

196
David Alfaro Siqueiros: *For the Complete Safety of all Mexicans at Work*. Vinylite and pyroxaline on plywood and fibreglass, 1952–4. La Raza Hospital, detail of ceiling from centre point of the room, Mexico City.

SEVEN

SIQUEIROS, 1940–1971

THE IDEOLOGY OF INVENTION

The ideology that fired Siqueiros’ political and artistic imagination during the 1920s and 1930s remained with him throughout the post-war period. It was an imagination that continued to claim a unity between revolutionary socialism and technological modernity. Though such unity now seems to be no more than a myth, the contradiction, far from undermining Siqueiros as an artist, helps provide the key to understanding the post-war years of his maturity. For instead of playing out the myth through delusory acts of thematic repetition, Siqueiros transposed the contradiction by redrawing it within the boundaries of Mexican reality. He highlighted the tensions and paradoxes of a country in which the drive towards industrial and economic modernity took place in a society whose ruling political class developed its interests behind a cloak of anti-colonialist rhetoric, always recasting the nation’s identity in the radical glow of its revolutionary history.

Portrait of the Bourgeoisie brought together the ideas and methods Siqueiros had learned and developed during his decade of experimentation and innovation in the 1930s. The mural work that Siqueiros created in the 1940s and 1950s finally synthesized his preoccupation for pictorial innovation through a more sustained involvement with theme and subject-matter. In part, the practical opportunities for Siqueiros to develop as a thematically sophisticated artist, equal to Rivera and Orozco, came as the result of a growing recognition during the War and in the post-war period that Siqueiros was indeed a painter of consider-

able stature, worthy of official commission by the Mexican state. It could be argued that Siqueiros’ public commissions of the 1940s and 1950s were driven in part by the need of the Mexican cultural and political élite to mask the true nature of their ideological interests behind a veneer of cultural radicalism. By fêting Siqueiros’ notorious reputation as a political revolutionary, these élite sectors could legitimize their ambitions in a cloud of anti-colonialist cultural posturing. They could continue to direct Mexico down the road mapped out by the demands of international capital, while at the same time appearing to preserve and develop the country’s valued radical cultural credentials. The extent to which this is true is debatable, but it is an aspect that should be considered in any critical analysis of Siqueiros as a major cultural figurehead in Mexico during the post-war period.

The exploitation of Siqueiros’ reputation can be seen, to a certain extent, in the circumstances that led up to the creation of his first mural of the 1940s, *Death to the Invader*, painted in Chillán in Chile in 1941. Exiled by the Mexican government following his release from prison for his involvement in the attack on Trotsky of May 1940, the same government presented him with the Chillán commission. The commission arose out of the circumstances surrounding the 1938 earthquake that had so devastated the area. Relief donated to Chile by the Mexican government included the building of a new school in the town. Through the persuasive influence of Pablo Neruda, the Chilean Ambassador to Mexico at the time, the Mexican government

186 agreed to terms of exile for Siqueiros that included a commission to decorate the new school's library room with a mural.

Death to the Invader was in many respects a reaffirmation of the idea of Latin-American struggle that had inspired the creation of Siqueiros' earlier Los Angeles mural, *Tropical America*. In Chillán, this theme was transformed into a dramatic baroque historical epic which paved the way for a series of other historically oriented murals during the 1940s and 1950s.

The circumstances surrounding the origin of the commission are closely linked to the nature of the theme Siqueiros chose. Mexico and Chile's collaboration over restoration and aid following the disastrous earthquake, had suggested to Siqueiros a Mexican-Chilean theme. In this case, he chose to allude to the struggle both countries had engaged in to gain their independence from colonialism. Siqueiros described his intentions:

My thematic proposition was . . . To make a plastic hymn to the most prominent figures in the popular struggles of Mexico and Chile. . . . I wanted to paint the . . . fundamental basis behind the history of both people's struggles, for both are peoples of Latin America. Their uprising against Spanish colonialism started at exactly the same time, and finished at exactly the same moment. Their later struggles, which we called 'The Reform', had exactly the same characteristics . . . our Juárez is their Galvarino, and for us, Galvarino is Juárez.¹

The idea of a common thread running through both countries' historical experience is the central tenet of the mural's theme. The pictorial organization, however, was heavily influenced by the physical disposition of the wall surfaces on which it was painted. The site was a long room with a relatively low ceiling, at either end of which were the two walls where the mural was to be painted. The thematic concept and the characteristics of the site combined to present Siqueiros with a perfect basis on which he could begin to synthesize his concept of dynamic architectonic compositional form with an equally dynamic theme.

At one end of the room, Siqueiros depicted his vision of the history of the Mexican people. At the other, in a more densely crowded composition, he represented his vision of Chilean history. On the Mexican wall, Siqueiros' central figure is that of the great Aztec leader, Cuauhtemoc, who symbolizes the heroic



struggle against Cortez and his conquistadors. At the other end of the room, Cuauhtemoc's Chilean counterpart is the legendary Aurancaian Indian, Galvarino.² Together, their common historical role as defenders of their nation's integrity against Spanish subjugation is symbolized by the prone and dying figures that lie at their feet. These include an invading conquistador, his head pierced with an arrow, fired from Cuauhtemoc's still quivering bow. Below the figure of Galvarino lie a pair of heavily armed Spanish knights, their torsos threatened by an array of huge spears held by a myriad hands to the left of Galvarino.

Surrounding these two great national heroes, Siqueiros presented figures associated with the revolutionary struggles for independence in the nineteenth century and for land and progress in the twentieth. On the Mexican wall, Hidalgo, Morelos and Zapata are pictured to Cuauhtemoc's left, while to the right are the figures of nineteenth- and twentieth-century political reformers in Mexico, Benito Juárez and Lázaro Cárdenas. Siqueiros depicted Chile's heroic equivalents on the Chilean wall. The bearded figure to the left, almost merging into

Galvarino, is Bilbao, while to his left is the figure of Caupolican. Still further to the left are portrayals of Lautero and Recabarren. To the right of Galvarino, Siqueiros showed Bernard O'Higgins, the founder of Chilean independence, and on the concave segment at the outer edge of the mural is Balmaceda. Siqueiros wrote of the significance of his choice of figures and who they represented

Lautero . . . is an expression of the theory of struggle of the Aurancanian peoples against the Spanish conquistadors, and (Recabarren) . . . the most important theorist of the Chilean workers and trade union movement. . . . if Lautero was the ideologue, the political apostle of the Aurancanian peoples, then Caupolican was the giant, who hit the Spanish with the bodies of their own dead. . . . Galvarino, the hero without equal, who with his arms mutilated, crossed the Andean mountains to the sea mobilizing his people in the holy war against the invaders.³

In many senses, *Death to the Invader* is a connection between Siqueiros' achievement in the Electricians' Syndicate and the murals that he painted throughout the post-war period. Much of *Portrait of the Bourgeoisie* pointed towards further development of innovative and formally radical approaches to mural construction. Thematically, *Portrait of the Bourgeoisie* reflected the political culture of the 1930s with its strident, but nevertheless compelling and powerful anti-fascist rhetoric and foreboding of war. By contrast, although Siqueiros thought otherwise, *Death to the Invader* was a thematic step forward, for it marked his engagement with a theme with which he was involved throughout much of the 1940s and 1950s, namely the allusion to history as a means of reflecting on the political present.⁴ The mural was also a considerable formal advance, for it demonstrated still further the possibilities that lay in Siqueiros' aptitude for novel solutions to the pictorial construction of the mural.

The conceptual approach to the visualization of *Death to the Invader* was extremely daring. Aided by his small team of assistants, Siqueiros saw his primary challenge as the uniting, both visually and thematically, of the two walls at each end of the room.⁵ He felt that a sense of unity existed because of the two centuries of common Latin-American historical experiences. Typically, he arrived at a formal solution. The curved surfaces

that he and his team had constructed on the two end walls produced a continuous and uninterrupted surface between vertical walls and horizontal ceiling. Siqueiros wrote

187

I had to compose (each) . . . side . . . as though it were coming over from the opposite side of the room. . . . The solution was to 'optically' raise the ceiling on one side and then on the other, making the horizontal ceiling appear vertical from whichever side of the room it was being viewed. On the Chilean side the figurative element used to create this effect was a shaft, a volcano, for as Neruda has said, Chile is an essentially volcanic country. In the case of the Mexican end it was a shaft of fire, a generic and symbolic element.⁶

The resulting verticality 'visually' raised the height of the ceiling quite dramatically, particularly when viewed from the opposite end of the room. Additionally, Siqueiros managed to create the extraordinary sensation of forms, in this case often linear and abstract, moving up from one wall and reaching out over the ceiling to merge with the forms of the wall opposite. It is an illusory device, activated by the movement of an observer walking from one end of the room to the other. To do it is an experience that certainly underlines the narrative intent to present the idea of the common historical heritage of the two countries.

Although Siqueiros used many of the techniques and materials of his previous murals, his approach here involved some modifications. He still used the spray gun and airbrush, but the use of the traditional hand brush was certainly more in evidence. The result greatly increased the 'texture' of the mural, for Siqueiros was developing a painterly style that involved a larger gesturing in his handling of brushwork and the extensive use of impasto, giving the work a greater sense of expressive power.⁷ With regard to optical achievement, Siqueiros wrote of his Chillán mural that 'This was conceived as the painting of a total architectural surface, and not as the organization of various isolated panels. This is a different way from that which . . . my mural colleagues in Mexico used. It is in this respect an evident advance on my previous murals . . . and on the fundamental doctrine of the painting of buildings'.⁸

Despite the relative isolation of the town of Chillán, the mural received extensive critical attention. Among the most significant



198
David Alfaro Siqueiros: *Allegory of Racial Equality*. Drawing for a project in Havana, Cuba, 1943.

American State Department that he was prohibited from entering the United States.¹² The circumstances surrounding Siqueiros' ban on entering the United States at this time were shrouded in intrigue. On being told of the denial of an entry visa, Siqueiros was nevertheless informed by the Embassy that he was to be offered, by way of compensation, a commission to carry out the very mural that he had proposed to paint in New York. More mysterious still was the fact that the mural was to be financed by the Rockefeller Foundation.¹³ Siqueiros did not ever execute the work, accepting instead a commission for an interior mural in the private residence of the sugar planter María Luís Gómez Mena, entitled *Allegory of Racial Equality*.

Of the work that Siqueiros carried out while he was in Cuba, only *Allegory of Racial Equality* was technically a mural.¹⁴ Its theme recalls the spirit of the Los Angeles mural *Tropical America*. The impact of the radical subject matter and its treatment in this mural was largely neutralized by the very private and internal siting of the painting. The real significance of the work thus lay in innovative forms and techniques, which Siqueiros based largely on the further use and exploitation of curved surfaces. Siqueiros' preoccupation with painting on curved surfaces was primarily influenced by his belief that painting had, until then, only achieved what he termed as the 'fixed graphic moment'. He considered it was necessary to develop a concept that produced the actual movement of visual phenomena. In Argentina and Chile, Siqueiros realized that straight lines only remain straight from one particular viewpoint. To achieve this effect a spectator had to move to the particular point in question. Curved surfaces that contained various straight lines and planes at different angles required constant movement to 'straighten' them. However, an observer moving to a particular point in order to 'straighten' a particular line of plane, would see that other lines and planes distributed at different angles had now become distorted away from their straight or flat positions. To rectify these distortions the spectator needed to continue moving, thus creating a process of dynamic movement in all the forms distributed throughout the entire curved surface of the picture. When he had completed *Allegory of Racial Equality*, Siqueiros wrote that for him the fundamental aspect of the mural was 'not the forms, nor even the colour, nor the relation between the geometric forms

comments were those of Lincoln Kirsten, then director of the Latin American section of the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Kirsten wrote that 'In Chillán one meets the most important new synthesis of plastic elements since the cubist revolution of 1911. And when one thinks of Guernica (that astounding and decorative failure) one is certain of Siqueiros' triumph. . . . We are very far from the romantic days of the syndicate. Instead we have a new classicism of an emotional and poetic realism, non decorative, non exotic, non romantic.'⁹

The completion of the Chillán mural indicated most of the main thematic preoccupations that would come to dominate Siqueiros' work during the next ten years and, in particular, his concern with depicting national history. Released from the contractual and legal obligations of his political exile in Chile, Siqueiros embarked on a tour of other Latin American countries with the intention of gathering the support of artists in the allied struggle against fascism.¹⁰ As a finale to his campaign, Siqueiros intended to go to New York, where he wanted artists from both North and Latin America to collaborate in the production of a huge anti-fascist public mural.¹¹ Unfortunately this plan was curtailed when on arrival in Cuba he was informed by the

David Alfaro Siqueiros: *Cuauhtemoc Against the Myth*. Pyroxaline on celotex and plywood, 1944. This is the reconstructed version of the original, which was moved to the Tecpan Building in Tlatelco, Mexico City in 1964.



Documentary photograph used for the centaur in *Cuauhtemoc Against the Myth*.



and the colour; the fundamental thing was the movement, the activity of the forms'.¹⁵

189

Siqueiros returned to Mexico at the beginning of 1944. Although his term of exile had been completed, the political cloud that still hung over him as a result of his involvement in the attack on Trotsky four years earlier meant that for several months he lived in a state of near hiding in the home of his mother-in-law.¹⁶ Despite the difficult circumstances in which he found himself on his return, the period between then and the awarding of his first government commission in twenty years was to prove particularly significant. During this interlude Siqueiros created one of his most notable murals, *Cuauhtemoc Against the Myth*. He also established the *Centro de Arte Realístico* (the Centre for Realist Art).

The establishment of the centre signalled a public declaration by Siqueiros of the political aesthetic principles on which his mural work of the post-war period was to be based.¹⁷ Much of what the Centre was to stand for was contained in Siqueiros' manifesto, entitled 'Essential Propositions of the Centre for Modern Realist Art', the ideas for which Siqueiros had developed in several public talks that he had given during the time he spent in Cuba. The most significant of these was his contention that modern art in Mexico had lost its way, and strayed from the revolutionary principles that had originally guided it at the beginning of the movement. He wanted to promote what he termed a second stage of Mexican mural painting, 'a stage of experimental technique and the consolidation of the doctrine of neo-realism, integral realism, in short a modern realism'.¹⁸ Although Siqueiros' claims for the influence of the Centre on the national artistic life of the country at this time were often exaggerated, nevertheless the connection between the organization's ideas and the creation of his murals was important.

Cuauhtemoc Against the Myth was painted inside the building designated as the headquarters of the Centre for Realist Art, and Siqueiros used the occasion of the mural's inauguration to launch the Centre's manifesto.¹⁹ The mural is a clear example of Siqueiros' preoccupation with experimental, innovative mural painting, depicting national historical, anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist themes. As he later admitted, it was 'the technical experimental continuation of my murals in Chile and Cuba . . .



201
David Alfaro Siqueiros: *The Torment of Cuauhtemoc*. Pyroxaline on masonite, 1950. Palace of Fine Arts, Mexico City.

produced not on a flat or rectangular surface, but composed in absolute unity on diverse surfaces made up of various walls and ceilings'.²⁰ The mural was painted on a wall that extended up and around two floors of a staircase. Two side walls were adjacent to this main wall. In addition, the outer wall of the staircase created a second surface, in front of the main wall, which gave the whole site and the completed mural an architectonic quality. As in Chillán, Siqueiros constructed concave links between the main and lateral walls, creating a continuous surface. In addition, the staircase running down and across the main wall of the work ruptured the flatness of the main wall by descending a few feet and then tucking in underneath itself, creating a well of architectural space below the stairs. Siqueiros also made use of this as part of the composition of the mural.²¹

The narrative of the Cuauhtemoc mural focuses on the story of the Aztec prince's disbelief in the myth that Hernan Cortez represented the reincarnation of the legendary god Quetzalcoatl, perpetrated by Aztec priests at the time of the conquest. The priests strongly cautioned against opposing Cortez. The advice persuaded the Aztec king, Moctezuma, to receive the Spaniard in an act of naive appeasement, which rapidly led to the fall of his authority. Although Moctezuma's loss of will signified an ignominious defeat for the Aztecs, their resistance was reborn in the heroic struggle of the king's nephew, Cuauhtemoc. Antonio Rodríguez wrote that

discounting tradition and the augers of advice, Cuauhtemoc threw himself into the fray. . . . He challenged the gods, who were advising surrender through the priests, and prepared to fight. The fight was unequal. The Spaniards had brought gunpowder, horses, the dagger and the cross. Cuauhtemoc had only his unshakable will and a divided people. Still he resolved to fight, be it with his bare hands, as he said to his followers. He resisted his invader, and above all the myth, with his obsidian-tipped spears.²²

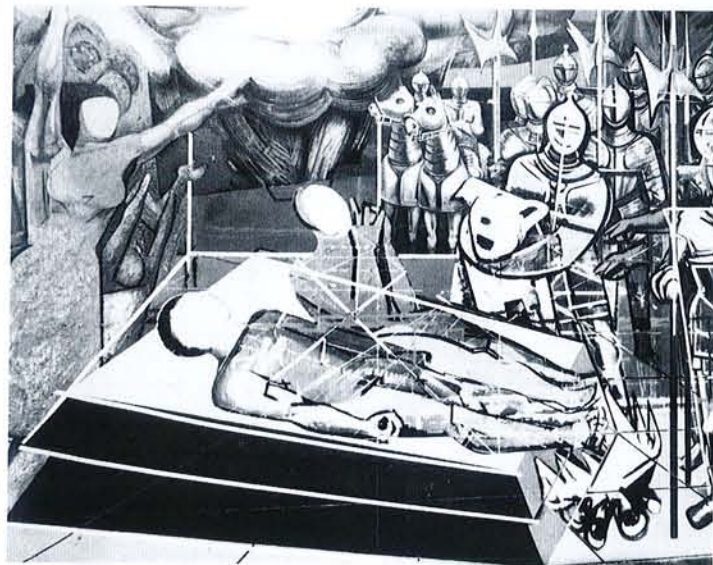
Siqueiros constructed his mural from three component images. On the left, he depicted a gigantic writhing centaurian figure. Opposite, on the right side, standing on a pyramidal plinth is the figure of Cuauhtemoc. Between them, considerably reduced in scale, with his arms outstretched in a gesture of compliance, is Moctezuma. Siqueiros later reflected on his use of the centaurian figure: 'the figure is more than a centaurian. It is a "horseman", because the Indians thought that the Spanish knight and the horse, on which it was mounted, was one individual. For the Indian the Spaniard was a horse that emitted fire and had two heads, and so I painted that.'²³ Siqueiros underlined the Hispanic symbolism of the writhing centaurian figure by picturing it clutching a dagger, the upper half of which is a crucifix. The image parallels a similar use of symbolism by Orozco at the Hospicio Cabañas in Guadalajara, in which the duality of Spanish colonialism is evoked through the image of a spiritual transformation attended by violent armed aggression. Here, the clenched fist and extended complex of Cuauhtemoc's arm and obsidian dagger, pointing directly at the heart of the centaur, expresses the idea of indigenous revolt against the violence of colonial intrusion. However, the image of the mural as a whole is not narrative. Siqueiros' depiction of a fearful and unequal combat between a mythical beast, aided by an appeasing king, and the lone individual, is a visual metaphor. The pictorialization of conflict between foreign intrusion and the indigenous non-believer is just one small part of the narrative. But the readings of this part cannot escape the larger narratives of Mexican history. The struggles for national independence of the nineteenth century and the revolutionary political culture of the early twentieth century in Mexico transform the simple pictorial historical narrative in *Cuauhtemoc Against the Myth* into a metaphor for the rejection of the idea of external invincibility, in this case, of a foreign power. It is a powerful, anti-imperialist statement.

Although they were painted a few years later, Siqueiros' two other large works on the theme of Cuauhtemoc, painted in 1950 at the Palace of Fine Arts in Mexico City, are particularly relevant. They highlight the powerful hold that the symbol of Cuauhtemoc has on the Mexican radical nationalist political psyche. The theme of the first of the Cuauhtemoc mural

202 below
Documentary photograph of *The Torment of Cuauhtemoc* in progress.

205 right
Documentary photograph of *The Torment of Cuauhtemoc* in progress.

panels, *The Torment of Cuauhtemoc*, centres on the capture of Cuauhtemoc by Cortez's forces and the torture he underwent to reveal the whereabouts of the Aztec gold. The second panel, *The Resurrection of Cuauhtemoc*, is a more ambivalent image, depicting Cuauhtemoc reborn in the armour of a Spanish conquistador.



203 & 204
Photographs of model posing for *The Torment of Cuauhtemoc*.



191

These two mural panels continue the theme of national heroism which was the narrative base for *Cuauhtemoc Against the Myth*. In *The Torment of Cuauhtemoc*, the array of static, apparently impenetrable, faceless armoured knights and snarling dogs expresses the Aztec's sense of utter isolation and pain as the flames of his torture consume his lower limbs. Siqueiros' aim was to transform the historical narrative of this episode by relocating its significance within the social and political readings of the present. This approach is only fully revealed in the context of the second panel, *The Resurrection of Cuauhtemoc*. Here, the narrative of Cuauhtemoc has passed beyond the story of his heroic confrontation with the myth that inhibited the Aztecs from properly defending their kingdom. Embedded in the panel's imagery is the idea that the superiority of the Spanish conquistador derived not from divine ordination, but from the technical sophistication of his armour and weaponry. Siqueiros wrote that

The value of the Mexican hero is rooted in history as a symbol of the struggles of all the oppressed peoples of the world. For this I saw the opportunity, in the first panel, to refer to the torment that the colonial and semi-colonial countries suffer, and I emphasized the tremendous



difference of arms between the conqueror and the conquered. In the second theme I presented Cuauhtemoc in armour to signify that Mexico, and in general weak peoples, should take up arms in order to bring down their enslavers and executioners. I employed the centaur . . . to symbolize the conquistador as the conqueror and destroyer of cultures. The centaur raises in his hand the symbol of the atomic bomb to represent the form of massacre employed today.²⁴

Siqueiros' employment of imagery, particularly in the second panel, was especially inventive. In re-constituting Cuauhtemoc in the metallic armour of his conquerors, he expresses a disbelief in the victory of the oppressed based solely on the morality of their cause. Siqueiros' reconfiguration of the Aztec prince turns the technological inequality of oppressor and oppressed on its head in order to suggest that only through the attainment of technological equality can the moral certitude of the oppressed have any guarantee of success. Such a reading is derived from the transformations in the first and second panels of the respective positions of Cuauhtemoc and the Spanish. Siqueiros' attempt to

engage in the imagery of pictorial metaphor did not meet with universal approval and comprehension in this case. Joel Marraquin accused Siqueiros of having created a 'tinned national hero'.²⁵

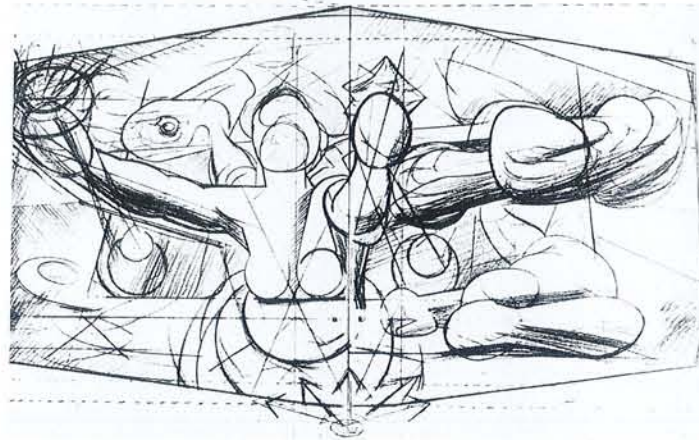
Although Siqueiros had continued with the theme of Cuauhtemoc in the panels of the early 1950s, there is a substantial difference between these and the earlier mural of 1944, *Cuauhtemoc Against the Myth*. The difference lies in the visual stylistic conception. In the earlier murals of the 1940s, including his Chillán work *Death to the Invader*, Siqueiros expressed his themes and ideas as much through the mechanics of the dynamic visual form he employed as through the literalness of his subject matter and imagery. In the two later Cuauhtemoc panels in the Palace of Fine Arts, there is a greater emphasis on the nature and interplay of pictorial symbolic imagery. A variety of approaches were employed in the three murals that he created between 1944 and 1951, when he finished the second of his Cuauhtemoc panels in the Palace of Fine Arts.

David Alfaro Siqueiros: *The Resurrection of Cuauhtemoc*. Pyroxaline on masonite, 1950. Palace of Fine Arts, Mexico City.

In the large panel *The New Democracy*, painted in 1944, Siqueiros created what he termed a 'cuadro grande', or literally 'large work'.²⁶ Despite its length of 40 feet, which is considerably larger than many of the murals painted in Mexico, Siqueiros did not consider *The New Democracy* to be a mural in the strict terms that he understood. It was not conceived, for example, as an architectonic work relating to the immediate architecture of the site in particular, or to the building in general. It is, however, a monumental work of great physical presence. It depicts a giant female revolutionary figure bursting out of a volcano, thrusting aside the chains of her oppression and subjugation.²⁷ The overwhelming physical presence of *The New Democracy* was derived not simply from its size and dynamic compositional form, but from the painterly means which Siqueiros increasingly employed in many of his post-war murals and which included highly textured and impastoed painted surfaces that highlighted the very expressive and gestural application of paint.²⁸

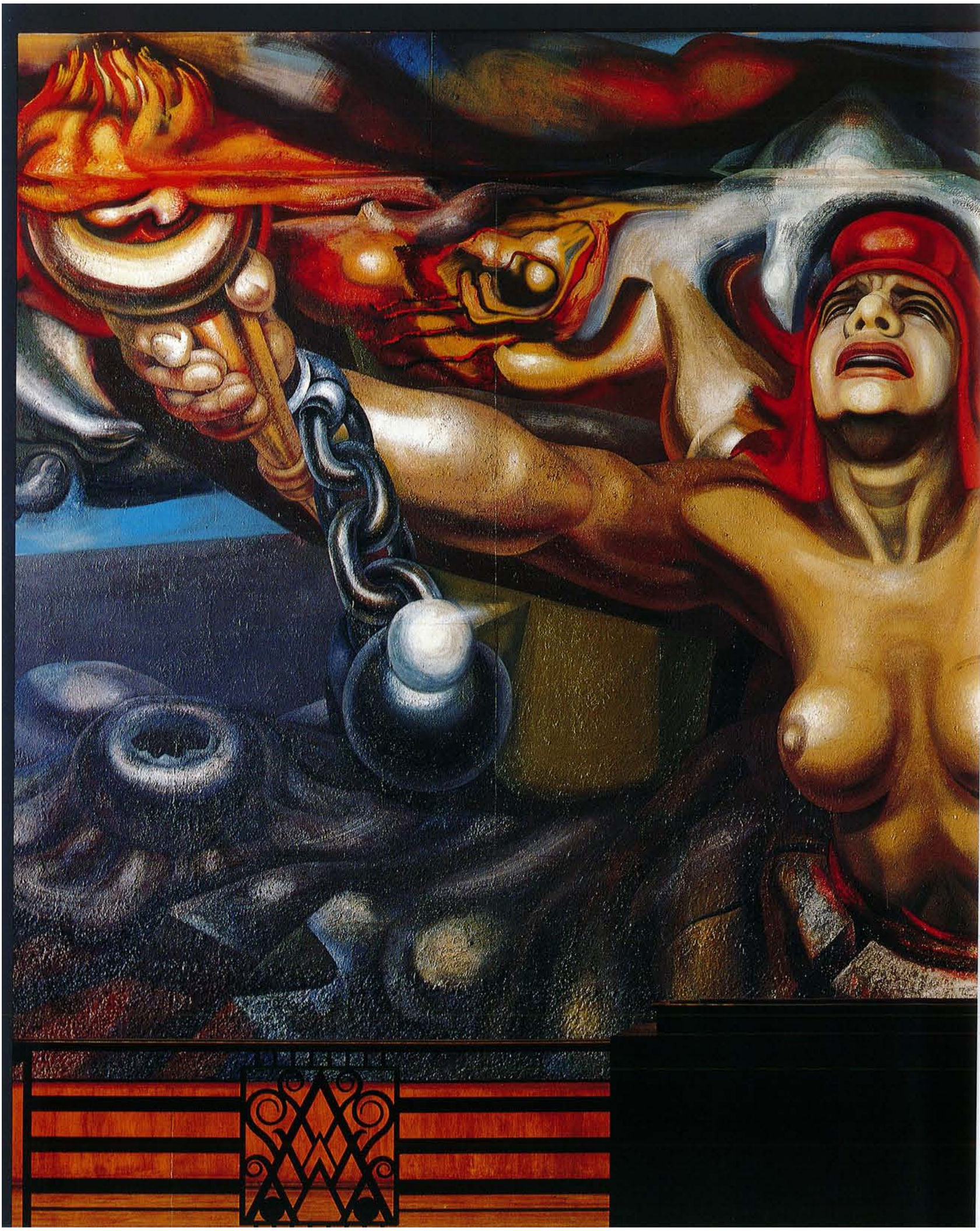
The stylistic changes that Siqueiros' mural work had undergone since the completion of *Portrait of the Bourgeoisie*, nearly five years earlier, should be recalled. In that mural, the use of the airbrush produced a very tight, carefully worked and more naturalistic rendering of forms. In *The New Democracy*, the fine airbrush technique had been abandoned in favour of the larger industrial spray gun, which Siqueiros then overlaid with the use of traditional hand brush filled with pigment. The pictorial conception of *The New Democracy* contrasted strongly with the massive architectonic works that Siqueiros regarded as true murals. The essential characteristic of the 'large paintings', as he called them, was their reliance on the centrality of a singular monumental figure to convey narrative. In this sense, *The New Democracy* has much in common with some of the large easel works Siqueiros created during the 1940s and 1950s.²⁹ In the great architectonic murals, however, the multi-planal architecture on which the murals were painted was often the vehicle through which the complex, multi-layered meaning of the work could be read. Siqueiros used such surfaces to sub-divide his themes into divisions of time, place, ideology, etcetera. By exploiting the architecture to create such divisions or contrasts, Siqueiros could explore the dialectic of thesis and anti-thesis established by the use of plot and sub-plot, text and sub-text. In cases where there was a ceiling,

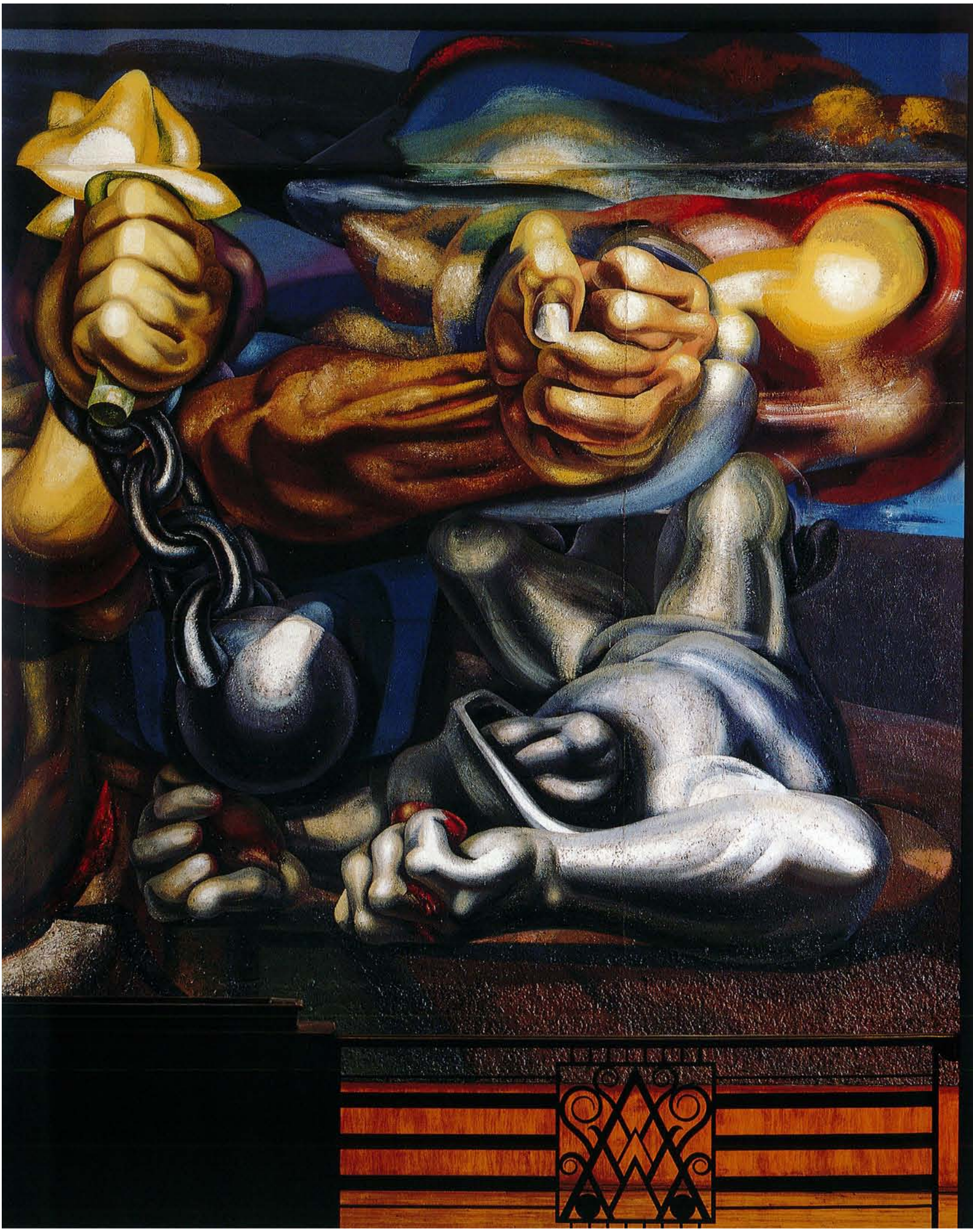
207 top
David Alfaro Siqueiros: drawing study for *The New Democracy*. 1944. Palace of Fine Arts, Mexico City.

