Everything in its Right Place? Drinking Places and Social Spaces in Mexico City, c. 1780-1900

Deborah Toner

Abstract. This article examines how various drinking establishments figured in the delineation of social boundaries within Mexico City's urban space in the long nineteenth century. It explores the different spatial and social regulation to which pulquerías (taverns primarily selling pulque, a traditional fermented alcoholic beverage), vinaterías (taverns primarily selling distilled spirits) and cafés (establishments for the sale and consumption of liqueurs, wines, non-alcoholic beverages and food) were subject, within the context of broader processes of urban change and political change. The increasing segregation of more popular drinking places such as pulquerías and vinaterías into poorer, more peripheral parts of Mexico City and of cafés, as more elite social spaces, into wealthier, more central parts of the city contributed to the demarcation of social boundaries within Mexico City and conceptual boundaries of class within the imagined Mexican nation. Moreover, this article shows how various social actors, including proprietors and customers of popular drinking places, reacted to and negotiated with the increasing regulation of Mexico City's social space in the nineteenth century.

The typical way of getting to know the common population of Mexico City, a population peppered with friars and soldiers, matadors, libertines, and carefree, upper class youths, was to go to the pulquerías located in the suburbs.[1]

Guillermo Prieto (1818-97), a prominent Mexican prose writer, poet, educator, journalist, and liberal politician, created an enduring literary image of *pulquerías* (taverns primarily selling pulque, a traditional fermented alcoholic beverage) as spaces for the interaction of a wide cross-section of Mexico City society in his celebrated memoirs, *Memories of my Times*.[2] In Prieto's description, wealthy youths, patriotic soldiers, and jocular clerics frequent pulquerías alongside abattoir workers and market traders, "intermingling to form a restless throng, in which shouts, insults, shamelessness, guffaws, and blasphemy flow freely, the fervor being fed by tasters, glasses, and pitchers of Xochitl's intoxicating liquor [*pulque*]."[3] Prieto portrays this shared sociability of people from different social classes within the social space of the pulquería with few

Deborah Toner is a Postdoctoral Fellow in Latin American History, Institute for the Study of the Americas, University of London.

connotations of alarm or condemnation. However, his passing comment that such pulquerías were to be found "in the suburbs," the city's periphery, alludes to ongoing processes of negotiation and contest over social space in nineteenth-century Mexico City.

This article examines newspaper reports, advertisements, licensing applications, and judicial records to examine the ways in which Mexico City's pulquerías, *vinaterías* (taverns primarily selling distilled spirits), and cafés (establishments for the sale and consumption of liqueurs, wines, non-alcoholic beverages and food) figured in the delineation of social boundaries that were being drawn in Mexico City's urban space during the long nineteenth century. From the 1780s, Mexico City was subject to major changes in its urban geography, as, first, governing figures from the Spanish colonial administration and, later, politicians of the independent republican era sought to impose greater standards of order, civility, and control over the expanding city and its population. Unlike popular drinking places, such as pulquerías and vinaterías, which were repeatedly targeted with successive waves of regulation in an effort to control their patrons' behavior and to restrict their location to the poorer areas and peripheries of Mexico City, cafés became increasingly important as drinking places and social spaces for the elites. The social background of their clientele became more exclusive from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, when cafés marketed themselves as the purveyors of luxury foods and drinks, and they proliferated in the more prestigious and central areas of Mexico City, thus helping to demarcate social boundaries within the urban cityscape and conceptual boundaries of class within the imagined Mexican nation.

By examining this broad process, through which popular and elite drinking places operated as microcosms of the contests over Mexico City's social space in the nineteenth century, this article makes three further observations. First, while it is often difficult to uncover the ways in which people who frequented popular drinking places understood and reacted to the official regulations designed to control their social behavior, there is evidence to suggest that some patrons of popular drinking places prioritized their social enjoyment over observing the law. Of course, many more patrons might have followed legal regulations to the letter in their visits to popular drinking places, but obedient citizens tend to leave behind even fewer traces of their actions and beliefs than those who flout the law. Second, it is more possible to discern a dual reaction to official regulations from proprietors of popular drinking places. While some owners and managers called to give testimony in criminal cases involving their establishments found ways to avoid incriminating their customers and their businesses, others, in trying to protect their livelihoods, took pains to convey to the municipal authorities that they were fully versed in and observant of all the legal requirements that their establishments were expected to fulfill.

