The Jockey Club: presentation of Porfirian goal culture through curated leisure

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Abstract

In the contradictory pursuit of authenticity and authority, the Porfirian regime—defined as the period between 1876 to 1911 with Porfirio Díaz's rule of Mexico—sought to transform class, culture, and race in pursuit of a positivist modernity. The regime subordinated heritage to habit, courting European fashions and sports and creating a visible distinction between wealthy and working *tipos*. Through leisure institutions like the Jockey Club, the regime projected its desired shape of the state and its people. Yet the contradiction in their pursuits alienated the public; the decaying audiences for those foreign sports suggested a popular rejection of the official, presented culture. Leisure embodied these messy aspects of the Porfiriato's modernization project—their war between present and presented culture. This thesis examines how the Jockey Club served in the culture war between official and lived agendas. First, the Club's birth coincided with the centralizing shift of the regime. Beyond the club itself, leisure invited those with a shared sense of identity to participate. When identity failed, a deep-rooted gambling culture encouraged participation. Yet the financial crisis of 1883 and later reluctance of the Jockey Club to participate in its end of the bargain in 1905 broke interest in the Club. Instead, sanguinary sports like cockfighting and bullfighting monopolized popular support through shared, communal traditions—demonstrating resistance towards and resilience against official culture. Lastly, leisure played a part in programs of positivist education which worked to reimagine Mestizaje as a European habit rather than mixed heritage. The Jockey Club came at the apex of a moment when the Porfiriato accelerated consolidating authoritarian power. It embodied policies of the regime, projecting a presented culture to foreigners more than its own people. As tensions erupted in Revolution in 1910, the language of culture and authenticity influenced the demands of men like Emiliano Zapata and Francisco Madero.

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to my sister, Hannah Shubert, my anchor and inspiration. And to my good friend Mason Warnecker, whose kindness I never properly return. A final thank you to my father and mother, David and Dale Shubert. In that good house in Wichita, I learned to be the best man I could be.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

The Porfiriato

In the nineteenth century, Porfirio Díaz remodeled Mexico based on the principals of the Industrial Revolution and a mixed fear and admiration of the West. Clubs served curated images of culture to the national and international worlds. But one club in particular captured the Porfirian moment more than any other. It opened later than expected. The Científicos who founded the club had not been disappointed by the weather long before the racetrack at Peralvillo had been packed to a full house.[1] 4,700 hundred participants filled the concourse seats. Subsequent days brought more people and interest to the track. The Jockey Club, the patron of these emergent tracks inherited an apocryphal, Spanish legacy which it blended with British mechanics and French fashions to generate a Mexican style of horse racing. The elite Científicos behind it were promised by 1882 and 1883 that the sport was poised to only grow in its popularity among both the wealthy and the working classes. But its meteoric rise never manifested. The Piñón racetrack lost 100,000 MXN (3,628,714 USD in 2026) when it opened.[2] The Indianilla Track kept a smaller audience through 1905, but most of its spectators came from English clubs and were themselves foreign to the state.[3] The decline of working Mexicans and influx of foreign spectators matched the goals of the Porfiriato. The courting of foreign approval and the authority it conveyed dominated the regime's modernization project. Yet the marked success in winning European and American approval of the Jockey Club cost the regime the confidence of the people. Popular support from the working class vanished as a vote against the Europhile cultures invading the state through Porfirian projects that created performative leisure. Its professed authenticity was denied through the people's refusal to attend. The Club substituted its gambling constituency for the English and American pocket colonies. Its members and audiences grew increasingly White and wealthy, further disconnecting the lived experience of

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[1] Beezley, William H. *Judas at the Jockey Club and Other Episodes of Porfirian Mexico.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987, 27.

[2] Conversion rates between MXN and USD in the 19th century fluxuated wildly. Up until the change to the gold standard, MXN and USD had an exchange rate of nearly 1:1. Sources which refer to costs broadly as "dollars" are taken to refer to this period unless otherwise stated.

[3] "Jockeys Were Fined: Starter Had Trouble with Riders in Fifth Race: Seven Horses Entered: Another Feature of Day's Sport at Peralvillo Was Trouble with Betting—Last Race Run in Dark—Crowd Was Angry". *The Mexican Herald*, October 16, 1905.

the Mexican working class and the increasingly exclusionary and foreign population of the race track. Despite the shift in demographics, Newspapers and travelogues noted the flagging support. Efforts to bring the working class in as an audience, and with them their money through betting, demonstrated a desire to maintain a popular audience among the working-class. Yet the active refusal as a consequence of economics and culture reflected a class divide. Leisure culture—for the rich and poor—waged a war between presented and present culture. The Jockey Club reflected the priorities of the regime and how they imagined modernity, race, and what it meant to be a Mexican.

Present culture was not monolithic, despite the singular connotation of the phrase. The term refers to a myriad of activities ranging from sanguinary sports to Indigenous dances and even to sports like football and *luchadores*. It exists as a singular term only in response to the regime's own interpretation of that culture which opposed official templates of leisure. Present culture existed in direct opposition to the Porfiriato's presented culture, which was ideologically monolithic. Positvists and Científicos like Limantour painted present culture as a monolithic entity in opposition to the transformative culture of the state. Porfirian culture reflected past anxieties from foreign invasions, domestic coups, and a liberal tradition. By the time *La Casa de Azulejos*, the house of tiles, had been retrofitted to serve as the Jockey Club, cultural anxieties about the West, desires to modernize, and the adoption of foreign principles shaped the national atmosphere. Its very history chartered the course of its leisure. The Porfiriato followed the French Intervention of 1862-1867. Liberalism changed the structure of Mexican society. Guided by thought circulating since the Enlightenment, the state passed laws reforms before the French Intervention. Military power and church courts were limited through the Ley Juárez. Ley Lerdo disentailed corporate landholdings. A constitution emerged by the end of 1861 which noted Juárez's triumph over conservative forces and liberalism's emergence as the ideological hegemon. When the Habsburg leader Maximilian was killed and France expelled, the hegemon returned with the emergent Porfiriato. Two men led the state as president before Porfirio Díaz came to power. The first, Benito Juárez, was the father of the liberal rebellion. Porfirio Díaz had served as his National Guard Commander. Díaz ran against him in the 1867 election. The general represented a radical wing of liberalism which opposed the constitutional reforms of Benito Juárez. *La Reforma,* established from 1857-1861, focused on liberal changes similar to the French Revolution. The Ley Juárez limited military and church courts. Porfirio Díaz staged his

political platform around military and patriotic virtue—extolling the flag and denouncing conservatives as traitors to the liberal cause. Díaz lost the race to Juárez, but he retained political ambitions. In 1871, the general led men loyal to him, called Porfiristas, in a rebellion against the president's "fraudulent" reelection.[4] The relatively short campaign demonstrated the failings of the liberal system and the return of authoritarian strategies of governance. Juárez´s death aborted the cause of the campaign. Porfirio Díaz made a bid for the presidency, his popularity soaring amid his followers, but lost to Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada. Lerdo de Tejada went on to pardon both Díaz and his Porfiristas. Politically, Díaz's position then soured. But the republic itself had suffered from the rebellion. Fighting exposed weaknesses in the system—weaknesses susceptible to force.

The Tuxtelpec Campaign of 1876 marked Díaz return to politics. Instead of focusing on the fraudulent reelection of Juárez or any other president, Díaz focused on constitutional concepts. He argued that Lerdo de Tejada violated the constitution of 1857 which justified deposing him by any means necessary, even militarily.[5] The general maintained a liberal rhetoric to his coup. And even as it focused on the constitutionality of presidential actions, the rebellion kept its deeply anti-reelectionist language. Unlike La Noria, the Tuxtelpec Campaign succeeded. In 1876, the general became president. Porfirio Díaz came to power by drawing upon a radical, popular, and militant branch of liberalism. He did so with substantial popular support. He waged two rebellions against reelections and violations of the Mexican constitution. Porfirio Díaz then went on to serve thirty-seven years in office—consecutive terms only broken up by the puppet of González. Early on, the Porfiriato maintained the kind of liberalism established by Juárez. Local and federal communication persisted. Yet the weakness of liberalism and its failure to create an image of modernity desired by the Porfiriato resulted in increasingly authoritarian practices. Following the end of the González presidency, in December of 1884, the power structure changed.[6] Clientelism and foreign influences dominated the state.

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[4] Garner, Paul H. *Porfirio Díaz.* Pearson Education Limited, 2001, 55-58.
[5] Garner, *Porfirio Díaz*, 61-65.
[6] Sheppard, Randal, *A Persistent Revolution: History, Nationalism, and Politics in Mexico Since 1968.* University of New Mexico Press, 2016, 44.

Porfirio Díaz championed a positivist view of modernity. He charged his bureaucratic specialists, dubbed Científicos, with organizing methods and processes towards an industrial modernity. These Científicos belonged to a broader, global movement in which modernizing governments sought to manage industrialization, ethnic groups, and labor. Governments used positivism to guide modernization within the framework of a proposed, scientific process. A focus on hygiene, great architecture, railroads, minor industry, and collectivization transformed urban and rural spaces unevenly. Bureaucracies and the elite *caudillos* in charge of them dictated the direction of development. From San Luis Potosi to Mexico City, urban centers received far more care than rural spaces like Oaxaca. In the capital, one monumental project of modernization came by way of clubs. Clubs served as places for elites and upper-classes to gather away from the public.[7] These spaces doubled as a place of both relaxation and education. Many important figures for the late Porfiriato cut their teeth in one such club. A group of wealthy Mexicans came together to form a club based on a Westernized version of horse racing. The Jockey Club emerged in 1881. Its founding members ranged from Porfirio Díaz's father-in-law to the father of José Yves Limantour, Minister of Hacienda for Porfirian rails and banking.[8] All of them subscribed to the emergent, industrial ideology of positivism. That ideology under Chief Científico José Yves Limantour would drive formative changes within the regime. By the late 1890s to early 1900s, Limantour would serve as president of the illustrious Jockey Club.

The Jockey Club was established in 1881. It resided in a building referred to as the House of Tiles or *Casa de Azulejos*. Its name came from the many blue and white tiles set in the building. Ships brought those tiles in from China, and each were worth their weight in silver. The Baroque Palace existed long before the Jockey Club had set up shop inside. Yet the grandeur of the buildings had a portent element. It was a palace. The richness of the construction predicted the elitism of its soon to be clientele. Its location on the west side of the capital lined up with the wealthy's retreat from public spaces and integrated neighborhoods in the 1880s. The Club personified the segregation of cities. Foreign observers marveled at the structure. Its appearance and amenities were remarkable according to travelogues written by foreigners. Men like Charles Enock marveled at the familiar Franco fashions and habits displayed by its members. Its

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[7] Martin, Percy F. *Mexico of the Twentieth Century, Vol. I.* London: Edward Arnold, 1907, 221.
[8] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 29.

exclusivity teased men from abroad. In most accounts written about the state of Mexico, the Jockey Club appeared at least in passing mention. Yet for a club which garnered so much attention from contemporary travelers, the Club makes up barely a footnote in most histories of the Porfiriato.

Leisure as an institution deserves greater attention in the cultural historiography of the Porfiriato. Across his tenure, Porfirio Díaz and his Científicos imported pastimes and philosophies from Europe. Elites curated these imports in an effort to generate a visibly bleached, professedly authentic Mexicana. Clean streets, Western dress, French leisure, and Baroque architecture: these principal elements of their desired Mexicana characterized Porfirian presented culture. Through sports, they appealed to or proposed new ideas about community. Authorities banned or segregated those activities which deviated from positivist modernity. High art like opera aimed to reshape values that only the Europhile wanted to reshape. In government meetings at the First and Second Congreso Nacional de Instrucción Pública, government policies of transforming the appearance and habit of the worker focused on hygiene and education.[9] The Subsecretary of Public Instruction of 1901-1905 and Secretary of Public Instruction from 1905-1911 Justo Sierra proposed leisure as a valid and transformative kind of education for that end. Their Francophile tendencies placed friction between presented culture and present culture. In their pursuit of modernity, the Porfiriato utilized foreign mediums to establish norms for modernity. These norms naturalized thoughts and practices amongst the classes that joined culture, class, and ethnicity.

Porfirian elites relied on leisure to promote modernization as a transformative, cultural project which imagined a visual endpoint of the state. Foreign writers and photographers served to immortalize these testaments to progress. Their travelogues and photos painted disarticulated vignettes of the state. Each became a *tipo* or type, meant to display a template against which anyone might measure individuals or groups in Mexico. *Peones* captured in this outpouring of *tipos* contrasted with Porfirian norms. Through comparison, the regime presented itself as what the *peón* was not. In doing so, observers came to associate negative elements with the working-class and Indigenous populations of Mexico. Conditions became norms in and of themselves.

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[9] Second Congress: Congreso Nacional de Instrucción Pública, Resoluciones del Segundo Congreso Nacional de Instrucción Pública, 1890 y 1891. México: Imprenta de El Partido Liberal, 1891, 287. [Hereafter abbreviated as ICNEP II]

The process of modernization naturalized conditions of economic disparity. It couched struggles of class in racial terminology. Elite's leisure embodied these messy aspects of the Porfirian cultural project. The Jockey Club's bureaucracy through their leisure, building, and members embodied *tipos* for a modern state and citizen as imagined by the Porfirian elites. The Porfiriato sculpted sports and culture supplanted rural understandings of community to appeal to a Western audience. Modernization as directed by Científicos wielded cultural, class, and ethnic language to represent a presented culture which warred against the present culture of Mexico. Positivist modernization manifested in the styles of dress and methods of architecture which served to separate classes into *tipos*. The Jockey Club represented a bleached Mexicana aimed at the West that alienated popular understandings of identity. But in transforming the cultural face of Mexicana, Porfirian officials chased contradictory goals of authenticity and modernity. Leisure embodied these messy aspects of the Porfirato's modernization project—their war between present and presented culture. The reception from audiences voted on the authenticity of cultural leisure. Perceptions of these audiences stratified leisure along racial and class divides.

Historiography

Previous histories have touched on the overlap between Porfirian cultural transformation and leisure, but a direct connection including the Jockey Club only appears in Beezley's work. The following historians nevertheless build the basis for examining that connection. Samuel Ramos argued in *Profile of Man and Culture in Mexico* that personal values influenced the shape of modernity in Mexico.[10] Specifically, deep sentiments of inferiority drove an imitation of European culture, separate from reality. Culture offered the "present and future" responsible for determining "[the] vocation of the race and its historical destiny".[11] Ramos argued that imitation came from deep insecurities within the state. At an individual level, Mexicans desired to project a culture which belonged among the European set. Their colonial past seemed in their minds to have stunted their cultural growth. Thus, they adopted the mannerisms of the West in an effort to imitate a particular model of modern culture. His book links modernization to culture and subsequently to race. I refer to cultural projects as Mexicana. The word stands in for deeply

[10] Ramos, Samuel. *Profile of Man and Culture in Mexico*. University of Texas Press, 1962, 18-19.
[11] Ramos, *Profile of Man and Culture*, 102.

cultural ideas about identity. Official efforts to transform understandings of community and identity I also call Mexicana. Battles between rural Mexicana and the Porfiriato's new, bleached Mexicana make up fundamental elements of class leisure. Bleached Mexicana accounted for a project to project the state as White through still *tipos* such as photographs or written works and moving *tipos* like clubs and sports. How people dressed, where they spent their free time, what images the regime presented of them, and the shape of buildings reflected visible indicators of progress or "backwardness". These distinguishing factors compose the bulk of the term's meaning. Mexicana translates in this work to cultural signifiers present or pushed for frequently by the administration of the Porfirian regime. Their physical indicators of buildings, leisure, and dress signified membership to an elite—and often foreign—version of modernity. Ramos' insistence that culture and race overlapped in the minds of the Porfiriato makes up the framework of chapter four. His argument that individualism instead of collectivism drove most Mexicans bridges the gap between Beezley and Neufeld's interpretations of the *corrida*. Ramos gives this work the basis for connecting culture and race. From there, further sources expand that connection to include leisure as a cultural mode. Ramos' book supports the idea that clubs worked to enculture the upper and working-classes into forms that fit an imagined modernity.

Leisure accounted for a kind of education. Positivist thinkers like Justo Sierra imagined activities and diversions as a tool to transform the worker, which aligned with the Porfirian beliefs about modernity. I build upon Richard Weiner who wrote on the influences of the market and education on modernization. In his book *Race, Nation, and Market: Economic Culture in Porfirian Mexico,* he captured the way in which ideas of evolution coincided with technological change.[12] Weiner argued that the Mexican state in the late 19th and early 20th century adopted a Social Darwinist stance towards economics. Equal parts fascination and fear surrounded foreign intervention. Modernization necessitated the transformation of the worker. A deep sense of racial inferiority pervaded the positivist conception of Mexicans. Projects to draw in European immigrants reflected racial ideas about labor. Workers, Weiner argued, were seen as more foundational to development than material resources. State projects sought to change the worker to better match their European counterparts. The transformation of the worker through education

[12] Weiner, Richard. *Race, Nation, and Market: Economic Culture in Porfirian Mexico*. University of Arizona Press, 1957, 42-43.

and borderline eugenic programs demonstrated an overlap between modernization and ethnicity. Weiner offered a version of modernity as imagined by the positivists which dominated the bureaucracies of the regime. Their modernization depended on the social and ethnic transformation of the working-class. Leisure served to accomplish this end, as noted by Justo Sierra. Weiner positioned the Porfiriato in a precarious position where economic progress and domination teetered back and forth along the US-Mexico border. How Porfirio Díaz and José Yves Limantour conceptualized that balancing act plays into the regime's bleached Mexicana and presented culture.

Moreover, leisure and club life served to establish norms through this kind of education. Positvist thinkers like Justo Sierra and Limantour accepted an industrial ideology from Europe contextualizes their projects as Europhile works aimed at subverting domestic trends in favor of professedly superior foreign ones. Mary Kay Vaughan's *The State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico* proposed that foreign intervention and modernity drove Mexican projects in the Porfiriato. Positivism, she argued, "was not only a European import…its advocates accepted the idea of European and Anglo-Saxon superiority and believed foreign penetration a necessary vehicle for development".[13] She argued that the Porfiriato's pursuit of education served efforts to transform the working-class. Development was foundational to the actions taken by a regime whose imitation of the West stemmed from beliefs of not only industrial but racial superiority. Another factor was "dependent capitalism". She articulated that Mexico's economic growth relied on international support and foreign loans which materially stunted most of the country.[14] In her work, economic dependency and a pursuit of modernity met in pursuit of and resistance towards industrialization. Vaughan illustrated what drove positivism in Mexico. That the ideology itself came from Europhile ideas about modernity contextualizes many of the Científicos' projects. Most of the direction for positivist character builds upon foundations laid by her argument. Vaughan insisted that state programs and culture doubled as transformative projects aimed at the working-class. Much of the groundwork for leisure as the establisher of patriarchal norms lies in between the lines of Vaughan's own work.

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[13] Vaughan, Mary Kay. *The State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico, 1880 -1928.* Northern Illinois, 1982, 13.
[14] Vaughan, *Social Class in Mexico,* 3.

Tipos composed all images and writings which projected a particular kind of Mexicanidad within and without the state. Leisure, too, served as a ritual to display *tipos*. Their capture came from foreign travelers and domestic photographers such as the dictator's own son. I borrow this term from Jason Ruíz who focused on American imperial efforts in Mexico. According to *Americans in the Treasure House Travel to Porfirian Mexico and the Cultural Politics of Empire*, the basis for economic encroachment came from generated images or *tipos* which portrayed the state and its people as backwards.[15] Foreign travelers carried direct or innate motives in cataloging what they saw in Mexico. Newspapers and state surveyors presented naked bodies and tiny homes as proof of cultural backwardness. Indigenous portrayals fascinated foreign viewers. Photographers like C. B. Waite served to normalize ideas of transient backwardness for both rural spaces and *peones.* Economic imperialism relied on this backwardness and portrayed misuse of land to justify encroaching on Mexican markets. Yet in portraying Indigenous people as incompatible with capitalism, labor demands necessitated the reimagining of mestizos. Ruíz showed how American and Porfirian elites wielded images and accounts to separate groups created by *tipo* images. *Peones* and mestizos appeared as distinct groups because of political invention as well as personal, imperial fascination. His work connects modernity to projects of racial modernization. Ruíz gives this work the term *tipo*. In his work, travelers called photographs meant to present different or standard types of Mexicans—frequently workers or Indigenous—*tipos*.[16] In his words, "[w]riters and their editors frequently captioned *tipo* images depicting specific jobs like vendors, water carriers, or the aforementioned *tortilleras* simply as 'Indian Types,' suggesting that the Indian was defined by the labor that he or she performed".[17] *Tipos* then served as powerful holotypes which foreign observers measured individual Mexicans against. *Tipo* in the subsequent chapters refers broadly to trends of written or photographed works which aim to create such cultural holotypes. I expand upon Ruíz's initial definition to include travelogues, official statements, and types of culture whose purpose similarly aimed to project concepts of elite or lower-class identities.

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[15] Ruíz, Jason. *Americans in the Treasure House: Travel to Porfirian Mexico and the Cultural Politics of Empire*. University of Texas Press, 2014, 47.
[16] Ruíz, *Americans in the Treasure House*, 46.
[17] Ruíz, *Americans in the Treasure House*, 47.

Tipos projected the regime's idealized state. Leisure represented the habits which the Porfiriato hoped to enculture the public with. Yet foreign influences and official impositions met resistance from rural and urban workers. Participation demonstrated an active resistance against the presented culture of the regime. The voting framework comes from William H. Beezley's *Judas at the Jockey Club and Other Episodes of Porfirian Mexico*. He insisted on local agency in the curation of foreign leisure.[18] Beezley framed audience attendance as a kind of vote in which spectators expressed their support for the norms represented by leisure. He maintained that participation reflected genuine support or rejection owing to the freedom with which *peones* could choose to attend. *Peón* and *peones* roughly translates to an unskilled laborer, frequently associated with agricultural work. During the Porfirito, many such laborers lost their land to collectivization. Out of necessity, they turned to working the land of landlords (*hacendados*) on plantations (*haciendas*). Yet foreign observers co-opted the term to refer to more than just poor farmers. *Peones* to writers and photographers were the working-class. Foreign photographers and writers saw farmers, vendors, and even Indigenous persons as all *peones*. While not all travel writers blend the two terms for the same purpose—Enock, Martin, Spense, and others use the term *peón* in a way which implied notions about disposition, diversion, or backwardness. I utilize their confusion to trace a narrative of conceptual bleed between concepts of culture, class, and race. *Peón* in this body of work refers to working Mexicans of the lower-class. Indigenous groups are not inherently *peones* unless directly referenced as such. Which sports *peones* attended reflected authentic Mexican beliefs about community. His argument regarding agency overlooks the efforts of the Porfiriato to curtail or suspend bloodsports. Bullfighting had been banned in prominent states facing the West. *Corridas* closed down in Zacatecas and Veracruz.[19] And even after the regime gained confidence in its own economy and stability, serious talks still occurred about banning the sport. Cockfighting had even more struggles. In his argument, Beezley implied a kind of passivity to the public vote. [20] What sports the regime offered to the public naturally drew or failed to draw audiences. However, this unmitigated vote did not exist as implied. The state corralled, exiled, and controlled familiar forms of leisure. Positivist thought attempted to impose opera and transformative culture for the regime's social project. Abstaining

[18] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 14.
[19] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 16.
[20] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 13.

or resisting these diversions demonstrated an active opposition to a program of social change. Local communities defended sanguinary sports against official policies. When tracks faltered and operas wilted, it expressed a conscious effort from the working class against the image of modernity portrayed by Díaz's selected leisure.

Stephen Neufeld provides examples of that active participation in a war between present and presented culture. Through sanguinary sports like cockfighting and bullfighting, shared ownership of violence and symbolic meaning defied official efforts to reduce or remove the sports from Mexican culture. His *Perilous Beasts: Mexican Necropolitics, Animal Deaths, and Blood Sports, 1870 - 1920* focused on these "necropolitics" which represented both the clash and cooperation of official and local understandings about community. How markets formed around the *corrida* and *broncas* never blamed the crowds reflected a market-induced capitulation to the public. The segregation of bullfighting reflected the regime's distaste for the sport and efforts to preserve some of their presented culture. Cockfighting lacked segregation, and owing to that suffered a great deal more persecution. But the cultural strength of the pastime proved too hard to root out for the regime. In cockfighting and bullfighting, his narrative frustrated simple distinctions between elite and common culture. Cross-class leisure reflected endemic beliefs too entrenched to simply uproot. Porfirian efforts thus turned to supplementing new norms with new pastimes. Trophy hunting represented an effort to impose official narrative onto an authentic sense of Mexicanidad. Neufeld gives this work a lens into official and popular leisure. Clubs and sports through this lens possessed an almost literary quality. Embedded in these activities were values and expectations preserved or projected for the purpose of shaping identity. Their successes and failures mirrored the regime's own.

From these histories I present two cultural axles as frameworks for understanding the overlaps between class, culture, and race. Weiner, Vaughan, and Ruíz form the basis of the race-class axle. Foreign influences on domestic culture and political life standardized beliefs regarding class using racial language. Their dependent capitalism—both material and human—shaped class, cultural, and racial understandings of modernization. Both Weiner and Vaughan make up the class-race axel. Ruíz and Ramos offer connections not only to race and class, but also to ethnicity and modernity. All authors focused on how transformative projects influenced developments aimed at the average Mexican. Using their works, I link modernity to ethnic progress. Both focused on a transformative framework: principally education and immigration. I

add leisure as a project through which the Porfiriato displayed and directed class tastes and beliefs. In all cases, positivists believed that public works could transform the character of the worker. Beezley and Neufeld have been taken to create the class-culture axle. Modernization as a project relied upon pastimes to cement norms. Those sports—especially in rural areas—which the West abhorred frustrated efforts to present a curated modernity. Authorities segregated what they could not ban. Yet local communities proved difficult to separate. Cockfighting presents a look into a change-resistant cultural activity. The cross-class participation in elbow-to-elbow locations demonstrated how present culture could subordinate presented culture based upon an imagined community's resilience to an imposed identity. Consequently, clubs and sports under the Porfiriato represented an effort to reshape the tastes and beliefs of the average Mexican. The class-race axle and class-culture axle combine to link the three central concepts of class, culture, and race. Leisure embodies all three. Club life especially served to reflect a project of modernity riding on both social axles.

