone – Lithography in Mexico*, 1826-1900 (San Francisco, CA: Artichoke Press, 1984), 17.

REFERENCES

- Acevedo, Esther. *Constantino Escalante*. Coyocán, México: Consejo Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1996.
- Adelman, Jeremy, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006.
- Ades, Dawn. Art in Latin America. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* London, UK:2006.
- Barajas, Raphael. *La Historia de un Pais en Caricatura*. Coyocán, México: Consejo Nacional Para La Cultura y Las Artes, 2000.
- Baudelaire, Charles. "Le Peintre de la Vie Moderne". *Le Figaro* (1863): translation by A.S. Kline (2020).
- Baudelaire, Charles. *Quelques Caricaturistes Etranges* from Oeuvres Complete de Charles Baudelaire, Paris, France: Michel Lévy Fréres, 1868.
- Baudelaire, Charles. *Quelques Caricaturistes Français* from Oeuvres Complete de Charles Baudelaire, Paris, France: Michel Lévy Fréres, 1868.
- Buve, Raymond. "Political Patronage and Politics at the Village Level in Central Mexico: Continuity and Change in Patterns from the Late Colonial Period to the End of the French Intervention (1867)". *Bulletin of Latin American Research* Vol. 11, No. 1 (1992): 1-28. Jstor.org/stable/3338597.
- Carrera, Magali M. *Traveling from New Spain to Mexico*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011.
- Charlot, Jean. *Mexican Art and the Academy of San Carlos 1785-1915*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1962.
- Copeland, David A. *The Idea of a Free Press The Enlightenment and its Unruly Legacy*. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2006.
- Crow, John A. *The Epic of Latin America*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992.
- DeRose, Elizabeth C. "Pictorial Satire in Viceregal Mexico: Francisco Agüera Bustamante's Engravings for *La Portentosa Vida De La Muerte*". *Hemisphere: Visual Cultures of the Americas* Vol. II, Issue 1 (2009): 84-95.
- Donahue-Wallace, Kelly. "Prints and Printmakers in Viceregal Mexico City, 1600-1800," Doctor of Philosophy in Art History Dissertation, The University of New Mexico, May 2000.

- Escalante, Constantino, and Hesiquio Iriarte. *Las Glorias Nacionales*. Puebla, MX: Colegio de Puebla A.C., 2012.
- Gaff, Alan D., and Donald H. Gaff. From the Halls of Montezuma Mexican War Dispatches. Denton, TX: University of North /Texas Press, 2019.
- Gallegos, Bernardo P. *Literacy, Education, and Society in New Mexico 1693-1821*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1992.
- Gombrich, E.H., and E. Kris. Caricature. Middlesex, UK: Penguin Books, 1940.
- Griffiths, Antony. *Prints and Printmaking*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996.
- Hamnett, Brian R. *A Concise History of Mexico*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Hanna, Alfred J. and Kathryn Abbey Hanna. "The Immigration Movement of the Intervention as Seen Through the Mexican Press". *The Hispanic American Historical Review* Vol. 27, No.2 (May 1947): 220-246.
- Hernández-Durán, Ray. *The Academy of San Carlos and Mexican Art History*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2017.
- Hoberman, Louisa. "Bureaucracy and Disaster: Mexico City and the Flood of 1629". *Journal of Latin American Studies* Vol. 6, No. 2 (1974): 211-230. Jstor.org/stable/156181.
- Ibsen, Kristine. *Maximillian, Mexico, and the Invention of Empire*. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2010.
- Johnson, Julie Greer. *Satire in Colonial Spanish America*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1993.
- Joseph, Gilbert M., and Daniel Nugent. *Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1994.
- Kendall, George Wilkins. *Dispatches from the Mexican War*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1999.
- Lafaye, Jacques. *Quetzalcóatl and Guadalupe The Formation of Mexican National Consciousness 1531-1813*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 1976.
- Leonardini, Nanda. *Santiago Rebull A Life Devoted to Art*. Coyoacán, Mexico: Consejo Nacional Para la Cultura y las Artes, 1999.
- Lepidus, Henry. "The History of Mexican Journalism". *The University of Missouri Bulletin*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (1928): 5-83.
- Lomnitz, Claudio. *Deep Mexico*, *Silent Mexico*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2001.

