

## NOTES

### INTRODUCTION

1. Guerrero, *Génesis del crimen*, 119. Original: “Sus instintos morales se extinguían en las noches oscuras de la miseria y en la contigüidad del frío; la dignidad se gastaba en solicitudes infructuosas de trabajo; el porvenir se convertía en expectativas de cárcel; y sus sufrimientos y desesperación en una vagancia forzosa, que muchas veces terminaba en el pulque o el tequila.” For more on Guerrero’s pioneering sociological study, see Rodríguez Kuri, “Julio Guerrero,” 43–56, and Buffington, *Criminal and Citizen*, 54–59.
2. “La resurrección de Lázaro,” *La Guacamaya*, March 17, 1904. The image is signed by printmaker José Guadalupe Posada, who illustrated a large number of penny press covers. He left most of them unsigned, which suggests that he considered this particular image somehow special. The poem was probably written by one of the editors, Rafael R. y Rodríguez or Fernando P. Torroella.
3. A 1902 front-page editorial, e.g., assures readers that “Never will we affirm only that the worker is depraved, drunk, wasteful, lazy, ungrateful, inconstant, etc., but that every effect has one or another causes.” Original: “Jamás asentaremos nosotros solamente que el obrero, es vicioso, ebrio, desperdiciado, flojo, ingrato, inconstante, etc., sino que todo efecto tiene una á varias causas.” “El obrero,” *La Guacamaya*, September 1, 1902. Italics in original.
4. “A los obreros,” *La Guacamaya*, March 17, 1904. The letter is from Celaya, dated February 13, 1904, and signed “a worker.”
5. “¡Viva la Independencia! ¡Viva la Libertad! ¡Viva el Derecho!” *El Diablito Rojo*, September 17, 1900. Pulque is a mildly alcoholic beverage made from fermented maguey cactus juice, which most upper- and middle-class Mexicans of the period

- associated with the mestizo (mixed race) and Indian lower classes and their alleged propensity for indolence, alcoholism, and violence.
6. The Spanish word “macho” has a confused etymology, but most scholars agree that its current usage is Mexican in origin and dates from the 1930s or 1940s. Given the surprisingly late entry of “macho” into the lexicon as the preferred term for hypermasculinity, it is interesting to note the following entry in Ramos i Duarte’s 1895 *Diccionario de mejicanismos*: “Machorra (Mej.), sf. Marimacho. La palabra *machorra* no quiere decir *marimacho* ó mujer que tiene maneras i acciones de hombre, sino la hembra estéril, infecunda, *agenis* (del gr. *a*, sin, *genis*, raza), atocia” [the word *machorra* does not mean *marimacho* or a woman with the mannerisms and actions of a man, but a woman who is sterile, infertile, unable to give birth]. Duarte provides no separate entries for *marimacho* or *macho*, but his definition of “machorra” suggests that the current use of “macho” in reference to men might derive from these two terms for nonnormative women (as its constitutive other). For useful overviews of the history of the word “macho,” see Monsiváis, *Escenas de pudor*, 103–17, and Gutmann, *Meanings of Macho*, 221–32.
  7. Paz, “The Sons of La Malinche,” in *The Labyrinth of Solitude*, 65–88. For more on Paz’s influential views on Mexican masculinities, see Gutiérrez, “Conclusion: Mexican Masculinities,” 262–65. Whatever influence Guerrero’s work may have had on Paz was probably via Ramos, *El perfil*, an influential 1934 psychoanalytical study of Mexican national character. Although the concept is implied in Guerrero’s earlier study, Ramos is generally credited with the argument for a Mexican national inferiority complex, which he blamed on a pernicious mix of historical, cultural, and environmental factors (as had Guerrero three decades earlier).
  8. Gutmann, *Meanings of Macho*.
  9. Liberal opposition newspaper, *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, coined the title “El Indispensable Caudillo” in a parody of an official decree extending the presidential term indefinitely or “for as long as God wills it.” *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, October 2, 1892. Quoted in Cosío Villegas, *Historia moderna*, 321.
  10. Secretaría de Economía, *Estadísticas*, 9. During the same period the Federal District grew from 327,500 to 720,750 (7). In 1900 approximately half the population of the Federal District had been born somewhere else (12). For Mexico City, the percentage of “outsiders” was even higher.
  11. On these shifts in social geography, see Lear, *Workers, Neighbors*, 15–48. On the transgression of urban spaces, see Piccato, “Urbanistas,” 113–48; *City of Suspects*, 34–49; and Aréchiga Córdoba, “Lucha de clases en la ciudad,” 19–50. On working-class consciousness and the satiric penny press, see Díaz, “Satiric Penny Press,” 497–525.
  12. The statistics are from Lear, *Workers, Neighbors*, 49–85.
  13. Illades, *Hacia la República*, 185–86.

14. For an overview of wages, working conditions, and political organizing for printers during the Porfiriato, see Tapia Ortega, *Grito*.
15. On the financial difficulties and poor working conditions of Porfirian journalists, see Toussaint Alcaraz, *Escenario*, 57–60; Lepidus, “Mexican Journalism,” 62–63; and Piccato, *Tyranny*, 73–83.
16. Rabasa, *Cuarto Poder*, 60.
17. Scholars as diverse as Jürgen Habermas, Raymond Williams, and Benedict Anderson have stressed the vital role played by newspapers in the development of modern societies. Habermas argues that the circulation of newspapers helped form a late eighteenth-century bourgeois public sphere in which ideas about social organization and social justice could be freely debated (at least among the rising bourgeoisie); Williams notes their crucial contribution to bourgeois class consciousness and revolutionary politics; and Anderson views them as essential to the construction of the “imagined community” that binds together the modern nation-state. Habermas, *Structural Transformation*; Williams, *Long Revolution*; and Anderson, *Imagined Communities*.
18. *La Guacamaya*: “Periódico hablador y de buen humor, revulsador y decidor de verdades, no papero ni farolero, azote de los burgueses y defensor de la CLASE OBRERA”; *El Diablito Rojo*: “Del pueblo y para el pueblo”; *El Diablito Bromista*: “Órgano de la clase obrera, azote del mal burgués y coco del mal gobierno.”
19. These figures probably exaggerate sales a bit—which is not to say that the papers weren’t widely distributed at least in Mexico City. For more on the thriving Mexico City newspaper business, see Smith, “Contentious Voices,” and Toussaint Alcaraz, *Escenario*.
20. Ambulatory newspaper vendors helped ensure widespread distribution of all kinds of newspapers, including the penny press. See, e.g., Gutiérrez and Gantús, “Los pequeños,” 81–116. The prominent penny press poet Canuto Godines (discussed at length in ch. 5) even wrote a *romance callejero* (street romance) about a paperboy, harassed by policemen and cheated by the subsidized dailies, who begs *La Guacamaya*’s editor for papers to sell because “. . . tiene más fama / Y cuenta con mas lectores / Porque a todos les agrada” (it is the best known / and has the most readers / because it pleases everyone). Canuto Godines (Mimi), “Un escándalo: Romance callejero,” *La Guacamaya*, May 25, 1905, 2–3.
21. *El Periquito*, August 2, 1895. Reprinted in Soler and Avila, *Posada*, 37.
22. For newspaper prices and other useful information, see Toussaint Alcaraz, *Escenario*, 76–108.
23. The didactic tone of the mainstream working-class press was set early. See, e.g., Illades, *Las otras ideas*, 205–29.
24. Elisa Speckman Guerra makes a similar argument for the pamphlets and broadsides produced by Antonio Vanegas Arroyo, his family, and colleagues in “De amor,” 70–71. Vanegas Arroyo broadsides figure prominently in the chapters to come.

25. There are several excellent works on Posada's prints, including Tyler, *Posada's Mexico*; Carrillo Azpeitia, *Posada*; Soler and Avila, *Posada*; Frank, *Posada's Broadsheets*; and Barajas Durán, *Posada*. Political analyses of the satiric penny press include Díaz, "Satiric Penny Press," and Lear, *Workers, Neighbors*, 91–106.
26. Important studies of working-class radicalism before, during, and immediately following the Revolution include Salazar and Escobedo, *Las pugnias*; Huitrón, *Origenes*; Araiza, *Historia*; Ruiz, *Labor*; Hart, *Anarchism*; Bracho, *De los gremios*; and Leal, *Del mutualismo*. Salazar, Escobedo, and Huitrón were all labor organizers with connections to the radical Casa del Obrero Mundial. *Regeneración* lasted less than a year in Mexico but appeared sporadically in different parts of the United States until 1918. Cockcroft, *Intellectual Precursors*, 250–57.
27. The mobilization of the "red battalions" lasted only a year. Concerned about the growing radicalism and influence of the *Casa*, President Venustiano Carranza decommissioned and disarmed the battalions in January 1916. See Clark, *Organized Labor*, 23–56; Ruiz, *Labor*, 47–72; and Hart, *Anarchism*, 140. Some historians have interpreted the workers' alliance with the Constitutionalists against the more "radical" Zapata (and to a lesser extent Villa) as evidence of false consciousness or expediency. See Carr, "Obrero Mundial," 603–32.
28. Anderson, "Mexican Workers," 95. The italics are in the original. *La Reforma* refers to the mid-nineteenth-century liberal movement associated with the 1857 Constitution and President Benito Juárez. See also Anderson, *Outcasts*, 323. The "revisionist" perspective is prefigured but not explicitly articulated in González Navarro, *El Porfiriato*, 280–380, and Cosío Villegas, *Historia moderna*, 705–83. Cosío Villegas, e.g., notes that before the Revolution workers' political actions were most often motivated by "very concrete grievances, suffered in the flesh and for a long time and [were] only vaguely political much less doctrinaire" (705).
29. Knight, "Working Class," 71. For a useful analysis of Porfirian labor policy that supports Knight's argument about workers as reluctant revolutionaries, see Walker, "Porfirian Labor Politics," 257–89.
30. Lear, *Workers, Neighbors*, 130.
31. See, e.g., Illades, *Las otras ideas* and *Estudios*. For a useful take on the workers or artisans question, see Novelo, "Los trabajadores," 15–51.
32. Illades, *Hacia la República*, 204.
33. Díaz, "Satiric Penny Press," 516.
34. Díaz, "Satiric Penny Press," 512–13. Díaz's rankings make good sense. And Porfirian authorities appear to have shared her assessment: *El Diablito Bromista's* editor, Antonio de P. Escárcega, spent time in Mexico City's notorious Belén jail in the company of distinguished colleagues like Filomeno Mata and Daniel Cabrera. Arenas Guzmán, *El periodismo en la Revolución*, 16. At the same time, she points out that the relatively conservative *El Diablito Rojo* was one of the first papers to openly criticize Porfirio Díaz. Díaz, "Satiric Penny Press," 522.
35. Díaz, "Satiric Penny Press," 499, 525.

36. Barajas Durán, *Posada*, 396
37. Illades, *Hacia la República*, 201–5, examines the complexities of working-class class formation in 1870s Mexico City.
38. Lear, *Workers, Neighbors*, 101–3, analyzes the role of the satiric penny press in the formation of urban working-class culture. According to Michael Warner, “the notion of a public enables a reflexivity [mutual awareness and interaction] in the circulation of texts among strangers who become, by virtue of their reflexively circulating discourse, a social entity”; Warner, *Publics and Counterpublics*, 11–12. Although not explicitly political, this definition of a public has obvious affinities with the concept of class consciousness. “To address a public or to think of oneself as belonging to a public,” Warner argues, “is to be a certain kind of person, to inhabit a certain kind of social world, to have at one’s disposal certain media and genres, to be motivated by a certain normative horizon, and to speak within a certain language ideology” (10). In other words, even though members of a public don’t know each other by name, they nonetheless expect to recognize fellow travelers by the (discursive) company they keep.
39. Piccato, “Public Sphere,” 168.
40. Piccato, “Public Sphere,” 191. Piccato argues that “although besieged by politics, geography, and class, Latin American public spheres continued to think of themselves as unitary, coterminous with the nation, and those who met in the public sphere felt entitled to use rational languages as part of a universalistic drive for coherence and clarity” (183).
41. Acevedo Rodrigo and López Caballero, “Introducción,” 13–37. Acevedo Rodrigo and López Caballero define citizenship as “the multiplicity of practices that: a) are necessary in order that the subject (individual or collective) *might become* competent in a given moment and in a specific social and legal field so that they can speak or act in the name of the public, or in the name of what they see as their rights (legally recognized or not), and b) those practices through which they *negotiate the criteria* that define that competence” (22); italics in original.
42. Scott, *Seeing*, 89–90.
43. Scott, *Seeing*, 89. On Porfirian high modernism or “scientific politics,” see Hale, *Transformation*.
44. Mexico City was not the only Mexican site for high modernist social engineering. See, e.g., French, *Peaceful and Working People*, and Overmyer-Velazquez, *Visions*.
45. Scott, *Seeing*, 81–82.
46. Scott, *Seeing*, 78.
47. On Porfirian attempts to produce a legible and modern capital city, see Piccato, *City of Suspects*, 17–33.
48. Piccato, *City of Suspects*, 43–49.
49. Mexican liberal populism (as distinct from popular liberalism) and its revolutionary implications are discussed in ch. 3.

50. Agostoni, *Monuments*, 38–43.
51. Guerrero, *Génesis del crimen*, 132–33.
52. Macedo, *La criminalidad*, 28.
53. Scott, *Seeing*, 88, includes French utopian socialist Henri de Saint-Simon—a particular favorite of nineteenth-century Mexican socialists—in his high modernist hall of fame along with Lenin, Trotsky, and twentieth-century urban planners Le Corbusier and Robert Moses. On Mexican socialists' plans to rehabilitate working-class men, see Illades, *Las otras ideas* and *Hacia la República*.
54. Scott, *Seeing*, 132–46.
55. Nick Mansfield notes that “although [self and subject] are sometimes used interchangeably, the word ‘self’ does not capture the sense of social and cultural entanglement that is implicit in the word ‘subject’: the way our immediate daily life is already caught up in complex political, social and philosophical—that is, shared—concerns”; Mansfield, *Subjectivity*, 2–3.
56. See esp. Butler, *Bodies That Matter*; also, *Gender Trouble*, *Psychic Life*, and *Excitable Speech*. Butler stresses the relentless, everyday work that goes into becoming and remaining culturally intelligible. In *Gender Trouble*, e.g., she argues that “to qualify as a substantive identity is an arduous task, for such appearances are rule-generated identities, ones which rely on the consistent and repeated invocation of rules that condition and restrict culturally intelligible practices of identity” (184).
57. Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 4.
58. Butler, *Psychic Life*, 29.
59. In most modern societies, gendering is initiated by the official pronouncement, “it’s a girl/boy” and reinforced throughout the subject’s life by everything from color-coded baby clothes to public bathroom signs.
60. Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 23.
61. Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 23. On gendered citizenship in general, see Fraser, “Re-thinking,” 59–60, and Parker et al., “Introduction,” 1–18. Their *Nationalisms and Sexualities* includes several essays on gendered citizenship in Latin America. See also Chambers, “What Independence Meant,” 37–44. For Mexico, see esp. Seed, *Love, Honor, and Obey*.
62. E.g., see “El feminismo se impone,” *La Guacamaya*, July 25, 1907, 1. For an analysis of the image, see Buffington, “Homophobia,” 217–18.
63. In his 1895 *Diccionario de mejicanismos*, e.g., Feliz Ramos i Duarte, “Professor de Instrucción Primeria, Elemental, i Superior,” identifies *pelado* as Mexico City slang for “bergante, camastrón, belitre,” all Spanish variants of “scoundrel” or “rogue,” and cites Hernán Cortés on vagabonds as a colonial source for the term (397). Francisco J. Santamaría provides slightly less derogatory definitions in his 1959 *Diccionario de mejicanismos*: “Que está sin recursos; específicamente sin dinero . . . tipo popular de las clases bajas, harapiento, misero e inculto, pero por lo común simpático . . . en el sentido figurado, persona de mala educación

que acostumbra lenguaje o modales obscenos . . .” [Someone without resources, specifically money . . . a popular lower-class type, tattered, wretched, and uneducated, but generally sympathetic . . . in the figurative sense, a badly brought up person who is in the habit of obscene language or manners] (824). Santamaría’s multiple definitions suggest the contested nature of the term nearly fifty years after the end of the Porfiriato.