Methodology

This thesis examines how and to what effect the Jockey Club and club culture in general reflected positivist efforts to modernize Mexico across class, culture, and race. It is a cultural and institutional history, with only a thin coating of gender history. Masculinity is a topic involved in leisure participation and presentation; however, a focus on the experience of women or men in a day-to-day manner does not appear. Class, culture, and race compose this thesis and make up the primary analysis of organized leisure. The following chapters lack any dedicated lens or female actors who suffered sexual violence or other bodily abuses under *caudillos* or other Porfirian elements. Yet a peripheral engagement with bodily exploitation in this thesis benefits from Kelly Lytle *Bad Mexicans: Race, Empire, and Revolution in the Borderlands* and Andrea Smith's *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*. Using Ruíz's framework, I extend the sexual exploitation of bodies as a part of a broader exploitation of Indigenous and working bodies as objects of fetish or fascination. Neither Ruíz nor I dare to belittle the role that sexual violence played in fermenting discontent against the regime or the survivors of its horrors. Lytle writes a clear and compelling narrative building upon sexual violence as compelling women to rebel against local *caudillos*. But this is not a gender history. The Jockey Club and clubs in general are institutions by nature. My focus remains on an understudied institutional history of the Jockey Club that overlaps with cultural projects. Violence against bodies appears only briefly

or through a broader focus on the exploitation of all bodies. Labor in general makes up more of the analysis here than gender. Given the scope of my research, gender and sexual violence supplement rather than star among broader ideas of culture, class, and race.

This thesis relies upon foreign travelogues as its main collection of primary sources. William Carson's *Mexico: Wonderland of the South,* Charles Lummis' *The Awakening of a Nation: Mexico of To-Day,* Alfred R. Conkling's *Appleton's Guide to Mexico, Including a Chapter on Guatemala and an English-Spanish Vocabulary,* Lewis Spence's *Mexico of the Mexicans,* Robert S. Barret's *The Standard Guide to the City of Mexico and Vicinity,* and Reginald Charles Enock's *Mexico: It's Ancient and Modern Civilisation, History, Political Conditions, Topography, Natural Resources, Industries and General Development*—these travelogues make up the sources for this thesis. These accounts, for all their focuses, pertain to ideas about the modern conditions of the state and performative culture. Porfirian elites aimed to gain acceptance from the West. Científicos' and Díaz's policies and practices tried to present Mexico within a model of Western modernity. It relied on imitation, importation, and presentation. Foreign writings and accounts served to gauge the effectiveness of their imitation of a particular kind of modernity.[21] For that reason, the opinions and perceptions of foreigners gauge the success of wooing the West. They also highlight the contrasting values of urban and rural Mexicans. Travelers captured these projects and symbols of modernization in ink and in picture. What men like Martin, Enock, Spence, C. B. Waite and others praised reflected the cultural orbit which Porfirio Díaz aimed to enter. Each of these men had interests and motives informed by empire. Percy Martin, himself an Englishman, wrote for investors back in Britian. His two volumes, with nearly a thousand pages between them, covered topics ranging from the people to the conditions and to the leisure of the state. His books painted a picture of the present and potential conditions relevant to the private business sector of the British empire. Charles Reginald Enock was a Royal Society of Arts medalist and occasional Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society.[22] Working as a civil engineer, his work on Mexico makes up only one of

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[21] Enock, Reginald Charles. *Mexico: Its Ancient and Modern Civilisation, History, Political Conditions, Topography, Natural Resources, Industries and General Development*. Scribner, 1909, 165.
[22] "Petersfield Golden Wedding". *West Sussex Gazette,* June 9, 1949, 8.

his many forays into Latin and South America. His account focuses on elements relevant to empire and investment, but unlike Martin, Enock's motives overlap between the private and the public spheres. He enjoyed a relative celebrity status in his town, with his wedding receiving larger accommodation in the *West Sussex Gazette*.[23] Of these men, Lewis Spence had the strangest mix of motives. An occultist with interests in mythology and folklore—Spense approached his work with Mexico with genuine interest in local legends and culture. [24] But that interest was shaped by his education. Deep ethnography and imperial thought steeped his schooling in Britian. Thus, the language and focus of his work aligned with imperial investment projects despite his admittedly different personal interests. His writings relied on Porfiristas as well as revolutionary sources from during regime change. C.B. Waite was a US photographer. He lived in Mexico for a time before the Revolution. His dodgy relationship with local authorities—some praising his attention, others seeing him as a subversive—was maintained through his photographs. He sold images of Indigenous bodies and ruins to tourists, always spying on the locals for more. These photos would end up ultimately in newspapers, cataloguing the types and norms of people, labor, and indeed the state itself. These travelogues and *tipos* all shared that connecting language of terminology, leisure, and modernization. Their perceptions reflect official and implicit efforts to understand Mexico as either backward or Europhile. This was the orbit Díaz drove the state towards—a modernity steeped in ethnographic language, appealing to imperial and investment interests.

For most Americans, travelogues and photographs made up their only contact with their southern neighbor's culture.[25] Travel writers carried with them an imperial agenda. Photographers and writers sought to find evidence of a backward culture that justified the market and industrial invasion of the United States. Ruíz articulated this imperial drive as implicit in many. Men like C. B. Waite primed others to look at the same symbols he had: bodies, poverty, and Indigenous people. As official projects turned over newspapers and official's statements, a subconscious, imperialist perception colored most interactions between foreigners and Mexico.

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[23] *West Sussex Gazette*, 8.
[24]Melton, Gordon J. *Encyclopedia of Occultism & Parapsychology: A Compendium of Information on the Occult Sciences, Magic, Demonology, Superstitions, Spiritism, Mysticism, Metaphysics, Physical Science, and Parapsychology, with Biographical and Bibliographical Notes and Comprehensive Indexes, Volume One*. Gale Group, 2001, vii-xi.
[25] Ruíz, *Americans in the Treasure House*, 21-22.

Notably this is not true for every traveler. Charles Lummis notably carried more respect for Indigenous preservation than many American contemporaries. However, even in the case of Lummis, an imperial language of progress defined through physical *tipos* persisted. This work does not cover every travelogue written about Mexico coming from England or America. It focuses on those sources whose authors bore connections to imperial projects or the Jockey Club. I argue that such a selection does not amount to cherry picking. Many writers and photographers focused on the Jockey Club. By utilizing foreign works with their own political motives, the Porfiriato normalized fashions and practices—establishing a series of norms reflective of a new modernity.

Porfirian officials courted foreign observers from American and England because of positivist beliefs about modernity. The United States proved its military supremacy during the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848, where it seized over half of the state's territory. Subsequent, rapid industrial development from their northern neighbor between 1865 and 1900 provided not only a model but a motive to modernize—the traumas of the war and threat of an industrialized, imperial neighbor sculpted Porfirian urgency. Among the models provided by the industrializing West, Comteam positivism had a lasting impact in shaping the regime. The intellectual response to the industrial revolution believed improving efficiency of systems and workers was possible through scientific management. And more broadly, beliefs about the racial importance of workers and states for modernity embedded in Mexican positivist thought encouraged the Porfiriato to further mimic the Anglo-Nations. Yet more than imitation, they sought validation. The approval of these White nations would transfer a kind of cultural authority onto the regime. Establishments like railways paid photographers to capture proof of modernization. And while the whims of travelers were not always so easy to control, the regime tried because the approval of these writers influenced the acceptance of the broader, international community. Because so few outsiders interacted with Mexico, travelogues and photographs gave many their only glimpse into Mexico. Having positive accounts from White sources about the Porfiriato's European continuity gave the regime authority, legitimacy, and recognition from the White, industrial world. Bleached Mexicana and its *tipos* served domestic interests through cultivating clubs and members' indicative of an emergent, mestizo race; and in doing so, the regime courted foreign gazes that would project that presented culture internationally.

Other sources come in the form of newspapers and government records. For newspapers, *La Voz de México* and *El Imparcial* make up the largest contributors. American newspapers make a few, scant appearances as well. They provide records and advertisements for the Jockey Club itself. In *El Imparcial*, a reader gets a sense for how the English translation appealed to Americans. The Mexican newspaper desired to cultivate specific, masculine ideas about the races. Those ideas had foreign as well as authentic elements to Mexican culture. The Congreso Internaciónal de Instrucción Pública gives voice to direct government intentions. Individuals within the government, such as José Yves Limantour, offer vignettes into their own histories and thoughts through diaries and accounts. Photographs preserve the appearance of members and moments from Porfirian goal culture. From the Jockey Club to the Creelman Interview with President Díaz, images and their contexts support narratives of a transformative culture intent on shaping domestic and foreign perceptions of norms and modernity. Financial experts from the 1920s offer an account for the banking crisis of 1883, which this work argues played a part in the downfall of the Jockey Club by wounding the capacity of audiences to take part in betting as a form of participation.

The focus of this research might raise eyebrows among historians. Elites and institutions as well as foreigners make up the principal actors, which goes against the dominant idea of "bottom-up" history. Both deliberate and inherent factors drove this decision. First, this study looks at elite culture. Policy and beliefs espoused by Científicos relied upon positivist and Social Darwinist beliefs. Couched within those beliefs were templates for modernity. In focusing on how the pursuit of modernity reflected in leisure, the narrative naturally required insights on the designs of the Porfiriato. Actors like Porfirio Díaz, José Yves Limantour, and Justo Sierra thus make more sense than *peones* for this purpose. But inherently the issue of literacy compounds this decision. During the Porfirato, literacy rates only approached "...no more than 28 percent by 1910…" with those able to read frequently being upper-class Mexicans.[26] Education mirrored society, with the north and urban centers in the north especially receiving the most opportunities.[27] Reliance upon written words and records inherently blocked many working-class

[26] Hernández, Kelly Lytle. *Bad Mexicans: Race, Empire, and Revolution*. W.W. Norton & Company, 2022, 60.
[27] Vaughan, *Social Class in Mexico*, 44- 47.

and Indigenous actors from playing a vocal role in this study. These two factors combined—focus and limitations—shaped the selection of principal actors chosen for this work.

Of course, workers play a role in this story. Their actors may not have written down their thoughts; but through participation or lack thereof, *peones* expressed satisfaction or discontent not only with leisure but with norms. The story of the Jockey Club, how it opened to fanfare only to fade with the bank runs of the mid-1880s, tells one of these stories. Sanguinary sports and trophy hunts tell another. Between the lines of travelogues and official statements, feelings are brought to the surface. Workers, as Lytle might phrase it, "won't be silenced". The average Mexican serves as the basis against which Porfirian positivism measured modernity. Projects to change the worker drove Sierra towards cheaper operas and choirs. The battle for and against sanguinary sports demonstrated deep, cultural continuities with which the regime wrestled for control. As subjects, targets, projects, individuals, and gauges—this study presents evidence of their thoughts if not quotation of their words.

Chapters

In chapter two, the Jockey Club and presentation culture serve as the focus. This elite institution emerged in 1881, spiritually answering the call from Mexican newspapers to improve the "horseflesh" of Mexican stallions.[28] From its inception to the late 1880s, the Jockey Club enjoyed popular support. Economic downturns and the bank runs hurt the public's ability to participate through traditional means of gambling. And by the time that José Yves Limantour wrestled control of the financial crisis, the regime had changed. Money congregated in carriageways, stucco facades, and fountains met the riches couched in the dress of members. Dressed in Western fashion, elites imitated the interests and leisure of the industrialized world. Through physical *tipos*, they embodied Porfirian goal culture. In the process, elites created a striking visible distinction between the upper and lower-classes. The Jockey Club and elite leisure followed the transformation of the guard. They jettisoned established norms in favor of a presentation culture meant to appeal to Western values. Fees, membership, architecture, attire, and foreign opinions make this all too clear. Both chapter two and chapter three use Beezley's voting framework to explore public support and reception to presented culture and bleached Mexicana.

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[28] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 26

Chapter three delves deeper into the way that class and culture overlap. In sports, Indigenous and traditional stories mixed with Western practices. Newspapers like *La Voz de México* and *El Imparcial* appealed to domestic and foreign markets with accounts of leisure. *El Imparcial* in particular wrote columns in English that presented horse races as masculine, lucrative, and daring. The efforts to demonstrate modernity through the curation of leisure conflicted with local understandings of culture. Sanguinary sports showed how local understandings crossed class barriers, prompting Porfirian authorities to either segregate or outlaw these sports. Yet efforts to truncate their practice furthered the European appearance of the Porfiriato itself. A regime whose principal hero cut his teeth on undoing the Intervention now appeared closer to Napoleon than Júarez. Efforts to bridge the growing cultural-cognitive gap relied on official versions of identity imposed through education and leisure. Trophy hunting represented efforts to project patriarchal norms in which elite men subordinated rural lands and Indigenous peoples to modernity. In Creelman's Interview—famous for catching Díaz's anti-liberal, authoritarian beliefs—an image taken by the dicator's son put forward a hunting trip which symbolically represented what the interview revealed. Schooling, opera, and hunting expressed symbolic authority and provided templates for Porfirian Mexicana. Efforts to mythologize sporting culture to present a desired, modern culture engendered anger at an increasingly alien administration.

The final chapter—chapter four—examines the overlap between race and class. Written accounts and photographs formed the *tipos* which newspapers, travelogues, and magazines declared as norms. By disarticulating both working and Indigenous groups from their social contexts, conditions of poverty and ethnicity blended. This naturalization of working conditions and race fueled both US and Porfirian ideas about modernization. Positivist thinkers utilized leisure and education, attempting to transform the racial caste of lower-class Mexicans. The connection between modernity and labor demanded a radical transformation of cultural and ethnic conditions in the mind of Díaz's Científicos. Blanqueamiento, or cultural Whitening, was the principal objective of social projects aimed at workers. The Porfiriato's desire for foreign acceptance placed an emphasis on a cult or presentation surrounding these factors.

A conclusion at the end works to link the ideas of the chapters together into a single line of thought. The lessons of class, culture, and ethnicity may serve as a medium to observe any number of groups or nations. What lessons might be uncovered from social conditions when

leisure and popular culture are imagined as reflections of norms and conditions is not new. The Jockey Club represents in form, fashion, and membership an official effort from the Porfiriato to utilize leisure as a transformative medium. Positivist visions of modernization carried racial beliefs about workers. Authorities had clubs, photos, and newspapers promote new norms and a Western culture to shape workers into models which resembled European and American contemporaries. Their efforts mixed class, culture, and race. Authorities frustrated local understandings and alienated the majority through fashion and finance—wielding leisure as an instrument to win authority from abroad and prove authenticity at home.

Chapter 2 - The Jockey Club: A Ritualized Projection of Transformative Culture

Introduction

The Porfiriato, a regime spanning thirty-seven years, saw the group emerge in 1881. A photograph from 1935 captured the exposition hall at the Jockey Club. Even twenty-four years afterwards the ostentatious space presented an enduring sense of decorative pomp and pride. At the center of the room, there sits a photograph of a man. This round image is set inside a frame as large as a door. Decorative trim flows from the frame to the pillars at the walls. An inlaid fountain, crowned with the half-head of a fleur-de-lie neighbors the great photo. Fine engravings swirl and race across every surface. More photographs fan out, following the walls—some as large as doors, others as small as pocketbooks. Some places these frames are stacked end-to-end, two to three high. The height guaranteed an onlooker would almost certainly maintain eye contact with at least one immortal visage of some man or saint. In front of these, benches are set out for onlookers. Electric lights dangle from cables above for the exposition's audience. Despite the haphazard leanings of shelves and pictures on the tops of them, a general air of reverence fills this room.[29] The shortcomings on display in this photograph are hard to determine as being endemic to the club. The nearly two-and-a-half decades after the Porfirio Díaz administration seem just as likely culprits for the disrepair of the room as innate clutter. Built before the Reform War, *La Casa de Azulejos* and the Jockey Club represented an aristocratic and archaic institution. Elite funding, décor, and members contrasted with an inherited, liberal constitution. While the East of Mexico City sat underdeveloped and in the shadow of the West, the Jockey Club's committee decorated the building in French fashions, parading images of their beliefs before the segregated audience they removed from the public sphere.

The Porfirian compromise subordinating liberalism—owing to the struggle to meet its own demands through limited means—to bureaucratic, pragmatic clientelism fostered an environment of elitism and selective progress.[30] Builders erected gilded exteriors costing

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[29] *Exposición en el Jockey Club de pinturas antiguas*, 1935, Colección Casasol | Serie Jockey Club, Sanborns, Casa del O. Mundial. Colección Archivo Casasola: Fototeca Nacional, 2016.
[30] Garner, *Porfirio Díaz*, 19-21.

thousands, while the city lacked home-to-home water distribution for its citizens. No plazas, streets, or monuments commemorating the origin of the state made up for the cost of living in the capital. High rent drove many of even the elite out to the countryside. In fashion and style, the regime promoted a picture of modernity and self separate from all but the cherry-picked indigenous past.[31] From Francophilia to its failings, the Jockey Club mirrored the administration's broader cultural impact. From enjoying early popularity in 1882 to struggling to find an audience by 1907, the club rode and reflected the regime. Popularity in these instances was in flux—both in scale and in audience. Before the 1890s, the racetracks measured popularity in attendance which included *peones* and laborers. Newspapers appealing to attendance times and the failure of the *Píñon* Track supported this idea. Popularity among members and Científicos remained stable throughout the Club's lifespan. For the most part, popularity refers to the influx and exodus of public support for the racetracks unless otherwise stated.

The stucco design adorned in pillars; fountains; and blue and white tiling testified to both the upper-classes' ostentation and fascination with French culture and design. Horses as both a symbol of elitism and a medium for Western observers encouraged a perception of a bleached Mexicana. The way members of the Jockey Club dressed and spoke set them apart—in culture and capital. The *charro* style of dress and Club requirements for saddles and outfits demanded and presented the vast wealth of its constituency. Those prices and products the club gave its name displayed a disconnect with, if not outright contempt for the working-classes in Mexico. At the same time, they refashioned a portion of the Porfirian elite into styles familiar and acceptable to the West. The Jockey Club between 1881 and 1917 served as an aristocratic club for upper-class Mexicans; a patron and advocate of horse races; and a principal institution for shaping the West's perception of the republic. Yet the club's tracks depended on the support of a constituency shunned by the club—*peones.* Before the 1890s, it enjoyed support from the working class. At all times, foreigners and elites within the country admired it. While establishing many Porfirian royalty names, it grew to reflect contradictions innate within the regime. It clung to apocryphal tales of horsemanship and liberal reform but never integrated into the mythologized past promoted by Porfirio Díaz. The club instead cemented the social

[31] Agostoni, Claudia. *Monuments of Progress: Modernization and Public Health in Mexico City, 1876 – 1910*. University of Calgary Press, 2003, 90.

stratification endemic to the regime.[32] Its construction, fashion, ornamentation, and focus on Western leisure and appeal alienated it culturally and economically from the average Mexican. Yet the members of the Jockey Club presented themselves as authentic. Yet that authenticity adhered to a bleached Mexicana more reflective of Porfirian hopes for a Western modernity rather than rural understandings of community. The Jockey Club demonstrated the ways in which cosmopolitanism and elitism shaped Mexico's approach to modernization. Modern Mexico, as envisioned by the Porfiriato, dressed and displayed European habits and beliefs. It housed men with power who courted cosmopolitan tastes and international friends. Club membership reflected participation not only in a sport, but also in a drive towards a particular modernity. The Jockey Club promoted that new Mexicana to the world. In its leisure, constituency, and architecture the Club courted Western audiences and approval. Efforts to appeal to the West frustrated local understandings of race culture. Attempts to retain authenticity struggled against the drive of leading men like Limantour's push for modernity. Initial support for the races owed much of its success to a betting culture which the 1883 financial crisis removed. The Jockey Club of Mexico (1881-1917) served to promote the positivist modernity championed by the regime through constructing *tipos* for Western audiences. From its architecture, membership rules, fashion codes, and racing culture—the club cemented class divides overlooked by the foreigners whom the Club fascinated. When the banking crisis of 1883 broke the betting culture which had floated worker's ability to participate, the Club decayed from a place of cross-class engagement into a collection of rarely haunted monoliths to elite alienation. This chapter follows that transformation.

The Jockey Club

Chief among sports, the horse race changed substantially in its presentation following independence. Its apocryphal beginning lay with the story that Hernán Cortéz, having landed at Vera Cruz in 1519, charged a pair of his riders with the duty of a race to "impress the messengers from Montezuma".[33] Whatever truth lay in this story, the shape of Mexican horse riding emerging in colonial Mexico and post-colonial Mexico reflected an informal event between two riders. The contestants determined the prize sizes and the nature of reward themselves. They kept

[32] Johns, Michael. *The City of Mexico in the Age of Díaz.* University of Texas Press, 1997, 61.
[33] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 26.

tracks short, owing to beliefs about Mexico's elevation.[34] Horse racing remained a contest of display rather than speed or agility. To that end, trotting served as the principal attraction in early races.

Independence opened the doors to foreign influences. In the 1840s, the British tried to formalize the sport. Travelers insisted "...on the style they knew, including circular tracks, jockey clubs, and studbooks".[35] While this form of racing served as a guide if not a full template for the Jockey Club in 1881, Mexico in 1840 lacked much incentive to change from their informal style of racing. Even as horseracing shifted to studbooks and Western construction by the end of the century, Mexican ideas still shaped the sport. Architects built tracks in the circular, British style. But races remained brief owing to the belief "horses could not tolerate longer distances at Mexico's eight-thousand-foot altitude".[36] Geographical identity both limited and shaped the development of the sport. In the same way, Mexican identity did not give readily to foreign pressures. Local authorities maintained a continuity with past races. *Charros* formed a conservative block, their traditional style of racing a dress remaining more popular than Western conversions until 1881. That year, Mexican elites formed the Jockey Club.[37]

In 1881 the Jockey Club grew out of a collection of aristocratic Mexicans who organized the sport. British tracks, studbooks, and French betting—these elements characterized some of the many Europhile elements of its transformation. In the very construction of their tracks, they chose to face the Club to the West. The Jockey Club trusted Richard de Bergue with the construction of the Peralvillo Tracks. Influenced by experiences in France, England, and the United States, de Bergue constructed both the first track and stadium for the Club. Brackets split up races into half-hour segments whose prizes varied based on those brackets instead of interpersonal agreement.[38] The Jockey Club and its architects chose Sunday to hold these races. The Peralvillo sported a mile long outer track and a half-mile inner oval, built to house 720 elite

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[34] Álvarez del Villar, José. *Men and Horses of Mexico: History and Practice of "Charrería"*, Mexico: Ediciones Lara, S.A., 1979, 21; Muhlenfordt, Eduardo. *Versuch einer getreuen Schilderung der Republik Mexiko, ed. Ferdinand Anders*, 1884 reprint. Graz, Austria, Akademischer Druck u. Verlagsanstal, 1969, 1:312-313
[35] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 26.
[36] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 26.
[37] Barret, *The Standard Guide*, 103.
[38] *Two Republics*, Jan. 12, April 6, 1882.

persons with 4000 extra for fans seated in a concourse. This first track of the Jockey Club's opened after a brief delay by Sunday, 23 April 1882 to all Mexico City's “wealth and fashion”, including President Manuel González, his cabinet, and the diplomatic corps.[39] During the nominal period of Díaz's pause from politics, the Jockey Club opened its doors specifically to the capital's 'wealth and fashion'. Already the design of the Club courted a specific clientele. Despite this, the Club enjoyed wild popularity during its opening races.

Initial races focused on trotting styles and military participants proved outrageously popular. Events drew enough of a crowd to fill the venue of more than 4,720 seats; subsequent races stuffed the area outside with even more.[40] Alongside trotting races, the steeplechase emerged. This 1,500 meter race "interrupted by a wall, a ditch, a second fence, a double ditch, and ending with two more fences" quickly became the most popular of the time.[41] Competitors W.H Keller, F. Koelig, C. Clinch, and Mr. Struck raced to win not money, but instead a work of fine art. The profits earned marked the success of the Jockey Club's opening races; across four days the club garnered 6,000 MXN (217,723 USD in 2026) in receipts alone. Invested in their profit and blue ocean market, the members agreed to fix issues such as sodding the track to fight dust. Calling back to a newspaper editor's efforts in 1869, the club professed an aim to "improve Mexican horseflesh", and with that pretense they gained exception from the municipal capital tax levied on public leisure and entertainment.[42]

Already in its origins, the Jockey Club rose to a prominent, elite position. Not only through its simultaneously lucrative business model and tax exemption, but also through its executive committee. When González stepped down and General Díaz returned, many of the founders drifted into positions of federal power. In the 1890's, a caste of Porfirian royalty rose from the Jockey Club. Manuel Romero Rubio was the then president of the club—a Científico, politician, and Díaz's father-in-law.[43] Pedro Gallardo, Samuel Knight, José Gallardo, Román Guzmán, Manuel Nicolín, and Pablo Escadón y Barrón all cut their teeth in service to the Jockey Club. Yet perhaps the least suspected, most influential member would have been Joseph Yves

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[39] *Two Republics,* Jan. 12, April 6, 1882.
[40] *Two Republics,* Jan. 12, April 6, 1882.
[41] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 28.
[42] *Two Republics,* Jan. 12, April 30, May 7, 11, 14, 1882.
[43] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 29.

Limantour, whose son would rise to the position of Minister of Finance. Later, José Yves Limantour served as president of the Jockey Club itself. The Minister of Hacienda participated in the changing of the guard in 1893, preserving the political and positivist tradition of the committee, and coinciding with a marked rise in authoritarian control.[44]

Participation in the sport remained the privilege of the privileged. Working-class Mexicans participated by gambling on outcomes rather than racing themselves. By betting large sums, spectators aimed to display their own ostentation and masculine, stoic character. A calm and unmoving face in the presence of great risk demonstrated stoicism and indifference to loss. Endangering one's well-being for the sake of pride served to express both daring and proper etiquette.[45] Riders had direct participation. Joaquin Amor rode a colt named La Poussin. His competition at the Peralvillo Track's 1905 October meet had the most daring and close competition of the second day.[46] Even when Joaquin lost the race by half-a-length, it "was very popular and both [Joaquin Amor and Alex Amor] were heavily played".[47] For men like Joaquin Amor—"Mexico's favorite sportsman"—directly participating in the sport, the risks were quite literal. In one race, Amor flew from the back of his horse, landing on his head several meters from his mount. Initially, his injuries looked so severe that onlookers thought he died.[48] *Peones* could not engage in direct, physical peril. Instead they endangered their wallets with betting, and in doing so found a way to participate in the sport. Many circumvented poverty through pawning off personal items for temporary cash. Betting appeared so crucial to generating participation that when the Piñón Racetrack opened and "promptly lost" 100,000 MXN (3,628,712 USD in 2026), the change in betting styles from French to American systems was blamed.[49] The 1894 failure came after the appointment of Limantour and recovery of banking, so economic pressures likely contributed to the track's failure. But changes to the Paris Mutual style of betting for the more modest Indianilla track in the suburbs of La Piedad road implied beliefs that betting culture

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[44] Martin, *Vol. I,* 222.
[45] Breen, T.H. "Horses and Gentlemen: The Cultural Significance of Gambling among the Gentry of Virginia". William and Mary Quarterly 3rd Ser., 34, no. 2, 1974, 239-257.
[46] *The Mexican Herald*, October 16, 1905, 5.
[47] *The Mexican Herald*, October 16, 1905, 5.
[48] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 31.
[49] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 30.

determined public participation. The French betting method displayed odds based on the total number of wagers placed for or against an outcome.[50] Evident and displayed risk made both betting and the gamblers' daring clear. Before the fall of the Porfiriato, the Jockey Club gained something of a reputation as a gambling house in the eyes of Western travelers.[51] British tracks and French gambling rules characterized these races. Wealthy elites dressed in English fashions, and in time they would follow a French Mexican as Club president. Working-class Mexicans participated in the only way they could. Their meager finances both precluded their participation and allowed them to understand the sport as an expression of masculine virtues. Identity of the self allowed initial races to enjoy support despite the foreign shape of the sport itself.

