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 Anthony

# Katherine Dunham's Mexican Adventure

BY THEODORE W. COHEN

In 1983, the Center for Afro-American Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles, published Katherine Dunham's *Dances of Haiti* for the first time in the United States. In the "Preface," Dunham explained this research, which originated as her master's thesis at the University of Chicago, previously circulated in English and Spanish in the Mexican journal *Acta Anthropologica*.<sup>1</sup> Since its original publication in 1947, Dunham's career had dramatically transformed. The young dancer had blossomed into a New Negro intellectual, political activist, teacher, and world-renowned performer. A

pioneer in the ethnographic study of dance in the 1930s, she studied under Robert Redfield, a sociologist of Mexico at the University of Chicago, and his colleague, the leading anthropologist of African-descended peoples in the Americas, Northwestern University's Melville Herskovits. In 1964, she began to work in the greater St. Louis area as an artist-in-residence at Southern Illinois University at Carbondale (SIU). Upon moving to East St. Louis in 1969, she introduced an Afro-diasporic purview to the city's impoverished black population. As Dunham's friend and biographer



Cover for Katherine Dunham and Her Company program at the Great Theater Esperanza Iris. The program included Third Edition of *Tropical Revue*. May 10–17, 1947. (Image: Southern Illinois University-Carbondale)

(Far Left) Katherine Dunham–signed photo to Miguel Covarrubias (Undated): "To Miguel, who must always have a special invitation. Katherine Dunham." (Image: Archivo Miguel Covarrubias, Sala del Archivo y Colecciones Especiales, Biblioteca, Universidad de las Américas Puebla, Cholula, Puebla, Mexico)

Joyce Aschenbrenner noted, she drew parallels between the city's residents and the isolated black communities of the Caribbean. Rejecting the legacies of Jim Crow segregation, she developed cultural initiatives, first at the SIU campus in Alton and then across the St. Louis metropolitan area, including the Maurice Joyce House in East St. Louis that she converted into the Katherine Dunham Museum in 1977.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout her lifetime, local, national, and international institutions celebrated Dunham's achievements. In 1967 she received the key to the city of Alton. Numerous universities, including Washington University in St. Louis, awarded her honorary degrees of fine arts and humane letters. And, in 1989, she was enshrined on St. Louis's Walk of Fame. To this day, her beautiful choreography is displayed at the Missouri History Museum. In the Americas, the Haitian and Brazilian governments conferred

on her awards as prestigious as, if not more prestigious than, those given to her in the United States, and in 1993 she received Haitian citizenship. With Caribbean possessions such as the island of Martinique, France named her an officer of the Order of Arts and Letters in 1988, the same year that Haiti bestowed on her the same distinction.<sup>3</sup>

Mexico has remained on the margins of Dunham's biography, often merely recognized in a list of countries where she performed. Yet, it stood uniquely in her personal story. As a predominantly indigenous nation, it pointed to her unabashed quest to find, document, and choreograph the African-descended dances of the Americas. She first arrived in the summer of 1947, when her dance troupe was scheduled to perform throughout Mexico City. Little did she know that she would encounter a new musical inspiration, the music of the coastal state

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Katherine Dunham traveled throughout the Caribbean as a performer, as this map shows. (Image: Kyle Rainey)



of Veracruz, which in 1948 would become a standard in her oeuvre.

Dunham was aware of the African presence in Latin America and the Caribbean before she arrived in Mexico. On March 9, 1932, she wrote to Melville Herskovits, having not yet undertaken any ethnographic research. Her interest in dance was well established, but her ethnographic project to resuscitate Afro-diasporic cultures in the Americas was still inchoate. She introduced herself, saying that University of Chicago anthropologist Fay Cooper-Cole encouraged her to write. Dunham was interested in “a comparative study of primitive dancing,” particularly of “the American Indians and such primitive groups of American Negroes.”<sup>4</sup> Three years later, and with letters of introduction written by Herskovits, she traveled to the Caribbean islands of Jamaica, Martinique, and Trinidad to begin her ethnographic research.