64. Butler, *Excitable Speech*, 28.
65. Butler, *Excitable Speech*, 133.
66. Butler, *Excitable Speech*, 133.
67. The *doctrina psicológica* (psychological doctrine), which Porfirian judges used to prosecute defamation cases, especially when they involved journalists’ attacks on public officials, represented an extreme form of judicial discretion “which held that the decision to typify and punish an act as a crime happened only in the mind of the judge and was not, therefore, subject to discussion by others.” See Piccato, *Tyranny*, 161.
68. Butler, *Excitable Speech*, 163.
69. Butler, *Excitable Speech*, 163.
70. The phrase “nosotros los pelados” is frequently used by fictionalized popular orators in the patriotic speeches that penny press editors wrote to mock official speechifying.
71. The desire of penny press editors to work for the rehabilitation and reeducation of working-class men echoes penal approaches to disciplining the “dangerous” (lower) classes, seen by criminologists as prone to criminal acts. Despite the similarities, penny press editors sought to teach by example and humor rather than through prescription and coercion, and they rejected criminologists’ assumptions about the inherent criminality of their constituents. On the attitude of Porfirian criminologists toward the lower classes, see Buffington, *Criminal and Citizen*, 38–63.
72. See esp. Giddens, *Transformation*.
73. On the shifting fortunes of artisans, see Brachio, *De los gremios*.
74. Illades, *Las otras ideas*, 205. Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci used the term “organic intellectual” to distinguish self-taught working-class intellectuals (organic to their class) from traditionally educated intellectuals, who tend to downplay any class affiliation.
75. Huitrón, *Origines*, 33–77, 101–10. His jobs as an ironworker included producing security grillwork for the mansion of Porfirio Díaz’s influential Interior Minister, José Yves Limantour (77). A serious labor organizer, Huitrón makes no mention of the less overtly political satiric penny press.
76. According to biographers, Celada learned to write poetry while he was setting type for the literary pages of prominent journals. His poetry began to appear in 1898 in the opposition journal *El Diario del Hogar*, where he also worked as poetry editor, traveling correspondent, and copy editor; Sergio Cordero Espinosa,

- “La obra literaria de Fernando Celada Miranda,” 27–32. See also Lear, *Workers, Neighbors*, 97–101. Chs. 2 and 3 discuss Celada’s poetry in more detail.
77. Rancière, *Proletarian Nights*, ix.
78. “Actual Cuerpo de Redacción,” *La Guacamaya*, August 23, 1906, 1. In the poem, “psicología” refers to the judicial rationale for press censorship; the quip about “varias personas muy distintas / y un solo y verdadero redactor” references Catholic interpretations of the Holy Trinity (God, Jesus, the Holy Spirit) as three distinct beings that are also the one, true God.
79. This process is analyzed in detail in Bracho, *De los gremios*.
80. Piccato, *Tyranny*, 63–95. According to Piccato, contemporaries used the term *periodismo de combate* to identify “writers’ political engagement but also their disposition to conflict” with other journalists and prominent political figures (64).
81. On the homoerotic undercurrents of penny press disputes, see Buffington, “Homophobia,” 196–97.
82. Quoted in Campos, *El Bar*, 126. The Spanish original reads “querubenes para el presidio y serafines para el burdel.”
83. Thompson, *English Working Class*, 9–10.
84. “A los obreros,” *El Chile Piquín*, January 12, 1905. This short blurb included a call for reader submissions and ran regularly on the second page of the paper. Antonio Negrete’s patriotic poetry is discussed in chs. 2 and 3.
85. “Letter to Mademoiselle Leroyer de Chantepie, October 4, 1864,” in Flaubert, *Letters*, 78.

#### CHAPTER 1. WORKING-CLASS HEROES

1. We know considerably less about popular conservatism in Mexico City. The 1891 papal encyclical *Rerum Novarum* sparked an interest in “the social question” among Mexico City Catholics, including the need to reach out to workers who might otherwise turn to socialism. By 1910, the Unión Católica Obrera (UCO) was serving as the umbrella organization for nine Mexico City *círculos* (circles), most of them connected to local parishes, and publishing its own newspaper, *El Grano de Mostaza*, edited by Father José Troncoso, who had been appointed by the archbishop to head worker-outreach efforts in the capital. While UCO and its newspaper, along with a series of recreational centers (also founded by Father Troncoso), openly sought the moralization of Mexico City workers through religious instruction, they also provided other educational and recreational services. It’s not clear whether activist priests like Father Troncoso or the workers who participated in the different parish *círculos* considered Catholic “social action” a conservative movement, despite its antisocialist slant. Ceballos Ramírez, “La encíclica,” 24–27. See also Ceballos Ramírez, *El catolicismo social*. In contrast to Mexico City, popular conservatism was widespread in rural areas. See, e.g., Smith, *Roots of Conservatism*.

#### NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION



2. Williams, *Marxism*, 132.
3. Weeks, *Juárez Myth*, 33. The Gran Círculo was founded in 1872, the year of Juárez's death, and represented as many as 8,000 workers. Included in this inaugural commemoration were speeches by a baker and a tailor. Chapter 3 examines popular patriotic oratory.
4. Guerra, *México*, 9–143, provides a detailed account of the rise of opposition liberal clubs and elite factions during the late Porfiriato.
5. Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci distinguished “wars of maneuver,” which involve direct confrontations between openly antagonistic blocs, from “wars of position,” which seek to reconfigure hegemony from within. Lipsitz, *Life in the Struggle*, 232–33, explains that “In this ‘war of position,’ radicals do not storm the barricades, but try to engage in practical activity that undermines the legitimacy of existing power and builds a taste for something better. When grounded in the real structural tensions and antagonisms of social life, these acts of contestation can lay the groundwork for profound change.” Roseberry, “Hegemony,” 355–66, provides a lucid exposition of Gramsci's thoughts on hegemony, resistance, and popular culture. Especially useful is his definition of hegemony as “a common material and meaningful framework for living through, talking about, and acting upon social orders characterized by domination” (361).
6. Pérez Vejo, “Se puede,” 26.
7. Pérez Vejo, “Pintura,” 73. On the role of artistic images in the construction of a national imaginary in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Mexico, see El Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, *Los pinceles*.
8. “En Honor de Juárez,” *La Guacamaya*, July 18, 1907, 1, and “¡VIVA la LIBERTAD!” *La Guacamaya*, September 12, 1907, 1.
9. There are several excellent works on Posada and his work including Posada, *José Guadalupe Posada*; Tyler, *Posada's Mexico*; Carrillo Azpeitia, *Posada*; Soler and Ávila, *Posada*; Frank, *Posada's Broadsheets*; and Barajas Durán, *Posada*.
10. A liberal opposition newspaper, *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, coined the title “El Indispensable Caudillo” in a parody of an official decree extending the presidential term indefinitely or “for as long as God wills it.” *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, October 2, 1892. Quoted in Cosío Villegas, *Historia moderna*, 321.
11. In 1880, on the eighth anniversary of his death, the tomb of Benito Juárez was installed in the Panteón de Hombres Ilustres (Pantheon of Illustrious Men) in Mexico City. The statue was sculpted by the brothers Juan and Manuel Islas from imported Carrara marble taken from the same quarry that supplied the material for Michelangelo's *La Pietà*. The mausoleum that houses the statue is modeled on the Parthenon in Athens.
12. See, e.g., “Tomb of President Benito Juárez, Mexico City—covered with wreaths from all the Mexican states,” photographic print on stereo card (New York: Underwood and Underwood, c. 1901), LoC call number STEREO FOREIGN GEOG

- FILE—Mexico—Mexico City, 93507288; and C. B. Waite (photographer), “Tomb of Juárez, Mexico City, December 1, 1904, Box 1, Folder 1, Rene d’Harnoncourt Photography Collection, Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin. The images can be viewed on the websites of their respective archives. Political cartoons depicting the defilement of Juárez’s tomb by hypocrites and scoundrels date back at least to the 1880s. See, e.g., *El Consejo Nacional, Los pinceles*, 202–4.
13. *Pulquerías* served pulque, a mildly alcoholic drink made from the fermented juice of the maguey cactus. Despite the drink’s low alcohol content and nutritional benefits, the alleged social dangers associated with lower-class pulque drinking were an elite obsession. See, e.g., Piccato, “El Paso de Venus,” 203–41, and Mitchell, *Intoxicated Identities*. Although all the penny press editors acknowledged the potential dangers of alcoholism for workingmen, only *El Diablito Rojo*’s editor shared the obsessive concerns of elite social critics about lower-class drunkenness. Working-class leisure activities, including social drinking, are explored in ch. 4.
  14. The official ceremony surrounding the annual *Grito* has remained virtually unchanged since 1896, the year Porfirian authorities brought the “liberty” bell to Mexico City from the Dolores church where Father Hidalgo had first assembled his followers. Since then, every September 15 at 11 PM, the president has emerged onto a balcony of the presidential palace, rung the liberty bell, repeated the official version of Hidalgo’s speech, and ended it with the collective cry “¡Viva México! ¡Viva la Independencia!” For more on the history of Independence Day celebrations, see the essays in Beezley and Lorey, *Viva México*. The actual words of Hidalgo’s *Grito* are unknown but probably included references to the Virgin of Guadalupe and a condemnation of “bad government”; official reconstructions have added *vivas* for an independent Mexico and a condemnation of *gachupines* (a derogatory term for Spaniards). See Fernández Tejedó and Nava Nava, “Images of Independence in the Nineteenth Century,” in Beezley and Lorey, *Viva México*, 10. On popular rituals in general, see the introduction and essays in Beezley et al., *Rituals of Rule*. In a definitive (if deeply flawed) essay on Mexican national identity, philosopher-poet Octavio Paz argues that the defiant popular version of the *Grito*—“¡Viva México! ¡Hijos de la chingada!” (Long live Mexico! Sons of the Fucked Woman!)—represents an aggressive verbal challenge to an undefined (male) “other” that might or might not include Mexicans themselves as the “sons” of La Malinche, Hernán Cortés’s Indian translator and concubine. Paz, “The Sons of La Malinche” in *Labyrinth of Solitude*, 75. The Spanish word *hijos* more accurately translates as “children,” but Paz’s English was excellent, and he allowed the translation “sons” to stand.
  15. *Albures* are still popular in Mexican working-class culture (including in the US). They tend to work at several different levels, at least one of which typically carries a sexual connotation. Sexual innuendo isn’t obvious in this particular

example, unless we read “¡la mar!” as “¡la madre!” which would open up a wide range of hard-to-prove but intriguing interpretative possibilities. On the interpretive problems presented by *albuces* and translation of popular language in general, see Paredes, “Ethnographic Work,” 73–112. Paredes points out that “the use of indirect language has been refined in the wordplay of the *albur* to double or triple levels of meaning . . . not to soften the force of an insult but rather to heighten its effect” (84).

16. Penny press appropriation of popular speech is addressed in some detail in later chapters.
17. Original: “DEL PUEBLO Y POR EL PUEBLO//SEMANARIO INDEPENDIENTE DEFENSOR DE LA CLASE OBRERA.”
18. See, e.g., Adorno, *Guaman Poma*, and Adorno et al., *Guaman Poma de Ayala*. While Guaman Poma’s art mixed European and Andean styles; Posada and other penny press artists worked mainly within the European tradition. For that reason, penny press illustrations read much more straightforwardly than hybrid colonial documents like Guaman Poma’s.
19. The viewer’s left is the “conceptual” right-hand side of the frame, or stage right. This reflects long-standing prejudices against the conceptual left, as, e.g., in the association of left-handedness with moral deviance and witchcraft. To keep things simple, I give directions from the viewer’s perspective throughout. As we will see, the active/passive dichotomy is also heavily gendered.
20. Frank, *Posada’s Broadsheets*, 174.
21. Beezley, *Judas*, 70–71, discusses the importance of manhood and hats in Porfirian Mexico.
22. The Spanish word *pueblo* connotes everything from a small town to the general population (i.e., “the populace”) to the citizenry of a nation (“the people”). This web of connotations gives the word a grounded-in-the-land, intimate feel that is missing from English translations.
23. A Porfirian-era dictionary of “Mexicanisms” defines *roto* as “petimetre del pueblo, indio ó mestizo vestido á la europea” (popular dandy, Indian or mestizo dressed in European style); Ramos i Duarte, *Diccionario de mejicanismos*, 445. This is the meaning behind the nickname of the infamous Porfirian bandit Chucho el Roto (Chucho the Dandy). In the image for *La Guacamaya*, however, the *rotos’* deliberate rejection of working-class culture—symbolized by their fashionable clothes—marks them as class traitors eager to sell out their compatriots for personal gain. In this sense, the *roto* functions as a “constitutive other,” an abject figure against which working-class men constructed their class identities. See Santamaría, *Diccionario de mejicanismos*, 948. Santamaría notes in his definition that “the woman of the people calls a young lady of the middle classes who lives like a rich person, a *rota*.”
24. The feminization of bourgeois men is analyzed in depth in Buffington, “Homophobia.”

25. On the symbolic role of women, including the Virgin of Guadalupe in the working-class imaginary, see Buffington, “Modern Sacrificial Economy.”
26. On popular politics in Mexico City during the independence era, see Warren, *Vagrants and Citizens*. The links between consumption and citizenship are explored in ch. 4.
27. On early nineteenth-century Mexico City civic festivals, see Garrido Asperó, *Fiestas cívicas*, and Curcio-Nagy, *Great Festivals*. Mexico City also had (and continues to have) a rich tradition of religious festivals. The distinction between civic and religious festivals is complicated for the colonial period because of the close links between church and state. On the tensions between civic and religious festivals in late colonial Mexico City, see Viquiera Albán, *Propriety and Permissiveness*.
28. Garrido Asperó, *Fiestas cívicas*, 20.
29. See Beezley and Lorey, *Viva México*, and Beezley et al., *Rituals of Rule*.
30. For brief overviews of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century liberal historiography, see Florescano, *Historia*, 317–74, and Hale, *Transformation*, 9–10. On the making and significance of *México a través de los siglos*, see Ortiz Monasterio, *México eternamente*. Among other things, liberal historians hoped to diminish the influence of conservative Lucas Alamán’s well-known *Historia de México* and present the nation as unified after “centuries of turmoil” (Florescano, *Historia*, 353).
31. For a useful typology/genealogy of the main currents of Mexican liberalism, see Knight, “El liberalismo mexicano,” 59–91.
32. According to Jiménez Marce (“La creación,” 33), “liberal genealogy configured three archetypes that linked three key moments in history, conceived as a grand myth. Cuauhtémoc is converted into the archetype of the myth of origin, Miguel Hidalgo into the archetype of the myth of liberation, and Benito Juárez was the archetype of the myth of the golden age [of *puro* liberalism].”
33. On the history of the Cuauhtémoc cult and the late nineteenth-century archeological forgery that helped perpetuate it, see Gillingham, *Cuauhtémoc’s Bones*. For an examination of nineteenth-century uses of Cuauhtémoc and pre-Hispanic history, see Pérez Vejo, “Los hijos,” 1–15.
34. On the Juárez cult in his home state of Oaxaca (also the home state of Porfirio Díaz), see McNamara, *Sons of the Sierra*.
35. “El Credo Político,” *El Diablito Bromista*, October 13, 1907, 4. First promulgated in 325 AD, the Nicene Creed, in one version or another, is the fundamental statement of belief for most Christian sects. The traditional English version from the *Book of Common Prayer* begins: “I believe in one God, the Father Almighty / Maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible . . .” (Original: “Creo en Dios Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla todopoderoso, creador de la Independencia y de la Libertad; Creo en José María Morelos, digno hijo de esos principios, defensor nuestro que fue concebido por la obra del Sitio de Cuautla, nació de Santa Valladolid, virgen, padeció bajo el poder de los Domínicos Jesuitas, fue fu-

silado, muerto, y sepultado en San Cristóbal Ecatepec, descendió á los infiernos de la inquisición, resucitó de entre los muertos del Estado de Guerrero, subió á los cielos de Cuauhtémoc y está sentado á su diestra; Creo que desde ahí ha de venir á juzgar á los liberales y mochos [conservadores]; Creo en el Espíritu Santo de la Reforma, en el progreso de los liberales, el castigo de los traidores, la resurrección de Don Benito Juárez y el cumplimiento de la Constitución de 1857. Amén.”) During the siege of Cuautla (now in the state of Morelos), Morelos and his men held off a superior royalist force for two months and then successfully escaped through enemy lines. Morelos was born in Valladolid (now Morelia) and attended seminary there under the rectorship of Father Hidalgo. He was defrocked and executed in San Cristóbal Ecatepec. His chief lieutenant, Vicente Guerrero, continued fighting after his death and eventually became president of Mexico (1829). The state of Guerrero carries his name. (This creed also appeared as “Credo patriótico” in *El Diablito Rojo*, September 14, 1908, 3.)

36. A larger French army returned the next year and succeeded in taking Mexico City—making Cinco de Mayo yet another celebration of Mexican heroism in the face of eventual defeat.
37. To supplement the literary efforts of liberal propagandists, the Porfirian city planners envisioned an impressive sequence of civic monuments—to Cuauhtémoc, Hidalgo, Juárez, Zaragoza—that would “progress” down the capital’s principal boulevard, Paseo de la Reforma, to Chapultepec Castle, the residence of President Porfirio Díaz (Barbara Tennenbaum, “Streetwise History,” in Beezley et al., *Ritual of Rule*, 127–50). This monumental history lesson began in 1886 with the inauguration of a massive monument to Cuauhtémoc and culminated in 1910 with the completion of the Angel of Independence (surrounded by statues of Hidalgo, Morelos, and other independence heroes) and a monument to Juárez in the *Alameda* (Central Park); Tenorio-Trillo, “1910 Mexico City,” 167–97. Despite their steadfast opposition to his regime, penny press editors acknowledged Porfirio Díaz’s status as a liberal war hero by including his image in Cinco de Mayo commemoratives; they even accorded him an occasional commemorative issue of his own. See, e.g., *El Hijo del Fandango*, September 23, 1901, 1; *La Guacamaya*, March 31, 1904, 1; *La Guacamaya*, April 6, 1905, 1.
38. On the role of women in the Mexican national imaginary and liberal efforts to diminish the contributions of independence-era heroines, see Gutiérrez, “Mujeres,” 209–43. Gutiérrez adds that “it’s interesting to note how women linked to some facet of nationalism are located first of all in their place of origin, the region, the province, before they’re allowed to think or act as agents of national integration” (219).
39. McNamara, “Private Ramírez,” 35–49. McNamara argues that male domination of the discourse on republican motherhood explains its failure to represent women’s interests in Mexico (36) and notes that “with the exception of symbolic representations to Lady Liberty—El Angel de la independencia—and a naked

- Diana la cazadora [Diana the Huntress], women are not present in the narrative of Paseo de la Reforma" (42).
40. On "republican motherhood" in Mexico, see Arrom, *Women of Mexico City*, 14–52; Franco, *Plotting Women*, 79–101; and Tuñón Pablos, *Women in Mexico*, 45–62. On gendered citizenship, see Fraser, "Rethinking," 56–60, and Parker et al. "Introduction," 1–18. *Nationalisms and Sexualities* includes several essays on gendered citizenship in Latin America. See also Chambers, "What Independence Meant," 37–44.
  41. Quoted in Tuñón, *Women in Mexico*, 52–53.
  42. The role of women in the working-class male imaginary is explored in Buffington, "Modern Sacrificial Economy."
  43. For an overview of Prieto and his influence on Mexican letters, see McLean, *Guillermo Prieto*.
  44. Prieto, *Colección*, 313.
  45. Forment, *Democracy*, xii. Forment explains further that "citizens used the same religious terms—reason, passion, free will, and so on—but pronounced them slightly differently. Whether these terms acquired democratic or authoritarian connotations in everyday life was the result of 'pragmatic usage' rather than 'semantic meaning'" (25).
  46. Ceballos Ramírez, "La Encíclica," 21. For more on working-class religious attitudes in Porfirian Mexico City, see Lear, *Workers, Neighbors*, 92–94.
  47. Forment, *Democracy*, 401.
  48. Jiménez Marce, "La creación," 29.
  49. Cabera, Martínez Carrión, and Pérez Fernández all worked closely with and often published editorials written by the Flores Magón brothers (Ricardo and Enrique), editors of the opposition newspaper *Regeneración*. The Flores Magón brothers were forced into exile in the United States, where they continued to agitate for the overthrow of the Díaz regime.
  50. Barajas Durán, *Posada*, 91. Jacobins were the most intransigent and anticlerical of the principal French revolutionary factions. On the linkage between secular heroes and Old Testament biblical figures, see Jiménez Marce, "La creación," 31.
  51. "Situación de la clase obrera: De Herodes á Pilatos," *La Guacamaya*, August 11, 1902, 1. This image and the one that follows were illustrated by Posada, who also provided anticlerical images for *El Padre Padilla*, *El Padre Cobos*, and *La Patria Ilustrada*. Both images are discussed in Barajas Durán, *Posada*, 222–25.
  52. "Calvario moderno," *La Guacamaya*, December 5, 1902, 1. In the New Testament, Longinus is the Roman soldier who stabbed the crucified Christ in the side.
  53. The quotation is from Juárez's famous July 15, 1867, speech marking the restoration of the republic after the defeat of Maximilian. The longer excerpt sets the oft-quoted phrase in context: "Mexicans: let us now turn all our strength to obtaining and consolidating the benefits of peace. Under its auspices, the pro-

tection of the laws and of the authorities will work to the benefit of all the inhabitants of the Republic. May the people and the government respect the rights of all. Among individuals as among nations, peace means respect for the rights of others.”