The earliest opposition to the Westernizing races came from the Mexican upper-class, from *charro* racers. These men believed that the traditional style of racing held at Coyoacán, reflecting fashions and practices more familiar to their apocryphal past, served as the true horsemanship while the Jockey Club transformed the sport into a gambling den.[52] *Charros* accused the Club of courting capitalistic vices and dressing in foreign fashions that broke from traditional styles and conventions. This cultural break occurred among both genders, and expressed itself largely through fashion. China poblana worn by women at the *charreada* was Mexican; the Jockey Club's female spectators displayed garish and ostentatious foreign fashions in the eyes of the traditionalists. While initially an inter-elite argument, popular discontent grew at the Peralvillo. In 1905, clerks in the Jockey Club were slow to pay out winning bets. *The Mexican Herald* described how infuriated it made the public to be denied their money. The column also carefully separated the Jockey Club from the fiasco—claiming the clerks were "incompetent" and that the club lost substantial money in the process.[53] At the Peralvillo, elites were reluctant to pay what they owed. The public dealt with an incompetent bureaucracy. And races suffered from unacceptable conditions—chiefly those which made betting difficult, whether for mechanical, metrological, or visibility reasons.[54] A fundamental frustration of betting culture exposed the foreign elements which seldom appealed to working Mexicans.

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[50] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 30.
[51] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 40.
[52] Leaflet, "La Casa de los Azulejos". Distributed by Sanborns, throughout Mexico City.
[53] *The Mexican Herald*, October 16, 1905, 5.
[54] *The Mexican Herald*, October 16, 1905, 5.

Blanqueamiento, a process of social and racial whitening, found expression in Porfirian policies. Fashions as well as leisure offered an avenue to drive cultural norms towards European ones. Visual *tipos* sat in the stands at the racetracks. They provided proof and examples of the presented culture of bleached Mexicana for foreign eyes. Blanqueamiento coupled with a political and economic breakdown of traditional communications inflamed class tensions. If sports truly reflected popular interests and diversion, then the decline in interest in the Jockey Club represented a decline in faith and belief that the Porfiriato's Mexicana was Mexico's Mexicana. Club culture and fashion further changed the type of Mexican Porfirian Mexico accepted.

Constructing and Presenting an Image to the West

The Jockey Club building reflected elite understandings of comfort, dwelling, and class. Pillars with ornate grooves rose to support a balcony trimmed with ornate railings. Awnings stretched over windows, providing shade. A fountain whose waters must have babbled in welcome to visitors nestled itself between the two main doors. Blue and white checkered floor tiles carried wheel, hoof, and then foot to the entrance of the club.[55] These porcelain tiles came from China, "at that time, [they were] worth their wealth in silver".[56] Steeples stretched up like pronged crowns from the Jockey Club's sloped, tiled roof.[57] The construction of the club reflected the broader aristocratic styles of the time. In Mexico City, upper-class dwellings frequently sported courtyards, interior or exterior, open to the sky.[58] Fountains, courtyards, balconies, and great carriageways lead to the front entrance only. And it is this style which the Jockey Club reflected. Mexican manors reflected French tastes. He wrote that "These are large and spacious [areas], and are furnished in the French manner, for Gallic taste has a strong hold upon the Mexican cultured classes".[59] This bleached Mexicana fascinated foreign travel writers. Foreigners saw in the Jockey Club and like institutions justifications and examples of Mexican

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[55] Martin, *Vol. I*, 222
[56] Barret, *The Standard Guide*, 103.
[57] *Interior del Edificio del Antiguo Jockey Club, Reprografía*, 1950, Colección Casasola | Serie Jockey Club, Sanborns, Casa del O. Mundial, Colección Archivo Casasola: Fototeca Nacional, 2016.
[58] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexicans*, 25.
[59] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexicans*, 26.

modernity. Imperial agendas and personal interests guided their accounts, but the appearance of the Jockey Club repeatedly implied it carried a cultural appeal to foreigners. This was no coincidence. Down to its very construction, the club presented itself as an aristocratic, elite, and exclusive institution. Its members formed the *tipos* of modern Mexican within Porfirian presented culture. In many ways the Jockey Club did not even present as Mexican.[60]

The beautiful stonework, wealthy decor, paintings, Western architecture, and opulence formed the face with which the Jockey Club greeted not only local but also international persons. For the latter community, the building appeared as an indisputable marvel. Western travelers praised the Jockey Club for its depiction of modern Mexican leisure. Writings and photos centered on its alleged significance to Mexican culture. Englishmen lauded its extravagance and exclusivity. Inhabiting a "superb" Spanish house older than the street it resided on at *Calle, San Francisco*; Percy Martin wrote that it seemed "the most aristocratic Club in Mexico".[61] Enock dubbed the Club the "...chief club and sport centre of the wealthy…" in Mexico City, noting the distinct honor it was for a "foreigner to be invited as a visiting member to this institution".[62] Spence echoed Martin, noting that the Jockey Club, above all others, stood at the apex of Mexican culture.[63] The praise afforded to the institution extended beyond the building and services provided—beyond the drinks and books and paintings. The Club fascinated travel writers because of its constituent class. The Jockey Club presented a form of Mexicana which appealed to the West's understanding of civil culture. Mechanized agriculture, factories, and an emergent capitalist class dressed in familiar hats and shirts characteristic of Porfiririan modernization. It drew eyes to a kind of Mexico the Porfiriato wanted to be seen.

Leisure, in this case horses, further styled the Club's bleached Mexicana. Horsemanship in all its forms appealed greatly for its skill and display—noted a different but no less "exceptional" when compared to European styles. Through equestrian showings, Mexico demonstrated a virtuous, familiar face to foreigners. Enock praised the *caballero* as "in some respects the most expert horsemen in the world".[64] This quality reflected not only skill, but also a

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[60] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexicans*, 25-26.
[61] Martin, *Vol. I*, 222.
[62] Enock, *Mexico: Its Ancient and Modern Civilisation*, 201.
[63] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexicans*, 40.
[64] Enock, *Mexico: Its Ancient and Modern Civilisation*, 167.

reserved class. The rider did not move like "the humble cotton-clad Indian labourer [slinking] to his toil".[65] Instead they carried themselves in their liveries or *charro* dress down the streets of the capital, parading their dignity. Martin agreed readily with Enock. For him, the Mexican horseman appeared neither "poor" nor "indifferent". Instead, these proud riders sat upon "their steeds like Centaurs…[ranking] among the most graceful and accomplished riders of the world".[66] Their praise of the displayed culture came with strings. Both Martin and Enock wrote for British investors, their opinions fueled imperial ambitions and perceptions about the state. Yet their praises reflected a desire to promote the Western appearance of the presented culture as dominant and legitimate. For the Porfiriato, foreign words of praise—separate from their purpose—still served to convey a kind of authority to the regime. Newspapers and writing coming out of Mexico likewise courted foreign perceptions. The *Mexican Herald* recounted races at the Indianilla track. In English, the newspaper reported the tempo of races. Horse's weight, starting position, and final placement contributed to final assessments on whether a race had been "won easily" or "hard won".[67] These papers came out of Mexico, but they wrote for audiences in the English-speaking world. Across four races, newspapers sold racing summaries as a means of presenting their bleached Mexicana abroad. Columns simplified details about the jockeys and their horses. In the few lines allotted to them, the *Mexican Herald* provided glimpses at masculine prowess. They gave great attention to the start and end of the races, the level of domination which jockeys commanded, and the prizes won by first and second place.[68] The Jockey Club—with its lavish reputation not only for its architecture and members, but also for its subject sport—attracted respect in ways that other developments and clubs could not. The Club showed off men dressed in modern, Western fashion partaking in cosmopolitan leisure. It presented the West with not only an image for modernity in Mexico, but also a subject for it. By consolidating cosmopolitan fashion and high leisure in one space, the Jockey Club offered physical *tipos* in fashion, members, and leisure.

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[65] Enock, *Mexico: Its Ancient and Modern Civilisation*, 167.
[66] Martin, *Vol. I*, 187.
[67] *Mexican Herald*. Mexico: Mexican Publishing Company, Nov. 20, 1895, 6.
[68] *Mexican Herald*, 6.

Western praise, however, did not reflect local popularity—a fact which surprised the West as much as the upper-class of Mexico. Spence noted that despite the Jockey Club's efforts to encourage racing with the opening of new tracks and newspaper ads, they "have by no means met with success".[69] Attempts to draw in broader public participation had met with "lukewarm appreciation," which Spence thought odd for a culture "where horsemanship is of such vital importance".[70] Enock, Martin, and Spence all wrote after the 1890s, when compounding economic and authoritarian factors had gutted public willingness and ability to participate. However, cultural stratification had impeded the spread of the sport since the beginning of the Peralvillo Track. Despite enjoying initial success with their opening races in 1882, the Jockey Club gradually lost public support. As time went on, the regime culturally alienated demographics disjointed mechanically from the sport. Cultural backlash drove many working Mexicans away from elite clubs and their sponsored leisure. But before then, barriers to the public's popular participation were erected by the Jockey Club. Rules banned *peones* from Club membership; costs prevented them from racing at the tracks.

The Cost of Registration, Participation, Time, and Cultural Alienation

Emerging in 1881, the Jockey Club built upon apocryphal legends and *charro* traditions of horsemanship.[71] British, French, and American influences came following independence. Diplomacy and contact imported stud books, racetracks, and jockey clubs in "the British style". But Mexican choosiness tailored the races to fit the Mexican landscape. Between 1840 and 1881, races remained casual. Only in 1881, when members of the capital's elite organized the idea of the Peralvillo Tracks did the cosmopolitan fashion of the Jockey Club seed itself in Mexico.[72] Opening later than expected, the Jockey Club hosted its first races on April 23, 1882. "Large crowds" gathered, growing only larger on following days for subsequent races.[73] The over 4,700 seats overflowed with spectators and their interest. Newspapers advertising for races in 1883 offered up large sums of money to both winners and breeders. Yet for all the popularity in the beginning, by the time of Martin's account in 1907, the Jockey Club struggled to find popular

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[69] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexicans,* 113.
[70] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexicans,* 113.
[71] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club,* 26.
[72] Barret, *The Standard Guide,* 103.
[73] *Two Republics,* Jan. 12, April 6, 1882.

buy-in. Principal issues plagued the races. Economic gulfs and class divides prevented poorer Mexicans from direct participation. Social barriers blocked entry of that same majority from entering the club itself. Betting—the main way the public participated—became more difficult as bank runs and economic stratification worsened. Primarily, the issue of money and the high costs of participation inflamed social issues which drove public support away from the races.

Horsemanship prohibited participation through its myriad costs. From the saddles to the steeds to the ambience of the club itself—the cost of entry into the sport or Club loomed well outside of the reach of the Mexican farmer, miner, or factory worker.[74] To race, jockeys paid registration fees which varied depending on the bracket and the race itself. These could range anywhere from free to fifteen and even seventy MXN (544 to 2,540 USD in 2026).[75] For poor workers like water-carriers who earned little more than fifty to seventy-five centavos a day (18.14 to 27.22 USD in 2026) for their labor—drawing water from aqueducts in the capital and ferrying them to houses—this entry fee alone accounted for several months' worth of labor.[76] No factory worker or miner fared any better. Laboring Mexicans lacked the financial ability to pursue a shift towards becoming jockeys. If a water carrier had ambitions, they lacked the ability. The price to merely register a horse for a race filtered many Mexicans whose labor could not afford them even that meager luxury.

But the poor might attend what they could not afford to participate in. News ads trumpeting coming races on Sundays beckoned both participants and spectators. Yet the turnout still struggled. What times to hold the races proved a problem in and of itself. The Jockey Club operated in the mornings, from nine-to-ten and then from three-to-six in the afternoon.[77] As a result, races were matched with the operating hours of club members and attendants. However, for the poorer classes who worked in factories, mines, and farms—labor already claimed their mornings. This schedule snag bothered the club to such a degree that they appeared willing to conform their schedules to the lower-classes': "Extraordinary races for the 29 of July 1883—at ten in the morning. If the time is bad, they will postpone the race to three in the afternoon in

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[74] Martin, *Vol. I*, 186.
[75] Echanove, Manuel Nicolin. "Programa General para la Segunda Temporada de Carreras de Caballos de 1884", *La Voz de México*, 1884, 4.
[76] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexicans*, 42.
[77] Echanove, "Programa General", 4.

three days".[78] The flexibility afforded to the audience contrasted with the strict registration policies for jockeys, implying an awareness and even eagerness to draw in the broader public's interest and attendance. Future races proved that *peón* scheduling had triumphed. Standard racing times began at 2:30 pm on Sundays, running in half-hour segments until the last race at 4:30 pm.[79] Opening races enjoyed the sold-out stadiums of 4,720 persons in total—divided by class.[80] By bending to the limits of the working-classes, the Jockey Club facilitated popular ability to spectate. While timing undoubtedly remained a barrier, by no means had time truncated interest in the sport itself.

Cultural barriers troubled efforts to expand interest more than social ones. *Charro* riders felt the dress of men and women violated cultural norms. The betting den, as they saw it, promoted something contradictory to their existing identity. *Peones* persisted through the betting culture, enjoying a cross-class experience. But once the familiar method of participation decayed, all they had left was a physical embodiment of foreign fashions. Their decreasing attendance indicated that the cultural values implicit in the races conflicted with their own. Sporting clubs of almost all kinds were the domain of the elite.[81] And among them, the Jockey Club numbered "among its members the most exclusive of Mexican society".[82] Those pastimes which appealed to the average Mexican did not reflect the culture presented by the Profiriato and the Jockey Club to the West. Administrators and bureaucrats used newspapers and education in an effort to sway public support and interest towards Western diversions.[83] Despite their best efforts, however, by the turn of the twentieth-century when men like Martin, Spence, and Enock were writing—it was clear to foreign observers that popular interest from the general public lay outside the racetrack. Years before Enock, Martin, or Spence were writing club life near the Reforma isolated itself from the poorer east and rural parts of Mexico. Cultural understandings shaped barriers between earning groups. Upper-classes segregated their private and public spaces, keeping *peones* as a group apart. The Jockey Club was no exception to this. The

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[78] Unknown. "Jockey Club de México: Hipódromo de Peralvillo", *La Voz de México*, 1883, 4.
[79] Echanove, "Programa General", 4.
[80]Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 27.
[81] Martin, *Vol. I*, 245.
[82] Barret, *The Standard Guide*, 103.
[83] Vaughan, *Social Class in Mexico*, 267.

Peralvillo Track seated 4,720 spectators, but 720 of those seats the builder Richard de Bergue set aside for "elite persons" only.[84] Club life on its own, as noted by foreign writers, selectively chose members. Economic and cultural barriers manifested in styles of dress and display. The divide between classes and their understanding of Mexicana and Mestizaje served to further alienate most Mexicans from an increasingly foreign sport. The difference furthered *tipos* perceived and presented to the West.

Despite enjoying initial popularity—with seats overflowing at the Peralvillo Track—class divides drove a wedge between the elite sport and popular support. Costs associated with registration and participation barred all the poor from racing and many of the poor from watching. Before Limantour, lending and credit crises stripped many of their financial freedoms. Under Limantour, banks stabilized, but economic disparities worsened. Domestic conditions flagged between 1876 and 1900. By the time of his stewardship, production may have stabilized, but its bounties served modernization over comfort. "Food production for domestic consumption declined every year", and with a working-class barely able—many times unable—to afford living in the capital, economic conditions strangled off support.[85] A consistent decline of already meager conditions contrasted with the enrichment of stucco buildings like the Jockey Club. In that dissonance between presentation, demands, and reality; the public interest evidenced in 1882 at the Peralvillo's opening faded by 1907. Disparity gained a character of its own. Through fashion, clubs displayed the gulf between the elite and the working-classes in *tipos*. Through products, clubs declared their audiences.

Target Audiences and Tobacco

Perhaps the clearest depiction of class divide lay with tobacco products. Mexican cigars and cigarettes gained popularity overseas due to their relative abundance if not quality. Tobacco industries within the state exported their products to Europe. Their success hinged largely on the relative abundance and affordability of their product compared to importing raw tobacco to countries like England. A major export, Mexican officials jealously protected the product with tariffs and taxes.[86] Alongside their principal industries of mining and agriculture, tobacco

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[84]Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 27.
[85] Hernández, *Bad Mexicans*, 37.
[86] Martin, Percy F. *Mexico of the Twentieth Century, Vol. II.* London: Edward Arnold, 1907, 268.

production served as a means through which the Mexican economy could export goods in quantities outweighing the magnitudes of manufactured electronics and expertise the administration was importing.[87]

Workers in cigarette and cigar factories received little compensation for the process of manufacturing the popular product. Plants produced tobacco in factories in larger cities and provinces within the Mexican republic. Local workers manned these factories, rolling and wrapping the tobacco by hand as most factories lacked specific machinery to do so.[88] Martin recounted that "[for] making 2,000 cigarettes by hand the payment is 40 centavos (say 10d.), and the most expeditious workers cannot earn more than 80 centavos (Is. 8d.) a day, the average being from 40—60 centavos".[89] For relative perspective: a cab ride from the city of San Luis Potosi—where this factory in reference was located—cost fifty centavos per hour to ride.[90] If a worker sat in the middle of Martin's average, they would make in a day just enough to afford an hour's worth of a taxi ride. Workers received scraps for their labor, barely outpacing water-carriers in their wages. The cap placed on the amount they could earn in a day stunted any opportunity they might possess for enhancing their station. Most shockingly, for all their labor, these factory workers could hardly expect to purchase the products which they toiled over.

The tobacco wrapped by their hands hung ironically out of the worker's reach; at its most luxurious extremes, cigars cost more than a worker could realistically afford. Cigarettes they could afford. Made by hand, they sold for as cheap as three centavos per box; however, cigars could range anywhere from twenty to eighty MXN based on their quality.[91] And the Jockey Club, itself a wealthy institution, sported premium cigars: "The 'Jockey Club' brand, folded by special machinery and without the use of any paste, nicely wrapped in silver foil".[92] This elegant, elite style of wrapping announced not only the exclusivity of the product, but also the elite nature of the club which branded it. The tobacco christened with their name was not marketed by price or purpose for the lower-classes. For perspective, the price of roosters for cock-fights—often

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[87] Martin, *Vol. II*, 222.
[88] Martin, *Vol. II*, 113.
[89] Martin, *Vol. II*, 113.
[90] Martin, *Vol. II*, 111.
[91] Martin, *Vol. II*, 113.
[92] Martin, *Vol. II*, 268.

equated by Mexicans and European travelers to be around working horse prices—ranged from twelve to fifty MXN (435 to 1,814 USD in 2026).[93] The highest quality cigars would be one-and-a-half times more expensive than a work horse; they would cost the most enterprising worker one-hundred days of labor—assuming no other fees, taxes, rent, or purchases—to afford a box of these cigars. The Jockey Club implicitly and explicitly designed their commodities for the company which embodied their Francophile, elite values. In this manner, cigars themselves became *tipos* for bleached Mexicana through their association to institutions that championed a positivist modernity and foreign fashion.

Living *Tipos*: Template Culture Through Physical Appearance and Apparel

Cosmopolitan fashion—that which imitated the West—grew popular among wealthier Mexicans during the Porfiriato. Contact with foreign influences influenced the drift away from the sombrero towards the bowler hat. But internal efforts to reimagine authentic fashion as an extension of modernization drove changes to the elite's dress as well. In clubs, the middle-class entrepreneur displayed a commitment to a specific kind of goal culture. By donning blouses and trousers with suit coats and button-ups, they voted on an imagined community. In creating visual distinctions between classes, social divides grew in two ways. In the first, they became more distinct. The *charro* dress and Western suit distinguished the upper-class from the cotton pants of the *peón*. Another effect came by making the gap harder to cross. Elite institutions necessitated certain styles of dress. Through this, physical display served as a prerequisite to participate or join certain clubs and activities. Photographs conveyed to foreign observer's class based upon physical appearance. *Tipos* captured through participation and presentation in leisure offered justification for foreign, imperial interests and Porfirian norms. The Jockey Club was no exception.

The Jockey Club from 1881 to 1907 cemented its exclusivity through both dress styles and exclusive benefits afforded to club members. Elite horsemen outside of races adorned themselves in the *charro* style of dress. These *Rurales* or *rancheros* carried themselves with luxury and dignity. They rode on horseback through the streets of Mexico City or the paths on

[93] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexicans*, 108.

their farms or haciendas.[94] The *charro* costume included a short coat over a blouse tucked neatly in form-flattering trousers. Gold or silver lace raced around every edge and corner of the coat and lapel, flowing into patterned strips on the trousers. Chaps further covered these riders' legs. Most ostentatious of all however, were the "huge" Mexican hats "...profusely ornamented with gold or silver lace, worn principally by the rancheros, and the owner's initials are generally worked upon the front of the crown in large gold letters".[95] Every part of the vestment was trimmed with ornamentation and enlarged almost to the point of parody, to striking effect. With the horses robed to match their riders, the *charro* style was not only impressive, but expensive. Martin recalled that saddles "of the Mexican type" could cost "a thousand dollars or more".[96] And imported saddles from England or France could easily match these prices, popular as they were in the Jockey Club. Martin in 1907, writing of his adventures in Mexico, spoke to a young officer in the *Rurales* police force. The young man told stories of his Colonel possessing a saddle "which cost no less than $12,000…while another of his military friends owned one which was valued at $10,000".[97] Using his conversions, this saddle would cost 208,000 USD today. These saddles were not mere showpieces. With their richness of gold ornamentation and the quality of their leather, these "were in frequent use by their owners", and the riders in the *Rurales* took pride in the presentation of both themselves and their steeds.[98] The horses adorned in flamboyant fashions reflected their role as a status symbol. Through *charro* dress and Western saddles, horse riding standardized an image for the elite.

Races mandated certain saddles for events. An account from the *Programa General para la Segunda Temporada de Carreras de Caballos de 1884* required that any racer sporting an English saddle wear "specific Jockey suits".[99] It demanded they dress themselves in a blouse and

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[94] Of course, neither were plain riders. Rurales served as an extension of Porfirian authority. These rural police officers enforced the power and sway of local rulers. Rancheros, naturally, were farmers. But they farmed large swaths of land. More liberal than hacendados, perhaps; but regardless of ideology, they were functionally elite.
[95] Enock, *Mexico: Its Ancient and Modern Civilisation*, 244.
[96] Martin, *Vol.1*, 186.
[97] Martin, *Vol.1*, 47.
[98] Martin, *Vol.1*, 47.
[99] Echanove. "Programa General", 4

cap sporting their respective colors, white pants, and shoes or boots.[100] Cosmopolitan dress, worn by both observers and participants, repainted the tracks as part of a modern community. While exceptions were made for horses handicapped by injury or military service, bareback riders (found in a different bracket), or celebrities—a racer was ordered to match the presentation to what the Jockey Club expected.[101] The lattermost group wore the colors and fashions which popularized them. Returning champions received accommodations not only within the rules, but also with exclusive alcoves to rest themselves and their horses.[102] The Club promoted the regime's Europhile tendencies. English saddles and cosmopolitan dress mean that while the racers announced themselves as Mexican, they appeared European. It reflected positivist efforts to reshape the physical appearance and international reception of Mexican culture. But these expectations limited the accessibility of participating in the sport. The expenses exacted on would-be racers through dress codes for both jockey and horse excluded all but the wealthiest from even considering participation. These requirements for participation compounded the issues of finance and culture. Economic pressures worsened these barriers, resulting in the working-class's decreased visits to the tracks so lavishly adorned by the Jockey Club.

Standards for behavior and presentation characterized the Jockey Club's social character and expectations between 1890 and 1917. Even outside of races, club membership dictated rules for dress. The styles were broadly Western—occasionally Spanish, and frequently French. They wrapped themselves in frock-coats and silk hats, behaving with "much attention to dress and matters of ceremony".[103] Their costume inspired foreign writers to imagine modern, elite Mexicans as ethnically distinct. Englishmen like Enock described Mexican gentlemen as "Spanish-American", ignoring ethnic heritage in favor of the familiar display of European fashion and sensibility. The Jockey Club itself, they claimed, had "an air of Old Spain about it".[104] These ideas displayed both imperial desires to reframe Mexico as either near-White or Indigenous and the Porfiriato's bleached Mexicana. Spence echoed Enock's account of their

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[100] The direct wording was: "blusa y gorra de color, pantalon blanco, y zapatos o botas".
[101] Echanove. "Programa General", 4
[102] Echanove, "Programa General", 4.
[103] Enock, *Mexico: Its Ancient and Modern Civilisation*, 160-161.
[104] Barret, *The Standard Guide*, 103.

Western style, mannerisms, and distinctions from the poorer classes.[105] The Jockey Club's fashion and passion presented themselves not only as an emerging civilized power, but as a creole people.[106] Hats and shade shielded their bodies. In the presence of foreigners, many in the upper-classes appealed to their Spanish rather than their Indigenous blood. Mestizos or Mexicans then, by foreign interpretation, came to be defined by this idea of Spanish legacy. This display of Western appearance—in every sense—contrasted with the broader heroic narratives woven by the Porfiriato. This distinction between public ceremony and club life followed the increasing inward retreat of the upper-classes away from public spaces, ceremonies, and culture.[107] Whether atop a horse or inside the Jockey Club, members contrasted their styles sharply from the *peón*—embracing the European in place of the authentic.

For the lower-classes, Indigenous or Mexican, their style of dress offered no such imitation of the West—save for what the Porfiratio demanded of them.[108] The average Mexican's dress came off as unremarkable or even unsavory to Europeans. Compared to the upper or middle-class Mexican, the *peón's* dress seemed "brigand-like" to the foreign observer. Such assessments served imperial purposes. "The dress of the *peon* is picturesque, and to the foreign observer ever strikes a note of almost operatic strain" —in place of the bowler hat, they donned a sombrero with its conical top; they threw on a poncho and a *sarape* (a kind of blanket or cape) over their mouths in place of a frock-coat; and they walked the streets or plazas which the rich fled to their clubs or rode by horse or carriage to avoid.[109] Through travelogues and pictures, *tipos* emerged. From them, an understanding of labor defined by physical appearances came about through photographed and written accounts. In this way, labor came to be connected to fashion. One could imagine the nature of work performed by a *peón* by their style of dress and condition of their body.[110] The Mexican *peón*, worker, or craftsmen dressed in cottons while the wealthy dressed in silks. The contrast in dress visualized the social disparity felt through wealth

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[105]Spence, *Mexico of the Mexicans,* 25.
[106] Ruíz, *Americans in the Treasure House,* 174-175.
[107] Interactions between classes occurred. Bull-fighting and dances in public places saw the overlap—albeit segregated—of classes in spheres of entertainment. However, broadly, elite culture separated itself from the popular ceremonies endorsed and implemented by Díaz during the 1890s.
[108] The administration demanded that indigenous cotton styles be replaced by Western trousers.
[109] Enock, *Mexico: Its Ancient and Modern Civilisation,* 238.
[110] Ruíz, *Americans in the Treasure House,* 47.

and exacted through fees. For the working Mexican, the luxuries espoused, adorned, and promoted by the Jockey Club looked not only out of reach—but also alien.

