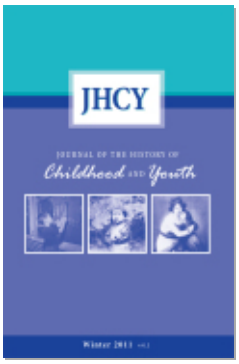
# Between Cultured Young Men and Mischievous Children: Youth, Transgression, and Protest in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexico

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# BETWEEN CULTURED YOUNG MEN AND MISCHIEVOUS CHILDREN: YOUTH, TRANSGRESSION, AND PROTEST IN LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY MEXICO

This article traces the progression of "youth" in Mexico from 1867 to c. 1900. It argues that the historical "images" of youth that developed during this period are telling as to youth culture, but also reveal much concerning greater societal and national aspirations. As this burgeoning vision of youth took shape in the late nineteenth century, its preeminent expression was the *preparatoriano*, or the student of the National Preparatory School. This "positivist image" of youth, hitherto overlooked in the historiography, was particularly celebratory and bespoke the transformative nature of the modern state. This group of young students, however, was not homogenous. As the restored nation tried its find its course (through local notions of liberalism and positivism), different notions of youth were imagined, experienced, further defined, and contested. This relationship between official ideology and reality was evident in the subcultural behavior of young men and the reactions these contested images generated among the old or the parent culture. This essay traces the contested relationship between official representation and subculture in the rise of student activism, the appropriation of new and public spaces, the creation of innovative style, and the celebration of an illicit bohemian lifestyle, on the one hand, and in public reaction, on the other.

> *"Today's youth is distinguished by its* lenguaje de torero *[vulgar language], rough games, their uncontrollable bad habits, [and] their outrageous behavior in the Theaters and public reunions*." (Historian Moisés González Navarro, c. 1900)

The liminal category of "youth," "situated somewhere between the shifting margins of infantile dependency and adult autonomy," provides a powerful gauge of national aspirations.[1] In Western Europe, the initial appearance of this category dates to between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries when military officers, public health specialists, pedagogues, criminologists, and philanthropists first described the concept of youth in public as "a new social type."[2] Anecdotal references and memoirs suggest that the first descriptions of youth in Mexico can

be traced to the colonial period.[3] However, as I will argue in this article, the collective idea of "youth" as a distinctive social and political category first emerged as integral to late nineteenth-century processes of peace time nation-state consolidation.[4] During this period "civil war ceased to be the main mechanism to solve political disputes," and a new generation of liberals came of age in the aftermath of both the U.S.-Mexican War (1846–1848) and the French Invasion (1861–1867).[5] The emerging vision of youth was closely linked to visions of nationhood first created during the Restored Republic (1867–1876) and the *Porfiriato* (1876–1910).[6]

These two periods witnessed the consolidation of the nation-state by means of what renowned novelist Octavio Paz once referred to as a "triple negation" enacted by a new generation of liberals, namely: the negation "of [their] Spanish [colonial] inheritance, of [their] indigenous past, and [their] Catholicism."[7] Unlike the military caudillos of the past, who, on no less than eleven different occasions, had governed under varying ideological flags,[8] the governing elites of the period in question depicted themselves as "honorable men of institutions." Historian Pablo Picatto explains,

> [This] new group of [elites] fashioned itself as . . . *hombres de palabra*—men who kept their word and answered to the obligations of credit and authority, but whose political authority came from their ability to speak in the name of public opinion rather than from their military accomplishments.[9]

Represented by the mythical figure of Benito Juárez,[10] this new generation of "men of honor" believed that protecting the nation from further foreign invasions and the "despotism" of the colonial past meant the nation needed a series of reforms. These included concretely implementing the legal constraints of the new constitution of 1857 (in particular its call for equality among all citizens), establishing a federal and representative political system, and championing an ambitious project of land reform that involved the secularization and disentailment of corporative property historically held by the church and indigenous communities.[11] The state advocated new notions of individual freedom, new representative institutions, and measures that would better guarantee legal uniformity.[12] These occurred within the rubrics of cosmopolitan notions of progress and modernity for a burgeoning middle class and a Comtean positivist view of Mexican history. It was within this context that the nation embraced and institutionalized a secular form of education that would greatly influence the construction of youth.

In this article I trace the conception of "youth" as it developed during the consolidation of the nation-state. In various times and places "youth" has expressed quite different national ideals. In Fascist Italy, for example, the image of youth

functioned as a metaphor for national salvation, while in Revolutionary Russia it stood for social change. Youth also has been imagined more negatively in other historical contexts. Such was the case in the United States of the 1950s, for example, where youth was conceived of as a "risk group for social order."[13] Yet, this multiplicity of youth is not only true between countries and periods, but also within them.[14]

In particular, I argue that the ideal image of youth that developed in late nineteenth-century Mexico saw its preeminent expression in the form of the *preparatoriano*—the student of the *Escuela Nacional Preparatoria* (National Preparatory School, ENP). The Preparatoria provided a necessary physical, political-economic, and sociocultural space for young students (almost all of them male between the ages of thirteen and eighteen) to experience and contest images of youth championed by the state.[15] Further, in conjunction with the rise of new social and athletic clubs, the Preparatoria opened an unprecedented vehicle for young people to transcend social class, as many graduates of the ENP moved on to top professional schools and became the nation's best lawyers, administrators, congressmen, medical doctors, and engineers.

However, this group of young students from the Preparatoria did not constitute a uniform culture. As the restored nation tried to find its course, different notions of youth were imagined and contested. This relationship between an official ideology championed by the new generation of "men of honor" and reality was evident in the subcultural behavior of the young and the reactions these burgeoning contested images of youth generated among the old or the parent culture. I argue that this conflicting relationship between official representation and youth subculture was evident in the appropriation of new spaces and the creation of innovative style, on the one hand, and in public reaction by the *gente decente* (educated and cultured people), on the other. In making this argument, I examine multiple models of student identity: the innovative expressions of and public reactions to the so-called *pollos*, who created their own style; the more defiant *perros preparatorianos* ("the school dogs"), who shocked Porfirian Mexico with their sexual promiscuity and drug consumption; the *externos*, who left the comfort of the boarding schools to live in cheap tenement houses; and the more politicized student activists, who organized the nation's "first unified student protest" in 1875.

## THE TREATMENT OF YOUTH IN LATIN AMERICAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

The first studies of youth in Latin America can be traced to the beginning of the twentieth century. Initially, these took the form of celebratory essays by a new

generation of intellectuals writing at the dawn of the new century and millennium. Largely influenced by Rodó's famous *Ariel* (1900), this set of intellectuals described Latin America's youth as "the promising future of the Hispanic Continent" and the "spiritual alternative to corrupt adulthood."[16] The most outspoken of these intellectuals called upon youth to assume more active roles as "missionaries" and "philanthropists."[17] With the Spanish-American War of 1898 in the background and "the awakening of great doubt" in European civilization in the wake of World War I, Latin America's youth was presented as a promising collective identity capable of taking a more critical stance against the physical and spiritual invasions of the imperialist North. Young people in turn responded favorably. To articulate their collective identity, youth embraced new notions of Latin American solidarity in the forms of *indigenismo* and *mestizaje*, and they became politically involved in the creation of new student organizations, national and hemispheric school congresses, and oppositional parties.[18]

However, a celebratory and promising climate toward the young would be overshadowed with the "arrival and legitimacy" of new scientific studies in the 1930s and 1940s.[19] Psychological studies influenced by S. G. Hall, J. Piagent, and E. Spranger dominated the field of youth studies in Latin America during these two decades.[20] Subsequently, the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s witnessed an explosion of new theoretical approaches to the study of Latin American youth, notably the influential theories of structural functionalism and sociological Marxism. The former strove to "normalize" young people who had become "dysfunctional" or "diverted" as a result of industrialization and processes of rural-urban migration. The latter emphasized the role of class awareness and the intervention and promotion of student youth movements. In general, the anthropologists and sociologists who dominated the field during this period now identified youth more as "problem" than promise.[21]

More recently, a growing number of Latin America scholars have taken a more cultural approach to the study of youth. Drawing inspiration from the field of subcultural youth studies pioneered by the Birmingham school of cultural studies in the 1970s and 1980s, these scholars situate youth culture in relation to three broader cultural structures: "working class" (or "parent") culture, "dominant" (or "status quo") culture, and "mass" culture. Scholars have argued that, when these broader cultural structures are no longer cohesive, youth has responded by becoming "subcultural." This form of "resistance" has been evident in the (symbolic and physical) "appropriation of spaces" and the "manipulation" and/or "creation of new styles."[22]

In Mexico, youth studies has emerged as a field in recent decades and has been dominated primarily by Marxist sociologists and subcultural anthropologists

focusing on the resistance of youth subcultures in the latter half of the twentieth century. The scholarship began to flourish in the 1980s and 1990s following the publication of Enrique Marroquín's influential study *La contracultura como protesta* (1975), which produced a wealth of information on the infamous *chavos banda* (lumpen-proletarian youth gangs) of this period.[23] Like their British counterparts who had studied the Teddy Boys and Mods of postwar England, Mexican scholars "read" as "texts" the punk music, leather jackets, loud street corners, sexual promiscuity, and territorial violence of the chavos banda in order to examine the social alienation and economic frustration during the so-called lost decade of the 1980s.[24] Recent literature also has produced a fair amount of work on beatniks, *jipitecas* (Mexican hippies), and other youth subcultures that emerged during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s.[25] This literature has chronicled the rise during these decades of a new generation of student activists and leftist intellectuals that, by further questioning traditional values and authoritarian politics, redefined the concept of youth in Mexico. As in other countries of Latin America, young students involved in politics in the new Cold War environment were identified by authorities and the mass media as "subversives" that needed to be controlled and, if necessary, repressed.[26]

While the historiography of more contemporary Latin American and Mexican youth has developed considerably, little has been written by historians to explain how youth was constructed prior to World War II and still less comparative work on how the two constructions might be related.[27] In this article I trace emerging progressions of youth in Mexico by focusing on the shifting categories of "students" and "*pollos*" from 1867 to c. 1900. These images are telling as to youth culture, transgression, and protest, but also reveal much about societal and national aspirations. In particular, I argue that the ambivalent attitudes that developed towards Mexico's burgeoning youth culture reveal the conflicting relationship between those who hoped to conserve traditional values and thus return to a mythical colonial past and those who celebrated new notions of progress and modernity championed by the positivist education taught at the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria.