54. Hidalgo was a well-read aficionado of European Enlightenment thought, but his political vision remained vague. In contrast, his successor and former student, Morelos, convened a constitutional convention that, among other things, advocated universal male suffrage, abolished slavery and the caste system, and put an end to judicial torture.
55. The biggest dilemma was that Mexico finally achieved independence in 1821 under the auspices of General Agustín de Iturbide, a former loyalist commander who had fought for Spain against Morelos, Guerrero, and Victoria before turning against an increasingly liberal Spanish government. Iturbide had strong ties to conservative interests, and to make matters worse, he had himself declared emperor of Mexico within a year of independence. That controversial decision, coupled with a failing economy and an increasingly autocratic approach to governance, led to his ouster and exile soon thereafter. When he returned to Mexico in 1824, he was executed as a traitor. Despite their military failures, idealistic martyrs like Hidalgo and Morelos made better national heroes than Iturbide, especially from the perspective of liberal historians. On the early debates over these two distinct “national projects,” see Garrido Asperó, *Fiestas cívicas*, 139–64. Hidalgo, Morelos, and their compatriots were declared national heroes by congressional decree shortly after Iturbide’s abdication in 1823 (162).
56. “Después de las fiestas,” *Don Cucufate*, September 25, 1906, 1.
57. Shedding tears of grief or shame (usually for “Mexico”) on public occasions has been common practice for Mexican political leaders. Despite his strongman image, Porfirio Díaz often wept publicly on appropriate occasions, which led some opposition journalists to coin the nickname, “The Crybaby of Icamole,” after the city where he began the Revolution of Tuxtepec that overthrew the government of President Sebastián Lerdo y Tejada and initiated the Porfiriato. See Barajas Durán, *El país*, 54–67. The most notorious example in more recent years is President Miguel López Portillo’s 1982 presidential address to Congress during which he ostentatiously wiped away a tear while bemoaning Mexico’s sudden (and humiliating) financial collapse and promising to defend the value of the peso “like a dog” by nationalizing the nation’s banks.
58. The association of specific symbols or attributes with religious figures—i.e., St. Francis with doves—is ubiquitous in Mexican Catholicism and common elsewhere.
59. In the pre-smog era, Popcatépetl and Iztaccíhuatl were dramatic and instantly recognizable features of the Mexico City landscape. As potent and potentially dangerous natural wonders, the two volcanoes have long been used as symbols of Mexico’s slumbering but nonetheless explosive national character.

60. See, e.g., the covers of *La Guacamaya*, August 6, 1903; *La Palanca*, September 18, 1904; *Don Cucufate*, September 17, 1906; *El Diablito Bromista*, September 16, 1907; *El Diablito Rojo*, September 14, 1908.
61. See, e.g., Posada's poster of Hidalgo for the 1899 Independence Day commemoration in Posada, *José Guadalupe Posada*, 356. Posada also produced many poster-sized images of religious figures like the Virgin of Guadalupe, Jesus, and Santo Niño; see, e.g., Posada, *José Guadalupe Posada*, 181–219.
62. “Dos bellísimas alegóricas patrias,” *El Diablito Rojo*, August 29, 1910, 4. A similar ad appeared in *El Diablito Rojo*, November 7, 1910, 4.
63. “¡Libertad!” *La Guacamaya*, September 13, 1906, 1. Berets were associated with Spanish storekeepers—an unpopular group with working-class Mexicans, who were often in their debt. The fact that Posada bothered to sign the Hidalgo prints also suggests their commercial potential. At the same time, the print's informal, cartoonlike quality makes it somewhat exceptional. Posada also produced more conventional patriotic images, including portraits of Hidalgo and Juárez. See Posada, *José Guadalupe Posada*, 355–71.
64. “Himno a Hidalgo,” *La Palanca*, September 18, 1904, 1; Felipe Debray, “Excel-sior,” *El Diablito Rojo*, September 14, 1908, 1.
65. See, e.g., “Glorias de la Patria,” *El Diablito Rojo*, February 14, 1910, 4.
66. “Fusilamiento de Don Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla,” *La Guacamaya*, July 30, 1902. The image is modeled loosely on Francisco Goya's famous painting, *The Third of May, 1808 in Madrid: The Execution on Principe Pío Hill*, which probably inspired several of Posada's firing squad images (see, e.g., Posada, *José Guadalupe Posada*, 262–63). Goya's painting depicts an event in Spain's popular uprising against the French puppet Joseph Bonaparte (Napoléon's brother). The French occupation of Spain set the stage for independence movements throughout Latin America, including Father Hidalgo's revolt. Although both images depict the moment the shots are fired, Posada plays with Goya's placement of the principle figures. In Posada's image the representatives of the state—firing squad, accompanying officers, and soldiers—appear on the (active) left; the representatives of the church, Hidalgo and attending priests, are on the (passive) right. There is also a touch of irony in the reversal of positions and roles: in Goya's painting the firing squad is French, the victims are Spanish insurgents; in Posada's print, the firing squad is Spanish, the victim is a Mexican insurgent. Another twist: the struggle against the French occupation of Mexico later defined Benito Juárez's political career. Yet another twist: Goya's picture also inspired Edouard Manet's *The Execution of Maximilian* (1867). The “infamous Elizondo” refers to rebel-turned-loyalist Ignacio Elizondo, who captured Hidalgo and his entourage and turned them over to the colonial authorities. Other issues commemorating Hidalgo's execution include *La Guacamaya*, August 6, 1903, and *El Diablito Bromista*, July 31, 1904. The latter includes the legal text of Hidalgo's death sentence, “Acta de la ejecución de la sentencia de muerte de Hidalgo” (2).



67. “La Sociedad Mano Amiga Hidalgo” and “Interesante a los obreros,” *La Guacamaya*, September 15, 1904, 2; “La Sociedad ‘Mano Amiga Hidalgo,’” *La Guacamaya*, October 20, 1904, 2; and “El Centenario,” *La Guacamaya*, December 8, 1904, 2. Another penny press, *El Papagayo*, is listed among the subscribers. “Importante,” *La Guacamaya*, September 15, 1904, 3.
68. “Excitativa á los obreros,” *La Guacamaya*, July 28, 1902, 3. (Original: “Les suplicamos á los obreros que nos han honorado con sus composiciones, nos las remitan con la mayor brevedad posible.”)
69. “Al inmortal Hidalgo en el 91º aniversario de su muerte,” *La Guacamaya*, July 30, 1902, 4. (Original: “¡Llor eterno! / Al noble anciano, / Al que mi Patria / Supo librar / Del férreo yugo, / Del cruel tirano.”) The Spanish word *anciano* is often translated “old man” but carries connotations of respect missing from that translation. The Spanish word *patria* is also difficult to translate. The root is masculine and “patriarchal,” but the noun itself is feminine. The English equivalents “fatherland” and “motherland” are too exclusively gendered, while “homeland” seems too neutered. A frequent penny press contributor, in 1904 Negrete became the editor of the relatively short-lived *El Papagayo*.
70. “Homenaje al inmortal Hidalgo,” *La Palanca*, October 2, 1904, 3. (Original: “Grito santo de Dolores / Que derrocando virreyes / Y tiranos y opresores / Nos dio libertad y honores, / Nos dio independencía y leyes.”)
71. Pascual Mendoza, Obrero, “A Hidalgo,” *La Palanca*, September 25, 1904, 4. (Original: “[Poesía leída] por su autor la noche de 15 de Septiembre, en la velada literaria que en honor de nuestro libertador tuvo verificativo en la Fábrica El Molino de Enmedio.”) The opening is the same as the Latin Ave Maria, or Hail, Mary prayer in praise of the Virgin and used as a form of penance by Catholics. Other penny press writers used the Spanish version “salve,” as in “¡Salve, oh padre del pueblo mexicano” (Hail, oh Father of the Mexican people!), the opening line of editor Antonio de P. Escárcega’s “A Hidalgo,” *El Diablito Bromista*, September 16, 1907, 2.
72. Martiniano Raso (obrero), “Homenaje á Hidalgo,” *El Diablito Rojo*, November 15, 1909, 3. Like many others, Raso also invokes Hidalgo’s religious background, contritely beginning his poem with “Pardon, oh Father,” after the manner of a confession. In an essay in honor of Hidalgo’s birthday, “a worker” even compared Hidalgo’s “light of liberty” to the Star of Bethlehem. Un obrero, “8 de mayo de 1753,” *La Guacamaya*, May 11, 1905, 3.
73. Lempérière, “Los dos centenarios,” 325. Hidalgo’s successor-in-struggle, Morelos, posed a similar problem.
74. “Después de un siglo,” *El Diablito Rojo*, September 20, 1909, 1.
75. “La voz del Pueblo,” *El Diablito Bromista*, August 11, 1902, 3; reprinted as “La voz del pueblo,” *La Guacamaya*, August 29, 1907, 2.
76. In a classic study from the same era, the German sociologist Max Weber (*Protestant Ethic*, 25) argued for an “elective affinity” between “the rational ethics of

ascetic Protestantism” and “the spirit of capitalism.” He also noted that “it is a fact that the Protestants . . . both as ruling classes and as ruled, both as majority and as minority, have shown a special tendency to develop economic rationalism which cannot be observed to the same extent among Catholics . . .” (39–40).

## CHAPTER 2. THE ONE TRUE JUÁREZ

1. See fig. 1.1.
2. This holds true for all the mid-July issues that I could locate: *La Guacamaya*, July 21, 1902; *La Guacamaya*, July 1903 (número extraordinario); *La Guacamaya*, July 18, 1904; *La Guacamaya*, July 18, 1907; *La Guacamaya*, July 23, 1908. The last two issues are only partially dedicated to Juárez, but he is featured on both covers.
3. “El respeto al derecho ageno [*sic*] es la paz,” *La Guacamaya*, July 21, 1902, 1. The same portrait and quotation appear on the 1903 and 1904 *La Guacamaya* covers with slightly different framing. The motto comes from Juárez’s 1867 speech reestablishing the republic after the defeat of Maximilian. See n. 27. The print is unsigned. Posada produced a nearly identical image for a 1906 Vanegas Arroyo broadsheet (even the shading is similar). See Posada, *José Guadalupe Posada*, 371. Parallels between representations of Juárez and the Virgin of Guadalupe—dark skin, benefactors of “the Americas,” objects of popular veneration—are striking but hard to prove.
4. “¡Salve Juárez!” *El Pinche*, July 21, 1904, 1; “5 de Febrero de 1857,” *El Chile Piquín*, February 16, 1905, 1; and “A Juárez,” *El Chile Piquín*, July 20, 1905, 1. Both penny press titles have vulgar and self-deprecating connotations in Mexican Spanish. As an adjective *pinche* translates roughly as “shitty” (in a stingy sort of way); while a *chile piquín* suggests a little but potent penis. The cook’s hat and its *El Pinche* label have been etched out of the *El Chile Piquín* illustrations. The corpulent kitchen worker appears on the *El Pinche* masthead plucking and cooking “the bourgeoisie” and “bad government” and represents its editor’s public persona.
5. “Homenaje,” *La Tranca*, July 22, 1906, 1.
6. “¡Juárez!” *La Guacamaya*, July 21, 1902, 2. Original: “la figura prepotente de nuestra Historia Patria.” Creoles, or *criollos*, were people of Spanish descent born in the Americas. They were considered white and under colonial law enjoyed privileges denied to Indians, blacks, and people of mixed race. Because Creoles were born outside the metropolis, however, they had fewer legal privileges than whites born in Spain. This “racial” distinction between Creoles and Peninsulars (people born in Spain) was a source of colonial resentment that contributed to the independence movement.
7. “¡Juárez!” *La Guacamaya*, July 21, 1902, 2. Most sources give Juárez’s birthplace as the nearby town of San Pablo Guelatao, Oaxaca. (Original: “nuestro gran Juárez, el indio de raza pura, el que nace en el pequeño pueblo de Ixtlán, confundido con

las masas populares, crece, se desarrolla, á la vez que su inteligencia toma proporciones gigantescas, para ocupar después el lugar que le era reservado por la mano del Creador, y semejanza del ave fénix se levanta de la nada para difundir sus doctrinas y sacudir el yugo de la tiranía.”)

8. Juan G. Millán, “A Juárez,” *La Guacamaya*, July 21, 1902, 2. (Original: “Los hombres como tú, se elevan desde la más ínfima clase social hasta donde tú te elevaste, merecen el respeto, admiración y cariño de todos sus conciudadanos, máxime, cuando ejecutan y ponen en práctica leyes que han venido á implantar el progreso y civilización.”)
9. Reconciling the apparent disjunction between working-class racism and workers’ adulation of Juárez isn’t as hard as it might appear. In Mexico, as in most of Latin America, perceptions of cultural difference have played a key role in eliciting and sustaining racist attitudes. Because Juárez was well spoken, well educated, and well credentialed by the standards of the dominant culture, his Indianness served as reminder of his humble origins rather than as a marker of cultural inferiority.
10. “¡¡A los obreros!!,” *La Guacamaya*, June 23, 1904, 4; and “El centenario de Juárez,” February 15, 1906, 2. The latter call is for the March 21 birthday edition.
11. Some workers declined to identify themselves as such; so it’s impossible to determine the number of worker submissions with any accuracy.
12. Antonio Negrete, “Al Benemérito de las Américas, Benito Juárez, en el 30° aniversario de su muerte,” *La Guacamaya*, July 21, 1902, 4; Negrete, “Al Benemérito de las Américas, Benito Juárez, en el 31° aniversario de su muerte,” *La Guacamaya*, July, 1903 (número extraordinario), 2–3; Negrete, “18 de Julio de 1872,” *La Guacamaya*, July, 1903 (número extraordinario), 2. Although the titles are practically identical, the two poems are quite different.
13. Negrete, “Al Benemérito de las Américas, Benito Juárez, en el 31° aniversario de su muerte,” 2. Original: “México, ¡Oh Patria mía! . . . si el Gran Juárez viviera; ¡Otra tu suerte sería!” Negrete’s phrasing recalls the popular 1930s *danzón* “Juárez no debió de morir” [Juárez should never have died], which includes the lines “Porque si Juárez no hubiera muerto todavía viviría / otro gallo cantaría, / la patria se salvaría, / México sería feliz” [Because if Juárez hadn’t died / he’d still be alive / another rooster would be singing, / the homeland would be saved, / and Mexico would be happy]. On *danzón* as a popular art form in mid-twentieth-century Mexico City, see Buffington, “La ‘Dancing’ Mexicana.”
14. Celada, *Bronces*. This title [*Bronzes*] connotes both heroic statues (often made of bronze) and Juárez’s race: in the racial typology of the time, Indians were labeled “the bronze race.” The ad for *Bronces* appeared in *El Diablito Bromista*, August 7, 1904, 4. More of Celada’s patriotic poems can be found in Cordero Espinosa et al., *Fernando Celada Miranda*, 441–519. Like many other anticlerical liberal *letrados*, including the renowned romantic poet Guillermo Prieto, Celada also wrote quite a bit of religious poetry (321–37).

