

## *Cine-Mundial*

### *Transatlantic and Hemispheric Cultural Circuits*

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The most obvious use for film-related publications is to tell us something about the history of film and film culture. That is certainly the way I approached *Cine-Mundial*, a publication often described as the Spanish-language version of *Moving Picture World*. *Cine-Mundial* was published continuously by New York's Chalmers Publishing Company from 1916 to 1948, well after Chalmers had divested itself of its other motion picture-related publications.<sup>1</sup> When I turned to *Cine-Mundial*, I was hunting for clues about how films from the United States were received in Mexico. Though aimed at a general Latin American audience, reports (*crónicas*) that featured news from various capital cities and other locales provided fine-grained, if irregular, accounts of film culture. Those reports helped me trace a shift from the exhibition of mostly European films to what some referred to at the time as the "yanqui invasion."<sup>2</sup> In turn, recent scholarship by Rielle Navitski examines the way that *Cine-Mundial* and another Spanish-language fan magazine, *Cinelandia*, published in New York and Hollywood, respectively, worked to produce a Latin American audience comprised of film exhibitors, critics, moviegoers, and fans "linked by a common language" who could "imagine themselves part of a film culture meditated by but not limited to Hollywood cinema."<sup>3</sup> By the 1940s, Navitski observes, the audience imagined by *Cine-Mundial* was one that had learned to consume films from the United States as a marker of cultural progress, established a relationship with Hollywood stars, and welcomed Latin American film production in the 1930s and '40s while never abandoning Hollywood fare.<sup>4</sup>

As these two examples show, *Cine-Mundial*, a publication that might be seen as marginal in comparison to more widely circulated English-language trade and fan magazines published in the United States, sheds light on specific national

histories of film exhibition and reception and on a broader, hemispheric story of what Navitski calls “an asymmetrical flow of cultural goods.”<sup>5</sup> In this short essay, I explore other histories that *Cine-Mundial* might help us tell by delving deeper into the relationship between the magazine and consumer culture, thinking about the magazine’s non-film-related content and the cultural geography it created, and, finally, considering how *Cine-Mundial* intersected with the transatlantic and hemispheric movement of intellectuals and journalists. Analyzing the magazine in these registers demonstrates the ways that film-related publications might help us see other cultural flows more clearly or in surprising ways.

Observing that cinema was both object and agent of consumer culture is not particularly novel. But *Cine-Mundial*, perhaps more so than other US-based, Spanish-language, film-related publications, puts this dual identity in sharp relief and demonstrates its adaptation to the contours of cinema’s history in the hemisphere. The magazine’s first issue boldly declared that its mission was to work “in favor of the film industry in the United States.”<sup>6</sup> The labor of advocating for American film companies would, an unsigned article claimed, put “the North American seller in contact with the South American buyer,” in hopes of nurturing “mutually beneficial” relationships.<sup>7</sup> Latin America was described as a “magnificent market” and the trade in films as a way of “tightening the bonds, that by natural law, should unite the two continents of the hemisphere.”<sup>8</sup> *Cine-Mundial*’s declared purpose placed the publication amongst other trade journals, a type of publication defined in 1915 by John Claude Oswald, president of the Federation of Trade Press Associations, as “a periodical dealing with a field which concerns itself particularly with buying and selling of a commodity of some kind.”<sup>9</sup> But *Cine-Mundial*’s explicit acknowledgment of the international work that commerce could perform aligned its promotion of American commerce with the discourse on Pan-American amity, the broader project of building harmonious international relations between the US and Latin American countries that took shape in the late nineteenth century and prompted the formation of the Pan-American Union, an institution dedicated to fomenting ties, chief among them commercial, between the various participant states.<sup>10</sup> This project dovetailed neatly with the opportunity for expansion into foreign markets that World War I created for the US film industry, as documented by Kristin Thompson.<sup>11</sup>

Hence, early issues of *Cine-Mundial* are more akin to a catalog than to a magazine. Film stills illustrated synopses and reviews of new films, full-page advertisements described slates of films soon to be available for distribution in Latin America, and film brokers in New York, the new center of global film distribution, offered their services. Lists of film production companies and their addresses were provided for the reader’s convenience, and ads for every possible accessory a film exhibitor might need, from theater seats and projectors to novelty slides and postcards, filled the publication’s back pages. Even early features

focused on the business of film, sometimes recounting the history of American film production as a way of promoting the industry's wares or profiling the energetic businessmen who had built and were building a vibrant industry. Other features offered advice about the mechanics of film projection and theater design. Chalmers Publishing actively sought out advertising by placing announcements such as one in June 1917 that proclaimed, "*Cine-Mundial* reaches all the buyers and exhibitors of this territory [Latin America] each month," and asked, "Why not get *your* share of this business NOW?"<sup>12</sup> In other words, *Cine-Mundial* was conceived and promoted as a key interface between US film producers and ancillary interests and buyers and exhibitors in Latin America.