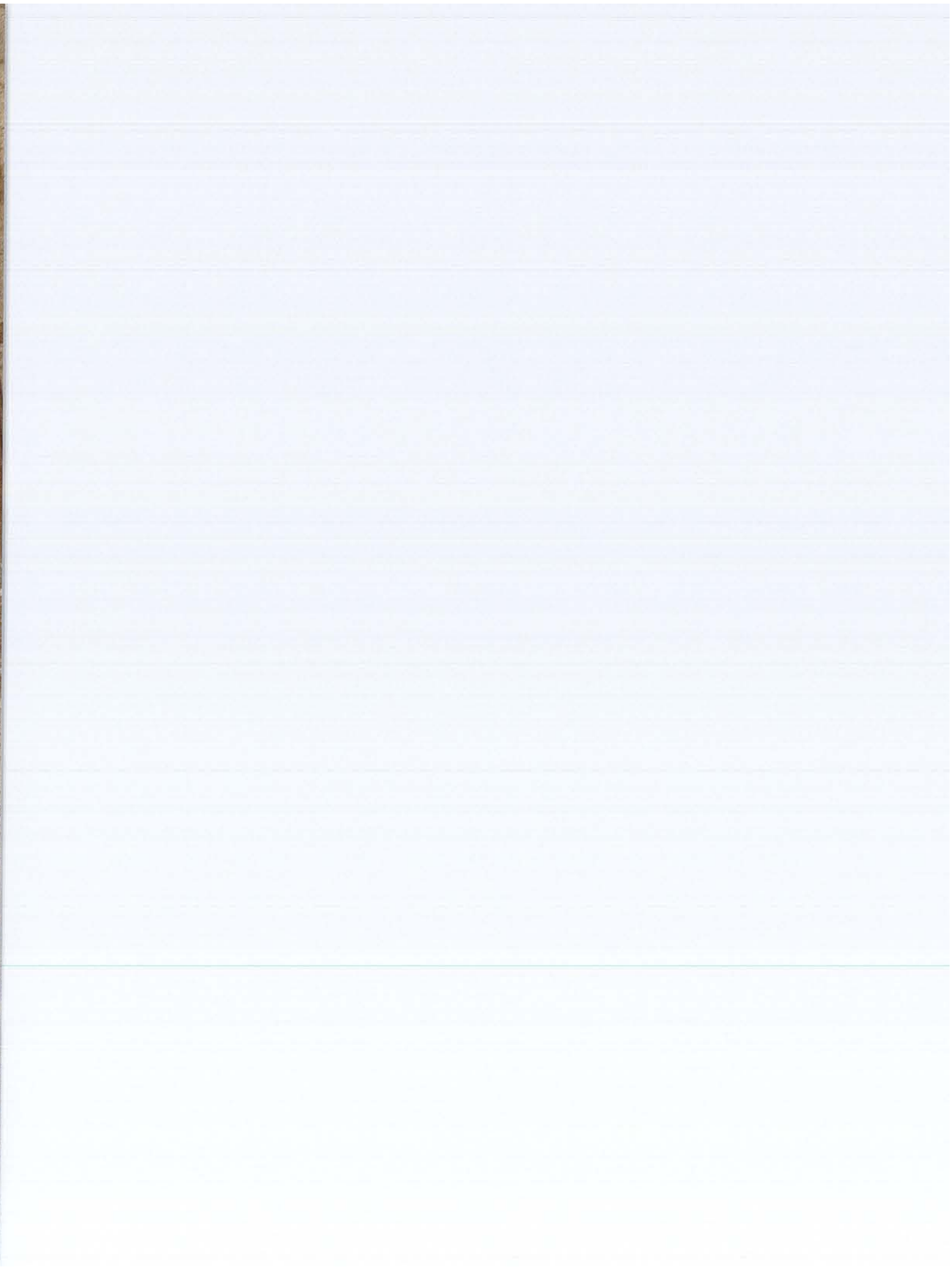


208 & 209 left & above
Photographic studies of Siqueiros' wife, Angelica Arenal de Siqueiros, modelling for the main figure for *The New Democracy*. 1944.

210 overleaf
David Alfaro Siqueiros: *The New Democracy*. Pyroxaline on canvas, 1944-5. Palace of Fine Arts, Mexico City.







211 *opposite*
David Alfaro Siqueiros: *Patriots and Parricides*. Pyroxaline and acrylic celotex on masonite, 1945. The work remains uncompleted. Ex Aduana de Santo Domingo, west wall, Mexico City.

212 *below*
David Alfaro Siqueiros: *Patriots and Parricides*. Pyroxaline and acrylic celotex on masonite, 1945. The work remains uncompleted. Ex Aduana de Santo Domingo, decorated underside of staircase, Mexico City.

Siqueiros would create formal connections between opposite walls in order to unify thematically the sub-plots within the general theme of the mural, as in the Chillán work. In *The New Democracy*, however, the use of dynamic and expressive form on the flat surface of the large panel created enormous power and a sense of presence, but did not add any narrative meaning to the work. Siqueiros thus created two streams of realist practice in the production of his 'large paintings' and large architectonic murals. One was a monumental symbolic realism, as in *The New Democracy*; the other was architectonic realism, as in the murals *Portrait of the Bourgeoisie* and *Death to the Invader*.



The architectonic approach was at the heart of the mural Siqueiros painted following his completion of *The New Democracy*. *Patriots and Parricides*, painted in the Ex-Aduana de Santo Domingo (the old customs house) in Mexico City, was perhaps his most ambitious undertaking to date. Consisting of two huge main walls and the ceiling of the building's central staircase, the site provided Siqueiros with a magnificent opportunity to exploit the relationship of the painting to the architecture. Although Siqueiros never finished this project, the half-completed mural nevertheless remains the most instructive work he ever created.³⁰

Siqueiros' methods and approach can clearly be seen in the unfinished areas of the mural. The design of the old customs house building, a classic example of early colonial architecture, was particularly challenging. Siqueiros saw this as a potential problem, recognizing that it would be difficult to synthesize his modern mural aesthetic with the building's colonial architecture. Nevertheless, before finally signing the contract, in preliminary correspondence with the Director of National Monuments, he wrote that 'In accepting such a commitment to paint a mural in an important colonial building in the City, I considered that a structure of such a style could be complemented, should be complemented, with a mural of technically modern character. . . .'³¹ Siqueiros began his work on the mural by reforming the curvature of the large vaulted ceiling of the staircase by applying a separate celotex surface, which he placed on a specially constructed and enormously complicated wooden frame. This was then attached to the upper walls and ceiling covering the original stone wall surface.³² With his team of assistants, Siqueiros undertook the design for the mural in three separate stages. It is clear from photographic sources that the first stage was to apply large areas of colour, onto which he then applied the simplified version of the design in a basic outline of the shapes and major forms. This simplified second stage incorporated the application of further flatly painted colour to the forms. In the unfinished areas of the mural the effect of this approach is to produce a schematic, almost cartoon-like image, which nevertheless clearly indicates how the forms and eventual colour will function in the overall design.

The third stage of the painting, only achieved fully on part of the ceiling area and on one of the two staircase walls, was the



213
David Alfaro Siqueiros: *Patriots and Parricides*. Pyroxaline and acrylic celotex on masonite, 1945. The work remains uncompleted. Ex Aduana de Santo Domingo, east wall, Mexico City.

application of volume to the forms and limbs of the figures. In these areas, the original flatness of the basic design has been transformed through glazed colour to produce a dynamic fluidity characteristic of the original drawing.

As in his previous murals, Siqueiros employed a number of techniques and materials with which he was very familiar. Nearly all the underlying forms in this mural, for example, display modelling through the use of the spray gun. He also employed the spray gun at the beginning to lay in the areas of flat colour rapidly. Surface modelling of the forms, however, was achieved through the use of the traditional hand brush, giving an expressive effect to the more finished areas of the mural.

The theme for this mural was a familiar one for Siqueiros, and followed on from the spirit of the work at Chillán. It was the struggle for national liberty and independence.³³ *Patriots and Parricides* or, as Siqueiros named it, the *Apotheosis of the Liberty of Expression*, was to depict on one side of the staircase the rise of the great Mexican patriots and defenders of national integrity and liberty, such as Morelos, Juárez and Zapata, while on the opposite wall the traitors and enemies of the Mexican people,

such as Santa Anna Iturbide and Victoriano Huerta were to be shown descending 'into hell'.³⁴ Although much of the mural remains in a very preliminary and schematic stage, it is evident that Siqueiros' intention was to keep recognizable narrative to a minimum. Together with the use of dynamic architectonic form, he relied on the use of a few simple, monumental images which would become familiar.³⁵ The rearing horse and its rider is the most obvious. Here, its presence does not signify the conquest, as in *Cuauhtemoc Against the Myth*, but the Mexican revolution. The familiar picture of the revolution as a struggle waged by men on horseback is an enduring one; indeed, particularly in the countryside, the revolution was often fought by armies of mounted men, and Zapata and his white horse have become part of the visual iconography of the Mexican revolution.

Siqueiros' exploitation of the architecture of the site and his use of dynamic form within the composition remains the most significant aspect of this unfinished work. It shows the extent to which Siqueiros intended to use architecture and form to reinforce the narrative and meaning of his more literal images. The specially constructed surface which he added to the walls, making the ceiling curved, is also intriguing, for his decision to do this cannot be interpreted solely as a technical necessity. Above all, his intention was to reform the architecture in order to suit an idea. Siqueiros wrote that 'the only adequate way to paint this cube is to consider the two side walls and roof as one single unit. To paint these as single panels would be a grave technical error. . . . Mural painting is the painting of architectural space.'³⁶ In the mural's uncompleted state, it is possible to see the basis of Siqueiros' argument. By simply juxtaposing the contrasting elements of his extremely simplistic narrative on opposite walls, the main thematic intention would have been lost. However, with the curving space between the two opposite walls, through the use of thrusting abstract forms Siqueiros was able to create a sense of continuous dynamic movement that extended up the wall depicting the symbols of liberty, through the ceiling and down the wall on which the enemies of the people are portrayed. This downward flow of forms on the area of the wall portraying the Parricides is unmistakable and clearly results from Siqueiros' particular exploitation and synthesis of pictorial form and physical architecture.

Patriots and Parricides was the most protracted and frustrating work of Siqueiros' career. It was plagued by endless problems, such as water seepage in the walls; a drastic increase in the price of materials, requiring several rewritings of the contract and delays in payment. Additionally, Siqueiros' wish to extend the original concept of the mural meant that the work became extended over a twenty-year period.³⁷ In part, the slowness of the work resulted from the endless criticisms of the pictorial concept Siqueiros had envisaged for the mural. Although Siqueiros had intended that the work be technically modern, in reality it was a spectacularly inappropriate concept, both in terms of colour and in the approach to overall design, for the magnificent old colonial building. Siqueiros had championed and would continue to do so in the decades that lay before him, the concept of Plastic Integration, that is the synthesis of art, architecture and sculpture. The inappropriateness of his idea of integration in this particular project lay specifically in his concept of reconstruction of the magnificent multi-planal surfaces of the site in order to produce a dynamic architectonic mural. The result was to overpower and destroy the integrity of the original architecture. This undermined a proper integration of architecture and painting.³⁸ Rivera was particularly damning and sarcastic about Siqueiros' efforts. He wrote

According to (Siqueiros) we want to paint on walls, by which he means we do not respect architecture but destroy it. This objection of Siqueiros' is directed against himself and his work. He sticks cardboard over the cornices and roof of a stone building . . . which hides architectural details and provides excellent cover for rats although the building was not constructed for breeding such animals. In these conditions, Siqueiros' painting is nothing but a stage decoration, a sort of allegorical chariot or triumphal arch built in the street for a patriotic pageant.³⁹

Patriots and Parricides was never completed and today stands as testimony to a failed concept. Yet in its failure it reveals more about the nature of what Siqueiros was seeking in his overall concept of mural painting than any other of his equally ambitious and more successful murals.

Throughout the 1940s, Siqueiros had been largely concerned with expressing themes and depicting subjects that were rooted in national history. Indeed, the historical dimension of the

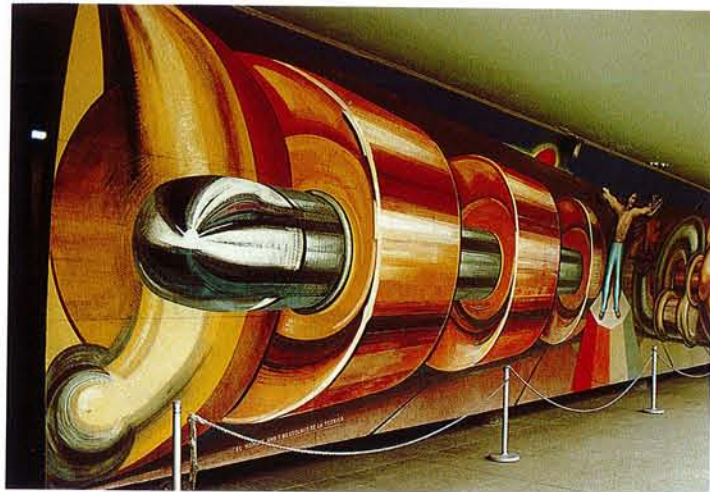
themes of his work of this period is one of its most significant characteristics. It signifies the consolidation of a distinctly nationalistic and Latin American thinking that influenced Siqueiros' political thinking and activities as much as it did his art. From the end of 1950, following his work on the two Cuauhtemoc panels in the Palace of Fine Arts, Siqueiros' murals changed direction with regard to theme. With the exception of his great masterpiece *From the Dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz to the Revolution*, completed in 1965 in Chapultepec Castle, Siqueiros never again centrally concerned himself with depicting a national historical theme. Instead, his mural work took a more contemporary and often technical direction. This latter characteristic was enhanced by a more complete realization of his innovations connected to the architectonic and environmental qualities inherent in his work. This change in emphasis was foreshadowed in statements from the 1944 manifesto that he wrote for the Centre for Realist Art. In it, he had stressed the need for a really 'modern' dimension to Mexican mural painting that would move into a second stage of experimental technique and the consolidation of what he termed as neo-realism or integral realism.

The first indication of this change in direction came in the mural Siqueiros painted in 1951 for the Polytechnic Institute in Mexico City. Entitled *Man the Master, not the Slave, of Technology*, the mural was painted on to a long, curved freestanding wall specially constructed of wood over which aluminium had been stretched.⁴⁰ It was, as Antonio Rodríguez wrote, 'the first step of Mexican muralism towards the second phase of its existence.'⁴¹ Siqueiros explained his own concept of the theme: '... The mural depicts . . . man, hitherto victim of his own great scientific discoveries, taking command of atomic energy, the greatest physical force of the present, and utilizing it only for constructive purposes in a world of progress and peace. The instrument of industrial production will no longer be the machine that oppresses man, but the machine in the service of man.'⁴²

Notwithstanding the short time-frame within which Siqueiros painted the mural, the completed work is hardly his most engaging post-war project. Its simplistic concept depicts a worker standing on a circular plinth with outstretched arms in the centre of the composition. His left hand holds the symbol of

200 atomic energy, while with his right arm he points to the horizon where Siqueiros painted a rising sun, symbolizing the dawning of the future. In the background a shaft of gold and steel echoes the futuristic symbolism. On the left-hand side of the central figure a gigantic foot, arm and leg enmeshed in a complex of mechanical forms represents the domination of mankind by technology, with the moon above hinting at the darkness of such reality.

The mural nevertheless provides an interesting parallel and comparison with Diego Rivera's work. Rivera's own pre-war



visions of modern technology painted in the United States had been highly utopian, even eulogistic. In the post-war period, Siqueiros was engaging the same subject with a remarkably similar, if more simplistic sense of the utopian. Any criticism of the capitalist society that his communist politics sought to overthrow was likewise muted into vague generalization. The most striking comparison between the two muralists is perhaps their shared sense of the utopian. During the post-war period, Rivera's work was often marked by visions that were deeply nostalgic, a yearning for a past that could only be expressed in utopian terms. In some of his key post-war works, Siqueiros was equally utopian, but his visions were essentially directed towards the future rather than the past. In this sense, the thrust of the Polytechnic theme cannot be disconnected from the institution in which Siqueiros painted the mural. The National Polytechnic

Institute, which had been established during the presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas, was one of Mexico's main centres of higher education. Originally its 18,000 students were drawn largely from peasant and working-class backgrounds. The social character of Siqueiros' audience, the technical nature of the Institute itself, and its associations with the most radical of Mexico's presidents since the end of the revolution, provided Siqueiros with the arena in which to engage with his penchant for futurist visual rhetoric.



The Polytechnic mural is nevertheless significant in that it foreshadows a series of murals that Siqueiros created during the rest of the 1950s and which display strongly futuristic, technological traits, such as his 1958 mural in Mexico City's Centro Médico, entitled *Apologia for the Future Victory of Medicine over Cancer*. However, of these futuristic murals, the enormous work that he produced at the Hospital de la Raza from 1952 to 1954 is by far the most important. Until this point in his career, Siqueiros had not been presented with the opportunity simultaneously to test all the ideas that he had been developing during the previous two decades concerning the mural form, perspective and architectonic composition. He had created some important murals but they had either been physically too restricted, or, as in the case of the work at the old customs house of Santo Domingo, remained uncompleted.



216 left
David Alfaro Siqueiros: *For the Complete Safety of all Mexicans at Work*. Vinylite and pyroxaline on plywood and fibreglass, 1952–4. Hospital de la Raza, Mexico City.

217 & 218 below
David Alfaro Siqueiros: *For the Complete Safety of all Mexicans at Work* (details). Vinylite and pyroxaline on plywood and fibreglass, 1952. Hospital de la Raza, Mexico City.

towards a utopian collective and integrated future. With its somewhat unwieldy title, *For the Complete Safety of all Mexicans at Work*, Siqueiros devised his theme in three parts. He described the left-hand section as ‘a worker injured in a work accident. . . . He lies there in a world in which machines are the instrument of his oppression and imprisonment.’ To the right of this introductory scene are a group of female figures, which Siqueiros indicated represented ‘the ideal Mexican race, as a product of the new world, based on better food, and a better mixture of the races; women with flowers, fruit and healthy children, all of the euphoric in their pose reflecting the happiness of life’. Siqueiros saw the concluding group within the dynamic composition as marching towards the integrated society of the future headed by ‘the industrial workers (the working class)’.⁴⁵ Described literally, the theme of the mural is simplistic and schematic, with the individual sequences conforming to a rather predictable ideological framework. However, the power, complexity and depth of the work is not, as in so many of Siqueiros’ murals, articulated and expressed through complex thematic imagery. Rather, it is conveyed through the use of dramatic and dynamic architectonic form. As a consequence, simple statements, which might otherwise seem nothing more than crude agit-prop, are given tremendous power and gravity.

201

The Hospital de la Raza presented Siqueiros with the largest and most suitable space to date in which to realize the full scope of his ideas. The site of the mural in the new hospital was the huge entranceway to the auditorium or lecture theatre.⁴³ The project and commission itself was an almost perfect scenario for Siqueiros, in that from the very beginning he was able to collaborate with the building’s architect, Enrique Yáñez. Originally rectangular, the room contained a huge glass window occupying the whole of one wall. Working with Siqueiros, Yáñez reconstructed the room so that the wall and ceiling to be painted were transformed into a giant concave, semi-hemispherical surface in which all corners were eliminated.⁴⁴

Thematically, Siqueiros’ concept for the mural at the Hospital de la Raza was a vision of the contemporary world’s dynamic march away from the conveyor-belt slavery of modern capitalism





David Alfaro Siqueiros: *For the Complete Safety of all Mexicans at Work* (detail). Vinylite and pyroxaline on plywood and fibreglass, 1952–4. Hospital de la Raza, Mexico City.

David Alfaro Siqueiros: *For the Complete Safety of all Mexicans at Work* (detail). Vinylite and pyroxaline on plywood and fibreglass, 1952–4. Hospital de la Raza, Mexico City.

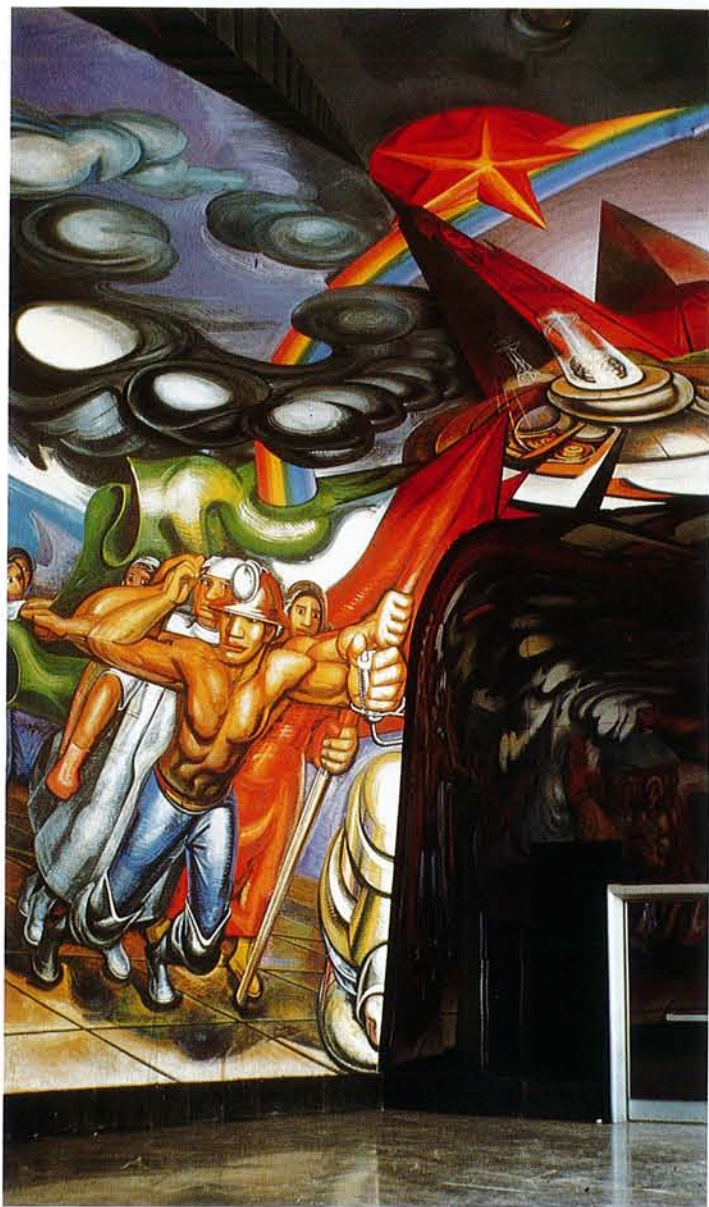
The mural's most outstanding feature is its dynamic sense of movement, principally generated by the gentle concave curving surface. Siqueiros' exploitation of the surface involved two lines of movement. The first, around the figures, extends around the room from one end of the mural to the other. Here, the ground plane on which the figures stand has been constructed so as to create different vanishing points depending on where the viewer is situated. Likewise, the figures have been constructed to exploit the different angles from which they are likely to be viewed. In his book *Como se Pinta un Mural* (How to Paint a Mural), based on his experimental mural at San Miguel de Allende in 1949,⁴⁶ Siqueiros had written extensively on the need to consider the distortions that figures and objects were subject to when seen from very acute angles. In his book he proposed that from a full frontal position, human beings could be represented within a circular or elliptical form, so that when seen from an acute angle the lateral 'shrinkage' of the form would then make the figure or object appear 'normal'. This method of counteracting distortion might also involve the amplification of certain areas of the figure or the use of form 'echoes'. Nowhere is this compositional thesis better demonstrated in the La Raza work than in the middle group of female figures, where it is possible, merely by walking from one end of the room to the other, to witness the dramatic inflation and deflation of the figures.

221 *far left*

Photographic study of model posing for the central group of figures in *For the Complete Safety of all Mexicans at Work*.

222 *left*

Photographic study of model posing for the figure of the injured worker in *For the Complete Safety of all Mexicans at Work*.





The second line of movement travels through the elongated architectural images situated at either end of the mural and up and across the ceiling, to meet in the centre of the ceiling. As in Chillán, here at La Raza Siqueiros made the horizontal surface of the ceiling appear vertical. Movement in the ceiling area of the mural is again 'switched on' by the movement of an observer. The result is astonishing, with the architecture of the buildings that have been drawn on to the ceiling moving rapidly to and fro

as the spectator walks from one end of the room to the other and back again.

These dynamic movements contribute as much to the meaning of the mural as the images themselves. Indeed, in large part the visual movement of the forms most effectively expresses Siqueiros' intention of depicting a social movement of the people towards a future society. This is particularly noticeable in the ceiling area. At the beginning of the mural, the skyscrapers of contemporary society project across the ceiling in an aggressive and dominating fashion, appearing to push the architecture that symbolizes the future integrated society at the other end of the composition downwards and backwards. Seen from the other end of the room, however, the opposite occurs. The once-dominating forms of the contemporary world rapidly recede under the weight of the architecture of the social future of mankind.

This optical creation is perhaps the best realization of Siqueiros' idea, first expressed in the 1930s, that revolutionary art did not depend for its content on images of revolution alone, but as much on the creation of formal and aesthetic equivalents of revolution. This perhaps explains why Siqueiros' art did not degenerate into crude rhetorical depictions of a future socialist society. The images that he created at La Raza, symbolizing his vision of future society, did not depend on a simplistic cartoon version of the world of socialism. Rather, he used a montage of architecture to represent what he saw as the great cultural achievements of mankind's past and present, the Egyptian pyramid, the Chinese pagoda, the Aztec pyramid, the turbine of modern electrical power, and the Kremlin tower.