15. "5 de Febrero de 1857," *El Chile Piquín*, February 16, 1905, 1; and "Á Juárez," *El Chile Piquín*, July 20, 1905, 1, 4. The first poem is the first stanza of "Á Juárez" from *Bronces* (26–30); the second is the complete version of another "Á Juárez" poem from *Bronces* (15–17). Both poems had been published earlier in *El Diario del Hogar*, an opposition paper aimed at the middle class and Celada's principal publisher. While neither Posada nor Celada would have been considered famous at the time, both men were at the top of their respective professions and a commemorative edition that featured both artists must have held considerable appeal. This probably explains why *El Chile Piquín* reran the same cover with a different poem by the same poet just six months later.
16. "Á Juárez," *El Chile Piquín*, July 20, 1905, 4. The English translation makes no attempt to reproduce Celada's rhyme scheme (*ababccb*), syllabification (four lines of eleven syllables, one of seven, two of eleven), and meter (accents mostly on the sixth and tenth syllables). His careful but playful attention to rhyme, rhythm, and meter probably reflects the influence of romantic and modernist poets like Guillermo Prieto, Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera, and Salvador Díaz Mirón.
17. The reform law that bears his name, *Ley Juárez*, abolished the use of ecclesiastical courts for civil and criminal offenses. It was later written into the 1857 constitution.
18. Celada, "Á Juárez," *Bronces*, 13–14. (Original: "Jesucristo es un símbolo, un sagrario / Y tú eres Patria, convertido en Hombre! [ . . . ] ¡La iglesia te calumnia . . . no eres reo, / No eres un miserable ni un ateo, / Eres de Dios reflejo y de su gloria!")
19. Partly in response to its merciless personal attacks, a period of relative freedom of the press came to an end when in 1884 Porfirio Díaz took up the presidency again after the Manuel González interregnum. See Barajas Durán, *El país*. After 1884, the journalist Daniel Cabrera, editor of the satirical *El Hijo de Ahuizote*, and his illustrator Jesús Martínez Carrión, who were less circumspect than most, especially with regard to Díaz himself, spent time in prison as a consequence. For examples of political caricatures mocking the president directly, see Pruneda, *La caricature*, 255–68.
20. *Luzbel*, "Por el pueblo y para el pueblo," *El Diablito Rojo*, March 23, 1908, 2. The sarcastic comment about paper from the San Rafael Factory refers to the government's monopoly on newsprint, which it provided at reduced cost and in ample supply to *El Imparcial* and other "subsidized" papers, which were staffed by "bribe-taking" journalists. On the subsidized press, see Smith, "Contentious Voices," 89–119.
21. "Al Museo de Antigüidades," *El Diablito Rojo*, February 8, 1909, 1. As early as 1908, *El Diablito Rojo* had incorporated the 1857 constitution into its masthead, which also included caricatures of several prominent Porfirians, among them Porfirio Díaz and his *científicos*.
22. "El capital y los brazos," *La Guacamaya*, July 2, 1903, 2. (Original: "hay una Constitución que ampara y favorece á todo ciudadano, sin distinción de clase ni

- de categoría.”) Other prominent constitutional critiques include covers for *La Guacamaya* (February 11, 1904; February 8, 1906; July 18, 1906) and *El Diablito Bromista* (September 19, 1907; July 21, 1907; May 10, 1909).
23. His crime was to have slandered a Porfirian official. Arenas Guzmán, *El periodismo*, 16.
  24. “Al Sr. Presidente de la República Mexicana General Díaz,” *El Diablito Bromista*, February 7, 1904, 1. (Original: “Llamamos su atención sobre el atentado anti-constitucional de que han sido víctimas seis obreros de la Fábrica ‘La Colmena’ consignados arbitrariamente al servicio de las armas por el Jefe Político de Tlatnepantla. ¿Se hará justicia? Así lo esperamos.”)
  25. “Un matrimonio desafortunado,” *El Diablito Bromista*, November 26, 1908, 1. The paper’s more confrontational editorial tone is reflected in a new masthead that includes the slogan “[*El Diablito Bromista*] neither asks for nor gives quarter [i.e., mercy]” (*ni pide ni da cuartel*), and depicts the “joking devil” with a pitchfork in one hand and a *matraca* (noisemaker) in the other. The *matraca* is used in traditional Easter celebrations to scare away “sins” and “evil spirits.”
  26. In all likelihood the young bride also references Díaz’s second wife, Carmen Romero Rubio, the daughter of a prominent Mexico City politician, whom he married in 1881, when she was just seventeen and he was fifty-one. Because the Romero Rubios were staunch Catholics, many historians see this second marriage as the first step in Díaz’s gradual rapprochement with the Church—a situation that *puro* liberals (including most penny press editors) considered untenable. “Doña Carmen” played an active role in Mexico City society, and there is no evidence that their marriage involved spousal abuse of any kind.
  27. The reform laws—*Ley Juárez*, *Ley Lerdo*, and *Ley Iglesias*—provided a foundation for the 1857 constitution. They were especially concerned with issues of legal equality and restrictions on the special privileges (*fueros*) of the Church and the military. Title 1 of the 1857 constitution, “Of the Rights of Man,” lays out the individual guarantees typical of a liberal bill of rights, including freedom of the press (Article 7).
  28. This depiction of intimate partner violence as a political act by a threatened male subject reflects an important shift in the social meaning of violence against women. See esp. Buffington, “Modern Sacrificial Economy.”
  29. “La Constitución de 1857,” *El Diablito Rojo*, November 2, 1910, 1. (Original: “[. . .] sudan, temen y pujan, / mas no te matan . . . te estrujan / ó te arrancan unas hojas!”)
  30. For a detailed account of the Bulnes polemic, see Weeks, *Juárez Myth*, 54–70.
  31. The phrase “good dictator” is from Bulnes’s nomination speech. The complete sentence reads thus: “The good dictator is an animal so rare, that the Nation that possesses one should prolong not only his power but his very life” (El dictador bueno es un animal tan raro, que la Nación que posee uno debe prolongarle no sólo el poder, sino hasta la vida). Quoted in Cosío Villegas, *Historia moderna*, 292.

32. Hale, *Transformation*, 133–36.
33. Weeks, *Juárez Myth*, 62.
34. Bulnes, *El verdadero Juárez*, 844. (Original): “Juárez es ciertamente un ídolo de la veneración liberal, pero ídolo subjetivo, formado pieza por pieza con subterfugios políticos y material legendario extraído de los volcanes de nuestras ilusiones siempre encendidas, nunca para iluminarnos sino para calcinar nuestro espíritu. El molde en que hemos fundido la figura de Juárez es el inmenso vacío de nuestras ignorancias y en consecuencia la escultura ha resultado colossal. Juárez está en camino de ser un Boudha zapoteca y laico, imponente y maravilloso, emanado del caos intelectual, siempre tenebroso por la ausencia de criterio en nuestras clases ilustradas, por la exuberancia de vanidad de nuestras masas, por la necesidad de catolicismo residual, que busca siempre una imagen, un culto, una piedad para la emoción social desprendida del sentimiento religioso.”
35. For a detailed history of the controversy over Bulnes’s books (and other related polemics), see Jiménez Marce, *La pasión*. See also Weeks, *Juárez Myth*, 54–70.
36. Weeks, *Juárez Myth*, 63–65; Jiménez Marce, *La pasión*, 136–41. Jiménez Marce provides an extensive overview of Bulnes’s allegations, opponents’ rebuttals, and Bulnes’s responses (129–206). On the struggles between the *científicos* and the *reyistas* (supporters of Bernardo Reyes) over the nomination of vice president and successor to Díaz in the 1904 elections, see Guerra, *México*, 79–143.
37. “Díaz injuriando a Juárez,” *Regeneración*, November 5, 1904, 3. (Original: “no solo es el producto de un cerebro demente y de un espíritu corrompido; es el producto de la tiranía; es el florecimiento de la abyección; es el aborto del despotismo porfirista, que después de haber ultrajado á los mexicanos en sus derechos y en sus personas, los ultraja en sus afectos, en sus veneraciones, en sus glorias!”)
38. “Díaz injuriando a Juárez,” *Regeneración*. (Original: “El autócrata, que siempre odió á Juárez; que se rebeló contra él y fue vencido; que quiso levantarse y fue humillado; que guardó siempre en el alma la hiel de sus despechos y sus derrotas, no pudo sufrir que fuera tan entusiastamente glorificado el hombre á quien él detestó, ni pudo contemplar tranquilo que la gratitud nacional agobiara con infinitos laureles la frente del inmortal Benemérito, mientras que él, Díaz, sólo contaba con los homenajes comprados á peso de oro y con las aclamaciones de lacayos bien retribuidos.)
39. See fig. 1.2. The alert reader will note other iconographic conventions at work in this image as well: the actors and action move “impulsively” from right to left on the horizontal axis, right-handedness and hats signify activeness, and a higher position on the vertical axis marks the moral superiority of Juárez and the pursuing workers.
40. *La Guacamaya*, September 15, 1904, 1. (Original: “el denigrador Francisco Bulnes . . . son indignos de pisar el territorio Nacional [y] debemos clavarles los hirientes dardos de nuestro desprecio y maldición.”) The *El Diablito Bro-*

*mista* cover for September 11, 1904, “Los Evangelistas de Zoquipan,” featured Bulnes as an *evangelista*, or writer for hire, duping a gullible worker. The image is unsigned.

41. Fernando García, “¡Viva Juárez! Los Obreros en Acción,” *La Palanca*, October 9, 1904, 2–3. (Original: “una manifestación pública . . . protestar contra el libelo infamante que en mala hora escribió el Diputado D. Francisco Bulnes.”) In January 1907 a bloody strike at Río Blanco would result in the deaths of several workers and their wives and children at the hands of government troops; this and other atrocities helped undermine the legitimacy of the Porfirian regime.
42. “Lo del día: el escándalo de Bulnes,” *El Diablito Bromista*, September 11, 1904, 2. (Original: “el futuro yankee de Bulnes.”)
43. *La Guacamaya*, September 29, 1904, 1. In this instance, the artist uses the upper right-hand corner to indicate distance or horizon rather than moral superiority. The image is unsigned but in the style of Posada. The caricature of Bulnes, with its balding head and buckteeth, indicates that the same artist did the *El Diablito Bromista* illustration cited in the previous note.
44. Martín Rosas, “Ridículo,” *La Guacamaya*, November 24, 1904, 4. (Original: “guarda tu libro dentro de un costal / y vete a Nueva York con tío Samuel.”)
45. “Enzaladillas Satánicas,” *El Diablito Bromista*, September 11, 1904, 3. (Original: “dicen que Bulnes es Guatemalteco y á ser cierta la noticia conviene decirle de, nó no muela á los nuestros, favor de ir a moler á la madre patria.”)
46. Plutón, “La conquista pacífica yankee,” *El Diablito Bromista*, January 31, 1904, 2. (Original: “¿Entonces á que viene [la inversión yankee en México]? A apoderarse de una manera lenta pero segura de los mejores negocios, á establecer más fábricas, y á aminorar más los sueldos para sujetarnos con más facilidad.”) Complaints like this one about U.S. domination of the Mexican economy and its impact on Mexican workers were ubiquitous in all the penny presses.
47. “Guate . . . mala,” in *La Guacamaya*, July 11, 1907, 4. (Original: “Conmueve al universo y lo exaspera / la actitud expectante y resignada / de toda una Nación tan estimada / que soporta el gobierno de Cabrera.” Criticism of Guatemala and Cabrera was a recurring theme in the penny press. See, e.g., Buffington, “Homophobia and the Mexican Working Class,” 215–16.
48. Federíco Pérez Lomelí, “A gran reformador Benito Juárez,” *La Guacamaya*, October 6, 1904, 4. (Original: “aquel que lo intente [insultar a Juárez] es un canalla y debe abandonar los patrios lares.”)
49. “Lo del día: el escándalo de Bulnes,” *El Diablito Bromista*, September 11, 1904, 2; and “¿Quién es Bulnes?,” *La Guacamaya*, October 20, 1904, 2. (Original 1: “periódico horriblemente grosero, difamador, y no recuerdo si también calumniador.” Original 2: “el actual presidente [Díaz], sus amigos, sus Generales, sus Magistrados, [. . .] todo el mundo.” Original 3: “todos los que me han agredido han tenido razón: si me hubieran matado, hubieran hecho bien.”) Apparently

- two articles were involved: an initial report in *El Correo Español* and Bulnes's confession/response in *El Mundo*. The 1904 version appears to have circulated widely; although its story is nearly identical to the *El Diablito Bromista* version, *La Guacamaya* credits *El Obrero* of León, Guanajuato, as its source. *La Palanca* also reprinted excerpts from Bulnes's confession, citing a Durango paper, *La Nueva Era* (de Hidalgo de Parral), "Bulnes pintado por si mismo," *La Palanca*, October 9, 1904, 2. That article compared Bulnes to Leonardo Márquez, a conservative general notorious for executing liberal civilians during the War of the Reform (1858–61) and considered a traitor by liberals for supporting the French Intervention and Maximilian's short-lived empire.
50. "Lo del día: el escándalo de Bulnes," *El Diablito Bromista*, September 11, 1904, 2. (Original: "el hombre del porvenir, el hombre de la paz, la gloria nuestra, ¡nuestro ídolo!")
  51. "Lo del día: el escándalo de Bulnes," *El Diablito Bromista*, September 11, 1904, 2. (Original: "ese fanteche que mueve manos ocultas, á pesar de su talento, de su pluma afligranada, no es mas que un cínico y un cobarde, que en su debilidad y falta de valor civil, insulta á los inertes, y lame los pies de los vivos.")
  52. "El que ha nacido en zalea . . .," *El Diablito Bromista*, September 11, 1904, 2–3. (Original: "¡El que ha nacido en zalea, siempre anda jediendo [*sic*] a chivo!")
  53. On the implications of abjection for male subjectivity, see Buffington, "Modern Sacrificial Economy."
  54. *La Guacamaya*, September 15, 1904, 1. (Original: "Bulnes ha caído en el fango confundido entre los miserables de su especie.")
  55. Pito Real, "Juárez Victrix," and José Muñoz Lumbier, "Juárez y Bulnes," *La Guacamaya*, September 29, 1904, 4. (Original 1: "[Bulnes] es un reptil cobarde que se azota en las charcas inmundas del pantano." Original 2: "[Bulnes es] el reptil más sucio y más mezquino [ . . . ] del fango, de la charca, de la escoria.")
  56. "Bulnes.—Su entrada triunfal al país de la Fama," *La Palanca*, September 11, 1904, 1. The headline translates as "BULNES—his triumphal entrance into the country of Fame."
  57. K. Chiman, "Solemne protesta de La Palanca," *La Palanca*, September 11, 1904, 2. Infanticide and abortion cases—widely reported by such mainstream dailies as *El Imparcial* and the tabloids—often noted the discovery of aborted fetuses and murdered infants in public latrines. A more conventional denunciation appeared in the following issue. Celedonio S. Gómez, "Para La Palanca," *La Palanca*, September 18, 1904, 2.
  58. *El Diablito Bromista*, November 2, 1904, 3; and *La Guacamaya*, November 2, 1904, 2. The less elaborate Day of the Dead issue of *La Palanca* included an unillustrated Bulnes *calavera* poem. "Fosa común," *La Palanca*, November 4, 1904, 2. Upset about what he considered inappropriate language in *La Guacamaya*, *La Palanca's* editor included a *calavera* poem for its editor, Rafael R. y Rodríguez, just below the poem about Bulnes.



59. *La Guacamaya*, November 2, 1904, 2. (Original: “al fin entre desprecios la muerte arrebató [a Bulnes], y se lee sobre su tumba ‘aquí se oculta un traidor.’”)
60. *El Diablito Bromista*, November 2, 1909, 2. (Original: “En castigo de su audacia / De poner de oro y azul / Al que nos dió democracia, / ¡Le dieron una curul! . . . / ¡Allí murió en desgracia!”)
61. Maravelo, “Ave, Juárez,” *La Guacamaya*, October 27, 1904, 4.
62. M. Rosas, “Bochornos [Hot Breezes],” *La Guacamaya*, October 20, 1904, 4. The final Francisco Bulnes y Judas resembles a typical Spanish *apellido* (last name), which often strings together family names and thus joins the two betrayers in fictive kinship.
63. Over the course of several issues, *La Palanca*’s editor attacked *La Guacamaya* for its use of “street talk.” For example, one editorial included a letter from workers in Toluca complaining that “unfortunately some newspapers of the penny press, in the guise of defending the interests of the Working Class, inadvertently slander and dishonor us in the eyes of our oppressors, with certain articles that they publish with the title of *contestas callejeras* or *desde la estaca*, etc., through the vulgar and indecorous dialect used in their production.” (Original: “desgraciadamente algunos periódicos de la Prensa pequeña, proponiéndose defender los intereses de la Clase Obrera, inadvertidamente nos perjudican y nos deshonran ante nuestros opresores con ciertos artículos que publican con el título de *contestas callejeras* ó *desde la estaca*, etc., por el dialecto tan soez y nada decoroso conque se producen.”) “La Prensa Pequeña,” *La Palanca*, September 25, 1904, 2. See also K. Chimán, “Defensores,” *La Palanca*, October 2, 1904, 2; “Primera exhibición de un pe . . . riodista claudicante,” *La Palanca*, October 23, 1904, 1; “A memoria de dos . . . defensores (!) del Obrero,” *La Palanca*, October 30, 1904, 1; and “Fosa común,” *La Palanca*, November 6, 1904, 2. “Fosa común” (common grave) paired Day of the Dead *calaveras* for *La Guacamaya* editor Rafael R. de Rodríguez and Francisco Bulnes! Despite its vigorous defense of working-class propriety, *La Palanca* lasted less than six months. In contrast, *La Guacamaya* appeared on and off from 1902 to 1911 and in its heyday claimed to have sold as many as 29,000 copies of a single issue. *La Guacamaya*, December 5, 1907, 2.
64. The declaration is from the masthead of *El Diablito Bromista*: “Organo de la clase Obrera, Azote del mal Burgués, y COCO DEL MAL GOBIERNO [Organ of the Working Class, Scourge of the Bad Bourgeoisie, and BOGEYMAN TO BAD GOVERNMENT].” The reference to “bad government” echoes the famous *Grito de Dolores*, which called for “death to bad government” (*¡Muera el mal gobierno!*), a colonial-era slogan that appeared prominently in independence revolts throughout Latin America, including the rebellion of Túpac Amaru II in Peru (1780–82) and the revolt of the Comuneros in New Granada (1781).
65. Papagayo, “Desde la estaca,” *La Guacamaya*, September 15, 1904, 3. Papagayo is the nom de plume used by the editor for the “street talk” columns. Although not identified in this particular column, the two friends are most likely Pitacio and