## "ORDER, LIBERTY, AND PROGRESS"—THE ENP'S CELEBRATION OF MEXICO'S YOUTH

Education has always been regarded as a vital element in the thorny process of nation-building in most of the modern world.[28] In Mexico, no other political group has valued education for this reason as much as liberals did during the nineteenth century, and no other school was seen as so instrumental in this effort as the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria (ENP). Founded in 1867 by outspoken

positivist Gabino Barreda, the ENP held the prospect of accomplishing a number of intended goals: promoting modernization, diminishing "popular ignorance," implementing social control, bridging class divisions, molding a collective national conscience, and creating "intimate fraternal ties" with the government.[29]

Before the winning of independence in the 1820s, multiple and diverse entities were responsible for education, and thus goals related to education varied. Besides the age-old institution of the family, these actors included the municipal representatives of the Crown and, most of all, the Catholic Church. Rather than promote a universal image of youth, the two primary goals of these heterogeneous agencies were to "Hispanicize" the overwhelming majority of indigenous populations and to create "Christian gentlemen, politicians, and wise men" among the tiny *criollo* (Spaniards born in the Americas) and growing *mestizo* (persons of mixed indigenous and Spanish heritage) populations. The Jesuits initially promoted a homogeneous educational program, but once they were expelled in 1767, the *colegios* (Catholic schools) of New Spain were shut down. The hope to create a uniform educational system perished with them.[30]

The role of education changed in a number of significant ways with the rise of liberalism in the mid-nineteenth century, and with these changes, student youth emerged as a new social type. With the writing of a new constitution in 1857, for example, discourse on education became more homogenous and took on more nationalistic overtones. Unlike colonial elites, liberals argued that only a secular educational system and a standard school curriculum could produce citizens with the initiative and ability to create a more industrialized and cosmopolitan nation. Their argument stemmed from an assumption that it was impossible to achieve these goals through an adult population that had for the most part remained loyal to the colonial regime.[31] Liberals thus held that young people should be embraced as new "*héroes de la patria*" ("national heroes"). "Only young students," they contended, "would sacrifice their lives to defend the new nation, if necessary."[32]

José María Luis Mora, the prominent nineteenth-century cleric, politician, and liberal theorist, was one of the earliest exponents of liberalism in Mexico, and he figured prominently in the promotion of secular education.[33] Mora argued that the creation of "a practical, more active, and industrious man" was possible only through a state-sponsored educational system. But in order to improve the *pueblo* (people), it was crucial for the state to *arrancar* (strip away) the stranglehold monopoly on education held by the Catholic Church.[34] Unlike the "Christian [gentleman]" of the colonial period, Mora further argued, this "new urban, cosmopolitan, and increasingly industrial man would be able to live off his own expectations, capital, and private properties, and would at last

abandon the old habit of living off the government."[35] The liberal ideals of self-sufficiency and secularism went hand in hand in this educational experiment. And, paradoxically, the state would need a strong hand to foster, within this approach, an independence from the state itself.

However, a uniform educational program, or the centralization of a strong nation-state for that matter, did not become a reality until President Benito Juárez reclaimed Mexico's independence in 1867. Claudio Lomnitz writes,

> In the years between 1821 and 1867, Mexican leaders had tried a series of strategies for constructing central power, combining varying forms of messianism, aspects of monarchic power, republicanism, and liberalism. [But it wasn't until] 1867, after the French departed and Maximilian was shot, that Mexico finally earned its "right" to exist as a nation.[36]

Only then, and especially after Porfirio Díaz came to power a decade later, did Mexico enjoy greater uniformity in terms of legal codes and more efficient management of the economy. Only then, moreover, did the government gain a level of control in national territory sufficient to realize industrial growth and the expansion of a consuming middle class.

With advances in the accumulation of political, economic, and social power, a more efficient administration put into motion significant growth in state expenditures on public education (from less than three percent of the total budget in the 1860s to more than twenty percent in 1910). Additional secondary schools were built outside the Federal District in the 1870s. The number of students enrolled in these schools increased from 3,365 in 1878 to 5,782 in 1907.[37] The students enrolled in professional schools also witnessed a significant growth. In 1878, for example, there were a total of 5,552 students enrolled in these schools nationwide and 3,092 in the Federal District. By 1907 "these numbers had increased by 80 and 66 percent, respectively."[38] State investment enabled the adoption of more aggressive methods of elite recruitment in the schools through scholarships.[39] Most importantly, the Organic Law of December 2, 1867, pronounced all levels of education "free, compulsory, secular, and accessible to all classes of society."[40] By far the single most important educational institution founded during this period was the Escuela Nacional Preparatoria (National Preparatory School, or ENP).

The man selected to direct the ENP within the parameters of the new Organic Law was Gabino Barreda. President Juárez originally appointed Francisco Díaz Covarrubias as head of the ENP, but the latter promptly declined and instead suggested that the best man for the job would be Gabino Barreda. A lawyer and medical doctor, Barreda (1811–1881) had studied in France between

1847 and 1851. In Paris, he became a devotee of Comtean positivism. Like other rising positivists of this period, Barreda "interpreted Mexican history as a struggle between a negative spirit (represented most recently by the alliance of the conservatives and the French) and a positivist spirit (embodied by the liberal republican forces)." Only a positivist education, he argued, would prepare the next generation to bring "order" and "progress" to Mexico and put an end to the power of the clergy.[41] President Juárez could not have been happier with this decision. After all, Barreda had proven himself to be a loyal member of the Liberal Party and an energetic enthusiast of positivism. As the new director of the ENP, Barreda quickly reawakened José María Luis Mora's zeal concerning youth, but within a specific positivist project. Barreda argued, even more forcefully than had Mora, that the solution to all the nation's problems was to be found in the "mental emancipation" of its youth; moreover, this liberation would begin in the classrooms of the ENP providing an "encyclopedic knowledge" of the sciences. To this end, the school curriculum designed by Gabino Barreda and approved by congress in 1867 gave little attention to the arts and humanities and rather put greater emphasis on arithmetic, physics, chemistry, and the natural sciences. [42] Within an evolutionary logic of Comtean positivism, Barreda contended young preparatorianos would propel the nation (in the words of ENP's new motto) towards "Order," "Liberty," and eventually "Progress." In Barreda's view of history, in order to transcend the ethical legacy of the theological and metaphysical eras, education needed to "create habits of behavior among students based on scientific prediction, the inevitable foundation of rational activity."[43] Unlike adults, who were so deeply prejudiced by "tradition and superstition," Barreda further anticipated that preparatorianos possessed the energy and enthusiasm that would break the religious chains that continued to hold the nation back and would at last transform the nation from one historically cursed with revolutions into one of evolution.[44] Supporter of the Liberal Party and prominent novelist Guillermo Prieto expressed similar sentiments. Despite "the lack of attention in the humanities" that he and others acknowledged in the school curriculum, Prieto noted in a speech given to a class of preparatorianos in 1875, "The science [of positivism], my young friends, will provide you with the necessary arms to combat the abuses [of the colonial past]." Further echoing the words of Barreda, he noted, "[With these arms, you] will get rid of all the evils that have deprived our nation from happiness."[45]

Most public commentators shared the enthusiasm of Barreda and Prieto. One newspaper reporter wrote that, "unlike the *older* students" of the professional schools, the young preparatorianos represented the "ruling classes of tomorrow." [46] Another journalist opined that this class of educated and well-mannered

students from the ENP best epitomized "the party of peace, order, hard work, and tranquility [that Mexico so strongly desired]."[47] Elsewhere in the press the ENP was described as the "cradle of the nation's future men," while another reporter celebrated the emergence of this new institution as "a gigantic pyramid of advancement."[48] Prominent liberals, therefore, fashioned youth as a lens through which a nation exercising its postcolonial ambitions could view and shape its future.

Nevertheless, for the preparatorianos themselves, the ENP proved both more encompassing than and distinct from this purported "gigantic pyramid of advancement." For preparatorianos, the ENP offered a new space and opportunity to construct, contest, modify, and rehearse the new roles they were destined to perform. The opportunity took shape within the confines of a particular time period and a given physical and social space. The students entered as part of an age cohort for a period of five years, generally between the ages of thirteen and eighteen. In addition, students took up their studies initially in an enclosed, privileged space—the classroom—and later in broader public spaces, such as academic societies, social clubs, and athletic organizations.