The alienation of Mexican fashion snuck up on the lower-classes. Unable to afford foreign imported styles or goods, they drifted to the literal and metaphorical *sombra* sections set aside by clubs. When the Jockey Club set its rules for saddles, they simultaneously decided who could participate. The nature of expenses precluded the lower-classes. Unable to afford the fashions, differences in appearances signaled and then cemented the class divide. Driven by political ends and Limantour, apparel demonstrated adherence and faith in a particular vision of modernity. Middle-class, entrepreneurial Mexicans bannerized poverty and wealth through the curation of this bleached Mexicana. Paying for distinction and dress coupled with the luxuries thrown upon buildings and travel to form *tipos*. Beyond the *tipos* dividing classes, a structural crisis broke apart the foundational method of popular participation in Mexican leisure. The banking crisis of the early 1880s robbed Mexicans of their betting culture. With internal rivalries, principal banking institutions like Monte de Piedad loaned more money than they could repay, and as a bubble grew and burst after 1883—a bank run ensued.[111] These institutions were in charge of agriculture and mining operations; as stability failed, many *peones* who had yet to fully adapt to modern banking lost much of their faith in the system outright. So damaged was the faith in banking that by 1917, Spence was aghast at how much the *peón* saved, arguing that they buried and hoarded whatever sums they had—even to the point of never retrieving it again.[112] While he hypothesized that such a complex came from the memory of the *peón's* labor, he slapped down the notion based upon how commonplace gambling was as an activity for the lower-classes.[113] By the time Spence was writing, the economy had recovered under José Yves Limantour's reforms and centralization of the banks. Yet the lived economic crisis which persisted from 1884 to 1895 likely contributed to a withdrawal from sports like horse racing.

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[111] McCaleb, *Present and Past Banking*, 23-24.
[112] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 34.
[113] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 34.

Betting Culture and the Banking Crisis of 1883

Peones chiefly engaged with sports through a betting culture. Many even pawned goods to afford to bet on bullfights, cockfights, or horse races.[114] Yet as the decade marched on, the early-to-mid 1880s saw Mexico experience a severe financial crisis. The over lending crisis among relatively new banks in Mexico crushed *peón* confidence in credit. Foreign capital from the United States which had floated financial projects and banks across Latin America was withdrawn around the same time, leaving Mexico on its own to face the crisis. Bank runs ensued, with the government scrambling to bail out the banks instrumental to the emergent, capitalist economy. Despite the Minister of Hacienda Limantour rescuing the banks in the 1890s, the damage done by bank runs shattered public confidence in the institutions. Foreign spectators remarked in the 1890s and 1900s about *peones* uptake in personal savings—of money buried behind huts.[115] Among the myriads of other barriers, the banking crisis upset confidence in the emergent classes within Porfirian modernity. Affording the betting culture no longer appealed to *peones* concerned with subsistence in the face of financial instability. Poverty might be overcome, but instability made their betting culture unsustainable.

Walter F. McCaleb wrote on the financial history of Mexican banking. Writing in the 1920s following the regime change, he retroactively situated banking and finance within a continuity of foreign adaptation. McCaleb argued that banking as a system only truly came about following the Intervention. Spanish banking predated the French update, but Emperor Maximilian I established a structure for a national bank which Diaz expanded on after 1876.[116] Even with a new framework, the scale of lending and spending through the institutions was slow to expand. Banking remained locked to urban areas and poorly integrated into either rural life or a national system. Banks remained something of a private enterprise, resilient to government oversight, until the Code of Commerce in 1884. Even then, it took nearly a decade longer before any major reforms stuck with Mexican banks. By the 1880s, in the term of President González,

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[114] Neufeld, Stephen. *Perilous Beasts: Mexican Necropolitics, Animal Deaths, and Blood Sports, 1870 – 1920*. University of New Mexico Press, 2026, 90.
[115] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexicans*, 34.
[116] McCaleb, *Present and Past Banking*, 3-8.

banking had only just emerged into three major forms.[117] First were rural banks which served industrial agriculture. Mining banks likewise emerged to fund and finance the collection and exportation of key minerals in the region. Lastly, *El Banco Nacional* made up as the name suggested the national bank. This bank, McCaleb noted, had been a French creation. Many of the state's most notable lending institutions came either from the French Intervention or were English banks like *el Banco Londres*.[118] From 1881 to 1883, Mexico experienced an industrial period buttressed by economic stability, international loans, and peace.[119] Banking played a crucial role in organizing the regime's capacity to fund and finance modernizing and industrial projects. Yet the lack of regulation through this period culminated in a financial disaster by the end of 1883.

Two banks led the crisis because of their competitive loaning practices. The rivalry between the Banco Nacional and Monte de Piedad drove both institutions to print and loan increasingly large sums of money they did not have. Capital, at this time, ran on a silver standard—although the turn to the gold standard lay just around the corner for the United States. The Monte de Piedad soon lacked the silver stores to back up the promises it made to investors. Before long, a trailing debt of some 2,000,000 pesos (65,388,712 USD in 2026) had dragged the bank dangerously close to collapse.[120] Porfirian officials buoyed the bank through foreign loans, but the credit crisis ultimately repelled the US aid which had quietly floated the banks since 1879. Occurring within the global context of the Long Depression of 1873-1896, foreign governments squeezed of international capital flowing into Mexico as they focused on their own economies. All of Latin America suffered from the withdrawal of US support. Ensuing bank runs panicked the government as federal agencies struggled to rein in and consolidate the debt. In the end, despite saving the banks involved, the Monte de Piedad issued no further notes between 1883 and 1920.[121] A lack of oversight permitted banks to pursue private interests without regulation. Both businesses and individuals lost money during a time when emergent capitalist

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[117] McCaleb, *Present and Past Banking*, 12.
[118] Maria y Campos, Alfonso de. *José Yves Limantour: El Caudillo Mexicano de las Fianzas 1854 – 1935*. Grupo Condumex, Centro de Estuidos de Historia de México Condumex, 1998, 69.
[119] McCaleb, *Present and Past Banking*, 12-16.
[120] McCaleb, *Present and Past Banking*, 23.
[121] McCaleb, *Present and Past Banking*, 24.

classes had yet to fully solidify. Instability damaged not only developmental projects, but also a public confidence in new leisure reliant on old systems of participation. Sore from the lesson, the following years saw the Porfiriato pursue a Code of Commerce against independent banks.

The 1884 Code of Commerce provided federal guidelines for banks to follow. These ranged from a minimum capital balance to a gold standard, to federal inspections from the Minister of Hacienda.[122] González and De la Peña's original code showed some signs of success, but failed to rein in banks willing to spend to circumvent it. When Díaz returned to power in December of that year, he replaced De la Peña with M. Dublan. The new Minister of Hacienda reworked the Code of Commerce, enforcing a stricter adherence to prevent banks from circumventing regulations as easily.[123] But despite progress, the public and international debts remained. Manuel González had been the general's compadre, but his corrupt and incompetent rule of the state allowed the banking crisis to fester. By the time President Díaz returned to power in 1884, neither Dublán nor his predecessors managed to gain control over the banks or regain the faith of the people. Díaz was determined to find someone who could. Economic historian and former Minister of Hacienda Matías Romero introduced José Yves Limantour to the president during their meeting. This chance encounter led to Limantour taking up the position of Minister of Hacienda in 1893.[124]

José Yves Limantour's methodology relied on local bureaucracies rather than direct intervention from the state. He entrusted teams of three specialists and three lawyers to regulate the printing of money.[125] Bureaucratic clientelism persisted, visible with his appointment of Hugo Schrerer, "who was very close to Limantour", in the role of specialist despite dubious qualifications. Yet despite rescuing the credit of the state, the Peralvillo never again enjoyed the same popularity. In part, the banking crisis broke the public's trust in emerging class stability. Financial uncertainty proved more frightening than limited free funds. Travelogues recounted *peones* storing personal savings in the ground near their homes, reflecting the loss of public faith in the banks. Limantour's own fascination with modernity no doubt compounded problems as

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[122] McCaleb, *Present and Past Banking*, 30-31.
[123] McCaleb, *Present and Past Banking*, 50-64.
[124]McCaleb, Walter F. *Present and Past Banking in Mexico*. Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1920, 75.
[125] Maria y Campos, *José Yves Limantour*, 70.

well. Consolidating debts and stabilizing credit had not manifested substantial material wealth for the average worker. As nations acknowledged Limantour for his work in stabilizing the credit and surplus of the nation, they opened their banks to Mexico. Loans followed Limantour's successful courtship of foreign banks. Most of that federal and foreign capital remained couched in railroads and fine architecture. For many the banking crisis took away their willingness to wager their free money. The restoration of the public debt had done little to provide a financial incentive to return to the racetrack.

The banking crisis of 1883 built upon a continuity of silent instability since 1879. Banking rivalries drove institutions to print more and more to compete with one another, even when they lacked the ability to back their loans. These relatively new institutions had poor integration into the federal government, so responses and reforms met a great deal of resistance and a decade to implement. The Porfiriato's lack of oversight and federal control over banks allowed runaway debts to compound quickly. That time of financial instability drove away an audience whose primary participation came in the form of betting. While willing to wager sums of money against their own poverty, uncertainty appeared too dangerous a risk for working Mexicans. Limantour's rescue of public credit offered little incentive or financial reward to the average Mexican. The increasing clientelism of the state and banks evidenced the growing public divide. The Jockey Club and its soon to be president failed to offer any reason for common people to return. However, the betting culture apparent in the 1880s demonstrated a willingness to engage with the presented culture. The financial crisis of 1883 broke off the principal method of participation. Discouraged from betting and under pressure of increasing financial disparities, audiences at the Peralvillo track collapsed by the 1890s. Yet the persistence of other betting sports suggested that alienation played a formative role in directing the *peón* vote away from the racetracks. Limantour, also the head of the Científicos, strove for many of the changes which alienated the public from Porfirian leisure like the Jockey Club.

Public Finance and Foreign Leisure: José Yves Limantour

Born to a French father of the same name and a French mother, the French Mexican never needed to pretend to be White. He inherited much from his father, in education and finance. Connections to foreign banks gave Limantour allies abroad but also fostered clear preferences for Paris cosmopolitanism. As Minister of Hacienda, Limantour chartered the course for modernity. The Porfirian project relied upon foreign expertise, capital, and material.

Acquiring those required Limantour to navigate the international space after the Long Depression. Courting foreign acceptance demanded transforming national appearance. Limantour, before the Jockey Club presidency, tackled the rehabilitation of its economy and industry. First focusing on the 1884 Code of Commerce, Limantour revitalized standards of lending—enforcing a gold and silver minimum standard.[126] Through the recovery of bank stability and credit trust, Limantour won access to powerful foreign financiers in Paris by 1899.[127] The Minister of Hacienda changed the way the West saw Mexican banking. He reformed its character and won access to capital loans needed to fund modernization in the Porfiriato. American buisnesses like the Rockefellers brought with them the rails and expertise that the regime wanted. Paris banks provided the vast sums of money needed to finance railways long ago promised to the United States and beneficial to the state.

If Matías introduced Limantour to politics, his father greased the wheels for his entry into leisure—having served as secretary of the emergent Jockey Club in 1883.[128] He among others got their start in politics operating the club. Many figures serving in the first years of the Jockey Club came to rest in positions of power during the Porfiriato. These members of Porfirian nobility ranged from Manuel Romero Rubio to Limantour's own father.[129] Rubio was a prominent politician and Científico. His daughter became the dictator's second—and much younger—wife the same year they founded the Jockey Club. Not only were founders of the club connected to the politics of the state, but the number of Científicos present evidenced a connection to the ideologies as well. Personal connections such as Rubio's showed how political and ideological connections to the regime often resulted in personal connections to the president. Limantour was no different. The Minister of Hacienda, alongside wrestling runaway banking credit shaped club life through donations and finance. Under his stewardship, Mexico's leisure took a distinctly European shape. In the shadow of that transformation, economic disparities grew wider.

Limantour had been born in 1854 in Mexico City. Working alongside Porfirio Díaz, Limantour became the most powerful member of the Científicos. The Mexican born Frenchman

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[126] McCaleb, *Present and Past Banking*, 30-31.
[127] Maria y Campos, *José Yves Limantour*, 83.
[128] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 29.
[129] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 29.

worked to affirm domestic and international confidence in Mexico's banks and credit. Federal consolidation of debts and strict bank reform worked for the former. It resulted in the 'Limantour miracle'–stabilizing the peso and working towards placing Mexican currency on the gold standard by 1905. The latter, however, once achieved, opened the door to larger loans of capital.[130] Limantour supported modernization through rails and beautification. Wary to depend on the United States for both material and money, European loans formed the bulk of Mexico's developmental capital.[131] Richard Weiner argued that the Mexican liberal definition of modernity and prosperity placed capital, labor, and technology as principal over resources.[132] This perception drove Limantour to take out large loans whose sums disappeared into costly projects like railroads or construction. Most of that money never reached public programs. What did comprised barely a fraction of the 9,000,000 pesos (294,249,208 USD in 2026) spent on materials for rail lines.[133] He charged both "specialists" and friends "close to Limantour" in charge of crucial banks.[134] Clientelism and Científicos defined Limantour's reformed banks. Limantour's writing looking back on his service defended governmental spending with a credit-based argument. For the Minister of Hacienda, the fact that the government could pay off its debts proved its economic health.[135] That the money taken in remained at the top never appeared to bother him.

Alongside nursing Mexico's economy, Limantour supported sports and clubs. Having been educated in Paris and carrying connections to French banks encultured him to Francophile tastes. His emboldened finances permitted him to sponsor, support, and indulge in Western culture and leisure. Corruption and bureaucratic overreach empowered Limantour to bring other branches of government into these efforts. The Secretario de Hacienda sought to bring Western culture to Mexico. Limantour loved horses, clubs, cars, and operas. He took measures to care for both his carriages and horses when away on travel. When abroad, he had them taken apart "in

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[130] Maria y Campos, Alfonso do. *José Yves Limantour: El Caudillo Mexicano de las Fianzas 1854 – 1935*. Grupo Condumex, Centro de Estuidos de Historia de México Condumex, 1998, 83.
[131] Weiner, *Race, Nation, and Market*, 57.
[132] Weiner, *Race, Nation, and Market*, 54-55.
[133] Limantour, José Y. *Apuntes Sobre Mi Vida Pública: 1892 – 1911*, Editorial Porrua, S.A., 1965, 86.
[134] Maria y Campos, *José Yves Limantour*, 70.
[135] Limantour, *Apuntes Sobre Mi Vida Pública*, 87-88.

order to avoid harming horse drawn carriages".[136] As in his eight month stay in New York and Paris in 1903, the Minister of Hacienda set aside plots of land for the horses, so they could roam and graze. The room and board of horses—the symbol of wealth, prestige, and power—protected them from harm and provided space for enrichment. His evident interest in the equestrian extended to races. At the Hipódromo track, a photo captured Limantour in attendance. In it, he stood among other wealthy members; an awning shielded them against the sun. With a black top hat and a three-piece suit, the minister of finance braces his weight with a cane. His friendly mutton chops are like snow—matching the extravagant, long skirted dresses of the two women seen with him. Cravats, forearm-length gloves, and wide brimmed hats trimmed with flowers or feathers protect the women from the sun. Among the horses, Limantour and his company look unabashedly French.[137] Given the tendencies of the regime, one can hardly tell if the photo had been a product of spontaneous interest of orchestrated by the state. Either way, the image offers a *tipo* for bleached Mexicana. In style and habit, the Minister of Finance appeared familiar to Western ideas about culture and leisure. Limantour in French fashion at a cosmopolitan event like a horse race demonstrated Mexican modernity. A modernity which desired the international perception of civility through aristocratic cosmopolitanism.

Supporting other clubs, Limantour frequently advised local administrators in charge of banks to fund leisure clubs. One example was the Automóvil Club de México. Micromanaging his charge, the minister of finance lent great sums to help establish the car club. In appreciation, the club granted him an honorary presidency.[138] Opera—a pastime dominated by foreign actors and troupes, and frequently ghosted by the average Mexican—was a deep passion of Limantour.[139] Perhaps influenced by time spent abroad for education or business, or induced by his connections to foreign banks and bankers—Limantour courted dining and entertainment from Paris. When on his trip in 1903, Limantour went to a French diner named the Ernest Mounier. Clearly pleased by the experience, he signed a deal to bring that diner to Mexico for a three-year contract. Limantour set aside 200 francs (1,382 USD in 2026) per month—around the cost of

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[136] Maria y Campos, *José Yves Limantour*, 120.
[137] Maria y Campos, *José Yves Limantour*, 122.
[138] Maria y Campos, *José Yves Limantour*, 120.
[139] Spence, Lewis. *Mexico of the Mexicans*. Cornell University Library, 1917, 95 - 96.

rent for a flat in Mexico City— to pay for the diner's lodging and passage.[140] His love for French culture did not stop at the diner. No, Limantour also paid a "high cost" to bring French opera—specifically the talents and production of Émile Bérnard—to Mexico.[141] While Limantour never recounted the exact sum, he clearly received criticism for the amount. Limantour launched a defense, arguing that the unmentioned total was "exaggerated" or the product of some "stunted" minds. [142] His defense implied a controversial amount went to bringing foreign theater to Mexico City. That he repeatedly defended himself suggested a sustained pushback from an increasingly alienated public—as government officials appeared unlikely to challenge his spending habits. Expenditures in the name of Francophilia seemingly came naturally to the minister of finance. His exposure to foreign culture and his buy-in to that experience expressed itself in the entertainment he imported and the clubs which he supported.

Limantour helped rescue the Mexican economy from a banking crisis born from over lending and made fatal by bank runs. In short order following his appointment: the Minster of Hacienda reined in the banks, organized the printing of paper money and self-regulation through bureacracy, and won the respect of Mexican economics on the world stage. His successes permitted his excesses—where he pursued fine buildings, art, and clubs regardless of public interest. His French heritage, education, and passions drove the most power of the Científicos used his money and overreach to influence other departments to pursue positivist and Francophile ends—frequently in the form of leisure. The Minister of Hacienda carved spaces out of Juárez Street for his new offices while importing foreign talent for the annual price of rent.[143] His fashion and investment into leisure activities like horseracing and the protection of equine status symbols reflected the curated Mexicana of the era. The Minister of Hacienda labored to import culture. Echoing positivist thought, the emergent middle-class comprised of entrepreneurs aimed to present themselves in moments and displays as Western. Clubs offered a means of displaying elite *tipos* and their bleached Mexicana. Limantour kept close contacts in key positions in both banking and sports, such that his influence could always extend beyond the

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[140] Maria y Campos, *José Yves Limantour*, 120.
[141] Maria y Campos, *José Yves Limantour*, 124.
[142] Maria y Campos, *José Yves Limantour*, 124.
[143] Maria y Campos, *José Yves Limantour*, 155.

limits of his position. He defended such overreach as the natural pursuit of shared goals of modernization.[144] Such curation could be understood as an extension of his earlier efforts to win foreign approval of the Mexican economy. But his excesses coincided with a period of authoritarian consolidation from Porfirio Díaz. Between the scars of the banking crisis, the increasingly alien shape of leisure, and the changing of the political guard, the regime had lost the confidence of the populace. Vast sums spent on importing opera and building rails came as a result of economic recovery. Financial stability had not improved conditions for workers, however. Pay remained low; costs remained high. Greater interest in exporting cash crops led to a decline in the production of foodstuffs, with domestic consumption declining every year between 1876 and 1900.[145] Physical and cultural injuries inflicted by the regime or reflected in their leisure prompted a response from *peones.* The decaying interest in the Jockey Club, where seats now needed to be filled with a White diaspora or else left to the haunting of ghosts, evidenced an active vote against the direction of the state.

Conclusion:

The Jockey Club was an elite, exclusive institution. Despite this, its race tracks from the 1880s to 1890s strove to involve the working class. A betting culture lined the pockets of clerks and the Club stationed at the races. While the Jockey Club maintained an elite constituency throughout its life, public popularity faded as policies alienated Mexicans no longer regarded as such by the Porfiriato. It denoted its position through courtyards, carriageways, and diners. Its expensive tastes manifested in the *charro* style of dress, Western fashion, baroque architecture, luxurious saddles, and horses. And it separated itself from the average Mexican with blatant Francophilia, its location in Mexico City, and which products it stamped its name upon. Its unapologetic appeals to foreign visitors in search of accommodation and welcome into the Western world alienated many Mexicans. The horse races struggled to succeed in many ways owing to this segregation between the elite and the working-class. Not only could the lower-class Mexican scarcely dream of affording the equipment needed for horseracing, but the pastime itself was neither tailored to nor interested in most Mexicans. Even the betting culture collapsed

[144] Limantour, *Apuntes Sobre Mi Vida Pública*, 79.
[145] Hernández, Kelly Lytle. *Bad Mexicans: Race, Empire, and Revolution*. W.W. Norton & Company, 2022, 37-38.

as a consequence of the regime. The lack of oversight regarding banking culminated in the financial crisis of 1883. Bank runs and runaway debts broke public willingness to participate in any capacity.

Even the restoration of credit following Limantour's appointment as Minister of Hacienda failed to bring public support back to the racetracks. Efforts to buoy the tracks with a White diaspora still ran aground against endemic, elite issues within the Club. The 1905 upset with the clerks showed how the betting culture, even when among a White majority, had been gutted in favor of the enrichment of club owners and members. In the Jockey Club, a case study of broader cultural trends echoed out throughout the republic. Men like Enock, Martin, and Spence recorded evidence of cultural divides enforced by policy and practice. Their attraction to the Club itself reflected a willingness to accept the performative culture of the state. *Tipos* provided physical examples of a separate Mexicaness which played at familiar sports. Attempts to enter a Western modernity relied upon presenting the regime both as authentically Mexican and paradoxically White. The curation of leisure, and the availability to practice it, differed not only between classes—but also between understandings of modernity. The Jockey Club displayed the goal culture pursued by the Porfiriato. Its practices and requirements blended European standards and fashions which it projected as a new set of norms for its participants and members. Proof of popular alienation followed the banking crisis of 1883 and was evidenced through attendance. Those sports which persevered despite finances and in the face of presented culture composed a present culture representative of a communal identity. Bloodsports contrasted with bleached Mexicana and frustrated efforts to scientifically and physically segregate the rural from the urban—the elite from the common.

Chapter 3 - Leisure as a Ritual of Display

Introduction

The activities and company which characterized Mexican leisure reflected not just interests, but values too. As William Beezley expressed, "[t]hese leisure activities expressed [their persuasion] better than the government or the economy…because Mexicans had clear, unambiguous choices in their diversions".[146] Here, Beezley contended that with whatever free time their lives afforded them, regardless of class, Mexicans' choices represented a kind of vote. This vote bid for the interests and entertainment which best reflected a popular understanding of what it meant to be Mexican. However, Beezley's account failed to explain the shift from seemingly high public support for many of the emergent sports and clubs in the 1880s to the disparaging numbers by the late 1890s and early 1900s. It could be argued that the foreign sports were incongruent with a common understanding of Mexicana. But Beezley's own work suggested that baseball, mountaineering, and even horse racing garnered an audience of "large crowds" which expanded by the thousands in the 1880s.[147]

The shift in public support reflected a clash between elite efforts to modernize leisure and lower-class understandings of culture. The events strung between 1883 and 1907 exacerbated preexisting social divides between the Mexican upper, middle, and lower-classes. Regional opportunities limited abilities to access or participate in certain sports. *La Reforma* abolished Indigenous land holdings, driving subsistence hunters into poverty. Rural farmers likewise suffered from the collectivization of land. Segregation kept classes separate in most forms of imported leisure. Where classes mixed, the goal culture of the Porfiriato cracked. Bloodsports such as bullfighting and cockfighting frustrated efforts to project a wholly modern state. Existing financial barriers worsened with the debt crisis of 1883, which sparked a radical change of Mexico's aristocracy and infrastructure—setting in motion a structural change in the administration which alienated most Mexicans. Leisure displayed cultural values and norms. Attendance demonstrated confidence in the ritualized conception of what it meant to be part of that society. By increasingly alien activities receiving less and less public buy-in, the average

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[146] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 13.
[147] Barret, *The Standard Guide*, 103.

Mexican announced their discontent with the new shape of Mexico. Leisure served as a ritual of display—one aimed at foreign and domestic audiences to display the desired norms and values of the Porfiriato. Sanguinary sports resisted Porfirian efforts to strain and change Mexican leisure. Bullfighting, cockfighting, and its informal violence enjoyed cross-class attendance. It crossed barriers that the regime erected and existed in defiance of efforts to erase or hide *corridas* or *palenques*. Chapter three argues that the present culture embodied by sanguinary sports functioned as a resistance against the Porfiriato's cultural project.

Mexicans did not blindly import their leisure. Sports from bullfighting to horse racing had roots in a colonial past, and by the time of independence bore a Mexican shape.[148] For example, the bullfight in Mexico discarded spearing rings, tailing the bull, climbing a greased pole in pursuit of a pig, and allowing amateurs into the *corrida*.[149] 300 years of colonial rule saw the colonies adapt the foreign-imposed leisure into a mode congruent with their own values. While some of these elements persisted on Haciendas—themselves in many ways relics of a feudal order—the changes in inherited sports reflected conscious efforts to shape culture, not simply import it. Foreign influence came in the wake of that independence and in the form of Anglo-American diplomats. In war and diplomacy with the Americans, contact influenced the development of the Porfiriato. However contact with the West did not result in a diffused form of Western culture spreading to dominate Mexico; they suffered no complete cultural colonization. Rather, the republic "selected the recreations that appealed to them and rejected those that seemed contradictory to their culture".[150] The project of modernization demanded a reinvention of the image of the republic. Porfirian and positivist thinkers aimed to reshape the state through ritual and leisure. Official nationalism wrapped sports linked to colonial or Indigenous roots in European dressings. When it came to what already existed, sports like horse racing were cultured by foreign tastes. The shift in Mexican leisure came not as a pure importation of foreign ideas, but instead as a molding of Mexican values to fit foreign styles in the wake of modernization.[151] Positivist modernization manifested *tipos* based upon group participation in leisure. The bleached Mexicana of the state appealed to Western conceptions and adoptions of leisure. Efforts

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[148] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 14 / 26.
[149] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 14.
[150] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 14.
[151] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 14.

to separate *tipos* associated with backwardness from modern sports ran afoul of sanguinary sports which defied segregation. New sports presented a culture defined by new norms and embodied the increasing alien tastes of the elite. Audience participation or lack thereof voted on the authenticity of these new tastes. Leisure offered a cultural *tipo* of the modernizing state.