- Chema, the principal personalities for “Desde la estaca.” Chema is a common nickname for José María, while Pitacio likely comes from the phrase “*enredar la pita*” (to foul up the works), which is the cantankerous Pitacio’s role in most dialogues. The verb *pitare* can mean “to blow a whistle” or “to boo someone off the stage”; either meaning fits with the character’s personality.
66. The *La Palanca* cover analyzed earlier, in which a worker kicks Bulnes into an open toilet, suggests that this was a typical response. “Bulnes.—Su entrada triunfal al país de la Fama,” *La Palanca*, September 11, 1904, 1.
  67. Use of *tú* among casual acquaintances is much more common in Mexico these days; its use as a marker of social distinction—someone of the upper classes using *tú* to address a servant for example—is in decline. In this dialogue between equals, *tú* marks social intimacy rather than social distinction.
  68. The feature illustrations mentioned earlier provide visual confirmation of the link between Bulnes, buckteeth, donkeys, and mules. The excerpt mentions burros, while the illustration refers to mules. All things being equal, the sterile, stubborn mule seems the better fit. However, “*güey y burro*” sounds better than “*güey y mula*” and was probably chosen for that reason.
  69. *La Guacamaya*, October 13, 1904, 3. (Original: “Pos olle [oye] manito no me lagas [la hagas] de gorgús [garrocha], ni miandes [me andes] con cacayacas por que ya sabes que yo soy yo y no me parezco a Bulnes.”)
  70. The use of popular vernacular in Mexican literary texts dates from at least the celebrated essays that José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi (1776–1827) wrote for his independence-era newspaper, *El Pensador Mexicano*. Lizardi’s intent, however, was to mock popular speech and its lower-class practitioners for the amusement of well-educated readers. The same is true of penny press newspapers aimed at the middle class, like the short-lived *El Periquillo Sarniento* (The Mangy Parrot), which took its name, appropriately enough, from Lizardi’s great picaresque novel and titled its first street talk section “Between Drunks.” “Entre ebrios,” *El Periquillo Sarniento*, October 12, 1902, 3. Although subsequent issues attempted to reach out to working-class readers, the paper lasted only four months. In contrast to these condescending appropriations of the popular vernacular for middle-class audiences, the much more colloquial working-class penny press style, although highly literate in its own right, was intended for popular consumption and quite possibly oral performance. Some working-class advocates, like the editors of *La Palanca*, considered the style demeaning to workers, but the considerable popularity and greater longevity of papers like *La Guacamaya* suggests that these critics were a distinct minority.
  71. Fraser, “Rethinking,” 61.
  72. Scott, *Domination*, 107.
  73. Fraser, “Rethinking,” 67.
  74. Warner, *Publics*, 120.

CHAPTER 3. THE APOTHEOSIS OF THE WORKING MAN

1. See fig. 1.2.
2. For an analysis of the different discursive strategies used to criminalize the Mexican lower classes, see Buffington, *Criminal and Citizen*.
3. Butler, *Psychic Life*, 16.
4. Reyes got the idea for the Second Reserve from Antonio Ramos Pedrueza, a congressional deputy and prominent jurist, who hoped that it might also function as a political-military counterweight to the troublesome regular army. It was one of Reyes's most popular initiatives during his brief tenure as defense minister (1900–1902). Reyes's political problems with other members of Porfirio Díaz's inner circle, esp. the influential Finance Minister José Ives Limantour, resulted in temporary exile to his home state of Nuevo León. Díaz abolished the Second Reserve by presidential decree shortly thereafter. Niemeyer, *El General*, 103–9. Reyes remained popular with the Mexico City working class, and several penny press editors supported his later vice presidential aspirations. For an historical photograph of the Second Reserve on parade during the 1902 Independence Day celebrations, see Niemeyer, *El General*, 104; and Cosío Villegas, *Historia moderna*, 512.
5. “La Segunda Reserva del Ejército Nacional,” *La Guacamaya*, August 18, 1902, 1.
6. *La Guacamaya*, August 18, 1902, 1–2. (Original: “Para muchos el obrero es el ser vicioso, que huye del taller los lunes, que dilapida el pan de sus hijos en la taberna y esgrime el cuchillo por vaso más ó menos de pulque, nada más exacto . . . Hoy el obrero va á la tumba de Juárez y deja su humilde ofrenda; hoy el obrero da una gran prueba de civismo aplicándose á la segunda reserva.”) Monday absenteeism—the infamous *San Lunes* or Saint Monday “holiday”—as a long-standing problem among Mexican workers is dealt with in the next chapter. The reference to humble offerings at Juárez's tomb predates the “En Honor de Juárez” illustration by nearly five years and conveys some sense of the ritual's importance for the Mexico City working class.
7. *La Guacamaya*, August 18, 1902, 2. (Original: “[ . . . ] una institución meritísima que tiene por objeto hacer del ciudadano un soldado, soldado digno y pundonoroso que sabrá defender palmo á palmo a su querida patria, que sabrá morir por su bandera!”)
8. “Los Reservistas. Paso Doble,” *La Guacamaya*, October 5, 1902, 1. The editor attributes the music and lyrics to Messrs. Rosales y Murillo, advises readers that they can buy recordings (*fonogramos*) of the piece at “the phonographic establishment [*la casa fonográfica*] of Mr. Joaquín Espinosa,” and notes that “all the ambulant phonographers are exploiting this piece with magnificent results [*todos los fonógrafos ambulantes explotan esta pieza con magníficos resultados*].” The *paso doble* is a musical form, usually in 2/4 time, that resembles a march.

- The Second Reserve also inspired an issue of the middle-class penny press *El Periquillo Sarniento*, which headlined the inauguration of the “official” hymn (lyrics by Heriberto Barrón, music by Luis Jordá) at a public ceremony presided over by Finance Minister José Ives Limantour. The cover illustration includes cameos of Reyes and Limantour. Despite this appeal to the working class, the editor’s decision to pair the despised *científico* Limantour with the popular Reyes—who had temporarily fallen out of favor with the regime—could hardly have attracted many workers. *El Periquillo Sarniento*, November 30, 1902, 1–4.
9. *La Guacamaya*, August 18, 1902, 2. (Original: “¡Uno!;Dos!;Uno!;Dos!;Dos! De frente, ar[mas] . . . Por la derecha, conversión á la izquierda, paso redoblando, ar[mas] . . . por la derecha á linearse, descansen, ar[mas] . . . tercién, ar[mas] . . . presenten arrrr[mas].”)
  10. *La Guacamaya*, August 18, 1902, 3. (Original 1: “pos ya sabes que nosotros los obreros, no lo tenemos miedo ni á la muerte en zancos, ni á los chocos en bicicleta.” Original 2: “¿pos qué tiene que ver el as de oros con las témporas? pos allí se quieren hombres que tengan pechos en los pelos, digo, de pelo en pecho, que no sean gallinas y que se sepan sacudir con los yankes [*sic*] cuando vengan a visitarnos, pos alcabo á cada uno dan su Mauser y no a peliar [pelear] á mordidas, ni estamos en la época de su alteza serenísima, en que tenían que morder los cartuchos.”) Note esp. that the comparison of the ace of spades (ace of gold coins, or *oros*, in the Spanish deck) to army reservists—apples to oranges—is much cleverer in the original Spanish, which (loosely) inverts “as de oros” to produce the palindrome-like “témp-or-as” (literally: temporaries).
  11. Santa Anna served as president on eleven different occasions between 1833 and 1855. He began his career as a liberal but had switched sides by 1836. Over the course of a long military and political career, he commanded armies against conservatives, liberals, Spain, France, Texas insurgents, and the United States. Liberal historians—and most everyone else—blame him for the loss of Texas, Mexico’s defeat in the U.S.-Mexican war, and the sale of national territory in the Gadsden Purchase.
  12. The Mauser was the basic German infantry rifle until 1945 and was exported in great numbers. Pitacio is contrasting the modern Mauser with the muzzle-loading rifles used by Santa Anna’s army, which required that the soldier tear open the cartridges with his teeth and pour the contents down the barrel of his rifle. During this period, armies typically required soldiers to have at least four matching teeth (two on top, two on the bottom)—hence Chema’s comment about losing his teeth in a fight. (My thanks to Jim Rose for this information.)
  13. “El Servicio Militar Obligatorio,” *La Guacamaya*, April 11, 1907, 1. The image is unsigned; the style is Posada’s.
  14. For more on penny press feminization of bourgeois men, see Buffington, “Homophobia,” 204–20.

15. "El Pípila," *La Guacamaya*, October 10, 1907, 4. The poem is paired with another poem, "A Hidalgo" (to Hidalgo), by the same unidentified author—possibly director-editor Fernando P. Torroella.
16. Although the cadets have names in the official story, little is known about any of them. Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 9–11, discusses the symbolic function of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.
17. For an historical analysis of the *Niños Héroes* story, see Plansencia de la Parra, "Conmemoración," 241–79.
18. Plansencia de la Parra, "Conmemoración," 252–53.
19. Plansencia de la Parra, "Conmemoración," 254. The quotation is from the title of Amando Nervo's 1903 poem "Los niños mártires de Chapultepec."
20. See, e.g., Jesús Urbina de Hernández, "A los héroes de Chapultepec," *La Guacamaya*, September 29, 1902, 4 (repr. March 23, 1905, 4); *El Diablito Bromista*, September 8, 1907, 2; *El Diablito Rojo*, September 12, 1910, 2; "Hoja de diamante," *Don Cucufate*, September 10, 1906, 2.
21. "8 de Septiembre de 1847," *La Araña*, September 8, 1904, 1. The image is signed by José Guadalupe Posada. September 8 was the traditional date for celebrating various heroic acts associated with the American assault on Mexico City during the U.S.-Mexican War. (Original: "[...] sacrificaron de a manera más bestial a un puñado de niños que apenas traspasían los umbrales de la pubertad.") In the image, Chapultepec Castle, as might be expected, occupies the position of moral superiority on the vertical axis. And the sun's superior position heightens the effect of moral disapproval (from on high) conveyed by its shrouded visage. The same image appeared in "8 de Septiembre de 1847," *La Guacamaya*, September 7, 1905, 1–2. Fernando Torroella was an editor at both papers and the author of the accompanying poem (which appears in both editions). The charge of "bestial" child sacrifice references the medieval Christian "blood libel," which accused Jews of killing Christian children and using their blood in religious rituals, and reinforces the anti-Semitic nature image of Uncle Sam.
22. "8 de Septiembre de 1847," *La Guacamaya*, September 7, 1905, 2. (Original: "[...] la humilde ofrenda de un pueblo abnegado y trabajador que sabe respetar, bendecir [y] venerar a aquellos que no midiendo peligros, á aquellos que abandonando hogar, familia y bienestar, sacrifican su vida en aras de la patria que los vio nacer, que les dio nombre y abrigo [...]" )
23. "¡Es cuestion . . . americana!" (It's an American question!), *La Guacamaya*, September 6, 1906, 1.
24. Other iconographic conventions in the image include active right-handedness (Uncle Sam) vs. passive left-handedness (Díaz, workers), active right profiles (Uncle Sam), and hats to indicate power (Uncle Sam wears a hat, Díaz and the blacksmiths are bareheaded).
25. "8 de Septiembre," *La Guacamaya*, September 6, 1906, 2.

26. For a discussion of Civic Catholicism as the public language in nineteenth-century Latin America and its appropriation by penny press editors and contributors, see ch. 1.
27. “El Aniversario de Churubusco,” *El Diablito Bromista*, August 16, 1903, 3. (Original: “El *Diablito*, que en eso del patriotismo no es de los arriados, los invita el 20 de este mes á que se reunan en el histórico pueblo de Churubusco, á las 10 ½ de la mañana, hora en que tendrá verificativo el acto patriótico que la Agrupación Patriótica ‘Gratitud’ llevará a cabo en conmemoración de los olvidados patriotas obreros que sucumbieron allí, peleando vigorosamente contra la invasion gringa.”)
28. “Discurso que apronunció un valedor ante la tumba de los héroes de Churubusco,” *El Diablito Bromista*, August 23, 1903, 3. (Original 1: “Queridas [*sic*] valedores del riño [riñon] suave: afeituosas [afectuosas] jaranas [damas] de la brigade descalza: plebe en general.” Original 2: “[...] si no juera [fuera] por los riatotas obreros que se pelaron [murieron] aquí defendiendo á la patria, nuestro honor hubiera quedado como larpa [la harpa] del tortugo, rechinando por falta de cuerdas y abriéndose por la muchagua [muchagua].”)
29. “Discurso que apronunció un valedor ante la tumba de los héroes de Churubusco,” *El Diablito Bromista*, August 23, 1903, 3. (Original: “[...] porque la gratitud de los grandes hombres, nomás son ronquidos.”) The apathy of the privileged—often represented metaphorically as napping/snoring—was a recurring theme in working-class culture (see chs. 1, 2, and esp. 4).
30. “Discurso que apronunció un valedor ante la tumba de los héroes de Churubusco,” *El Diablito Bromista*, August 23, 1903, 3. (Original: “Si pudiera chillar con todas mis ganotas, les aseguro astededes [a ustedes] que derramaría toda lalberca [la alberca] Pane y me sobaría gas.”)
31. The binary opposition between Apollo and Pan also breaks down along urban/rural lines. This opposition works less well than the class division but still appears with some regularity in the penny press, as, e.g., with the campesino/*rotos* contrast in the “En Honor de Juárez” illustration analyzed in ch. 1.
32. The etymology is the same in English (Pan→panic) and Spanish (Pane→pánico).
33. See, e.g., the covers and illustrations that José Guadalupe Posada produced for the prolific printing house of Antonio Vanegas Arroyo in Barajas Durán, *Posada*; Berdecio and Appelbaum, *Posada’s Prints*, 102–23; and Posada, *José Guadalupe Posada*, 155–79.
34. “Desde la estaca,” *La Guacamaya*, August 27, 1903, 3. (Original: “[...] yo ni modelo [modo] de acompañarte, pos en el taller donde le adoy [doy] á la chamba [trabajo], tenemos un maestro medio redrojo [andrajo], que ese, tiene la patria en la barriga y que si falto, me quita la chamba, y se riña mi fierrado [dinero] y después no tengo conque darle el moque [comida] á mis chilpayates [hijos].”)
35. “Desde la estaca,” *La Guacamaya*, September 3, 1903, 3.

36. Apache raids into northern Mexico were still a problem at the turn of the century. The label “apaches” was also commonly applied to urban gangs during this period, even in European cities like Paris. The terms *jaraño* and *jaraña* appear frequently in the street talk columns as informal words for “wife” or “steady girlfriend,” as in the English phrase “my old lady.” In this instance (possibly in general usage as well) *jaño* may also derive from *janos*, an Apache tribe from Chihuahua.
37. The *El Diablito Bromista* speech also ends with “he dicho.”
38. The different connotations of *pelado* are examined in Santamaría, *Diccionario*, 824. A 1906 *La Cagarruta* cover, e.g., depicts José Ives Limantour literally shaking down a worker as Porfirio Díaz looks on and their minions scramble for the falling coins. The caption explains that “entre D. Porfi y D. Lima han pelado el pueblo á rape” (“between Díaz and Limantour they have shaved the people bald”). “Leyenda de . . . los Limones,” *La Cagarruta*, December 1, 1906, 1.
39. Legal and cultural authorities considered duels affairs of honor appropriate only to upper-class men, who had honor to lose—a position not shared by lower-class men. See Piccato, *City of Suspects*, 80–92.
40. “La Fiesta en Churubusco,” *El Diablito Bromista*, August 28, 1904, 2–3. (Original: “La animación en el pueblo fué grande y á fé que tenía razón, pues ya se había relegado al olvido esa significativa y patriótica fiesta.”) In the 1907 report, the editor informs readers that the Patriotic Group “Gratitude” initiated the Churubusco ceremony in 1902. “La fiesta patriótica de Churubusco,” *El Diablito Bromista*, August 25, 1907, 3.
41. “Simpático festival,” *La Guacamaya*, September 5, 1907, 3. (Original: “[ . . . ] infinidad de obreros y respetables familias de los pueblos circunvecinos.”) Carlos Ezeta later directed and edited the short-lived *El Chango* (1912).
42. “Simpático festival,” *La Guacamaya*, September 5, 1907, 3. (Original: “[ . . . ] reinó el orden más completo y demostró ese pueblo al que se le juzga analfabeta y altanero, que su civilización naciente y su respeto á las autoridades, pueden servir de ejemplo á muchas naciones más cultas aun de la nuestra.”) On the same festival, see “La fiesta patriótica de Churubusco,” *El Diablito Bromista*, August 25, 1907, 3.
43. Antonio Negrete, “20 de Agosto de 1847,” *La Guacamaya*, August 27, 1903, 2. (Original: “Luchaisteis con un valor sobrehumano contra las huestes invasoras que querían imponer la fuerza por la ley, la vida disteis en aras de la Patria, por amor á ella, si la victoria no quiso ceñiros la frente con sus laurels, la Patria agradecida; os cubre cariñosa con su manto y os arrulla con cánticos celestiales para que durmaís tranquilos el sueño de la inmortalidad. ¡Héroes de Churubusco! Yo os saludo.”) The following year, Negrete wrote an editorial for his own short-lived penny press, *El Papagayo*, which explicitly linked Churubusco and *Niños Héroes*. Antonio Negrete, “8 y 13 de Septiembre de 1847,” *El Papagayo*, September 11, 1904, 2.