Outside the classroom, preparatorianos had unprecedented opportunities to develop the worldly social skills needed to fulfill the role of "the ruling classes of tomorrow." They listened to concerts, organized elegant dances, attended extravagant soirées, participated in regattas, and enjoyed picnics with young French and American aristocrats through organizations and venues like the *Sociedad Filarmónica y Dramática Francesa*, *La Lyre Gauloise,* and *Círculo Azteca*. Similarly, through groups like the *Asociación Internacional de Estudiantes, La Sociedad de la Escuela Preparatoria, Sociedad Ignacio Ramírez, La Sociedad Literaria, La Unión Universal de Estudiantes, El Campestre, El Apaga, Faroles, El Jockey Club, La Asociación Cristiana de Jóvenes,* and *El Club Atlético Mexicano* preparatorianos were introduced to a cosmopolitan youth culture and learned how to become modern citizens via patriotic festivities; plays; and competitions in mathematics, poetry, oratory, and sports.[49]

The investment in youth seems to have worked in demonstrable ways. The number of preparatorianos who made it to the highest ranks of Porfirian society was indeed remarkable. In 1884, for example, seven of Porfirio Díaz's most influential politicians were graduates of the ENP. By 1905, the number had increased to thirty-seven. As Roderic Camp notes, this last figure represented more than a third of Díaz's most important collaborators. Historian Jacqueline Rice also acknowledges the importance of the ENP by noting that forty-one percent of the members who created the National Liberal Union in 1892 had attended the Preparatoria. This was the group of *científicos*, she explains, who "organized in January of 1892

[the] reelection of Porfirio Díaz." Besides producing influential politicos, the ENP also played a key role in the growth of small businessmen, important industrialists, notable public employees, journalists, writers, educators, and revolutionary intellectuals. Perhaps the best-noted examples include the future Constitutionalist leader Venustiano Carranza; the anarcho-syndicalist brothers Enrique and Ricardo Flores Magón; and José Yves Limanteur, who enrolled in the ENP in 1869 and would eventually become the most influential architect of the Porfiriato as secretary of treasury and development from 1893 to 1911.[50] Other examples of this latest generation of "men of honor" who graduated from the ENP include Agustín Aragón, Agustín Arroyo de Anda, Horacio Barreda, Alberto Best, Francisco Bulnes, Manuel Flores, Francisco Gamboa, Luis Martín Guzmán, Luis Castillo Ledón, Miguel S. Maceda, Porfirio Parra, Juan de Dios Peza, Enrique de los Rios, Luis F. Ruíz, Miguel Schultz, Francisco Sosa, Julio Torri, and Agustín Verdugo.[51]

However, while the schools indeed served as a transition and a career ladder for many young and ambitious students fortunate enough to attend, the overwhelming majority of peasants, indigenous peoples, and other marginal groups were forced to transition from childhood directly to adulthood as they entered the labor market at a very early age.[52] This exclusion from the transitional period of youth was also true for young women, even of the more affluent classes, who were expected to pass directly from childhood to marriage. In fact, it would not be until 1882, a year after Gabino Barreda had died, that Matilde Montoya would enroll as the first female student of the ENP.[53] Thus, during the so-called golden age of the ENP, young females did not experience "youth" as it was being defined inside the Preparatoria. Even after the enrollment of Montoya, the disproportionate numbers of men versus women attending the ENP continued to be the norm for decades. In 1909, for example, out of a total population of close to one thousand preparatorianos, only thirty-five were female.[54] The world of the ENP was primarily a male-centered one, and it would be the male students who took their unique constructions of youth publicly beyond the confines of the Preparatoria proper.

In sum, the establishment of the ENP (and other schools) with revised curricula and with academic societies, social clubs, and athletic organizations endorsed by the burgeoning middle classes opened up new spaces in which young male students learned the language of the state and practiced the skills necessary to assume their positions in the governing elite. Liberalism, secularism, and nationalism became conjoined in the developing vision of a collective youth.

Yet the construction of youth and citizenship through formal higher education was by no means without complication for its sponsors. These new spaces also offered students an unprecedented number of opportunities for leisure time

and for ways of demonstrating independence from their elders. This situation led to the emergence of a rebellious subculture of youth that conflicted not only with the model of appropriate youthful behavior championed by the liberal state, but also with the traditional values from a colonial past preferred by the more conservative representatives of the *gente decente* (educated and cultured people).

## MAKING SENSE OF *POLLOS*, *PERROS PREPARATORIANOS*, *AND EXTERNOS*: THE REBELLIOUS SUBCULTURE OF YOUTH AND PUBLIC OUTRAGE

Not all students behaved according to the ideal images of youth promoted by the liberal state and positivist founders of the ENP. In fact, as one famous novelist of the time, José T. de Cuellar, reminded his readers, youth rebelliousness was well known at the time. Cuellar depicted this phenomenon humorously with the image of *pollos*, noting that "bipeds between the ages of 12 and 18" had become infamous in urban areas for their "immorality and bad [public] behavior."[55] But he also warns his readers that "pollos" were not mere representations of his own anxieties, but also those of the gente decente who had expressed outrage at the foul language (generally identified with the lower classes) and exaggerated fashions favored by the pollos. Pollos developed their own distinct language, dress, walk, dances, and other artistic creations to express their unique interpretation of the new norms handed to them and to articulate their defiance of those norms. In creating their own subculture they resisted the parent culture of the gente decente.

Examples of the colorful lingo used by pollos give an indication of the subculture they were creating. It includes words like "*meco*" to describe a person who, presumably unlike themselves, appeared deprived and seemingly ignorant of what modernity had to offer. Pollos gathered together in places they called "*chorchas*" to escape from the dreary adult world. A "*pico largo*" (long peak) referred to those intrepid pollos who enjoyed the company of a married woman without her husband ever finding out. A "*fósil*" (fossil) was one who extended their student status for an undetermined number of years without necessarily showing interest in receiving a degree. A polla who was "*media bolina*" (half-sunk) was one who was a bit tipsy after consuming a couple of glasses of wine. And bohemian students became infamous for regularly getting "*grifo*" (high) on "*mota*" (marihuana).[56]

Pollos expressed their disregard of conventional mores through their clothing as well. In her pioneering study of youth during the Porfiriato, Mexican historian Raquel Barceló facetiously points out that, regardless of their differences, pollos had at least two characteristic traits in common: "questions about their uncertain destiny" and "a good tailor."[57] The famous cartoonist José María


Figure 1: José María Villasana, *El Pollo*, in *México y sus Costumbres* (Mexico City: E.L. Gallo T.E. Cumplido, 1872), in the author's personal collection.

Villasana illustrates the manner in which pollos used fashion to advertise themselves as mature individuals who differed not only from the "dismal" adult population but also from the "industrious" young man school authorities hoped would graduate from the Preparatoria (fig. 1). The frockcoat was part of the pollo's unofficial uniform, and they made it a point to wear them with English hats rather than with the French hats favored by adults.

The fashions adopted by pollos challenged conventional cultured and gendered understandings of male dress appropriate for the middle class. Pollos frequently caught the eyes of foreigners visiting Mexico for their habits of dressing in what was interpreted as "exaggerated" and often "feminine" styles. Tourists often commented, for example, on the unusual long polished nails of these pollos, as well as on their glittered curled mustaches, blushed cheeks, tight pants, and yellow shoes. Similarly, onlookers were often taken aback by the use of brightly colored ties, Scottish plaid pants, patent leather boots, and velvet buckles.[58]

Documentation describing young female *pollas* during this period is relatively slim.[59] But the little that exists indicates that particular styles of dress that ran counter to standards for gente decentes were noted as well. For example, Cuellar provides this humorous warning about *pollas trempraneras*, or "precocious young women":

| | |
|---|---|
| *Es una polla* | [She] is a [young] polla |
| *de diez y siete,* | of seventeen, |
| *gallarda moza* | a fine looking young lady |
| *de gran castaña,* | with brown eyes, |
| *de falda angosta,* | a tight skirt, |
| *de altos tacones,* | high heels, |
| *cara de rosa,* | [and] rosy cheeks, |
| *muy picaresca,* | [she is] so picaresque, |
| *muy primorosa* | so exquisite, |
| *esclava siempre* | always a slave |
| *de última moda; [ . . . ].* | of the latest fashion; [ . . . ]. |
| | |
| *¡Mucho cuidado con estas pollas!* | I must warn you about these pollas! |
| *Son . . . trempraneras,* | They are . . . precocious, |
| *son . . . ¡primorosas!* | they are . . . exquisite! [60] |

These precocious, fast-paced young women apparently altered otherwise "normal garments" to make them more seductive, thereby rejecting the rigid rules of appropriate female behavior. Clothing was not the only accessory manipulated by young females to express their sense of self and their dislike of social norms. As historian William Beezley has documented, many young señoritas also rode newly available bicycles so as to challenge notions of acceptable feminine conduct and experience a freer life. This occurred in clear violation of the fundamental rule that señoritas must be accompanied by chaperones.[61]

The dances embraced by young pollos and pollas also crossed boundaries and ventured into styles deemed "primitive" and "menacing" to Porfirian society (fig. 2). In the "Apache polka," the male dancer glares lustfully at the provocatively bent torso of his female partner, while the "vampire waltz" depicts the female partner in an even more provocative pose, wrapping herself snakelike around the clutching embrace of her male partner.

A passage written in *El Imparcial* in 1903 provides a glimpse into the way primitivism, racism, and nativism combined to chastise pollo subculture. The journalist, reflecting the concerns of fellow older liberals, condemns the developing "Americanization" of Mexico's youth. In the xenophobic language of this time, he describes the "truth" about the Cake Walk:

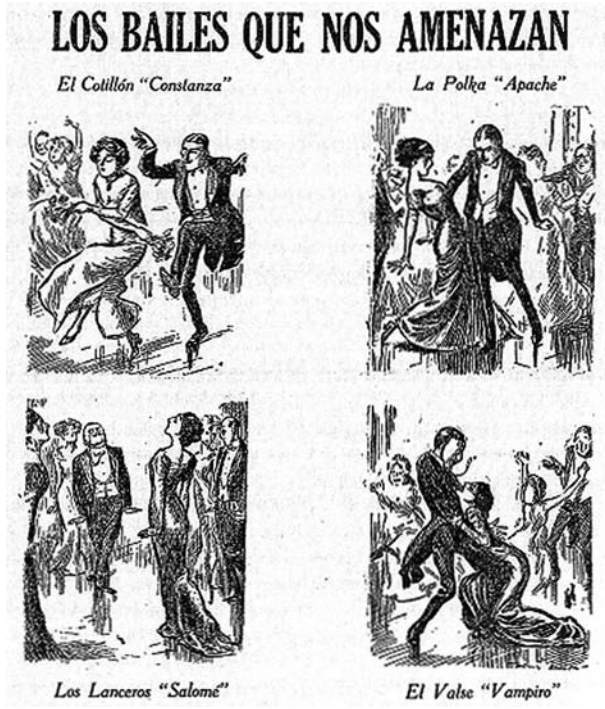


Figure 2: Los Bailes que Amenazan, *in El Heraldo*. *El Periódico del siglo XX*, May 20, 1910. Courtesy of Clementina Díaz y de Ovando.