Writing to Herskovits from Martinique in September 1935, she expressed the frustrations typical of novice anthropologists driven by the desire to engender social uplift. Struggling with the nuances of objective community observation, she lamented: “This is a very difficult country. It is small, and the people are much amalgamated. Perhaps I repeat myself, but there is much more to be done here psychologically than artistically or anthropologically. The country is slowly decaying, and the people with it.”<sup>5</sup> Dunham’s observations in Martinique inspired her first ballet, *L’Ag’Ya*, which famously depicts two men dueling over a woman.<sup>6</sup> Then, in 1936, she visited Haiti, embarking on the research that she submitted as “Dances of Haiti” for her master’s degree in Anthropology in 1938.

Dunham’s ethnographic-cum-artistic project continued into the 1940s. In 1939, she choreographed and premiered *Bahiana*, which drew inspiration from the music and dance of the people of Bahia, Brazil, one of the most African regions in the Western Hemisphere. Five years later, she debuted *Choros*, which used the Brazilian quadrille, a paired nineteenth-

century dance with origins in Western Europe. Her fascination with the African-descended dance kept leading her back to the Caribbean, her most frequent source of artistic inspiration. She wanted to understand the African-descended dances of the Caribbean as a single cultural entity. Beginning in the fall of 1943, *Tropical Revue* brought this ethnographic initiative to life. Although the works included in the revue changed over time, certain standards, like *L’Ag’Ya*, were almost always included.<sup>7</sup>

By February 1945, Dunham was beginning to look for new cultural inspirations to include in a second revue. On February 6, Gerald Goode wrote to her saying, “I have said many times that ‘Tropical Revue’ has run its course.”<sup>8</sup> By February 24, she had taken his advice. In a letter cheekily addressed to “Tropical Revue/F(r)iends, comrades, & countryman,” she penned:

The time has come for a brief farewell. Not a goodbye but only “hasta La Vista” as the Spanish say or “Do Veedonaya” as we say in Russian. May you all have joyful and profitable vacations and circumstances agreeable to all partys concerned we shall meet again on the fair western shores.

Thank you for your kind cooperation

Yours with affection,  
Katherine Dunham<sup>9</sup>

In 1946, Dunham began to assemble *Bal Nègre* to replace *Tropical Revue*. This revue would feature music from Cuba, Haiti, Brazil, and Martinique.<sup>10</sup>

In this context, Latin America re-entered Dunham’s artistic vision. In January 1946, Mexican Fernando González asked her to come to Mexico.<sup>11</sup> By May, Dunham was also entertaining requests to visit Brazil, to which she responded on June 26, “I am very eager

to include South America in our itinerary for the coming season.”<sup>12</sup> As the summer came to a close, Mexico increasingly captivated her attention. “I am working,” one of her staff wrote to her in a letter dated August 7, 1946, “on a very hot idea to go to Mexico.”<sup>13</sup> The following summer, she and her dance troupe arrived in Mexico. Her perception of Mexico was mixed. On May 6, she exclaimed to Mexican Uldarica Manas, “You were perfectly right about Mexico that has taken us completely to heart. We are now thinking seriously of going independently to Guatemala, Havana and Caracas and perhaps as far as Rio if possible.”<sup>14</sup> Two days later, her attitude toward Mexico was markedly less positive in a letter to Smith Davis:

Mexico City seems like the end of the world. Of course I have never been a fan of this part of the country but even so I thought I would learn to like it a little better. . . .