Siqueiros and his assistants finished their work at La Raza in 1954.⁴⁷ It was undoubtedly Siqueiros' most significant achievement in architectonic realism. Elvira Vargas described what Siqueiros and his team had created as 'opening up a new and definitive stage in the history of pictorial art'.⁴⁸ However, despite its dynamic characteristics and the successful integration of the form of the mural with the specially reconstructed interior architecture of the room, the La Raza mural was only a partial realization of Siqueiros' concept of Plastic Integration. Although he had included it in his 1944 mural, *Cuauhtemoc Against the Myth*, sculpture had not really been an integral element in Siqueiros'

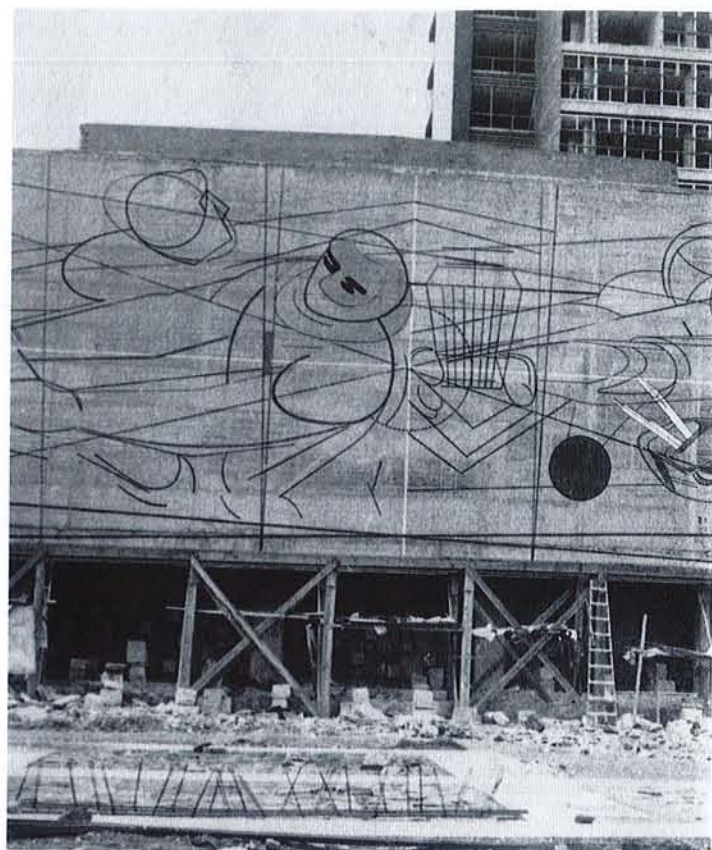
224 below
Relief model for *The People for the University. The University for the People.*

225 right
Work in progress on *The People for the University. The University for the People.*

work. It was certainly absent at La Raza. However, in 1955 on the site of Mexico City's new university campus, Siqueiros attempted to integrate painting, architecture and sculpture. To a large extent the restrictions on finance precluded the full and satisfactory realization of this concept. Nevertheless, while the visual result did not achieve the dynamic synthesis of the La Raza project, Siqueiros' creation at the UNAM, as the campus is called, forms an important dimension of his mural work.

Siqueiros' concern at this time with the creation of exterior murals and the achievement of the integration of painting, sculpture and architecture was not new to his thinking. It had first surfaced as far back as the early 1930s in Los Angeles, when he had created his two exterior works *Tropical America* and *A Workers' Meeting*. In 1948 he had published his first concise treatise on the subject in *Hacia una Nueva Plástica* (Towards a New Integral Art). In it, he had written that, in his view, there was not the slightest doubt that the architecture of the future would be

on an urban scale (the architecturally autonomous building will cease to exist). . . . And these buildings will be built not only in the big towns but all over every country and they will be integrally artistic, as in the best periods of the past. . . . A pictorial and sculptural technique . . . will be added to architectural surfaces . . . and broken up into *pictorial and sculptural areas* which will be part of the preconceived architectural plan.⁴⁹

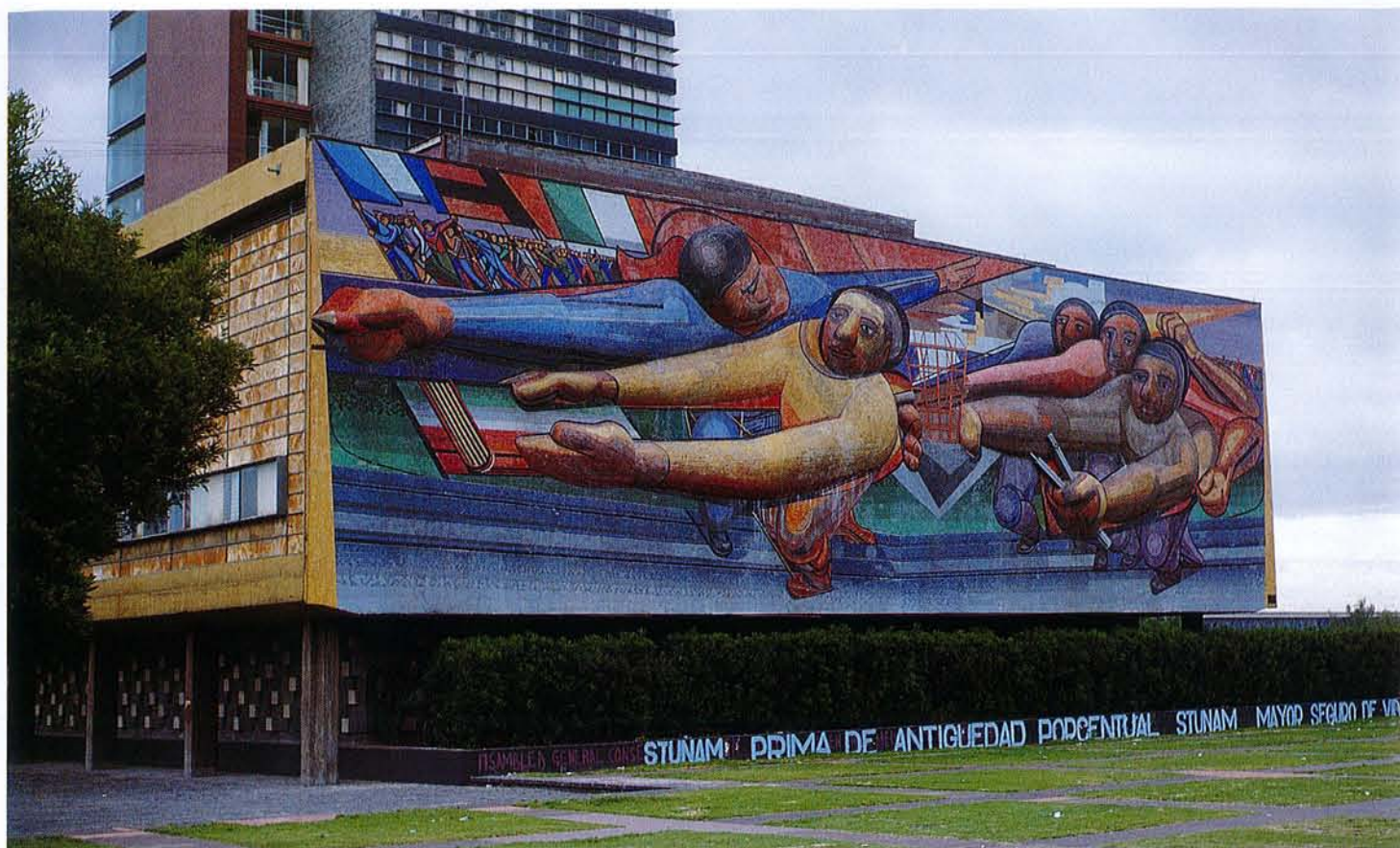


205

Siqueiros saw the planning and construction of the enormous new National University campus as a crucial opportunity for Mexican art to move forward towards what he envisaged as this more integrated artistic concept. In 1950, before his contractual involvement in the decoration of the campus, he had written that he could not imagine the construction of the University without a concept of plastic integration.⁵⁰ In early 1951, believing such an opportunity was slipping away, Siqueiros wrote to the chief architect in charge of designing the UNAM, Carlos Lazo, saying that the construction of the university city or campus would provide the opportunity for Mexican painting and sculpture to attain its second stage. Siqueiros recommended that

A commission of the most experienced Mexican muralists, and of younger painters with mural experience, together with a few sculptors should immediately be co-opted on to the panel of architects and engineers in charge of the project. . . . This commission . . . should resolve . . .

- a) The exterior and interior polychroming of the University City.
- b) The decision as to where mural paintings and sculptures are to be placed, both inside and outside of buildings.
- c) Which subjects correspond to the University City as a whole, and to each of the separate buildings or sections. Architects, painters and sculptors . . . should immediately proceed to revise all the work in progress . . . from the point of view of plastic integration.⁵¹



In the end, Siqueiros' vision of an integrated concept for the new campus was not realized. Although many painters were commissioned to carry out mural decoration on the campus, all were commissioned individually and not integrated into the scheme as Siqueiros had wanted.⁵² Siqueiros' contribution to the decoration of the campus comprises his polychromed *bas-relief* mural decorations, executed between 1952 and 1954 on the exterior of the university's rectory. Originally conceived as four separate panels, only three were created. Of these, the largest and most significant is the panel *The People for the University. The University for the People: For a Neo-Humanist National Culture*.⁵³

Although from a technical point of view the exterior mural was a *bas-relief*, Siqueiros adamantly preferred to describe it as a sculptured painting. He defined this term as the use of diverse protruding planes of more than thirty centimetres in height, which had an exclusively optical or textural intention. In an article written in 1956, entitled 'My Experience in Painting Murals on Exteriors', Siqueiros discussed the question of his use of sculptural painting and its relevance to external mural work. He wrote that 'The surface of the external mural cannot properly be left completely smooth. Sculptured reliefs are necessary. When viewed outside, objectively flat forms lose their strength when they are forced to compete with the three-dimensional

forms of trees, houses etc. around them. . . . Any shortcomings are due to the complete technical novelty of this technique.'⁵⁴ These comments point to what Siqueiros saw as the problem of creating a realist expression for external sites at the same time as having to use certain types of materials and techniques. In his work at the university, for example, he had been forced to use methods that inhibited the increasingly gestural and expressive quality that was developing in his mural painting. In Siqueiros' view, this severely hindered his capacity to express the realism of his subject-matter. He had written of the use of mosaics that 'I would not advise anyone to use mosaic in external murals, not even in the way that I have done in the rectory mural, because it is an archaic material. It is in fact a graphic process in which the colour merely "illuminates".'⁵⁵

Siqueiros' concept of realism was not just a matter of image or subject-matter, but of rendering, of giving expression to what he defined as an aesthetic equivalent of the realist intent. For him, the intention often stood or fell on the materials used in the creative process. At the university, Siqueiros had sought to recreate the gestural and expressive quality of his mural painting by creating huge schematic mosaic relief forms for distant viewing. In the end, the piece lacked the increasingly expressive nature of his interior mural work. Designed as an addition,

David Alfaro Siqueiros: *The People for the University. The University for the People*. Relief mosaic, 1952–6. National Autonomous University of Mexico, Mexico City.

rather than as an integral element of the university's rectory building, the mural portrays five giant figures representing Science, Technology, Industry, Agriculture and Culture. As a site-specific work of art in an external architectural setting, the mural neither complements nor is complemented by the architecture. It is an unashamedly proclamatory image, more bombastic than expressive, and its significance lies more in its exploration of form and technique in relation to concepts of exterior mural decoration, than in its expressive or realist accomplishment.

In the post-war murals created prior to 1957, Siqueiros tried, as at the university, to create works of maximum visual impact. In the cases where he succeeded, such as at La Raza, he had done so through magnificent displays of inventive use of architectonic concepts of form and composition. At the same time, however, such visual impact was often accompanied by uncomfortable expressions of exhortational rhetoric, denying the intensely expressive realism that Siqueiros wanted to achieve. In the late 1950s, however, Siqueiros was able to move towards this goal. His success was based on a more concentrated concern for the social significance of his chosen subject-matter and the use of more traditional expressive qualities. Two murals in particular exemplify this new character. The first, entitled *From the Dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz to the Revolution*, painted in the Room of the Revolution in Chapultepec Castle, Mexico City between 1957 and 1965, is arguably his greatest achievement as a mural painter. The other, entitled *Theatrical Art in the Life of Mexico*, created for the entrance foyer of the Jorge Negrete Theatre in Mexico City from 1959 to 1969, was never completed. Nevertheless, some passages of this incomplete work exhibit the most powerfully emotive and expressive imagery Siqueiros ever created in a mural.

In the murals Siqueiros had created previously in the post-war period, the human figure had for the most part been used sparingly. In the Polytechnic Institute he had employed only one human figure; at La Raza, Siqueiros included less than ten major figures in an area of over 3,000 square feet; his university sculpture-painting mural consisted of just five monumental figures. However, in the murals of the late 1950s, including a second hospital mural, *Apologia for the Future Victory of Medicine over Cancer*,

David Alfaro Siqueiros: *Theatrical Art in the Life of Mexico*. Acrylic on plywood, 1959. Although it has been inaugurated, the mural remains technically unfinished. Jorge Negrete Theatre, Mexico City.



207



228
Photographic study used for the image of the murdered railroad worker in *Theatrical Art in the Life of Mexico*.

Siqueiros dramatically increased the numbers of figures in his compositions, creating a dynamic sense of moving humanity. The rationale for this conceptual change lay in the need to express the movement and conflict of irreconcilable social forces. This need arose because, for the first time since the 1930s, Siqueiros was engaged with subject-matter that was specifically located within the political and social dynamic of contemporary Mexican society.

In the huge interior mural at Chapultepec, *From the Dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz to the Revolution*, Siqueiros confronted a subject that, paradoxically, he had never tackled before, namely the Mexican revolution.⁵⁶ His aim was not to create a mural 'about' past history, as Rivera had so often done in the post-war period. It was to create a mural painting of history in the present. The

David Alfaro Siqueiros: *From the Dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz to the Revolution – The Martyrs and Mounted Revolutionary*. Acrylic on plywood, 1957–65. Hall of the Revolution, detail of left-hand section, National History Museum, Chapultepec Castle, Mexico City.



David Alfaro Siqueiros: *From the Dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz to the Revolution – The People in Arms*. Acrylic on plywood, 1957–65. Left-hand section, showing the martyrs, the revolutionaries, the ideologues and the leaders of the revolution. Hall of the Revolution, National History Museum, Chapultepec Castle, Mexico City.



David Alfaro Siqueiros: *From the Dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz to the Revolution – Porfirio Díaz, Ministers and Courtesans* (detail). Acrylic on plywood, 1957–65. Hall of the Revolution, National History Museum, Chapultepec Castle, Mexico City.

work that he created is as much a comment on contemporary politics as it was a representation of past and increasingly distant events.⁵⁷

Siqueiros began work on the mural during the latter months of office of President Cortines.⁵⁸ However, much of the development of the mural took place during a period in which Cortines' successor, López Mateos, attempted briefly to revitalize the spirit of the revolution with policies that reflected the heady radical days of the Cárdenas administration two decades earlier. Set against the context of the post-war, the Cold War and late 1940s and 1950s, Mateos' radical initiatives failed to address the grievances set in motion by the increasing inequalities of the country. As a result, labour unrest, strikes and political agitation grew, causing deep concern in Washington, resulting in a dramatic slowdown and withdrawal of American investment in Mexico. Mateos reacted to these developments by abandoning his radical policies, becoming instead extremely authoritarian and repressive with the political opposition.⁵⁹ The radical left interpreted these moves as evidence that Mexico's political and economic life had fallen hostage to the influence of external forces and considerations.

Although, as the title suggests, the mural depicts the confrontation of the forces of the 1910 Mexican revolution with those of the Díaz dictatorship, there is an implicit thematic and visual allusion to the state of Mexico's independence some five decades later. Painted around a multi-faceted framework, the huge mural presents its subject as a construction of thematic opposites. On the left-hand side of the room are figures associated with the forces of the revolution, its martyrs, armed peasants and ideological and political leaders.⁶⁰ On the right-hand side of the room, the society of Porfirio Díaz is depicted in the form of the dictator surrounded by adoring courtesans and political stooges.⁶¹

Siqueiros' central theme is brought into a climactic visual confrontation on the long wall connecting the right- and left-hand sides of the room. This shows two men at the head of their respective massed forces struggling for the national flag of Mexico. The two protagonists represent William C. Green of the Green Consolidated Copper Company of America, and Fernando Palomares, a leading member of the Liberal Party. Siqueiros used these two figures and the forces arranged on either side of them to depict the industrial strike and unrest of





233 & 234
Photographic studies for the mural.
Siqueiros is on the left in the right-
hand picture.



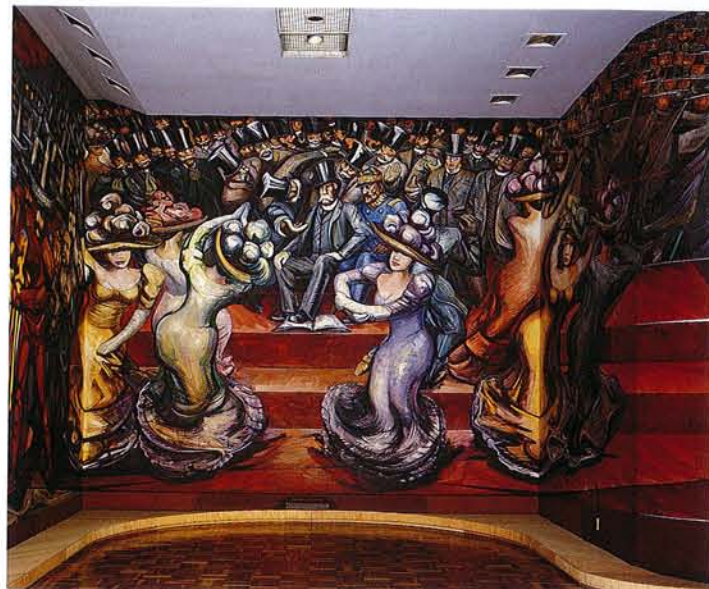
Mexican workers against their employers, the Green Consolidated Copper Company of America. This famous labour dispute took place in 1906 and was a significant event in the political developments leading up to the Mexican revolution of 1910.⁶² For Siqueiros, the dispute and the ensuing strike epitomized the spirit of Mexico's endlessly complex revolution. The strike by Mexican workers against their foreign employers, who in response brought in forces of their own national army to suppress the unrest, encapsulated the extent of Mexico's economic and political domination and oppression. But the nationalist dimension of Siqueiros' presentation of this theme is not anchored in images of racial and cultural ancestry or origin. Instead it is expressed in the depiction of the two main protagon-

232 opposite
David Alfaro Siqueiros: *From the Dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz to the Revolution – The Revolutionaries*. Acrylic on plywood, 1957–65. Hall of the Revolution, National History Museum, Chapultepec Castle, Mexico City.



235 & 236 below, left and right
David Alfaro Siqueiros: *From the Dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz to the Revolution*. Acrylic on plywood, 1957–65. Right-hand section showing the Cananean miners' strike of 1906, with William C. Green of the Green Consolidated Mining Company of America, and Fernando Palomares, leader of the Mexican Liberal Party, struggling

for possession of the flag of Mexico. On the right-hand wall Porfirio Díaz is depicted, surrounded by courtesans and advisors. Hall of the Revolution, National History Museum, Chapultepec Castle, Mexico City.



211

ists of this passage struggling for possession of the national flag of Mexico. Here Siqueiros created an image that can be interpreted not merely as a historical reference, but as a metaphor for the incomplete nature of the Mexican revolution and the continuing domination of the country by the economic interests of foreign powers, particularly the United States. Why else would Siqueiros represent the national emblem as still being in the possession of William Green, the foreigner? That this theme was uppermost in his mind is evidenced by many of his political speeches and writings during the period in which he created this mural. The struggle against American imperialism in Latin America and his constant accusations that the Mexican government was allowing the country to become dominated by this influence can be seen to have been distilled by Siqueiros into an allusion that both reflects the aims of Mexico's 1910–1917 revolution, and implicitly comments on the state of the contemporary struggles some four-and-a-half decades later.

Although Siqueiros used many recognizable figures in the mural, there is an extraordinary sense of momentum and revolutionary confrontation in this work. Siqueiros' use of vast numbers of packed figures assembled into an independent

architecture of form and composition gives the mural this powerful revolutionary dynamic, best seen in the long central wall where, on either side of the figures of Green and Manuel Díguez, one of the strike leaders, the compacted rows of figures are assembled on a tilted plane of curvilinear perspective. The downward curving horizon implied in the form composed of rows of massed figures creates a dramatic sense of opposing forces moving towards each other in an unstoppable momentum.

Although not fully completed or entirely visually resolved, the mural *Theatrical Art in the Life of Mexico*, which Siqueiros painted in the Jorge Negrete Theatre in Mexico City, shares the use of a historical narrative as an allusion to contemporary politics. In this case, Siqueiros used his primary theme of the history of drama in Mexico to present the concept of tragedy, which in the context of the mural was translated into a passionate protest against the repressive policies of the López Mateos government and the Mexican state, in opposition to which he was actively involved.⁶³

Siqueiros' interpretation of the theme that he had been contracted to depict provoked enormous reaction and opposition from those who had commissioned the work.⁶⁴ He had

212 deliberately blurred the boundaries between art and politics. As the mural developed, the directorate of the actors' union that had commissioned him sought legal injunction against him for what was seen to be a gross departure from the agreed theme. In a lecture delivered in Caracas in 1960, following the placing of the legal injunction, Siqueiros explained his motives in his approach to the mural

This was a time when the Mexican government had just staged the worst aggression ever perpetrated by a 'revolutionary' government against the organized workers of the country. More than five thousand had been imprisoned. . . . Many railroad workers had been tortured and killed. What could I do under these circumstances? I painted this situation as a concrete example of tragedy. I painted the aggression of the police and the military against the workers, and their leaders, who in essence were blindly obeying the orders of the American State Department.⁶⁵

Although the mural is indeed far from resolved, particularly on the right side of the work, it nevertheless presents some of the most expressive and powerful passages of painting in any of Siqueiros' mural works. Like the work at Chapultepec and his other mural of this period at the Centro Medico, Siqueiros employed a mass of compacted figures to evoke intense feelings of struggle as both a compositional and narrative technique. Within the composition he also added violently contorted figures to heighten the degree of expressiveness. The focal point of the composition is a weeping mother, mourning a dead son, a communist, killed in a street fight. Siqueiros pictured this martyred figure wrapped in a shroud of the national colours. To the right, a menacing group of soldiers stamp their feet on the 1917 constitution, an image that further underlines the rationale for depicting the dead worker as both a revolutionary and a nationalist. Both images signify the essence of a tragedy in which the nation's democratic rights and its identity have been martyred.

There is another characteristic to this mural, perhaps more prominently displayed than in any other of Siqueiros' mural works, which is his extremely gestural and expressionistic handling of paint. It is a quality that lends an emotive resonance to those areas of the mural that are resolved, not encountered in his

other, earlier works. Indeed, the passage of figures to the left of the central group is reminiscent of Goya's so-called 'Black Paintings'.

In the third mural of the late 1950s, painted in 1958 in the entranceway of the Department of Cancer in the capital's Centro Médico, Siqueiros returned to his now familiar display of futurist and technological rhetoric. However, as in both the mural at Chapultepec and at the Jorge Negrete Theatre, he drew out an analogy with contemporary politics, a point highlighted by the work's subtitle, *The Historical Parallel between the Scientific Revolution and the Social Revolution*. Siqueiros painted the mural around the two main adjacent walls in the entrance to the centre's Department of Cancer. In simple terms, it consists of a narrative in which humanity's past meets its future in an extraordinary image of a female patient lying within a vast cobalt ray-gun, surrounded by the white-coated figures of doctors and medical personnel. On either side of this central image, Siqueiros introduced lines of compacted human figures. To the right, the figures represent the social development of humanity from the era of the cave dweller to modern technological science. To the left of the central image, Siqueiros created one of his most inventive passages of imagery. It depicts the cancer virus being transformed into the means of its own destruction. This passage contains two monstrous figures. The first is hideously contorted, the second an equally demonic image that seems to be drilling into the entrails of the human figure. The two images are a powerful invention of visual dialectic, from which Siqueiros draws out forms that move across the wall to the centre of the composition. There they become transformed into the cobalt ray-gun, the image of their own destruction. Siqueiros draws a parallel here between scientific advance in medicine and what he saw as the advance of a new revolutionary society. The analogy is clear: from the past comes the present and the future. From the presence of disease comes the knowledge of its destruction.

As a site-specific public mural painting, the composition was related to the low-ceilinged architecture of its location. In the process Siqueiros also created an intriguing manipulation of the pictorial space through the exploitation of optical illusion, engaging the spectator and promoting the need to move to different viewing positions in order to absorb the full impact of

237 top
David Alfaro Siqueiros: *Apologia for the Future Victory of Medicine over Cancer*. Acrylic on plywood, 1958. National Medical Centre, detail, Mexico City. The mural had to be taken down following irreparable damage to the building in the Mexican earthquake of 1985.



238 bottom
David Alfaro Siqueiros: *Apologia for the Future Victory of Medicine over Cancer*. Acrylic on plywood, 1958. National Medical Centre, detail of centre wall, Mexico City.



the work. However, for his audience, who were relatives of cancer patients, or those themselves awaiting diagnosis or treatment, the rhetoric of the mural was deeply inappropriate.⁶⁶

Of the three murals of the late 1950s, that in the National Museum of History at Chapultepec Castle marks the culmination of Siqueiros' work as a mural painter. From a strictly formal point of view, the optical concepts he engaged with, and his synthesis of architectonic form and social content reflect an idea of mural painting that extends well beyond the scope envisaged by Orozco or Rivera. But despite the great achievement of the Chapultepec mural, the idea of mural painting as a self-contained form was for Siqueiros aesthetically and politically

limited. In his view, its aesthetic sweep and social possibilities as an art form for a future revolutionary society extended far beyond what he saw as the narrower concerns and horizons of the studio easel painter. Ultimately it was not mural painting as such that captured Siqueiros' creative and social imagination, so much as the concept of a total aesthetic, the social integration of all the plastic arts of painting, sculpture and architecture. Siqueiros devoted his efforts during his last active years to this idea in the creation of his final work, the massive *March of Humanity in Latin America Towards the Cosmos* at the Polyforum Siqueiros in Mexico City.

Begun in 1967 and finally completed in 1971, three years before his death, the monumental *March of Humanity*, with its astronomic costs and the huge numbers of people involved in its creation deserves a long, in-depth study to itself. Leonard Folgarait's book *So Far From Heaven. David Alfaro Siqueiros' The March of Humanity and Mexican Revolutionary Politics*⁶⁷ provides an excellent picture of the social and political context out of which this final work emerged. As a work of art, and one with profound implications concerning social meaning and the role of a radical artist in the late twentieth century, *March of Humanity* was both the most ambitious undertaking of Siqueiros' career and the most questionable.

From ideas first generated during the time he spent in prison from 1960 to 1964 for the crime of social dissolution, Siqueiros saw the concept as one involving every possible element of the plastic arts.⁶⁸ It was the ultimate realization of his long-established ideal of plastic integration. On his release from prison in July 1964, he was given the chance to put his ideas into practice when he was approached by the cement manufacturer and real-estate millionaire, Manuel Suárez. Suárez originally commissioned Siqueiros to produce eighteen panels, each of twelve square metres, for the main hall of the conference centre Suárez was constructing at the Hotel de Silva complex in Cuernavaca.

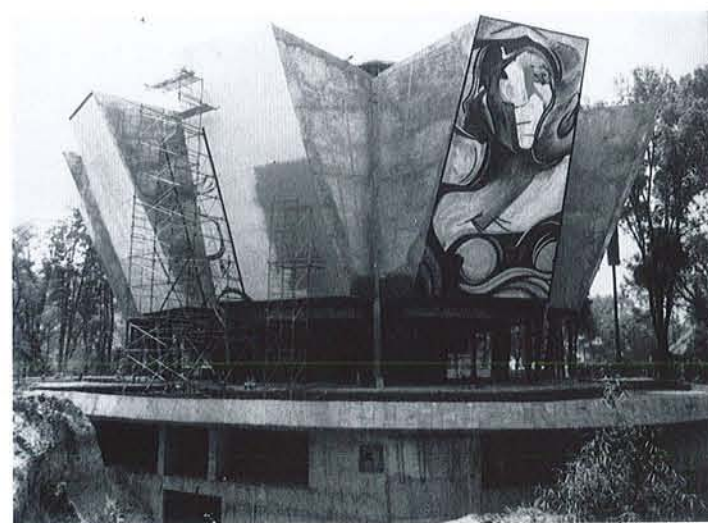
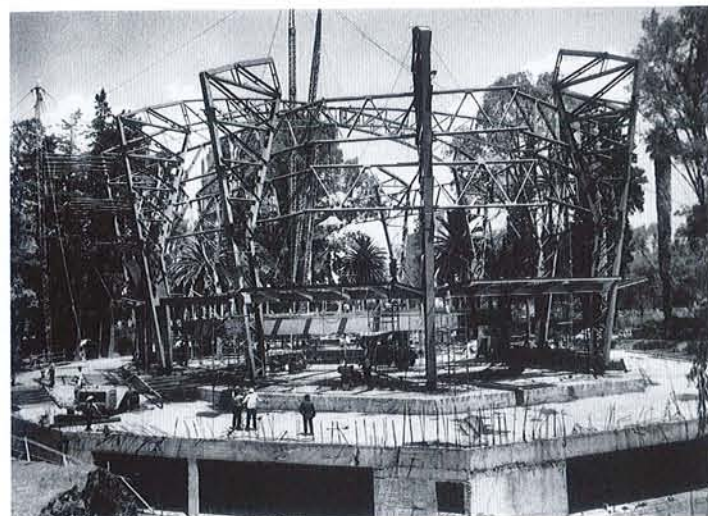
The commission underwent rapid alteration, however, when Suárez was given permission by the government to develop a huge site in the Parque de la Lama in Mexico City as part of the government's tourist and conference centre development plans. Suárez conceived the idea of an enormous cultural complex or



239 top
David Alfaro Siqueiros: Cultural Polyforum, exterior. Asbestos panels, cement, metal, acrylic and pyroxaline, 1971. Parque de Lama, Mexico City.