Thirdly, while the spatial organization of Mexico City according to elite and popular social divisions did become more marked by the end of the

nineteenth century, and regulations regarding the location of popular drink-
ing places were particularly stringent during the last quarter of the century,
there are two important caveats to this process. The agenda of segregating and
regulating "disorderly" popular drinking places from more respectable parts
of the city was a continual feature of governmental policy across colonial
(1521-1821), early republican (1821-55), and Porfirian periods (1876-1910).
Even during the more radical liberalism of the Reforma era (1855-67) and the
Restored Republic (1867-76), restrictions on popular drinking places were
only partially relaxed, under the influence of the principle of freedom of com-
merce. Finally, the spatial organization of Mexico City's drinking places, into
disorderly popular venues like pulquerías and harmonious elite spaces like
cafés, was often more imagined than real. However, what remained consistent
were the conceptions held by elite public figures and governing officials that
elite social spaces *should* be bastions of order, while they felt it was, however
regrettably, to be expected that popular social spaces would remain disorderly
and in constant need of restriction, regulation and surveillance.

SPACES OF DRINK FROM COLONY TO NATION, 1520-1850
Mexico City became the political centre of the colony of New Spain in the
1520s, in the immediate aftermath of the conquistadors' military victory over
the Aztec empire. The capital city of Spain's new colony was reconstructed
atop the ruins of Tenochtitlan, which had been the centre of power of the Aztec
empire, in the grid pattern inspired by Renaissance thinking, with streets ex-
tending outwards at right angles from a central square. Even though elements
of the indigenous urban organization remained, from the outset the geographi-
cal layout of the city was to mirror the new political structure that colonialism
demanded, making the city centre the preserve of the Spaniards, and assigning
the indigenous population to the outskirts of the city. Many of the major politi-
cal, economic, and cultural institutions of New Spain were established in the
centre of Mexico City, around the central square known as the Plaza Mayor
or the Zócalo, including the *Audencia* (or high court), the viceregal palace,
the offices of royally appointed merchants, and the metropolitan Cathedral.[4]

   Although the spatial division of the city, into a Spanish centre and an in-
digenous periphery, had never been fully observed in practice, by the end of
the colonial period, these spatial boundaries were under increasing pressure,
due to an influx of impoverished migrants to the city from surrounding rural
areas.[5] As a succession of agricultural crises, disease epidemics, and land sei-
zures by wealthy landowners impacted on the rural population, the population
of Mexico City increased during the final decades of the eighteenth century,
from approximately 98,000 in 1742 to 104,760 in 1790, and perhaps as much
as 138,000 by 1803.[6] This development resulted in the growing presence of
indigenous people in the urban milieu, together with a growing mestizo and
casta (or mixed race) population, a substantial creole population (people of
Hispanic descent born in the Americas), and a cosmopolitan mix of perma-

nently resident and travelling Europeans.

Drinking places featured prominently in the social life of colonial Mexico City, and became a persistent focus of governing officials' concerns about social disorder. Before the conquest, pulque, a fermented alcoholic drink made from the maguey species of the agave plant, was sold under strict regulations in the Aztecs' main commercial centre, Tlatelolco market, but there were no commercial taverns. Pulque was sold in the market for household consumption, religious festivals, and community celebrations, and, although the limitations of the available sources make it difficult to establish the exact degree of regulation, most historians concur that there were tight controls over how much pulque could be sold, to whom, when, and for what purpose.[7]