Today is a national holiday because the President has returned. There is always a national holiday for some reason or another and much as I hate to be prejudiced I am beginning to get annoyed with the Mexican manners.<sup>15</sup>

In Mexico City, she and her troupe danced at various theaters, including the Great Theater Esperanza Isis and the Palace of Fine Arts, where she debuted *Rhumba Trio* and performed for President Miguel Alemán. At Esperanza Isis, she performed the third edition of *Tropical Revue*. Although the revue commenced with music and dance from the south Pacific Islands of Melanesia and Tongo, it highlighted the Americas. The first act continued with the “Son” and “Bolero” from Cuba and “Haitian Roadside” and ended with “Mexican Scene.” With music taken from Harl McDonald’s 1934 *Symphony No. 2*, this rumba paid homage to Mexico’s musical heritage. The second act included her



Miguel Covarrubias Caricature of Katherine Dunham, Undated. (Image: Missouri History Museum)

famed albeit ethnographically unspecific *Rites de Passage* [*Rites of Passage*]. The third brought the United States, with its ragtime and blues, to Mexican audiences as Dunham returned to her Afro-diasporic roots.

Mexicans responded favorably to her performances. Many affectionately called her “La Katarina.” *México al Día* [*Mexico Today*] featured her in its issue from June 1, 1947. The article titled “Primitive Rhythms: Katherine Dunham, Artist and Scholar” introduced her to Mexican audiences not versed in U.S. dance or African American culture. “Katherine Dunham, anthropologist and ballerina,” it began, “is one of the most intelligent and notable women to have visited our country.” It extolled her ethnographic knowledge: “She has written various books about dance and folklore, especially her anthropology thesis based on Antillean customs, as well as articles published in the magazine ‘Esquire’ and in other journalistic publicans. She is currently working on a book that will

be soon published about customs, religion, art, and folklore in Jamaica.” Regarding her artistic prowess, it stated, “Her technique, the famous Dunham technique, is that of incorporating primitive rhythms into modern dance.”<sup>17</sup>

According to journalist Jaime Luna, Dunham’s *Bal Nègre* merited particular attention. It represented music and dance, particularly jazz, which had often been perverted in the United States. Her troupe “conquered us from the first moment,” he exclaimed. *Bal Nègre* “is effectively something of which we have no idea and that artistically vindicates the colored race through its most genuine expressions: Love, Sorrow, Hope, Faith, Humor all with a tragic

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Fa-Cha image of Katherine Dunham accompanying Jaime Luna’s “*Bal Nègre*.” (Image:Southern Illinois University-Carbondale)



Katherine Dunham (seated at head of table) with Miguel Covarrubias (left) at his home. From: “Hola! La Katarina: Miss Dunham in Mexico,” *Our World*, August 1947, pg. 41. (Image:Southern Illinois University-Carbondale)

background.” Accompanying the article was a drawing of a female black dancer, presumably Dunham. Drawn by caricaturist Ángel Zamarripa Landi under the pseudonym Fa-Cha, this image, Luna opined, “has accurately captured the thing . . . the postures and behaviors of ‘Bal-Nègre’ in action.”<sup>18</sup>

The *New York Times* noted her popularity on May 19, 1947. Its short three-paragraph article began: “Speaking of the Iris Theatre in Mexico City, Katherine Dunham yesterday concluded a highly successful four-week engagement there with her company.” Her performances, it noted, were attended by Mexico’s artistic glitterati: “Incidentally, during the Iris engagement such leading artists as [Diego] Rivera, [José Clemente] Orozco, [Miguel] Covarrubias and [Carlos] Merida made sketches in the theatre for a book to be published in Mexico. La Katerina

seems definitely to have rung the bell south of the border.”<sup>19</sup>

Covarrubias already knew Dunham. Like her, he spent his formative years participating in the New Negro Movement. While she danced in Chicago, he drew on the sights and sounds of Harlem. His sketches of African American society graced the pages of *Vanity Fair* and countless books like Alain Locke’s *The New Negro* (1925), Langston Hughes’s *The Weary Blues* (1926), and W. C. Handy’s *Blues: An Anthology* (1926), which included Handy’s famous song, “St. Louis Blues.” Not surprisingly, their paths crossed when Dunham visited Mexico and Covarrubias traveled to the United States.<sup>20</sup> Documented in Mexican newspapers and magazines, they attended the same socials at galas as well as more intimate meals at the homes of Mexico’s cultural elite. Perhaps best illustrating their mutual admiration, he drew a caricature of her, and she sent him a personalized signed photo of herself.