- Lopez, Josephine M., "Constantine Escalante: Caricature, Satire and the Project of Modernization in Nineteenth-Century Mexico" (*unpublished dissertation*: University of California, Berkeley, 2015)
- Lozano, Gustavo Vazquez. *Emperor Maximillian I of Mexico*. Cambridge, MA: Charles River, 2016.
- McAllen, M.M. *Maximillian and Carlota Europe's Last Empire in Mexico*. San Antonio, TX: Trinity University Press, 2014.
- McDonald, Mark. *Goya's Graphic Imagination*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2021.
- Martin, Cheryl E., and Mark Wasserman. *Latin America and its People*. New York, NY: Pearson Education, 2005.
- Martin, Percy F. *Maximillian in Mexico The Story of the French Intervention* (1861-1867). London, UK: Constable and Company, 1914.
- Mathes, W. Michael. *Mexico on Stone Lithography in Mexico*, 1826-1900. San Francisco, CA: Artichoke Press, 1984.
- Mraz, John. *Looking for Mexico Modern Visual Culture and National Identity*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009.
- Oles, James. Art and Architecture in Mexico. London, UK: Thames & Hudson, 2013.
- Orozco, José Clement. The Artist in New York Letters to Jean Charlot and Unpublished Writings (1925-1929). Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1974.
- Phillips, Catherine Alison. *Maximillian and Charlotte of Mexico*. London, UK: Alfred A. Knopf, 1928.
- Piccato, Pablo. *The Tyranny of Opinion Honor in the Construction of the Mexican Public Sphere*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010.
- Pitner, Ernst. *Maximillian's Lieutenant A Personal History of the Mexican Campaign 1864-7*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1993.
- Porterfield, Todd. *The Efflorescence of Caricature, 1759-1838.* New York, NY: Routledge, 2016.
- Ridley, Jasper. Maximillian & Juárez. London, UK: Constable and Company Ltd, 1993.
- Rose, Louis. *Psychology, Art, and Antifascism Ernst Kris, E.H. Gombrich and the Politics of Caricature*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2016.
- Schulz, Andrew. *Goya's Caprichos Aesthetics, Perception and the Body*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Sherry, James. "Four Modes of Caricature: Reflections on a Genre." *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities* 87, No.1 (1987): 29-62.

- Shikes, Ralph E. *The Indignant Eye The Artist as Social Critic in Prints and Drawings* from the Fifteenth Century to Picasso. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1969.
- Stein, R. Conrad. *Benito Juárez and the French Intervention*. Greensboro, NC: Morgan Reynolds Publishing, 2008.
- Thiessen, Heather. "Spain: Constitution of 1812." *Encyclopedia of Latin American History and Culture*, Vol. 5. New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1996.
- Thompson, Guy. "Benito Juarez and Liberalism". *Oxford Research Encyclopedia*. (2018) https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.461
- Tomlinson, Janis A. *Goya Order & Disorder*. Boston, MA: Museum of Fine Arts Publications, 2014.
- Vogeley, Nancy. *Lizardi and the Birth of the Novel in Spanish America*. Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 2001.
- Warner, Marina. *Monuments and Maidens The Allegory of the Female Form*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1985.
- Wasserman, Mark. Everyday Life and Politics in Nineteenth Century Mexico. Albuquerque, NM: The University of New Mexico Press, 2000.
- Wasserman, Mark. *Pesos and Politics: Business, Elites, Foreigners, and Government in Mexico*, 1854-1940. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015.
- Widdifield, Stacie G. *The Embodiment of the National in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexican Painting*. Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 1996.
- Wilson-Bareau, Juliet. *Manet: The Execution of Maximillian Painting, Politics and Censorship.* London, UK: National Gallery Publications, 1992.



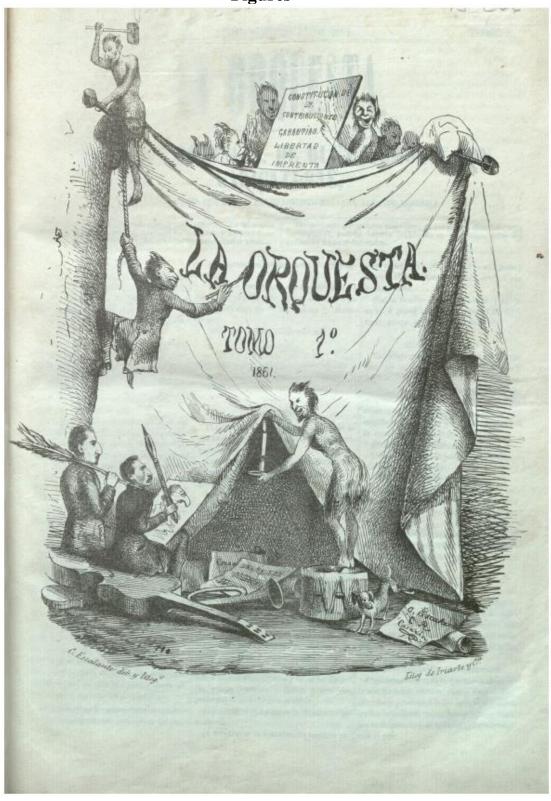


Figure 1: Constantino Escalante. *Frontispiece* in *La Orquesta*, March 1, 1861. Lithograph.