44. Fernando Celada, "Churubusco," *El Diablito Bromista*, August 23, 1903, 4.
45. Carlos Ezeta, "Por los muertos," *El Diablito Bromista*, September 1, 1907, 3.
46. Antonio de P. Escárcega, "Comparemos," *El Diablito Bromista*, July 21, 1907, 2. (Original [1]: "El capital huye de las convulsiones armadas, no reconoce los sentimientos de patriotismo, no posee una patria determinada: es cosmopolita.") (Original [2]: "Poco menos que una bestia de carga [ . . . ] [el obrero] ha desempeñado y cumplido los deberes que impone el patriotismo, abandonando intereses y familia para lanzarse á la defensa nacional.") Escárcega's bitter critique of "cosmopolitan" capital came in the wake of a series of bloody strikes, including Cananea and Río Blanco. See Anderson, *Outcasts*.
47. Antonio de P. Escárcega, "¡Despierta Pueblo obrero!" *El Diablito Bromista*, November 21, 1909, 2. (Original: "¡Despierta! el porvenir es tuyo: tú eres el poderoso brazo con que cuenta nuestra adorada México, para llegar al fin de sus aspiraciones, y tú que siempre has demostrado valor y grandeza en épocas dolorosas, debes dar un ejemplo más de tu heroísmo y tu grandeza, acercándote por medio de tu trabajo y tus energías, al gran festín de las Naciones civilizadas: A la Libertad, al Progreso y al lebre [*sic*] ejercicios de tus indiscutibles Derechos.")
48. Escárcega, "¡Despierta Pueblo obrero!" *El Diablito Bromista*, November 21, 1909, 2. (Original: "esos lazos que encadenan tu apatía y la falta de cumplimiento en tus deberes de ciudadano [*sic*]".)
49. The street vernacular of Mexico City's working classes was (and continues to be) an ongoing source of concern, amusement, fascination, and grudging admiration on the part of the educated classes, including grudging penny press editors, as evidenced by Porfirian-era slang dictionaries, such as Ramos i Duarte's *Diccionario* and criminologist Carlos Roumagnac's guide to criminal argot in *Los criminales*, 376–82.
50. "¡Orden . . . y nos amanecemos," *El Diablito Rojo*, March 30, 1908, 2. (Original: "Los que amamos á esta Patria nobilísima y grande, nos brota por todos los poros del alma el regocijo y el orgullo, cuando vemos una manifestación pública en que el elemento obrero forma parte principal, y que da realce y color, honra y animación á un acto cívico.")
51. "El regaño de mama" (Mama's scolding), *El Diablito Rojo*, March 16, 1908, 1; and "¡Fué el pueblo el domingo y no!" (It was the people on Sunday and it wasn't), *El Diablito Rojo*, May 10, 1909, 1. (Original: "Las fiestas 'sin pueblo' son falso oropel y cantares sin sentido.") In the 1909 version, Mother Mexico's criticism is directed at that year's Cinco de Mayo celebration in honor of the 1862 defeat of an invading French army outside Puebla, the victory that first thrust then Brigadier General Díaz into the national limelight. She also holds a steaming cup with the words "perpetual presidency" floating above it, a reference to Díaz's decision not to honor a pledge—made to American journalist James Creelman in a widely distributed 1908 interview—to remove himself from the 1910 presidential race.



52. On the Porfirian repression of popular festivals, see Beezley, *Judas*. On Porfirian concerns about Independence Day in particular, see Pérez-Rayón, “Capital Commemorates,” 141–66.
53. Pedro Arnal Frontelo, “Las Fiestas Patrias,” *La Guacamaya*, October 3, 1907, 2. (Original: “[...] la *cuasi* hermosa Anáhuac, cuyas calles invadidas por algunos centenares de patriotas que temerosos lanzando el acostumbrado grito de ¡Viva México! se verían al poco tiempo completamente desiertas, pues la policía echaba grandes *rialadas* de entusiastas ciudadanos, llevando la consigna usual de ‘ebrios escandalosos.’”)
54. Cotorrón, “Desde la estaca,” *La Guacamaya*, October 3, 1907, 2–3. (Original 1: “Patadas no más nos dan y eso que somos mexicanos revalsadores [valerosos] y no escandalosos, como nos dicen los estrangis [extranjeros].” Original 2: “Mira Pitacio, más mejor que no me hables deso [...] si ansina va estar el día del centenario, mecho de cabeza de mi petate al suelo onque me rompa la maceta.”) Pitacio’s use of the anglicized “estrangis” (strangers) instead of the Spanish “extranjeros” for “foreigners” mocks both American attitudes toward lower-class Mexicans and the much-lamented Americanization of Mexican Spanish. Used colloquially here in place of *cabeza*, “maceta” also signifies “flowerpot”; hence the reference to falling off the bed and breaking open.
55. “Las fiestas Patrias,” *Don Cucufate*, September 25, 1906, 2. (Original: “En cambio de la ausencia del público, se *dotó* á la ciudad de un aumento considerable de policía, pública y secreta.”) One of a host of less successful penny press papers, *Don Cucufate* appeared from July through October 1906.
56. “Las fiestas Patrias,” *Don Cucufate*, September 25, 1906, 2. (Original: “Como al pueblo le prohibieron *ponerse* una *trompeta*, se dedicó á tocar *trompetas* de barro; pero, eso,—lo de tocar—constituyó una infracción extra, que ameritó que muchos *trompeteros* pasaron á la Inspección de Policía respectiva, acusados de turbar el silencio nocturno y atentados contra los órganos auditivos de los transeúntes.”)
57. Santamaría, *Diccionario*, 1089.
58. “Las fiestas Patrias,” *Don Cucufate*, September 25, 1906, 2. (Original: “Los extranjeros circularon tranquilamente por calles y plazas, sin ser molestados por nadie.”)
59. “Crónicas color de Hormiga,” *El Diablito Rojo*, May 24, 1909, 2. (Original: “El obrero es crédulo, sencillo, generoso y patriótico. Va á donde lo invita el entusiasmo ó lo engaña la ilusión.”)
60. “Crónicas color de Hormiga,” *El Diablito Rojo*, September 6, 1909, 2. (Original: “Cuando el Primer Magistrado aparece con sus arreos militares, la bunda tricolor terciada al pecho cuajado de áureas condecoraciones, tremolando la bandera de México, glorifica á la Patria, toca el esquilón de Dolores, y da el ‘grito de Hidalgo,’ símbolo del heroísmo y de victoria, veinte mil espectadores tiemblan del estampido del cañón, miriadas de luces multicolores y el himno triunfal de

- la torre, cuyas lenguas metálicas llevan á los habitantes de la urbe oleadas de patriótico entusiasmo.”)
61. “Crónicas color de Hormiga,” *El Diablito Rojo*, September 6, 1909, 2. (Original: “[...] sirve para excitar las pasiones populares que se desbordan en insultos, mueras destemplados y otras manifestaciones con que la plebe estalla su odio contra los ricos y los pudientes [...].”) In Spanish, *mueras* (death to ...) are the opposite of *vivas* (long live ...); both are included in Hidalgo’s famous *grito*, including “Death to Bad Government!”
  62. “Crónicas color de Hormiga,” *El Diablito Rojo*, September 6, 1909, 2. (Original: “[...] el pueblo [...] circula por todas partes gritando como salvaje, apedrando, y pernocta en parques y jardines públicos, haciendo de aquellos lugares un sitio en donde parece que vivaqueó una horda de salvajes.”)
  63. Laclau, *Populist Reason*, 21–64, provides a concise analysis of the major works on crowd psychology. For an in-depth discussion of crowd theory, see Barrows, *Distorting Mirrors*.
  64. Porfirian “scientific politics” are analyzed in depth in Hale, *Transformation*. The dissemination of European criminology into Mexico and the popularization of criminological theories are addressed in Buffington, *Criminal and Citizen*.
  65. “Crónicas color de Hormiga,” *El Diablito Rojo*, September 6, 1909, 2. (Original: “[...] la supresión esa sería antipatriótica é inoportuna.”) For elite concerns about crowd control for the 1910 centenary, see Tenorio-Trillo, “1910 Mexico City,” 167–97.
  66. “¡15 de Septiembre!” *La Guacamaya*, September 20, 1906, 1. (Original: “No obstante que varios gringos / soltaron el notición / de que el 15 de Septiembre / iba a ver revolución, / Todo el pueblo mexicano/en amigable reunión, / canta, goza, come y grita/y mira la formación.”)
  67. “¡¡El Grito!!,” *La Guacamaya*, October 4, 1906, 1.
  68. The policeman’s passing resemblance to Porfirio Díaz is probably no accident. Among other things, the president’s nephew Félix Díaz was the Mexico City chief of police at the time.
  69. The *rurales* were touted by the Porfirian regime as fierce bandits turned policemen. In reality, most *rurales* were typical police recruits. See Vanderwood, *Disorder*.
  70. Papagayo, “Desde la estaca,” *La Guacamaya*, October 1, 1903, 2–3. The area around Chapultepec, at the “other” end of Mexico City’s major boulevard (Paseo de la Reforma) from the older downtown, included swanky new neighborhoods for the Porfirian bourgeoisie.
  71. La Redacción, “Nuestras Fiestas Patrias y Nuestras Autoridades,” *La Guacamaya*, September 29, 1904, 2. (Original: “[...] agente del orden público en el 2º período de embriaguez escandalizaba [...] amenazando con pistola en mano á sus compañeros y á todo el que tenía la desgracia de pasar por ahí.”)

72. La Redacción, “Nuestras Fiestas Patrias y Nuestras Autoridades,” *La Guacamaya*, September 29, 1904, 2. (Original: “[ . . . ] no defendemos el odioso vicio de la embriaguez, puesto que no ignoramos que está penado en el art. 840 de nuestro código penal que ha la letra dice: El que públicamente defienda un vicio ó delito, graves como lícitos, ó haga la apología de ellos ó de sus autores, será castigado con arresto mayor y multa de segunda clase.”)
73. Often used to describe the popular response to the *Grito*, the phrase *correr el gallo* translates more exactly as “let the rooster loose” and thus includes a strong element of male posturing, crowing, and sexual aggressiveness. It also refers to bands of men and women roaming the streets singing songs and playing instruments as part of the celebration of the *Grito*.
74. “Preparativos para el grito,” *La Guacamaya*, September 5, 1907, 1.
75. Santamaría, *Diccionario*, 333.
76. *Hijos de la chingada* translates loosely as “motherfuckers” and literally as “sons of the fucked mother.” For the classic analysis of the phrase, see Paz, “The Sons of La Malinche,” in *Labyrinth of Solitude*, 65–88. According to Paz, “this phrase is a true battle cry, charged with a particular electricity; it is a challenge and an affirmation, a shot fired against an imaginary enemy, and an explosion in the air” (74).
77. Cotorrón, “Desde la estaca,” *La Guacamaya*, September 27, 1908, 2. In this context, “*taribel*” might be “*caribal*,” the hunting lodge or hidden place in the forest to which Caribbean Indians (*caribes*) often retreated in the face of Spanish persecution. See Santamaría, *Diccionario*, 217.
78. Cotorrón, “Desde la estaca,” *La Guacamaya*, September 27, 1908, 3. (Original: “No más arrigule [arguye] que yo iba pasando con mi garrote [mujer] y que me lo coje el choco [policía] y por más que li [sic] averiguaba que estaba malo de la pata, me echó á palos y mejor, pa no estrenar el chero [cárcel] nuevo me jui [fui] al taribel [caribal?], porque dialitiro [de todo] son muy abusadores algunos.”) Pitacio’s colloquial reference to his female companion as my “garrote”—a cord, rope, or wire used to strangle someone from behind—serves here as a more extreme version of the common word substitution of “esposas” (wives) for “manillas” (handcuffs). Men’s displacement of acts of domestic violence onto women is explored in Buffington, “Modern Sacrificial Economy.”
79. See fig. 1.2.
80. Laclau, *Populist Reason*. In contrast to most previous accounts of populism, Laclau insists that “by ‘populism’ we do not understand a *type* of movement—identifiable with either a special social base or a particular ideological orientation—but a *political logic*” (117; italics in original).
81. Laclau, *Populist Reason*, 74.
82. Laclau, *Populist Reason*, 83.
83. Laclau, *Populist Reason*, 17.
84. Laclau, *Populist Reason*, 17–18.

85. Laclau, *Populist Reason*, 18.
86. Laclau, *Populist Reason*, 70, argues that a “signifier” becomes “empty” when “its body is split between the particularity which it is and the more universal signification of which it is the bearer.” Our discussion of Hidalgo and Juárez as working-class heroes (chs. 1–2) explores this emptying process in some detail. The liberal slogan “effective suffrage, no reelection” also functioned as an empty signifier throughout this period and into the revolutionary era. The Zapatista motto “Land and Liberty” became an important revolutionary addition. In an argument too complex to reproduce here, Laclau also explains how empty signifiers become “floating signifiers” when links in the equivalential chain are appropriated by “a rival hegemonic project” (131).
87. Laclau, *Populist Reason*, 110.

#### CHAPTER 4. RUMBO PERDIDO

1. The introduction defines terms and provides a theoretical framework for understanding the gendered nature of human subjectivity.
2. Elias, *Civilizing Process*. Elias doesn't explicitly address the colonial implications of his thesis, but they are obvious enough, and an argument could be made that the colonial experience with native peoples intensified the process as colonizers and “civilized” local elites sought to differentiate themselves, culturally and racially, from the colonized masses of subaltern subjects. The tradition of British colonial administrators dressing up for dinner in the tropics is the absurd extreme of a spectrum of “civilized” behaviors that set them (and those that shared their values) apart from the natives.
3. Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 370.
4. Prerevolutionary French society was divided into three estates with distinct privileges and duties: the First Estate was composed of aristocrats, the Second Estate of clergy, the Third Estate of everyone else. Although less codified in other places, similar legally sanctioned social divisions characterized most European societies at least through the eighteenth century. As the “middle” classes became wealthier, better educated, and more influential, so did the “need” to separate themselves from the “lower” classes of the Third Estate. Adopting and adapting aristocratic refinements thus served to set them above the rabble and justify their claims to social superiority. The civilizing of bourgeois sensibilities in western Europe and the United States is explored in depth in Gay, *Education and Tender Passion*.
5. Carmen Romero Rubio (age 17) married President Porfirio Díaz (age 51) in 1881. Her father was the prominent liberal lawyer Manuel Romero Rubio and her godfather, former president Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada. In addition to helping to “civilize” the president, Doña Carmen has been credited with reconciling his nominally liberal (and thus anticlerical) regime with the conservative Catholic Church.

#### NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

6. Tilly, *Durable Inequality*, analyzes the structural causes behind persistent social inequalities.
7. Piccato, *City of Suspects*, 48–49, notes that the urban poor in early twentieth-century Mexico City “associated their community with a rumbo, a geographical destination for their wanderings around the city.”
8. As explained in the Introduction, the phrase *nosotros los pelados* (we the pelados) seeks to resignify *pelado*, a derogatory term for a lower-class person (usually gendered male), by having it stand in for *pueblo*, as in “we the people.” The term *roto* (literally, “broken one”) refers to a formerly working-class person (usually gendered male) who aspires to higher status *and* denies/rejects/betrays his class origins. The term *catrín* (dandy) refers to a bourgeois and upper-class man, a type penny press editors generally portrayed as vain, lazy, corrupt, selfish, and effeminate. See, e.g., Buffington, “Homophobia,” 204–20.
9. For the hegemonic definition of “hegemonic masculinity,” see Connell, *Masculinities*, 76–86. Connell and Messerschmidt, “Hegemonic Masculinity,” 829–59, convincingly defends and refines the concept. In the latter, Connell and Messerschmidt note that the concept of “hegemonic masculinity was not assumed to be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it. But it was certainly normative. It embodied the currently most honored way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men” (832). Connell explains “protest masculinities” in *Masculinities*, 109–18. For overviews and critiques of current research, see Broude, “Protest Masculinity,” 103–22, and Walker, “Disciplining,” 5–22.
10. For an influential modern interpretation of the links between criminality and masculinities, see Messerschmidt, *Masculinities*.
11. Judith Butler’s concept of “cultural intelligibility” and its connection to citizenship are discussed in the Introduction.
12. See, e.g., the cover of *El Diablito Bromista*, July 14, 1907, which depicts a policeman hauling a working-class man out of a bar (fig 4.1). His friend, El Peladito, asks: “Listen Mr. Cop, why are you taking my friend Squirrel when he’s less wasted than this *roto*?” El Roto responds: “Don’t be stupid, because the thread always breaks at its thinnest point.”
13. The exact meaning of “desde la estaca” is unclear, but it probably refers, among other things, to the *estaca de gallo*, the stake used to restrain roosters so they don’t wander off and get into fights. Given the *La Guacamaya* editors’ affinity with raucous, disruptive birds, this is likely one of the phrase’s principal connotations. The illustration that accompanies most “Desde la estaca” columns, esp. in its early years, depicts two men drinking and talking at a bar—quite possibly the *estaca*, or stake, of the title.
14. On “hidden transcripts,” see Scott, *Domination*.