In May 1947, Dunham gave a talk at the Palace of Fine Art, and Covarrubias served as translator. An article in the Mexico City-based newspaper *El Universal*, “Black Art Seen by Loyal Interpreter,” covered the event. She discussed her studies in Chicago, research in the Caribbean, and interpretations of African-descended dance. Eventually, Mexico came up, as the article explained: “Interrogated about the reason why she had not yet incorporated some Mexican dances into her program—even though a number of her shows had the title ‘Mexican’—she responded that she would need to remain with us for several years in order to know the psychology of the people, since she was not interested only in the outward aspects of the dances she executed.”<sup>21</sup> Mexico was barely on her artistic agenda. No one, including Dunham, could have foreseen that within a matter of months, she would tether the music of the Mexican state of Veracruz to her rejuvenation of Afro-diasporic aesthetics.

The music of Veracruz, particularly the

*huapango*, had recently entered into the nation’s musical canon. Beginning in 1934, composer Gerónimo Baqueiro Foster studied the genre’s historical, cultural, and musicological elements. In the April 1942 issue of *Revista Musical Mexicano* [*Mexican Musical Journal*], he tied the *huapango* to Mexico’s history of African slavery. He concluded: “‘La Bamba’ and ‘La Palomita,’ for example, were descendants of the songs of the black slaves of the Spanish conquerors. It would not be difficult to acknowledge this black ancestry in the harmonic, melodic, and rhythmic elements of ‘La Bamba.’”<sup>22</sup> He also arranged various *huapangos*, including “La bamba,” for a concert series at Manhattan’s Museum of Modern Art in 1940. His three-minute composition *Huapangos* was the first time the state’s black music had been recognized and performed within the nationalist narrative. Covarrubias also embraced the music’s African roots. His 1946 book, *Mexico South: The Isthmus of Tehuantepec*, explained that the music of Veracruz’s coastal inhabitants “is a direct descendant of the old Andalusian music transplanted to the jungle by its half-Indian, half-Negro interpreters.”<sup>23</sup>

Sometime after that talk at the Palace of Fine Arts, Dunham decided to learn more about the state’s music. Presumably, Covarrubias helped her find her footing. On July 22, she wrote to her friend and artistic collaborator, Trinidadian William Archibald, about her current and future projects, including her interest in Veracruz:

Dear Bill:

Don’t think that I have stopped negotiations on Carib Song. Last night I had a discussion with another producer (the first one turned out to be unable to swing the deal), and his [*sic*] is very much interested. His name is Julio Bracho and at present he is working on a picture with Del Rio. We have been discussing

whether it should be done in Vera Cruz, which has a Mexican-Negro setting, or whether it should be done in Trinidad. He suggested to save money that we try Jamaica.

He sees no way to do it before the first of the year and he is now going to take things up with his associates. Perhaps I will have more news soon. I took the liberty to tell that you and Beau would want to be on hand if it were being made.

Regards to Beau and Mary Hunter and Mary Mollaghan if you see her.

Yours,  
Katherine Dunham<sup>24</sup>

This “Mexican-Negro setting” provided her with the pretext to add Mexico to her Afro-diasporic worldview.

Before leaving Mexico, Dunham learned of Baqueiro Foster’s composition, which he had re-arranged and renamed *Suite Veracruzana, No. 1* [*Veracruz Suite, No. 1*]. On September 25, 1947, she acquired the rights to use it. Written on stationary from Mexico City’s Hotel Reforma, the contract stated:

Agreement between KATHERINE DUNHAM PRODUCTIONS, INC., and SR. BAQUIERO FOSTER.  
1. For the sum of Five Hundred Pesos (\$500.00) KATHERINE DUNHAM PRODUCTIONS, INC., acknowledges receipt of two piano

Lenwood Morris dancing in *Veracruzana*. (Image: Missouri History Museum)





copies of BAMBÁ, MORENA, and BALAJU, compositions of BAQUEIRO [sic] FOSTER.