> For those of us who have become wary of the Americanization of Europe, there is no greater evidence than the presence of the vulgar Negro dance—the Cake Walk—in the most distinguished dance halls of Paris. Indeed, this dance, which has little or no human values at all, has been exhibited more than once in these halls, where the Ballroom dances and [Spanish] Rigodones, had been the norm. In Mexico, considering our mimicking nature, we became familiar with this dance after a group of six mulattoes, known as Los Tordos, performed it for the very first time in the Orrin Circus.

Referring to the engraving in figure 3, he then goes on to say,

> [The latest imitations of this dance were recently witnessed] during a Student Festival of the Preparatoria, where a young couple of students became the subject of ridicule as they attempted to perform the dance . . . With the intention of providing our readers with a sample of this dance, we have reproduced here two contrasting engravings. [The engraving on your left] represents the ["vulgar"] dance performed by the Negroes [in the United States and now our students here in Mexico. In contrast, the engrav-

Figure 3: Comparison between the "Cake walk" and "Boston" dances, in *El Imparcial. Diario de la mañana*, April 26, 1903. Courtesy of Clementina Díaz y de Ovando.

> ing on your right] illustrates the Boston dance [performed by] our [decent] ladies and gentlemen (fig. 3).[62]

In addition to finding fault with pollo dancing compared to that of decent ladies and gentlemen, critics also saw their behavior as self-indulgent departures from a model of a "dignified" working class. Contrasting the acceptable dances of the working class with those of pollos, the writer Enrique Chávarri, signed with his famous pseudonym, "El Juvenal," describes a dance organized by the *Gran Círculo de Obreros* (Grand Circle of Workers):

> Here, we do not see the starchy pollo, pretentious and conceited, [as always]. [Instead], we see the happy and dignified working man, forgetting [if at least momentarily,] his hard day of work. Happily enjoying the fruits of our society, we can see that the Mexican working man has experienced a complete transformation of his life.[63]

Thus, while representatives of the liberal state did not expect the young men of the ENP to fill the workman's shoes of the laboring class, they nevertheless expected young men to retain the ethic of hard work. As noted earlier, the state had hoped that an encyclopedic knowledge of the sciences would propel the nation towards "Order," "Liberty," and eventually "Progress." Many students who attended the Preparatoria certainly embraced this motto, moved up the political ladder, and became key supporters of the Porfirian elite. In many cases, however, the behavior of students fell far short of this ideal in more than just

the style of their dances. This was the case of the *perros preparatorianos* and the *externos*. In comparison to the bohemian pollos, these young men proved to be far more disruptive to the idealized images of youth celebrated by the new generation of "men of honor" who had come of age during the North American and French invasions and who were now in charge of the ENP.

### *Youth Going to the Dogs: Los Perros Prepatorianos and Externos*

Historian Moisés González Navarro remarked nostalgically that "in the old days [young men] would cede the sidewalks and offer their seats to women and the elderly; but today's youth is distinguished by its vulgar language [*lenguaje de torero*, generally associated with the lower classes], rough games, their uncontrollable bad habits, [and] their outrageous behavior in the Theaters and public reunions." González Navarro noted in particular the objectionable type of humor favored by youth: "Students are especially recognized by their coarse, insulting and indecent jokes."[64]

Echoing the words of González Navarro, school authorities pointedly condemned what they called the "excessive fun" that preparatorianos enjoyed after school. Besides repeated references to the "inappropriate" dancing noted earlier, they also took notice of the students' increasing lack of interest in their studies as a result of their new infatuation with games (athletic and otherwise). In 1905, for example, a group of teachers passed a new decree that limited sport activities to holidays and weekends until students demonstrated a comparable level of interest in science. That same year, the director of the ENP, Manuel Flores, had apparently become so outraged by student "*relajo*" (fun) that he restricted all forms of recreational activities to one specific time and area of the school.[65]

The gente decente specifically condemned the youthful exuberance of students in public. Prepatorianos played practical jokes on ordinary bystanders outside the school, and many residents avoided the entrance to the ENP altogether during school hours.[66] City authorities responded to the complaints of the gente decente by giving the police department specific instructions to protect young women from the students who had become infamous for harassing women in public.[67] Many ambivalently lamented that sections of public parks, bullfighting rings, auditoriums, cafés, and theaters as well as dance halls had become noticeable hangouts for students.[68] But picnics, parties, receptions, *estudiantinas* (student music festivals), *Kermesses* (fairs, usually in the form of charity events), and excursions organized by the schools served to increase student contact with the general public as well. For preparatorianos, the opening of these spaces also gave them the chance to interact with students from other schools. At the famous Abreu Theater, for example, preparatorianos showed off their latest clothes from

Europe, distinguished themselves from older liberals, and met students from other international schools. In the Pane Swimming Pool, Chapultepec Park, and the Ciudadela Plaza, preparatorianos rented bicycles and skates to meet girls, had secret and romantic rendezvous, played the newest sports (such as baseball), gossiped about the latest pranks played in school, and planned their next *pinta* ("ditching day"), when a group of students got together to miss school.[69]

When it came to pintas, practical jokes, and "wasting time," one group of students, "*los perros preparatorianos*" ("the school dogs," as they called themselves), stood out in particular. According to one founder, Luis Cabrera,[70] one of the reasons this group took up the name "dogs" was to mock the serious way in which adults defined proper behavior. These adults disapproved of their practical jokes and called them "*escuincles*" ("brats").[71] The perros argued that, unlike adults who were bound by social and moral restrictions, "being young" gave them license to play their *perradas* (pranks) and enjoy engaging in a bohemian, illegal lifestyle that included getting involved with married women, consuming cheap alcoholic beverages associated with the lower classes, and taking a considerable amount of drugs.

According to Cabrera, another reason why this group of preparatorianos decided to use the term "perros" was because it proved to be a productive metaphor for classifying the many sorts of (male) students who attended the ENP during this time. The obsession with "hunting" women and getting intoxicated was well represented in this classificatory scheme:

> The hound-dogs constitute the majority of us. [A]fter all, to live in modern Mexico today, one has to have the sharpest sense of smell and intelligence. We [also] have good bloodhounds, not so much for finding criminals; but rather, for seeking a decent job, a [government] commission, or a business transaction to make ends meet . . . There are also sample dogs that freeze when they sniff a [good opportunity]: with their snouts pointing to the front, their tails hanging back, and one of their legs lifted, just in case [they decide to make a move]. Then there are the dogs that run all day long behind a hare, even though most of the times they always fail to [catch up with her]. A breed that is also very common among us is the fox hunter. [Today] they are having a more difficult time hunting foxes because of the high prices of the mezcal and imported wines . . . We also have furry dogs that refuse to comb their hair as well as the junky dogs that [frequently] get high for the most insignificant of reasons. [But] the most abundant breed [of dogs] among us are the skirt-chasers, that is, those [dogs] that are very fond of women. From this breed, the most notable are the Chihuahuas. [72]

Within Cabrera's list of dogs lies evidence that student subculture was heterogeneous, with important differences that existed among the preparatorianos in

terms of social interests and economic ambitions, as well as class, region of origin, physical appearance, and other factors. Cabrera facetiously portrays the persistent tensions between the "well-to-do dogs," the less fortunate "sample" and "grimy" dogs, and the self-indulgent "skirt-chasers" and "drug-taking" dogs.

Such distinctions created ill feelings which often resulted in violence. Memoirs and newspaper articles reveal, for example, that student brawls were common at the ENP. The causes of fights were typically regional, class, or academic differences. Two students recalled that preparatorianos were divided into various cliques who often used their fists to settle disputes.[73] At the time the ENP was founded, for example, fights between students nicknamed *lacayos* (servants), *cocheros* (coachmen), *gañanes* (farmers), *albañiles* (masons), and *mulas* (mules) were frequent.[74] In addition, there was trouble between *provincianos* (students who came from outside Mexico City, e.g., the *chihuahueños*) and *capitalinos* (natives of Mexico City), who often did not share the same values.[75] But the most physical confrontations occurred between boarding students (*internos*) and those who lived outside the school grounds (*externos*), partly as a result of class differences.[76]

The students who lived outside the schools (externos) seemingly enjoyed the greatest freedom and thus frequently became regular subjects of criticism in the press. Apparently, what was particularly shocking to respectable society about these youngsters was their open defiance of rigid class divisions. Unlike the majority of well-to-do students, these bohemian young students chose to live among the poor sectors of society in cheap *vecindades* or tenement houses.[77] As vividly captured in his autobiographical novel, Heriberto Frias (1908) explains that, unlike the authoritarian halls of the *Internado* (boarding school), these vecindades gave students the freedom to study during late hours of the night, organize some of Mexico's wildest *parrandas* (parties), visit the infamous *pulquerías*,[78] and participate in "orgies" with prostitutes.[79]

In short, while most preparatorianos entered the ENP with the hope of moving up the social and political ladder, not all achieved this goal. But more revealing, some students openly rejected the ideal image of the preparatorianos promoted by school officials altogether. This was the case of the perros preparatorianos and the externos, who dared to dress and act inappropriately outside school; drink in public; take drugs; and celebrate sexual promiscuity with *gatas* (servant women usually born in the provinces), *zorras* (prostitutes), and married women. Moreover, they actively embraced a defiant label that opposed the "industrious" image promoted by the state and challenged rigid class divisions by moving to cheap tenement houses. In this sense, a late nineteenth-century youth subculture emerged that wholeheartedly rejected adult tutelage as well

as the idealized notions of modernity and progress promoted by the state and opposed by the most conservative representatives of the gente decente.