Though focused on motion pictures, *Cine-Mundial* was not unique in its goal of facilitating hemispheric commerce by providing industry-specific information. For example, *America e Industrias Americanas*, the official organ of the National Association of Manufacturers first published in 1912; *Revista Americana de Farmacia y Medicina*, the Spanish-language version of *American Druggist* established in 1911; and *Automovil Americana*, a Spanish-language class journal established in 1917 by the Class Journal Company in New York, which published a slate of auto-related journals in English, did for manufactured goods, pharmaceuticals, and cars what *Cine-Mundial* did for films. Other publications such as *Commerce in Latin America*, published out of New Orleans and sponsored by the fruit importers who docked their ships there, and *The South American*, a New York-based publication, offered readers articles sketching important moments in the history of various Latin American countries, accounts of major and growing industries and regional developments, and profiles of important public figures with the goal of easing business relationships. Unlike these publications, *Cine-Mundial* shed its primary identity as a trade publication to become one of the "magazines that reach the home."<sup>13</sup> With a reported circulation of thirty thousand in the early 1920s and fifty thousand in 1929, the magazine's subscription base had clearly extended beyond film entrepreneurs.<sup>14</sup> This shift reflects important changes in the global system of film distribution. As US film companies began to establish official exchanges and branch offices, *Cine-Mundial's* catalog function became less crucial.<sup>15</sup> While film companies continued to take out elaborate advertisements for new releases, *Cine-Mundial* increasingly focused on the most valuable film-related commodity of all: stars.

The publication's cover, which had originally featured a map of the hemisphere with markers indicating the location of major urban centers from New York to Buenos Aires, began to feature photographs, primarily of female stars. First set in stylized drawings that evoked the arts, and then on their own, these photographs grew bigger and bigger until, by the 1930s, the cover was dominated by individual stars' faces, which foregrounded the star image. Inside, profiles and accounts of film production featured numerous photographs and, as Navitski describes, regular features and columns worked to connect fans and stars via a range of practices

# ATENCIÓN! LATINO-AMERICANOS!



**NO DESPRECIEN ESTA  
OPORTUNIDAD MIENTRAS DURA**

**EL HOMBRE DE LA ISLA DE MAN**

*por HALL CAINE*

*El fotodrama supremo del año*

**RASPUTIN-EL MONJE NEGRO**

**MADRES-EDUCAD VUESTRAS HIJAS!**  
*El sensacional drama de problemas sexuales*

**KERENSKY en LA REVOLUCION RUSA DE 1917**  
*Película auténtica de la Revolución Rusa*

**LA TRECENA LABOR DE HERCULES**  
*Serie en 12 partes de la Exposición de San Francisco, Panamá-Pacífico*

**CACERIA MAYOR EN LAS HELADAS REGIONES DEL NORTE**  
*Maravillosa película en 5 rollos, llena de aventuras*

**QUEDAN AUN LIBRES**

**PERU, BOLIVIA, ECUADOR, COLOMBIA, AMERICA CENTRAL, MEXICO**

**PARA LAS PRODUCCIONES MARCA "WORLD"**

*de las cuales somos los*  
**UNICOS DISTRIBUIDORES**

**NUESTRO DEPARTAMENTO ESPECIAL DE SERVICIO**

*está constantemente a su disposición. Podemos actuar como agentes compradores de Ud. y atender a sus despachos a los precios más bajos posibles. Traducciones perfectas. Con mucho gusto suministramos cualquier información ~ ~ ~*

**AGENTES EXCLUSIVOS DE LOS CARBONES MARCA "SPEER"**

**INTER-OCEAN FILM CORPORATION**

PAUL H. CROMELIN  
Pres. & Genl. Mgr.