Spanish colonists established Mexico City's first commercial tavern, a vinatería, on December 1, 1525. At this stage in the sixteenth century, vinaterías were primarily wine-selling taverns for the exclusive patronage of Spaniards whereas, by the eighteenth century, they predominantly sold *aguardiente* (a distilled liquor, usually made from sugar cane), and their clientele was ethnically and socially mixed. Pulquerías similarly developed from an early stage of the colonial period. Twelve mobile pulque-selling stands had been licensed in Mexico City by the 1530s; by the 1550s, there were twelve more, and some had been granted permission to establish a fixed location with rudimentary premises. Their number continued to grow throughout the colonial period, as William Taylor estimates that there were approximately 250 *unlicensed* pulquerías in Mexico City by 1639. Like vinaterías, with their initial remit as a drinking venue for the exclusive patronage of Spaniards, pulquerías were initially intended solely to serve the needs of indigenous drinkers, and they were all located in the peripheral indigenous neighborhoods of Mexico City. However, by the seventeenth century, as these neighborhoods also became home to a wide ethnic mix of poor creoles, mestizos, and castas, the clientele of pulquerías diversified.[8]

Historians concur that urban drinking places were an important index of how social hierarchies operated in Mexico City. By the end of the colonial period, Mexican society was characterized by a complex system of racial, ethnic, and class stratification, in which the predominantly Spanish and creole upper and middle class elite dominated positions of economic and political power, while the popular classes were made up of indigenous and mixed race peoples, as well as poor creoles. Class and racial categorizations, however, were fluid and interactive, with social and cultural practices having a significant impact on the status of individuals. In colonial society, although a person's identity and status was usually recorded in official documentation in racial terms like Indian, mestizo, or Spaniard, the determination of such a status included considerations of color, occupation, wealth, purity of blood, honor, integrity, place of birth, and social comportment.[9] Together, all these characteristics helped to form Mexico City society into two broad categories, each of which had a complex internal hierarchy of its own: the elite, or the

gente decente [decent people] who were well-educated, at least reasonably wealthy, dressed in European style fashions, and socialized in private residences as well as more respectable public places; and the popular classes, or *el pueblo* [the people], who tended to have modest or low levels of income, lacked education, and socialized in popular drinking places like pulquerías and vinaterías, which were often associated with disorder, as well as *pulperías* (stores selling alcoholic drinks and groceries), markets, theatres, *fondas* (small restaurants), plazas, and parks. Of course, the *gente decente* did visit many public spaces for social purposes as well, but if the setting and its clientele were known as disorderly or morally suspect, frequenting such a place too often could damage their social reputation as *gente decente*.[10]

Drinking places provided a vital arena for the conduct of social recreation, communication, and business transaction amongst their customers, but colonial administrators consistently viewed these social spaces with suspicion and considered them threatening to public order. A viceregal ordinance of 1671 stipulated that pulquerías had to be located in city squares and that they could only have one wall and a roof, leaving three sides open so that they could be viewed more easily by patrols. Vinaterías, meanwhile, were more often allowed to be fully equipped with tables, benches, and storage facilities, but they were ordered to keep their doors open and to situate the bar adjacent to the door. Furthermore, the sale of food, playing music, and loitering were prohibited in an attempt to discourage the raucous social atmosphere that had developed in these popular social spaces. However, the repeated reiterations of these laws in subsequent decades suggest that such attempts to control the social activities of pulquería and vinatería patrons were largely unsuccessful.[11] An investigation of 1784, for instance, revealed that of the 45 legal pulquerías in Mexico City, only seven complied with all the regulations laid out by colonial administrators.[12]

During the colonial period, the most notorious episode in the ongoing struggle for control over urban space between popular drinking places and Mexico City authorities was the temporary prohibition of pulque following a popular riot in 1692. On June 8, 1692, a large crowd, comprised of Mexico City's ethnically mixed urban poor, attacked the central institutions of Spanish colonial authority in the city, setting fire to the doors of the Viceregal Palace, the *ayuntamiento* [city council], and the large merchant houses. Douglas Cope's detailed study of the riot indicates that this outburst of popular violence grew out of a crisis in food supply, which was then exacerbated by a lack of communication between colonial officials and the protesters. When both the Archbishop of Mexico City and the Viceroy of New Spain refused to give an audience to a small group of aggrieved protestors – breaching the usual mechanisms of dealing with legitimate grievances of the population in colonial society – the small group expanded exponentially, and the gathered crowd became violent, attacking the palace, council buildings and merchant offices.[13]