242 opposite
David Alfaro Siqueiros: Cultural Polyforum, exterior. Asbestos panels, cement, metal, acrylic and pyroxaline, 1971. Parque de Lama, Mexico City.

240 & 241 centre & bottom
Archive photographs showing the construction of the Polyforum, Parque de Lama, Mexico City.



Polyforum for this site. It was to be a building that would provide all the cultural amenities of the site, with an exhibition hall, a theatre and, as its major attraction, a vast mural by Siqueiros. By 1965 the original commission at Cuernavaca was transformed, and in its place the idea of the *March of Humanity* was born.

In collaboration with the architects of the site, Guillermo Rossell and Ramon Miquelajuarequi, Siqueiros conceived a twelve-sided building intended to have a total integral scheme of decoration both inside and out. Each of the twelve exterior faces carries one of Siqueiros's sculptured mural paintings depicting different themes and subjects. They are

Destiny: The World Marches Forward;
Ecology: The Leafless Tree and The Tree Reborn;
Acrobats: The Transition from Spectacle to Culture;
Masses: Man and Woman in their Struggle for Peace;
Decalogue: Moses Breaks the Tablets of Law;
Christ: Christian Why Persecutest Thou Me?;
Indigenous Peoples: The Sacrifice of the Aborigine Before the Civilized Man's Divinity;
Dance: Modern Movement Towards Love and Victory;
Mythology: The Development of Abstract Thought;
Mingling of The Races: The Drama of War and Love During the Conquest;
Music: Art Without Discrimination; and
Atom: The Triumph of Peace Over Destruction.

Inside Siqueiros created the *March of Humanity*. Covering an area of several thousand square feet, the sculptured painting was created over a huge ellipse formed by the dome-like vault of the ceiling area of the upper floor of the building. Accompanied by light and sound, the viewing area for the work rotates so that the viewer becomes a participant in the action being represented.

When it was completed, Siqueiros had created a unique work of art, but one with some disturbing aspects. For the work of a self-proclaimed, revolutionary socialist artist, the enormous costs incurred, the imposition of an entrance fee, the siting of the building beyond the reach of the general public, and the abstracted rendering of the theme all have considerable implications for the project's achievement as a significant work of popular public, social and political realism.⁶⁹ Indeed, the work is to some extent tainted by the rationale of Manuel Suárez, whose justification





243 *opposite*
David Alfaro Siqueiros: *The March of Humanity*. Asbestos panels, cement, metal, acrylic and pyroxaline, 1971. Cultural Polyforum, Parque de Lama, Mexico City.

244
David Alfaro Siqueiros: *The March of Humanity*. Asbestos panels, cement, metal acrylic and pyroxaline, 1971. Cultural Polyforum, Parque de Lama, Mexico City.



217

for the project was acutely expressed when he said 'Let us make tourism an even more important form of expression; let us make it grow by means of art. . . .'⁷⁰

From an aesthetic viewpoint, *March of Humanity* is overblown, unrelentingly oppressive in its use of violent red and ochre colours and its endlessly gyrating figural composition. Furthermore, the conceptual unity of the work is not successful, a problem largely resulting from the highly ambitious but almost impossible task of integrating the work of the different teams of artists who assisted Siqueiros in its creation.

Yet in the final analysis, Siqueiros' work in the Polyforum is an immense achievement. Its value lies in the physical evidence

of its aims and intentions, and in the material, technical and aesthetic implications of its creation for the future of public mural art. In conceptual and technical terms, Siqueiros achieved something no other artist of this century had even attempted. In organizing one great creative team, Siqueiros and his many assistants broke new ground and presented a basis on which the possibility of a collective plastic creativity could be realized. As Antonio Rodríguez has written, 'Many will disagree with (Siqueiros') theories and his form of painting, but nobody can deny the originality of his art, an art which enabled him to make a major artistic contribution while always following the aim which he had served himself – that of serving his people.'⁷¹

Postscript

When Siqueiros died in 1973 at the age of 77, the story of Mexican mural painting did not end. A second generation of active and prolific muralist painters existed, such as Rufino Tomayo, Carlos Chaves Morado, Juan O’Gorman, Enrico Eppens, Jorge Gonzáles Camarena and, later still, such painters as Arnold Belkin and many others. Today, painters in Mexico continue to work on public commissions such as major projects in some of the subway stations of Mexico City.

Much has changed, of course, in the character of Mexican mural art since the early days of the mural movement. But the work of Orozco, Rivera and Siqueiros constituted a defining of the original aspirations and intentions of the Mexican movement. How are we to view this movement and, in particular, the work of these three painters as we approach the end of the century? Where can we place them in the stories of twentieth-century art?

In one sense, the task of locating the murals of Orozco, Rivera and Siqueiros within the diversity of the historical narratives that make up the history of twentieth-century art is much easier now than at any period since the end of the Second World War. The centrality and authority of the modernist ethos that permeated so much of the practice and theory of artists and writers in the twentieth century, particularly in the post-war period, has broken down and given way to an inclusion of diversity and difference, to an acceptance of ‘the other’.

But perhaps as important as the breaking down of the centrality and authority of the modernist ethos is the dramatic reconfiguration of the global political landscape that up until very recently was defined by the contending claims and assumptions of the two conflicting ideologies of liberal capitalism and Soviet socialism. The cultural, ideological and political world of the post-war era was not, of course, constructed entirely or exclusively within the absolutist terms represented by these dominating oppositions. Nevertheless, the opposing aspirations of these two dramatically different views of society created an ideological environment in which artists like Siqueiros and Rivera, in particular, could be marginalized or excluded from the

main narrative of modern Western art by the liberal capitalist societies of the West. The hidden and unhidden Western assumptions were that the association of artistic practice and political and social expression was a barren marriage, in which the domain of the creative imagination was inappropriately controlled and influenced by unrelated factors.

The apparently total collapse of Soviet communism and the demise of the Soviet Union have not necessarily altered such liberal beliefs, but the political and ideological ‘disappearance’ of the Soviet Union has weakened them. In the absence of the ideological imperatives that powered the East–West conflicts of the past, North American and Western European culture can no longer justify the exclusion or marginalization of those artists perceived as too heavily influenced by or engaged with matters unrelated to the exclusive demands of artistic practice.

But if it is true that we can now deal with the art of Orozco, Rivera and Siqueiros as part of the diversity of narratives that make up the history of twentieth-century art, then it is important that the cultural dynamic that makes this possible is understood. The dramatic changes that have taken place in the East–West political and ideological landscape are part of this dynamic, forces that inevitably recontextualize the readings that have so often been made of Mexican muralism and, in particular, of the work of its three leading painters.

The terms which have often been used in the past to describe the mural movement and the work of Orozco, Rivera and Siqueiros, such as socialist, revolutionary and political, are still valid to a certain extent. But they are also simplistic and, worse, often very misleading. In the changing cultural dynamic of the 1990s these terms divert attention away from what today is a profoundly different and more radical interpretation of their potential significance.

Such interpretations must begin by recognizing the specifically North American and Mexican context within which the mural movement was created. Here, in the wake of Mexico’s colonial past and its turbulent revolution, the movement became essentially a process of cultural re-empowerment. This process of cultural redefinition took place not only in relation to Mexico as a nation and as a people, but also in relation to its colonized past and to the contemporary world.

Today, in the context of the North American continent, of which Mexico is fundamentally a part, we must recognize that the classic colonialisms of the past, which plundered, destroyed or transformed the once indigenous North American landmass, have been superseded by another, very different type of colonialism. It is one that has taken control of culture even more thoroughly, and increasingly attempts to strip away the collective tools by which peoples define and empower themselves.

To travel from one country to another in the late twentieth century is increasingly to recognize the extent to which the new colonialism wrought by the economic culture of the free market is inexorably transforming diversity into 'oneness' and difference into 'sameness'. Nowhere is the process stronger than in the North American continent. Yet it is in the face of this homogenizing process that a paradox is confronted. The essential characteristics of North America are diversity and difference, yet in the context of the free market culture, these diversities, far from diminishing, are becoming increasingly entrenched both culturally and politically. The reasons for this are varied. In part, it is because the historical consequences visited upon this once indigenous landmass by the colonialisms of Spain, France, Britain and, more recently, the United States, together with all the ensuing patterns of immigration and settlement by both exploiters and the exploited, have helped to generate a culture of diversity and difference. But more significantly we must recognize that today the increasing fragmentation into difference and diversity in North American culture is also being powered by a radical resistance. It is a resistance that seeks to counter the free market's cultural obliteration of the mechanisms by which peoples define their sense of identity. Such resistance seeks to emphasize roots, origins, ethnicity, and the examination and re-envisioning of history, diversity and difference, in order to recon-

nect a sense of the collective self in relation to those diverse and different pasts and origins.

It is within these diversities and differences that I sense the emergence of a dynamic which could be described as the beginnings of a pan-North American cultural radicalism. It is a cultural dynamic whose essential characteristics are those of resistance, empowerment and a process of definition. This cultural dynamic is one that necessarily resides in the realm of the public, as opposed to the private, domain. In observing the formation of these characteristics, we also return to the great paradox. The process which they resist and against which they compete, is the same process that propels them into the cultural and political foreground, namely the forces of the free market.

The homogenizing influence of the free market, with its numbing ahistorical certainties, so typically reflected in consumerism, presents us in the late twentieth century with a process that is helping to redefine the contours of our cultural, political and social landscape. The full consequences of this cannot yet be known. However, it is certain that whatever those consequences will be, they will profoundly alter the terms of reference by which nation states, peoples, their origins and identities are defined.

It is in this light that the Mexican mural movement and the work of its three leading painters takes on a new significance. In residing so insistently in the realm of the public domain, the movement addressed those matters that are, I believe, central to the issues that surround the contemporary North American cultural phenomenon of diversity and difference. The murals represent a people's roots, their ethnicity, their shared sense of origin, in which the examination and re-appropriation of history can focus on the struggle for freedom, liberty, justice and, above all, identity.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Herbert Read, London, Faber and Faber, 1951: p. 43
2. *El Machete*, No. 7, 1924, Mexico. The manifesto was first proclaimed on 9 Dec. 1923, in response to the political events in Mexico.
3. Leonard Folgarait, *So Far From Heaven. David Alfaro Siqueiros' The March of Humanity and Mexican Revolutionary Politics*, Cambridge Iberian and Latin American Studies, Cambridge University Press, 1987: p. 1.
4. Clement Greenberg, *Art and Literature*, No. 4 (Spring 1965): pp. 193–201.
5. Bertolt Brecht, 'Popularity and Realism', published in *Schriften zur Literatur und Kunst*, Frankfurt, 1967.
6. Clement Greenberg, *ibid.*
7. Luis Cardoza y Aragon, *Mexican Art Today*, Mexico City, Fondo Cultura Economica, 1966: pp. 21–22.
8. George Biddle, *An American Artist's Story* (from a letter written by George Biddle to President Roosevelt, 9 May 1933), Boston, Little Brown, 1939: p. 268.
9. Francis V. O'Connor, *Art for the Millions*, Greenwich, CT, New York Graphic Society, 1973: p. 69.
10. José Clemente Orozco, 'New World, New Races, New Art', *Creative Art Magazine of Fine and Applied Art*, New York, Volume 4, no. 1, 1929.
11. Quoted in Raquel Tibol, *Arte y Política, Diego Rivera*, Editorial Grijalbo, Mexico, 1979, p. 27.
12. Herbert Read, *A Concise History of Modern Painting*, New York, F.A. Praeger, 1968, p. 8.
13. *A Declaration of Social, Political and Aesthetic Principles*. Drawn up by Siqueiros in 1922 and signed by all the members of the Syndicate of Technical Workers, Painters and Sculptors, among whom were Diego Rivera, José Clemente Orozco, Jean Charlot, Ignacio Asunsolo, Xavier Guerrero, Fermín Revueltas, Roberto Montenegro and Carlos Mérida. An English translation is published in *Art and Revolution*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1975: pp. 24–25.

CHAPTER ONE

1. A feature of debt peonage was that landless peasants who worked on haciendas were forced to live in accommodation owned by the landlords, and to buy clothing, food and medicine from their stores. The peasants' wages never covered these basic provisions. By insisting on credit being given at the hacienda stores, the landlords created ever-increasing levels of exploitation for their workers. They deducted these debts from

their wages, with the result that the peasant and his family received nothing for the work that he did.

2. Jean Franco, *The Modern Culture of Latin America*, Pelican Books, Harmondsworth, 1971: p. 66.
3. Jean Franco, *ibid.*: p. 66.
4. This famous labour dispute was a significant event in the political developments leading up to the Mexican revolution of 1910. 2,000 Mexican workers struck in protest at the low level of their wages in comparison to those paid to American employees of the company working in the same mines. Led by Manuel Díguez, Calderón and Plácido Ríos, the Mexican workers marched to the mine headquarters in Cananea to demand higher wages. They were met by a hail of bullets from US company security guards. In the conflict that followed Galbraith, the Consul General of the United States, ordered American Rangers into Mexico to suppress the strike, resulting in 23 deaths, 22 injuries and more than 50 people being imprisoned.
5. James Creelman, "President Diaz, Hero of the Americas", *Pearson's Magazine*, Vol. XIX, No. 3, March 1908.
6. *Mexico and Its Heritage*, New York, Century Company, 1927: p. 635.
7. Antonio Rodríguez, *A History of Mexican Mural Painting*, London, Thames and Hudson 1969: p. 385.
8. David Brading, *The Origins of Mexican Nationalism*, University of Cambridge, Centre for Latin American Studies, 1985: p. 99.
9. *Ibid.*: p. 101.
10. *Ibid.*: p. 1.
11. Justinio Fernández, *A Guide to Mexican Art*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1969: p. 151.
12. *Ibid.*: p. 140.
13. Nicola Coleby, unpublished MA thesis 'La Construcción de una Estetica: El Ateneo de La Juventud, Vasconcelos, y la Primera Etapa de la Pintura Mural Posrevolucionaria, 1921–1924', Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1986: p. 68.
14. *Ibid.*: p. 68.
15. *Ibid.*: p. 68.
16. José Clemente Orozco, *An Autobiography*, University of Texas Press, Austin, Texas, 1962: p. 20.
17. *Ibid.*: p. 20.
18. *El Imparcial*, Mexico City, 13 Nov. 1910.
19. Quoted in Jean Charlot, *The Mexican Mural Renaissance*, New York, Hacker Books, 1979: p. 49.
20. *Ibid.*: p. 49.
21. *Ibid.*: p. 70.

22. Ibid.: p. 70.
23. *Art and Revolution*, ibid.: p. 69.
24. Charlot, ibid.: p. 89.
25. Quoted by Renato Molina Enriquez, 'La Decoración de Diego Rivera en La Preparatoria', *El Universal Ilustrado*, Mexico City, 22 Mar. 1923.
26. Quoted in Charlot, ibid.: p. 90.
27. Ibid.: p. 93.
28. Vera De Córdova, for example, wrote in a caustic article in the magazine *Revista de Revistas*, of 25 Feb. 1923, that 'bluff is the word written on the studio door of each one of those fashionable artists who climb the steps of a certain infatuated Secretary. . . . The official backing that artists of the calibre of Roberto Montenegro and Adolfo Best receive can foster only ridicule.'
29. Charlot, ibid.: p. 141.
30. Quote from an interview with Octavio Paz, published in *Arts Canada*, Jan. 1980.

CHAPTER TWO

1. Florence Arquin, *Diego Rivera: The Shaping of an Artist, 1889-1921*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1971: p. 86.
2. Jean Charlot, *The Mexican Mural Renaissance*, Hacker Books, New York, 1979: p. 209.
3. José Clemente Orozco, *An Autobiography*, University of Texas Press, Austin, Texas, 1962: pp. 39-40.
4. Ibid.: p. 8.
5. Charlot, ibid.: p. 215.
6. Orozco, ibid: p. 54.
7. Charlot, ibid.: p. 217.
8. 'La Exposición de la Escuela Nacional de Belles Artes', *Revista de Revistas*, 7 May 1916.
9. Charlot, ibid.: p. 220.
10. When Orozco entered the United States, the American customs service confiscated and destroyed much of the work he was carrying, claiming it to be indecent.
11. 'Mexican Painting Today', *International Studio*, Jan. 1923.
12. Besides being a well-known poet, Tablada was also a newspaper columnist. This took him frequently to the United States, from where he sent home a weekly column entitled 'New York by day and by night'.
13. Siqueiros was taught by Germán Gedovious for oil painting, by Emiliano Valdés for the nude figure, by Saturnino Herrán for drawing of the clothed figure, by Francisco de la Torre Herrán for landscape and by Carlos Lazo for the history of art. It should be noted that although teaching at the Academy was controlled by the 'Pillet' system, the growing cultural nationalism and concern for Mexican subject-matter did not leave Siqueiros' instructors unaffected.
14. Charlot, ibid.: p. 191.
15. *Art and Revolution*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1975: p. 69.
16. *Me Llamaban El Coronelazo. Memorias de David Alfaro Siqueiros*, Biographás Grandesa, Mexico City, 1977: p. 86.
17. From a manuscript in the Siqueiros archives, Mexico City, entitled 'Autobiographical notes'.
18. 'Un Nuevo Artista', *El Universal Ilustrado*, 15 Nov. 1918, quoted by Charlot, ibid.: p. 196.
19. Ibid.
20. 'Mi Repuesta', Centro de Arte Público, Mexico City: pp. 16-17.
21. 'Mi Repuesta', ibid.: p. 18.
22. See Peter de Francia, *Léger*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1983: p. 3, and Siqueiros, *Memorias*, ibid.: p. 130.
23. From the manifesto 'Three calls to American Painters: Detrimental Influences and Tendencies', *Vida Americana*, Barcelona, 1921. Translation published in *Art and Revolution*. Ibid. Chapter 3.
24. 'Three Calls to American Painters', ibid.: pp. 21-2.
25. See F. T. Marinetti, 'The Foundation and Manifesto of Futurism', 1908, published in H. B. Chipp, ed., *Theories of Modern Art*, University of California Press, Berkeley, Los

- Angeles and London, 1968: p. 284.
26. John White, *The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space*, Faber, London, 1972: p. 140.
27. *Memorias*, ibid.: p. 163. The Barcelona manifesto was produced in collaboration with Salvat Papaseit and, according to Siqueiros, with the help of Salvador Dalí. Unfortunately Siqueiros does not expand on this interesting connection in his memoirs.
28. 'Three Calls to American Painters', ibid.: p. 21.
29. Ibid.: pp. 22-3 (Siqueiros' italics).
30. Charlot, ibid.: p. 169. Borjórquez wrote the letter because Siqueiros considered that it might speed up the bureaucratic delay in advancing the money that he had requested from Vasconcelos for a prolongation of his stay in Europe.
31. Charlot, ibid.: p. 200.

CHAPTER THREE

1. Nicola Coleby, unpublished MA thesis 'La Construcción de una Estetica: El Ateneo de La Juventud, Vasconcelos, y la Primera Etapa de la Pintura Mural Posrevolucionaria, 1921-1924', Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1986: chapters 1 and 3.
2. *Diego Rivera: A Retrospective*, exh. cat., Founders Society, Detroit Institute of Arts and W.W. Norton & Company, New York and London, 1986: p. 237.
3. Antonio Rodríguez, *A History of Mexican Mural Painting*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1969: p. 186.
4. Jean Charlot, *The Mexican Mural Renaissance*, Hacker Books, New York, 1979: p. 209.
5. Charlot, ibid.: p. 145.
6. Charlot, ibid.: p. 143.
7. Charlot, ibid.: p. 149.
8. David Alfaro Siqueiros, 'Diego Rivera Discute', *El Demócrata*, 2 Mar. 1924.
9. Charlot, ibid.: p. 203.
10. David Alfaro Siqueiros, 'Lectures to Artists', *New University Thought*, Winter 1962.
11. *El Universal Ilustrado*, 19 June 1923. Guerrero's technical development incorporated the use of juices from fermenting leaves of the nopal cactus as a paint binder and for helping to spread the paint. Aside from its appalling stench, the technique proved to be faulty, and was eventually abandoned in favor of the traditional *buon fresco* recipe. The use of nopal cactus leaves in part explains the reason for the less than perfect condition of the early mural panels in the Ministry of Education.
12. José Clemente Orozco, *An Autobiography*, University of Texas Press, Austin Texas, 1962: p. 85.
13. Quoted in Charlot, ibid.: p. 227.
14. Charlot, ibid.: pp. 228-9.
15. Laurence Hurlbert, *The Mexican Muralists in the United States*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1989: p. 19. In 1921 Vasconcelos commissioned Dr. Atl to paint mural decorations in the former convent of San Pedro y San Pablo in Mexico City; he painted panels entitled 'The Sun', 'The Moon', 'The Wind', 'The Rain', 'The Titan', 'The Vampire', 'Night', 'The Wave' and 'The Man who came out of the Sea'. They were subsequently all destroyed. Hurlbert refers here to one of these panels.
16. Rodríguez, ibid.: p. 198.
17. Vasconcelos was singularly unimpressed with the union and refused to recognize it. In his memoirs he wrote 'I was amused when they organized themselves into a union. Siqueiros communicated the formation to me. . . . I will not deal with your union, nor with (Siqueiros). Personally I prefer to accept from all of you your resignations. The money which has been going into your murals we will employ on primary school teachers.'
18. The first issue of *El Machete* was published at the beginning of March 1924. Intended as a two-weekly publication it was officially registered as required by law on 6 Mar. 1924. Printed in large format, it had two colours, usually black and red. Its size allowed it, as Siqueiros put it 'to be stuck to street walls as a poster, and as a wall newspaper in the centers of local union and agrarian buildings'. A subscription for *El Machete* was 50 centavos for three months. The first issue contained such articles as 'Towards a Worker Peasant Government. What is Revolution?', written by Alfonso Goldsmidt,

- and 'Assassins', written by Rivera. Siqueiros contributed an article entitled 'Marginal notes to the Syndicate of Painters and Sculptors' Manifesto'. In it, Siqueiros wrote of how artists of the Syndicate had 'united themselves in a Communist movement for creative art and for carrying out work of social importance'.
19. The text of the manifesto is published in English in David A. Siqueiros, *Art and Revolution*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1975: pp. 24–5.
20. Rodríguez, *ibid.*: p. 199.
21. José Clemente Orozco, 'New World, New Races and New Art', *Creative Art Magazine of Fine and Applied Art*, January, 1929 supplement: pp. 44–6.
22. Charlot, *ibid.*: pp. 295–6..
23. Rodríguez, *ibid.*: p. 189.
24. Charlot, *ibid.*: p. 285.
25. *Ibid.*: p. 235.
26. D. H. Lawrence, *The Plumed Serpent*, Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1977: p. 59.
27. Bernard Meyers, *Mexican Painting in Our Time*, Oxford University Press, New York, 1956: p. 89. The mural was commissioned by Francisco Sergio Iturbe. The building, a classical colonial structure, now houses the Sanborn's department store and restaurant.
28. Malinche spoke both Mayan and Aztec languages. Cortéz was also able to communicate through the Spaniard, Jerónimo de Aguilar, who had a knowledge of Mayan language (he had lived in Mexico for eight years prior to the arrival of Cortéz).
29. Las Casas was one of the most remarkable men of the sixteenth century. The first secular priest to be ordained in the new world, Las Casas became a lifelong defender of the Indians. David Brading has written that 'his conversion seems to have consisted of the simple, but passionate realization that natives of the new world were as much men as the Spaniards, and hence to much the same rights and treatment as Spaniards. Conversely he experienced a passionate revulsion against those Spaniards, who were guilty of crimes against the Indians.' (From *Prophecy and Myth in Mexican History*, Centre of Latin America Studies, University of Cambridge, Cambridge: p. 16.)
30. Orozco's views on this question are amusingly summed up in *An Autobiography*, *ibid.*: pp. 99, 103.
31. Siqueiros was in part responsible for other murals on the site at this time. However, they are so badly deteriorated that they can no longer effectively be deciphered. In the case of *The Myths*, much of what is still visible appears to have been the work of other artists such as Xavier Guerrero, with Siqueiros contributing little to the overall image.
32. In his memoirs, Siqueiros cites the influence of the Communist Lorenzo Gómez as having had a particular bearing on his move to include more political content in his murals. *Memorias de David Alfaro Siqueiros*, Mexico Biografías Grandesa, 1977: p. 215.
33. Siqueiros dedicated the mural to the great Indian socialist governor of the Yucatán by writing his name on a piece of paper in a bottle and plastering the bottle into the surface of the wall.
34. Rodríguez, *ibid.*: p. 187.
35. *Memorias*, *ibid.*: p. 222.
36. Siqueiros' contract was finally terminated by Cassauranc in August 1924. Orozco's contract was terminated at the same time.
37. Quoted in Charlot, *ibid.*: p. 311.
38. Guillermo García Oropesa, *Murales de Jalisco*, Guadalajara, Gobierno del Estado, 1974: p. 74.
39. Quoted in Charlot, *ibid.*: p. 310. Oropesa, wrote that Siqueiros' panels were 'circular, triangular, prismatic, rectilinear' and that in Guadalajara, Siqueiros '... tried the possibilities of geometry'. This indicates that Siqueiros was probably responsible for the panels *The Machine and Unity of the Peasant and the Worker*, whereas de la Cueva was responsible for such panels as *Allegory of Zapata* (photographic evidence in Charlot, Plate 50b, seems to confirm this).
40. Following de la Cueva's tragic death, Siqueiros' involvement in trade union activity in the state of Jalisco centred around the National Peasant Congress, and the League of Agrarian Communities, together with the directorship of a workers' newspaper, *El Martillo*. This was followed by editorship of the newspaper *El 130*, and the direction of the Congress of Workers' Unification of Hostotipaquilla. In 1928 Siqueiros went to the Soviet Union as the delegate of the Jalisco Miners' Union to the 4th Congress of the Red International Syndicate. In January 1929 he was named Secretary General of the Unitary Syndicate of Mexico by the National Assembly of Peasant Worker Unification, and went to Montevideo as a delegate of the Congress of Latin American Unions. In May 1930 Siqueiros was arrested for his involvement in a banned May-day demonstration in Mexico City. He was charged with disturbing public order, instigation and incitement to rebellion. He was sentenced to jail in the Mexico City penitentiary, and was eventually released in November 1930, whereupon he was sentenced to a further year of internal exile in the silver-mining town of Taxco.
41. Rodríguez, *ibid.*: p. 197.
42. *My Life, My Art*, an autobiography written in conjunction with Gladys March, Citadel Press, New York, 1960: p. 134.
43. Rivera's assistants on these frescoes were de la Cueva, Guerrero and Charlot. They moved into the building in February 1923 to begin preparing the wall surfaces prior to painting. Rivera began the following month.
44. *Indigenismo* was reflected in the great interest in anthropology during the decade of the 1920s. Indicative of this concern was the employment of the painter Best Maugard in 1911 by the American Franz Boas to make drawings of thousands of pots from the valley of Mexico. From this, Boas developed an alphabet for teaching children. In 1922 Dr. Atl published his work *Artes Populares de Mexico*, and the great Mexican anthropologist Manuel Gamio, assisted by the painter Francisco Goitia, made his pioneering study of the archaeological site of Teotihuacan.
45. This panel caused enormous controversy when it was completed because Rivera had inscribed on one of the wooden pit-planks a poem by Gutiérrez Cruz, which ran: 'Comrade miner bending beneath the weight of the earth, your hand errs when it digs metals for money. Make knives with all the metals, and thus you will see how all the metals will be for you.' When this poem was discovered, Pani, the Secretary to the Treasury, forced Rivera to remove the words. He succeeded only after Rivera had agreed with his colleagues in the Syndicate that the political content of the mural would not be undermined by the removal of the poem.
46. *My Life, My Art*, *ibid.*: p. 136.
47. See Charlot, *ibid.*: pp. 278–9 for a description of the events leading up to Rivera's action.
48. Although not discovered until 1949, the Mayan murals of Bonampak in Yucatán, dating from AD 692, provide an excellent example of this particular idiom. See Rodríguez, *ibid.*: plate 29.
49. Rivera continued with this focus on the Indian later in 1928 when he painted the portraits of the great Indian revolutionary leaders along the second floor of the Courtyard of Labour in the guise of secular saints: Felipe Carrillo Puerto, Emiliano Zapata and Otilio Montaña.
50. *My Life, My Art*, *ibid.*: p. 136.
51. The work also makes an interesting comparison with Siqueiros' *Burial of the Sacrificed Worker*, in that Rivera's highly accomplished rendition of this theme shows the degree of his maturity as a painter at this time in comparison with Siqueiros.
52. Rivera only loosely followed the stanzas of the *corridos*, being more concerned to create the feel of these popular songs than strictly to adhere to the original texts. For a reading of the proletarian *corridos*, see Bertram Wolfe, *The Fabulous Life of Diego Rivera*, Stein and Day, New York, 1969: pp. 209–10.
53. Diego Rivera's trip to the Soviet Union was arranged by Edo Fimmen, President of the International Transport Workers' Federation. Fimmen obtained a special Soviet government invitation for Rivera to attend the tenth anniversary of the Soviet Revolution. While he was in Moscow Rivera signed a contract on 24 November with Lunacharsky, the Soviet Minister of Education, to paint a fresco in the Red Army Club (see letter to Rivera from Lunacharsky in Wolfe, *ibid.*: p. 217). Rivera did not in the end carry out this commission for health reasons and for what were termed 'unspecified' political reasons. The latter almost certainly referred to Rivera's growing sympathy with the political position of Leon Trotsky.
54. Wolfe, *ibid.*: p. 211.
55. The panel of *The Trench* makes an interesting comparison with the panel of the same title and subject painted by Orozco in 1926 in the National Preparatory School. In Rivera's work the atmosphere is poetic and lyrical, revealing nothing of the pain and tragedy that is monumentally expressed in Orozco's work.