220 W. 42nd St.  
New York City

**NUESTRO CAMPO DE OPERACIONES ES EL MUNDO**

*Menciónese esta revista al dirigirse a anunciantes.*

FIGURE 14.1. Advertisement for the New York-based film distributor Inter-Ocean Film Corporation, agent for World Films in parts of South America, Central America, and Mexico. They also provided Speer Carbons, which were used in film projection. *Cine-Mundial*, November 1917, 544.





R amón Novarro, as de M-G-M y que, además de figurar en la película "Mata Hari" con Greta Garbo, dirigirá la producción de varias cintas fotodramáticas durante el corriente año.

PÁGINA 180

MARZO, 1932

FIGURE 14.2. A publicity photograph of Ramón Novarro. The accompanying text promotes his appearance in the film *Mata Hari* with Greta Garbo. *Cine-Mundial*, March 1932, 180.

that included acquiring biographical information, writing letters, and collecting the full-page portraits of stars that the magazine began publishing regularly.<sup>16</sup> In 1922, a multipage spread featuring photographs of correspondent José M. Sanchez García with various stars including Charlie Chaplin, Mae Murray, and Cecil B. De Mille encouraged readers to picture themselves as occupying the same social space, via their stand-in Sanchez García, as their favorite stars.<sup>17</sup>

While Hollywood stardom dominated the magazine, this fascination with famous people extended to both international and local celebrities, documenting a broader cultural fascination with celebrity and its image. In the 1920s, photographs illustrated features about figures ranging from Mussolini to opera composer Manuel Penella.<sup>18</sup> The monthly reports gathered in the *crónicas* section became photo heavy. Although they still touched on film-related news frequently, the accompanying photographs focused on local celebrities such as socialites, performers, athletes, and politicians. Photographs depicted everything from tennis club inaugurations and charity events to diplomatic receptions and parades. While these reports sometimes gestured toward politics, they primarily offered up images of the elite in various parts of Latin America participating in modern pursuits. In the mid-1920s, *Cine-Mundial* even featured a column devoted to graphological analysis that purported to give readers information about that key component of modern subjectivity—personality—while cultivating reader investment in buying future issues to see if their handwriting would be selected for analysis.

It was to this preoccupation with the modern self that advertising in the magazine was now directed. In 1926, a two-page ad in *Moving Picture World* featured a collage of brand names as proof that *Cine-Mundial's* “advertisers are using Cine-Mundial in Latin-America the same way they are using the largest national magazines in the United States” and claimed that *Cine-Mundial* was an ideal vehicle for “establishing a name or trade-mark.”<sup>19</sup> As historian Charles McGovern describes, this focus on advertising as a vehicle for conquering markets was part of a broader project of cultural imperialism. In the United States, he writes, advertising had “placed America at the pinnacle of world civilization . . . spreading civilization meant deploying advertising throughout the world.”<sup>20</sup> This was a project that Chalmers Publishing cheerfully engaged. In one 1922 advertisement in *Printer's Ink*, *Cine-Mundial* touted its *paid* circulation and proffered a special booklet for advertisers that laid out its value vis-à-vis “export advertising dollar.”<sup>21</sup> Readers could still find advertisements for films, of course, but advertisements for accessories and exhibition-related products had largely been replaced by advertisements for consumer goods produced in the United States. Products advertised ranged from razors, toothpaste, nail polish, and face cream to pens, typewriters, automobiles, batteries, folding chairs, and outboard motors. Ad copy promised clear skin, good digestion, a fashionable appearance, and social status. These were products that promised to help *Cine-Mundial's* readers fashion themselves in the image of the glamorous stars whose photographs filled the magazine.

This range of advertisements for products that, especially if imported, would be considered luxuries indicates the audience *Cine-Mundial* now hoped to reach. In Latin America, as opposed to the United States, this was a relatively thin slice of the population that transited urban spaces. As Steven Bunker and Victor Macias Gonzalez note of Mexico in the 1920s and '30s, although the government worked to improve the living standards of rural people and the urban working poor, the middle and upper-middle classes remained quite limited until the 1940s.<sup>22</sup> Argentina's middle class was growing, as Matthew Karush observes, but much of its consumption remained focused on domestically produced goods.<sup>23</sup> In Cuba, the "middle and upper classes enjoyed the amenities of modern life," but, as Mary Speck argues, their ability to consume was tempered by periodic economic downswings.<sup>24</sup> That is, these advertisements and the modern subjectivity they promised spoke to limited sectors of Latin America with the disposable income to purchase imported luxury goods or who might have wanted to dabble in luxury via an imported cream or beauty product. Although *Cine-Mundial* sought a pan-Latin audience, it spoke most clearly to those segments of Latin American readers who aspired to a middle-class lifestyle that included "appropriate apartments and houses, goods, and practices of domesticity."<sup>25</sup> As late as 1946, despite the publication's circulation having plummeted from a reported high of fifty thousand in 1929 to a mere twelve hundred copies per month, *Cine-Mundial* was still selling itself to potential advertisers as "the class magazine that does a special sales job in Latin America."<sup>26</sup> In this way, even though, as Navitski notes, its film-related coverage expanded to include the major national industries that emerged in Argentina and Mexico, *Cine-Mundial* continued to function as a mouthpiece for a consumer culture based on the consumption of goods produced in the United States.