However, colonial officials, and other members of the urban elite, did not

understand the 1692 riot as the result of their failure to engage with the legitimate grievances of protestors. Instead, the riot was largely interpreted as a consequence of the degenerating character of the city's lower class, and especially the indigenous, population. Indians, already widely thought to be more susceptible to habitual and excessive drunkenness than other ethnic groups, were now also exposed to an ethnically mixed, plebeian atmosphere of sociability in Mexico City's pulquerías, which many elite commentators believed to be extremely deleterious for the indigenous population's moral development, and for social order in general.[14]

Carlos Sigüenza y Gongora, for instance, who was a leading public intellectual and priest in late seventeenth-century Mexico, argued that the riot was a malicious outburst of a drunken urban mob that carried alarming racial connotations. He claimed that the indigenous population was protesting the rising maize prices so vociferously out of self-interested greed: the price rises had reduced the (rather high) profitability of selling tortillas in the street to poor Spaniards, mestizos and castas who could not make the flat maize breads themselves. "The Indians would spend all their profits on pulque," Sigüenza y Gongora claimed, "and, considering how abundant this drink was in the city at this time, they often got drunk," whereupon the latter conspired with other societal dregs frequenting the pulquerías to attack colonial officials and institutions.[15] To elite observers, therefore, the interethnic social milieu provided by popular drinking places like pulquerías, seemed extremely dangerous. In the wake of the 1692 violence, the production and sale of pulque was temporarily banned in an attempt to diffuse the social danger posed by drunken gatherings of the lower orders. The large-scale revenue that taxes on pulque provided for the Royal Treasury ensured that the ban was short-lived, being lifted in 1697.[16] However, the conviction that popular drinking places represented a significant danger to the preservation of social order and socio-political hierarchies remained potent throughout the colonial period, and returned to particular prominence during the final decades of the eighteenth century, when Mexico City underwent considerable changes in its social geography.

From 1782, royal officials undertook a major spatial reorganization of Mexico City, creating eight major districts, divided further into thirty-two minor districts under the jurisdiction of district magistrates responsible for the registration of all streets, houses, and places of business, as well as the maintenance of cleanliness and order in public spaces, including the city's drinking places.[17] This reorganization was designed to facilitate greater control and surveillance of public space, as the Viceroy from 1779 to 1783, Martín de Mayorga, noted his concern for the spatial irregularity of the city and the popular classes: "the vast expanse of this city, the irregular arrangement of its neighborhoods and suburbs, and the way the dwellings in these are situated… makes it impossible to keep a register of them… and their enormous populations, especially among the masses."[18] The language that Mayorga used, emphasizing both the extensive, haphazard sprawl of the city and the density of the population con-

centrated in the suburbs, reveals the need officials felt to gain a greater degree of control over the spatial organization of the city and its inhabitants.

In 1784, a report recommending reform of the city's drinking places added to this program of spatial reorganization. The report focused predominantly on Mexico City's 45 legal pulquerías, since these were much larger than vinaterías (offering a greater space for potentially unruly gatherings to develop), and they were situated in the plazas of outer districts, thus being more difficult to supervise than vinaterías, which were mostly located in or near the city centre. Among the measures proposed were the removal of seats and benches to discourage drinkers from lingering in the pulquerías, reducing their size so that fewer people could gather there, and the assignment of specific pulquerías to specific police officials to ensure more intensive supervision. As a result of a series of bureaucratic delays, these recommendations were not translated into legislation but, in the 1790s, Viceroy Revillagigedo did launch a serious crackdown on pulquerías to enforce the removal of seats and benches, as well as the previous regulations that forbade the sale of pulque after sunset, the sale of food in or near the establishments, and the performance of music, dancing, and gambling.[19]