### *Making Sense of the Diverse Expressions of Youth Culture*

Criminologists and public health officials offered various explanations for the unruliness of young people. Basing their claims on scientific theories of the day, most argued that deviance and sexual promiscuity went hand in hand with the "cultural backwardness" and economically poor environments that belonged to "inferior races."[80] Newspaper coverage of crimes generally agreed.[81] Nonetheless, to many intellectuals and public commentators, the students' endorsement of lower-class attitudes was extremely puzzling. Cuellar's 1871 novel *Ensalda de Pollos* provides a good account of how the general public sought to make sense of the youth of the time.

The reasons given in this novel for why young people had become "so immoral" were as varied as the classification Cuellar offers of the different pollos. "The *pollo fino* [refined pollo]," he humorously notes, "was the son of a very religious hen and a fighting cock. [He] is idle, useless, and [naturally] corrupted because of his poverty." The *pollo callejero* (street-pollo) was a "bastard biped, or rather one who has been [abandoned] by his mother. [He] is the son of reformists, *tribunos* [champions of the people], heroes, bullies, and skeptics, who [like to hide behind the flag of Liberalism]." There was also the *pollo ronco* (rough pollo), "belonging to the same specie as the street pollo . . . [His] preponderance is only equaled by his ability to plagiarize." Finally, there was the *pollo tempranero* (precocious) who shared "the qualities of all of the pollos mentioned above. [But he distinguishes himself as the most original.] Being the youngest of all, he ends up with the most vices and a worn out heart."[82]

According to Cuellar, a self-described recorder of the moral concerns of the average person, youth rebelliousness had its roots in several factors. Like the criminologists of the time, Cuellar believed that poverty was partly to blame. However, Cuellar's novel suggests that additionally parents had become "too soft" and needed to return to "more disciplined child-rearing" at home. Moreover, for both the press and for Cuellar, students suffered from the "social concussion" felt in daily life in the cities due to the rapid transition to modernity.[83] He also pointed to the negative influence of foreigners, represented by the "invading torrent of Parisian prostitution."[84] As noted above, for others, the foreign influence that threatened Mexican culture was represented by new American vogues (such as the scandalous Cake Walk).

Yet, for the nation's more conservative intellectuals and public figures, it was precisely the positivist (read foreign) education of the Escuela Nacional

Preparatoria that explained the ruthless and immoral attitude of many young people. In particular, they condemned the encyclopedic knowledge of the sciences endorsed by the ENP in search of cosmopolitan notions of progress and modernity and instead called for the adoption of a more humanistic school curriculum. Prominent writer and once-strong supporter of liberal education Juan A. Mateos, for example, adopted a more conservative position and described the ENP as the "source of terrible immorality." Echoing the voice of many, he referred to the Preparatoria as "a place, which had prostituted the youth" and called the teachings of Comtean positivism "an insult to civilization." Above all, he depicted the ENP as "a serious danger for the future [of Mexico]" and pledged authorities to return to a more humanistic education: "We do not want to create a society of monks, but to educate our youth with a strong background in morality." [85] The still-influential voice of the Catholic Church agreed and similarly lamented that "[unless the ENP abandons its positivist curriculum, Mexico's] youth is doomed for a future of great misery and demoralization."[86] State officials were concerned that the behavior of the preparatorianos was disrupting their positivist goals. But the more conservative voices of the gente decente interpreted this behavior differently, suggesting that the defiant attitude of the preparatorianos should not be interpreted as a deviation from a liberal ideal, but rather as an inevitable bad result from a *foreign* educational philosophy that had dismissed religious and humanistic values. In disagreement with Gabino Barreda's goals of the ENP, Mexico's conservative intellectuals and public figures argued that only a return to traditional values and a more authoritarian response to the rebellious subculture of youth would give rise to a new generation of Mexicans who at last would transform Mexico from a nation historically cursed with revolutions into one of evolution.

## ORGANIZING RESISTANCE: THE "FIRST UNIFIED STUDENT PROTEST"

Lying beneath the often amusing depictions of pollos and perros preparatorianos is an undercurrent of great anxiety. The complex relationship between economic and political uncertainty, hedonistic pleasure, leisure, and consumption generated doubt in the lives of young students, but also in the reactions of those who supported positivism as well as among conservative critics of the liberal state. As state authorities and conservative voices of the gente decente attempted to quell the unruliness of the students, the complex forces that were driving youth rebelliousness eventually took on a dimension of unified political protest.

At the ENP, students who spent too much time in the pursuit of *relajo* (fun)—or, worse yet, those who dared to defy school authorities or engage in

illicit behavior—usually faced punishments in the form of threats, public humiliation, or physical retribution. A verbal warning was sufficient to cow a majority of students. School officials knew that most of the students at the *Internado* (the boarding school) were fearful of losing their scholarships and subsidized meals and how parents who learned of their son's misconduct would react. Schools used public humiliation as a particularly effective form of discipline. A common punishment of this sort included having to wear a sign on one's chest for hours while standing in front of the classroom. Internos who dared to defy the authority of the prefects, were frequently involved in fights, or engaged in "inappropriate" sexual acts with other students received more severe punishments. Retribution for such misdeeds included spending the night locked up inside the *calabozo* (cell) without dinner, or even expulsion.[87]

From the perspective of the students, the disciplinary measures taken by school authorities ironically were at odds with the national project of modernity that the positivists were trying to implement in the schools. In particular, students were appalled by the archaic institution of the Internado, and they demanded its abolishment. They argued that the methods of disciplining students at the Internado, such as the use of the calabozo, belonged to the "Colonial past." Above all, these students were angry that school authorities could expel students who dared to voice any sort of disapproval or dissatisfaction. Significantly, students began to demand a greater sense of autonomy through a collective voice frequently referred to as *el estudiantado*—the student class.

In 1875, student unhappiness came to a head in what some scholars have labeled "the first unified student protest of modern Mexico."[88] This protest started in the National Medical School when a small group of students walked out of their classroom to protest the authoritarian methods of Professor Rafael Lavista. The response of the school director was to expel the young "troublemakers," which merely served to increase student discontent. In less than a month, the outcry against authoritarianism gave way to an even louder demand for *Universidad Libre,* or an autonomous university, which was presented formally by a central committee that claimed to represent eight hundred students from different schools, including a significant proportion of preparatorianos.

Students who participated in the protest contended that the state had become too involved in student affairs, and they demanded greater freedom in their academic and social lives. In addition, students called for an end to the authoritarian regime inside the schools, claiming that young people were also protected by constitutional rights and therefore should not be subjected to public humiliation and physical punishment. Taking in consideration the concerns of the students who had been suspended, the Central Committee also asked

for the abolishment of all the Internados. More progressive students advocated female suffrage and the need to create an alliance with the working class.

The student protest ended after school authorities announced that those students who had been expelled could return to the school; moreover, the authorities promised that if the students ended their strike they would study the grievances that had been presented by the Central Committee. For the student leaders, these public announcements represented a great victory. After all, they had no reason to doubt that the school authorities would keep their word. The Central Committee decided to accept these conditions in order to demonstrate to those following the protest that they had behaved in a prudent and civilized fashion. An overwhelming majority of teachers and public officials agreed with the students and praised their protest as a great victory. In particular, they commended the students for having organized public teaching sessions in the Alameda Park during their strike to educate the less-privileged majority.

The press also cast the student protest in a generally favorable but paternalistic light. The liberal and highly popular newspaper *La Orquesta*, for example, regarded the protest as somewhat innocuous and characterized student leaders as "children" (fig. 4). With the various professional schools represented by banners in the background, student "children," watching intently, surround their student representatives, who playfully bat a "ball" (the Mexican state) back and forth. The scene suggests a weak central government subject to manipulation, bandied about in the way acquiescent parents are subject to the whims of their mischievous children.[89]

However, the 1875 student strike was no child's game. The demand for greater academic freedom represented an important precursor to the call for university autonomy that would be voiced in the student protest of 1929.[90] Collective efforts on the part of the students to create an alliance with the working class would reemerge throughout the twentieth century.[91] In addition, the 1875 protesters were the first to create a democratically elected student body organization, the Central Committee. Years later those in favor of Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada would use similar platforms to launch their verbal attacks against the *Porfiristas* (supporters of Porfirio Díaz).[92] Yet the 1875 student strike did not aim to disrupt the goals of "order, progress, and modernity" that the liberal state championed. On the contrary, as future "men of honor" the student strikers aimed to destroy the archaic institutions and traditional values they argued Mexico had inherited from a colonial past, including not only the Internado, but more importantly, the authoritarian reactions that influential representatives of the gente decente had voiced to condemn Mexico's burgeoning youth culture. Above all, the collective voice of students demanded a greater sense of autonomy in their academic and social lives. In so doing,


Figure 4: Huelga Estudiantil, in La Orquesta, May 12, 1875. Courtesy of Clementina Díaz y de Ovando.

"youth" emerged as a distinctive political category integral to the consolidation of the nation-state that characterized this period.

## CONCLUSION

In the late nineteenth century the collective idea of "youth" first emerged in Mexico as a distinctively new social and political category. In this article I have traced how the centralization of state power; the concerted effort by the governing elite to further homogenize the nation; the state's much stronger and active role in education; the promotion of Comtean positivism in the classrooms; and the influence of the latest Euro-American fashions, sports, and recreational activities all contributed to the emergence of youth culture during this time. Although references to young people can be traced back to the colonial period, it was only after Mexico consolidated the nation-state following the defeat of the French in 1867 that a new generation of liberals recognized "youth" as a "new social type." For the new governing elite, the ideal image of youth was embodied especially by the small minority of cultured students, such as the preparatorianos. These early celebratory images bespoke the transformative nature of the modern state.