Clubs and Elite Appetites

The Mexican elite varied little in "appearance and habit" from Europeans. Their leisure spaces provided proof of such similarities.[152] A photograph taken in 1920 preserved the physical splendor of the Jockey Club´s dining hall. Patrons crowded its dining halls, dressed in their best Western fashions. Bowler caps, spectacles, suit jackets, dresses, and other Francophile fashion wrapped every attendant.[153] Only the barest hint in broad brims or a few head scarves reflected rural fashion. Simple tables and chairs contrasted sharply with the decor. Murals depicting flowing, tree-outlined lanes racing away towards the horizon bloomed across the walls—Naturalist fashion reflected so clearly in their verdant facsimile. Plants set in pots framed the murals themselves. Groove-cut pillars running in rows broke up the dining space itself. Lights dangled from above, those bulbs not wreathed in a paper lantern casting their light on the coterie of diners below. With little empty space in the photo taken nearly a decade after Díaz fell from power, the photo presented the popularity of the Jockey Club among a wealthy elite and their Western fashion.

Clubs running from the Reforma to San Francisco Street evidenced the popularity of leisure institutions on the west side of the capital. Martin considered "...the Mexicans…a very 'clubbable' people…" who spent much of their time in one another's company at clubs of their own interests.[154] Clubs existed for just about any trade. Social clubs sprouted for men and women. Medical, legal, and literary clubs of all stripes found homes inside municipal buildings. Appreciators of the arts and drama held meetings along clubs for "butchers, bakers… [and] candlestick makers".[155] Foreign observers presented or perceived club culture as varied as it was comprehensive. Among these clubs, the Jockey Club was "the principle and most fashionable",

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[152] Enock, *Mexico: Its Ancient and Modern Civilisation*, 160.
[153] *Jockey Club*, 1920, Colección Casasol | Serie Jockey Club, Sanborns, Casa del O. Mundial. Colección Archivo Casasola: Fototeca Nacional, 2012.
[154] Martin, *Vol.1*, 222.
[155] Martin, *Vol.1*, 222.

with Martin considering it "the most aristocratic Club in Mexico".[156] Its aristocratic character could refer either to the building itself or its constituents. For as much as it fascinated them, it eluded travelers. Martin remarked about its exclusivity. Of how foreigners needed special permissions to gain a temporary membership.[157] Robert Barret echoed the idea, remarking on how "few foreign members" the club had.[158] For as much as the Porfiriato desired foreign approval, they feared imperial encroachment. Porfirio Díaz's policies of combating foreign influence bled down to club life. So as they courted their support, they worried an oversaturation of foreigners would colonize their culture. A paradoxical national identity formed which insisted upon firm nationalism, "but also denigrated the national population and held foreigners in reverence".[159] This Club, founded by and for the elite, sported amenities and interests reflecting Francophilia and the exclusionary direction of Western Mexico City. But its complex relationship with foreigners laid bare the positivist thinking endemic in their perceptions of both the state's modernity and vulnerability.

The Jockey Club sported amenities like those found in other social clubs in Mexico City. In-service dining, gambling, and other commodities graced those granted entry. The space facilitated gatherings and get-togethers outside of the public spheres. Martin recounted that:

> *For the young and frequently impecunious clerk the clubhouse in a foreign land is a great benefit. Here, although, perhaps, tempted to drink rather more than he should and to spend more than he can afford upon reciprocating hospitalities, he finds himself able to read the best books and magazines without it costing him anything, to eat good dinners and drink good wines at moderate prices, and to find plenty of companions of a congenial character without having to haunt public places.*[160]

As with other clubs, the Jockey Club offered its patrons the private luxury of submerging themselves in comfort, Western thought, and craft while also doubling as a means of segregating this upper-class from public spaces. Martin insisted that the club served almost any role its

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[156] Martin, *Vol.1*, 222.
[157] Martin, *Vol.1*, 222.
[158] Barret, *The Standard Guide*, 103.
[159] Weiner, *Race, Nation, and Market*, 56.
[160] Martin, *Vol. I*, 221

members wanted. It promised to be an office, an abode, and a place of more consistently priced goods. Within its walls, a man might save fifteen to twenty-five percent on what they might spend dining outside of the club.[161] Yet these services lacked uniformity. Patrons of lesser means, he asserted, found the services to be lesser, even if "the member with restricted income enjoys the same facilities".[162] Martin's account of club life, however, encapsulated only upper and middle-classes.[163] A mention of a *peón* in the Jockey Club, or a factory worker sitting alongside those in Western fashions was never mentioned if it were ever even imagined.

Club life supported the propagation of Western thought and fashion while isolating the upper-classes from public gatherings. Leisure on the Reforma grew increasingly popular as Porfirio Díaz opened more public areas like the *Plaza Mayor*. Once parks became the domain of the public, the elite retreated westward. Inside their clubhouses they consumed literature and thought reflecting how they wanted to perceive themselves and how they desired to be perceived. Positivist thought championed by Científicos imagined modernity as a process that required the public's enculturation of a bleached Mexicana. Leisure offered a microcosm to display the fashions and image of modern Mexico as desired at the federal level. Their gaudy architecture captured foreign gazes. In writings and photographs, they transposed their goal culture onto reality. Travelogues, newspapers, and photos disseminated this message to the literate, frequently that meant the wealthy. Thus, conceptions of self drifted further apart as physical and intellectual divides were deepened by leisure and modernity. The Jockey Club stood as the principal institution for the formulation and projection of this desired Mexicana. Yet *tipos* of a bleached Mexicana contrasted with sanguinary sports which offered an alternative, and at times contradictory, understanding of authentic culture.

Bullfight, Presentation, and Desired Mexicana

Porfirio Díaz and his Científicos cultivated culture and sport to match the West. Balancing foreign acceptance against domestic approval, the regime presented modernity through curated leisure. Many clubs redressed familiar sports like horse races with European mechanics to blend elements of foreign and domestic culture into a bleached Mexicana. Balance

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[161] Martin, *Vol.1*, 221.
[162] Martin, *Vol.1*, 221.
[163] Notably, "middle-classes" did not refer to working-classes. Rather, the notion carried ideas about business owners and capitalist classes.

between the capitalist tastes and classes and rural conceptions had not always been to the benefit of the Porfiriato, however. The bullfight proved contentious because of how it persisted into modernity owing to inherent understandings of "Mexicanness" and community. Horse races, bullfights, and mountaineering all occupied the same diversionary role. However, the bullfight and its sanguinity appalled foreigners as much as it fascinated them. The Porfiriato, evidenced through newspapers and restrictions, sought to distinguish between present and presented culture. By prohibiting or obscuring bullfights, the Porfiriato attempted to preserve carefully constructed *tipos* set by club culture. Capitulations to foreign pressures dwindled as Mexico's economy bloomed. Activists and authorities struggled against both cultural understandings and nationalism. And the engine of modernity drove the regime to accept the brutality of the sport despite themselves. Nevertheless, Porfirian elites desired to present their goal culture to the West. Visions of the opera warred against the realities of the bullfight. Mexicanidad—symbolic of the state—found expression in the sandy ring of the *corrida*.

Bullfighting came to America by way of the Spaniards. Yet in staying on the continent, a Mexican transformation occurred. Cultural notions of violence, community, and sport presented in *corridas* reflected Mexican understandings of themselves. Historian Beezley maintained that the bullfight enforced a patriarchal worldview.[164] The president of the ring ruled as patriarch. From his seat, he orchestrated the event, from choreography to finale. The matador, both star and servant, acted on the command of the father of the ring. With stoicism he executed upon their design. Beezley pointed out that this president frequently held some municipal or governmental office.[165] Beezley argued that the bullfight symbolized a community-first, collective identity. He argued that "...each man [played] only his part…", leaving the broader "society" to accomplish the task.[166] Yet Samuel Ramos, a Mexican philosopher, argued the opposite. In his actions, the Mexican displayed intense individualism.[167] Neufeld objected that the bullfight showed that the populace rather than the president held power. *Broncas* and their subsequent press justified public outcry when audiences felt betrayed or underwhelmed by a show.[168] Raging voices and

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[164] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 15.
[165] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 15.
[166] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 15.
[167] Ramos, *Profile of Man and Culture*), 42-43.
[168] Neufeld, *Perilous Beasts*, 112.

property damage were rarely blamed on the crowds themselves. Neufeld directly argued against Beezley's patriarchal assertion, suggesting instead that the *corrida* undermined traditional, *caudillo* authority. Europeans argued over the ethnic origin of the sport. Men like Martin and Enock wrote that bullfighting evidenced some brutal Indigenous inheritance which drove attendance to the sport. Alfred R. Conkling—nephew of a US Republican senator, working as a lawyer and sometimes diplomat—wrote of it instead as one of the "objectionable legacies of the Spaniards".[169] In the end, observers disagreed on whether Indigenous or Spanish blood drove interest in the sport. Historians like Beezley, Ramos, and Neufeld debated what that interest meant for Mexican's self-understanding. But what all agreed upon the pull the *corrida* had on the rich and poor alike.

The *corrida* mimicked Mexico City's own segregated layout. Seats in the shade or *sombra*, the best in the house, went to the wealthy. The poor suffered in the sun or *sol*. But separation did not shake their shared interest. As the torero took the stage, each side "shout[ed] itself hoarse".[170] Hats and sticks and cloaks flew into the ring. Bank notes, jewelry, and other rich gifts fell from the shade to the "brave torero" as thanks for the show. Enock insisted that no class divide precluded the investment of Mexicans in the sport. As a great irony, the goal of modernization and its engine of capitalism propelled the sport's popularity. Marketers produced merchandise, sold newspapers, and perpetuated the authenticity of the sport.[171] They came to watch in the cities. All classes came and filled the seats of *corridas* from the capital to the countryside.[172] The appeal of the bloodsport relied on neither geography nor class. And even the foreigner, who decried the sport the loudest, found themselves captured by its allure. The details of foreign spectators suggested they sat from start to finish, rapt to the events in the sands below.

Enock recounted an episode on a hacienda where the owner invited him to watch these young men dodge and harry a bull. He noted how each man faced the bull with a "bold front". Any cowards who fled over the fence received "howls [from] the *peon* spectators", making them

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[169] Conkling, Alfred R. *Appleton's Guide to Mexico, Including a Chapter on Guatemala and an English-Spanish Vocabulary.* New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1891, 125.
[170] Enock, *Mexico: Its Ancient and Modern Civilisation,* 196.
[171] Neufeld, *Perilous Beasts,* 120.
[172] Enock, *Mexico: Its Ancient and Modern Civilisation,* 242.

"blush for shame".[173] Enock, ever the critic of the barbaric sport, found himself participating under the patronage of a foreign friend. Guided by the pressure and excitement of the crowd gathered around a makeshift bull-ring and by his own pride, Enock entered with *banderillas* to face the bull.[174] Cheers and yells from the "*peon* audience" deafened him. With a mixture of luck and grace, Enock slipped the bull's charge, sticking it with the barbed point of a rod.[175] Basking in applause and "repeated vivas for the inglés", the Englishman indulged in a cigar. The bull very nearly gored him when he turned his back on it, basking and gloating in his beginner's luck. Only the quick actions of bystanders got him up and over the fence. As a man who decried the brutality of the sport, he and other anthropologists admitted that the sport held great appeal to the foreign viewer; an appeal which was surmounted by the widespread appreciation of local groups.[176] From the local bull-ring to the great *Plaza de Toros,* Mexicans of all classes were wildly invested in the sport; that excitement even infected many of the foreigners who quickly waved off the sport as barbaric.

For as much as the bullfight enjoyed public support, it frustrated local officials. Segregating classes did little to prevent the spread of a cross-class experience. These fans shared merchandise, newspapers, and idols centered on the *corrida*. Despite its Spanish origins, officials tailored the bullfight to fit within "the idea of a new Mexican identity", drawing from "traditions of the colonial and Catholic pasts while embracing entertainment industries and new spectacles".[177] Disappointment or underhanded betrayal of public expectations or promises resulted in public backlash. While not always violent, the transformation of the rows upon rows of attendees into an enraged mob threatened the present and future of the businesses running the shows. *Broncas*—borderline spectator riots in the corridas and surroundings streets—and other forms of public outcry pushed officials to appease the vicarious bullfighters. Their insistence on the correctness of masculinity and raucous display mandated that they did not blame *broncas* on spectators. Impeded by their own generated identity, officials and overseers felt frequent pressure to conform to public desires. Marketers, merchandise, and newspapers curried public support.

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[173] Enock, *Mexico: Its Ancient and Modern Civilisation*, 242.
[174] Enock, *Mexico: Its Ancient and Modern Civilisation*, 243.
[175] Enock, *Mexico: Its Ancient and Modern Civilisation*, 244.
[176] Martin, *Vol. I*, 245.
[177] Neufeld, *Perilous Beasts*, 119.

The ability to draw crowds whose interests superseded “normal financial concerns” expressed the buy-in generated by the Mexicanization of the peninsular pastime. Ironically the modernizing element of capitalism undermined traditional, patriarchal authority. "Self-understanding came through selected leisure", and many chose to stand in sun or shade to watch the spectacle of the *toro*.[178] Seperating classes in *sol* or *sombra* was all Porfirian authorities could manage against the bullfight’s cross-class magnetism.

"No other mass spectacles drew in audiences in Mexico on the scale of the corrida".[179] Horse racing, opera, theater, cockfighting, and everything in between never measured up to the thousands seated to watch the bullfight. New racetracks like the Piñón opened to ghosts while the *corrida* danced with cross-class interest. [180] This public popularity clashed with Porfirian efforts to modernize. Many officials, administrators, and activists saw the performative slaughter of bulls as immoral and incongruent with international acceptance.[181] Yet as France banned their own bullfights in 1890, accusations of Francophilia hindered efforts from activists and authorities alike. Once a hero of the Intervention, Porfirio Díaz came under scrutiny. If his administration pursued the elimination of a sport popularly lauded as authentically Mexican, perhaps he had become too French himself. Armed with "xenophobic" claims, nationalists maintained that efforts to ban the corrida evidenced foreign domination.[182] This alliance between "entrepreneurs, veterinarians, farmers, nationalists, fans, artists, and others" demonstrated an understanding of cultural traditions, expressed in a "powerful and purely moral ecological web" which broke any effort to ban the sport.[183] The persistence of the pastime benefited those profiting from merchandise and festivals. Broadening access beyond festival days to all Sundays by late 1890 only grew the "wide audiences" drawn to the corrida. Again the Porfirian project of modernity hamstrung itself through market forces which encouraged leisure incongruent with the regime's presented culture.

Foreign opinion contradicted itself. Accounts like Enock which decried the sport as barbaric, simultaneously indulged in its spectacle. Imperial efforts to present Mexicans as

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[178] Neufeld, *Perilous Beasts*, 89.
[179] Neufeld, *Perilous Beasts*, 125.
[180] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 30.
[181] Neufeld, *Perilous Beasts*, 148.
[182] Neufeld, *Perilous Beasts*, 144.
[183] Neufeld, *Perilous Beasts*, 147.

primitive or their markets as worth of investment benefited by foreign focus regardless of contradiction. Fascination necessitated attention. The *corrida*, like the Jockey Club, appeared in so many travelogues in part due to foreign curiosities. Critique tried to find racial or cultural roots. The display must prove something about the character of the Mexican, most authors argued. *Tipos* like the Jockey Club mixed with those physical examples seen in the bullfight. Travelogues served the fascinations of imperial-minded Europeans, not always the Porfirian elite. In his assessment of its Spanish legacy, Alfred Conkling unwittingly acknowledged a European connection to the sport. In so doing the sport somehow straddled foreign condemnation and accommodation. Thus, nationalists and local authorities maintained the bullfight and in doing so promoted authentic Mexican culture, one which foreigners tied to an international community. Efforts to unify a singular *tipo* for the modern Mexican struggled as photos and travelogues presented seemingly legitimate alternatives. The Porfiriato labeled class distinctions based on a scientific or pseudo-scientific basis. The messiness of the *corrida* frustrated efforts to promote in leisure a clear goal culture. The culture of the ring demonstrated a curated tradition, tailored to modernity and Mexico, which also tied Mexico to Europe. Yet this connection promoted inter-class mingling and identity. It resulted in insubordination through *broncas* and local officials' refusal to ban the sport. No surprise that the Porfiriato and others debated when, where, and if the fights should continue. Modern leisure's shape did not easily bend to Científicos, positivists, or even the general himself. In the sand, the sport showed that segregation failed to prevent the sharing of understandings and symbols. Class mattered less than the national, mythological significance imbued in the *corrida*. Other sanguinary sports similarly frustrated efforts to project Porfirian modernity onto Mexican society. In cockfighting, even the segregation of classes broke down.

Sanguinary Sports and Mexican Participation

Both observers like Spence and historians like Beezley argued that sanguinary sports appealed to Mexicans based upon either an inherent, violent nature or a reflection of patriarchal norms. Stephen Neufeld contended that the public's support for these sports reflected shared ideas about life and death as well as identity.[184] While *peones* participated in nonviolent leisure such as Indigenous dances, horse races, and mountaineering—bloodsports displayed cracks in

[184] Neufeld, *Perilous Beasts*, 78-79.

the Porfirian image of modernity. More than the bullfight, the cockfight demonstrated the fragility of the boundaries established by official nationalism. Rural conceptions of identity and community broke through efforts to curtail or end the sport. Cockfighting's pervasion into club alleys, train cars, and the capital suggested that the lived, circulated experiences of citizens overcame the emulated identity imposed from above by the state. Appealing to wealthy and working Mexicans, the sport experienced no segregation. Crowds mingled and participated as equals in a deeply local and rural sport. The viscous character of the pastime conflicted with the desire to be seen as civilized by the West, yet efforts to truncate interest failed. In sanguinary sports, local understandings of community and death trumped superimposed identities from the Porfirian regime. In cockfighting the clear divide between classes evident in most clubs and sports never formed.

Spence attested that cockfighting was an inheritance of "world-wide occurrence[s]". But Neufeld disagreed. He argued that the Cockfight like the Bullfight had a distinctly Mexican identity. Cockfighting permeated all levels of sociability. It built upon a sense of local nationalism, relying on locally grown roosters and a "broad sense of community".[185] Travelogues argued that many Mexicans imported fighting birds from America. Moving beyond origins, spectators once again participated through betting. These sums could end up at one-hundred MXN (3,628 USD in 2026) or more, with the birds themselves costing an additional twelve-to-fifty MXN.[186] Martin reported that such "good game-cock[s] frequently [cost] as much as a horse". But he argued that such horses in question went for as little as fifteen Mexican MXN.[187] The British writer downplayed the weight of such an expense by not understanding just how much work went into earning those sums for the average Mexican. Yet they spent those sums and held those fights. At times, Mexicans would crowd around a "cock-pit" occasionally, but frequently the fray commenced at "humble street corner[s]" in villages.[188] Placed in separate stalls, men teased and tormented these domestic or imported birds by repeatedly placing them next to, then away from their "rivals".[189] With weapons affixed to their bodies and their spirits

[185] Neufeld, *Perilous Beasts*, 78.
[186] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 112.
[187] Martin, *Vol.1*, 243-244.
[188] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 112.
[189] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 112.

sufficiently infuriated, the birds then flew at one another. Flashing their "sharp, curved blades, which are affixed to spurs and protected with a leather shield till the proper time", the animals would savage each other. At times, one would die upon meeting their rival in the first charge.[190]

While Porfirian images of modernity clashed with the brutality of the cockfight, the sport of the *Afueras* enjoyed cross-class interest. In those light "pyramidal structures of wood or thatch", local born roosters fought against one another for many reasons. Perhaps inter-town conflict demanded resolution through symbolic battle.[191] Unlike the bullfight which sported upper, working, and lower-classes separated by shade—the cockfight never segregated them. Police, soldiers, and politicians sat alongside *pulqueros* and factory workers. They gambled, drank, and cheered with one another. Despite efforts of officials in Mexico City to truncate its practice, the cockfight persisted owing largely to its broad support base. Leisure reflected understandings of class, yet cockfighting displayed that those understandings had blurry edges. Administrators and positivists managed to separate the elite from the average Mexican even if they could not remove them from the stands of the *corrida*. But local understandings of culture and self meant that even segregating classes in the *palenques* proved impossible.[192] The penetration of the cockfight from the *Afueras* into urbania and the language itself demonstrated a contradiction to Porfirian modernity.[193] Class separation, preserved in clubs and presented in leisure, could be superseded by understandings of power and process. Present culture subordinated presented culture. Neufeld argued that for this very reason the cockfight rather than the bullfight represented Mexican society. For all its brutality, gambling, drinking, bonding, and intense local focus—it demonstrated a cross-class mixing with more interest in local identity than the whims of church or state.[194]

Both the Porfiriato and travelogues tried to exclude elites from the sport. Enock waved off the sport. He framed bullfighting, cockfighting, liquor, and dancing as supplements for the

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[190] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 112.
[191] Neufeld, *Perilous Beasts*, 72.
[192] Neufeld, *Perilous Beasts*, 72.
[193] Buffington, Robert M. *A Sentimental Education for the Working Man: The Mexico City Penny Press, 1900-1910*. Duke University Press, 2015, 126
[194] Neufeld, *Perilous Beasts*, 78-79.

peón.[195] Nowhere in Martin, Enock, or Spence's account did they mention officials or police officers attending. Commissions at times tied travelogues and photographs to state programs, so perhaps this exclusion reflected federal efforts. Or perhaps European observers cared so little for nuance and local realities that they ignored or missed such details. Travelogues did acknowledge the great portability of the sport. Owing to this, a vast number of people participated—even as urban areas like Mexico City banned the sport.[196] Tales of battles occurring on train rides with each fighter fixed inside a *palenque* fashioned from a sombrero came from British writers recounting tales in Mexico. The flexibility of the sport no doubt offered greater opportunity for broader participation. However, sports such as the horse race and bull-fight were notably less portable yet quite popular with working-classes in the early-to-mid-1880s. What these sports shared was a culture of betting. Money exchanged in vast sums in displays of either masculine, stoic virtue, or simply as a product of voyeur participation. This activity served to connect horse racing, bullfighting, and cockfighting. Few could afford a fighting bird, and no *peón* could afford *charro* dress or Mexican saddles. But the ability to put one's own wealth on the line was something that afforded all Mexicans an avenue to play along.

Bullfighting and cockfighting also relied on a betting culture. However, the Long Depression and its consequences did not slow down the popularity of either sport. That sanguinary leisure survived the banking crisis of 1883 supported the idea that more than money went into public support. So the decay of the Peralvillo and Indianilla tracks contrasted with sustained support for bullfighting and cockfighting to evidence an idea that cultural authenticity alongside financial ability influenced public support. Economic factors undoubtedly hindered the betting culture which connected these sports. But authenticity preserved what finances fractured. Predictably, British and Mexican upper-classes attributed its persistence to either an uncultured or brutish taste. However, the economic effects of the banking crisis of 1883 were followed by a political crisis in 1892 onward as the Porfiriato drifted towards authoritarian clientelism. As public relations broke down, the rural level saw diminishing similarities between their own lived experience and the experience of the wealthiest Mexicans. Club goers to large establishments like the Jockey Club had participated in the kinds of private enterprise and ducked federal

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[195] Enock, *Mexico: Its Ancient and Modern Civilisation*, 212.
[196] Neufeld, *Perilous Beasts*, 72.

oversight in ways which culminated in the banking crisis of 1883.[197] Returning to Beezley's central idea that the voluntary participation of a Mexican in a recreation represented a vote of confidence: the loss of attendance at horse races between 1883 and 1907 came not from an inherent sanguinary appetite, but from a culture of betting endangered by an elite economic bubble—further alienating the lower-classes from the emerging, elite culture.

Hunting and Symbolic Authority

If the administration worked to obscure bloodsports until and even beyond 1888, they also endeavored to spread the cultural norms of their bleached Mexicana. Porfirian authorities understood the ability for leisure to project a goal culture onto a population. Imported fashions joined imported sports such as boxing, bicycling, mountaineering, opera, and ballgames. Positivist guided modernity curated the influx of foreign influences. The shape Europhile leisure came to take reflected the Porfiriato's desired modernity. Members, audiences, and sports served to generate *tipos* for the Porfiriato's presented culture. That presented culture represented an effort not only to impress the West, but also to modernize local interests. Global Victorian huting culture symbolized elite masculinity and racial authority. It reflected British sensibilities of empire, which the Porfiriato used as a model.Through promoting an increasingly Western set of pastimes, the Díaz administration aimed to sculpt the new republic into a shape familiar to Europeans and Americans. New norms and the naturalization of conditions had been curated by the regime through writing, newspapers, pamphlets, and foreign photographs. Foreign sports and alien identities further drove a wedge between classes. Hunting served to project images and rituals which normalized patriarchal power.

Beginning strongly in the 1880s, the Porfirian administration pushed for the proliferation of a desired culture. This presented culture relied on several sports to articulate a vision of modernity. Trophy hunting, seeking out coyotes, badgers, deer, wild ducks, turkeys, geese. Frontons, a type of Spanish ball game. And others including golf, soccer, bicycling, boxing, and, of course, horse racing.[198] These sports frequently required not only large sums to participate, but

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[197] Of course that is not to claim culpability of one particular institution. Instead, the Jockey Club and those aristocratic, elite gatherings like it reflected a broader trend of private enterprise or banking hurting an economy which the government struggled to control or regulate.
[198] Martin, *Vol. I*, 230 -245.

land upon which to play them. Hunting, chiefly among them, demanded fields, yards, or areas—yet access to these spaces ranged from "wonderful fields" to other hunters having spaces "almost barren of possibilities for him".[199] Wanting to participate did not translate to the ability or the opportunity to. Land collectivization from La Reforma from 1855-1867 robbed rural spaces of traditional hunting opportunities. Capital building projects further limited access. These projects largely sat around the wealthy districts of principal cities such as Mexico City, Vera Cruz, San Luis Potosi, or Zacatecas. And within these cities, the wealthiest sides received the streets which sported the opportunities and those wealthy enough to partake in them.

Hunting for trophies instead of survival typified Porfirian goal culture. In demonstrating their masculinity, Mexican elites and foreigners called upon imperial traditions of conquest and domination. With their rifles, beaters, and hounds—the Porfirian elite determined the value of all life outside of urbania. Indigenous populations served either as assistants to or targets of these hunts. Mexico severed historical connections to subsistence hunting to connect with a broader, European style. This "self-civilizing process" broke "from traditions" which symbolized "backwardness", aiming to "become something more internationally recognizable".[200] By ritualizing the hunt, the "practices performed and embodied the new normal".[201] Hussain argued this normalized "prevailing social hierarch[ies]" through the "arrangement of hunting methods" for colonial powers.[202] Transposed onto Mexico, this auto-imperial action typified and normalized class distinctions and privilege.