- There are some notable portraits in the fresco *Distribution of Arms*. These include that of Frida Kahlo, seen in the very centre of the mural distributing rifles. On the right side of the panel are the photographer Tina Modotti and Julio Mella. Mella was the founder of the Cuban Communist Party, and was walking with Modotti when he was assassinated in 1929. Siqueiros is also included in the fresco on the left side of the panel, wearing army uniform.
56. De Negri was also head of the National Agrarian Commission and was responsible for directing the partitioning of the old hacienda land of Chapingo and for its distribution to its peasant workers.
57. In a personal interview conducted in 1978 in Mexico City, O'Higgins spoke of how he and the others who assisted Rivera on the project would travel by train every morning from Mexico City to Chapingo to work on the mural.
58. These three figures echo the motifs depicted in Rivera's *Burning of the Judases* panel in the Courtyard of the Fiestas in the Ministry of Education.
59. The model for this figure was the photographer Tina Modotti. Modotti posed for other panels within the cycle, specifically for the *Germination* panel.
60. Louis Gillet quoted in Wolfe, *ibid.*: p. 234.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. José Vasconcelos, *La Raza Cósmica*, published in *Obras Completas*, 4 vols., Libreros Mexicanos Unidos, Mexico, 1957–61. Vasconcelos' ideas on the *mestizo* stemmed partly from the celebrated book published in 1909 by Andrés Molina Enríquez, *Los Grandes Problemas Nacionales* (Ediciones Era, Mexico, 1978). The author argued that the essence of Mexican nationality could never be identified with the Creoles, because European ancestry would by sentiment, culture and custom bind them primarily to their European origins. As for the Indians, Enríquez considered that due to the multiplicity of their languages and tribes it would be impossible for them to identify with anything beyond their village or *pueblo*. He thus proposed *mestizaje* as the basis on which the struggle for a Mexican national and cultural consciousness would develop. See Nicola Coleby, unpublished MA thesis, 'La Construcción de una Estética: El Ateneo de la Juventud y la primera Etapa de la Pintura Mural Posrevolucionaria, 1921–1924', Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1986: pp. 49–52.
- Further writings by Vasconcelos on the matter of Mexican nationality and the question of the *mestizo* can be found in his work *Indología*, published in 1927 and included in *Obras Completas*.
2. The *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* or 'PRI', as it has become known, was formed in 1929. The party claims to represent all elements in Mexican society – peasants, workers and the middle class who support the aims and objectives of the Mexican revolution. As a social organization, it is immensely powerful and influential, having the vast apparatus of the state behind it together with huge financial resources. It is organized in three sections: an agrarian section of the C.N.C. (Confederation of Peasants), the C.T.M. (the powerful Confederation of Workers), and a so-called 'Popular Section'. This third section represents diverse groups from the professional sections of society. It is important to emphasize that the PRI is also supported by significant sections of the business community, many members of which have profited very greatly from its continual rule.
3. Rivera began work on the National Palace mural in July 1929. By the middle of August he was already well engaged with the right-hand panel representing pre-Columbian Mexico. By December 1929 he was working simultaneously on this mural and the cycle in the Cortéz Palace in Cuernavaca.
4. The mural covers 275 square metres.
5. In the Aztec world, Quetzalcoatl was the legendary god of civilization and learning. However, the myth of Quetzalcoatl extends back thousands of years. His first appearance was as a wind and sea god on the eastern coast of Mexico. The myth of Quetzalcoatl then became located at Teotihuacan, a city in the central valley of Mexico dedicated to his name. Following the fall of the city of Teotihuacan, in 600 AD, the deity moved to the Toltec city of Tula in the tenth century. The Toltecs used the name

- by which Quetzalcoatl is now known, a combination of the words *Quetzal*, a green feathered bird from Chiapas, and *Coatl*, which is the Nahuatl word for snake. The combination of these two words makes up the image of the plumed-serpent god symbolizing the duality of the opposites of air and earth.
6. In his book *The Aztecs of Mexico* (Penguin Books, Harmondsworth, 1951, p. 174), George Vaillant wrote of the superstition surrounding Quetzalcoatl and how the Spanish exploited the myth both to justify and to smooth the path of spiritual conquest. He wrote: '... the annals and myths tell of Quetzalcoatl, the great king, who civilized the Toltecs and left for the east to return again. The friars seized upon this myth as evidence that St Thomas the apostle had visited Mexico and converted its inhabitants, who slid back into pagan ways. Therefore the friars, to justify the conquest, made much of a blond god who, after taking leave of his people promised to return from the east by sea.'
7. Stanton L. Catlin refers to the image in the top portion of the mural of an upside-down, half-sun face descending into a volcano as a symbol of the destruction and demise of the Aztec world. Rivera's compositional placement of the image of Pre-Hispanic dissent and inter-tribal conflict on the descending and lower portion of this wall might also suggest that such demise was in part a self-inflicted precursor to the eventual conquest of the society by the Spanish conquistadors. See *Diego Rivera. A Retrospective*, exh. cat., Founder's Society, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1986: p. 262.
8. As George Vaillant has written, the defeat of the Aztecs cannot be explained purely in terms of European history. Moctezuma, the Aztec king, has often been singled out by European authors as weak and vacillating. He was in fact no more than a tribal leader ruling over, not a vast empire, but a group of Indian communities intimidated to pay tribute. The celebrated Aztec warrior was by no means the equivalent of the Spanish soldier, and the defence of Tenochtitlán was not a military defence so much as a defence of the city by heroic and courageous individuals fighting for their lives. See Vaillant, *The Aztecs of Mexico*, *ibid.*: pp. 253–4.
9. The history of the conquest tells of Moctezuma the Aztec king being succeeded by his brother Cuitlahuac, who was quickly succeeded in turn by the heroic Cuauhtemoc. It was Cuauhtemoc who conducted the defence of the Aztec capital Tenochtitlán against Cortez's forces. The Aztec forces eventually disintegrated following a siege of the capital. Cuauhtemoc escaped by canoe. Eventually captured by Cortez, Cuauhtemoc was imprisoned. Cuauhtemoc is always credited with refusing to divulge to Cortez the whereabouts of the Aztec gold. He was hanged by Cortez four years later during the latter's march to the Honduras.
10. Vaillant, *ibid.*, noting the myths surrounding Quetzalcoatl, suggests that the exploitation of this myth by the Spanish, with the supposition that Cortez may have been the incarnation of the returning Quetzalcoatl, may initially have been the reason why Moctezuma at first welcomed Cortez to Tenochtitlán. Certainly, Aztec prophecy of the timing of Quetzalcoatl's return seems to have coincided with Cortez's arrival on the beaches of eastern Mexico, further confusing the Aztec kingdom with its resolve to resist Spanish intrusion.
11. The beginning of the struggle for Mexico's independence is intimately associated with Manuel Hidalgo, whose famous *Grito de Dolores* (cry of Dolores) spoken on 16 Sept. 1810 from the pulpit of his church in Dolores, Guanajuato, called on his parishioners to fight the Spanish and throw them out of Mexico. Hidalgo left his parish with 600 followers, but within months this figure had risen to 100,000. Although he was defeated a year later at the battle of Aculco and subsequently at the battle of Puente de Calderon, which resulted in his execution, the fight for independence was carried on by others, most notably Morelos, Ignacio Allende, Matamoros and Iturbide. Mexico finally gained its independence from Spain with the Treaty of Cordoba, signed on 24 Aug. 1821. The Treaty ratified the three guarantees of the *Plan de Iguala*, which called for Roman Catholicism to be the only recognized religion for the country, equality for all Mexicans and an independent Mexico.
12. Mexico lost over half its national territory to the United States in 1848 at the end of the Mexican-American war. Following the arrival of French troops in Veracruz in 1861–2, Napoleon III installed the puppet Austrian emperor Maximilian and his wife Carlotta as the King and Queen of Mexico in 1864. In 1867, following the withdrawal of French support by Napoleon because of impending war with Prussia, Maximilian's

- troops were defeated by Mexico’s liberal armies. Maximilian was executed on Cerro de los Campos on 19 June 1867.
13. Rodríguez, *ibid.*: p. 246.
14. Only a few months prior to accepting this commission, Rivera, as a member of the Anti-Imperialist League of the Americas, had publicly denounced the influence of Wall Street on Latin America. As a member of the Workers’ and Peasants’ Block, he had headed a commission that called for the freeing of communists who had been detained for insulting Dwight Morrow during radical street demonstrations.
15. Also part of this gesture was the offer to assist with the finance to restore the local church and the Cortéz Palace, which had fallen into a state of disrepair. Rivera was predictably and bitterly criticized by his former comrades in the Communist Party, from which he was expelled in 1929.
16. The pictorial elements in this part of the fresco owe much to Paolo Uccello; in particular, the arrangement of the two main Aztec and Spanish warriors together with that of the knives, spears, swords and shields at their feet bear a striking resemblance to Uccello’s painting, *The Battle of San Romano* (c.1455; National Gallery, London).
17. The Sahagún Codex is regarded as the most important existing manuscript illustrating the conquest.
18. It is clear that initially officials at Dartmouth College, together with the Rockefeller family, wanted to pursue the idea of Rivera coming to the college. In a letter dated 8 Aug. 1931, Artemas Packard, Chair of the Department of Art at Dartmouth, wrote to Abbey Rockefeller acknowledging ‘your valuable suggestion of Rivera for our mural project. . . . I am more than a little excited by your suggestion of Rivera, who without doubt is a greater all rounder than Orozco.’ (Dartmouth College Archives, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire.) By the following year, opinion had clearly changed in Orozco’s favour. In a letter of 31 May 1932, President Hopkins wrote ‘my original interest in Orozco arose from a suggestion of one of our wealthy patrons of the college that in our teaching of the various eras of art it seemed that the college ought to give something in the way of instruction about Mexican art and about mural painting, both of which could be combined in the person of Orozco’. (Presidential Archives, Hopkins file, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire.) The enthusiasm of the Department of Art for Orozco was well illustrated by Hopkins in the same letter, when he wrote ‘I thereupon asked for a definite assurance in regard to the appropriateness, if any, of the theme suggested, and the Art department became somewhat irritated, saying as far as they went anything that Orozco did would be desirable for the college.’
19. José Clemente Orozco, *An Autobiography*, University of Texas Press, Austin, 1962: p. 123.
20. The *Mexico in Revolution* series was exhibited in Sept. 1928 at the Ashram. He exhibited the same drawings in the 57th Street Gallery, New York, owned by Marie Steiner. Orozco also exhibited his work during this time at the Delphic Studios in New York, organized by Alma Reed.
- Orozco’s activity during this period, in which he was engaged on easel paintings, centred on both Mexican and North American themes. Of the former he produced such works as *Winter, 1932* (Museo de Arte Carillo Gill, Mexico City), while his paintings of *Queenboro’ Bridge* (1932) and *The El* (1930, both in the Museo de Arte Carillo Gill, Mexico City) are particularly important for their North American subject-matter.
21. Quoted by Churchill Lathrop in ‘How the Murals were Commissioned’ (symposium paper presented in autumn 1980 at the meeting of the New England Council of Latin American Studies, Dartmouth College, New Hampshire). Orozco had made a preliminary visit to Dartmouth in order to reconnoitre sites for a small fresco he intended painting as part of a course on the instruction of the fresco technique for students at the college. This preliminary panel was eventually carried out on a wall above the doorway from the Carpenter Hall leading to the lower level of the Baker Library. The small fresco which he eventually painted here was entitled *Release*, for which he was paid with funds provided by the Rockefeller family. The press-release for this small panel stated that the theme of the mural was *Man released from the mechanistic*, a statement adapted from Orozco’s own description of the theme, which stated: ‘In the recovery of the creative use of our hands (Orozco) says he wished to symbolise the recovery of the integrity of the human soul which is in danger of being lost in the confused welter of modern mechanised existence.’ (From Dartmouth College press-release, Dartmouth College Archives, Hanover, New Hampshire.)
22. Laurence Hurlbert, *The Mexican Muralists in the United States*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1989: p. 59.
23. Quote taken from a letter to Matt Jones from Hopkins, dated 31 May 1932, p. 2, Dartmouth College, Presidential archives, Hopkins file, Hanover, New Hampshire.
24. Published in *Dartmouth Alumni Magazine*, Nov. 1933.
25. Hurlbert, *ibid.*: p. 61.
26. Quote from Orozco in a Dartmouth College press-release dated 25 May 1932.
27. Anthropology still contends that the Indians of America arrived through ancient migration over the Bering Straits, travelling down through what is now Canada and the United States and settling throughout North, Central and South America.
28. In Alfonso Caso’s book, *People of the Sun* (Fondo Cultural Económica, Mexico, 1978), Caso writes: ‘The Aztecs, the people of Huitzilopochtli, were the chosen people of the sun. They were charged with the duty of supplying him with food. For that reason war was a form of worship and a necessary activity that led them to establish Xochiyaoyotl, or “flowery war”. Its purpose, unlike that of wars of conquest, was not to gain new territories, not to exact tribute from a conquered peoples, but rather to take prisoners for sacrifice to the sun. The Aztec was a man of the people chosen by the sun. He was a servant of the sun and consequently must be, above everything else, a warrior. . . . Since man was created by the sacrifice of the gods, he must reciprocate by offering them his own blood. . . .’ (p. 24)
29. It seems that in the mural, the images referring to the age of Quetzalcoatl only very loosely adhere to chronological accuracy. The final image in the series, featuring the departure of Quetzalcoatl in a cataclysmic storm, appears to refer to the fourth or fifth stage described in pre-Columbian sources. See Vaillant, *ibid.*: p. 169.
30. Alma Reed, *Orozco*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, New York, 1956: p. 245.
31. As Laurence Hurlbert has pointed out, some of the academic figures in this passage of the mural are caricatures of President Edmunds of Pomona College and the Dean of Students, Jaqua. See Hurlbert, *ibid.*: note 167, p. 270.
32. The panels Orozco painted opposite the long, central north wall of this site, on the theme of Modern Industrial Man, seem out of place with the searing indictment of the historical conclusions painted in the main body of the work. Their rather light, even optimistic tone contrasts strongly with the deeply sombre and pessimistic positions taken up at Dartmouth in his mural *Catharsis* of 1934, and in his later murals of the 1930s in Guadalajara.
33. The Hospicio Cabanas was designed at the end of the eighteenth century by the colonial architect Manuel Tolsa. The foundations were begun in 1801. By 1810 the building, which was conceived as an orphanage, was almost complete and housed 66 of the city’s orphans. At various times during the Mexican struggle for independence the orphans were forced to leave the building in order for it to become a barracks for one side and then the other, thus delaying its completion until the middle of the century. Its founder, Bishop Ruiz de Cabañas, died before the building’s completion in 1845. Prior to Orozco’s murals, the building contained, according to Salvador Echevarría, various wall paintings in the squinches depicting the saints’ lives. One portrayed St. Julian miraculously saving a child who had fallen into a well. The other depicted St. Vincent de Paul carrying a child in his arms. Commissioned by Don Everardo Torpete, the governor of the state of Jalisco, of which Guadalajara is the capital city, Orozco was paid a sum of 70,000 pesos to paint the Cabañas cycle. It covered an area of approximately 1,250 square metres. Guadalajara held special significance for Orozco as it was his birthplace.
34. The origin of the idea of the twin-headed horse goes back to the moment of conquest. The horse was imported by the Spanish into the Americas, where previously it had not existed. Contemporary accounts suggest that the Indians saw the animal and its armed Spanish mount as a twin-headed beast.
35. Salvador Echevarría, *Jalisco en El Arte*, Mexico City, 1973: p. 28.
36. Porfirio Ledo, *Mexico Today*, Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Philadelphia, 1982: p. 53.
37. *Decolonising the Mind*, Zimbabwe Publishing House, 1981: p. 18.

1. See Robert Marett, *New Nations and Peoples: Mexico*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1971: p. 109.
2. Marett, *ibid.*: p. 110. The radical left was harassed during this period. In August 1929 the Mexican government banned communists from entering Mexico, and throughout much of the latter half of the year the labour movement and the Mexican Communist Party was attacked and suppressed.
3. Rivera's position as Director of the Academy was subject to enormous criticism and he was relieved of the position after only eight months. The criticism levelled at Rivera, particularly by conservative academicians, centred on his radical ideas for a new curriculum, calling for a combination of eight years of daytime factory work with art courses at night, to be followed by another five years of daytime study.
4. Although invited to the United States, it is important to stress that neither Rivera's official entry to the country nor the reaction to his presence was without criticism. In the first instance, his entry was refused by the State department on the grounds of his left-wing politics, and it took the intervention of his San Francisco patrons to have the decision reversed. Similarly, public reaction to Rivera's presence in San Francisco was often hostile, and press headlines stressed his communist past.
5. Quoted from the *San Francisco Chronicle*, 11 November 1930.
6. The portrait of the boy holding the aeroplane is of Ralph Stackpole's son Peter. The symbol of the aeroplane is a reference to the aircraft industry that was developed in Burbank, California.
7. 'Rivera Murals in San Francisco', *Creative Art*, May 1931.
8. Rivera was under very considerable pressure at this time from the Mexican government to return home to complete his fresco on the history of Mexico which he was painting on the stairs of the National Palace in Mexico City. Indeed, the commission for the Art Institute was in doubt owing to the numerous telegrams that had been sent to Rivera from the President. Rivera had exhausted himself with the enormous amount of energy he had put into the stock exchange mural and had left San Francisco on completing the work to stay for six weeks at the home of Mrs. Stern in Atherton. There, instead of resting, he painted a mural in her house of an agrarian idyll showing children carrying fruit.
9. From the sketches that Rivera made during the preparation for this mural it is clear that originally he intended to continue with the earth-mother concept of both the stock exchange mural and the initial ideas for the upper centre area of his work in the National Palace in Mexico City. In the second sketch he prepared, the central figure is that of a woman holding fruit. The image strikingly resembles the outline profile of Helen Wills Moody, indicating a wish to repeat the theme of abundance and riches expressed in his use of the image in the stock exchange mural.

The assistants for this mural included Matthew Barnes, Clifford Wright, John (later Lord) Hastings and Marion Simson.
10. Letter to William Gerstle dated 23 May 1929.
11. Diego Rivera, *Hesperian*, San Francisco, Spring 1931.
12. Letter to Rivera from Valentiner dated 27 April 1931, D.I.A. Archives. The commission ran into some problems at the beginning in that Valentiner had been authorized to release a sum of only \$10,000 for the work. Rivera, however, charged \$100 a square foot and the total area of the proposed site was 165 square yards. Initially Rivera agreed to paint only a portion of each wall. However Rivera was sufficiently enthused by the project to request to Ford to paint the whole site, which resulted in Ford agreeing to increase the price to \$20,899. On 10 June 1932 Rivera signed a contract to paint all 27 panels of the museum's central inner courtyard walls.
13. From 23 December 1931 to 27 January 1932, Rivera was given a retrospective exhibition of his work at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. The exhibition was only the second one-man show held at the museum (the first was given to Matisse) and broke all attendance records with nearly 57,000 visitors.
14. In order to catch as many daylight hours as possible, Rivera usually started work around midnight, laying in the drawing and the grey tonal washes while it was still dark. By the time dawn came, he was ready to apply the pure colour using natural daylight. An indication of the speed with which Rivera worked is to be found in the

dating of some of the panels. On the south wall both the upper panels as well as the large central panel bear the date 20 Sept. 1932, indicating that a mere two months had elapsed since he had first started to paint the cycle. Similarly, on the north wall the vaccination panel is dated 9 Nov. 1932.

Rivera had several assistants working with him at Detroit. Besides Clifford Wright, the British sculptor, who was his chief plasterer, there was Andrés Flores Sánchez, his chemist. His job was to test, grind and mix the pigments and generally prepare the paint for each day's painting. In addition there was Ernst Halberdstadt, who came to the project only after Rivera had already completed the first panels on the east wall. Other assistants included A. S. Neindorf, Lucienne Bloch, Stephen Dimitroff and Jack Hastings. Many of these assistants had worked for Rivera before, and would do so again in the future.

15. *Detroit Free Press*, 11 June 1933.
16. *Detroit Free Press*, 16 March 1933.

The general reception and reaction afforded to the Detroit fresco cycle on its completion was, to say the least, mixed. Besides the attack on the vaccination panel, the frescoes were also vigorously defended. The murals attracted thousands of visitors within days of being opened to the public. As many as 16,000 were reported to have visited them on the opening weekend alone (*Detroit Times*, 27 Mar. 1933, '16,000 enlist in murals war'). Much of the criticism was orchestrated by the most conservative element of Detroit society. *The Detroit News* of 18 Mar. 1933 ran an editorial saying that the best thing to do would be to 'return the court(yard) to its original beauty'. The editorial continued by suggesting that the murals were essentially 'un-American, incongruous, and unsympathetic', and that Rivera's depiction of the factory worker was not 'a fair picture of the man who works in the factory, where there is plenty of space and movement. . . . where there is good ventilation and light and every facility to encourage efficient labor'. Another fierce critic was Dr. John Derry, President of the Marygrove College for Girls, who accused Valentiner of having sold the best walls of the Institute to 'an outside half-breed Mexican Bolshevik'. Derry also considered that the clenched hands in the upper panels of the north and south walls represented 'The communist symbol of the clenched fist and the black hand . . . which means revolution by force and violence' (*Detroit News Magazine*, 13 Apr. 1975).

In private and formal correspondence with the D.I.A. directors, now in the D.I.A. archives, Mr. M. Knapp of the Detroit Citizens' Committee, in a letter dated 31 Mar. 1933 wrote that 'the murals are supposed to portray the spirit of this city and her people. But the interpretation is grossly one sided and hence unfair. Detroit is something more than the Ford Motor Company shops, chemical factories and power plants. This city has an amount of musical, educational, literary, artistic and religious life of which we have a right to be proud. . . . Even if the murals be accepted as a purely realistic interpretation of Detroit factory life, they are unfair both to the industrialists and workers; for the paintings are relieved in their suggestion of bondage to the tyranny of a heartless industrialism.'

There were of course many defenders of the murals. George Pierrot, a volunteer public-relations director to the Institute, organized a People's Museum Association and collected over 4,000 signatures, mostly from factory workers and students in defence of the murals. E. P. Richardson, the Institute's Education Director, prepared a printed broadsheet explaining the murals to the public. But none were politically more effective in the defence of the murals than Edsel Ford himself, who had at the outset promised Rivera full freedom of interpretation, had kept to that promise and had publicly applauded his achievement. Eventually the criticism abated and by the beginning of May, 1935, Valentiner was able to write to Rivera that 'your murals are the greatest attraction at Detroit' (letter dated 1 May 1935, Detroit archives).

17. Rivera *My Life My Art*, ed. Gladys March, Citadel Press, New York, 1960: p. 183.
18. From Linda Downs' interview with E. P. Richardson (6 Feb. 1978), p. 29 (in the files of the Archives of American Art).
19. Nevins and Hill, *Ford Expansion and Challenge, 1915-1933*, New York, Scribners 1957: p. 540.
20. The fee for this commission was \$21,000. Rivera began his preliminary sketch for the mural during the autumn of 1932, while working on the frescoes in Detroit. By 1 Nov. he had completed the sketch designs for which he received the unqualified approval of

- Nelson Rockefeller himself. In a telegram dated November 7 1932 Raymond Hood wrote Rivera ' . . . Sketch approved. Can go right ahead with larger scale.' In March the following year, shortly after completing the Detroit frescoes, Rivera started work on the 1,000 square foot Rockefeller centre site.
21. Bertram D. Wolfe, *The Fabulous Life of Diego Rivera*, Stein and Day, New York, 1963: p. 320.
22. Wolfe, *ibid.*
23. Diego Rivera, *Portrait of America*, Convici Freide, New York, 1934: p. 21. As Wolfe has pointed out, in 1930 the American Communist Party journals *The New Masses* and *The Daily Worker* began to accuse Rivera of being a bourgeois painter and of never having been a Leninist. See Bertram Wolfe, *Diego Rivera*, Robert Hale, London, 1939: p. 253.
24. Wolfe, *The Fabulous Life of Diego Rivera*, 1963: p. 320.
25. Wolfe, *ibid.*: p. 321.
26. Wolfe, *ibid.*: p. 321.
27. Wolfe, *ibid.*: p. 322.
28. 'Rivera Paints Scenes of Communist Activity and John D. Jnr. Foots Bill', *World-Telegram*, 24 Apr. 1933.
29. Letter dated 4 May 1933. See Wolfe, 1963: p. 325.
30. Wolfe, *ibid.*: p. 326. Letter dated 6 May 1933.
31. See reports in *New York Herald Tribune* 10 May 1933 and 14 Feb. 1934.
32. Wolfe, *ibid.*: p. 334.
33. *Worker's Age*, Rivera supplement, 15 June 1933.
34. Elie Faure, 'La Peinture Murale Mexicaine', *Art et Médecin*, April 1934.
35. José Clemente Orozco, 'New World, New Races and New Art,' *Creative Art Magazine*, vol. 4, no. 1, Jan. 1929 pp. 44–6.
36. The most notable other artist to paint at the School was the American painter Thomas Hart Benson. Benson's mural cycle *America Today*, which he painted at the School, became one of the most celebrated murals of twentieth-century American art.
37. Alvin Johnson, *Notes on the New School murals*, dated 20 Aug. 1943, pp. 2–3.
38. Johnson, *ibid.*: pp. 2–3.
39. Published in *El Tiempo*, Mexico City, no. 13, Sept. 1946.
40. The face of the philosopher-teacher is reputed to be modelled on that of Vincente Lombardo Toledano. Toledano had commissioned Orozco's first murals while he was Director of the National Preparatory School in Mexico City in 1923. During the period of the Cardenas administration, (1934–40) Toledano became a widely respected Labour leader.
41. Orozco may have had in mind the Mexican trade union leader Luís Morones, whom he had previously satirized in a biting caricature. During the early 1930s, Morones was head of the *Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana*, an important national workers' union, from which he was dismissed for corruption.
42. Antonio Rodríguez, *A History of Mexican Mural Painting*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1969: p. 350.
43. Siqueiros also met the writer William Spratling, and Anita Brenner, Hart Crane and Eyler Simpson. During the year that he spent in Taxco, Siqueiros produced over seventy paintings, drawings and prints. Some of these were portraits of the leading members of the large American community living there. He often executed these portraits in order to relieve financial hardship.
44. The exhibition was at the Stendhal Ambassador Gallery. From 12 to 31 May, 1932 he exhibited over fifty paintings. Siqueiros also exhibited the lithographs that he had done in Taxco at the Jeke Zeitlan Bookshop.
45. In a letter that Orozco wrote to his friend Crespo de La Serna in 1931 the terms fresco painting and fresco painter had ' . . . taken on a meaning of almost mystical proportion' (see Luís Cardoza y Aragón Orozco, UNAM, 1959: p. 286). The demand that fresco painting be taught at the school was therefore seen as a particularly progressive step.
46. The original assignment was to teach ten students a course in fresco painting using small blocks on which they could experiment with the laying on of colour.
47. David Alfaro Siqueiros, *Me llamaban el Coronelazo: Memoriàs de David Alfaro Siqueiros*, Editorial Grijalbo, Mexico City, 1977: p. 305.
48. Quoted from *Script Magazine*, 2 July 1932.
49. The team included Milliard Sheets, Merrel Gage, Paul Sample, Phil Paradise, Donald Graham, Katherine McEwen, Berse Millier, Henri de Kinf, Lee Balv, Tome Beggs and Dean Corwell.
50. *California Arts and Architecture Magazine*, July, 1932: p. 2.
51. Shifra Goldman, 'Siqueiros and three early murals', *Art Journal*, Summer 1974: pp. 321–7.
52. David Alfaro Siqueiros, *Mi Respuesta*, Ediciones de Arte Público, Mexico, 1960: pp. 31–32.
53. For a reading of the conditions of this period see Walker Beau, *California: An Interpretive History*, New York, 1968.
54. See Greta Barman, *From the Lost Years: Mural Painting in New York City under the W.P.A. Federal Arts Project 1935–1943*, Garland Publishing, New York and London, 1978.
55. Siqueiros gave four talks while in Montevideo. Two were to the Fine Arts Circle, another was in the studio of the painters Bellini and Aguerre, and the fourth was delivered at the Actors' Salon of Montevideo.
56. Raquel Tibol, *Un Mexicano y su Obra*, Expresas Editoriales SA, Mexico, 1969: p. 47.
57. Siqueiros eventually admitted the accidental nature of many of his innovations in a lecture entitled 'The Historical process of Mexican mural painting' which he delivered on 10 Dec. 1947 in the Palace of Fine Arts in Mexico City. An edited version is published in *Art and Revolution*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1971.
58. David Alfaro Siqueiros, 'A call to the Artists of Argentina', *Crítica*, Buenos Aires, 2 June 1933. Siqueiros was placed under severe restriction by the Argentine authorities for the controversies provoked by his public speeches and meetings. Botaño, sympathizing with Siqueiros' position, provided him with the commission so that the artist could at least continue working.
59. David Alfaro Siqueiros, 'What "Plastic Exercise" is and how it was done', *Crítica*, Buenos Aires, 22 Nov. 1933. An English translation of the article is published in *Art and Revolution*, *ibid.*: pp. 38–44.
60. The paint system that Siqueiros employed in this work was one that he had not used before and did not use again. He used Keim silicate paint, developed by the German chemist Adolf Keim in 1877 in Bavaria. As a paint system, it is similar to fresco in that water-based pigments are initially glazed onto a dry concrete or cement surface of a wall. The pigments, however, are then 'fixed' through the use of a silicate spray, resulting in a chemical bonding process of the paint pigment to the silicate of the wall surface. Used correctly, the system has a lifespan of many years.
61. *Art and Revolution*, *ibid.*: pp. 38–41.
62. *Art and Revolution*, *ibid.*: pp. 42–3.
63. David Alfaro Siqueiros, 'Rivera's Counter-Revolutionary Road', *New Masses*, New York, 29 May 1934.
64. Siqueiros, 'Rivera's Counter-Revolutionary Road', *ibid.*
65. David Alfaro Siqueiros, 'The Art Movement in Mexico', *Kansas University Review*, Winter 1935.
66. From a typewritten manuscript in the Siqueiros Archives in Trés Picos, Mexico City. This document is almost certainly the original wording of the press release the group sent out.
67. Harold Lehman, 'For an Artists' Union Workshop', *Art Front Journal*, New York, Winter 1937.
68. *The Birth of Fascism* was the first painting in which Siqueiros used the accidental effect of pouring and superimposing lacquers and pigments. In *Collective Suicide*, Siqueiros used nitrocellulose paint and the spray gun extensively. He also incorporated dripping and pouring techniques in order to build up an extensively impastoed surface.
69. Harold Lehman, 'For an Artists Union Workshop', *ibid.*
70. Axel Horn (known in the 1930s as Axel Horr), 'Jackson Pollock: The Hollow and the Bump', *Carlton Miscellany*, Summer 1966: pp. 85–6.
71. Siqueiros. Letter dated 4.6.36. to Maria Asunsola.
72. Angelica Arenal de Siqueiros, *Vida y Obra de David Alfaro Siqueiros*, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Archivo del Fondo 44–45, Mexico City, 1975: quoted pp. 47–9. Contreras was the pseudonym of the Italian Communist Victorio Vidali, leader of the Communist Party's Fifth Regiment, in which Siqueiros enlisted.
73. José Renau, 'Mi Experiencia con Siqueiros', *Revista de Bella Artes*, Mexico City, Jan. 1976.