Advertisements in conjunction with the coverage of stars and celebrities constituted one avenue of self-fashioning offered by *Cine-Mundial*. The magazine's non-film-related content comprised another way that readers could engage with modernity. In addition to features about stars and films and notes about production culture and studios, *Cine-Mundial* filled its pages with light reportage, short stories, lifestyle columns, advice columns, and humor. Favored topics included sports, particularly boxing; the arts, including literature; and news from Spain, Rome, and Paris. Short stories, though generally middlebrow (i.e., not particularly experimental), told tales of adventure in foreign lands, the dilemmas of the wealthy, or, in the 1940s, were novelizations of films. Numerous features showcased fashions often directly tied to recent films or to stars in multipage spreads. Lifestyle columns in the 1930s and '40s offered women (to whom they were insistently addressed) advice about beauty, housekeeping, and child rearing. These columns, penned by Elena de la Torre (the pseudonym of Elena Gomez de Zarraga), purported to draw on the most modern advances in domestic science and beauty culture. Regular columns that had begun as spaces for film entrepreneurs to receive answers to inquiries about the latest advances in projection morphed

into places to ask questions about their favorite stars and film culture and then, in the 1930s, became sites for general inquiries about topics ranging from fashion and skin care to romance. Regular features such as *Baturillo Neoyorkino* (New York Mish Mash) combined droll observations about urban life with anecdotes about the city's entertainment culture, allowing readers to eavesdrop on life there.

Explaining the United States to *Cine-Mundial's* readership constituted a central thread through the magazine's non-film-related content. Explanations included the fanciful fictional series about the life of a relatively well-off family from an unnamed Caribbean country, "Aventuras de La Familia Pérez en New York," penned by Costa Rican journalist and editor Modesto Martínez under the pseudonym Ramiro Pérez, as they socialized with their New York neighbors, participated in New York's night life, traveled, and—above all else—attempted to marry off their two daughters. The family's misadventures became the occasion for explanations of Irish maids, pets, dance academies, and the mismatch between the main character's tropical, provincial sensibilities and the United States. Other articles directly explained what Spaniards and Latin Americans might encounter in New York.<sup>27</sup> In the 1940s, topics had ranged from the zeal for contests to the complexities of marriage in the US.<sup>28</sup> In this way, *Cine-Mundial's* editorial staff and contributors served as proxies for readers who, like them, were literate and educated and might have seen New York, with its communities of immigrants, expatriates, and exiles, as a central node in the hemisphere's cosmopolitan urban culture.

In addition to urban life in general, ideas and practices related to race were topics that received sustained attention. A November 1921 feature explained the Ku Klux Klan as both very US-American and very ridiculous.<sup>29</sup> A 1926 editorial, "Pigmentaciones," turned on a legal case involving a man married to a mixed-race woman who many believed to be "Spanish." Recounting this case allowed *Cine-Mundial* editor Francisco (Frank) García Ortega to unpack the practice of passing as a way of bypassing the color line. "Displaying one of our surnames," he wrote, "everything changes, and the gates are open."<sup>30</sup> Acknowledging that race played out differently in Latin America, García Ortega commented repeatedly that the so-called one-drop rule was an oddity of US culture. "There's no explaining [to white Americans]," he writes, "the Hispanic philosophy that tolerates intimacy between white men and black women."<sup>31</sup> At the same time, contributors echoed mainstream fascination and alarm about the popularity of African American culture. In 1926, Raymundo de la Veracruz reviewed *La noche negra* (*La revue nègre*) in Paris. De la Veracruz opined that African American music resonated with "the palpitations of our nervous and disordered life," attributing the public's fascination with jazz and other forms of African American performance to the "fact that as we advance in material progress we go backward spiritually and today, like in the ages of barbarism and savagery, instinct triumphs."<sup>32</sup> Rafael de Zayas Enriquez expanded on de la Veracruz's observations in an essay entitled "La Melanomania," which traced the emergence of African American music and performance culture in the United