2. It is further agreed between the two parties that for the sum of Fifteen Hundred Pesos (\$1500.00) that KATHERINE DUNHAM PRODUCTIONS, INC., receives exclusive rights to the compositions BAMBÁ, MORENA, BALAJU, without time limitation, or performance limitation, and receives arrangements of the three above mentions [sic] compositions for a 100-piece orchestra.

3. With the signature of this agreement, BAQUEIRO FOSTER, renounces further fees [sic] or royalties for the compositions BAMBÁ, MORENA and BALAJU, and KATHERINE DUNHAM PRODUCTIONS, INC., receives full and complete rights to same.

Signed Katherine Dunham and  
G. Baqueiro Foster<sup>25</sup>

Dunham utilized this music as the foundation for her ballet *Veracruzana*. Broadway composer Dorothea Freitag rearranged Baqueiro Foster's composition. After a brief vocal opening, the music commences with "Danzón Overture 1," continues with "Balaju" and two more danzones, and finishes with "La Bamba."<sup>26</sup> Of all of Baqueiro Foster's songs, his version of "La bamba" resonated most with Dunham's Caribbean aesthetic. She implicitly established the connection between Veracruz and the Caribbean in her master's thesis, which was published in *Acta Anthropologica* in 1947. In etymological terms, "Dances of Haiti" mentioned the African origins of the term bamba. It was a "Social or marginal socio-religious dance of Haiti, known in other islands and southern states of America." It also identified

the *danzón* as a "Social dance popular in the Caribbean, similar to the bolero."<sup>27</sup>

To critical acclaim, Dunham performed *Veracruzana* in the United States and around the world in the late 1940s and 1950s. The scenery was designed by Covarrubias. The plot focused on three men who sought her attention. Logistically, it was hard to perform—the choreography required a large hammock to be strung across the stage, thereby preventing many smaller theaters from housing the production. When Dunham returned to Mexico in 1955, she included *Veracruzana* in some of her programs. In its advertisements, Mexico's Lirico Theater highlighted *Veracruzana* amid a flourish of exclamation points: "Katherine Dunham, her ballerinas, her musicians, and her singers interpreting the ballet *Veracruzana*!! Judged by some! Applauded by others! And cheered by all of Mexico! Last Days! We are saying bye to Mexico!"<sup>28</sup> In an interview on June 15 in Mexico City, she discussed her interests in the Caribbean and then South America, especially paying homage to the African-descended tango in Argentina. Finally, the interviewer asked: "And what about Mexico?" Her response referenced the music in *Veracruzana*: "very strong influence to me in Mexico has been my visit to the state of Veracruz. There I fell in love with the tropical climate and the BAMBÁ. Perhaps Frances would sing some of the BAMBÁ for us."<sup>29</sup> "La bamba," the pearl of Veracruz's music, was still fascinating to her eight years after she discovered its African heritage.

Dunham began her career interested in what she called primitive cultures, unaware that her interest in dance and the revitalization of Afro-diasporic culture would bring her to Mexico or that she would eventually perform Mexican music on Broadway and around the world. Just as she came to love the music of Veracruz, Mexicans found her keen ethnographic eye and sharp choreography revelatory. Politically, Dunham and the Mexicans who reviewed her performances rejected U.S. segregationist



Katherine Dunham headlined at Mexico City's Lirico Theater in 1955. (Image: Missouri History Museum)

policies that denounced black aesthetics. An interview with Peter Waddington published in article form in *Opera and Concert* in June 1948 best describes the impact Mexico had on Dunham's condemnation of U.S. racism and her broader artistic perspective. Extensively quoting her, he wrote:

“There is no doubt but what we are doing is creating a better understanding of, and sympathy for, the American Negro. From the beginning, I aimed at sociological as well as artistic targets. Now, however, I admit that a strong sociological purpose motivates my work and that there is a real drive in my purpose to present good looking, talented, clean, healthy-minded and healthy-bodied you American Negroes in a repertoire of dance mimes and sketches. How well I am succeeding is well illustrated by incidents both in this country and in Mexico, where, during our last tour, I was invited, with members of my company, to call on President Miguel Alemán, who was most gracious in his praise of our performance. He was particularly pleased that we spoke to him in Spanish, such as it was, an effrontery in view of his good English, but one that broke the contretemps and established a friendly feeling at once.” People who underestimate this kind of propaganda are blind to its advantages. “In other words,” Miss Dunham explained, “our appearances in Mexico, for example, did much to counteract Hollywood's clichés for the Negro. They discovered that the Negro can also be an artist and not always a shiftless, ignorant person.”<sup>30</sup>

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Katherine Dunham, *The Dances of Haiti* (Los Angeles: Center for Afro-American Studies, 1983), ix.
- <sup>2</sup> Joyce Aschenbrenner, *Katherine Dunham: Dancing a Life* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 173–74, and Vèvè Clark, “Performing the memory of difference in Afro-Caribbean dance: Katherine Dunham’s choreography, 1938–87,” in *History and Memory in African-American Culture*, eds. Geneviève Fabre and Robert O’Meally (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 188–204.
- <sup>3</sup> For a biography of Dunham, see Aschenbrenner, *Katherine Dunham*.
- <sup>4</sup> Katherine Dunham to Melville J. Herskovits, March 9, 1932, Folder 12 (Dunham, Katherine, 1932–1942), Box 7, Melville J. Herskovits Papers, Northwestern University Library Archives, Evanston, Illinois (hereafter cited as MJHP-NULA).
- <sup>5</sup> Katherine Dunham to Melville J. Herskovits, 1935, c. Sept 10, Folder 12 (Dunham, Katherine, 1932–1942), Box 7, MJHP-NULA.
- <sup>6</sup> Aschenbrenner, *Katherine Dunham*, 63–64.
- <sup>7</sup> Vèvè A. Clark, “Katherine Dunham’s Tropical Revue,” *Black American Literature Forum* 16, no. 4 (1982): 147–52.
- <sup>8</sup> Gerald Goode to Miss Dunham, February 6, 1945, Folder 5/5: Correspondence 1945, February, Box 5: Correspondence 1944, Nov.–1945, Apr., Katherine Dunham Papers, 1906–2006, Special Collections Research Center, Southern Illinois University Carbondale, Carbondale, Illinois (hereafter cited as KDP-SCRC-SIUC).
- <sup>9</sup> Katherine Dunham to Tropical Revue/F(r)iends, comrades, & countrymen, February 24, 1945, Folder 5/5: Correspondence 1945, February, Box 5: Correspondence 1944, Nov.–1945, Apr., KDP-SCRC-SIUC.
- <sup>10</sup> “Prospectus for ‘Bal Negre,’” Folder 9/6: Correspondence, [ca. 1946], Box 9: Correspondence, 1946, Sept.–1947, Mar., KDP-SCRC-SIUC.
- <sup>11</sup> Fernando González M. to Srita. Catherine Dunham, Enero 29 de 1946, Folder 7/4: Correspondence, 1946, Jan. 21–31, Box 7: Correspondence, 1945, Dec.–1946 March. 15, KDP-SCRC-SIUC.
- <sup>12</sup> Katherine Dunham to Organizacao ‘ARTS’ Limitada, May 27, 1946, Folder 8/5: Correspondence, 1946, May 16–31, Box 8: 1946, Mar. 16–Aug, KDP-SCRC-SIUC.