74. *Art and Revolution*, ibid. Chapter 18 is an extract from Siqueiros' book *Como se Pinta un Mural*. This book was based on Siqueiros' experimental mural conducted in San Miguel de Allende at the end of the 1940s, where he had been invited by the Director of the School of Fine Arts to teach a course in mural painting. The book is Siqueiros' most complete treatise on the mechanics, aesthetics and methodologies of mural painting.
75. See José Renau, ibid.
76. Siqueiros' complaint of the lack of integral unity is referred to in an unpublished manuscript from the Siqueiros Archives entitled 'Auto-Critical Thesis on the Work Executed by the International Team of Plastic Arts in the Social Building of the Syndicate of Electrical Workers', Tres Picos, Mexico City.
77. It was while painting the complex right-hand corner that Renau had his first argument with Siqueiros, when Siqueiros altered without discussion the clouds and smoke in order to give them greater form. Renau recalled that he considered the changes crude and also considered resigning from the project.
78. Although Siqueiros was undoubtedly the overall director of this project, and although he was responsible for the conceptual basis of the mural and the painting of many of the most significant passages, he was absent on numerous occasions during the work's process. His absence largely resulted from his involvement in the planning and execution of the attack on Trotsky's headquarters in Mexico City in May 1940. The group that carried out the attack included Siqueiros and two of the other painters involved in the mural: Antonio Pujol and his brother-in-law, Lué Arenal. In the attack, led by Siqueiros on 24 May 1940, machine guns were fired into Trotsky's bedroom, narrowly missing both Trotsky and his wife. In their escape from the house, Siqueiros and his team took with them a young American, Sheldon Harte, one of Trotsky's assistants and bodyguards. Harte was subsequently found murdered, his body buried in a lime pit in the grounds of a house in Santa Rosa, some 25 kilometres outside Mexico City, which had been rented by Siqueiros' wife as part of the plot to attack Trotsky. The identity of his murderer has never been discovered. Following the attack Siqueiros went into hiding from the police. The nearly finished mural was finally completed by José Renau. Siqueiros was eventually apprehended by the Mexican police, and as a result of his involvement in the Trotsky affair he was sent into exile in Chile.

CHAPTER SIX

1. Daniel Cosío Villegas, *A Compact History of Mexico*, El Colegio de Mexico, 1975: ch. 6.
2. A good example of what were seen as such dogmas were the many publications by Siqueiros during the 1940s and 1950s. In his public lecture of 1954 at the Palace of Fine Arts, for example, Siqueiros spoke forcefully of how a popular regime in Mexico would 'foster the development of a Mexican Art for Mexico'. In his earlier publication, *No Hay Más Ruta Que La Nuestra (Ours is the only way)*, published in 1945, Siqueiros had written about Mexican muralism in such a way as to deny the validity of other possibilities and practices. These attitudes were seen by people such as José Luis Cuevas (*b.* 1934) as inhibiting the further development of contemporary Mexican culture.
3. Perhaps the leading opponent of the muralists was the artist José Luis Cuevas, who in 1959 wrote an article entitled 'The Cactus and the Curtain: An Open Letter on Conformity in Mexican Art' (*EverGreen Review*, no. 7, 1959). The article argued strongly for the need to move away from introspective nationalist dogmas and to open up Mexican art to a much greater and wider set of international influences.
4. The Gabino Ortiz Library was a former chapel converted into a library. The outgoing President Lázaro Cárdenas created this library with a personal gift as a way of commemorating his birthplace.
5. Justinio Fernández, 'Orozco: El Pintor de Nuestro Tiempo', *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas (Mexico)*, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1948: p. 38.
6. Bernard Myers, *Mexican Painting in Our Time*, Oxford University Press, 1956: p. 165.
7. José Clemente Orozco, *Sexta Exposición de Obras Recientes: Estudios y Bocetas de los Murales*, exh. cat., El Colegio Nacional de México, 1947–8.

8. From photographs it is difficult to detect the three-dimensional elements within this work. The first and most obvious is the magnificent, ornately decorated colonial doorway situated at the centre of the mural. Orozco successfully combined this with an intricate spiralling complex of forms running up and along the left side and top of the doorway. He employed other three-dimensional elements in this work in the form of metal pieces, indentations on the surface and the use of rough textures. Although Orozco had not employed this approach before, he had nevertheless produced marvelous integrations of pictorial composition in relation to architecture in previous works. A particularly good example of this is the enormous *Hidalgo* mural on the main staircase of the Governor's Palace in Guadalajara, where, by slightly twisting and spiralling the body of Hidalgo within the arched and curving ceiling, he created a pictorial dynamic that contributes much to the force and power of the image. Again, this aspect of the mural is not visible in photographs.
9. Benito Juárez was a pure Zapotec Indian, the first Indian president of Mexico. As Minister of Justice in the liberal governments of Juan Álvarez and then Ignacio Comonfort, he legislated the abolition of clerical and military privileges. In 1861, he became President of Mexico. In 1864, the military action of the French led to his regime's overthrow and the establishment of a Mexican monarchy with the rule of the Austrian Maximilian. In 1867, Juárez and his republican forces successfully overthrew the regime of Maximilian. Juárez again took power and ruled Mexico as a constitutional democratic and liberal president until 1872, achieving what others had not, namely breaking the economic and political power of the Catholic church in Mexico. His successful overthrow of the French-backed regime of Maximilian established him as a symbol, not only of reform but also of Mexican national independence. The Liberal Constitution of 1857, which he helped to define, established basic rights for the first time in Mexico, such as the right to vote, equality under the law, and the state's responsibility for public education.
10. The chapel was the former church of the colonial hospital of Jesús Nazareno, founded by Cortéz in the sixteenth century.
11. Orozco was originally commissioned to undertake these murals by Lázaro Cárdenas shortly before his term of office ended in 1940. However, in the intervening period he had gone to New York where he had been invited to paint a special work for the Museum of Modern Art. The fresco he did for the museum was the six-panel work of *Dive Bomber and Tank*. The creation of this mural had been planned to coincide with the museum's huge *Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art* exhibition. Orozco painted the frescoes in the museum in full view of the public while the exhibition was on.
12. ¡Orozco!, exh. cat., ed. David Elliott, Museum of Modern Art, Oxford, UK, 1980: p. 99.
13. Quoted in ¡Orozco!, ibid.: p. 100.
14. During the autumn of 1938, Trotsky and his wife were living in the house of Diego Rivera. It was at this time that the journal *Partisan Review* published the manifesto entitled 'Manifesto: For a Free Revolutionary Art'. It was signed by André Breton and Diego Rivera, but its text was Trotsky's. Although Rivera was publicly connected to Trotsky at this time, differences between the two had begun to emerge and eventually their personal and political relationship soured. In April 1939 Trotsky and his wife moved out of the house and in 1940, shortly before he was assassinated Trotsky became so disillusioned with Rivera that he refused to see him again. Rivera finally turned his back on Trotskyite politics, and in 1954 rejoined the Mexican Communist Party. In 1953 Rivera wrote an article in the review *Indice* entitled 'The Question of Art in Mexico', in which he directly linked his support of Trotsky's politics to a degeneration in the standard of his art.
15. Although not technically murals in the sense of works painted directly on to wall surfaces, one can include among his mural work the four fresco panels that he undertook for the Pani family in 1936.
16. The mural is now located in the San Francisco City College. The commission arose from the efforts of Timothy Pflueger, who had been responsible for arranging Rivera's earlier commission at the Luncheon Club of the city's stock exchange. Pflueger invited Rivera to paint moveable frescoes in the open on the theme of 'Art in Action' during the Golden Gate Exhibition.
17. While this tendency was generally the rule, there were some significant exceptions. Among these were the two mural-sized canvases, *Nightmare of War and the Dream of*

- Peace and Glorious Victory*. The first was commissioned by the Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes for the large travelling exhibition *Mexican Art from pre-Columbian times to the present* in February 1952, and was painted during the Korean war as a fierce denunciation of Western powers. When it was completed, Carlos Chávez, Director of the Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, refused to have it exhibited because of what he regarded as the serious criticisms it contained of governments with which Mexico had friendly relations. With the assistance of the French Communist Party, the painting was publicly exhibited in Paris. In the autumn of 1953 Rivera sent the painting to China. It is no longer known if the painting still exists. The second major political public work of the period is the painting *Glorious Victory*. Rivera painted this in 1954, shortly after his re-admission to the Mexican Communist Party. The work directly denounced the overthrow of the leftist government of Arbenz Gúzman in Guatemala in 1953. The painting was last known to be in Poland, but its existence, too, is no longer verifiable.
18. Betty Ann Brown, *The Past Idealized. Rivera; A Retrospective*, Founders Society, Detroit & Norton and Norton, 1986: p. 154, note 28.
 19. Wolfe, *The Fabulous Life of Diego Rivera*, *ibid.*: p. 264.
 20. Shifra Goldman, 'Mexican muralism: Its Social Educative Roles in Latin American and the United States', *Aztlan*, 13, 1-2, 1982: pp. 111-33.
 21. On 19 Sept. 1985, Mexico City was struck by one of the most powerful earthquakes of the century. The Hotel del Prado was severely damaged but fortunately, Rivera's mural was relatively unscathed. Fifteen months later, on 14 Dec. 1986, the mural was removed from the hotel and taken to the other side of the park, where a new building had been specially designed and constructed to house it.
 22. The Alameda Park was often the site of executions by the Spanish Inquisition. For a while the headquarters of the Inquisition were housed nearby in the Ex-Aduano de Santo Domingo in the Avenida Brazil, which is now part of the Ministry of Public Education.
 23. General Scott's invading army entered Mexico City on 14 Sept. 1847 as part of the War of the 1840s, when Mexico fought America over the absorption of the state of Texas into the union. Following this war, Mexico lost huge tracts of its territory to the United States. On 2 Feb. 1848, Mexico signed the infamous Treaty of Guadalupe, under which it surrendered the states of Texas, New Mexico and California, more than half of its national territory, to the USA in return for a mere 15 million dollars.
 24. Following the controversy, Torrez Rivas, owner of the Hotel del Prado, had the mural covered with a moveable screen. Only after eight years had elapsed was the mural uncovered and displayed again in the hotel's lobby.
 25. According to Rivera, Cantinflas always wore the emblem of the Virgin in real life.
 26. The Hospital de la Raza is one of the leading hospitals in Mexico City. It was completed in 1953; its aim was to provide the best and most up-to-date free medical treatment.
 27. Tlazoltéotl was also the mistress of lust and debauchery, and her image was taken directly from the Codex Borbónico. Rivera represented the goddess on the lower right-hand side of the mural. Known also as the goddess of childbirth, the squatting sculpture seen with a child emerging from between her legs represents the moment of birth.
 28. For a detailed description of the symbolism of each scene, see Betty Ann Brown, 'The Past Idealized: Diego Rivera's Use of Pre-Columbian Imagery', *Diego Rivera: A Retrospective*, exh. cat., Founders Society Detroit Institute of Arts and Norton and Norton, 1986: pp. 139-55.
 29. Contrary to the advice given to Rivera by the Taller de Ensayo of the Mexico City Polytechnic Institute, Rivera painted the walls and floor area of the basin in polystyrene paint. When the water works were put into operation, the paint below and just above the waterline rapidly deteriorated, to the extent that today it is no longer visible. However, plans are in progress to restore the work.
 30. A leading exponent of this thesis is the writer and critic Carlos Monsiváis. In his article 'Notas sobre la cultura popular en México', *Latin American Perspectives*, no. 16, Winter, 1978, he showed how popular culture in Mexico had been absorbed and manipulated by modern commercial culture. He once said that Robin and Batman have replaced Hidalgo and Morelos.

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. David Alfaro Siqueiros, *Me llamaban el Coronelazo: Memorias de David Alfaro Siqueiros*, Editorial Grijalbo, Mexico, 1977: p. 405.
2. Galvarino is pictured by Siqueiros with amputated arms. This mutilation was carried out on the orders of the infamous Doña Inés de Suárez, who was responsible for the massacre of thousands of Chilean Indians during the colonialization of Chile by the Spanish.
3. Siqueiros, *Me llamaban el Coronelazo*, *ibid.*: p. 339.
4. Paradoxically, Siqueiros saw this mural in opposite terms. He wrote that it 'belongs more to my penultimate period and does not provide a logical continuation of the political painting being done in Mexico today, such as our mural in the Electricians Syndicate. However, it is perhaps more important in some ways, its style is more homogenous, and the movement has been resolved more satisfactorily, because the room is larger, and I have been able to understand its geometry more satisfactorily.' (letter to José Renau published in David A. Siqueiros, *Art and Revolution*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1975: p. 195).
5. After a somewhat abortive start, Siqueiros was eventually sent two young Chilean painters as assistants, Erwin Werner and Alipio Jaramillo. These two became his chief helpers, although others worked on the mural. These included Luis Vargas Rosas, Laureano Guevara, Camilo Mori, Gregoria de la Fuente and the photographer, Antonio Quintana. Siqueiros regarded Werner, who was also a mathematician, as particularly helpful. According to Siqueiros, Werner provided the precise mathematical formulations to measure the extent to which shapes would change when seen from different directions and different distances.
6. Siqueiros, *Me llamaban el Coronelazo*, *ibid.*: p. 399.
7. Impasto is a technique in which the artist loads the brush with large quantities of pigment. If such pigment is then layered onto a previously applied, but not quite dry paint surface, a very expressive textured surface can be created in which elements of the colour on the surfaces below can still be seen through the top surface.
8. Raquel Tibol, *David Alfaro Siqueiros en la Integración Plástica*, Cuadernos 20, Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, Mexico, 1950: p. 12.
9. Lincoln Kirsten, *El Mercurio*, Santiago de Chile, 4 Feb. 1942.
10. In 1943 Siqueiros produced a manifesto entitled 'War Time, War Art' (published in *Forma*, Chile, Jan.-Feb. 1943). In it he called on artists in the Americas to join the war effort, writing 'the war needs your creativity, and the incomparable eloquence of which you are capable'.
11. Evidently encouraged by Kirsten's glowing praise of his Chillán mural, Siqueiros entered into correspondence with him concerning this mural proposal. He proposed that the mural 'would be executed with the collaboration of radical North American and Latin American artists in New York, which would give a feeling of indisputable intellectual continental unity. We could be almost sure to obtain the representation of painters from all the Latin American countries.' (Letter to Lincoln Kirsten, 4 Dec. 1942, Siqueiros archives).
12. According to FBI document no. 64-30854-7, Siqueiros had originally been granted a visa to enter the USA while he was still in Chile. However, the State Department later instructed the American Embassy in Havana to rescind this permission based on the law promulgated in 1941 preventing entry into the USA by members of the Communist Party. According to two other FBI files, nos. 100-1403-76 and 100-1403-721, Siqueiros attempted to enter the USA twice at this time using a false passport under the name of Miguel S. Garido González.
13. FBI files on Siqueiros state very clearly that through the auspices of the State Department, the Rockefeller coordinating committee obtained a grant of \$2500 for Siqueiros to paint not an anti-fascist mural but a picture of José Martín and Abraham Lincoln. The file (no. 64-03854-1) also states that Siqueiros received \$1750 as an advance and on completion of the work in November 1943 received the balance.

It would seem that Siqueiros' proposal to carry out a mural project in New York had been accepted in principle by the Museum of Modern Art, for it is unlikely otherwise the Rockefeller Foundation would have made the offer they did. Although no mural like the one Siqueiros had proposed to Kirsten was ever executed, Siqueiros' claim that

- he refused anything to do with the offer is contradicted by the clear statements in the FBI documents.
14. The other two works that Siqueiros appears to have painted while in Cuba are *Dos Montañas de América*, and *El Nuevo Día de Las Democracias*. The first contained the portraits of José Martín and Lincoln, and seems to be the work referred to in the files of the FBI as having been financed by the Rockefeller Foundation (see preceding note 13).
 15. Siqueiros, *Me llamaban el Coronelazo*, ibid.: p. 423.
 16. Siqueiros' return to Mexico in 1944 was largely arranged by his brother Jesús, who obtained an undertaking from the Mexican government that Siqueiros would not be re-arrested should he return.
 17. Siqueiros established the headquarters of his Centre for Realist Art at the large residence of his mother-in-law at Señora no. 9, Mexico City.
 18. Throughout his life, Siqueiros formed many groups or organizations as vehicles through which he could channel his ideas. How effective such organizations were is debatable, but Siqueiros saw them as integral to the development of his political aesthetic. In an article written in 1944, entitled 'The Balance of the Plastic Arts in 1944', Siqueiros considered that the perceived success of his campaign to recuperate the lost values of Mexican art arose almost entirely out of the creation of the Centre ('Balance de las Artes Plásticas durante 1944', text from an article in the Siqueiros archives, file no. 00787-00789).
 19. The mural was inaugurated on 7 June 1944 by Lombardo Toledano, then Director of the Confederation of Latin American Workers.
 20. From a letter to Señora Gorostiza, dated 16 June 1963. This letter was written while Siqueiros was in prison serving his sentence for the Mexican crime of social dissolution. The bulk of the letter concerns his plea to the Director General of the National Institute of Fine Arts that the mural be saved and relocated somewhere else. The new owner of the house in which the mural was originally painted wanted it destroyed (letter from the Siqueiros archives).
 21. Sadly the mural is no longer the intriguingly architectonic work that it once was. In 1963, while Siqueiros was in prison, the new owner of Señora no. 9 in which the mural had been painted threatened to destroy the work, as part of the refurbishment of the house. Following a campaign by Siqueiros and fellow supporters, the mural was taken down, and reconstructed in a special site in the Tecpan building in Tlateloco in Mexico City. Although the reconstruction still retains some of the original work's concavity, the staircase of the original site could not be reconstructed. This area of the mural was thus redesigned to accommodate the flat surface. Siqueiros repainted this section of the work on his release from prison in 1963.
 22. Antonio Rodríguez, *A History of Mexican Mural Painting*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1969: p. 282.
 23. From a paper entitled 'Textos para la película sobre David Alfaro Siqueiros', 25 Oct. 1967, copy from the Siqueiros archives, Tres Picos, Mexico City.
 24. Interview with Siqueiros published in *El Tiempo*, Mexico City, 31 Aug. 1951.
 25. 'Alfaro Siqueiros y El Apoteosis de Cuauhtemoc', *El Popular*, Mexico City, 28 May 1951.
 26. The origins of the commission for this mural have a considerable bearing on the theme that Siqueiros employed. Jaime Torres Bodet, Secretary of State for Public Education, approached Siqueiros with the idea that he paint a major mural to celebrate the struggle against Nazism, since the war was beginning to draw to a close. In commissioning the work, Bodet intended the mural to be part of the massive exhibition being put on in the Palace of Fine Arts on the theme of 'The Drama of the War in Mexican Painting', an exhibition which Siqueiros himself helped to organize. Besides the *New Democracy* panel, Siqueiros also included two smaller panels on either side, entitled *Victims of War* and *Victims of Fascism*.
The contract for this commission was dated 20 Aug. 1944 and was signed by Jaime Torres Bodet, Fernando Castillo for the Department of Law, Manuel Gill, Director General of Administration, Alvaro Olmeda, Head of the Department of Building Conservation, and Siqueiros.
The original contract for the mural stipulated that the work was to be 4 metres high and 12 metres long. It was to be painted with pyroxaline on masonite panels and the

- work had to be completed by 20 Nov. 1944.
- A document in the Siqueiros archives entitled 'Memorandum relativo al mural de Siqueiros', details how the fee for the commission of 21,300 pesos was to be divided up: 3,000 pesos was for paint materials; 1,500 pesos for the preparation of the panel; 10,500 pesos for Siqueiros' personal fee; 5,250 pesos for his chief assistant; and 1,050 pesos for an extra assistant.
- Siqueiros actually completed the work before the due date, signing the official handing-over document on 17 Nov. 1944. The document was signed by Siqueiros, Roberto Montenegro, and Christobel Zamorra for the Minister of Education and Secretary of Aesthetic Education.
27. Like many of Siqueiros' mural images, this was developed from photographic sources. In this case the source was a series of photographs taken of his wife, Angelica, posing as the model for the figure.
 28. The impastoed surface of this work is in some areas between two and three centimetres thick. Siqueiros used the pyroxaline paint system in this work, mixed with nitro-cellulose, colour and cement, which, as the writer Hercules Quinones wrote, gave the mural 'the consistency of stone applied with a spatula' (from an article entitled 'Vida y Muerta' [Life and Death], published in *Hoy*, undated copy from the Siqueiros archives, Tres Picos, Mexico City).
 29. A particularly striking example is *Our Present Image* (1947; pyroxaline on masonite, 87 by 68", Museum of Modern Art, Mexico City).
 30. Siqueiros signed the contract for this mural on 23 Nov. 1944. In it he agreed to complete the work in eight months (copy of contract details from the Siqueiros archives, Tres Picos, Mexico City).
 31. Letter from Siqueiros to Jorge Encisco, Director of National Monuments, dated 11 Sept. 1944, Siqueiros archives, Tres Picos, Mexico City.
 32. Siqueiros also covered the under-surfaces of the stairwell with celotex, as he incorporated these areas into his overall design. In a letter, dated 11 Dec. 1944, Encisco wrote to Siqueiros saying that since the ceiling area of the site was technically not an adequate surface on which to paint, his committee had unanimously agreed to Siqueiros' request in a letter dated 20 Sept., three months earlier, that a separate covering be applied, on condition that the new covering conformed to the style of the original architecture.
 33. The original contract (copy from Siqueiros archives) stated that the theme for the mural was to be the Mexican revolution, and that the work should express the historic struggle of the Mexican people for the liberty of expression. The contract stated that the rationale for this theme was that the old customs house was to be designated as the site of a new museum of the revolution and therefore required a mural of appropriate theme. The contract also states that since the building was also once the headquarters of the Spanish Inquisition in Mexico, Siqueiros should undertake a theme concerning the liberty of expression.
 34. Rodríguez, ibid.: p. 384.
 35. One of the most striking of these images is that of the female figure, for which his wife Angelica was the model. Angelica's portrait was used by Siqueiros in his Chillán mural and, most powerfully of all, in *New Democracy*. Siqueiros seems to have used her face to symbolize the idea of heroic revolutionary militancy in a spirit that recalls Delacroix's painting *Liberty Guiding the People* (1831; Musée du Louvre, Paris).
 36. Letter from Siqueiros to Jorge Encisco dated 20 Sept. 1944, copy in the Siqueiros archives, Tres Picos, Mexico City.
 37. In a letter of 20 Mar. 1949 (copy in the Siqueiros archives), Siqueiros wrote to Carlos Chávez, Director General of the National Institute of Fine Arts, concerning the problems that had stopped work on the project. Among these he cited the 40% devaluation of the Mexican peso since the signing of the contract; as a consequence, many of the materials he needed for the project, which could only be bought from the USA, had drastically increased in price. On 19 May 1949 Chávez wrote to Siqueiros approving an increase of 30% in the finance for the project, and requesting that Siqueiros resume work on the project (copy letter in the Siqueiros archives). Siqueiros' extension of his original concept involved painting the surfaces of the walls underneath the main stairwell. A re-negotiated contract to allow for the extension was signed on 5 Apr. 1948 (contract copy in the Siqueiros archives). As late as Nov. 1970,

- the Mexican newspaper *Novedades* ran a story entitled 'Siqueiros will conclude his mural "Patriots and Parricides" in the S.E.P.' (11 Nov. 1970) – some twenty-one years after Siqueiros originally agreed in a letter to Jorge Encisco (letter dated 11 Sept. 1949) that the work would be completed eight months after the signing of the contract.
38. In 1955 more than 300 of those who worked in the building's offices presented an official protest to the Treasury department of the Federal District, complaining about what they saw as the waste of money on the mural, particularly when the building itself was in urgent need of repair. In an interview conducted in Oct. 1978 with Arnold Belkin, who was one of the assistants on the project, Belkin confirmed the mass of complaints from those working in the building about having to climb through endless scaffolding and of having to step around all the equipment and paint that Siqueiros purchased for the project.
39. Quote from an article entitled 'Bureaucrats attack Alfaro Siqueiros', *Ultimas Noticias*, Mexico City, 19 Feb. 1955.
40. In a document dated 2 May 1951 entitled 'Puntos Para la Ejecución de una Pintura Mural en El Edificio al Interno del Instituto Politécnico Nacional' (Points for the execution of a mural in the interior of the Polytechnic Institute Building), Siqueiros pointed out that the mural was not to be painted directly on to one of the wall surfaces of the building because the building was to undergo substantial modifications (document from the Siqueiros archives). The contract for the mural was for 90,000 pesos, out of which Siqueiros was expected to pay for himself, his five assistants and all the materials required. The contract also contained terms that stipulated that the mural be painted during the month of May and the first 15 days of June, by which time it was to have been completed.
41. Antonio Rodríguez, 'New Mural by Siqueiros in the Polytechnic Institute', *El Nacional*, 20 Feb. 1952.
42. Quote from A. G. Magil, 'Man the Master, not the Slave of Technology', *Telepress*, 7 Feb. 1972. According to the contract, the theme of the work was 'Allegory of Industrialization in Mexico – Song to Technology – Homage to the Forceful Impulse of President Alemán'. The dimensions of the mural are 15.4 metres long by 3.5 metres high. The mural was inaugurated by President Alemán on 5 Feb. 1952.
43. When Siqueiros signed the contract for this project the hospital was still in the process of construction. It formed part of a massive building programme of new Social Security hospitals and clinics undertaken at the time by the Mexican government.
44. The reconstructed surface was made out of special wooden frames over which an impermeable material was stretched. These frames were attached to the walls and ceilings by means of brackets. The surface of the plastic material was then coated with gypsum before being painted with the pyroxaline paint system Siqueiros used for the project (from a document in the Siqueiros archives detailing technical and material matters concerning the project).
45. 'Canto a la Vida a la Salud' (document dated 1955 in the Siqueiros archive, Tres Picos, Mexico City).
46. Published by Ediciones Taller Siqueiros, Cuernavaca, 1951. In 1948 Siqueiros was invited to go to San Miguel de Allende to teach a course in mural painting at the town's School of Fine Arts. The school had been designated by the American State Department as a suitable place for American GIs to receive art training. The school was consequently filled largely by American students, whose fees were guaranteed by the American State Department. The experimental mural that Siqueiros executed while he was there was based on the theme of the Ignacio Allende, one of the heroes of Mexico's independence wars, and was never completed. However, the work forms the basis of Siqueiros' seminal treatise on mural painting, *Como se Pinta un Mural*. The premature ending of the mural project in June 1949 was in part due to the pressure exerted by the American State Department on the director of the school. Siqueiros was known to the Americans as an active communist, and was being closely monitored by American intelligence agencies at the time. FBI files on Siqueiros indicate that some of the students, in particular Philip Stein, who went on to assist Siqueiros in several of his later murals, were questioned about their time at the school and in particular what they knew of Siqueiros.
47. The mural was inaugurated on 18 Mar. 1955. Altogether the work had cost 175,000 pesos, of which 55,000 pesos had been material expenses (copy of contract and the project's financial records in Siqueiros archives). To complete the work, Siqueiros had used 300 kilos of pigment and 60 gallons of pyroxaline primer. Siqueiros' team of assistants on this project included Félix Estono, Armando Cormona, Guillermo Rodríguez, Fanciso Luno and Epitacio Mendiza.
48. Elvira Vargas, 'La Pictórica Integral de Siqueiros', *Novedades: Mexico En La Cultura*, 16 May 1954.
49. David Alfaro Siqueiros, *Hacia Una Nueva Plástica*, *Espacios* no. 1, Mexico City, Sept. 1948.
50. See *Proyecto de Coordinación de la Pintura y la Escultura con la Arquitectura en la Construcción de la Cuidad Universitario de Mexico*, Cuadernos de Arquitectura no. 20, Mexico City, Sept. 1948: p. 15.
51. David Alfaro Siqueiros, letter to Carlos Lazo of 20 Feb. 1951 (copy in the Siqueiros archives, Tres Picos, Mexico City).
52. The most notable of the external murals created on the campus are those by Carlos Chávez Morado, Juan O'Gorman, who was responsible for the magnificent mosaic on the University library, and Enrique Eppens.
53. Siqueiros devised this commission by creating three teams of artists. The teams were led by Frederico Canesi, Luís Arenal, and Germán Cueto. Siqueiros was in overall charge. The budgeted cost of the U.N.A.M. project was 600,000 pesos, of which half were assigned for the payment of wages and the rest for materials. 101,890 pesos was spent on the mosaic tiles. (Receipts dated 27 Apr. 1954, copies in the Siqueiros archives, Tres Picos, Mexico City.)
54. David Alfaro Siqueiros, 'Mi Experiencia en el Muralismo Exterior', *Excelsior*, supplement *Diorama de la Cultura*, Mexico City, 25 Mar. 1956.
55. Siqueiros, 'Mi Experiencia ...', *ibid.*
56. The contract for the mural was signed in August 1957. Its projected cost was 2,000 pesos per square metre (the mural measured 420 square metres). The mural was jointly commissioned by Dr. Eusebio Dávalas Huertado, the Director of the National Institute of Anthropology and History, and Antonio Arriaga, Director of the National Museum of History in Chapultepec Castle.
57. Siqueiros had a specialist historical advisor to this project, the distinguished Mexican historian Nicolás T. Bernal.
58. Siqueiros was assisted by a large team of assistants which included Philip Stein, Epitacio Mendoza, Mario Orozco Rivera, Sixto Santillan, Roberto Díaz de Acosta, E. Batista, Guillermo Cinceros and Electa Arenal (Siqueiros' niece).
59. Lopez Mateos had once been a 'barefoot' socialist, and his record of settling disputes as Minister of Labour under the previous administration had initially given workers reason to trust him when he was made President. The residue of this trust was such that in the aftermath of Mateos' election to the presidency, many of the country's labour unions agreed to call off further demonstrations in the belief that he would accede to their demands. As events subsequently proved, the trust was misplaced.
60. The photograph from which this image was developed was of dead revolutionaries taken in Nochistlan, Zacatecas, in 1913. It was significant for Siqueiros, because the front figure is that of Leopoldo Arenal Banuet, his father-in-law. Among the many figures of the Mexican revolution that Siqueiros portrayed in this passage of the mural, which extends from the left-hand inner panel and onto the main wall of the mural, are those of Madero, Serdan, Coss, Carranza, Montaña, Zapata, Obregón, Calles, Villa, Blanco and Alveredo. The two women featured are Marguerita and Rosaura Ortega, leading members of the Mexican Liberal Party. The ideological precursors of the revolution are portrayed on the left-hand section of the long central wall and feature the figures of Marx, Bakunin and Proudhon, whom Siqueiros included as the ideological predecessors of the Mexican revolution. Further along he portrayed the figures of Flores Magón, the founder of the Mexican Liberal Party, and the journalists and artists who supported the revolution such as Posada, Filomeno Mata, Carreon, and Santiago Rojo de la Vega.
61. Díaz is pictured with his foot on the 1857 Liberal Constitution, symbolizing the betrayal of this great step forward in nineteenth-century Mexican politics. At Díaz' side are Victoriano Huerta and Yves Limantour, the leader of the notorious *Científicos*.
62. See chapter 1.
63. Siqueiros became deeply involved at this time in the support of railroad workers