States. Noting links to the Caribbean, Zayas Enriquez called this fascination an “infirmity” that was caused by the moral decay of modernity.<sup>33</sup> Later, José Manuel Bada reviewed the ballet *Rascacielos* (*Skyscraper*) by John Carpenter, mounted at the Metropolitan Opera House in 1926. This coverage was complemented by Bada’s 1927 profile of the arts scene in Harlem, in which he took the reader on a tour of the artistic vibrancy of the barrio he referred to as “Little Africa.”<sup>34</sup> Even as contributors compared and contrasted the meaning and everyday experience of race in the United States, casual racism such as a description of a group of hopeful extras—“negros, negras, negritos, perros y gatas” (black men, black women, black children, dogs and cats)—implied that proximity to whiteness retained currency.<sup>35</sup> This somewhat convoluted and inconsistent discourse on race reflected the heterogeneity of the magazine’s contributors.

For its entire run, *Cine-Mundial* was led by García Ortega, a Cuban national who came to the United States in the mid-1910s after briefly working in journalism on the island.<sup>36</sup> García Ortega maintained a low profile; he was only infrequently photographed at industry events.<sup>37</sup> Thus, his politics are difficult to ascertain. He was joined on the masthead by Francisco J. Ariza, who had come to New York from Mexico in 1902 and who also remains a political enigma. But later in the 1940s, García Ortega brought on J. M. Escuder, a Spanish journalist, who had worked in 20th Century Fox’s foreign department briefly in 1936 before returning to Spain during the Spanish Civil War.<sup>38</sup> Upon his return to Spain, he directed *La Batalla*, the newspaper of the Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista (POUM, or Workers’ Party of Marxist Unification, an anti-Stalinist communist organization in Spain). He returned to the US after being brought up on what many saw as trumped-up charges in Valencia in 1937. His arrest was protested by various high-profile communists, including Mexican painter Diego Rivera. It was at this point that he returned to the United States and joined the staff of *Cine-Mundial*; he and his wife, a US citizen, remained in the sights of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Though we have no direct evidence, it seems safe to say that García Ortega was known by and knew Spanish, Catalan, and Latin American journalists, writers, and artists in New York. Many of these contributors were well-known journalists or writers in their home countries or in other parts of Latin America, and many sought refuge in New York from political unrest in their home countries. For example, Mexican author and former poet laureate Rafael de Zayas Enriquez, a frequent contributor, had been a supporter of Mexican dictator Porfirio Díaz and of Victoriano Huerta, who had come to power via a coup against Francisco I. Madero in 1913. Catalan nationalist author J. Carner Ribalta worked in Spanish-language Hollywood before beginning to contribute to the magazine in the 1940s.<sup>39</sup> Argentine author and journalist Alejandro Sux, who began to contribute to the magazine in the 1940s at the same time that he was providing radio commentary for NBC’s Pan-American radio program, had a long-standing association with anarchism,

although his politics became more moderate over the course of his career.<sup>40</sup> The short stories of left-leaning Spanish editor and writer Eduardo Zamacois appeared with some regularity in *Cine-Mundial* in the 1940s, during the period he was in exile in New York.<sup>41</sup> And Cuban political cartoonist Ramón Arroyo Cisneros, who often signed his work Arroyito, was exiled numerous times from the Island.

Other contributors found themselves in the United States to work or to make professional connections in the world of journalism or the arts. For example, Catalan painter Josep Maria Recoder, whose pinup-style portraits of film stars gave *Cine-Mundial*'s covers of the 1930s their distinctive look, lived in New York in the 1930s before returning to his native Barcelona.<sup>42</sup> Spaniard Miguel de Zárraga, a long-standing regular contributor, had moved around the Caribbean working as a correspondent and editor before he made his way to New York, where he connected with the city's Spanish-language newspapers, founded a weekly literary journal, and contributed editorials and prose to Spanish-language periodicals in other parts of the United States. Eventually, Zárraga and his wife, Elena de la Torre (Elena Gomez de Zárraga), found work in Hollywood.