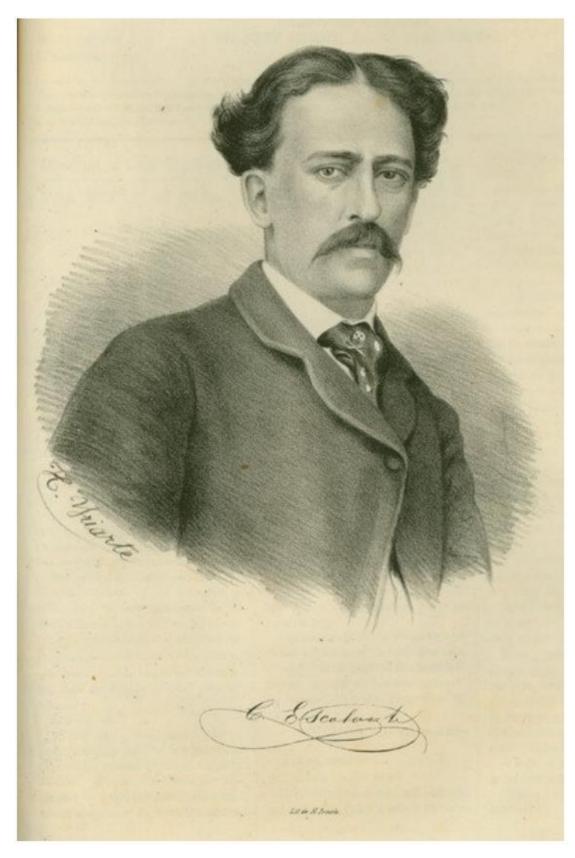


Figure 2: Hesiquio Iriarte. C. Escalante in La Orquesta, November 14, 1868. Lithograph.



Figure 3: Cruces y Campa. Benito Juárez, c.1860. Photograph.

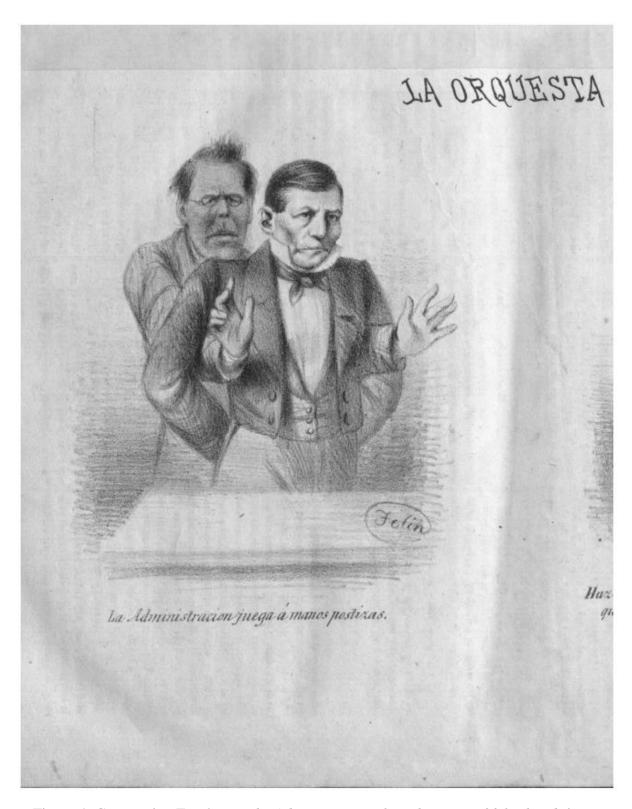


Figure 4: Constantino Escalante. *The Administration plays the game of false hands* in *La Orquesta*, March 9, 1861. Lithograph.