Hunting collectivized lands and meat in the same way as agriculture. The regime monopolized land access and established norms which upset traditional subsistence hunting. Programs and reforms collectivized land to pursue industrial agriculture. While the mechanisms were distinct from one another, both forms of land restriction ousted Indigenous and rural populations from the physical and traditional habitation of spaces. Each served to promote the authority of the regime and its presented culture. Only the wealthiest maintained access to good

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[199] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 113.
[200] Neufeld, *Perilous Beasts* 229.
[201] Neufeld, *Perilous Beasts*, 229.
[202] Hussain, Shafqat. "Sports-hunting, Fairness and Colonial Identity: Collaboration and Subversion in the Northwestern Frontier Region of the British Indian Empire". Conservation & Society, 2010, 119.

hunting grounds. *Rurales* and officials barred subsistence hunters from killing for food or roaming the land. Access to hunts reflected wealth as well as perceptions about what justified hunting. Limits and permits both protected animals and ensured the abundance of game for the few.[203] Upper-class Mexicans discarded those reasons most important to Indigenous or poor hunters. They imposed their values of life downward, and in doing so broke from nativity. Symbolically, they transformed cosmopolitan, yet regional, practices into forms which appealed to modernity.[204] Most importantly, by segregating a practice shared by the poor and Indigenous who relied upon hunting for survival, elites blended the groups together. In placing themselves above those "backwards" ways, "[t]heir excursions and displays…served to reinforce and establish a political vision founded on racial hierarchies".[205] Hunting thus generated *tipos* not only of the hunter, but also of those outside of the sport. Leisure segregated those invited into a bleached Mexicana and those barred from it. Indigenous traditions connected genuine native peoples to rural Mexicans. The Porfiriato, like the travel writers, set aside those outside of their presented culture. While never directly stated, these people matched those under the European umbrella of *peón*. Hunting as a practice normalized the combining of these groups along ethnic lines. It justified itself through participation in hunting practices which denounced Indigenous and rural conventions.

Killing for sport presented an image for modernity, couched in positivist thought and a bleached Mexicana. *Tipos* served to illustrate to whom modernity belonged. Porfirian authorities generated masculine images of themselves as justification for hierarchies in the regime. Porfirio Díaz himself, in that photo presented in the Creelman article, took credit for every kill.[206] His baker´s dozen and three dead deer hang as proof of his vigorous supremacy. Trophies proved his right to rule. In dominating the hunt, he symbolically dominated a realm reserved for the elite, select few of Porfirian society. His son captured the moment in a photo. Placed among *tipo* images of schools, rails, and mythological figures in Mexican national myth, it hoped to present and normalize that moment.[207] Dressed like an Englishman, the dissonance coupled with his

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[203] Neufeld, *Perilous Beasts,* 214-215.
[204] Neufeld, *Perilous Beasts*, 237.
[205] Neufield, *Perilous Beasts*, 237.
[206] Neufield, *Perilous Beasts*, 230.
[207] Neufield, *Perilous Beasts*, 230.

interview with Creelman broke open the social divide widened by the racial, cultural, and class changes spurred by positivist modernity. The Creelman interview merely articulated what the photos displayed: contempt for rural life and a centralization of authority.

Presented and Transformative Culture

Travelogues furthered the idea that this curated culture reflected European values. Enock, Spence, and Martin agreed that the sports observed in their travels fell into one of three groups: Spanish inheritance, distinctly European, or Indigenous.[208] Spanish sports were deemed to be "bull-fighting, the ball-game, and 'bear'".[209] "Golf, football, and tennis" were "distinctly British".[210] Despite Lewis Spence claiming horse racing occurred "world-wide", the style practiced by Porfirian Mexico demonstrated clear Europhilia. The Jockey Club used British tracks, French betting styles, and often imported their racing breeds from abroad.[211] Foreigners wrote off sports whose participation they deemed simple. Those rooted in gambling Europeans decried as Indigenous or Mexican.[212] The Porfiriato labored to cultivate public spaces and clubs, like the Jockey Club, which presented this identifiable, European goal culture to foreign eyes. To the average Mexican, however, the rapid change in industrialization, technology, and the presentation of self-led to a shift in the public vote through participation. Opera and theater served positivist projects set on modernizing the average Mexican. If hunting demonstrated patriarchal norms and bleached Mexicana, opera worked to incorporate Mexicans into the system whose values clubs normalized.

The Porfiriato pushed opera as an effort to inoculate the Mexican state against the derision of the foreign observer. Elites such as Díaz or Limantour imported traveling troupes from France, Spain, and Italy. Bands of foreign performers traveled along the *Calle de Puerta Falsa de San Andres*, visiting handsome theaters as they toured the Republic.[213] Spence wrote of such tours in his 1917 publication, but Mexico had courted Opera talent since 1884. A *Diversiones* column in *La Voz de México* from 14 November 1884 heralded the coming of a

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[208] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 108
[209] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 108.
[210] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 108.
[211] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 26.
[212] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 95.
[213] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 95.

Spanish Theater Group. This traveling company, *Compañía de zarzuela*, would perform rounds every day for two of the fiesta days.[214] These troupes from overseas overshadowed the ability of local performers. De facto or de jure, policies of importing talent prevented local talent from playing or even trying to play in the *Teatro Nacional* to the *Teatro Principal*. Spence asserted that "Mexico [had] no actors or actresses of any note. In fact, Mexican audiences greatly prefer[ed] imported talent, French or Spanish. There [was] small chance for native Mexican actors, as there [was] no school of acting in the Republic and there [was] much more inducement to become a successful bull-fighter".[215] By 1917, the principal source for opera came from the foreign importation of talent. No doubt biased in his account, Spence nonetheless perceived opera as the Porfiriato conceived of it. Modernity demanded the Europeanization of high-culture. Opera aimed to project bleached Mexicana and its modernity upon Mexicans more than invite them to participate in it.

Opera struggled to gain traction among the lower-classes and the Mexican masses owing to significant costs. Accessibility and a lack of genuine, Mexican influence in production further complicated efforts to increase public reception. Chiefly the cost of opera limited its popularity and appeal. Opera was not expensive in the same way that *charro* dress and saddle were. But the cost of attending an opera required living or traveling to a city that held them, for they rarely visited the rural provinces. The price of attendance might cost two pennies for seats in the gallery "...(where the darker castes sit)", but that fee would then be added on to the taxi or rent fees. The ability to attend theaters in major cities required an individual to already possess a substantial degree of financial security. In a society with an immense concentration of wealth at the top, many Mexicans struggled to afford rent in such a city.[216] When the poorest of Mexicans, living in "daub-a-wattle huts", would have been asked to spend 600 MXN (21,772 USD in 2026) on the cheapest flats and an additional two cents for seating. The poorest *peones* slept on reed mats because that was all they could afford. Cheap bedding like that cost three pennies.[217] While Mexicans of more moderate means might have afforded such a trip or already sustained themselves in a major city in the republic—the cost of the seating itself carried the hidden fee of

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[214] Martinez, Miguel. "Diversiones", *La Voz de México*, November 14 1884, 3
[215] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 98.
[216] Johns, *Age of Díaz*, 66.
[217] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 43.

proximity. Endemic costs of living and the demands of labor prohibited many from attending opera.

Location mattered greatly due to few opera houses having been built in rural areas. Spence recounted that "[m]ost Mexican towns of any size have a playhouse of their own; but the theatre is decidedly not an institution in provincial Mexico".[218] These touring troops imported from overseas moved between areas which did not exist in the same way in rural spaces. Those provincial houses that did exist such as those in Guadalajara and Guanajuato experienced "little patronage".[219] Spence, as with many other European observers, blamed this lack of public support on the public themselves. Those activities which they enjoyed more—most frequently cited being the bull-fight—allegedly proved "the lower classes in [Mexico's]....prefer[ing] its more sanguinary excitements to the milder pleasures".[220] Travel writings labeled the *peón* as short-sighted, brutish, or ill-educated in the face of what the British deemed "real Mexican theatre", which had in no way "been made to denationalise" the nation.[221] Men like Spence benefited from the idea of rural workers' incompatibility with so-called civil leisure. Imperial encroachment justified itself by claiming a backwardness to the Mexican worker. *Tipos* of rural people more interested in shedding blood than experiencing high art supported such claims. Yet the Porfiriato had struggled to spread opera as a project to the rural parts of the country. Bias aside, the theater seemed to lack a great deal of appeal. Perceptions of authentic Mexicana evidenced the care and bias of first the Porfiriato and second the foreigner. Travelogues suggested that foreigners latched on to the familiar, quickly ascribing it as genuine based more upon the insistence of the elite than the reality of the majority. Goal culture may have been Porfirio Díaz's Mexicana, but it was increasingly not the publics.

Justo Sierra believed that opera possessed the ability to transform the worker.[222] In positivist thought, high-culture could assist in modernizing the spirit and mind of an individual. Societal development demanded personal development. But efforts to bring opera to the masses met with limited success. The demands of labor necessitated that full families remain at work.

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[218] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 96.
[219] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 96.
[220] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 96.
[221] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 95.
[222] Vaughan, *Social Class in Mexico*, 224.

Sierra sponsored "low-cost" opera to induce a liking for European culture among the masses.[223] But the locational costs inherent in where the Porfiriato erected theaters blocked many from attending. Alongside costs, the enduring popularity of sanguinary sports contrasted with imported theater, suggesting a fundamental disagreement about culture and identity. Porfirian efforts to promote Western leisure to Western writers as proof of modernity alienated working Mexicans. Not only did rural provinces frequently lack access to theaters, but urban theater carried too many costs to be practical. Foreign talent practicing alien styles for European eyes never fostered a cultural link to Mexico. Bleached Mexicana proposed a set of norms embodied in *tipos* which relied on increasingly alien appearances and rituals. Efforts to project modernity onto the past aimed to bridge the alien with the authentic through mythologizing leisure.

Goal Culture and Mythology

Sheppard wrote that the Porfiriato positioned itself as the resolution of promises made during the liberal revolution.[224] The administration aimed to transform the state along liberal lines—reflected in education reform and the initial reform laws—and to cement that transformation through the consecration of nationalism. The period between 1867 and 1883, he sustained, reflected genuine efforts at statecraft. The uneven distribution of wealth and the clientelism, however, worsened over time. The administration's insistence that modernization and development were synonymous with identity exacerbated these issues.[225] *Tipos* proved, in the regime's eyes, adherence to their presented culture. Their efforts to bring "civilization" to Indigenous peoples through mandatory pants and dress reflected an attempt to transform the broader Mexican population.[226] Positivists deemed changing the character of the working-class as essential to modernization. They hoped to remodel identities through transformative culture. By doing this, the Porfiriato imagined they would create the kind of labor force necessitated by industrial modernity. Bleached Mexicana proved divisive, so the regime made efforts to curate sports in the same way they had heritage and struggle. Leisure, like the Porfiriato's nationalism,

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[223] Vaughan, *Social Class in Mexico*, 224.
[224] Sheppard, Randall. *A Persistent Revolution*: History, Nationalism, and Politics in Mexico Since 1968. University of New Mexico Press, 2016, 42.
[225] Sheppard, *A Persistent Revolution*, 36.
[226] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 51.

reimagined national identity. By making efforts to tie modern sports to immemorial roots, the Porfiriato mythologized leisure.

The physical manifestation of the administration's efforts to tie its past to its current culture characterized the Díaz regime. Racetracks, performances, and statues were all monuments to a national identity that depended on projection to establish authenticity. The *Paseo de Reforma* and *Plaza Mayor* sported statues calling for celebrations of an increasingly mythologized pantheon of heroes ranging from Hidalgo to Juárez. The clubs which lined the finest streets in the capital likewise reflected what Díaz articulated as the endpoint of the state's metamorphosis. Great clubs and theaters whose architecture cost more than one can imagine—along ritual and rail the regime mythologized modernity through leisure, hoping it took root in the hearts of the people. These pastimes proposed to sculpt identity by claiming a heritage to an immemorial past, despite their modern conception.[227] Hobsbawm's model noted the modes of this transformation. Membership to groups, the establishment of legitimizing institutions, and a system of behavior—club life represented all three.[228] Through ritualizing celebration, the administration moved to create a creole experience in which the everyday experience reflected a desired goal culture. Leisure promised a modernity fitting a long struggle for identity and independence.

Benedict Anderson argued that national identities in the form of imagined communities necessitated the participation of a populace in a set of common activities, languages, and experiences.[229] While the mechanisms of newspaper and horizontal unity reflected popular nationalism, the principal actor in charge was the state itself. The regime blended traditional means with an official purpose. Through this process, the Porfiriato blended creole and official nationalism. While in ways lacking the reactionary principle of official nationalism, the Porfiriato's statecraft sought to conceal the "discrepancy between nation and dynastic realm…" as Díaz served as both liberal realizer and authoritarian pragmatist.[230] Anderson described official nationalism as a top-down policy in which the powerful imposed an identity which

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[227] Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Ranger, eds. 2012. *Canto Classics: The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge, TAS, Australia: Cambridge University Press, 1.
[228] Hobsbawm, *Invention of Tradition*, 9.
[229] Anderson, Benedict. 2016. *Imagined Communities*. London, England: Verso Books, 51
[230] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 110.

constructed barriers along ethnic lines— squeezing together peoples whose communities did not agree upon a shared identity. Official nationalism pertaining to leisure segregated classes while promoting a series of behaviors and tastes. The creation of national monuments and the proliferation of leisure mythologized modernity itself. Bleached Mexicana relied upon imposing an official nationalism displayed through *tipos* captured in writing, photos, and leisure.

Mexican leisure thus reflected Mexican nationalism's official and top-down nature. Unlike most official nationalisms which Anderson referred to where they were cover-ups for empire—Mexican myth rooted itself in a liberal transformation. Its origins appeared authentic and the public support for the transformation between 1876 and 1890 supported such an assertion.[231] The failing came not from the lack of authenticity of the national identity, but from the administration's incongruity with its professed authenticity. From the 1890s onwards, new administrators came and brought an increased centralization of economic and governing principles. Clubs and activities once enticing national curiosity such as horse racing faded from the public's good graces. Economic stratification worsened with the bank runs of the mid-1880s. Stadiums once filled with exponential growth in the thousands now struggled to draw in enough of a crowd to justify the continued construction of new tracks. The opulence of the Porfiriato captured in its clubs and the Jockey Club encapsulated a shift from the promised and presented culture in Mexico to the disenchanted.

Sheppard's focus on the grand mythmaking of the state encapsulated an overlap between creole—liberal—and official—authoritarian—nationalisms. This mixed identity failed to reflect the conceptualization of the self for the average Mexican over time rather than immediately. The economic crisis in 1892 and the beginning of Porfirio Díaz's fourth term replaced administrators with patriarchal *caudillos*, and the administration's focus shifted more towards the enrichment of the capital at the expense of the countryside. Beezley's assertion that clubs presented the unfiltered public's opinion due to the lack of punishment or coercion to participate supported the notion that as the 1880s moved into the 1890s, the presented culture represented by the exuberant and French architecture of clubhouses and government buildings no longer held the same appeal. Upper-classes increasingly retreated from public spaces that served to enforce a shared, national identity. Club life conflicted with rural understandings of identity. Presented culture warred

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[231] Sheppard, *A Persistent Revolution*, 39-43.

against its present counterpart. Hunting and opera aimed to solidify norms and change public values, but systemic issues and alienation saw them fail. Despite their efforts, the regime's modernizing policies disarticulated myth from reality.

Conclusion

As Mexico stepped onto the international stage after independence, foreign powers from England and the United States had started to influence the nascent state through diplomacy and war. But these influences were not the start of wholesale importation. The aspects of foreign culture imported reflected Mexican values or had been shaped to accommodate them. An administration and entertainment class educated in foreign schools increasingly drifted Mexico towards a Francophile orbit. However, such a change evidenced a process of adaptation not concession. Leisure clubs like the Jockey Club internationalized activities with Mexican roots in a manner which the broader world recognized. But regime efforts to transform Mexican leisure butted up against rural pastimes. Cockfighting demonstrated that local understandings of community, defined in the commodification of violence, united classes in shoulder-to-shoulder entertainment. Efforts to hide or at least curtail bloodsports met with mixed success. Cross-class participation in bullfighting and cockfighting represented cultural understandings at odds with official nationalism.

The average Mexican had engaged with these changes largely because the creole experience of liberal reform up to 1867 united many in a shared vision of the future. The Porfiriato claimed to realize this liberal future through means supplemented by patriarchal and authoritarian methods. While initially this official nationalism blended state and public experiences, the economic crisis of 1883 and subsequent transformation by 1899 changed out Díaz administration for an increasingly top-down and dismissive set of elites. Club life felt this transformation as well. Increasingly the elite sought refuge from the public plazas and streets inside their clubs. Dining and learning were sequestered from public haunts. The attire donned by the rich hardly reflected the conditions of the poor. Activities purported as true Mexicana by upper-classes and foreigners presented little ability or opportunity for the lower-classes to participate.

Evidence suggested that the transformation of Díaz's fourth term administration brought about a series of cultural changes that exacerbated existing class divides through technology and

culture shock.[232] The government lost the lines of communication which had defined the earlier periods of the regime, and the public interest withdrew as heavier penalties for poverty and stricter codes for dress were implemented.[233] Curation of the state became the creation of an alien one. Spaces and dresses and pastimes drifted more towards foreign tastes and appetites. Positivists and the Porfiriato recut what remained of familiar traditions to mythologize modernity. The bullfight became a means of grouping together and policing the poor; the clubhouse served as a center for elite retreat. The lower-class suffered from a lack of basic infrastructure done away with in favor of new buildings for the minister of finance, clubhouses, government buildings, or hygiene organizations. The whole administration placed the luxury-cart before the necessity-horse. This transformation over time cemented the divide between rural and urban; rich and poor; and Mexican and foreign—all of which found expression in the Mexican leisure time experience. That sanguinary sports survived the banking crisis of 1883 supported the idea that more than money went into public support. The war against the *corrida* and *panleques* with the presented culture of the hunt demonstrated the cultural conflict innate to Porfirian leisure. Participation for the former necessitated the latter as attempts to enculture the populace ran aground against communal understandings of identity. But the regime remained determined to remake the citizen and worker—a battle between Indigenous and Mestizaje continued the war between present and presented culture.

[232] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 66.
[233] Sheppard, *A Persistent Revolution*, 44-45.

Chapter 4 - Ethno-Cultural Bleed: Blanqueamiento as Culture

Introduction

Racial thought overlapped with class realities in Porfirian Mexico. US interests converged with Porfirian projects. Newspapers, travelers, and photographs sought proof of either a backward people or a progressive state—all in the name of enticing investment in the land, industry, and resources of the state. In the Porfiriato's presented culture, they found a language for both. *Tipos*, as imagined by Jason Ruíz, captured templates of people in photos or writings coming from within or outside of Mexico. Positivist thinkers and foreign observers quickly identified types or *tipos* of Mexicans based upon three things. First, photographs from men like C. B. Waite and his contemporaries served as a visual medium for foreign understanding of Indigenous cultures. His actions gave to many Americans their only understanding of life beyond the southernmost border. This chapter appropriates Ruíz's term to examine written accounts and ethno-class overlap. Written accounts from men like Enock, Martin, and Spence chose their words with abandon. But in between their accounts lies an understanding of racial and class overlap endemic in their flippant use of the term *peón*. The word for worker served to refer in most accounts to both a laborer and an Indigenous person. Excepting Enock, few bothered even a cursory distinction. Thirdly, from the Mexicans themselves: education, perception, and leisure served as rituals to display positivist thought. Social Darwinism applied evolutionary logic to social organization. Elites readily utilized it to justify racial hierarchy, labor exploitation, and imperial expansion. Heavily influenced by Social Darwinism, positivists like Justo Sierra promoted the propulsion of the Mexican state through the transformation of its workers. In the minds of many, that change needed to reflect a European drift which re-racialized the worker into a productive cog towards an industrial modernity.

Foreign labels, the new mestizo, culture, and modernity all played large roles in shaping the received and presented character of the Mexican. Generalizations in the form of *tipos*—written, photographed, or otherwise—simplified or supported systems pursued by both the American empire and Porfirian regime. Both powers conceptualized labor in racial ways. Central authorities in both thought Indigenous or poor workers, defined by *tipos*, impeded the project of modernity. Modernization demanded a kind of "Whiteness" from its workers. To redress this "Indigenous difference", imperial and positivist thinkers pursued a new Mestizaje. It imagined

not a blend of ethnicities, but the subordination of all but the most desirable Indigenous traits to European habits and appearances. These new workers—made through blood or education—could reach a new racial status through changing their economic one. The Porfiriato aimed to exploit this through education and leisure. The former, supported by men like Sierra, hoped to instill a cultural and cognitive shift, aligning local workers with foreign thinkers. Cosmopolitan fashions in architecture and leisure served to display the goal culture from the elite. A group defined by their drift towards White dress, beliefs, and diversions. Overlapping ideas between class, ethnicity, and modernity ultimately turned leisure into proof of racial coherence to cosmopolitan values. *Tipos* linked leisure, class, and race together as part of ritualized transformation and presentation of Porfirian goal culture. Mestizaje embodied this authoritative project to modernize the state. The presentation of progress through physical appearance, condition, and culture served to present an imagined and modern Mexico to the West. This bleached Mexicana sought foreign validation of Porfirian modernity. Culture and leisure—but especially labor—made up the battlefield between present and presented culture as it overlapped with notions of race and class. Porfirian blanqueamiento utilized leisure, learning, photos, foreign impressions, and their presented culture to create a modern Mestizaje. Foreign imperial interests and Porfirian goals both relied on the mestizo. Porfirian Mestizaje recategoraized mestizos by habit instead of heritage. In imitating Europeans through appearance and habit, both Mexico and the United States removed this 'Indian difference' that stood in the way of modernization. *Tipos* operated as the instrument of this transformation and the language of its racial project while leisure, hygiene, and dress mandates strove to realize it.

Working Bodies

The perception of Mexicans among international observers confused race and class. Travelogues quickly took *peón* to refer not solely to workers but also to Indigenous persons. Men like Martin, Enock, and Spence imagined the class of the Mexican as an extension of their ethnic identity by extending the term *peón* over both. Historian Jason Ruíz contended that such a conflation reflected broader imperial trends in the United States. His image of empire saw the racialization of labor as a method by which America conceptualized the legitimacy of expansion and imperialism. Under such a narrative, travelogues and photographs structured the characterization of Mexicans to simplify racial conceptions as a binary: Indigenous and nearly European. Anglo-American labels for Mexicans did not distinguish between class and race.

Instead, the two reflected synonymous elements within a person. Mexicans were not only subjected to such naturalizations, but the upper-classes in the republic embraced them as tools to justify class disparities. Americans grew fascinated with images and words coming from travelers to Mexico. This fascination created a fetish—in mythological and sexual ways—for the Indigenous. Through bodies, poverty, labor, and culture—Americans blended categories into binaries associated with backwardness or modernity: with nativity and Euro-likeness. And it was no mistake—the confusion of observers came from a structural blending of race and class, meant to create uncertainty and overlap.

This fetishization manifested as the subjects of American photography. Photos generated templates of people in Mexico. These photographical *tipos* of men, women, and children—frequently in the nude and impoverished—categorized Mexico as part of a separate time and backwards culture.[234] These photos had two principal actors. Photos of Indigenous women sexualized their bodies along lines that Ruíz argued maintained a continuity of colonial exploitation. Andrea Smith argued that the perceived dirtiness of their form, associated with poverty, justified in the 'colonial imagination' acts of sexual violence. Colonial powers ignored violence against "bodies that are considered impure or dirty".[235] Ruíz moved the exploitation of bodies with rape to include idolatry. In his account, the propagation of images depicting the nude form for the purpose of exciting viewers objectified Indigenous and poor Mexicans. Images and accounts—often the only ones most Americans saw—came to tantalize as much as categorize. The dehumanization and fetishization of the forms of both individuals and the nation justified the seizure of either.[236] Workers were also an object of fascination. Photographers disarticulated workers from their context in city stalls. In sterile backdrops, they snapped photographs of laborers which captured identifiers already normalized as Indigenous by men like C. B. Waite. *Tipos* imagined all workers from burden bearers to shop tenders as part of a whole, racial caste set apart from the wealthier Mexicans.[237]

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[234] Ruíz, *Americans in the Treasure House*, 25-32.
[235] Smith, Andrea. *Conquest: Sexual Violence and American Indian Genocide*. Duke University Press, 2005, 10.
[236] Ruíz, *Americans in the Treasure House*, 38.
[237] Ruíz, *Americans in the Treasure House*, 47.

This "Indian type" defined for Americans and Mexicans both an otherness and naturalness to the segregation of labor and the wealth disparity. American fascination with Indigenous labor took many forms. Simply put, images of poverty mesmerized them. The animalization of their labor—categorizing men as beasts of burden—and the titillation of human flesh excited tourists and photographers alike.[238] *Tipos* presented glimpses to the public and its officials of this fetishized laborer. Images and writing presented a basis for economic domination which utilized the ethno-class backwardness of these *tipos* to justify intervention. It was for this purpose, Ruíz insisted, that the US engaged with Mexico. Imperial pursuits centered American interests on the poor, underdeveloped, and the sensational. The Porfiriato took these images and accounts, sometimes paying their creators, to push their presented culture. These interests shared a language of mixed race and culture. However, the Americans sought to imagine Mexico as a time apart from their own while Mexico aimed to erase Indigenous faces and poverty to weld the nation onto the broader stage.

Travelogues thus inherited a mission from the United States—an imperative to display the binary of the emerging nation. Long stretches of Enock, Martin, and Spence are dedicated to the physical appearance and habits of *peones*, which they conflated with Indigenous cultures. These scripts used language defined by C. B. Waite: maintaining a fascination with bodies, backwardness, quaintness, and poverty. While Enock gave the most care to distinguishing labor and race, even he confused them in many sections of his travelog. The well-walked traveler recounted the *peones* as "half-naked and sandalled" in plazas and streets. He spoke of a woman walking down those same stone-paved streets of the capital. Here the same language appeared. She "of the Indian class" carried her shoes, "slink[ing] along—the footpath is not for them—with their pantaloons of cotton *manta* rolled up to their knees and their feet unshod or sandalled".[239] Enock called her a *peón*. All Indigenous men and women were *peones* in his travelogue. And all *peones* dressed in the Indigenous fashion he described. Enock conflated "*peones"* with "some Indians from the country" and other workers like porters, *cargadores*, and "other humble occupation[s]". He not only focused on poverty as a subject, but conflated class with race through the semantically careless use of the word "*peon*". The categorization of *tipos* through

[238] Ruíz, *Americans in the Treasure House*, 50.
[239] Enock, *Mexico: Its Ancient and Modern Civilisation*, 171.

written word and photography lumped peoples together, generating discourse to explain the state of these groups.