These contributors' backgrounds and professional histories suggest the important place of Spanish-language periodicals for some currents of movement across the hemisphere. While it is difficult to ascertain how much contributors were paid, it seems reasonable to assume that their work was part of broader survival strategies during their sojourns or permanent settlement in the United States. A tantalizing hint at this dynamic can be found in correspondence dating from 1907 to 1908 between Rafael de Zayas Enríquez and Bernardo Reyes, then governor of the Mexican state of Nuevo Leon and a partisan of the Díaz regime, which would be overthrown by the revolution just years later. In his letters to Reyes, Zayas Enríquez, who was living in New York with his family, asks for his help securing freelance work with various periodicals based in Nuevo Leon. In his words, he sought opportunities to send "reviews and articles of general interest, daily if possible, in exchange for a salary."<sup>43</sup> In 1907, this sort of arrangement netted Zayas Enríquez a hundred dollars a month for an article a day. We can imagine then that in practical terms, *Cine-Mundial* provided paid work, occasional or regular, for exiles or sojourners who used their skills as authors and journalists to generate income that would support themselves and their families.

The magazine also brought modernist illustration to its readers across the continent, becoming a vehicle for the diffusion of the latest artistic innovations. Indeed, the artists who contributed to the magazine, whose illustrations and caricatures gave *Cine-Mundial* a distinct modernist aesthetic in the mid-1920s and '30s, included a significant number whose professional lives intersected with New York's cutting-edge literary and artistic circles. For example, Ramón Arroyo Cisneros worked with Harlem chronicler Lee Posner. Cuban modernist Enrique Riverón moved to the United States in 1930 and contributed to *Cine-Mundial* and *The New Yorker* while continuing to pursue his art career.<sup>44</sup> A young Miguel Covarrubias,

in New York with the support of a grant from the Mexican government, also contributed numerous caricatures, including some that would be collected in his 1927 book *Negro Drawings*, to *Cine-Mundial*, *Vanity Fair*, and *The New Yorker*.<sup>45</sup> These working relationships suggest that beyond mere observation, artists who contributed to *Cine-Mundial* forged relationships not only with the Spanish-language press but also with modernist artists, writers, and cultural brokers.

Thus, although *Cine-Mundial* was “only tangentially linked to the most significant currents of the Spanish-language press in the United States” in terms of content, its contributors were deeply embedded in hemispheric literary and artistic circles.<sup>46</sup> As Nicolás Kanellos explains, the exile press sought to change conditions in their home country from abroad and the immigrant press sought to serve immigrant communities in the United States.<sup>47</sup> What, then, to make of *Cine-Mundial*? Its staunch commitment to advertising and marketing and its class-based address to the Latin American elite and aspiring middle classes would suggest a regressive politics. Yet a closer examination of its contributors hints at the magazine’s function (and perhaps cinema’s as well) as a refuge—not in intellectual but in material terms—for left-leaning and radical Latin American intellectuals and other sojourners traveling Pan-American circuits in the first half of the twentieth century.

## NOTES

1. In 1927, *Moving Picture World* was purchased by Martin Quigley, publisher of *Exhibitors Herald*. Martin J. Quigley, “The Consolidated Publication!,” *Exhibitors Herald and Moving Picture World*, January 7, 1928, 1. Eric Hoyt describes this merger, one of a few film trade publication mergers in the late 1920s, in *Ink-Stained Hollywood: The Triumph of American Cinema’s Trade Press* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2022), 146–48.

2. This phrase, “Yankee invasion,” was frequently used by Mexican journalists and film critics to describe the way that American films seemed to flood the Mexican market in the late 1910s. For example, see “El hijo de la loca: Película nacional,” *Excelsior*, October 14, 1923.

3. Rielle Navitski, “Mediating the ‘Conquering and Cosmopolitan Cinema’: US Spanish-Language Film Magazines and Latin American Audiences, 1916–1948,” in *Cosmopolitan Film Cultures in Latin America, 1896–1960*, ed. Rielle Navitski and Nicolas Poppe (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2017), 114.

4. Navitski, “Mediating,” 116–17.

5. Navitski, 114.

6. “Nuestro programa,” *Cine-Mundial*, January 1916, 10.

7. “Nuestro programa.”

8. “Nuestro programa.”

9. John Clyde Owen, “The Making of a Trade Paper,” in *Lectures in the Forum in Industrial Journalism* (New York: Advertising and Selling, Inc., 1915), 114.