15. Most penny press offices were located within a few blocks of the Zócalo in downtown Mexico City.
16. The *jarana* is a small guitar used in traditional music from Veracruz. In this context, the word stands in for woman, probably because the *jarana*, like the larger guitar, is shaped like a woman's torso. A more literal translation of *sazona*, "ripe," reinforces the image of a shapely woman. The common idiom *meterse en jaranas*, "to get into scrapes," adds a misogynistic twist to the usage that also acknowledges the fun to be had with female companions, despite the often undesirable consequences. The masculine counterpart *jarano* or *jaño* is sometimes used to refer to men as it is in the following excerpt. A *jarano* is a hat, also from Veracruz, with a high crown and wide brim often worn by musicians (who might play the *jarana*).
17. Although pool halls have a slightly unsavory reputation, turn-of-the-century billiard academies ("parlors" in English) attracted a mostly bourgeois clientele that came either to play or to attend exhibitions by professionals, which often involved gambling.
18. On the allure of consumer culture in Porfirian Mexico, see Bunker, *Creating*.
19. *Hacerse la chaqueta* is the complete phrase. In this instance, Chema figuratively "jerks off" Pitacio. (Thanks to Pablo Piccato for catching this reference.) For an analysis of the homoerotics of male bonding among working-class Mexican men on the border, see Limón, "Carne, Carnales, and the Carnavalesque," in *Dancing*, 123–40.
20. "Tuna" connotes several things here, including the rosy fruit of the prickly pear cactus, the slang word used by *rateros* (petty thieves) for informants, and a long-standing association of street minstrels with tricksters. For example, Saus et al., *Cancionero*, 300, records the following medieval minstrel song, which resembles Pitacio's phrasing in this vignette: "La tuna con no ser tuna / la tuna que he de correr / pero saben engañar / a los muchachos cada vez" (The tuna not being tuna / the tuna that has to run / but knows how to deceive / the boys every time). References to "tuna" also appear in Mexican folk songs—e.g., "me he de comer esa tuna / aunque me espine la mano" (I have to eat that cactus fruit / even if it pricks my hand)—and in the title of the 1944 Jorge Negrete film *Me he de comer esa tuna*. The literal translation of *plagiarios* is plagiarists.
21. Michel Foucault addresses the productive tension between punishable crimes and tolerated illegalities in *Discipline*. "Penalty would then appear to be a way of handling illegalities, of laying down the limits of tolerance, of giving free rein to some, of putting pressure on others, of excluding a particular section, of making another useful, of neutralizing certain individuals and of profiting from others. In short, penalty does not simply 'check' illegalities; it 'differentiates' them, it provides them with a general 'economy'" (272).
22. On the Porfirian bourgeoisie's obsession with bathing and the culture of public bathhouses, see Macías-González, "Bathhouse," 25–52.

23. On the proliferation of authoritarian public health campaigns in Porfirian Mexico City, see Agostoni, “Discurso médico,” 1–22; “Los infinitamente,” 167–89; and *Monuments*. It can hardly come as a surprise that the more coercive aspects of these campaigns focused on the unsanitary practices of the urban poor—a sore point for penny press editors.
24. González Navarro, *El porfiriato*, 462–63, and Agostoni, *Monuments*, 69. According to González Navarro, on St. John’s Day the middle classes crowded into pools, while “the poor made do with muddy water from the ditches that surrounded the Capital” (463).
25. *Las de burro* translates awkwardly as “those of the burro,” a pack animal known for its big ears and capacity for hard work.
26. Austrian Hapsburg Archduke Maximilian was installed as emperor of Mexico in 1864 with the support of Mexican monarchists, including generals Miguel Miramón and Tomás Mejía, and a French expeditionary force supplied by Napoleon III. Under pressure from the United States, which had just emerged from the Civil War, Napoleon III withdrew the French army. In 1867 republican forces led by deposed president Benito Juárez defeated the royalists. Maximilian, Miramón, and Mejía were captured, court-martialed, convicted, and executed by firing squad. Despite his patriotic fervor, Pitacio manages to confuse things by mixing up *tirar* (to shoot) and *restaurar* (to restore), and changing the site of the execution from *Cerro de las campanas* (Hill of the Bells) to *Cerro de las esquilas* (Hill of the Sheepshearers), a reference to his earlier comments about San Juan and sheep. The point here is that Pitacio and his “old lady” are intensely and spontaneously patriotic despite their lack of proper instruction.
27. Translated here as “old shotgun,” the muzzle-loading *trabuco* resembles a blunderbuss with a wide muzzle and has an exceptionally loud retort, which explains Pitacio’s loss of hearing. It was traditionally used for crowd control and still plays a prominent role as a prop in popular religious festivals.
28. In defense of Chema and municipal authorities, turn-of-the-century Mexico City was an extraordinarily unhealthy place, esp. in the poorer barrios. See Agostoni, *Monuments*, 65–76.
29. The word *desaforado* suggests loss of self-control in general and religious passion in particular.
30. English uses “sheep” (rather than “lamb”) in a similar way: a sheep is someone without a will of his or her own, and a wolf in sheep’s clothing is a predator who feigns harmlessness.
31. The use of “sheepskin” or “lambskin” condoms—usually made from sheep or lamb cecum, a section of the intestine—to prevent pregnancy and venereal disease was widespread in Europe and the Americas by the nineteenth century, esp. among the middle and upper classes. While it is not clear that ordinary workers in Porfirian Mexico City would have been able to afford condoms, they would certainly have known about them. Moreover, sheep cecum condoms

- are not difficult or expensive to manufacture. See, e.g., Sally Pointer and Gareth Risborough, “Animal Gut Condoms,” <http://sallypointer.com/animal-gut-condoms>. Accessed December 17, 2014.
32. See François, *Culture*.
  33. The refrain, apparently quite popular, shows up in several different contexts. See, e.g., Pérez Monfort, *Cotidianidades*, 98–99, and Sánchez, “Nueve sonos,” 194–215. The catchy refrain survived the Revolution, providing the title of a major musical review of popular Mexican music, *Upa y Apa*, put together by members of the influential Contemporáneos literary group, including Xavier Villaurrutia, Celestino Gorostiza, and Salvador Novo. Retitled *Mexicana*, the review had a short run on Broadway. Ortiz Bullé Goyri, “Presencia del teatro de arte en el teatro de revista mexicano de los años treinta,” in Pellettieri, *Huellas escénicas*, 119–26.
  34. The phrase “*mestá haciendo trampolin el gusto en la caja de los requiriosos ayocotes*” translates literally as “This desire [to eat] is making a trampoline in my necessary bean box [stomach].” Here as in most instances, Pitacio carefully distinguishes among the different types of beans he’s eating or fantasizing about. *Ayocotes* are large scarlet runner beans with special appeal for a hungry man coming off an involuntary fast. A staple of the preconquest Mexican diet, *ayocotes* were considered more Indian and working class than smaller, more “refined” beans.
  35. *Parraleños* are small, reddish beans associated with Parral, Chihuahua, but cultivated and eaten all over Mexico.
  36. The exact meaning of *chumbanba*, translated here as “gathering,” is unclear. One possibility is that the word should be *chumbanda*, which mixes *chumbando*, the barking of a dog about to attack, and *banda*, a gang or a musical group. If this is the case, a better translation might be “howling” or “shrieking.”
  37. An alert reader will recognize the phrase from the first story, where it also had sexual connotations.
  38. The inspiration for Zorrilla’s *Don Juan Tenorio* (1844) is Tirso de Molina’s 1640 play *El burlador de Sevilla y convivado de piedra* (The Trickster of Seville and the Stone Guest). Both plays directly or indirectly inspired several masterworks, including Molière’s 1665 play *Dom Juan ou le Festin de pierre* (Don Juan, or the Stone Statue’s Feast), Byron’s poem *Don Juan* (1818–23), and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart’s opera *Don Giovanni* (1787). The pivotal role of Don Juan in the construction of “modern” Mexican masculinities is the subject of ch. 5.
  39. José Zorrilla, *Don Juan Tenorio: Drama religioso-fantástico en dos partes*, part 2, act 1, scene 6; part 2, act 3, scene 2. <http://www.gutenberg.org/etext/5201> (with English translation). Accessed December 17, 2014.
  40. On colonial notions of honor and shame, see the essays in Johnson and Lipsett-Rivera, *Faces of Honor*. For aristocrats in particular, honor involved patriarchs protecting their women from the predations of other men and taking prompt



action to redress any perceived slight, as Don Gonzalo and Don Luis attempt to do in “calling out” Don Juan.

41. Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, xvi.
42. In addition to the conventional translation given above, the phrase “no se quen; pero mian jalado los pelos . . . de la cabeza” suggests that Pitacio’s *jaña* thinks that she’s been tricked somehow. The common Spanish-language expression *tomar el pelo* can mean either “to pull hair” or “to pull someone’s leg” (i.e., trick someone). The ellipsis between “*pelo*” and “*de la cabeza*” hints at hair in other, more intimate places, a connotation that supports this interpretation. Pitacio is the most obvious source of her agitation, but the third-person plural “*mian jalado el pelo*” (*me han jalado*), “they have pulled my hair,” could refer to either the children or a collective “they” as the culprit.
43. Although focused on Pitacio’s personal experience in this particular story, the author hints at a more sustained satirical critique. For example, at the end of this chat with Chema, Pitacio asks after one of the column’s recurring characters, D. Grabiél el titiritero (Don Grabiél the Puppeteer), whose profession was well known for its merciless mocking of the status quo. On the subversive power of laughter, see Bakhtin, *Rabelais*, 59–144. According to Bakhtin, for low-status people in the Middle Ages, “laughter showed the world anew in its gayest and most sober aspects. . . . This is why laughter could never become an instrument to oppress and blind people. It always remained a free weapon in their hands” (94).
44. Derrida, *Specters of Marx*, 135.
45. This is not to deny that violence against women was a serious problem among the working (and other) classes in early twentieth-century Mexico City. See, e.g., Buffington, “Modern Sacrificial Economy.”
46. Elias, *Civilizing Process*, 370.
47. Giddens, *Modernity*, 70. In theoretical and historical terms, the traditional/modern binary often distorts more than it explains. As an ideological construct, it works to validate some behaviors as modern and dismisses others as traditional in order to establish who is and who isn’t on the cutting edge of social change. Despite serious conceptual flaws, it’s useful here (in a specific historical circumstance) because that same binary permeates Porfirian discourses about social class and progress.
48. Giddens, *Modernity*, 54; italics in original.

#### CHAPTER 5. DON JUAN AND THE TROUBLED BIRTH OF MODERN LOVE

1. Ortega y Gasset, “Para una psicología del hombre interesante,” 468–69. The essay was first published in 1925. Translation: “The whole world believes it has the real truth about him—about Don Juan, the most secret, most abstruse, most acute problem of our time. And it is that, with few exceptions, men can be divided into

- three categories: those who believe they are Don Juan, those who believe they once were, and those who believe they could have been, but chose not to. These last are the ones who tend to attack Don Juan and perhaps decree his demise.”
2. The playwright's eleven-year residence in Mexico City (1854–66; the dates include a year spent in Cuba), allegedly to escape an unhappy marriage, likely contributed to the play's popularity, especially after Maximilian named him court poet and made him director of the *Teatro Nacional* in 1864. Zorrilla returned to Spain in 1866 after his wife's death and Maximilian's execution.
  3. *Día de los muertos* (Day of the Dead) combines two Catholic feast days, All Saints' Day (November 1) and All Souls' Day (November 2). The custom of staging *Don Juan Tenorio*, usually on the evening of All Saints' Day, is a common practice all over the Spanish-speaking world, from Spain to the Americas to the Philippines. In Mexico, the festival's pagan roots (Native American and European) are especially strong.
  4. “La calavera de don Juan Tenorio” (Mexico City: Antonio Vanegas Arroyo, 1909–17). A literal translation of *calavera* would be “skull,” but in this instance the word also refers to satirical Day of the Dead poems, *calaveras*, usually directed at the earthly pretensions of real and fictional individuals or groups. A literal translation of “no lo babosea cualquiera” would be “no one drools over him.” The broadside reuses an image by Manuel Manilla from an earlier Don Juan Tenorio *calavera*, “Levantaos de sus fosas, calaveras / Que aquí se halla el mayor de los troneras” (Mexico City: Antonio Vanegas Arroyo, 1904). The date of the image itself is unknown, but Manilla worked for Vanegas Arroyo from 1882 to 1892; so it was likely made during that period. The regular reuse of Manilla's images of Don Juan Tenorio for several years after the artist's death (ca. 1900) suggests that Vanegas Arroyo, penny press editors, and their customers saw Manilla's traditional woodcut style as especially well suited to a paragon of traditional (protest) masculinity. For other Manilla images of Don Juan, see López Casillas, *Monografía*, 36–37.
  5. “Yo soy Don Juan Tenorio y sin Quimeras / haré platos de sus calaveras” (Mexico City: Antonio Vanegas Arroyo, n.d.). Posada probably etched the plate around 1910, but Vanegas Arroyo reprinted the broadside several times over the next ten years.
  6. See, e.g., the illustration, in the style of Manilla, in *El Duende*, November 15, 1904, 3.
  7. Dabove, *Nightmares*, 6.
  8. Pamphlets and broadsides produced by Antonio Vanegas Arroyo and his collaborators, including printmakers Manuel Manilla and José Guadalupe Posada, sometimes acknowledged the humor in modern love but mostly proffered practical advice for negotiating courtship. See Speckman Guerra, “De amor,” 68–101.
  9. “Don Juan al cadalso,” in Franco Sodi, *Don Juan*, 8.

10. "Don Juan al cadalso," in Franco Sodi, *Don Juan*, 11.
11. "Los flores que ofenden: la mujer en la calle," *El Diablito Rojo*, September 21, 1908, 4.
12. Original: "En la capital azteca—el centro culto—la manía donjuanesca se extralimita. Aquí el catrín 'florear' y el pelado 'agarra.' Cada quien hace el amor a su manera, pero ambos del mismo modo encantadoramente ridículo." The distinction between *florear* and *agarra* in the original Spanish is impossible to capture in English. *Echar flores* or *florear*—literally, to throw flowers—suggests a more refined form of verbal harassment, while *agarrar* (literally, to grab) implies a cruder approach. In this instance, the author is noting the different approaches of upper class *catrines* and lower-class *pelados*.
13. Adelina Patti, known as "la Patti," was one of Porfirian Mexico City's most celebrated sopranos. The pun on *sí* plays on the Spanish word for "yes" and the solfège note si. Although si would technically be high B in the fixed solfège system in use in Mexico at the time, the high note for virtuoso sopranos and tenors is most often C—hence the translation above.
14. "Crónica color de Hormiga," *El Diablito Rojo*, November 9, 1908, 2.
15. Original: ". . . con alegría, con entusiasmo, con fruición. Es un calavera, un pedulario, pero tiene tres cualidades: es riquísimo, es valiente, y es amigo nuestro."
16. Original: ". . . racimo de horca. Mata a 34 víctimas, seduce a 73 mujeres, y emplea 'Un día para enamorarlas, / otro para conseguirlas, / otro para abandonarlas, / dos para sustituirlas, / y una hora para olvidarlas.'" The phrase "racimo de horca" is nearly identical in meaning and imagery to the English phrase "gallows fruit." It appears most prominently in Spanish as the title of an 1874 short story by Peruvian writer Ricardo Palma, written for the second installment of his well-known collection of *Tradiciones peruanas*. The Don Juan quote is from Zorrilla's *Don Juan Tenorio*, act 1, scene 12. The exact quotation suggests that the *El Diablito Rojo* editor knew the play quite well—and perhaps had a copy in his hand when he wrote the editorial.
17. Original: "Vivan, pues, los Tenorios; pero que nadie invoque después los códigos. Eso es." An editorial from the previous week criticized a recent theater production of *Don Juan Tenorio* in which the lead actor invoked the ghost of "el Cura Hidalgo" to save him from hell and then danced a *jarabe* with Doña Inés who was dressed as a *china poblana*. The audience responded with tumultuous applause and thus, in the editor's view, made a mockery of "actors, art, and Mexico." "Oratorio popular," *El Diablito Rojo*, November 14, 1908, 2.
18. Pedro Trujillo de Miranda, "Noviembre," *El Diablito Rojo*, November 29, 1909, 3. Calisto, Melibea, and Celestina are the principal characters in Fernando de Rojas's 1499 *Tragedicomedie de Calisto y Melibea y de la puta vieja Celestina* (Tragicomedy of Calisto and Melibea and the Old Whore Celestina), one of the classic works of Spanish literature.