Yet the original "men of honor" model for the architects of the future was exceptionally exclusive and therefore ultimately unsustainable. Only (male) preparatorianos, wealthy young ladies (señoritas), and some older students from the professional schools were advanced by authorities as representatives of the version of modernity the elite were trying to effect. Young students from

the Preparatoria, however, were not a homogenous group. As the restored nation of Mexico tried to find its independent course through notions of liberalism and Comtean positivism, different notions of youth were imagined, enacted, further defined, and contested. Such notions of youth included versions that directly challenged received models through the creation of an innovative style, the appropriation of new spaces, and the celebration of an illicit bohemian lifestyle, all of which generated a highly negative public reaction. In short, a unique subculture took hold despite opposition.

When many prepatorianos challenged or contested official ideology, state authority as well as their conservative critics presumed that either something was inherently wrong with this bohemian "pollo" subculture, or simply that they were escuincles (bratty kids) who refused to grow up. This was especially the case for the "perros" preparatorianos, the externos, and the students who participated in the 1875 student protest.

However, the 1875 student protest was no "child's game." Preparatorianos managed to consolidate their interests with those of older students from the professional schools to successfully bring about the nation's "first unified student protest." Like the liberal "men of honor" who came of age in the aftermath of the U.S.-Mexican War and the French invasion, this young generation of students was appalled with what they viewed as the archaic institutions and authoritarian measures inherited from the colonial past. Yet, departing from their liberal elders, student protesters recognized that breaking from the colonial past could only be achieved with the freedom, vigor, and insight that would come through a greater sense of their own autonomy. Their collective voice, represented in a new term for their collectivity, *el estudiantado*, would eventually mature in the following decades to contest and to negotiate with both the Porfirian and the revolutionary state. At the time the students could not foresee the manner in which their collegiate experiences and struggles would prove to be a training ground, ultimately enabling them to enter into the very institutions against which they had been butting heads.

## NOTES

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1. Giovanni Levi and Jean-Claude Schmitt, *A History of Young People in the West. Volume One: Ancient and Medieval Rites of Passage*, trans. Camille Nash (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1997), 1–2. For a helpful discussion of the concept of youth as a historical construct, see Susan B. Whitney, *Mobilizing Youth. Communists and Catholics in Interwar France* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 8–9. In addition to Levi and Schmitt's excellent collection, see

also Michael Mitterauer, *A History of Youth*, trans. Graeme Dunphy (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1993) and John R. Gillis, *Youth and History. Tradition and Change in European Age Relations, 1770-Present* (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

2. See, for example, Sabina Loriga, "The Military Experience"; Michelle Perrot, "Worker Youth: From the Workshop to the Factory"; and Jean-Claude Caron, "Young People in School: Middle and High School Students in France and Europe," in Levi and Schmitt, *A History of Young People in the West*, 11–36, 66–116, and 117–173, respectively.

3. See, for example, the contemporary descriptions of urban Mexico in the various collections of writings by José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi and Guillermo Prieto. See also Marcos Arróniz, *Manual del Viajero en Méjico* (Paris: Librería de Rosa y Bouret, 1858); Nemesio García Naranjo, *Recuerdos de Nemesio García Naranjo. Segundo tomo: Recuerdos del Colegio Civil* (Monterrey: El Porvenir, n.d.); Luis González Obregón, *Las Calles de México. Vidas y costumbres de otros tiempos* (México: Manuel León Sánchez, 1927); Antonio Rubial García, *La plaza, el palacio y el convento* (México: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura, 1998); and Juan Pedro Viqueira Albán, *Propriety and permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico*, trans. Sonya Lipsett-Rivera and Sergio Rivera Ayala (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1999).

4. I agree with Mexican historian Raquel Barceló, who also traces the emergence of youth in Mexico to the late nineteenth century. Others, such as historian Gerardo Necoechea Gracia, rather point to the 1920s. See "El muro del silencio. Los jóvenes de la burguesía porfiriana" and "Los Jóvenes a la vuelta del siglo," in José A. Pérez Islas et al., *Historias de los Jóvenes en México: Su presencia en el siglo XX* (México: IMJ, 2004).

5. Pablo Piccato, *The Tyranny of Opinion. Honor in the Construction of the Mexican Public Sphere* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 2 and Claudio Lomnitz, *Deep Mexico Silent Mexico: An Anthropology of Nationalism* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 87–88.

6. The liberal republic under the leadership of Benito Juárez is credited for having consolidated the victory of the principles of the constitution of 1857. As I will show in this essay, the "Restoration" (1867–1876) was marked by peace and tolerance towards the conservatives that allowed Mexico to consolidate the nation-state. Subsequently, the *Porfiriato* (1876–1910) refers to the period under President Porfirio Díaz, characterized by further expansion of the state as well as of the economy at the expense of a more authoritarian leadership.

7. Octavio Paz, *The Labyrinth of Solitude*, trans. Lysander Kaup et al. (New York: Grove Press, 1985), 125–26.

8. A prime example is former President Antonio López de Santa Anna (1794–1876), the leader who lost more than half of Mexico's territory to the United States.

9. Piccato, *The Tyranny of Opinion*, 2–3.

10. In "[Justo] Sierra's admiring biography [of Benito Juárez]" writes historian Pablo Piccato, "Juárez' solemn image conveyed self-control and honesty and incarnated the 'mysterious prestige of law.'" Piccato, *The Tyranny of Opinion*, 5.

11. Piccato, *The Tyranny of Opinion*, 5.

12. Charles A. Hale, *The Transformation of Liberalism in Late Nineteenth Century Mexico* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 3–4.

13. Luisa Passerini, "Youth as a Metaphor for Social Change: Fascist Italy and America in the 1950s," in Levi and Schmitt, *A History of Young People in the West*, 281–340 and Anne E. Gorsuch, *Youth in Revolutionary Russia. Enthusiasts, Bohemians, Delinquents* (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 2000).

14. Jürgen Reulecke, "The Battle for the Young: Mobilizing Young People in Wilhelmine Germany," in *Generations in Conflict. Youth Revolt and Generation Formation in Germany, 1700–1968*, ed. Mark Roseman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 92–104.

15. Moises González Navarro, *Historia Moderna de México: El Porfiriato, La Vida Social* (México: Editorial Hermes, 1957), 529–690.

16. The best example of these celebratory essays is José Enrique Rodó, *Ariel* (1900) (Madrid: Cátedra, 2000). See also Pedro Enríquez Ureña, "La Obra de José Enrique Rodó," in Juan Hernández Luna, *Conferencias del Ateneo de la Juventud* (México: Nueva Biblioteca, 1962), 57–68; José Vasconcelos, *Ulises Criollo. La vida del autor escrita por él mismo* (México: Ediciones Botas, 1945); José Ingenieros, *El Hombre Mediocre* (1913) (Buenos Aires: Editorial Losada, 1961); Manuel Ugarte, *El Destino de un Continente* (Madrid: Editorial Mundo Latino, 1923); and José Carlos Mariátegui, "La Reforma Universitaria" (1923) in *Siete Ensayos de interpretación de la realidad peruana* (Caracas: Biblioteca Ayacucho, 1979).

17. The most emblematic examples of these intellectuals include José Vasconcelos, Antonio Caso, and Pedro Henríquez Ureña in Mexico; José Ingenieros and Manuel Ugarte in Argentina; and José Carlos Mariátegui in Peru.

18. See for example Richard J. Walker, *Student Politics in Argentina. The University Reform and Its Effects, 1918–1964* (New York: Basic Books, 1968); Frank Bonilla and Myron Glazer, *Student Politics in Chile* (New York: Basic Books, 1970); Ciriaco Pacheco Calvo, *La organización estudiantil en México* (Sinaloa: Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, 1980); Renate Marsiske, "Clases medias, universidades y movimientos estudiantiles en América Latina (1910–1930)," in *Movimientos estudiantiles en la historia de América Latina,* vol. 1, ed. Renate Marsiske (México: UNAM, 1999); and Javier Mendoza Rojas, *Los conflictos de la UNAM en el siglo XX* (México: UNAM, 2001).

19. Carles Feixa Pampols and Yanko González Cangas, "The Socio-Cultural Construction of Youth in Latin America: Achievements and Failures," in *Contemporary Youth Research. Local Expressions and Global Connections*, eds. Helena Helve and Gunilla Holm (England: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), 39.

20. The most emblematic examples include the work of the Argentinean psychologist Aníbal Ponce: *Sociología de la adolescencia* (1938) and *Ambición y angustia de los adolescentes* (1939). Feixa and González, "The Socio-Cultural Construction of Youth in Latin America, 39–40.

21. Feixa and González, "The Socio-Cultural Construction of Youth in Latin America, 39–40.

22. See, for example, Carles Feixa, *El reloj de arena. Culturas juveniles en México* (México: Jóvenes, 1988). For specific references to subcultural youth studies, see *The Subcultures Reader*, eds. Ken Gelder and Sarah Thornton (London: Routledge, 1997), 83-89.

23. Enrique Marroquín, *La contracultura como protesta. Análisis de un fenómeno juvenil* (México: Editorial J. Mortiz, 1975).

24. See, for example, Jorge García Robles et al., *¿Qué transa con las bandas?* (México: Editorial Posada, 1985); Francisco A. Gómezjara, *Las bandas en tiempos de crisis* (México: Edición Nueva Sociológica, 1987); and Rosana Reguillo Cruz, *En la calle otra vez. Las*

*bandas: Identidad urbana y usos de comunicación* (México: ITESO, 1991). See also the more recent Rogelio Marcial, *La banda rifa: vida cotidiana de grupos juveniles de esquina en Zamora, Michoacán* (México: Colegio de Michoacán, 1997) and José Manuel Valenzuela Arce, *Vida de barro duro. Cultura popular juvenil y graffiti* (Guadalajara: Universidad de Guadalajara, 1997).