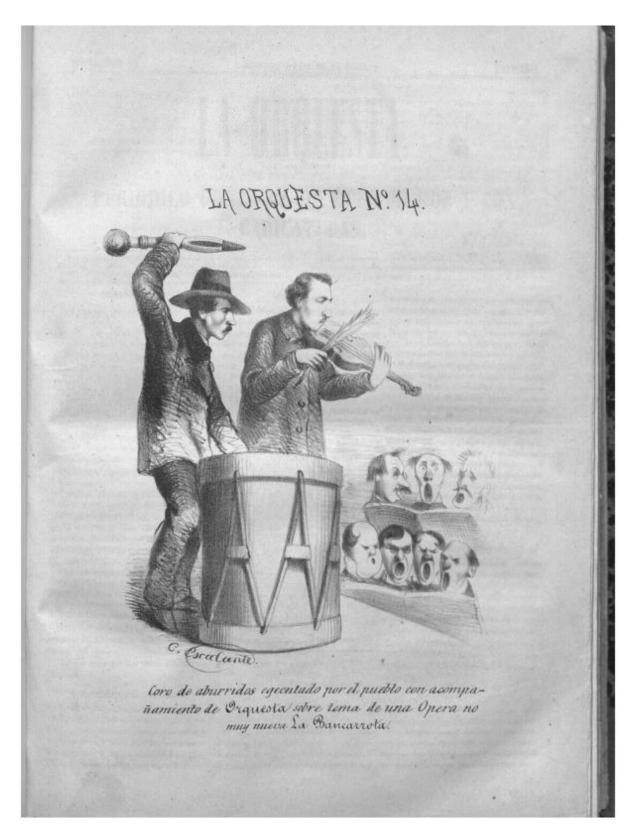


Figure 5: Constantino Escalante. *The bored chorus performs a not so new opera – bankruptcy* in *La Orquesta*, April 17, 1861. Lithograph.

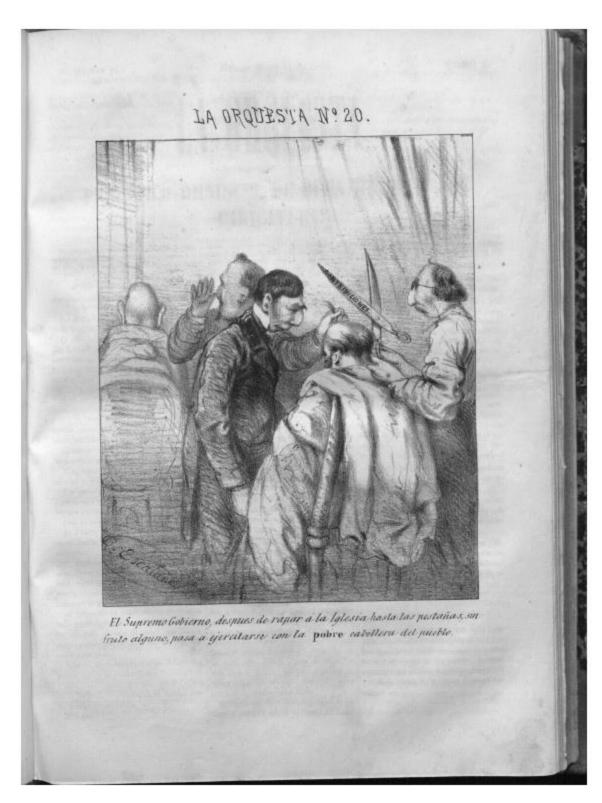


Figure 6: Constantino Escalante. *The supreme government turns to exercise its will on the poor gentle people of the village* in *La Orquesta*, May 8, 1861. Lithograph.

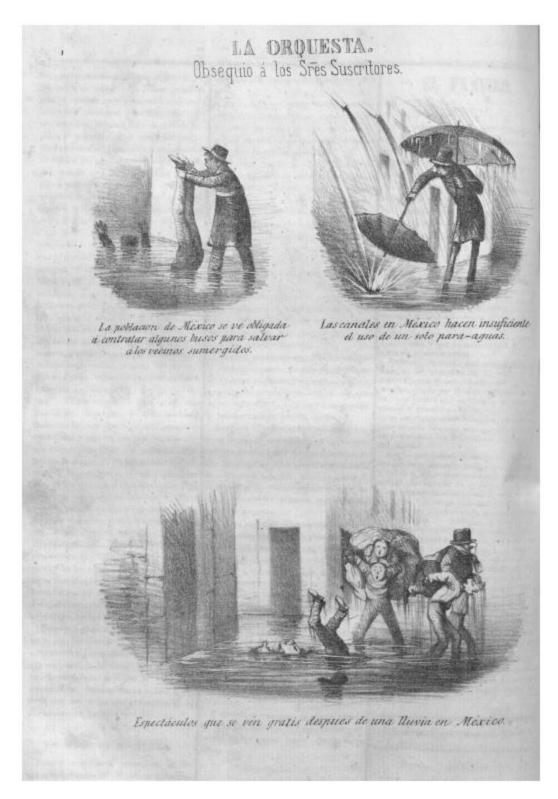


Figure 7: Constantino Escalante. *A gift to our subscribers* in *La Orquesta*, June 29, 1861. Lithograph.