10. The term *Pan-Americanism* was first used in the press in reference to a series of inter-American conferences held to encourage political and economic cooperation between the various nations of the Americas. The Pan American Union, later the Organization of American States, was founded in 1910 out of the Commercial Bureau of the American Republics. In 1911, diplomat and early director John Barrett described the Union’s mission as promoting “peace, good understanding, and exchange of commerce.” John Barrett, *The Pan American Union* (Washington, DC: Pan American Union, 1911), 7.

11. Kristin Thompson, *Exporting Entertainment: America in the World Film Market, 1907–1934* (London: British Film Institute, 1985), 72–73.
12. Advertisement for *Cine-Mundial*, June 9, 1917, 1682.
13. “Effective Publicity in Latin America,” *Chicago Commerce*, October 7, 1922, 45.
14. The figure for 1922 is self-reported in “Effective Publicity in Latin America,” but squares with Audit Bureau of Circulation figures published in *N. W. Ayer and Son’s American Newspaper Annual and Directory*. The figure for 1929 is cited in Navitski, “Mediating,” 142, n6.
15. On the early establishment of exchanges and agencies in South America, see Thompson, *Exporting Entertainment*, 72–73.
16. Navitski, “Mediating,” 126–27. See also Laura Isabel Serna, *Making Cinelandia: American Films and Mexican Film Culture before the Golden Age* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 95–96.
17. “Cinemundial en Cinelandia,” *Cine-Mundial*, June 1922, 304–5.
18. See, for example, two articles about Mussolini by W. Stephen Bush: “Jubileo-Benelli-Mussolini,” *Cine-Mundial*, July 1925, 409; and “Mussolinizando,” *Cine-Mundial*, October 1926, 666; an article about opera: Don José, “Alrededor de la ópera ‘El Gato de Montes’ por Penella,” *Cine-Mundial*, November 1921, 746–47; and others over the course of the magazine’s run.
19. Advertisement, *Cine-Mundial*, *Moving Picture World*, February 13, 1926.
20. Charles F. McGovern, *Sold American: Consumption and Citizenship, 1890–1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006), 27.
21. Advertisement for *Cine-Mundial*, *Printer’s Ink*, June 22, 1922, 111.
22. Steven J. Bunker and Victor Macias Gonzalez, “Consumption and Material Culture in the Twentieth Century,” in *A Companion to Mexican History and Culture*, ed. William H. Beezley, 83–118 (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 87.
23. Matthew B. Karush, *Culture of Class: Radio and Cinema in the Making of a Divided Argentina, 1920–1940* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2012), 32–33.
24. Mary Speck, “Prosperity, Progress, and Wealth: Cuban Enterprise during the Early Republic, 1902–1927,” *Cuban Studies* 36 (2005): 51.
25. Bunker and Macias Gonzalez, “Consumption and Material Culture,” 89.
26. Circulation figures are drawn from Navitski, “Mediating,” 127, and the *Intercontinental Press Guide: A Directory*, 1947. The quotation is from the latter, on page 76.
27. See, for example, Julio Baronet, “Nueva York, prosa y romance,” *Cine-Mundial*, May 1921, 328–29; José Manuel Bada, “Donde come New York,” *Cine-Mundial*, December 1929, 1239; and Francisco J. Ariza, “Nueva York absurda,” *Cine-Mundial*, June 1931, 441.
28. See, for example, J. Carner-Ribalata, “La fuerza del ‘Ice Cream’ o cómo se es americano,” *Cine-Mundial*, August 1944, 389, and “La vida íntima de los matrimonios norteamericanos,” *Cine-Mundial*, June 1945, 287.
29. Luis G. Muñiz, “Una secta de zurradores,” *Cine-Mundial*, November 1921, 749, 781.
30. “Pigmentaciones,” [Editorial], *Cine-Mundial*, February 1926, 77.
31. “Baturillo Neoyorquino,” *Cine-Mundial*, April 1921, 268.
32. Raymundo de la Veracruz, “La noche negra,” *Cine-Mundial*, February 1926, 100.
33. R. de Zayas Enriquez, “La Melanomania,” *Cine-Mundial*, January 1927, 10.
34. José Manuel Bada, “El barrio y el arte de los negros,” *Cine-Mundial*, September 1927, 702.
35. “Los parias de Hollywood,” *Cine-Mundial*, August 1927, 662.
36. García Ortega died in 1967. His obituary in *The New York Times* referred to him by his pseudonym, Jorge Hermida, and confused many of the details of his professional life, naming him founder of *The Moving Picture World*. “Jorge Hermida, 78, a Columnist Dies,” *The New York Times*, November 2, 1967, 47. It is unclear, but it seems his parents were part of the wave of Spanish migration to Cuba in the late nineteenth century.
37. See, for example, “This Week in Pictures: Industry Secrets Revealed,” *Motion Picture Herald*, November 27, 1937, 10, where he is pictured at a New York event hosted by producer Walter Wanger;



and “This Week: The Camera Reports,” *Moving Picture Herald*, July 12, 1947, 11, where he is pictured with representatives from studios in Cuba and Mexico.