- arrested during their nationwide strikes. He joined the National Action Committee for the Liberty of Political Prisoners and Defence of Constitutional Liberties. Together with the radical journalist Filomena Mata, he edited the committee's bi-monthly journal *Liberación*. His identification with the railroad workers' struggles in large part forms the basis of his expressive imagery in the mural.
64. The mural was commissioned by the National Actors' Association in October 1958. The theme was stipulated as *The History of Theatre up to Contemporary Cinema*. The contractual arrangements were that Siqueiros should start work no later than 1 January 1959. The work was to be completed in four months, by 30 April. The value of the contract was 80,000 pesos. (Copy of contract in the Siqueiros archives, Tres Picos, Mexico City.)
65. David Alfaro Siqueiros, *History of a Plot. Who are the Traitors?* A tract privately published by Siqueiros in 1960, p. 39 (copy in the Siqueiros archives). Siqueiros was legally prevented from further work on the mural. As a consequence no more work was done for nearly ten years. The legal action was eventually shelved when new leaders took over the actors' union directorate. In 1967 a new contract was drawn up and signed by Siqueiros and Fernández Reyes, in order to allow for the completion of the work. Although far from complete, and with large areas of the mural not fully resolved, the mural was nevertheless inaugurated in December 1969 by the Under Secretary for Culture at the Ministry of Education, Mauricio Magdaleno. In 1968 the mural was attacked with acid and badly damaged by a group of right-wing students, and in 1969 Siqueiros halted work on his last major project, at the Polyforum, in order to restore the damage, free of charge. During the serious earthquake in Mexico in 1985, the Jorge Negrete Theatre sustained major structural damage. In order to repair the building the mural was dismantled.
66. In 1985 the whole Centro Médico complex was rendered unusable as a result of the massive earthquake that hit Mexico City. The cancer department was particularly badly hit, and the site in which this mural was located sustained severe and irreparable

- damage. The mural, which was fortunately applied to a separate wall surface, was detached from the walls and awaits reconstruction in another suitable location.
67. Leonard Folgarait, *So Far From Heaven. David Alfaro Siqueiros', 'The March of Humanity' and Mexican Revolutionary Politics*, Cambridge University Press, 1987.
68. The law against the crime of social dissolution was enacted in 1941, originally as a means of countering Nazi and Fascist subversion during the war. Although the law had been on the statute books for twenty years, no government had ever tried to use it until Siqueiros and others were arrested. Its provisions were all-encompassing. Any person could be charged for committing any activity which could be construed as havng tended to '... produce rebellion, sedition, riot and insurrection ... hinder the functioning of the Republic's institutions, or promote disrespect on the part of Mexican citizens for their civil duties, subvert the institutional life of the country, or realize acts of provocation with the aim of disturbing the public order or peace'. The charge carried a maximum sentence of 12 years, and bail could not be granted. Siqueiros was arrested on 9 Aug. 1960, following days of radical street demonstrations by students and teachers in Mexico City. Gaoled in Lecumberri, Siqueiros was not brought before a court until March 1962, some eighteen months after his original arrest. At the trial, he and his colleague, the journalist Filomena Mata, were sentenced to eight years in prison. The sentence was largely due to Siqueiros' and Mata's activities in support of jailed and arrested railroad workers during the 1959 railroad strikes that overwhelmed the country, and for their very public work on the defence committees for the protection of the human rights of political prisoners. Siqueiros was finally released in 1964 by Presidential order. He was then 68 years old.
69. In the Mexican newspaper *Heraldo* of 12 Sept. 1969, Suárez reported that the cost of the project was some 32 million pesos, and that to complete the work would require another 3 million.
70. Quote taken from *Polyforum Cultural Siqueiros*, a publicity booklet from the Polyforum.
71. Rodríguez, *ibid.*: p. 410.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

General Sources

Brenner, Anita, *Idols Behind Altars*, New York: Payson and Clarke, 1929
Cardoza y Aragón, Luis, *Mexico, Active Painting*, Mexico: Ediciones Era, 1961
Charlot, Jean, *The Mexican Mural Renaissance*, New York: Hacker Books, 1962
Fernández, Justino, *A Guide to Mexican Art*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966
Helm, McKinley, *Modern Mexican Painters*, New York: Dover Publications, 1974
Hurlbert, Laurence, *The Mexican Muralists in the United States*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989
Myers, Bernard, *Mexican Painting in our Time*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1956
Reed, Alma, *The Mexican Muralists*, New York: Crown Publishers, 1960
Rodríguez, Antonio, *A History of Mexican Mural Painting*, London: Thames & Hudson, 1969
Smeckebier, Lawrence, *Modern Mexican Art*, Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis, 1939
La Pintura Mural de la Revolucion Mexicana, Mexico: Fondo Editorial de la Plastica Mexicana, 1975

Diego Rivera

BOOKS

Abbott, Jere, *The Frescoes of Diego Rivera*, New York: Plandome, 1933
Arquin, Florence, *Diego Rivera: The Shaping of an Artist, 1889-1921*, Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971
Edwards, Emily, *The Frescoes of Diego Rivera in Cuernavaca*, Mexico City: Editorial Cultura, 1932
Evans, Ernestine, *The Frescoes of Diego Rivera*, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1929
Fernández, Justino, *Diego Rivera: Artist of the New World*, Mexico City: Editorial Fischgrund, undated?
Gual, Enrique F., *Fifty Years of the Work of Diego Rivera: Oils and Watercolours, 1900-1950*, Mexico City: Editorial Fischgrund, 1950
March, Gladys, *Diego Rivera: My Life, My Art*, New York: The Citadel Press, 1960
Page, Addison Franklin, *The Detroit Frescoes by Diego Rivera*, Detroit: The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1956
Peña, Alfredo Cardona, *Conversaciones con Diego Rivera*, Mexico, Editorial Diana S.A., 1986
Pierrot, George F. and Edgar P. Richardson, *An Illustrated Guide to the Diego Rivera Frescoes*, Detroit: The Detroit Institute of Arts, 1934. Previously published as *The Diego Rivera Frescoes: A Guide to the Murals of the Garden Court*, Detroit: Peoples Museum Association, 1933

Puccinelli, Dorothy, *Diego Rivera: The Story of His Mural at the 1940 Golden Gate Exposition*, San Francisco, 1940
Ramos, Samuel, *Diego Rivera Watercolours (1935-1945)*, New York and London: The Studio Publications, 1949
Rangel, Raphael Lopez, *Diego Rivera y La Arquitectura Mexicana*, Secretaría de Educación, Mexico, 1986
Rayero, Manuel (ed.) *Diego Rivera*, Mexico City: Fundación Cultura Televisa A.C., 1983
Rochfort, Desmond, *The Murals of Diego Rivera*, London: Journeyman Press, 1987
Silva, E., and R. S., *Mexican History: Diego Rivera's Frescoes in the National Palace and Elsewhere in Mexico City*, Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1963
Wolfe, Bertram D., *Diego Rivera: His Life, His Times*, New York and London: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939
Diego Rivera, Washington D.C.: Pan-American Union, 1947
The Fabulous Life of Diego Rivera, New York: Stein & Day, 1963

CATALOGUES

Arte y Política Diego Rivera, Mexico, Editorial Grijalbo, 1978
Diego Rivera, Exposicion Nacional de Hommanaje a Diego Rivera, Mexico: I.N.B.A., 1978
Diego Rivera Hoy. Simposio Sobre el Artista en el Centenario de su Natalicio, Mexico: I.N.B.A., September 1986
Diego Rivera: A Retrospective, Founders Society, Detroit Institute of Arts. New York and London: W. W. Norton & Co., 1986
The Rouge. Images of Industry in the Art of Charles Sheeler and Diego Rivera, Detroit Institute of Arts, 1978

THESES AND DISSERTATIONS

Favela, Ramón, 'Rivera Cubista: A Critical Study of the Early Career of Diego Rivera, 1898-1921', unpublished dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1984
Fuentes Rojas de Cadena, Elisabeth, 'The San Francisco Murals of Diego Rivera: A Documentary and Artistic History', unpublished master's thesis, University of California at Davis, 1980

José Clemente Orozco

BOOKS

Cardoza y Aragón, Luis, *José Clemente Orozco*, Buenos Aires: Losado, 1944

De Michelli, Mario, *I Maestri del Colore: Siqueiros*, Milan: Fratelli Fabbri Editori, 1967
Siqueiros, Milan: Fratelli Fabbri Editori, 1968
Siqueiros, New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1970
Fernández, Justino, *El Arte Moderno en México. Breve Historia*, Mexico: Editorial Porrúa e Hijos, 1937
Arte Moderno y Contemporáneo de México, (UNAM- Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas) Mexico: Imprenta Universitaria, 1952
Arte Mexicano de sus Orígenes a Nuestros Días, Mexico: Editorial Porrúa, S.A., 1958
Gual, Enrique, *Siqueiros*, Mexico: Galeria de Arte Misrachi, 1965
Siqueiros, Mexico: Anáhuac Compañía Editorial S.A., 1967
Siqueiros, David Alfaro, *El Muralismo en México*, Mexico: Ediciones Mexicanas, S.A., 1950 (Enciclopedia Mexicana de Arte, núm. 8)
Cómo se Pinta un Mural, Mexico: Ediciones Mexicanas S.A., 1951
Arte Público, Mexico, no publisher's imprint, 1954
Carta Abierta a los Pinteros, Escultores y Grabadores Soviéticos, Mexico, 1954
A un Joven Pinto Mexicano, Mexico: Empresas Editoriales, S.A., 1967
Cuarta Etapa del Muralismo en México, Mexico: Galeria de Arte Misrachi, 1968
El Nuevo Realismo Mexicano. Integración Plástica, Mexico: UNAM-Dirección de Difusión Cultural, 1960
Art and Revolution, London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1975
Me llamaban el Coronelazo: Memorias, Mexico: Grijalbo, 1977
Scher'er García, Julio, *La Piel y la Entraña (Siqueiros)*, Mexico: Biblioteca Era, 1965
Stein, Philip, *The Mexican Murals: Including a Selected List of Murals and their Locations*, Mexico: Editur, S.A. (undated)
Suarez, Orlando S., *Inventario del Muralismo Mexicano: Sigle VIIac /1968*, Mexico: UNAM- Dirección de Difusión Cultural, 1972
Tibol, Raquel, *Siqueiros, Introdutor de Realidades*, Mexico: UNAM-Dirección General de Publicacinoes, 1961
Historia General del Arte Mexicano, Epoca Moderna y Contemporánea, Mexico: Editorial Hermes, 1963
David Alfaro Siqueiros, Buenos Aires: Editorial Codez, S.A., 1965
David Alfaro Siqueiros, Dresden: Verlag der Kunst, 1966

David Alfaro Siqueiros, Mexico: Empresas Editoriales, 1969
Siqueiros Vida y Obra, Mexico: Secrearia de Obras y Servicios, 1973
Orozco, Rivera, Siqueiros, Tamayo, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1974
Textos de David Alfaro Siqueiros, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1974
UNAM, Angélica Arsenal (ed.), *Vida y Obra de David Alfaro Siqueiros: Juicios Crílicos*, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1975

ARTICLES

Siqueiros, David Alfaro, 'Tres llamamientos de orientación actual a los pintores y escultores de la nueva generación de América', Barcelona: Revista Vida Americana, 1921
'Manifesto del sindicato de obreros técnicos, pintores y escultores', Mexico: El Machete, March 1924
'En el orden burgués reinante hay que buscar la causa de la decadencia arquitectóica contemporánea', Mexico: Periódico El Machete, May 1924
'Qué es Ejercicio Plástico y cómo fue realizado', Buenos Aires: Folleto, 1933
'Muerte al invasor', Mexico: Revista HOY, 1941
'No hay más ruta que la nuestra', Mexico: Secretaría de Educación Pública, 1945
'Hacia una nueva plástica integral', Mexico: Revista Espacios, September 1948
'La Crítica del arte como pretexto literario', Mexico: Revista Artes de México, 4, 1948
'Mi experiencia en el muralismo exterior', Mexico: Excélsior, March 1956
'Mi respuesta: la historia de una insidia', Mexico: Ediciones Arte Público, 1960
'La trácala. Mi réplica a un gobierno fiscal-juez', Mexico: 1962
'Vigencia del Movimiento plástico mexicano contemporáneo', Mexico: Rivista de la Universidad de México, 4, 1966
'Hacia la transformación de las artes plásticas', en Raquel Tibol, Mexico: Cuadernos de Arquitectura, 20, 1968

CATALOGUE

Siqueiros. *Exposición Retrospectiva*, Mexico: UNAM-Museo Universitario de Ciencias y Arte, 1967

Orozco, second edition, Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, Dirección General de Publicaciones, 1974

Colegio Nacional, Mexico City, *Hommenaje de El Colegio Nacional al Pintor José Clemente Orozco*, Mexico City: Editiones de El Colegio Nacional, 1949

Dickerson, Albert I. (ed.), *The Orozco Frescoes at Dartmouth*, Hanover N.H.: Dartmouth College, 1962 (re-issue of 1934 edition)

Echavarría, Salvador, *Orozco: Hospicio Cabañas*, Guadalajara: Planeación y Promoción, 1959

Fernández, Justino, *José Clemente Orozco: The Painter of our Time*, Mexico City: Editorial Fischgrund, Modern Art Editions, 1944

José Clemente Orozco: forma e idea, second edition. Mexico City: Porrúa, 1956 (revised edition with additional illustrations of post-1942 works and extended bibliography).

Orozco: Universidad de Guadalajara, Guadalajara: Planeación y Promoción, 1960

Helm, MacKinley, *Man of Fire: J. C. Orozco, An Interpretive Memoir*, Boston: The Institute of Contemporary Art; New York: Harcourt Brace, 1953

Marrozzini, Luigi, (ed.), *Catalogo Completo de la obra Gráfica de Orozco*, San Juan, Puerto Rico: Instituto de Cultura Puertorriquena, Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1970

Mérida, Carlos, *Frescoes in Palacio de Justicia [Mexico City] and Jiquilpan [Michoacán] by J. C. Orozco: An Interpretive Guide with 19 Reproductions*, (Mexican Art Series, 11), Mexico City: Frances Toor Studios, 1943

Orozco, José Clemente, *Apuntes Autobiográficos*, Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública, Subsecretaría de Asuntos Culturales, 1966

The Artist in New York; Letters to Jean Charlot and Unpublished Writings, 1925-1929, translated by Ruth L. C. Simms, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974

Autobiografía, Mexico City: Ediciones Occidente, 1945

An Autobiography, translated by Robert C. Stephenson, Austin: University of Texas Press, 1962

Orozco 'Explains', New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1940. Also published in *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art*, 7(4): August 1940

Textos de Orozco: Con un Estudio y un Apéndice por Justino Fernández, Mexico City: Imprenta Universitaria, 1955

Orozco Píntura Mural, Mexico, Fondo Editorial de la Plastica Mexicana, 1989

Ramos García, Luis, *José Clemente Orozco en Guadalajara*, Guadalajara: Jalisco, undated

Reed, Alma. *Orozco*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1956

Orozco, Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1958

Zuno, José Guadalupe, *José Clemente Orozco: El Pintor Ironista*, Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 1962

Orozco: y la Ironía Plástica, Mexico City: Ediciones Cuadernos Americanos, 1953

ARTICLES

Benson, E. M. 'Orozco in New England: Dartmouth College Murals', *Magazine of Art*, 26(10) October 1933

Brenner, Antia, 'A Mexican Rebel', *The Arts*, 12, October 1927

'Orozco, Murals with Meaning', *Creative Art*, 12(2), February 1933

Brenson, M., 'Orozco: Mexican Conscience', *Art in America*, 67, September 1979

Cardoza y Aragon, Luis, 'José Clemente Orozco, pintor Mexicano', *Revista Nacional de Cultura*, (Venezuela), 2(22), September 1940; 2(23), October 1940.

'Contradicciones de Orozco', *Cuadernos Americanos*, 17, 1958

'José Clemente Orozco: iniciación de su vida artística', *Cultura Universitaria* (Venezuela) 64, 1958

Charlot, Jean, 'Jose Clemente Orozco, su obra monumental', *Forma* (Mexico), 2(6), June 1928

'José Clemente Orozco', *Magazine of Art*, 40, November 1947

'Orozco in New York', *College Art Journal*, 19(1), Fall 1959

Cosgrove, Stanley and Ayre, Robert, 'Conversation about Orozco', *Canadian Art* 7(2), 1949-50

Echavarría, S., 'José Clemente Orozco en Guadalajara', *Artes de México*, (94-95), 1967

Eisenstein, Sergei, 'El Prometeo de la pintua Mexicana', *América Latina* (USSR), part 2, 1978

Fernández, Justino, 'De una charla con José Clemente Orozco', *Annales del*

instituto de Investigaciones Estétias (Mexico), National University of Mexico, 2(5), 1940

'Obras recientes de Orozco', *Hoy*, 349, October 1943

'Obras recientes de Orozco', *Méxicoano en el Arte*, (6), December 1948

'Orozco: el pintor de nuestro tiempo', *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estétcas* (México), National University of Mexico, 16, 1948

'Orozco: Genius of America', *College Art Journal*, 9(2), Winter 1949-50

Goodrich, Lloyd, 'The Murals of the New School', *The Arts*, 17(6), March 1931

Mumford, Lewis, 'Orozco in New England', *New Republic*, 80(1036), 10 October 1934

Myers, Bernard, 'Murales de Orozco, 1923-32', *Artes de México*, 5(25), 1959. (text in Spanish and English).

'José Clemente Orozco: segunda parte, 1934-1940', *Artes de Mexico*, 5(30), February 1960. (text in Spanish and English).

Neumeyer, Alfred, 'Orozco's Mission', *College Art Journal*, 10(2), 1951

Orozco, José Clemente, 'Orozco explains Mural, Dive Bomber and Tank', *Art Digest*, 14, September 1940

Schmeckebieter, Lawrence, 'The Frescoes of Orozco in the New School of Social Research', *Trend*, 1(2), June 1932

'The Frescoes of Orozco', *Mexican Life* (Mexico), 9(3), 1933

Scott, David W., 'Orozco's Prometheus', *College Art Journal*, 17(1), Fall 1957

Soto Segarra, Luis de, 'El Museo Taller José Clemente Orozco', *Arquitectura* (La Habana) 20, 1952

Spratling, William P., 'Orozco', *Mexican Life* (Mexico), 5(10), October 1929

Tablada, José Juan, 'José Clemente Orozco, the Mexican Goya', *International Studio*, 78(322), March 1924

CATALOGUES

Exposición José Clemente Orozco, Casa Francisco Navarro, Mexico City, 1916

Ink and pencil drawings from a series 'Mexico in Revolution' by José Clemente Orozco, Galleries of Marie Sterner, New York, 1928

Work by José Clemente Orozco, Delphic Studios, New York, 1930

Works of José Clemente Orozco, Downtown Gallery, New York, 1931

José Clemente Orozco, Delphic Studios, New York, introduced by Alma Reed, 1932

Two papers presented at the American Artists' Congress, February 15, 1936, for the Mexican delegates by Orozco and Siqueiros, and the catalogue of the exhibition at the A.C.A. Gallery, New York City, ACA Gallery, New York, 1936

Catálogo de la primera exposición de Orozco en El Colegio Nacional, Colegio Nacional, Mexico City, 1943

Exposición nacional de José Clemente Orozco, Instituto Nacional de Bellas Artes, Mexico City, 1947

Exposición nacional de hommenaje a José Clemente Orozco con motivo de XXX aniversario de su fallecimiento, Palacio de Bellas Artes, Mexico City, 1979

Orozco, Museum of Modern Art, Oxford, 1980

David Alfaro Siqueiros

BOOKS

Cardoza y Aragon, Luis, *La Pintura Mexicana Contemporánea*, Mexico: Imprenta Univer-sitaria, 1953

with Inés Amor, Carmen Barreda, Justino Fernández, and Salvador Novo, *Colección de Pintura Mexicana de Licio Lagos*, Mexico, 1968

México: Pintura de Hoy, Mexico: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1964

Carrillo, Rafael A., *Siqueiros*, Mexico: Secretaria de Educación Pública, 1974

Pintura Mural de México: La Epoch Prehispánica, el Virreinato y Los Grandes Artistas de Nuestro Siglo, Mexico: Editorial Panoramas, 1981

Consejo Nacional de Cultura, *Siqueiros*, La Habana: Delagación Provincial de Cultura, 1964

Crespo de la Serna, Jorge Juan, *David Alfaro Siqueiros*, Mexico: Editorial Espartaco, S.A., 1959

INDEX

Note: References to captions for illustrations are in *italics*.

Abundant Earth, The (Rivera) 77
Academy of San Carlos 16, 17, 18–19, 23–4, 26–8, 123
After the Battle (Orozco) 162, 164
Agitator, The (Rivera) 71, 72–3
Agrarian and Proletarian Revolutions (Rivera) 51
Agriculture (Siqueiros)) 49
Alameda Hotel: mural by Rivera 172–5
Alemán, Miguel 161
Allegory of the Apocalypse in Modern Times (Orozco) 168
Allegory of California (Rivera) 123, 124, 125–6
Allegory of Mexico (Orozco) 144, 162–4, 165–8
Allegory of Racial Equality (Siqueiros) 188, 189
Allegory of Science and Labour (Orozco) 137
Allende, Ignacio 231
Alliance of the Peasant and the Industrial Worker (Rivera) 68, 69
Altimirano, Ignacio 12
Altimirano, Manuel 15
Alva de la Canal, Ramón 23
American Civilization (Orozco) 82, 83, 100–11
Anahuac (Encisco) 17
Ancient Cardiology (Rivera) 180
Ancient Human Sacrifice (Orozco) 100, 101, 103
Ancient Indian World (Rivera) 87
Ancient Migrations (Orozco) 103
Angeles, Felipe 14
Anglo-America (Orozco) 106

Apologue for the Future Victory of Medical Science over Cancer (Siqueiros) 200, 207, 213
Apotheosis of the Liberty of Expression see, Patriots and Parricides
Arenal, Luís 150, 152, 155, 157, 228
Argentina, Siqueiros in 145, 148–9, 151
Arrival of Quetzalcoatl, The (Orozco) 103
Arroyas, Vanegas 17
Ateneo de la Juventud 12, 17, 33
Atl, Dr 16, 17–20, 23, 25, 28, 29, 30, 37–8, 223
Austria *see* Maximilian
Automex factory: mural by Siqueiros 50
Aztec Warriors (Orozco) 103

Bad Government (Rivera) 68, 70
Baker Library *see* Dartmouth College
Banquet of the Rich while the Workers Quarrel, The (Orozco) 38
Banuet, Leopoldo Arenal 231
Barcelona manifesto (Siqueiros) 30, 31
Battle (Orozco) 164
Belkin, Arnold 231
Benson, Thomas Hart 227
Berdecio, Roberto 150, 152
Berni, Antonio 148
Best Maugard, Adolfo 34, 223
Biddle, George 8
Birth of Fascism (Siqueiros’ Experimental Workshop) 152
Blood of the Revolutionary Martyrs Fertilizing the Earth (Rivera) 68, 71, 78
Boas, Franz 223
Bodet, Jaime Torres 230
Bolivar Amphitheatre (National Preparatory School): murals by Rivera 18, 19, 23, 33–5
Botaño, Notalio 148

Brading, David 223
Brecht, Bertold 7
Buenos Aires, Siqueiros in 148–9, 151
Bulnes, Francisco 12
Burial of the Revolutionary, The (Rivera) 61, 75, 78
Burial of the Sacrificed Worker (Siqueiros) 40, 47–8, 49
Burning of the Judases, The (Rivera) 33, 59

Cabañas, Bishop Ruíz de 112, 225
Cabildo, Raziel 27, 28–9
Cabrera, Luís 88
California
 Orozco in 27, 99–100, 137
 Rivera in 123–6, 137, 169
 Siqueiros in 145–7, 205
Calles, Plutarco 51, 87, 92, 93, 122, 147
Canal, Ramón Alva de la 23
Cantinflas 179
Capitalist Dinner (Rivera) 63
Cárdenas, Lázaro 116, 122, 139, 145, 154, 158, 161–2, 169, 186, 200, 208
Carlotta, Queen 173
Carnival of the Ideologies (Orozco) 143, 144
Carranza, General 14, 20, 26, 27, 28, 88
Casa de los Azulejos, Mexico City 44
Caso, Alfonso 225
Caso, Antonio 12
Cassauranc, Puig 48, 49, 50
Castagnino, Juan Carlos 148
Catharsis (Rivera) 136, 138, 139, 144, 159
Catlin, Stanton L. 224
Cennini, Cellino 35–6
Centre for Realist Art, Mexico City 199
 mural by Siqueiros 189–92, 204
Centro Artístico 18–19
Centro Bohemio 29, 49, 50
Centro Médico, Mexico City

 murals by Rivera 175, 180
 murals by Siqueiros 200, 207, 212–13
Cézanne, Paul 25, 30
Chamber of Deputies, Guadalajara:
 mural by Orozco 142, 162, 166–7
Chapingo, Autonomous University of:
 murals by Rivera 10–11, 51, 67, 68–82, 181
Chapultepec Castle, Mexico City
 mural by Orozco 162, 166–7
 murals by Siqueiros 199, 206–11, 213
Charlot, Jean 21, 23, 33–4, 40, 55, 57, 223
Chavez, Carlos 230–1
Chicharro, Eduardo 23
Chillán, Chile: mural by Siqueiros 185–8, 192, 197
Chouinard, Mrs 145
Chouinard Art School, Los Angeles:
 mural by Siqueiros 145–6, 147
Científicos 11–12, 15
City Fiesta (Rivera) 23, 59
Claremount *see* Pomona College
Coaticue 128, 169
Coleby, Nicola 17
Colegio Chico (National Preparatory School): murals by Siqueiros 23, 27, 31, 35, 40, 47–9, 51
Collective Suicide (Siqueiros’ Experimental Workshop) 152
Communism (Russia) (Orozco) 137
Conqueror Builder (Orozco) 46
Conscience (Rivera) 81
Constructing Cortéz Palace (Rivera) 95, 99
Contreras, Carlos 152
Conversion of the Indian, The (Rivera) 95, 99
Cooperative, The (Rivera) 66
Cordoza y Aragón, Luis 7