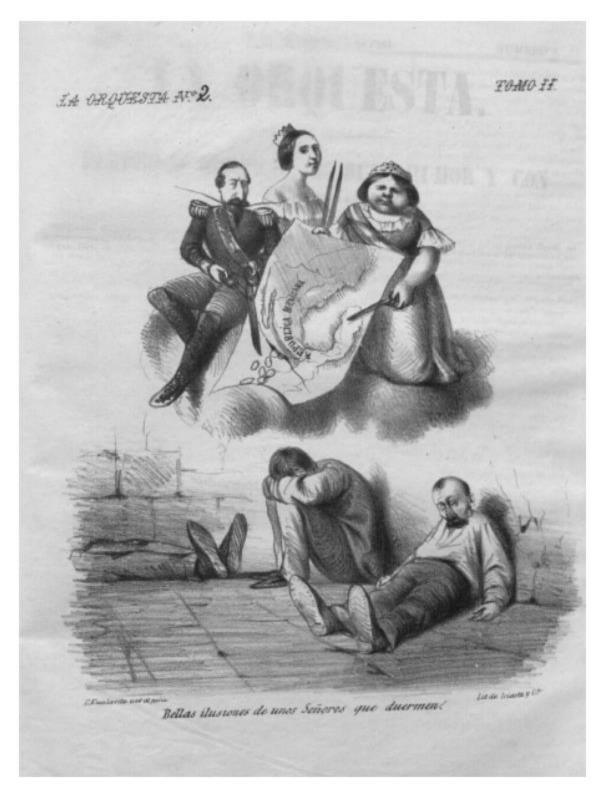


Figure 8: Constantino Escalante. *Beautiful illusions of sleeping men* in *La Orquesta*, September 7, 1861. Lithograph.



Figure 9: Constantino Escalante. *Now is the time to attack* in *La Orquesta*, November 9, 1861. Lithograph.



Figure 10: Constantino Escalante. *No more divisions when the country is in trouble* in *La Orquesta*, December 21, 1861. Lithograph.



Figure 11: Petronilo Monroy. *Allegory of the Constitution of 1857*. Exhibited 1869. Oil on canvas.



Figure 12: Constantino Escalante. *An assault on 5 de Mayo* in *Las Glorias Nacionales*, 1862. Lithograph.



Figure 13: Constantino Escalante. *El 5 de Mayo-caught in the agave* in *La Orquesta*, May 21, 1862. Lithograph.



Figure 14: Constantino Escalante. *Benito Juárez atop cactus* in *La Orquesta*, July 19, 1862. Lithograph.



Figure 15: Constantino Escalante. *Juárez bests Napoleon III in game* in *La Orquesta*, July 5, 1862. Lithograph.

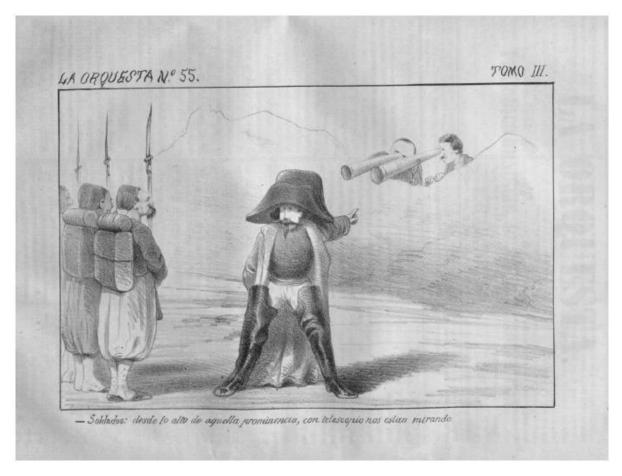


Figure 16: Constantino Escalante. *Soldiers: We are being watched* in *La Orquesta*, November 12, 1862. Lithograph.