38. “Escuder Formerly on 20th Fox Staff Here,” *Motion Picture Daily*, August 4, 1937, 10. See “Journalist Faces Trail in Valencia,” *The New York Times*, August 1, 1937, 29; and “Maxton Sees Escuder: Briton Eases Anxiety,” *The New York Times*, August 28, 1937, 6. Escuder’s name can be found in United States Congress Special Committee on Un-American Activities (1938–41), *Investigation of Un-American Propaganda Activities in the United States. Index to Hearings*, vols. 1–14: Reports 1930–1941 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1942), 73.

39. Carner Ribalta was a Catalan nationalist who was exiled by Prime Minister Primo de Rivera in the 1920s, eventually landing in New York, where he worked for Paramount’s foreign department and eventually wrote scripts for Spanish-language films. Pau Echaz, “Carner Ribalta, el catalanista que quiso crear un Hollywood en Sabadell,” *La Vanguardia*, November 29, 2020, <https://www.lavanguardia.com/cultura/20201129/49774909274/carner-ribalta-catalanista-hollywood-sabadell-secretario-macia.html>.

40. Rana and Cappelletti note that Sux became less radical towards the end of his life (he died in 1959). Carlos Rana and Angel Cappelletti, eds., *El anarquismo en América Latina* (Buenos Aires: Editorial Ayacucho, 1990), xlix. On Sux’s radio commentaries, see “Rockefeller Field Force Mustered: Latin Radio Campaign Is Surging Rapidly towards Its Peak,” *Broadcasting*, August 31, 1942, 18.

41. Barbara Minesso, “Eduardo Zamacois: viajero, empresario, editor, periodista y escritor,” *Belphegor* [En ligne], 18–2, published online December 11, 2020, <http://journals.openedition.org/belphegor/3042> (accessed July 15, 2021).

42. Sources about Recoder are difficult to find. His paintings can be found for sale on websites such as artnet.com, and he is mentioned in a catalog documenting exhibitions by Catalan artists before 1938. Antònia Montmany, Montserrat Navarro, Narta Tort, and Francesc Fontbona, *Repertori d’exposicions individuals d’art a Catalunya (fins a l’any 1938)* (Barcelona, Spain: Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 1999), 290.

43. Rafael de Zayas Enríquez to Sr. General Bernardo Reyes, June 19, 1907, Correspondencia de Bernardo Reyes 1907–1908, Centro de Historia de Mexico, Condumex, Fondo DLI, carpeta 38, reprinted in Antonio Sabrit García Peña, “Rafael de Zayas Enríquez/Bernardo Reyes correspondencia 1907–1908,” *Historia: Revista de la Dirección de Estudios Históricos* 59 (September–December 2008), 120. García Peña’s concern in showcasing this correspondence is to trace how Zayas Enríquez fell out of favor with the Díaz regime after the publication of a book about Díaz, but it contains tantalizing hints about the material conditions of freelance journalism by expatriates who wrote for Spanish-language periodicals in the United States and other Spanish-speaking countries.

44. See <https://www.aaa.si.edu/collections/enrique-rivern-papers-5433/biographical-note> and [https://www.lambiek.net/artists/r/riveron\\_enrique.htm](https://www.lambiek.net/artists/r/riveron_enrique.htm).

45. Miguel Covarrubias, *Negro Drawings* (New York: Knopf, 1927). Carolyn Kastner’s short article “The Cosmopolitan Circles of Miguel Covarrubias,” *American Art* 30, no. 1 (Spring 2016): 11–15, over-looks the Spanish-language cultural elite in New York altogether when describing the connections he made there in the 1920s.

46. Navitski, “Mediating,” 113.

47. Nicolás Kanellos and Helvetia Martell, *Hispanic Periodicals in the United States, Origins to 1960: A Brief History and Comprehensive Bibliography* (Houston, TX: Arte Público Press, 1999), 5–6.

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