25. Particularly influential among historians have been the collection of writings by Parmenides García Saldaña (*Pasto Verde* [México: Diógenes, 1968]; *El Rey Criollo* [México: Diógenes, 1970]; and *En ruta de la onda* [México: Diógenes, 1972]) and José Agustín (*El rock de la cárcel* [México: Editores Mexicanos Unidos, 1986] and *La contracultura en México: La historia y el significado de los rebeldes sin causa, los jipitecas, los punks y las bandas* [México: Grijalbo, 1996]). The best example is Eric Zolov's *Refried Elvis. The Rise of the Mexican Counterculture* (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1999), which draws from the accounts of these key countercultural figures, traces the evolution of rock and roll music, and documents the idiosyncrasies of the hippie movement to historicize the rise of Mexico's counterculture during the 1960s.

26. For an overview of the historiography on student activism with particular emphasis on the 1968 student movement, see Vania Markarian, "El movimiento estudiantil mexicano de 1968. Treinta años de debates públicos," *Anuario de Espacios Urbanos, Historia, Cultura, Diseño* (2001) For a more expansive history of student activism that includes Mexico's redefinition of youth during the Cold War, see Jaime Pensado, "Political Violence and Student Culture in Mexico: The Consolidation of *Porrismo* during the 1950s and 1960s" (PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 2008).

27. A few historians are now starting to study youth subcultures in Mexico prior to the 1950s. See, for example, the collection of essays in Pérez Islas et al., *Historias de los Jóvenes en México*; Pensado, "Political Violence and Student Culture in Mexico," chapter 2; Joanne Hershfield, *Imagining la Chica Moderna. Women, Nation, and Visual Culture in Mexico, 1917–1936* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); and Laura Isabel Serna, "'We're Going Yankee': American Movies, Mexican Nationalism, Transnational Cinema, 1917–1935" (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2006). See also Feixa, *El reloj de arena* and Bradley A. Levinson, "'Una etapa siempre difícil': Concepts of Adolescence and Secondary Education in Mexico," *Comparative Education Review* 43, no. 2 (May 1999): 129–61.

28. See, for example, Andrew J. Kirkendall, *Class Mates: Male Student Culture and the Making of a Political Class in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002).

29. Josefina Vázquez, *Nacionalismo y educación en México* (México: El Colegio de México, 1970), 8; Mary Kay Vaughan, *The State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico, 1880–1928* (Dekalb: North Illinois University Press, 1982), 14; "La prensa durante la época," in Meneses Morales, *Tendencias educativas oficiales en México, 1821–1911* (México: Centro de Estudios Educativos, 1998), 259–64; and Piccato, *The Tyranny of Opinion,* 135.

30. Hale, *The Transformation of Liberalism,* 145–46; Dorothy Tanck de Estrada, "Tensión en la Torre de Marfil. La Educación en la Segunda Mitad del Siglo XVIII Mexicano," in *Ensayos sobre la historia de la educación en México*, eds. Josefina Zoroida Vázquez et al. (México: El Colegio de México, 1981), 81; and "Enseñanza y nacionalismo intelectual al final de la colonia," in *Ideas, valores y tradiciones: Ensayos sobre historia de la educación en México*, ed. Mílada Bazant (México: El Colegio Mexiquense, A. C., 1996).

31. Tanck de Estrada, "Tensión en la Torre de Marfil" and "Enseñanza y nacionalismo intellectual al final de la Colonia," in *Ideas, valores y tradiciones*.

32. Anne Staples, "Un enfoque diferente: una educación republicana," in *Ideas, valores y tradiciones*, 102.

33. See Hale, *The Transformation of Liberalism*.

34. *Escuelas Laicas. Textos y documentos* (México: Impresas Editoriales, S. A., 1948), 43.

35. José María Luis Mora as cited in Leopoldo Zea, *Del liberalismo a la revolución en la educación mexicana* (México: Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1956), 20.

36. Lomnitz, *Deep Mexico Silent Mexico,* 87–88.

37. González Navarro, *Historia Moderna de México*, 627.

38. Piccato, *The Tyranny of Opinion*, 134.

39. Piccato, *The Tyranny of Opinion*,136. Also important in the consolidation of the nation-state were a more efficient administration of the nation's economy, a rapid growth in the manufacturing sector, the reorganization of public space to meet the demands of a burgeoning middle class, the construction and demolition of new and old buildings, and changing perceptions and practices of social engineering. See, for example, Edward Beatty, *Institutions and Investment: The Political Basis of Industrialization in Mexico before 1911* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); Pablo Piccato, *City of Suspects: Crime in Mexico City, 1900–1931* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001); and William H. Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club and Other Episodes of Porfirian Mexico* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).

40. The Organic Law also prohibited the teaching of catechism in the classrooms and recognized the importance of women in the education of children. For a more detailed description of this law, see Josefina Vázquez Zoraida, "La República restaurada y la educación: un intento de victoria definitiva," in *La educación en la historia de México,* ed. Vázquez (1992), 96.

41. See, for example, Barreda's famous declarations, "La Educación Moral," in *El Siglo XIX,* 3 May 1863 and "Oración Cívica," in *Revista Positiva,* Tomo I (1901), 381–405. References cited above come from Michael C. Meyer et al., *The Course of Mexican History*, 6th ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 411–12. For additional characteristics of "Mexican Positivism," see Leopoldo Zea, *El Positivismo en México* (México: 1968) and Elizabeth Flower, "The Mexican Revolt against Positivism," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 10, no. 1 (January 1949).

42. "Academia Especial de Estudios Preparatorianos," in Ernesto Lemoine, *La Escuela Nacional Preparatoria en el periodo de Gabino Barreda, 1867–1878* (México: UNAM, 1970); Gabino Barreda, "Oración Cívica," in *Estudios* (1941), 19–23; Horacio Barreda, "La Escuela Nacional Preparatoria," and *Revista Positiva* 8 (1908).

43. Piccato, *The Tyranny of Opinion*, 137.

44. Barreda, "Oración Cívica."

45. Guillermo Prieto, "Discurso: Jóvenes muy armados," *Revista Universal*, 9 January 1875. Other influential leaders who expressed similar enthusiasm with the creation of the ENP included Ignacio Ramírez, José M. Vigil, Ignacio M. Altamirano, Manuel M. Flores, José Manuel Otón, and Vicente Rivas Palacios. See, for example, Meneses Morales, *Tendencias educativas oficiales en México*, 71.

46. "Instrucción pública," *El Federalista*, 3 March 1871 (emphasis added).

47. Anonymous journalist for *El Tiempo* as cited in González Navarro, *Historia Moderna de México*, 388.

48. See, for example, "La Escuela Preparatoria," *El Monitor Republicano*, 29 January 1871 and "Instrucción pública," *El Federalista*, 4 March 1871. Not everyone, of course, viewed the Preparatoria as a panacea to Mexico's problems. For a detailed look at the debates surrounding the creation of the ENP, see González Navarro, *Historia Moderna de México,* 607–32 and Piccato, *The Tyranny of Opinion*, 135–38.

49. Other important social, athletic, and academic clubs included La Sociedad de los Trece, Los Siete Pecados Capitales, Sociedad Ignacio Ramírez, La Sociedad Literaria, La Unión Universal de Estudiantes, El Reforma Athletic Club, El Club Hípico Militar, and El Club Hípico Internacional. See, for example, González Navarro, *Historia Moderna de México*, 401 and 710–14; "Asociación Internacional de Estudiantes," *El Imparcial*, 25 May 1909; "La Sociedad de la EP abre un concurso," *El Imparcial*, 9 November 1910; "Sociedad Ignacio Ramírez," *Diario del Hogar*, 19 June 1902; "Notas breves de la preparatoria," *El Imparcial*, 23 January 1902; and "La Unión Universal de Estudiantes," *El Imparcial*, 11 April 1909.

50. Roderic Ai Camp, *Political Recruitment across Two Centuries: Mexico, 1884–1991* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1995), 89–90 and Jacqueline Rice, "Beyond the Científicos: The Educational Background of the Porfirian Elite," *Aztlán* 14, no. 2 (1983).

51. For a more comprehensive list of ENP graduates, see Camp, *Political Recruitment*; Emmanuel Carballo, *Diccionario crítico de las letras mexicanas en el siglo xix* (México: Océano, 2001); Luis Leal, "Gabino Barreda y la Literatura: De la Preparatoria al Ateneo," *Aztlán* 14, no. 2 (1983); Lemoine, *La Escuela Nacional Preparatoria*; Octavio González Cárdenas, *Los Cien Años de la Escuela Nacional Preparatoria* (México: Porrúa, 1972); Alejandro Villaseñor y Villaseñor, *Guillermo: memorias de un estudiante* (México: El Tiempo, 1897); and Zea, *El Positivismo en México*.

52. It should be pointed out that life expectancy for the average person during this period ranged between twenty-six and thirty years old. See, for example, González Navarro, *Historia Moderna de México*, 52 and Milada Bazant, *Historia de la educación durante el porfiriato* (México: El Colegio de México, 1993), 105.

53. Most of the young women who enrolled in secondary schools did so in the Escuela Secundaria para Niñas, the Escuela de Artes y Oficios, or the Escuela Normal. See, for example, Bazant, *Historia de la educación*, 118–22 and 129–38.

54. "Las alumnas de la ENP," *El Imparcial*, 14 August 1909.

55. José T. de Cuellar, *Ensalada de Pollos y Baile y Cochino . . .* (1871) (México: Porrúa, 1946), 32. The novel was originally published in 1871 by "Facundo"—Cuellar's pseudonym—with the title *Ensalada de pollos: novela de estos tiempos que corren tomada del carnet de Facundo.*

56. Barceló, "El muro del silencio," 133; Heriberto Frias, *El Amor de las Sireras [Los Destripados]* (Mazatlán: 1908), 38 and 80; and José Juan Tablada, *Las sombras largas* (México: 1993), 212.