Figure 16a: Honoré Daumier. *Victor Hugo and Emile Girardin hold Napoleon III on a shield which is not quite balanced*. Le Figaro, 1848, Lithograph.





Figure 17: Constantino Escalante. *The first plug is removed* in *La Orquesta*, November 29, 1862. Lithograph.

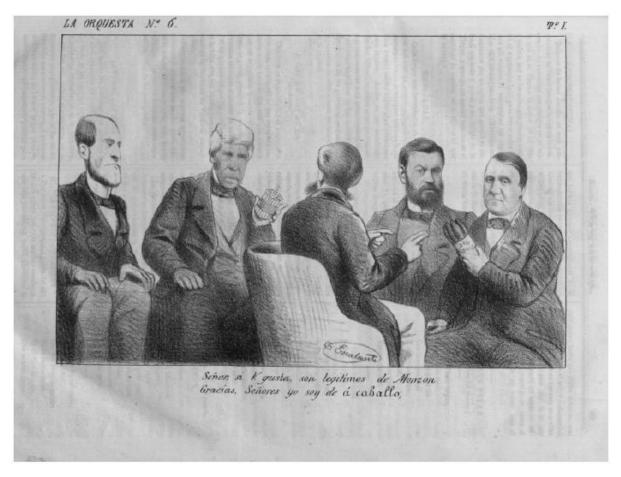


Figure 18: Constantino Escalante. *Gentlemen, I prefer the local brand* in *La Orquesta*, December 21, 1864. Lithograph.

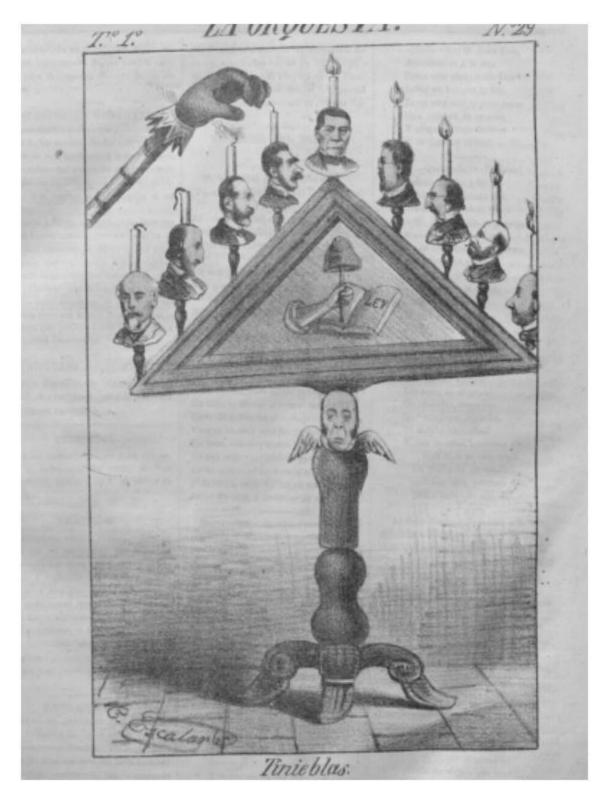


Figure 19: Constantino Escalante. *Lights out* in *La Orquesta*, March 11, 1865. Lithograph.

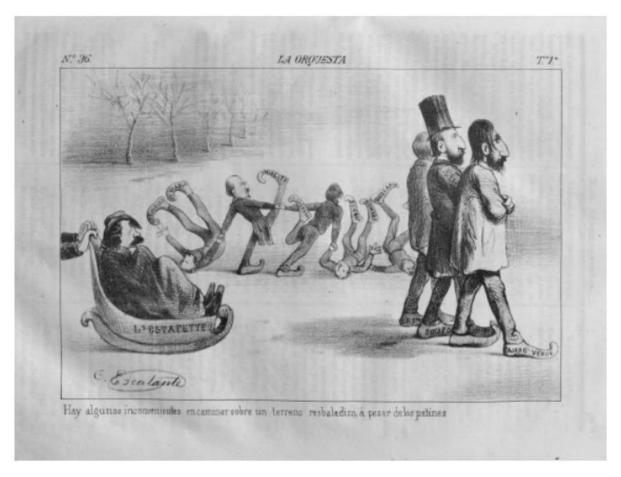


Figure 20: Constantino Escalante. *Crossing slippery terrain* in *La Orquesta*, April 5, 1865. Lithograph.



Figure 21: Constantino Escalante. We agreed we would not copy this figure in La Orquesta, April 26, 1865. Lithograph.