Enock's categorization mirrored other travelers who dismissed the worker as a bearer of a docile, colonial inheritance. That heirloom, others like Spence and Martin argued, came from servitude to the Spanish. The encomienda system supposedly blunted the workers' intellect and inclined the *peón* towards brutal leisure like the bullfight.[240] Imagined within a context of Indigenous subjugation, officials and outsiders used racial language to describe and explain poverty and the poor's habits. Photographers like C.B. Waite and newspapers in the US furthered this overlap. Charles Burlingame Waite made a business out of selling photos of Mexican Indigenous peoples, workers, and scenery to American audiences as tourist mementos from the 1890s to the Revolution. Pictures normalized vendors, water carriers, and *tortilleras* as "Indian Types". Ruíz wrote that popular imagination suggested "the Indian was defined by the labor that he or she performed".[241] Ethnographers took photos disarticulated from social context as evidence of a shared racial and class character. Such categorizations reflected the trend for Indigenous people performing "the most menial labor in Porfirian Mexico".[242] Yet the complete merger of the groups came from the broad strokes painted by photos and writings, characterizing Mexicans by chance and design as a racialized labor force. Backwardness, defined as a failure to follow the Western world in industrial transformation, had become the fault of Indigenous elements. Officials inside and outside of Mexico blamed racial characteristics for both poverty and production shortages. *Tipos* displayed backwardness, justifying for Americans the expansion of empire to modernize both Mexico and the Mexican. American industries moved material and capital to the south, aiming to exploit Mexico's natural resources.[243]

Foreign eyes, film, and writing captured workers' bodies and diffused them amongst consumers. Perceptions grown from *tipos* generated intentionally baited fantasies about the United States' southernmost neighbor. But fantasies served the purpose of the empire—with the "under-utilized" resources of Mexico and their workers justifying US penetration into their markets. Travel writers played into these trends of simplification and nativization. Along the

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[240] Martin, Vol. II, 222.
[241] Ruíz, *Americans in the Treasure House*, 47.
[242] Ruíz, *Americans in the Treasure House*, 50.
[243] Warrren, Robert. “Santa Fe’s Tertio-Millenial”. *Los Angeles Times*, June 7, 1883, 2.

way, out of ignorance or carelessness, the portrayal of Indigenous life overlapped with broader poverty. As men like Enock, Spence, and Martin recounted the appearance of the *peón* or their living conditions, they fueled this confluence of character. The way Americans conceived of workers in Mexico blended class and race to the point that one word—*peón*—came to signify both. The general dismissal of workers' ability to support modernity based itself upon Indigenous blood or colonial inheritance. Such beliefs, however, stubbed US projects in the region. To exploit the resources of their neighbor, the United States needed labor. Their solution reimagined Mestizaje. For the USA, mestizos—like *peones*—were Indigenous by heritage, but linguistically Spanish and cognitively cosmopolitan. As the US both criticized and ogled Indigenous bodies and lifestyles, eyes turned to curated Mestizaje to provide the means and form of modernity in Mexico.

The General, The Consumer, and the Mestizo

This country "whose hidden riches have waited…for the aggressive force of the Anglo-Saxon", posed a problem to empire, however. Characterization of the Indigenous person as dirty, lazy, and poor—a culture so easily content with "too little"—made them poor workers and consumers in the eyes of American markets.[244] The "racial project" to reimagine a group of Mexicans capable of both producing and consuming in a capitalist world came about to solve what Ruíz called the "Indian difference". Mestizaje—or the promotion of a mixed middle-class—represented a reinvention rather than exploration of Mexican heritage. The mestizo in the conception of the Anglo-American sphere was the son of two cultures—Spanish and Indigenous—but unmistakably White in mannerism and dignity. The popularity afforded to General Díaz reflected this process of racial re-imagination. In the European and American mind, conceptualizing a middle-class necessitated a new shape to race, as the two concepts had long blurred in public imagination.

Despite his Indigenous heritage, General Díaz enjoyed broad popularity in the United States. While debate existed over the dictator's exact parentage, his home in Oaxaca and his family bore Indigenous roots. Uncertainty over exact genealogy advantaged Díaz as he presented the West with a European appearance.[245] His march towards modernization, while recognized to

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[244] Ruíz, *Americans in the Treasure House*, 176.
[245] Garner, *Porfirio Díaz*, 24-25.

violate republican principals, reflected Western tastes, winning the approval of the broad community. His image mirrored the Anglo-American concept of "Indians" and civility. Charles Lummis wrote of the general in *Awakening of a Nation* in 1898. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Lummis had no imperial interests. Instead, he wrote the book for a popular audience, hoping to dispel ignorance surrounding “all outside our boundaries”.[246] He worked as a journalist, civil rights activist, and championed the protection of Native American rights as a contemporary to Martin and Enock. Thus, his analysis of the dictator did not wholly deride Indigenous elements. Yet he characterized Díaz in line with Anglo-American conceptions of "Indians" and civility. Porfirio Díaz stood "...erect as the Indian he is disproportionately confounded with". In his "muscular European limbs" he carried "a fine agreement of unusual physical strength" and "grace". The strength and dignity of Indigenous people expressed itself in his stature, but his "features and expressions [were] essentially of Spain".[247]

In Lummis' account, a mestizo may bear the "trunk" or posture of their Indigenous ancestry, but the culture "confounded" them. Mestizaje broke from racial roots on the continent to hearken back to European manners and passions. A mestizo thus subordinated their heritage to their habit. Lummis insisted that the man carried Indigenous traits perhaps out of a genuine reverence for his heritage. But the order of his language reinforced Porfirian conceptions of placing European features to the front of their appearance. Lummis painted an image of the dictator which granted him the deeds of the Indigenous but the decorum of the colonizer. Iberian—that is European—fashions and tastes served to define the majority of Porfirio Díaz. It gave him his quick wits and "muscular limbs". Chiefly, his "features and expressions" were "essentially of Spain". In short: he looked like a European. International accounts Whitened Díaz as a method of understanding the dictator. Mexicans also familiarized themselves with the idea of claiming a continuity of resistance within a culture of the colonizer while also imitating that latter groups' culture. Later monuments to Cuauhtémoc erected on the Paseo de la Reforma merged such ideas. With their stone deco bodies, statues to Indigenous resistance portrayed native stories with "a classical language".[248] The Porfiriato itself handpicked elements of

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[246] Lummis, Charles Fletcher. *The Awakening of a Nation: Mexico of To-Day*. New York, Harper, 1898.
[247] Lummis, *The Awakening of a Nation,* 104-105.
[248] Agostoni, *Monuments of Progress*, 90-97.

Indigenous stories not for their culture but for their deeds. These deeds they placed under a broader umbrella of a more Europhile set of tastes. Through the *tipos* images of the members in the Jockey Club, the European forward presentation of the middle-class indicated that the general's style of Mestizaje reflected broader, Porfirian ideas about race. These habits and appearances defined the bleached Mexicana of the state. Similarities in the generation of the ideal mestizo relied on more than the past: they depended upon labor and culture.

Leisure served as a reflection of this Whitening of Porfirio Díaz's character. Porfirio Jr. took a photograph of the president in during a hunting party. The photo, simply named "President Díaz Hunting in the Mountains", reflected the masculine, physical exertion of hunting. Within the context of leisure and club life, hunting reflected Western values and upper-class opportunities. Spence asserted that the act of hunting came from a culture of a "world-wide occurrence".[250] Thereby, he separated the pastime from Indigenous roots. Hunting with guns and hounds came to reflect a "world-wide"—meaning European—pastime. By connecting the hobby to European tastes, those partaking in it were Whitened through contact with the sport. Restrictions and limitations also served to re-culture those "mestizos" partaking in the diversion. The land needed for hunts could only be found in a few areas. Interest and capital alone could not allow anyone to hunt in the fashion enjoyed by Europeans.[251] For the General, the pastime reflected European fashion and wealth.[252] This photograph typified the leader of Mexico by class and passion. In doing so, Creelman connected Díaz to Lummis' racial assessment. By connecting Porfirio Díaz to upper-class leisure, the interplay between race and class pushed the General towards the "Iberian" part of his heritage.[253] Its participants took part in a transformative process which subordinated heritage to habit. Bullets and blanqueamiento worked together through leisure hunting to project a bleached Mexicana as a norm.

In this way, his mestizo blood was simplified to innate Whiteness in taste and capacity. James Creelman interviewed the Dictator in 1908. He was an American journalist working for Pearson’s Magazine. While initially published in the US, the way Porfirio Díaz himself

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[250] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 108-113.
[251] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexicans*, 113.
[252] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 108-113.
[253] Neufield, *Perilous Beasts*, 237.

expressed his opinion on Indigenous and common people set fire to its readers when reprinted in Mexico.

> The Indians, who are more than half of our population, care little for politics. They are accustomed to look to those in authority for leadership instead of thinking for themselves. That is a tendency they inherited from Spaniards, who taught them to refrain from meddling in public affairs and rely on the Government for guidance.[254]

In his winding words, which Creelman had to interrupt to get his own in, he spoke mostly of the republic. While in reference to politics, his previous focus on the emergent middle-class and its struggles to emerge owing to "Spanish tyranny and misgovernment" once again connected class and race.[255] His suggestion that Indigenous men and women had little capacity for politics suggested that the ruling class should be anything but. Both the dictator and foreign investors imagined mestizos as a curative for the state's growing pains. Modernity demanded a ruling and working-class — the mestizo had to fill both roles. The General's insistence that an emergent middle-class remained separate from Indigenous cultures also supported the idea of mestizos as the emergent middle-class. The infamy of this article which sparked revolt in the state played on a language which conflated labor with race. Capacity and birth overlapped in the Porfirian conception. *Tipos* of the Porfiriato's modernity differentiated themselves from the masses. The Creelman interview showed the dictator held those outside of the presented culture and their mestizo race in patronizing disdain. Yet his European orbit afforded him popularity abroad. This re-categorization of the leader, Díaz maintained popular support in America even after the revolution began in 1910.

Broader efforts to "Europeanize Mexican high culture" had connections to outsiders' relationship with Mestizaje.[256] To address the perception of incongruity between Indigenous peoples and modernity, officials molded a new race of people out of the existing groups. Instead of a mixed heritage, mestizos represented a European rebirth for the upper-class.[257] Travelogues and photographs cemented the idea of a "highly cultivated" mestizo who reflected a near-Whiteness in their fashion and tastes. The categorical mestizo shared some traits, but not all, with

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[254] Creelman, James "President Díaz: Hero of the Americas". Pearson's Magazine, 1908, 241.
[255] Creelman, "President Díaz", 240-241.
[256] Ruíz, *Americans in the Treasure House*, 121.
[257] Ruíz, *Americans in the Treasure House*, 122.

the cultivated one. Blanqueamiento worked within the bleached Mexicana through *tipos* which displayed the modernizing influence of European blood and culture. The Anglo-American conception of race cared little for nuance. *Tipos* placed many genuine mestizos into the category of *peón* or Indigenous based more upon their labor and appearance than genuine ancestry. Hygiene played a major role in identifying Indigenous people for outsiders. Ruíz stated that "dirt loomed…as a marker of indianness".[258] Cleanliness came to reflect modernizing people while dirtiness proved backwardness. Stereotypes of native descendants of the Maya or Aztecs or other local groups bathing only once a year made up little writings and jokes between outsiders. William English Carlson wrote after his four month stay at Chapala that "the Indians never take a bath…the peons of the temperate zone seem, in fact, to have a deep-rooted horror of soap and water".[259] When compounded with recountings in travelogues of life in adobe huts, on haciendas, in mines, photographs of vendors implied connections between types and labor, race, and hygiene.[260] This *tipo* language led observers to conflate the massive poor population in cities as Indigenous regardless of their ancestry for two factors. First, they were principally laborers and *tipos* primed many to understand such people as Indigenous. Moreover, poorer people lived in rural or urban areas with inferior public sanitation. Tales and pictures, exaggerated or without context, nevertheless associated the all-encompassing category of *peón* with grime and filth. The Porfirian focus on health centers may have reflected an awareness of this perception. Thus, the cleaning of cities was an effort to Whiten the perception of the populace.[261]

Americans, in the continental whole, positioned the mestizo as the answer to racial perceptions about labor and modernity in Mexico. The blanqueamiento, or racial Whitening, of Mexican heritage—with the president of the Porfiriato as its symbol and hygiene as a sign—provided *tipos* for mestizos and Indigenous. The term "mestizo" conflated class and race as readily as the term *peón*. In many cases, travel writers replaced the former with "Spanish-American".[262] Enock used the term in reference to the "well-educated" and "well informed" cream of Mexican society. This middle-class of leisure seeking, "courteous and punctual"

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[258] Ruíz, *Americans in the Treasure House*, 126-127.
[259] Carson, William. *Mexico: Wonderland of the South*. The Macmillan Company, 1909, 195.
[260] Ruíz, *Americans in the Treasure House*, 127.
[261] Agostoni, *Monuments of Progress*, 114.
[262] Enock, *Mexico: Its Ancient and Modern Civilisation*, 160.

mestizos so clearly diverged from those he labeled *peones* that he removed the label of Mexican itself. Whatever lay at the root of the emergent middle-class—economic stability, "nostalgia" for ethnic Spanish culture and race, or some perfect blend of racial blood—the mestizo symbolized modernity for both states. And that representation, regardless of its truth, translated to blanqueamiento in manner, dress, and method. The Porfiriato, aware of confused perceptions of race and class, used its institutions and fashions to win foreign favors. The presentation of their bleached Mexicana served to mold Mexican culture into a modern, mestizo culture.

To Be a Mexican—Culture

Because foreigners so readily confused race and class, culture came to reflect both. As mentioned in previous chapters, the Porfiriato received reviews from visitors over its clubs. The Jockey Club, with its cosmopolitan style of horsemanship linked to apocryphal and practical local traditions, met with acclaim. The *Jockey Club* photograph from the Colección Casasol captured a frozen moment in time where the elite gathered. The naturalist art, the cosmopolitan dress, the art deco and everything in the snapshot created a *tipo* of culture.[263] Perhaps the club sponsored the photo like the Mexican Central Railway had from Jackson. Or perhaps writers and photographers felt drawn to the spaces of cosmopolitan culture and curated Mexicana out of fascination or familiarity. The result, regardless, depicted a high culture wielded by the regime to reimagine what Mexicana looked like. Other sports served to support or contrast this purpose. Revisited now under a racial lens, leisure decried as barbaric—cockfighting and bullfighting, cantinas, betting, gambling—displayed not only a lack of taste but a backwardness of race. As travelogues recounted leisure, they promoted those sports and hobbies which presented as European. Their accounts, occurring late into the Porfiriato, tried to reimagine a middle-class composed of entrepreneurs and a culture like Europe. The language of Enock, where he referred to those high societies as "Spanish-American" reflected an aim to Whiten Mexico. Yet he never argued for a return to colonial rule. Instead, Enock implied Mestizaje maintained a White, creole continuity. Opera, horse racing, theater, hunting, and art symbolized physical evidence of an emergent capitalist class of producers and consumers. While Ruíz argued the focus lay in workers, historian Mary Vaughan argued that equal interest lay with the middle-class as an

[263] *Jockey Club*, 1920, Colección Casasol

elite.[264] Following the thoughts of the Mexican positivist Sierra, Vaughan contextualized what Enock and others did within a wider lens of re-racialization. Ruíz focused on the American empire, but elites in Mexico had transformative racial projects of their own. The curation of a Mexicana made for modernity demanded much of the Porfiriato's time and attention. An apparent overlap between this cultural and racial project lay in the clubs promoted by the state and lauded by foreign eyes.

A Mexicans' class could be deduced based upon their dress. Whether a man wore a cravat or a *sarape* hinted to their values, wealth, and culture. But more than garments, foreign understandings of culture, ideology, and modernity fueled racial and cultural conceptions within communities. Positivist thought which readily embraced Anglo-European cultural supremacy bled such superiority onto race.[265] The pursuit of improving the ethnic composition of both land and labor justified the collectivization of Indigenous lands and the courtship of foreign immigration. When such immigration failed to manifest, education aimed to enculture Mexicans with Francophile ideas and passions.[266] Presiding as the president over both the first and second *Congreso Nacional de Instrucción Públicas*, Justo Sierra furthered the idea that education should not exist for its own sake. Sciences like physics and chemistry deserved to be taught because the processes of experimentation and hypothesis held great utility.[267] Modernization, and the racial conceptions embedded within it, shaped how subjects justified their inclusion in preparatory schooling. As an officer of a government body, Sierra focused on how transformative education built upon subjects with utility and form fitting for modernity. Transformative education thus, in the eyes of the state, required justification for instruction. It had to serve the purpose of reshaping the working-class. In the case of Indigenous peoples, Sierra proposed education might influence the race itself.[268] Hopes held that the classroom would "modernize values and behavior within a capitalist framework…", but structural issues within labor truncated efforts. Education mirrored

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[264] Vaughan, *Social Class in Mexico*, 25.
[265] Vaughan, *Social Class in Mexico*, 13.
[266] Vaughan, *Social Class in Mexico*, 74-75.
[267] Second Congress: Congreso Nacional de Instrucción Pública, Resoluciones del Segundo Congreso Nacional de Instrucción Pública, 1890 y 1891. México: Imprenta de El Partido Liberal, 1891, 287. [Hereafter abbreviated as ICNEP II]
[268] First Congress: Congreso Nacional de Instrucción Pública, Resoluciones del Primer Congreso Nacional de Instrucción. México: Imprenta de El Partido Liberal, 1890, 25 - 26.

society in its poor distribution. Northern Mexico enjoyed greater capacity and support in funding public and private schools. Provinces like Oaxaca, the general's own birthplace, fell behind in education as they had in industry. The wealthy gained access to what the working-class could not, thus solidifying the racial perceptions endemic in class distinctions further. Relatively few laboring Mexicans—mestizo or Indigenous—raised themselves or their families' station through education.[269]

Differing from modern perceptions—the Mexican middle-class served as the entrepreneurial agent in a dependent capitalist state rather than a factory worker.[270] As *tipos* insisted, labor defined *peones* as factory workers, tenant farmers, and miners. By contrast, leisure and opportunity defined the middle-class. As modernization chugged along in the Porfirian regime, positivist thinkers and officials made efforts to mimic and understand Europe's success. *Peones* and more broadly labor became the answer as well as the question. These workers composed the lowest of social strata yet were fundamental to the modernization efforts of the state. Social Darwinists and positivists tied deficiencies in production and exportation directly to the quality of the workers. Modernization in the style of the West demanded an imitation of their system of capitalism as well as their model of worker. In the process, economic concepts bled into social ones. Principally, the idea that capitalist success "stemmed in part from racial superiority" promoted a sense of racial "inferiority" which exacerbated fears of "vulnerability" to foreign influence.[271] The racial superiority in question referred to the quality of the worker. Material inferiority of Mexico stemmed, in the eyes of the government, from the racial inferiority of its labor.

Europhilia mixed with Europhobia as the Díaz administration courted foreign capital and investors. The regime hoped to attract immigrants from abroad to change the racial state of the nation. As Justo Sierra put it: 'We still need to attract European immigrants, whose blood is the only one that should be crossed with the [Indigenous] race if we don't want to descend to an inferior level, which would result in regression, not evolution'.[272] Perhaps one of the most vocal

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[269] Vaughan, *Social Class in Mexico*, 76.
[270] Sierra, Justo. *México Social y Político.* In *Obras Completas,* vol.9. Edición ordenada y anotada por Agustín Yañez. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1948, 131.
[271] Weiner. *Race, Nation, and Market*, 49.
[272] Weiner. *Race, Nation, and Market*, 60.

advocates of positivist thought, Sierra supported notions that Europeans had long outpaced Mexico regarding workers. While Sierra rejected "the notion that the poor and non-White were congenitally inferior", he simultaneously saw the state as "backward" and requiring federal intervention. Despite pronounced refusal of racial elements, Sierra promoted functional positivism which posited the necessity of a transformation of workers into productive members of modernization.[273] That education professed and imitated European superiority through not only culture but also race. The Porfiriato fought to modernize the state. Over the course of thirty-seven years, the silk-gloved iron fist of the regime rushed the state towards that goal.[274] Spottily, it developed railroads, mines, and industrial agriculture. In its haste, the Porfiriato displaced many workers and failed to reach its full populace with either opportunity or education. These failings, however, only festered the positivist and social Darwinist racial ideas surrounding labor. The more the system flagged, the greater attention the regime paid to recreating the racial mestizo.

Culture and tastes reflected racial identity in the Porfiriato. Efforts to draw support for clubs and participation—where it occurred—aimed to enculture Mexicans into a more cosmopolitan form. As wealth barred most from accessing European sports, education came about as another mode of transformation. Education, expanded under the Porfiriato, not only charged nothing for attendance of primary schooling, but it hefted penalties and jail time on those refusing to send their children by 1888.[275] Ezequiel Chávez, Undersecretary of the Ministry of Public Instruction between 1900 and 1910, utilized positivist thought to justify education. An influential educational reformer and psychologist, he promoted positivist thought. He alongside Sierra helped to molde the national educational system. Quoting the French thinker Gustave Lebon, Chávez maintained that a state "in which the needs of the environment create this discipline will convert discipline into a characteristic of the race".[276] Both Chávez and Sierra were positivists. Chávez blatantly spoke what Sierra implied: that the workers required a racial transformation through the medium of education. And that such a transformation should reflect a

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[273] Sierra, Justo. *Periodismo Político.* In *Obras Completas,* vol.4. Edición ordenada y anotada por Agustín Yañez. México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1948, 239.
[274] Johns, *Age of Díaz*, 59-60
[275] Vaughan, *Social Class in Mexico*, 21.
[276] Chávez, Ezequiel, "Notas," 1914 Archivo Ezequiel Chávez, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

European understanding of culture and modernity. Yet the acceptance of foreign influence and the pursuit of its copy stemmed from domestic struggles with self-conception.

Mexican philosopher and professor at UNAM Samuel Ramos argued that the roots to the racial conceptions of class stemmed from twin elements of denigration and imitation. Denigration, he argued, came from the perception that Mexicans lacked an endemic culture upon independence. Through their abuses, the ethnic group that emerged failed to resemble the kinds of cultural archetypes of Europe. Ramos contended that such perceptions pushed the Liberal movement to culture themselves in European fashions and offer a "cloister" for Mexicans to "retreat" towards to escape the cultural void of the republic.[277] Despite choosing a separate cause, the idea of an inherited ailment that held back Mexican progress remained. Denigration for Ramos was a colonial inheritance. Enock and Mexican positivists spoke to this condition. The second element, imitation, served to medicate the denigration of the self. Originally, imitation aimed to copy the philosophy of revolutionary France. Armed with foreign ideology, the liberal movement wielded culture as a tool to dismantle constrictive institutions like the church.[278] Writing after the PRI had replaced the Porfiriato, the fallout of regime change informed the focus and topics of his work. Unsurprisingly, a focus on the origin of European imitation in light of the Porfiriato's passing comprised his thesis. What began as an ideological adoption transformed into a cultural re-imagination by the time of the Porfiriato and persisted beyond the regime.

French culture inspired Mexico towards modernity despite being neither the most liberal nor modern nation in the world at the time. Liberal ideology sponsored by the French Revolutions mattered most. More than progress, liberals in Mexico adopted a language of development. With it, officials and thinkers spoke of an emergent continuity of modernity whose path they labored to connect the new republic to. France's continuity of Graeco-Roman civilization and the inherited Latin roots in Mexico's post-colonial state catalyzed cultural penetration.[279] Upper-classes adopted not only French thoughts but also their fashions and sports. This adoption, as referenced in previous chapters, fostered class divides through cementing distinction in dress and practice. Separation likewise influenced racial perceptions or *tipos* as

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[277] Ramos, *Profile of Man and Culture*, 17-18.
[278] Ramos, *Profile of Man*, 45.
[279] Ramos, *Profile of Man*, 46-48.

foreign eyes eased into an emergent binary. As customs fed the elite, the "Parisian vogue" brought with it fashions and tastes to those "'scientists,' and the wealthy who were not scientific" that were distinct at a glance from the common Mexican.[280] Ramos pointed to an example to note the complete adoption of French customs among the elite. The mansard roof imposed a foreign shape on the wealthiest of homes, even though such a roof—its purpose to ward off winter snows—had little use in Mexico.[281]

Ramos identified inferiority as the source of imitation. But this hollow replica of European culture beat down Indigenous roots. On the other hand, the rejection of foreign influence and the assertion of an isolated nationhood ignored the creole past of Mexico. Sierra, whom Ramos lauded as a great proponent of education, perpetuated that sense of inferiority by espousing positivist thought. He and those like him linked modernity to race and race to workers. Education, Sierra argued, proposed a route out of a cultural backwardness and towards modernity. Social and racial transformation carried similar markers in part because of *tipo* language and familiarity. Ramos attested to the inherited, Spanish character of individualism as the root of such great social discomfort. He argued that the need to self-validate manifested negative displays in social settings. By contrast, Beezley saw in Mexican Sports like the Bullfight a reflection of a collectivist nature—much different from the individualistic one promoted by Ramos.[282] While Ramos and Beezley butted heads over the extent of foreign imitation, and indeed over the roots of culture for Mexicans—both saw in activities a reflection of broader social trends. For the Mexican republic, the principal social trend subordinating all others was the project of modernization. The demands of which influenced the transformation of racial, cultural, and leisure programs.

To Be a Mexican—Modernization

Industrialization of the largely agrarian society followed Porfirio Díaz taking power in 1876, and it demanded radical changes in labor. The administration courted foreign capital from Europe and material from the United States. Ever wary of economic subjugation, the Porfiriato sought to pit the nations furthest along in industrialization against one another.[283] By incurring

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[280] Ramos, *Profile of Man*, 53.
[281] Ramos, *Profile of Man*, 53.
[282] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 15.
[283] Weiner. *Race, Nation, and Market*, 57.

debts to both the United States and Europe, conflicting foreign interest over Mexico served as a barrier to complete domination. Hardly content with this balancing act, General Díaz hoped to modernize Mexico through railroads, hygiene, building works, and a sense of national unity. These tools, he hoped, when wielded by positivist thinkers would revolutionize the worker. For within the worker lay the problem. The advancements of the United States and Europe came from their workers. More than availability or skill, men like Sierra saw foreign labor's ethnic origins granting them some boon for the rigors demanded by industrialization. Labor, positivists argued, in Mexico had been held back by racial inferiority. The adoption of European fashions and thought and the cultivation of cosmopolitan pastimes served to remodel Mexican labor into mestizo labor. This state-led project conceived of race and labor as inextricably linked. In that way, both the Porfiriato and United States Empire agreed that Mexicans as they were by 1876 were unfit for the industrial world. Across thirty-seven years, the Porfiriato aimed to change that.