Corn Festival (Rivera) 59
Cortéz, Hernán 84, 87, 111, 166, 173, 190, 191, 223
Cortéz, Don Martín 44, 46
Cortez and the Cross (Orozco) 106
Cortez and Malinche (Orozco) 44, 46, 47
Cortez Palace, Cuernavaca: murals by Rivera 84, 93–9
Cortines, President 208
Court of Fiestas, Ministry of Education 23, 33, 51, 55–60, 62–7
Court of Labour, Ministry of Education 51–7, 59, 61, 67, 68, 78, 126
Cox, George 150
Coyoacán 27
Creation (Rivera) 33, 34, 35, 36, 50
Creative Man (Orozco) 139, 140
Creelman, James 12
Crossing the Barranca (Rivera) 94
Cruz, Gutiérrez 223
Cuauhtemoc 16, 87, 94, 119, 186, 189, 190–3, 199, 224
Cuauhtemoc Against the Myth (Siqueiros) in Centre for Realist Art 189–92, 204 in Tecpan Building) 189
Cuba: mural by Siqueiros 188–9
Cubism 24–5, 30, 31, 34
Cuernavaca
Cortéz Palace murals by Rivera 84, 93–9
mural by Siqueiros 213
Cueva, Amado de la 33, 49, 50, 55, 57, 223
Cuevas, José Luis 228
Cuitlahuac 224
Cultivation of the Maize (Siqueiros) 49

Dartmouth College (New Hampshire, USA): murals by Orozco 99–111, 119, 151, 159
Day of the Dead – City Fiesta (Rivera) 23, 59
De Córdova, Vera 222
de la Cueva see Cueva
de la Huerta see Huerta
de la Torre, Francisco 17, 28
de Negri 69, 224
Dead, The (Orozco) 138
Death of a Capitalist (Rivera) 65
Death to the Invader (Siqueiros) 185, 186, 187–8, 192, 197
Deer Dance, The (Rivera) 59
Dehesa, Teodoro 23
Delphic Studios, New York: Siqueiros' exhibition 149
Departure of Quetzalcoatl, The (Orozco) 104
Derry, Dr. John 226
Destruction of the Old Order (Orozco) 38, 40, 42, 106, 138

Detroit Industry (Rivera) 128–9
Detroit Institute of Arts: murals by Rivera 123, 126–30, 133, 137, 151, 159
Díaz, Porfirio 17, 18, 33, 88, 91, 173
art exhibition 16
and Científicos 11–12, 15
portrayed 12, 208, 211
overthrown 11, 13–14
Dictators, The (Orozco) 119
Díquez, Manuel 221
Dios de Bojórquez, Juan 31
Díquez, General 28
Disembarkation at Veracruz, The (Rivera) 172
Distribution of the Arms (Rivera) 66, 67
Distribution of the Land, The (Rivera) 56, 57
Dive Bomber (Orozco) 144
Dream of a Sunday Afternoon in Alameda Park, A (Rivera) 172, 173, 174, 175–7
Dyers, The (Rivera) 52

Earth Enslaved, The (Rivera) 75
Echavarría, Salvador 112
Eisenstein, Sergei 145, 146, 147
El Greco 23, 61
El Greco and the writer Cervantes (Orozco) 112
Electrical Worker, The (Siqueiros) 49
Electricians' Syndicate Building, Mexico City: mural by Siqueiros 120–1, 145, 151–9, 165, 185, 187, 197
Elements, The (Siqueiros) 35, 47
Embrace, The (Rivera) 52, 54
encaustic 35–6
Encisco, Jorge 17
Encisco, José 230
Enríquez, Molina 15
Enslavement of the Indian, The (Rivera) 95, 99
Entry into the Mine (Rivera) 54
Exit from the Mine (Rivera) 54, 126
Experimental Workshop, New York (Siqueiros') 150–1, 152
Exploiters, The (Rivera) 74, 75

Fabrés, Antonio 25
False Justice (Orozco) 167–8
Family, The (Orozco) 47, 49
Fanon, Franz 83
Fauré, Elie 25, 137
Fernández, Justino 15, 162
Ferstdt, Louis 150
Festival of the First of May, The (Rivera) 57
Fiestas Courtyard see Court of Fiestas
Fimmen, Edo 223
Flores Magón, Enrique and Ricardo 12
Flowering, The (Rivera) 75
Folgarait, Leonard 213
For the Complete Safety (Public Security) of

all Mexicans at Work (Siqueiros) 201, 202, 203–4
Ford, Edsel 126, 226
Ford, Henry 63, 130
Formation of the Revolutionary Leadership, The (Rivera) 75
Fortitude (Rivera) 81
France 15, 30, 92
Franciscan, The (Orozco) 112, 116
Franciscan and the Indian, The (Orozco) 44, 46, 47, 112
Fray Bartolomé de las Casas (Parra) 16
From the Dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz to the Revolution (Siqueiros) 199, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210–11
Fruits in Season (Rivera) 78

Gabino Ortíz Library, Jiquilpan: mural by Orozco 144, 162–8
Galavarino (Chile) 186–7
Gamio, Manuel 15, 33, 223
Gandhi, Imperialism and Slavery (Orozco) 99
Gandhi, Mahatma 99, 138
Gedovious, Germán 222
Germination (Rivera) 75, 80
Gerstle, William 124, 125
Gil, Emilio Portes 122, 123
Giotto 61, 78
Gods of the Modern World, The (Orozco) 108
Goitia, Francisco 223
Good Government (Rivera) 68, 70
Governor's Palace see under Guadalajara
Grandes, los tres see Orozco; Rivera; Siqueiros
Grave-Digger (Orozco) 47
Great City of Tenochtitlan, The (Rivera) 172
Green, William C. 208, 211
Greenberg, Clement 7
Greunig, Hans 13
Gris, Juan 24
Guadalajara 80
Orozco's murals in Governor's palace 143–5, 159, 162, 166–7
University 42, 139–43 see also Hospicio Cabañas
Siqueiros's murals in 49–50, 80
Guadarrama, Ramón Alva 71
Guerrero 222, 223
Guerrero, José 51, 55, 57, 63
Guerrero, Xavier 23, 33, 36, 38, 39
Gutérrez, Eulalio 20, 26
Gutérrez, José 148, 150, 166
Gutérrez, Rodrigo 16

Hall of Lost Steps (Orozco) 167
Hambridge, Jay 138
Harte, Sheldon 228
Havana, Cuba: mural by Siqueiros 188–9

He Who Wants to Eat Must Work (Rivera) 66
Health (Rivera) 81
Herrán, Francisco de la Torre 222
Herrán, Saturnino 17, 28, 222
Hidalgo: The Great Mexican Revolutionary Legislation and the Abolition of Slavery (Orozco) 142, 143, 162, 166, 167
Hidalgo y Costilla, Miguel 87, 119, 143–4
Hidalgo, Manuel 167, 179, 186, 224
Higgins, Reverend Ralph 129
History of American Continent (Orozco) 169, 171
History of Cardiology, A (Rivera) 180
History of Cuernavaca and Morelos (Rivera) 93, 94, 95–8, 99, 100
History of Medicine, A (Rivera) 180, 181
History of Mexico (Rivera) 84, 85–93, 94, 169
Homecoming of the Worker of the New Day, The (Orozco) 137
Hood, Raymond 227
Hoover, Herbert 121
Hopkins, Ernest 100, 225
Horn, Axel 150, 151
Hospicio Cabañas, Guadalajara: murals by Orozco 99, 111–19, 139, 145, 166
Hospital de la Raza, Mexico City
mural by Rivera 175, 180–1
murals by Siqueiros 201–4, 207
Hotel de Silva, Cuernavaca: mural by Siqueiros 213
Hotel del Prado see Alameda Hotel
House of Tears, The (Orozco) 26
Huastec Civilization (Rivera) 171
Huerta, Adolfo de la: coup against Obregón 38, 39, 43, 48, 66
Huerta, Victoriano 198
Huitzilopochtli 103
Huitzilopochtli (Orozco) 111, 112
Hurlbert, Laurence 37–8, 100, 103

Indian Worker (Orozco) 46
Institute of Cardiology, Mexico City: murals by Rivera 180
Italy 30–1, 48
Iturbide, Santa Anna 198
Izaguirre, Leandro 16

Jalisco see Guadalajara
Jaramillo, Alipio 229
Jesús Nazareno Chapel, Mexico City: mural by Orozco 167, 168–9
Jiquilpan see Gabino Ortíz Library
Johnson, Alvin 137
Jorge Negrete Theatre, Mexico City: mural by Siqueiros 207, 211–12
Joseph, Emily 124
Juárez, Benito 15, 88, 91, 167, 179, 186, 198, 228

Juárez, *the Church and the Imperialists* (Orozco) 162, 166, 167
Jurado, Field 38
Justice (Orozco) 167–8

Kahlo, Frida 124, 173, 174, 175, 224
Kirsten, Lincoln 188, 229
Klimovsky, Leon 148
Knapp, M. 226
Knowledge (Rivera) 81
Krenz, F.K. 146

La Raza Hospital *see* Hospital de la Raza
Labour Courtyard *see* Court of Labour
Land's Bounty Rightfully Possessed, The (Rivera) 78
Las Casas, Fray Bartolomé de 46, 223
Last Judgment, The (Orozco) 42
Latin America (Orozco) 106, 107
Law and Justice (Orozco) 42
Lawrence, D.H. 43
Lázaro, Enrique 148
Lazo, Carlos 205, 222
Leaders, The (Orozco) 140
Learned, The (Rivera) 63, 66
Learning the ABC (Rivera) 66
Legend of the Volcanos, The (Herrán) 17
Legend of Zapata, The (Siqueiros) 49
Léger, Fernand 30
Lehman, Harold 150
Lenin, V.I. 132, 137
Levey, Julian 147
Liberated Earth with the Natural Forces Controlled by Man, The (Rivera) 78, 79
Liberation of the Peon, The (Rivera) 55
Liberty (Orozco) 42
Life (Rivera) 81
Limantour, José Ives 12
Lope, Dr Vagare 27–8
Los Angeles, Siqueiros in 145–7, 205
Luncheon Club, San Francisco: mural by Rivera 123–6

McCoy, Sande 150
Mackey, Spencer 125
Madero, Francisco 12, 13, 15, 26, 27, 174
Magón *see* Flores Magón
Mahl, Clara 150
Making of a Fresco, showing the Building of a City, The (Rivera) 124, 125–6
Malinche 44, 46, 223
Man at the Crossroads (Rivera) in New York) 130, 131, 132, 134–5, 137 in Palace of Fine Arts) 133, 139, 169
Man of Fire (Orozco) 116, 118
Man the Master, Not the Slave, of Technology (Siqueiros) 199, 200
March of Humanity in Latin America Towards the Cosmos (Siqueiros) 151,

213, 214, 215–16, 217, 218
Marín, Guadalupe 78, 174, 175
Marinetti, F.T. 30
Market, The (Rivera) 57
Martínez, Alfredo Ramos 19, 28, 63
Martínez, Manuel 175
Martínez, Paulino 14
Martyrs (Siqueiros) 206, 210
Marx, Karl 93, 119, 140
Martyrdom of Cuauhtemoc, The (Izaguirre) 16
Masaccio 30, 31
Mask with Butterfly (Orozco) 168
Masses, The (Orozco) 164
Mateos, López 208, 231
Maternity (Orozco) 36, 37–8
Matisse, Henri 130
Maugard, Adolfo Best 34, 223
Maximilian, emperor 92, 173, 228
Mechanical Horse, The (Orozco) 116, 117
Mechanization of the Country, The (Rivera) 61
Mechanized Masses and Despotism (Orozco) 111
Medical Centre *see* Centro Médico
Mella, Julio 224
Men and Women of Tehuantepec (Rivera) 68, 70
Mena, Mará Luis Gómez 188
Mercado, Antonio Rivas 19, 27
Metaphysical Landscaape (Orozco) 168
Mexico City
Alameda Hotel 172–5
Casa de los Azuelos 44
Centre for Realist Art 189–92, 199
Centro Médico 175, 180, 200, 207, 212–13
Chapultepec Castle 162, 166–7, 199, 206–11, 213
Electricians' Syndicate Building 120–1, 145, 151–9, 165, 185, 187, 197
Mexico City (continued)
Hospital de la Raza 175, 180–1, 201–4, 207
Jesús Nazareno Chapel 167, 168
Jorge Negrete Theatre 207, 211–12
Ministry of Education 23, 33–5, 48, 51–69, 78, 80–1, 124, 126
National Palace 84–93, 133, 170–2
National Teachers' School 162, 164–7
National University 205–6, 207
Olympic Stadium 182
Palace of Fine Arts 133, 136–9, 144, 159, 169, 190–7
Polyforum 151, 213–17
Polytechnic Institute 199–200
Rio Lerma waterworks 181–4
Supreme Court 167–9
Teatro de los Insurgentes 175–9
see also National Preparatory School

Mexico Today and Tomorrow (Rivera) 93
Meyers, Bernard 44
Michelangelo 18, 37, 143
Michoacán *see* Gabino Ortíz Library
Miller, Arthur 146
Miner, The (Siqueiros) 49
Ministry of Education, Mexico City: murals by Rivera 23, 33–5, 48, 51–69, 78, 80–1, 124, 126
Miquelajuarequi, Ramon 214
Moctezuma (Montezuma) 190, 224
Modern Human Sacrifice (Orozco) 82, 83, 109
Modern Industrial Man (Orozco) 102
Modern Migration of the Spirit (Orozco) 109, 110, 111
Modernista 19
Modotti, Tina 39, 224
Money Box, The (Orozco) 42
Montaño, Otilio 14, 71, 88
Montenegro, Roberto 17, 23
Montevideo, Siqueiros in 147–8
Montezuma (Moctezuma) 190, 224
Moody, Helen Wills 124, 126
Morelos y Pavón, José 87, 186, 198
Morgan, J.P. 63
Morones, Luís 38, 227
Morrow, Dwight 84, 93
Mother's Blessing, The (Orozco) 47
Mother's Farewell, The (Orozco) 47
Mumford, Lewis 137
Murillo, Gerardo *see* Atl, Dr
Murphy, Dudley 147
Museum of Modern Art, New York exhibition 147 murals 130, 144
Myers, Bernard 164
Myths, The (Siqueiros) 47

National Allegory (Orozco) 162, 162, 164–5, 166–7
National Medical Centre *see* Centro Médico
National Museum of History *see* Chapultepec Castle
National Palace, Mexico City: murals by Rivera 84–93, 133, 170–2
National Preparatory School, Mexico City 18 murals by Orozco 23, 27, 36–51, 106, 112, 138, 143, 167 murals by Rivera *see* Bolívar Amphitheatre murals by Siqueiros *see* Colegio Chico
National Riches (Orozco) 167–8, 169
National Teachers' School, Mexico City: murals by Orozco 162, 164–7
National University, Mexico City 20–1 mural by Siqueiros 50, 205–6, 207
Neruda, Pablo 185

New Democracy, The (Siqueiros) 193, 194–7
New School, The (Rivera) 55
New School for Social Research, New York: murals by Orozco 99, 137–8
New Workers' School, New York: mural by Rivera 132
New York 147
Orozco in 27, 99, 137–8, 144
Rivera in 130–3, 137, 151
Siqueiros in 149–52
Night of the Poor (Rivera) 63, 66
Night of the Rich (Rivera) 64, 66
Novo, Salvadore 43
Nuetra, Richard 146

Obregón, General Alvaro 7, 14, 20, 21, 40, 69, 87
coup against 38, 39, 43, 48, 66
death 122
Obregón, José 16
O'Higgins, Bernard 187
O'Higgins, Pablo 71, 224
Old Warrior Races, The (Orozco) 46
Olympic Stadium, Mexico City: mural by Rivera 182
Omniscience (Orozco) 44
Organization of the Agrarian Movement, The (Rivera) 77
Orient, The (Orozco) 137
Orizaba 26, 28, 44
Oropesa, Guillermo García 223
Orozco, José Clemente 7, 8, 9, 11
early career 18, 20, 25–7, 36–48, 50, 81, 221
in 1920s 33, 34–5, 39–40, 44, 83, 222–3
Orozco, José Clemente (continued)
in 1930s 84, 99–119, 121, 122, 133, 136–45, 166, 225, 227–8
from 1940 to 1949 161, 162–9, 228
location of major works *see*
Chapultepec: Dartmouth College; Gabino Ortíz Library; Hospicio Cabañas; National Preparatory School; National Teachers' School *and under* Guadalajara *and* New York
Ortíz Rubio, Pascual 122
Our Bread (Rivera) 63

Pach, Walter 27
Pacheco, Maximo 71
Packard, Artemas 225
Paine, Frances Flynn 130
Palace of Fine Arts, Mexico City 150 murals by Rivera 133, 136–9, 144, 159, 169, 190–7
Palomares, Fernando 208, 211
Pan-American Unity (Rivera) 169
Pani, Alberto 25
Papermakers (Rivera) 171

Parque de Lama *see* Polyforum
 Parra, Félix 16, 23
Partition of the Land (Rivera) 68, 69
Patricians and Parricides (Siqueiros) 197–8, 199
 Paulus, Eugene 129
 Paz, Octavio 21
Peasant Mother (Siqueiros) 49
People and their False Leaders, The (Orozco) 140
People for the University. The University for the People (Siqueiros) 205, 206, 207
 Pflueger, Timothy 124, 228–9
Phantasms of Religion in Alliance with Military, The (Orozco) 143, 144
Philip the Second of Spain (Orozco) 112, 113
 photography and photo–murals 147, 148, 157, 189
 Picasso, Pablo 24, 130
 Pillet system 27, 222
Plastic Exercise (Siqueiros) 148, 149, 151
 Plaza Art Center, Los Angeles: mural by Siqueiros 146–7
Political Junk Heap (Orozco) 42
 Pollock, Jackson 150, 151
 Polyforum, Mexico City: mural by Siqueiros 151, 213–17
 Polytechnic Institute, Mexico City: mural by Siqueiros 199–200
 Pomona College, Claremount (California): murals by Orozco 99–100, 137
Popular History of Mexico, A (Rivera) 175–8, 179
 Porfiriato *see* Díaz, Porfirio
 Portes Gil, Emilio 122, 123
Portrait of America (Rivera) 132
Portrait of the Bourgeoisie (Siqueiros) 120, 121, 145, 151, 152, 153–4, 155, 156, 157–8, 159, 165, 185, 187, 197
Portrait of Cortez (Orozco) 112, 114–15, 116
Portrait of Mexico Today (Siqueiros) 147
 Posada, José Guadalupe 23, 26, 66–7
 engravings by 16–17
 portrayed 11, 25, 173, 174
 Potter, *The* (Siqueiros) 49
 Prieto, Guillermo 12
 Prieto, Miguel 152, 155, 157
Proletarian Mother (Siqueiros) 49
Proletarian Struggle (Orozco) 167–8, 169
Prometheus (Orozco) 99, 100, 137
Prophecy, The (Orozco) 104
Protest, The (Rivera) 66
 Pruneda, Alfonso 44
 Puerto, Carrillo 38, 40, 48, 87–8, 137
 Pujol, Antonio 150, 152, 155, 157, 228
Purity (Rivera) 81
 pyroxaline first used 148

Pythagoras 21, 33

 Quetzalcoatl 85, 93, 103, 104, 109, 119, 190, 224, 225

 Ramírez, Ignacio 12, 15, 175
Reactionary Forces (Orozco) 42
 Read, Herbert 6, 8
Rebellion (Siqueiros) 49
Rebellion of Man, The (Orozco) 140
 Rebull, Santiago 23
 Reed, Alma 99, 137
Regeneración 12
 Renau, José 152, 154, 155, 157
 Renoir 25
Requerimiento 46
Resurrection of Cuauhtemoc (Siqueiros) 191
Return to the Battlefields (Orozco) 47
Return from Work (Orozco) 47
Revelation of the Way (Rivera) 78
Revolution – Germination (Rivera) 77, 78
Revolution and Universal Brotherhood (Orozco) 99
Revolutionary Trinity (Orozco) 38, 42, 143
 Revueltas, Fermín 23
 Reyes, Alfonso 12
Ribbon Dance, The (Rivera) 59
Rich Banquet while the Workers Fight, The (Orozco) 42, 43
 Richardson, E.P. 130, 226
Rio Lerma (Rivera) 181, 182–4, 183
 Rios, Plácido 221
 Rivas Mercado, Antonio 19, 27
 Rivera, Diego 7, 8, 9
 early career 17, 21, 23–5, 31, 221
 in 1920s 33–5, 38–40, 43, 44, 48, 50–82, 83, 124, 126, 222
 in 1930s 84–99, 119, 121, 122, 123–37, 139, 145, 149–51, 223, 225, 226–7
 from 1940 to 1957 119, 162, 169–83, 200, 228–9
 location of major works *see* Bolívar Amphitheatre; Chapingo; Cortéz Palace; Detroit; Ministry of Education; National Palace; Palace of Fine Arts; Rockefeller Centre; San Francisco *and under* New York
 portrayed 50, 99, 127, 173, 174, 183
 and Siqueiros 25, 30, 31
 Rockefeller, Abbey 225
 Rockefeller, John D. 63, 132
 Rockefeller, Mrs. John D. 130
 Rockefeller, Nelson 99, 130, 131, 227
 Rockefeller Centre, New York: mural by Rivera 130–3, 137
 Rodríguez, General Abelardo 122
 Rodríguez, Antonio 14, 16–17, 33, 38, 39, 40, 42, 48, 152, 190, 199, 217
 Rodríguez, Luis Martínez 175
 Rojano, Juan 71

Roosevelt, F.D. 8, 158
 Rossell, Guillermo 214
 Rubio, Pascual Ortíz 122
 Ruelas, Julio 25

 Sala de la Reforma *see* Chapultepec Castle
 San Carlos Academy *see* Academy
 San Francisco
 Art Institute: mural by Rivera 124–6
 Golden Gate Exhibition: mural by Rivera 169
 Orozco in 27
 Stock Exchange: mural by Rivera 123–6
 San Miguel de Allende 203
 Sánchez, Andrés Flores 226
 Santa Anita School of Painting 19–20, 28
 Santo Domingo customs house: mural by Siqueiros 197–9, 200
 Scott, General 173
 Servet, Michel 180
 Sierra, Justo 15, 18, 19
 Siqueiros, Angelica Arenal 193, 230
 Siqueiros, David Alfaro 7, 9, 11
 early career 18, 20, 21, 27–31, 38–9, 43, 44, 47–51, 81
 in 1920s 33, 35–6, 39–40, 49–50, 80, 83, 222–3
 in 1930s 6, 121, 122, 145–60, 165, 228
 from 1940 to 1971 119, 151, 161, 162, 185–217, 228, 229–33
 location of major works *see* Colegio Chico; Electricians' Syndicate *and under* Los Angeles *and* New York
 portrayed 140, 210
 and Rivera 25, 30, 31
 Siroporin, Mitchell 8
Slave, The (Orozco) 168
Social Revolution (Orozco) 44
Socialism (Lenin) (Orozco) 99
Socialism (Yucatán) (Orozco) 99, 137
 Soviet Union 132, 137, 158
 see also Marx; Trotsky
 Spain, Siqueiros in 152
 Spalding, Sumner 146
Spanish Conquest of America (Orozco) 111–16
 Spilembergo, Lino 148
 Stackpole, Ralph 124
 Stettler, W.J. 126
Stop the War (Siqueiros' Experimental Workshop) 152
Street Meeting (Siqueiros) 146
Strike, The (Orozco) 38, 40, 42
 Suárez, Manuel 213, 214
Subterranean Forces (Rivera) 74, 75, 80
Sugar Cane (Siqueiros) 49
Sugar Refinery, The (Rivera) 52, 54

Supreme Court, Mexico City: murals by Orozco 167–9
 Syndicate of Technical Workers, Painters and Sculptors 6, 38–40, 47–8, 51, 55, 57, 149

 Tablada, Juan 27, 222
Tale of Brotherhood and Universality (Orozco) 137
 Taxco 49, 145
 Teatro de los Insurgentes, Mexico City: mural by Rivera 175–9
 Tecpan Building, Tlatelco: mural by Siqueiros 189
Tehuanas, The (Rivera) 52
 Tehuantepec 34, 52
 Teotihuacan 36
 Tezlez, Efigemio 71
Theatrical Art in the Social Life of Mexico (Siqueiros) 207, 211–12
Tlaloc (Rivera) 183
 Tlatelco: mural by Rivera 189
 Tlazoltéotl 229
 To Work (Rivera) 66
 Todd, John R. 130
 Toledano, Vincente Lombardo 227
 Tolsa, Manuel 225
Torment of Cuauhtemoc, The (Siqueiros) 190–1, 193
 Torpete, Don Everado 111, 145
 Torre, Francisco de la 17, 28
Totonac Civilization (Rivera – National Palace) 170
Trench, The (Orozco) 38, 40, 42, 48
Trench, The (Rivera) 66
Triumph of the Revolution (Rivera) 77, 78
Triumph of the Revolution, The (Siqueiros) 49
Tropical America (Siqueiros) 146, 147, 205
Tropical Mexico and Xochipilli and his Votaries (Rivera) 61
 Trotsky, Leon 140, 149, 169, 185, 189, 228
 Truman, Harry 121
Twin-Headed Horse (Orozco) 112, 116

 Uccello, Paulo 225
 U.N.A.M. *see* National University
Union (Rivera) 66
United Front (Rivera) 66
 United States 8, 15, 83, 84, 91, 93, 121–2, 158, 161, 182–3, 211
 see also California; Dartmouth; Detroit; New York
Unity of the Peasant and the Worker (Siqueiros) 49
 University of Chapingo *see* Chapingo
 University of Guadalajara: murals by Orozco 42, 139–43
 Uruguay, Siqueiros in 147–8

Vaillant, George 224	Vásquez, Conrado 150	<i>Wars of the Conquest, The</i> (Orozco) 116, 117	Yáñez, Enrique 201	239
Valdés, Emiliano 222	Velasco, José María 16, 23	Werner, Erwin 229		
Valentiner, Dr. William 126, 226	Veracruz 28	<i>Whore of the Apocalypse</i> (Orozco) 168	<i>Zandunga, La</i> (Rivera) 59	
Vargas, Elvira 204	<i>Victims, The</i> (Orozco) 140, 144	<i>Work</i> (Siqueiros) 49	Zapata, Emiliano 14, 15, 26, 67, 71, 88, 106, 108, 119	
Vasconcelos, José 12, 15, 55, 66, 88	Villa, Francisco 14, 26, 28, 88	Workers' Education Centre in Orizaba 44	portrayed 17, 173, 186, 198	
influence on art and murals	Villa, Pancho 15	<i>Workers' Meeting, A</i> (Siqueiros) 205	<i>Zapatista Landscape</i> (Rivera) 25	
commissssioned by 20–1, 23, 25, 27, 31, 33, 35, 36, 38, 40, 43, 48, 50	<i>Virgin Earth, The</i> (Rivera) 80	<i>World of Today and Tomorrow</i> (Rivera) 93	Zayas, María de 123	
on mestizos 83, 224	Wa-Thiongo, Ngugi 119	Wright, Clifford 226	Zuño, Guadalupe 49, 50	
portrayed 15, 20, 175	<i>Wall Street Banquet</i> (Rivera) 62, 63, 124			

Picture acknowledgments

22	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
32, 34	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
35	Gruppo Editoriale Fabbri, Bompiani, Sonzogno, Etas S.P.A. Milan
37	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
40 to 48	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
51	Desmond Rochfort
52 to 81	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
82	Commissioned by the Trustees of Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, USA
85 to 92	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
94 above	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
94 below	Desmond Rochfort
95 to 98	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
99 both	The New School for Social Research, New York
100	Pomona College, Claremont, California
101	Commissioned by the Trustees of Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, USA
102 all	Courtesy of Laurence P. Hurlbert, Middleton, Wisconsin
103 to 110	Commissioned by the Trustees of Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire, USA
111 to 120	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
124	Stock Exchange Tower Associates, San Francisco
125 and back jacket	San Francisco Art Institute (photographer David Wakefield)
127 all	© The Detroit Institute of Arts, Founders Society Purchase, Edsel B. Ford Fund and Gift of Edsel B. Ford
128, 129	The Detroit Institute of Arts
131, 132	Lucienne Bloch Dimitroff, Gualala, California and Laurance P. Hurlbert, Middleton, Wisconsin Lucienne Bloch Dimitroff
133 to 144	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
147 both	Siqueiros Archives, Mexico City
149, 151	Siqueiros Archives, Mexico City
153, 154	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
155 both	Siqueiros Archives, Mexico City
156, 157	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
158 both	Courtesy of Laurence P. Hurlbert, Middleton, Wisconsin
160	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
163, 164	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
165	Desmond Rochfort
166 to 172	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
173	Dirk Bakker, Detroit Institute of Art
174 above left	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
174 below	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
175 to 181	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
182, 183	Manuel Alvarez Bravo/Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
184	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
186	Gruppo Editoriale Fabbri, Bompiani, Sonzogno, Etas S.P.A. Milan
188	Siqueiros Archives, Mexico City
189 above	Desmond Rochfort
189 below	Siqueiros Archives, Mexico City
190	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
191 all	Siqueiros Archives, Mexico City
192	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
193 all	Siqueiros Archives, Mexico City
194–195	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
196 to 203 above	Desmond Rochfort

203 below	Siqueiros Archives, Mexico City
204	Desmond Rochfort
205 both	Siqueiros Archives, Mexico City
206	Desmond Rochfort
207 above	Gruppo Editoriale Fabbri, Bompiani, Sonzogno, Etas S.P.A. Milan
207 below	Siqueiros Archives, Mexico City
208	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
208 to 209	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
210 above	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
210 below both	Siqueiros Archives, Mexico City
211	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City
213 all	Desmond Rochfort
214 all	Siqueiros Archives, Mexico City
215 to 217	Bob Schalkwijk, Mexico City