19. Original: “Hoy los caballeros no galantean las damas y las seducen, las engañan. Tenorio no roba á su amor, la explota. Doña Inés era antes doncella pulcra, en convent, soñadora y pura. Hoy las Ineses, son las mujeres de los demás.”
20. Original: “. . . la muchedumbre va á ver á ‘Don Juan Tenorio. En día de difuntos. Porque el ‘Tenorio’ ha muerto.”
21. *Romance* is one of the oldest poetic forms in Spanish language literature and one of the least rigid. In general, a *romance* has eight-syllable lines, lots of assonance (internal rather than end rhymes), and tells a story of some kind.
22. Pérez Monfort, *Estampas*, 47. *Costumbrismo* served much the same function throughout Latin America.
23. Pérez Monfort, *Estampas*, 51.
24. The picaresque novel chronicles the life of its protagonist antihero, the *pícaro*, or rogue. Although most provide moralistic commentary on the failings of the *pícaro* and the society that produced him, their appeal has more to do with carnivalesque immersion in the seamier side of popular culture than sanctimonious interludes. Some literary critics have argued that Mexican writer José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi’s *El periquillo sarniento*, written in 1816 and published in 1831, was the last great picaresque novel. For Pérez Monfort, the heyday of Mexican *costumbrismo* begins with its publication and lasts until 1870.
25. Pérez Monfort, *Estampas*, 50. As might be expected, the emphasis on social types is especially apparent in Mexican lithography. See, e.g., Pérez Salas C., *Costumbrismo*.
26. Pérez Monfort, *Estampas*, 58.
27. Pérez Monfort, *Estampas*, 62. For an analysis of elite fears of lower-class political participation in the years following independence, see Warren, *Vagrants*.
28. Prieto, *Musa callejera*. The prologue notes that “the man of the *Musa Callejera* is astute, jealous, tenacious, and frequently cruel; the woman, self-denying, brave, quick with a witty retort. One and the other recognize their failings and know how to find, in the midst of economic misery, the means to satisfy their caprices, to pay for their small pleasures, to forget their poverty, with improvised festivities” (xv–xvi). The third section of *Musa Callejera* consists of romances, including the extremely popular “Romance de la Migajita,” about an abused woman who dies from distress when she discovers that the man who had stabbed her has died (196–99). For an overview of Prieto’s popular poetry, see McLean, *Vida y obra*, 85–92. Along with his *puro* liberalism and popular poetry, Prieto was also beloved by old-school liberals for having saved Benito Juárez from a firing squad when they were imprisoned together during the Reform War (1857–61).
29. Sommer, *Foundational Fictions*, 24. Overt homosocial bonding and covert homosexual desire in foundational fictions are explored in Irwin, *Mexican Masculinities*, 1–49.
30. There are other, incidental connections. Sommer’s Mexican example is Ignacio Altamirano’s *El Zarco*, probably written in the 1860s but not published until

1901. Like Juárez, Altamirano was of Indian descent and a hero in the liberal pantheon.

31. Riva Palacio, *Páginas*, 75–77. Vicente Riva Palacio, “Romances nacionales,” *El Diablito Bromista*, July 10, 1904, 3. *Páginas* includes another *chinaco* poem, “El Chinaco (Romance Nacional),” that may have inspired the name change in the reprint. Riva Palacio was one of the most respected *letrados* of the nineteenth century. He was also a liberal general in the struggle against Maximilian, founded the influential liberal newspaper *El Ahuizote*, wrote one of the great histories of Mexico (*México a través de los siglos*), and served as governor of two states. A well-known poet, he wrote under his own name and as a woman under the pseudonym Rosa Espino. For more on Riva Palacio as a woman poet, see Easterling, “Gender and Poetry Writing,” 115–17. *Chinacos* were rural horsemen (like *gauchos* in Argentina) who often served as mercenary soldiers during armed conflicts. They were especially renowned as liberal guerrilla fighters in the struggle against Maximilian. The *charro* stereotype is a direct descendent of the *chinaco*.
32. The original Spanish reads “Que ni precia de valiente / Ni es de amores un rayo / Ni le gustan los amigos / Ni tiene horror al trabajo”; italics in original.
33. The original Spanish reads “Tan *picuda* me la pone / Que de seguro no alcanzo / Pues pide más imposible / Que una vieja en el rosario”; italics in original.
34. One likely source for many of these unattributed romances was *El Diablito Bromista* editor Antonio de P. Escárcega.
35. “El baile de la Petra,” *El Diablito Bromista*, May 17, 1908, 4. The original Spanish reads “. . . seis cubos / De fermentador tlamapa, / Aparte de diez botellas / De amarte sin esperanzas, / y de una ollota de ponche / Llena de chinguere y agua.” Tlamapa is a small town just southeast of Mexico City known for its fine pulque.
36. “El santo de la casera,” *El Diablito Bromista*, September 27, 1903, 3. The romance was published later as “No fumen masquen tabaco” (Don’t Smoke Anything but Tobacco), *El Diablito Bromista*, July 21, 1907, 4. The author doesn’t specify which of Mexico City’s four *tívoli* the celebrants visit, but the Tívoli de San Cosme was the largest, most popular, and least likely to need further introduction.
37. “Corriendo gallo,” *El Diablito Bromista*, September 20, 1903, 3. An author identified as El Pato (the duck) wrote another romance about *corriendo gallo* for *El Diablito Bromista*, July 31, 1904, 2–3. For more on working-class participation in patriotic celebrations, see chs. 2 and 3.
38. “El muerto resucitado,” *El Diablito Bromista*, August 25, 1907, 2–3. The original Spanish description of the dead man reads “. . . un pobre diablo, / Sin hogar y sin familia, . . . Uno de aquellos gitanos / De la bohemia perdida / Que siempre amanecen crudos / Con calambres en las tripas.” The original Spanish for the dead man’s comments to the doctor reads “Ya no me tronchen tan verde / Por que se seca la milpa” and “Pues por la chamba tan fina / A que un jefe tan charro / Que ni las botas se quita.”

39. Gabriel Villanueva, “La Garbancera,” *El Diablito Bromista*, May 3, 1908, 4. The original Spanish description of the maid reads “Era morena, con su cutis suave / y sus mejillas de color de grana, / ojos muy negros y provocativos.” The market woman’s comments read “. . . no deje por nada de servirle / su cenita, ó lo que él tome, en la cama.” A *cuentachiles* is a man obsessed with tracking household expenses, as in the popular saying: “no es peor marido el ladrón, sino el cuentachiles” (the worst husband isn’t the thief but the miser). Pérez Martínez, *Refranero*, 290.
40. “Hay te van de canto,” *El Diablito Bromista*, December 22, 1907, 3. The description of the female singer as a *grulla*, “crane,” suggests both the piercing cry of the bird and the common phrase *grulla baleada* for a deceitful or lost woman (as an adjective *grullo* means “uncouth”). Zaid, “Divagación,” 24. La Merced, the huge street market just east of the Zócalo in downtown Mexico City, has long been associated with low-end prostitution, a connection also implied in the description of the singer’s clothing and hairdo, including the comment about the pomade containing either lard (from pigs) or tallow (from cows). “Temamatlá” refers to the site of a massive 1895 train wreck. Matthews, “*De Viaje*,” 251–89, argues that media representations of train wrecks, especially Temamatlá, reflected (and fed) widespread ambiguity about the unintended consequences of Porfirian development.
41. *Coime* generally refers to card dealers, pimps, waiters, and other “hustlers.” It is no coincidence that thirty years later both the character types described in this *romance callejero* (and others) would show up in the *cabaretera* (cabaret) films of directors like Emilio Fernández.
42. *Embalsamada* usually means “embalmed” but is used here to mean “perfumed” or “infused.” *Furriel*, “quartermaster,” is also a word play on *furris*, Mexican slang for “ugly” or “despised.” The double meaning implied in this usage—women supply men’s basic needs and are despised for it—is clear enough.
43. “Macetita embalsamada.” The song also appears in Ausucua, *El Ruisenor*, 4–6. The two versions vary slightly, mostly in punctuation. (The Yucatecan songbook can be found at [www.bibliotecavirtualdeyucatan.com.mx](http://www.bibliotecavirtualdeyucatan.com.mx)). Another version of the song, titled “El Pañuelo,” appears in Kuri-Aldana and Mendoza Martínez, *El Cancionero popular mexicano*, 234. “Macetita embalsamada” has maintained its popularity. The first lines from the second verse appear in Juan Rulfo’s *Pedro Páramo*, and a copy of the song’s lyrics was discovered among his papers ([www.clubcultura.com/clubliteratura/clubescritores/juanrulfo/o3.pdf](http://www.clubcultura.com/clubliteratura/clubescritores/juanrulfo/o3.pdf)). The most recent recording is probably the one by Mercedes Castro on her 2007 album *Mal-dita miseria* (Musart-Balboa).
44. The final verse uses two common Spanish verbs for “to love”—*querer* and *amar*—probably to avoid excessive repetition but perhaps also using the more formal *amar* for men to indicate that men need to take love more seriously. For this reason, in the final line *querer* is translated as “to care for.”
45. “El rapto de Dorotea,” *El Diablito Bromista*, October 4, 1908, 3.

46. "La güera del cantero," *El Diablito Bromista*, February 8, 1908, 3.
47. "Romance callejero," *El Diablito Bromista*, August 9, 1903, 3.
48. "Así me gusta agarrarlos," *El Diablito Bromista*, May 10, 1909, 4.
49. "La Verbena de los Angeles," part 1, *La Guacamaya*, August 18, 1902, 3. The *verbena* for the Assumption is celebrated every year on August 15 at the Metropolitan Cathedral on the Zócalo in Mexico City.
50. "La Verbena de los Angeles," part 2, *La Guacamaya*, August 25, 1902, 3.
51. "La Verbena de los Angeles," part 3, *La Guacamaya*, September 1, 1902, 3.
52. Hague, "Five Dances from Mexico," 384–85.
53. For an in-depth analysis of representations of male violence against women, see Buffington, "Modern Sacrificial Economy."
54. On male poets writing as women, see Easterling, "Gender and Poetry Writing," 97–142.
55. Canuto Godines (Mimi), "No Judas mejor Matraca," *La Matraca de La Guacamaya*, special edition, April 1905, 3–4. The title is difficult to translate but refers to the Mexican custom of using loud wooden or metal clappers (*matracas*) to celebrate the burning of Judas figures on Easter Sunday. The implication is that it's better to celebrate the death of the great betrayer (Judas) than to betray.
56. Canuto Godines (Mimi), "¿Pero de qué . . .?," *La Guacamaya*, September 20, 1906, 2–3.
57. Magdalena's practical approach to romance mirrors the advice for women in the Vanegas Arroyo pamphlets and broadsheets. Speckman Guerra, "De amor y desamor," 97.
58. Canuto Godines (Mimi), "Para que la cuña apriete," 2 parts, *La Guacamaya*, May 30, 1905, 2–3; April 13, 1905, 4. The title is the opening of the popular adage "Para que la cuña apriete, ha de ser del mismo palo" (For the wedge to stick it must be from the same piece of wood), which means that for a venture to succeed everyone needs to work together. It appears most often these days with regard to team sports, but the reference here is to a successful marriage.
59. *Fra diablo* in Mexican cooking refers to seafood dishes that are hot and spicy.
60. Her uncle is a *chinampero*, one who farms a *chinampa* (a garden plot in one of Mexico City's lakes), an occupation associated with certain indigenous groups.
61. Canuto Godines (Mimi), "Juventina," 7 parts, *El Diablito Bromista*, October 25, November 15, November 22, November 29, December 20, and December 27, 1903; January 3, 1904.
62. Illouz, *Why Love Hurts*, 48.
63. For more on consumption and identity in Porfirian Mexico City, see Bunker, *Creating*.
64. Canuto Godines, "¡Que pobre!," *El Diablito Bromista*, July 14, 1907, 3–4.
65. Canuto Godines, "¡Adultera!," *La Guacamaya*, February 1, 1905, 2.
66. Canuto Godines (Mimi), "De mala raza!!!," *La Guacamaya*, March 16, 1905. The title might be a reference to the 1886 play of the same name by Spanish dramatist

- (among other things) José Echegaray, who had won the Nobel Prize for Literature the previous year. Echegaray also wrote about the hereditary evils of *donjuanismo*, symbolized by venereal disease passed from father to son, in *El hijo de Don Juan* (1892). His plays were staged all over Latin America, including Mexico City. González Navarro, *El Porfiriato*, 792–95, 800–803.
67. A similar romance by an anonymous poet tells the story of another sincere young man who ends up in jail after he attempts to rob a jewelry store for a gift for his fiancée. The sensible young woman, who never asked for jewels, moves on. “El amor de Nacha,” *La Guacamaya*, August 22, 1907, 2–3.
  68. Canuto Godines (Mimi), “Pero . . . que zapatos!,” *La Guacamaya*, November 10, 1904, 2.
  69. Mixcalco is a *rumbo* (road/direction) in downtown Mexico City, a few blocks north and east of the Zócalo.
  70. Canuto Godines (Mimi), “El Aguila de Oro,” *La Guacamaya*, April 20, 1905, 2–3.
  71. The original Spanish reads “Será lo que á ti te plazca, / Pues sabes que no me opongo, / Pero escucha, si he venido / Anoche cual nunca beodo/Voy á explicarte el motive / Y después piensa á tu modo.”
  72. The original Spanish reads “—¡Que tonto! / Prefieres gastar tus fierros / En tomar, ¿y yo qué como? / Siempre estás con que me quieres / Me quieres y te haces sordo.”
  73. The ellipsis alerts the reader that “la . . . China” is standing in for *la . . . chingada*, hence the translation “go fuck yourself.” *Tostadas de horno* are sweet cornmeal biscuits or cookies.
  74. Canuto Godines (Mimi), “¡Qué viva la Independencia!,” *La Guacamaya*, October 4, 1906, 2. For more on popular patriotism, see chs. 1–3.
  75. According to traditional Catholic belief, the Holy House was transported by angels from the Holy Land to Loreto, Italy, in the late thirteenth century. The Basilica della Santa Casa has been a pilgrimage site ever since. Loreto is also the name of a prominent Mexico City church, Templo de Nuestra Señora de Loreto, near Mixcalco, where the young woman in the poem lives. Mixcalco, a few blocks north-east of the Zócalo, is mentioned in several Godines romances.
  76. Conrado Palido, “Romance modernista,” *Don Cucufate*, September 10, 1906, 3.
  77. Padilla et al., “Introduction,” xv.
  78. Hirsch, “‘Love Makes a Family,’” 94–95. See also Hirsch, *Courtship*.
  79. *El Chile Piquin*, January 12, 1905, 1. The Posada image was popular in its day and is still considered one of his finest.
  80. “Entre Cotorras,” *La Guacamaya*, November 12, 1903, 2–3. The *cotorra* is recalling the opening lines of act 3, scene 2, from *Don Juan Tenorio*, where the Statue of the Comendador addresses Don Juan before taking him to hell (until Doña Inés intercedes): “Aquí me tienes, don Juan, / y he aquí que vienen conmigo / los que tu eterno castigo / de Dios reclamando están.”



1. "Coplas de Don Simón" (Mexico City: Antonio Vanegas Arroyo, 1912 [1910 for Getty Research Institute]), cited in Speckman Guerra, "De amor," 90. (Translation: "There are traps a man avoids / but these modern ones, no . . .")
2. La Tricolor 96.5, [www.965tricolor.com/show/erazno-y-la-chokolata/](http://www.965tricolor.com/show/erazno-y-la-chokolata/). Accessed December 17, 2014.
3. García Peña, *El fracaso de amor*, 15, implicates liberal ideas about gender relations, especially the division of the social world into public and private spheres, for intensifying patriarchal domination of women and increasing male domestic violence against women.
4. The spelling of Doggie/Doggy varies in the show's promotional literature. As listener comments make clear, the name Doggie references "doggie style," a sexual position in which a dominant male mounts a woman (or another man) from behind—a crude symbol of male sexual mastery.
5. "Erazno" references *el asno*, "the ass," which has the same pejorative connotations as its English counterpart. "Chente" is a common nickname for mariachi great Vicente Fernández but in this case probably refers in a derogatory way to someone (usually of Hispanic rather than Indian origin) who has no idea what's going on, in this instance a blustery former president who once called his political opponent a *mariquita* (little sissy).
6. Szasz, "Sexualidad y género," 90. In the paragraph that follows, Szasz cites anthropologist Jennifer Hirsch on the prevalence of this type of humor among working-class Mexican men. Hirsch, "Missionaries' Positions."
7. La hora del Doggie, "Llamada de radio escucha enojada por La hora de Doggy," July 28, 2011. This particular show was still receiving blog responses in fall 2013. [www.youtube.com/watch?v=PS6jzINbPXo](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PS6jzINbPXo). Accessed December 17, 2014.
8. The show's promotional blurb notes that "La Chokolata es toda una diva (según ella), es una dama que no tiene pelos en la lengua, da a expresar sus opiniones en un estilo fresco por que ella no es 'Naca' y le encanta poner a Erazno en su lugar" (La Chokolata is a real diva [according to her], she's a lady who doesn't hold back, she expresses her opinions in a fresh style because she's not an 'idiot' and she loves putting Erazno in his place). The strategic deployment of multiple personas, including drag personas, has a long and distinguished history in Mexican letters and includes several writers mentioned in earlier chapters: liberal statesman Vicente Riva Palacio (a.k.a. Rosa Espina), modernist poet Manuel Gutiérrez Nájera, and the do-everything editor of *La Guacamaya*, Fernando Torroella. La Chokolata refers to chocolate, the character's dark skin, and her lack of class. This last trait emerges in Choko's ongoing obsession with who is and who isn't *naco*, a derogatory term in Mexican Spanish for people considered stupid, uncultured, working class, tacky, and too Indian—much like *pelado* and akin to

- the English term “white trash” but with different racial connotations. The show’s website, [www.elerazno.com/](http://www.elerazno.com/), includes a link to a page of *nacadas*, with photos of everything from a dashboard cup holder made from a roll of packing tape to a Vespa outfitted with stirrups, reins, and saddlebags.
9. Octavio Paz explores the meaning of masks, *albures*, and “hermetic” Mexican men in “Máscaras mexicanas,” in *Laberinto de soledad*, 26–41.
  10. Halberstam, *Queer Art*, 4.
  11. A similar theme is evident in a three-part YouTube “La hora del Doggie” episode entitled “Hombres ¿buenos or tontos?” [Men, good or stupid?], during which Doggie admits that some women have accused him of being a gay woman-hater but swears that “yo soy hombre que gustan a las mujeres *buenas*” [I’m a man who enjoys *good* women]. Erazno y la Chokolata, “La hora del doggy-hombres buenos o tontos, parte 1,” uploaded November 22, 2011. [www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hzpc3TSSD7o](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Hzpc3TSSD7o). Accessed December 17, 2013.
  12. The argumentative suffix in “Chokolatazo” indicates a powerful blow or strike and conveys the intense emotional blow to the betrayed partner and the shock of exposure to the betrayer produced by the phone call.
  13. For an explanation of how gender scripts shape subjectivity in working-class men and women in contemporary Mexico City, see Gutmann, *The Meanings of Macho*, 1–10. Channeling the spirits of masculine and feminine archetypes, like revolutionary leader Pancho Villa, is common in Mexican popular culture. See, e.g., Behar, *Translated Women*, 203–24, and the popular film *Entre Pancho Villa y una mujer desnuda* (Between Pancho Villa and a Naked Woman; 1996, directed by Sabina Berman and Isabelle Tardán), in which the commitment-phobic male protagonist channels Pancho Villa to win back his alienated fiancée.
  14. Reliance on a commonsense female expert like Dr. Contreras is common in Spanish-language media for both sex education and immigration advice.
  15. For an explanation of “unexpected citizens,” see ch. 1. The term comes from Acevedo Rodrigo and López Caballero, “Introducción,” 13–37.