Modernization under the Porfiriato took many forms. Before Limantour focused on railroads, local interests and foreign ventures succeeded in gaining support from the state for the purchase of family and Indigenous lands. *La Reforma* abolished church landholdings and set a precedent the regime built upon. The Porfiriato took Indigenous communal lands thirty years later for their railroads, small industry, mining, and agriculture. Land collectivization between 1876 and 1910 meant "thousands of rural Mexicans lost their means of subsistence".[284] This "despoliation and exploitation" chiefly wounded peasants, artisans, and wage-earners in agricultural, mining, and industrial establishments. The ventures justified themselves under the banner of modernization or with accusations of original owner's misuse of farmlands. By clearing the land of their original inhabitants, "[this] process…created the land and labor base for the expansion of large-scale agriculture, infrastructure, mining, and light industry".[285] Conditions created climates in which workers relied upon the wages and whims set by their bosses. Critics like the Social Catholic Publicist Sánchez Santos declared such dependency as a new kind of slavery.[286] Debt kept families on the land they worked. It kept their wages—ever diminishing—

[284] Vaughan, *Social Class in Mexico*, 14.
[285] Vaughan, *Social Class in Mexico*, 14.
[286] Weiner. *Race, Nation, and Market*, 76.

flowing through company stores or *tiendas de raya*. And it busied children with labor, making even a free education unaffordable with the demands of labor.[287]

Modernity represented a cultural as much as a material project. Dictations on hygiene and dress reflected an awareness of foreign perceptions. Hygiene, pursued before house-to-house irrigation and electricity, aimed to clean the bodies captured by American eyes and cameras.[288] In ICNEP II, the congress declared that hygiene concerned the state greatly.[289] The Porfiriato built great buildings for this project, assigning teams and bureaucrats to dole out its cleaning mission. Their efforts bore fruit. Martin in his account of San Luis Potosi, the mining city, marveled at how few sicknesses plagued the city. He claimed that no epidemic had been reported in many years.[290] Sanitization washed not only cities and people but also travel. Martin attested that the tram services, for all his complaints, were kept "rigorously clean" by state mandate. Bureaucracy guided sanitation. Martin's account claimed that Señor José M. Espinosa y Cuevas guided the San Luis Potosi Sanitary Board during his governorship of the state.[291] Like the majority of the regime, bureaucracy proved capable of organizing great changes. The war against dirt and disease won many battles where the regime financed and applied it. However, rural spaces neglected by this transformation saw no such revolution. Owing to this, the perpetuation of rural illnesses contrasted with an increasing focus on hygiene in urban areas promoted the emerging ethno-cultural *tipos*.[292] Western ideas about Indigenous dirtiness found visual justification not in truth, but in the prioritization of hygienic programs. The Porfiriato's focus on hygiene indicated an awareness of foreign perception. But in neglecting rural spaces, bodily *tipos* perpetuated stereotypes about dirtiness indicating backwardness—the cities were clean; the country was dirty.

Modernization changed the capital as well. The shape of Mexico City refined itself as artisans erected new buildings and railways and infrastructure promoted exportation. These

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[287] Hernández, *Bad Mexicans*, 37-38.
[288] Martin, *Vol. II*, 109-110.
[289] ICNEP II, 287.
[290] Martin, *Vol. II*, 110.
[291] Martin, *Vol. II*, 109.
[292] Rural spaces and people were not inherently dirty. Labor demanded too much; the state proved too little. In short, rural peoples were suppressed into a state of dirtiness—it was in no way natural or indicative of character.

developments shaped the orbit of classes in the capital. The wealthy avoided going to Zócalo for their Sunday *paseo*, fearing a run-in with *peones* or "prostitutes"—always assumed to be of the ethnically "inferior" working-class.[293] Their flight to clubs demonstrated a desire for the wealthy to withdraw from what they saw as a culturally as well as racially inferior group. From the 1880s onward, the neighborhoods of the capital alongside its public spaces separated people along class lines. Wealthy patrons sponsored social efforts to moralize the worker and his habits. Anti-alcohol leagues attacked what they saw as the source of workers' ills. The push against the *cantina* imagined alcohol and gambling as vices which robbed *peones* of their capacity to change. Other powerful Mexicans like Guillermo de Landa y Escandón—governor of the Federal District (1900-1911), Científico, and ally of Limantour—sponsored festivals aimed to instruct workers in the proper morals of modern Mexico. Vaughan contended that serious talks in the Congress went on "for days about outlawing the bullfights…" which the elite blamed for teaching 'a people like the Mexicans' violence and insubordination.[294]

The existing connection between class and culture led the overlap between class and race to likewise involve leisure as a medium to shape both. This transition between axles occurred because of ingrained beliefs established through the imposed and coopted language of *tipos.* Sierra and other educators were aware of the "refining" and "civilizing" aspects of "art forms like music, drama, and literature".[295] As subsecretary of public instruction from 1902 to 1905, he sponsored choirs and low-cost performances of European opera for the poor.[296] Leisure molded to a Mexican goal culture became a vehicle for transmitting an idealized model of citizenry. Positivists like Sierra imagined leisure like opera serving to re-culture Mexican workers into more European fashions of thought and being—central to their pursuit of modernization. The repeated conception of drawing the worker away from drink through festivals or opera also linked labor to Indigenous groups. Both, as imagined by Guillermo and Sierra, were united in both their base function and pursuit of *pulquerías* and *cantinas*. Elites readily labeled both Indigenous and poor Mexicans as drunks. Sierra himself believed that the transformation of

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[293] Vaughan, *Social Class in Mexico*, 27.
[294] Vaughan, *Social Class in Mexico*, 27.
[295] Vaughan, *Social Class in Mexico*, 224.
[296] "Las Funciones Populares: Triunfó en Toda la Llaca". *El Imparcial*, December 11, 1903. https://digitalcollections.crl.edu/

Indigenous people into productive members of society necessitated both education and a voluntary abandoning of 'their drunkenness, their saints, and their priests'.[297] Enock described *peones* as overly religious and frequently drunk.[298] By broadening generalized ills and perceptions over both Indigenous and poor Mexicans under the label of *peón*, positivist and foreign writers blended the groups. Projects of modernization targeted this blend with both education and ritualized culture.

National myth likewise served as a means of modernizing the people through modernizing technology. Sheppard argued that the cultivation of national ceremonies "fused the nation, the state, and its leader" together in a "patriarchal fashion".[299] Through railways connecting ports and factories to the capital, the Porfiriato disseminated this emergent myth. Mexican nationalism, experienced during independence and reshaped from above, possessed a pantheon of heroes. Those chosen to stand among the gallery of Mexican liberation reflected desired values, themselves mixing class and race. Juárez appeared just as Indigenous as Cuauhtémoc. As Díaz squeezed himself into the mold, the emphasis became mestizo.[300] Mythologization itself generated *tipo* models. Mixed values of modernization and resistance overshadowed ethnicity. Yet within this liberal ideology, mythology espoused in ritual and monument a goal culture with French roots and Europhile styles. The cultivation of the modern, bleached Mexicana flowed through the arteries funded by the Minister of the Hacienda from 1893 onwards. In the twilight years of the regime, José Yves Limantour and Díaz financed the railroads to the "relatively modest sum" of 9,000,000 pesos.[301]

Dress segregated groups into classes. The way in which foreign fashion characterized high society purveyed clubs. However, state efforts to mandate dress reflected a federal effort to reshape the appearance of the Mexican. Laws compelled Indigenous people to abandon their cotton *manta* and dress for European trousers.[302] Foreign observers misunderstood this

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[297] Vaughan, *Social Class in Mexico*, 23.
[298] Enock, *Mexico: Its Ancient and Modern Civilisation*, 219.
[299] Sheppard, *A Persistent Revolution*, 42-43.
[300] Garner, *Porfirio Díaz*, 127.
[301] Limantour, *Apuntes Sobre Mi Vida Pública*, 79-81.
[302] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 16.

transformation as much as they praised it, poking fun at the removal of native fashion. Spence remembered:

> An amusing regulation was passed in Mexico some years ago to the effect that the Indians were to be compelled to wear trousers, as, desiring greater freedom of limb, they frequently appeared without them.[303]

In the observer's account, Spence drew no distinction between the poor and the Indigenous in their style of dress. Under the umbrella of "*peon*"—he dressed these two groups in sombreros, cotton blouse, and *sarape*.[304] Most frustratingly, Spence acknowledged the crimson trousers with their cream-colored lace worn by Indigenous and working Mexicans on holidays. C.B. Waite and his contemporaries defined foreign perception that nudity characterized the base state of Indigenous bodies for foreign onlookers. The strength of this connection made men like Spence comfortable or ignorant enough to ignore Indigenous dress in favor of describing the naked "savage". This perception drove the mandates of the state. Porfirian desires for modernity necessitated the enculturation of popular, foreign perception. Limantour rehabilitated credit and capital; the broader bureaucracy passed laws to rehabilitate the people through fashion. This legal compulsion to dress to the West supported the notion of the state seeking Mestizaje for the whole of its people. But the definition of the mestizo was mixed by blood, European by demeanor. The state hoped to transform the physical appearance of the Indigenous and poor to "achieve at least a European appearance".[305]

Courting foreign acceptance demanded transforming national appearance. Limantour, before the Jockey Club presidency, tackled the rehabilitation of its economy and industry. First focusing on the 1884 Code of Commerce, Limantour revitalized standards of lending—enforcing a gold and silver minimum standard.[306] Through the recovery of bank stability and credit trust, Limantour won access to powerful foreign financiers in Paris by 1899.[307] The Minister of Hacienda changed the way the West saw Mexican banking. He reformed its character and won access to capital loans needed to fund modernization in the Porfiriato. In much the same way,

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[303] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 51.
[304] Spence, *Mexico of the Mexican*, 49-50.
[305] Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club*, 16.
[306] McCaleb, *Present and Past Banking*, 30-31.
[307] Maria y Campos, *José Yves Limantour*, 83.

local administrators and national programs sought to remake the Mexican labor force. Through education, leisure, immigration incentives, and borderline eugenics—positivist thinkers hoped to harness the racial prowess of the industrialized West. Modernization imagined by positivism necessitated a racial edge that Mexicans lacked. The solution offered by Sierra was education. Other state programs aimed to re-culture Mexicans into mestizos—or *tipos*—whose habits disregarded heritage. Through this process the growing class divide grew sharper. The federal government tossed aside those vendors whose faces filled disarticulated photos in US newspapers. Modernization and presented culture caused a culture shock of proportions intensified by Díaz's return in the 1880s. Sheppard argued that alongside endemic problems, a new guard that abandoned traditional communication with local officials inflamed tensions further.[308] Sports and leisure served as testaments to both cultural change and inertia. The resistance and lack of attendance for the Jockey Club's races reflected not only a disinterest in cosmopolitan pastimes, but also frustration with an administration abandoning its workers in favor of new *tipos*.

Conclusion: A Cult of Presentation

Clubs and sports served as rituals of display as much as recreation. That many travelers laid eyes upon the Jockey Club could hardly have been mere coincidence. Fine buildings built in French fashions housed cosmopolitan sports. It appealed to travelers, drawing upon racial and cultural perceptions. Mexico City's monuments to cultural segregation ran along the Plaza Mayor and the Reforma. Their edifices housed the kinds of entertainment that Europeans recognized as legitimate. Outside, they barred the worker de facto or de jure through prices or just regulations. The end results created spaces which furthered the conceptions of the European binary. Positivism imagined culture and race as overlapping. Modernization necessitated the transformation of workers themselves. Education and leisure hoped to direct the change in norms and values among working Mexicans. Clubs reinforced racial *tipos* through activities and interests.

Travelers wrote favorably of some activities while decrying others. Enock's contempt for bullfighting, which "all truly civilised nations" banned, in effect criticized those who enjoyed the

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[308] Sheppard, *A Persistent Revolution*, 44.

sport most.[309] While the ring housed all classes—albeit in segregation—the rural and poor populations enjoyed it far more than the opera or theater. Both foreign observers and local officials had an awareness of the growing disconnect between the state's presented culture and the practiced culture of the average Mexican. Justo Sierra pushed to make opera affordable for the Mexican worker.[310] This alongside his move to promote "'refining' and civilizing aspects of art forms like music, drama, and literature", suggesting these "as a substitute for taverns and bullfights", characterized Sierra's efforts to reeducate the *peón*. Both Europeans and increasingly the Porfiriato frowned upon the Bullfight and similar bloodsports. While it remained, serious considerations to forbid it reflected desires to stay within a European mold. European imitation, as Ruíz imagined it, positivism saw as a demand of modernity. Transforming the current culture into a cosmopolitan one pursued that end. Vaughan argued that in his model, "Evolved foreign elements were needed to propel the backward Mexican nation forward".[311] Education programs served to raise Indigenous people from the "degradation" of 'drunkenness…saints…and their priests' to follow a "superior race" towards modernity.[312] Despite his own protesting, Sierra's beliefs and actions reflected an understanding of class based upon race. Workers' choirs and cheaper opera suggested that positivist thought included leisure as a means of educating and thus changing the cultural and racial character of the *peón*.

Literacy rates, even with the expansion of education during the Porfiriato, only neared twenty percent by 1910.[313] Vaughan's argument that education mirrored society meant that the elite was naturally the most literate demographic. Owing to this, newspapers published from 1883 and onward targeted these groups. Their contents traced topics from books to traveling operas and, of course, the Jockey Club.[314] Should efforts to raise literacy rates in rural areas have had greater effect, the subject matter on offer may not have changed. *La Voz de México* was published by *Tipografía Chavarría.* Topics it covered ranged from conservative religion to sports and culture. Despite its conservative bent, its articles fed the goal culture to those able to read through the promotion of sports and recreation. The advancement of literacy between 1895

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[309] Enock, *Mexico: Its Ancient and Modern Civilisation*, 201.
[310] Vaughan, *Social Class in Mexico*, 224.
[311] Vaughan, *Social Class in Mexico*, 56.
[312] Vaughan, *Social Class in Mexico*, 23.
[313] Vaughan, *Social Class in Mexico*, 39.
[314] *La Voz de México*, November 14 1883, 3.

and 1910 reflected efforts to expose the worker to more incentives to partake in that culture. The regime paid for American photographers to capture proof of their march towards the industrial age. In El Abra, William Henry Jackson followed the Mexican Central Railway, snapping pictures along the way. From El Paso to the capital, he instead took photos of Indigenous people. In 1883 to 1884, he captured adobe huts; ragged clothes; and men, women and children in poverty. All of this contrasted with images of "shiny locomotives, spectacular rail bridges, and modern stations".[315] The foreign fascination and fetishization of native bodies contrasted with the desires of businesses and powers in Mexico. The Mexican Central Railway never published Jackson's photos. For the *tipos* desired by the modernizing state pursued not a reality, but an unreality. Myth making extended beyond the nationalistic. The generation of self, labor, and culture necessitate the curation of cosmopolitan fashion, leisure, and labor.

Both images and the written word served the efforts of the United States and Mexico. Both republics utilized the overlap between poverty, labor, and ethnicity to blend race and class. This then motivated each state to reimagine Mestizaje. For America, mestizos offered a solution to overcome the 'Indian difference'. A new category of worker promised investors a tool for industrial profit. The regime imagined mestizos, by contrast, as the key to winning foreign approval. Mestizos represented the desired worker, a laborer with cosmopolitan and White passions and values. By reimagining the mestizo the government stood to receive a conveyed authority for the emergent caste. While distinct in their ambitions, both shared a language and a mechanism to achieve their desired outcome. Each presented racial transformation as necessary to modernization. Their framework encompassed a social transformation and its cultural expressions. Education, presentation, and pastimes aimed to re-culture Mexican youth and labor towards the goal of industrialization. How the state conceived of itself took on a racial basis and a ritual of display. Through sports and clubs, the Porfiriato presented their cultivated Mexicana abroad. Social divides, inflamed and justified by emergent ethno-cultural conflation, found expression in the uncontested vote of public participation. The popularity crash of horse races between 1883 and 1907 supported the idea that social discontent and class divides drove people towards or away from leisure. Fetish met fascination as Americans wrote travelogues and snapped photographs. An emergent binary of a White continuity among an unchangeable, fading

[315] Ruíz, *Americans in the Treasure House*, 25.

Indigenous population was the child of that meeting. Both sides utilized that perception to pursue modernity in a way which blended terminology and relied upon the cult of presentation. *Peones* as a term served to combine labor and ethnicity.

Its presented culture and foreign courtship infuriated the working-class. The norms and values paraded in clubs invited imperial migration into Mexico. English and American factories and expertise popped up across rural spaces. The 'Indian difference' saw genuine mestizos denied work or underpaid in favor of foreign labor.[316] Unions raged against the unfair treatment. Factories like Central Railway insisted that wages differed based on who were "the best men" – notably referred to in reference to comparing White Americans to Mexicans. General Díaz insisted on 'his programme of "peace with order"'.[317] That program manifested in union busting activities. 1906 in many ways became characterized by labor conditions. An increased tension between capital and labor resulted in "highly publicized strong-arm tactics used by the government to break labor".[318] In pursuing modernity, the regime sided with the alien instead of the domestic—a move praised by Martin, likely to reassure investors of the Porfiriato's support. The bank runs of 1883 hamstrung the lower-classes' ability to participate in leisure through betting. A consolidation of power with the Científicos came in the 1890s. As land, leisure, and identity were increasingly changed or corralled away from the public into the 1900s, the regime's focus on courting foreign approval went beyond alienating the public. It enraged them. In the rural spaces neglected by the regime, resistance fermented. When change found its voice, the present culture of Mexico broke through the propped up, presented culture of the regime. In 1910, the Revolution demonstrated a violent, popular vote against the norms and rituals of the Porfiriato.

[316] Martin, *Vol. II*, 216.
[317] Martin, *Vol. II*, 215.
[318] Weiner. *Race, Nation, and Market*, 75.

Conclusion

For thirty-seven years, the Porfiriato ruled Mexico. During Porfirio Díaz's long tenure, he made efforts to modernize the state and his people. These efforts confounded local communities as increasingly alien ideas and their observers drifted into the republic. Leisure laden with underlying beliefs propped up the emergent social hierarchy; it ritualized the systems which abused the rural workers of Mexico. Men who labored under the anti-union, foreign factory life; the women who survived the sexual abuse of landlords, *Rurales*, and *caudillos*—they fueled the revolution of 1910. By examining leisure, the historian observes an imposed culture which reflected a Porfirian modernity. In that modernity one finds a blatant demonstration of the conditions which first inspired Zapata, and later Carranza and Pancho Villa, to lead the revolution. The heroes of the Revolution directly addressed the presented culture of the Porfiriato. Emiliano Zapata—himself neither poor nor wealthy—demanded the return of communal lands taken by the Porfiriato and Ley Lerdo. His Plan de Ayala in 1911 rejected the policies which robbed rural and Indigenous farmers and subsistence hunters of their means of living. Fascisco Madero's Anti-Reelectionist rhetoric—similar to Díaz's own—invoked the Constitution of 1857. Not only had Madero relied on the same language Díaz had, but the liberal langauge invoked implied a total disconnect between the promises of foundational liberalism and the current regime. Sheppard suggested that the mythological language established through monuments and holidays survived the Porfiriato. I argue that—like mythology—the language of *tipos*; leisure; and the realms in which class, culture, and race intersected informed the Revolution. These leaders from Madero, to Zapata, to Carranza and Pancho Villa all lived within the framework of the Porfiriato's presented culture. Leisure was symptomatic of the unacceptable differences between classes. Courtship of foreign interests culminated in racial and cultural programs which disadvantaged the poor and broke unions in favor of industry. The bleached Mexicana represented by the Jockey Club alienated popular understandings of identity by appealing to Western audiences. While chasing foreign approval and authority, the Porfiriato pursued contradictory goals of authenticity and modernity. Public reception, their voting through attendance, illustrated the friction these goals created between official and local identities. Leisure embodied these messy aspects of the Porfirato's modernization project—their war

between present and presented culture. As the end of the Porfiriato culminated in Revolution, it was a war which the presented culture would lose.

Recreational Modernity: Accessibility, Class, and Ethnicity

The Jockey Club and the project of ritualized modernity traced issues of culture, class, and race. Foreign eyes found familiar clubs presented by the Porfiriato pleasant. Horse races and opera offered a hollow-facade of modernity. Through these clubs and centers the regime put forth an elite few to represent the desired rather than present culture of Mexico. Economic and industrial barriers to true imitation went ignored in favor of decorative displays. Travelogues ate up what the Científicos showed off. In their writings, foreigners espoused the glories of the Porfiriato's transformative policies; they praised the elite Mexicans as members of a familiar modernity. *Peones*, by contrast, they characterized as mentally and racially backward. Economic realities barring children from schooling were lost in the numbers puffed up by the Porfiriato regarding constructed schools and their funding. In their photos and writings, the term *peón* came to refer to both class and race. The Porfiriato built upon the blurring of that term to normalize conditions of the worker. Through leisure the Porfirian regime presented a goal culture to the West. Foreign perceptions fueled the Porfiriato's beliefs about race and class, and they took *tipos* as justification for current norms. Cycling back upon itself, sports and pastimes proposed to present new norms in immemorial terms as the state nationalized leisure.

Club life offered foreigners a glimpse at the kind of culture pursued by the Porfiriato. In fine buildings like the Jockey Club, they witnessed French dress and the Blanqueamiento of sports. Through this process, elite Mexicans appeared physically distinct from their lower income countrymen. Hygiene, habit, and dress differentiated those imitating the West from those whom the Porfiriato ignored in favor of such imitation. Foreign observers and photographers immortalized these distinctions through the explicit and implicit bias of their written and visual works. *Peones* encapsulated the full working-class. Semantical carelessness caused laborers and Indigenous groups to blend. All these factors culminated in the imaginations of foreigners and Mexicans wherein the working-class and Indigenous groups became one and the same under the umbrella of *péon*. Subscription to urban or rural culture demonstrated ethno-class distinctions. Yet as sanguinary sports showed, such distinctions had messy lines. Porfirian authorities struggled or many times participated in the kinds of sports which undermined their presented culture. Efforts to establish norms through the ritualization of leisure struggled against rural

conceptions. At times, they alienated them. There is no short irony, of course, that the *tipo* of General Díaz accompanied his infamous interview with Creelman. Ultimately, leisure exacerbated existing class tensions in part because the language of official culture relied upon a language of modernity that blended race, class, and culture.

Clubs like the Jockey Club attempted to ritualize new norms and social behaviors to present the regime as Western. While the public found a way to participate through betting, the damage done by the financial crisis of 1883 never fully went away. The edifice represented alien beliefs the regime worked to enculture the public towards. By contrast, the curated Mexicana struggled against sanguinary sports. *Corridas* and *palenques* enjoyed cross-class participation owing to a shared, cultural monopoly of violence. Attempts to disband or limit these sports met limited success. The Porfiriato begrudgingly tolerated the bullfight and cockfight—although efforts to make the bloody leisure fit within their Western mold persisted. Each effort to appeal to the West ultimately arrived at the mechanism of the mestizo. A new Mestizaje offered imperial powers and the Porfirian regime a tool by which they might better pursue modernity. For the former, it provided a category of workers close capable of overcoming the 'Indian difference' discouraging the expansion of industry. For the latter, it promised a new *tipo* from which the regime could derive capital and industrial support as well as foreign acceptance and authority. Class, culture, and race—leisure worked to portray the desired templates of each. In prioritizing the foreign and the alien, the regime first alienated then enraged the public. The capital and labor friction of 1906 and the Creelman article of 1908 only proved what leisure already had represented—the Porfiriato's state was no longer a Mexico for the Mexicans. Ethnic, economic, and authentic elements of the regime's official nationalism found expression in leisure. Sheppard argued that mythological nationalism imagined itself within a continuity to a resistance to struggle. A pantheon of revolutionary and liberal leaders provided a common language through which public and private spheres discussed politics.[319] In much the same way, sports and leisure served to mythologize Mexicana. Porfirian elites hoped that by tying curated culture to an immemorial past, they might mythologize leisure. What pastimes received public acceptance and which ones kept it demonstrated its own discussion. The public drifted away from elements too rich or too foreign from local ideas of community and identity. Yet the elite

[319] Sheppard, *A Persistent Revolution*, 105

continued to pursue increasingly alien leisure, insistent upon its authentic Mexicanidad. Their gods were clubs and their pantheon resided on the west side of Mexico City.

Beyond the Porfiriato

Before the Revolution, Mexico showed signs of deep, social troubles. Rural police, official abuses, currying foreign favor, top-heavy economics: clubs displayed these elements. While infrastructure, income, and living conditions demonstrated these social ills as well; clubs carried a fundamental flair for it. In rich buildings and costly sports, elites paraded the social issues plaguing the state. Disparities not only existed; they were celebrated in a culture curated to appeal not to Mexicans but to foreigners. Porfirio Díaz spent thirty-seven years pursuing modernity. His *caudillos* and bureaucracy won many successes on the backs of rural farmers and factory workers. Industrialization exacted its costs and withheld its benefits from most people in the country. Yet in the Jockey Club and hunting parties, the regime bragged about its own successes. Sports which appealed to local ideas of community were shunned or segregated. Opera and artistic culture aimed to reshape values which had no desire to be reshaped. The friction between presented culture and present culture captured the gulf between classes.

Yet to allow ourselves to write off leisure as either elite or popular betrays the more complex reality. In sanguinary sports, classes mixed. *Sombra* and *sol* separated them in the bullfight, but many different people rubbed elbows in cockfighting. The resilience of sanguinary sports to bureaucratic efforts to sanitize it demonstrated that present culture failed to win over even the wealthiest Mexicans fully. Inside the friction, there was overlap. Leisure demonstrated, as did the early years of the Jockey Club, a lack of inherent class divisions in the sport. Rather, clubs and sports reflected societal conditions. The former possessed an agency spurred by men frequently placed in positions of power. In general, the cost of sports and the concepts couched in them influenced what the average Mexican spent their limited free time on. Cultural continuities bound communities together. Even as realms of entertainment split increasingly along class lines—worsened by economic struggles in the 1880s and made no better by Limantour's insistence on railroads—those sports based on authentic, group understandings persisted in their popularity.

This work connects histories of race and class to those of class and leisure. The Jockey Club with its apocryphal origins, British foundations, and French trimmings represented the presented culture of the Porfiriato. Previous histories have hinted at such a connection, but a

dedicated effort to bring those elements into a three-way conversation should be the direction future scholarship takes. Given class plays such a large role in the Revolution, elements pertaining to it must play a larger role in histories covering it. But beyond the Porfiriato and the Revolution, leisure as a lens may allow historians a view into the cultural reflections of other states. For Mexico, how the Vasconcelos state imagined Mestizaje and the Indigenous through leisure and art continued the Porfirian tradition of representative, performative culture deserves examination. Outside of Mexico, the basic framework of leisure representing cultural realities, conflicts, and expectations offers a new lens to examine older topics. If further histories looked at how social conditions found reflections in popular culture, what might they see? Clubs have changed since the late nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth-century. Modern popular culture deviates in many ways from official and promoted identities seen through political statements or advertisements. Leisure offers a legitimate method by which a historian can examine class conflict. What culture promotes and participation accepts offers votes from the public about national identities. What drives people to vote on leisure, unchallenged by any outside authority, demands further exploration. The connections between leisure and ideas regarding class and ethnicity are no less important now than they were more than a hundred years ago. Pastimes, class, and ethnicity formed a trifecta for Porfirian beliefs about modernity. In our own modern world, the citizen must keep an eye on those connections reflected in the leisure we subscribe to.

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