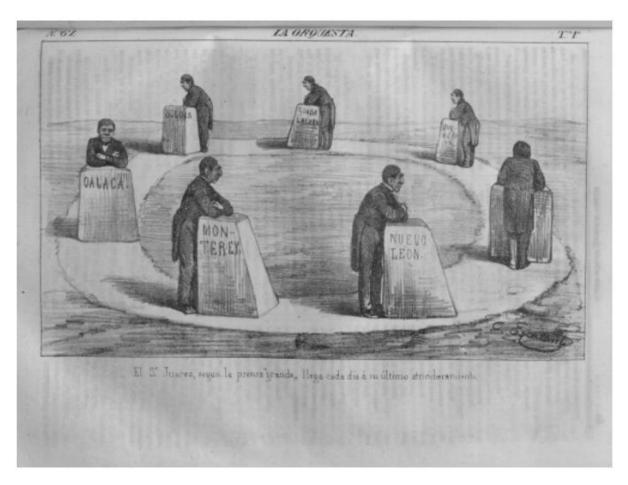


Figure 22: Constantino Escalante. *Juárez finds a new hiding place every day* in *La Orquesta*, July 1, 1865. Lithograph.



Figure 23: Constantino Escalante. *Removing the badge of honor* in *La Orquesta*, October 7, 1865. Lithograph.

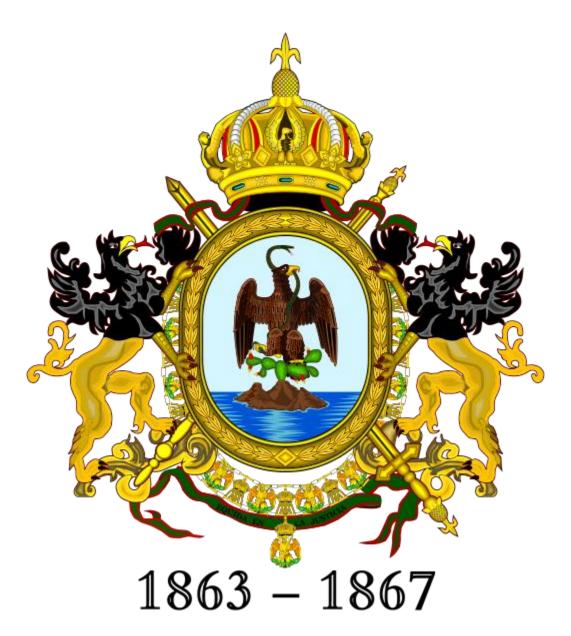


Figure 24: Maximillian. Mexican Hapsburg Coat of Arms. 1864. Lithograph.

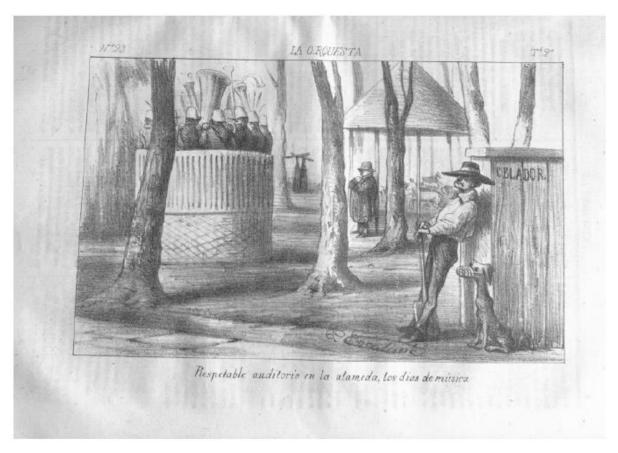


Figure 25: Constantino Escalante. *A respectable audience* in *La Orquesta*, March 21, 1866. Lithograph.

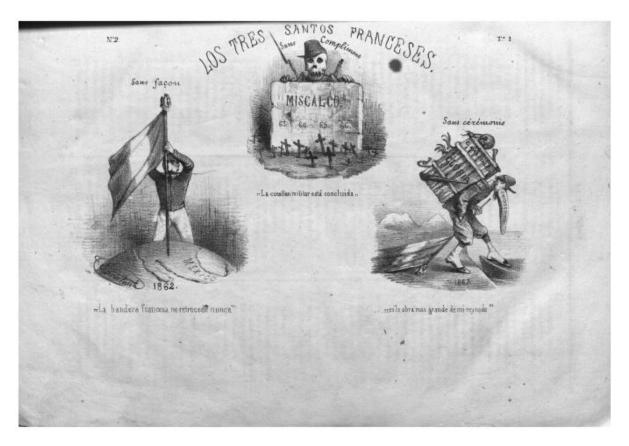


Figure 26: Constantino Escalante. *The Three French Saints* in *La Orquesta*, June 29, 1867. Lithograph.