- <sup>13</sup> Tim [Durant?] to Katherine, August 7, 1946, Folder 8/8: Correspondence, 1946, August, Box 8: 1946, Mar. 16–Aug, KDP-SCRC-SIUC.
- <sup>14</sup> Katherine Dunham to Miss Uldarica Manas, May 6, 1947, Folder 10/2: Correspondence, 1947, May, Box 10: Correspondence, 1947, Apr.–Nov., KDP-SCRC-SIUC.
- <sup>15</sup> Katherine Dunham to Mr. Smith Davis, May 8, 1947, Folder 10/2: Correspondence, 1947, May, Box 10: Correspondence, 1947, Apr.–Nov., KDP-SCRC-SIUC.
- <sup>16</sup> Gran Teatro Esperanza Iris, Mayo 10–17, Folder 12: Playbills, Programmes, Flyers, Tickets, 1947, Box 85: Dunham Performance Playbills, Programmes, Flyers, 1929–1952, KDP-SCRC-SIUC. All translations are my own.
- <sup>17</sup> “Ritmos primitivos. Katherine Dunham, Artista y mujer de estudio,” *Mexico al Dia*, 1 de junio de 1947, Folder 15: Clippings, 1947, Box 86: Dunham Performance Playbills, Programmes, Flyers, 1953–1973, no dates, KDP-SCRC-SIUC.
- <sup>18</sup> Jaime Luna, “Bal Negre,” Folder 15: Clippings, 1947, Box 102: Media reviews and news clippings about Dunham and her company performances, 1934–1949, KDP-SCRC-SIUC.
- <sup>19</sup> *New York Times*, May, 19, 1947, Folder 15: Clippings, 1947, Box 102: Media reviews and news clippings about Dunham and her company performances, 1934–1949, KDP-SCRC-SIUC.
- <sup>20</sup> Adriana Williams, *Covarrubias*, ed. Doris Ober (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1994), 178.
- <sup>21</sup> “El arte negro visto por fiel interprete,” *El Universal*, 9 de mayo, RP-MF 18351, Mayo 1947, Expedientes, Archivo Gerónimo Baqueiro Foster, Fondos Especiales, Biblioteca de las Artes, Centro Nacional de las Artes, Mexico City, Mexico.
- <sup>22</sup> Gerónimo Baqueiro Foster, “El Huapango,” *Revista Musical Mexicano*, núm, 8 (Abril 21 de 1942): 183. Following musical convention, I will use “La bamba” unless a sources utilized alternative capitalization schemes or placed the song in italics.
- <sup>23</sup> Miguel Covarrubias, *Mexico South: The Isthmus of Tehuantepec* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1946), 11, 18.
- <sup>24</sup> Katherine Dunham to Mr. William Archibald, July 22, 1947, Folder 10/4: Correspondence 1947, July, Box 10: Correspondence, 1947, Apr.–Nov., KDP-SCRC-SIUC.
- <sup>25</sup> Contract between Katherine Dunham and Geronimo Baqueiro Foster, Sept 25, 1947, Folder 10/5: Correspondence, 1947, August, Box 10: Correspondence, 1947, Apr.–Nov., KDP-SCRC-SIUC.
- <sup>26</sup> Folders 1, 2, and 3, Box 113: Sheet Music: Veracruzana (Vocal Opening) to Windy City—Where do We Go From Here, KDP-SCRC-SIUC.
- <sup>27</sup> Dunham, “*The Dances of Haiti*,” 67, 70.
- <sup>28</sup> Teatro Lirico Newspaper Clipping, Folder: “Mexico 1955 and misc. clippings,” Series E, Box 8: Press Books Ger. And S. A. 1950s; Gr. Brit and France, Mexico 1955, and Misc., Katherine Dunham Papers, Library and Research Center, Missouri History Society, St. Louis, Missouri.
- <sup>29</sup> “Notes for Television Programme at 291 Amsterdam, Mexico—15th June, 1955,” Folder 18/7: Correspondence, 1955, June 1–20, Box 18: Correspondence, 1955, Feb.–June, KDP-SCRC-SIUC.
- <sup>30</sup> Peter Waddington, “Katherine Dunham Raises Primitive Dance Art to New Heights of Sophistication,” in *Kaiso!: Writings by and about Katherine Dunham*, eds. Vèvè A. Clark and Sara E. Johnson (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2005), 303.