57. Barceló, "El muro del silencio," 133.

58. See Cuellar, *Ensalada de Pollos y Baile y Cochino*; José Negrete, *Memorias de Paulina* (México: Imprenta Políglota, 1874); and González Navarro, *Historia Moderna de México,* 408.

59. In comparison, studies of Latin American flappers or the so-called *pelonas* of the 1920s is more widely available. See, for example, Serna, "We're Going Yankee"; Hershfield, *Imagining la Chica Moderna*; and Michel Gobat, *Confronting the American Dream. Nicaragua under U.S. Imperial Rule* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), chapter 7.

60. Facundo (Cuellar's pseudonym), "La polla tempranera," *La Orquesta*, 21 August 1869.

61. Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 50–51.

62. "El Verdadero Cake Walk," *Semanario literario, El Universal*, 25 May 1903.

63. "*Allí no hemos visto al pollo almidonado, pretencioso y fatuo, hemos visto al obrero lleno de dignidad y de contento, olvidando entre dulce pasatiempo las tareas que absorben su vida. El obrero mexicano se ha transformado completamente, y le vemos ahí, en sus salones gustando de las delicias de la sociedad después del trabajo del taller.*" Juvenal as cited in Clementina Díaz y de Ovando, *Invitación al Baile. Arte, espectáculo y rito en la sociedad mexicana (1825–1920) Tomo I* (México: UNAM, 2006), 234. She reproduces these three images of dancers on 813 and 1116.

64. González Navarro, *Historia Moderna de México*, 407–8.

65. See, for example, González Navarro, *Historia Moderna de México*, 713 and "Una medida de disciplina escolar," *El Imparcial*, 22 January 1905.

66. Barceló, "El muro del silencio," 133.

67. González Navarro, *Historia Moderna de México*, 408–9.

68. González Navarro, *Historia Moderna de México*, 408–9.

69. "Las fiestas de la Escuela Preparatoria," *La Libertad*, 21 February 1878; "Alumnos excursionistas," *El Diario del Hogar*, 10 May 1895; "Excursión a Texcoco de los alumnos de la clase de química," *El Imparcial*, 1 July 1905; "Excursión Escolar a Lerma," *El Imparcial*, 19 May 1907; Paracelso, "Premios," *Escuela de Medicina*, 15 December 1883; "En la Escuela Preparatoria. Velada literaria musical," *El Imparcial*, 13 October 1900; "Los estudiantes y el fin del siglo," *El Imparcial*, 4 January 1901; "Formación de la estudiantina," *El Imparcial*, 18 February 1903; "En la ENP. Gran velada patriótica," *El Imparcial*, 28 September 1898; "La Fiesta en la Escuela Preparatoria," *El Imparcial,* 2 May 1903; and Baltasar Dromundo, *Mi barrio de San Miguel* (México: Antigua Librería Robredo, 1951).

70. Luis Cabrera enrolled in the ENP in 1889. He graduated in 1893 and two years later joined the Escuela Nacional de Jurisprudencia. He developed his political writings in *El Hijo del Ahuizote* and in 1908 became one of the principal founders of the Partido Antirreeleccionista. Two years later he took a more oppositional approach to the Díaz regime and became the main advisor of Francisco I. Madero. For a detailed look at Cabrera's role in the revolution, see Luis Cabrera, *Bibliografía. Aspectos de su vida. Páginas escogidas* (México: Editorial Cultura, 1951).

71. In Mexico, the term *escuincle*—from the Nahuatl, "*izcuintli*," for "dogs"—is broadly used in reference to describe bratty kids.

72. "*Entre nosotros los perros de caza chica son los que constituyen la mayoría, porque al fin y al cabo, la vida entera en México no es más que una constante cacería, en que hay que aguzar el olfato y la inteligencia. Tenemos buenos sabuesos, no tanto para buscar criminales, como para meterse por todas partes en busca de un hueso o de una chamba, o de una comisión, o*

*de un negocio que pueda dejar algo para comer Hay perros de muestra [ . . . ], que en cuanto huelen la pieza, aunque sea de pan de a dos por cinco centavos, se quedan parados estirando el hocico para adelante y la cola para atrás, y alzando una pata, por si acaso. Hay perros que corren todo el santo día tras de una liebre, aunque muchas veces no pueden hacer guisado con ella, por no haberla cogido. Una clase especial de perros muy abundante entre nosotros, son los zorreros, es decir, los que cazan 'zorras', aún cuando en los tiempos que corren es muy difícil cogerlas, por el alto costo del mezcal y de los licores importados . . . Hay perros pachones que nunca se peinan, y perros grifos que por cualquier cosa se engrifan . . . La clase más abundante entre nosotros es la de los perros falderos, es decir, los que son muy afectos a las faldas. Entre éstos los principales y más notables son algunos chihuahueños.*" Cabrera, *El perro y especialmente el perro preparatoriano*, 34–35.

73. See, for example, Villaseñor y Villaseñor, *Guillermo* and Juan de Dios Peza, *Memorias reliquias y retratos* (Paris: Librería de la Vda. De Ch. Bouret, 1900).

74. "Lacayos" (servants) were students from the mining school. This nickname was given in reference to their long braids. "Cocheros" (coachmen) were students from the old School of San Ildefonso in reference to their tailcoats and high hats. "Gañanes" (farmers) were students from the school of agriculture. "Albañiles" (masons) were those students who came from the seminaries. And "mulas" (mules) were those students who came from the trade schools. The names would eventually change, but the distinctions would continue. By 1910, students would make distinctions between "verduleras" (female greengrocers from the school of agriculture), "fieras artes" ("wild animals arts" from the fine arts), "estafadores" (con-men from the school of commerce), "sacamuelas" ("tooth-removers" from the dentistry school), and "matasanos" ("quacks" from the medical school). See, for example, "Anoche los estudiantes enterraron al mal humor," El Imparcial, 23 September 1910.

75. The proportion of students representing each group at the time of the founding of the ENP was practically identical. Forty-nine percent of students enrolled in the ENP between 1868 and 1875, Lemoine explains, had been born in the federal district. The birth of origin of the remaining students is not provided in his analysis. Lemoine, *La Escuela Nacional Preparatoria*, 103.

76. *Internos* were those preparatorianos who lived and dined inside the ENP. In theory, the poorest internos were supposed to receive a generous monthly scholarship of twenty-five pesos. In contrast, *externos* lived at home with their parents or in cheap housing apartments with other students and attended school in the mornings. The latter were generally better off economically and represented the majority. See, for example, Gabino Barreda, "Último informe como director de la Escuela Preparatoria," 1 December 1877, in Lemoine, *La Escuela Nacional Preparatoria*, 210–14. On the monthly scholarships, see González Navarro, *Historia Moderna de México*, 608 and "Las Becas," *La Voz de Juárez*, 1 September 1884.

77. Piccato, *City of Suspects*, chapter 4.

78. "Pulquerías" were popular bars where "*pulque*" (a milky alcoholic beverage made from the fermented sap of the maguey plant consumed since the pre-Columbian period) was served. In late nineteenth-century Mexico, the consumption of pulque was typically associated with the immorality of the lower classes as manifested in alcoholism and prostitution. In contrast, Mexico's middle and upper classes were encouraged to consume the more "refined" wine and beer. See, for example, James Alex Garza, *The Imagined Underworld: Sex, Crime, and Vice in Porfirian Mexico City* (Nebraska: The University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 29.

79. Frias, *El Amor de las Sirenas*, 38, 41, 54, 104, 122, and 212.

80. Piccato, *City of Suspects*, chapter 4.

81. Alberto del Castillo Troncoso, "Entre la criminalidad y el orden cívico: imágenes y representaciones de la niñez durante el Porfiriato," *Historia Mexicana* 48, no. 2 (1998): 277–320.

82. *Pollo fino: "hijo de gallina "mocha" [y] gallo de pelea . . . [Es] ocioso, inútil y corrompido por razón de su pobreza"; Rough pollo: "de la raza del callejero, que llega al auge de su preponderancia, que es el plagio"; Pollo tempranero: "cada uno de los anteriores que se distingue en su primer emplume por sus avances; de manera que es más tempranero el que con menos edad tiene más vicios y el corazón más gastado*." Cuellar, *Ensalada de Pollos*, 32.

83. Cuellar, *Ensalada de Pollos*, 33.

84. Cuellar, *Ensalada de Pollos*, 33.

85. See Juan A. Mateos, "La Escuela Preparatoria," *El Correo del Comercio*, 24 January 1874.

86. "Peor está que estaba," *El Centinela Católico*, November 1877.

87. Peza de Dios, *Memorias, reliquias y regalos*, 113 and Villaseñor and Villaseñor, *Guillermo*, 61–67.

88. For a detailed description of the 1875 student movement, see María del Carmen Ruiz Castañeda, "El movimiento estudiantil de 1875: La Universidad Libre," in *Las luchas estudiantiles en México. Tomo I*, ed. Gilberto Guevara Niebla (México: Editorial Línea, 1983), 81–119 and María de Lourdes Alvarado, "La universidad libre: primer movimiento estudiantil del México independiente (1875)," in *Movimientos estudiantiles en la historia de América Latina*, eds. Renate Marsiske et al. (México: UNAM, 2002), 61–83.

89. Clementina Díaz y de Ovando, La Escuela Nacional Preparatoria: Los afanes y los días, 1867–1910 (Mexico City: UNAM, 1972), figure 3.

90. Most references to the 1929 student movement tend to neglect the importance of the 1875 student strike and rather put great emphasis on the university reform movement of 1918 in Córdoba, Argentina.

91. See, for example, the student discussions that took place during the international and national Student Congresses held in the late 1920s as detailed in María de Lourdes Velázquez Albo, *Los Congresos Nacionales Universitarios y los gobiernos de la Revolución, 1910–1933* (México: UNAM, 2000).

92. Lemoine, La Escuela Nacional Preparatoria, 114.