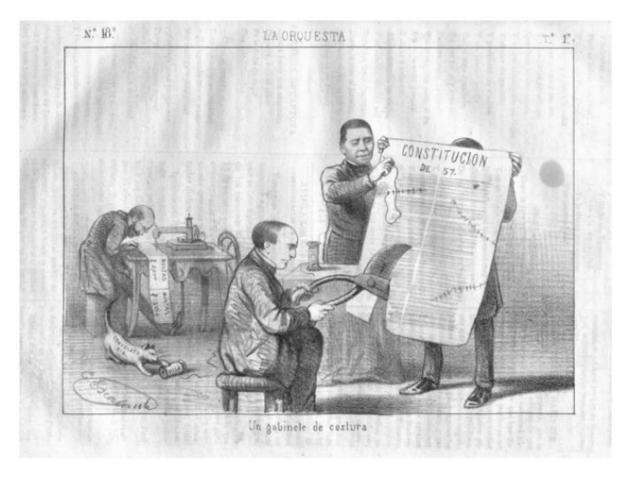


Figure 27: Constantino Escalante. *A cabinet of seamstresses* in *La Orquesta*, August 24, 1867. Lithograph.

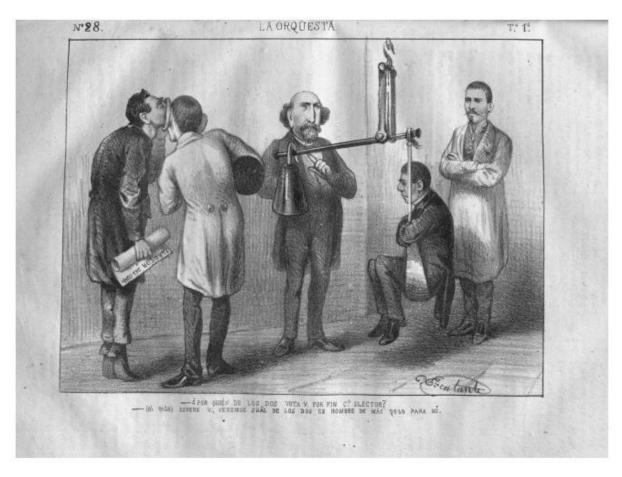


Figure 28: Constantino Escalante. *Who did you vote for?* in *La Orquesta*, September 28, 1867. Lithograph.

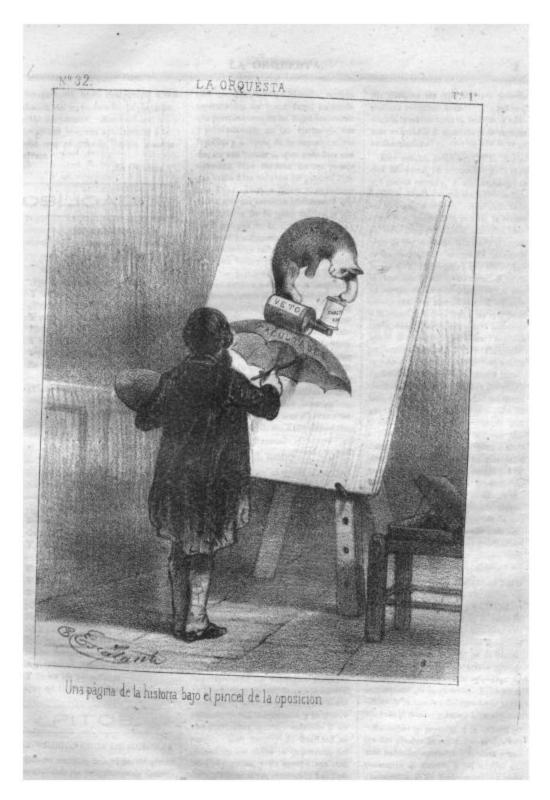


Figure 29: Constantino Escalante. *A page from history under the opposition* in *La Orquesta*, October 12, 1867. Lithograph.



Figure 30: Constantino Escalante. *The Massive Lens* in *La Orquesta*, March 7, 1868. Lithograph.

FIN