Despite this crackdown, however, evidence suggests that patrons of popular drinking places continued to flout regulations designed to curtail their potential as spaces for the development of popular culture and the social interaction of different ethnic groups and occupational backgrounds. In 1802, for instance, a vinatería owner named José Antonio Merino was fined for permitting a large group of people to gather and play music in his establishment; among the revelers were a soldier, a cigarette factory worker, and two indigenous men.[20] Vinaterías in the Plaza de San Pablo, a few blocks south-west of the city centre, were regularly patronized by José Manuel Bonilla, a creole on trial for habitual drunkenness and mistreatment of his wife in 1803, and José Guillermo García, a mestizo bricklayer, who was prosecuted in 1811 for stabbing another man.[21] In 1845, a young blacksmith and two young tailors, all of a Hispanic background, were arrested for aggressive behavior following a dispute over pay in a vinatería with the owner, Don Manuel Ruiz.[22]

Pulquerías also entertained a social range of clientele, who frequently broke the regulations regarding conduct in popular drinking places. In 1804, Felipe Galan, a creole pulquería owner was fined for allowing large groups of patrons to gather together, playing music and dancing in his establishment near the main park in the parish of Santa Cruz, just south of the city centre. Two of the women detained by the police as participants in this gathering were creoles, born in Querétaro before moving to Mexico City.[23] A chorister from the city centre San Diego convent was reported for his custom of drinking and gambling in nearby pulquerías in 1848, while Luis Parras, a mestizo factory worker, was charged with robbery after having been seen loitering around a pulquería in 1853.[24]

In addition to patrons being caught in contravention of the regulations

about music, food, gambling and loitering within popular drinking places, court proceedings against them suggest that owners and managers of these establishments were sometimes complicit in these activities or, at least, unwilling to assist the authorities in bringing charges against patrons. Proprietors of drinking places were usually called to testify in cases where regulations had been broken and in cases where a disturbance or crime had been committed on their premises. It was not unusual for owners of drinking places to plead ignorance regarding such incidents. For instance, in March 1858 Antonio Mendez, a pulquería owner in the San Juan neighborhood, claimed to have been away on business when a soldier had been arrested in his pulquería for being publicly drunk, fraternizing with an army deserter, and engaging in "scandalous" behavior with two naked women. Despite being unable to provide evidence of his business transactions, the court upheld Mendez's testimony and the charges against the soldier were dropped for lack of reliable evidence. The soldier's own dubious story, that he – while shirtless – had stumbled upon the deserter engaging in illicit relations with the two naked women, and was trying to stop them when the arresting officer discovered him, was apparently accepted as a result of Mendez's silence.[25]

In other cases, proprietors themselves came up with unlikely cover stories. In the case of Felipe Galan's pulquería, mentioned above, the proprietor admitted that a large group of musicians and their acquaintances, all unfamiliar characters to him, had been drinking pulque in his establishment for several hours. But, he claimed, the loud music that a patrolling officer noticed did not emanate from this large group of drunken musicians, but was played by a poor blind man seeking charity from the pulquería patrons. Hence, Galan claimed, good-natured pity, and not a disregard for the law, led him to relax his normally "great efforts… to contain" such activities.[26] The judicial officials involved in Galan's case were rather less trusting than those who released the drunken soldier caught *in flagrante* in Antonio Mendez's pulquería, and Galan was duly fined a considerable sum.

While there is, therefore, some evidence to suggest that patrons and proprietors, were prepared to flout legal regulations that tried to eliminate social activities from popular drinking places, like singing, dancing, gambling and staying longer than the time allotted for consuming a drink, many proprietors demonstrated a greater degree of willingness to engage with the spatial directives of municipal authorities, as a means of protecting their livelihoods. A series of license applications, made following the implementation of a new licensing system for pulquerías and other pulque vendors in 1800, demonstrates that many owners of drinking establishments were acutely aware of the authorities' spatial concerns. Moreover, they often defended themselves against accusations of disorder by using the language of elite directives about the need to control urban social space and the location of popular drinking places within the city.

In February 1800, Don Manuel Doroteo Gutiérrez made an application to

open a pulquería in the village of Xocotitlan, approximately one league south-west of Mexico City, on the grounds that there was no existing official establishment which sold pulque to the villagers. Gutiérrez specifically showcased his knowledge of the 1776 and 1788 laws and emphasized his readiness to observe them, promising that his pulquería would be "open-air on three sides, at a good distance from the temple, selling pulque with no additives, and only from sunrise to sunset; forbidding all gambling, music, dancing, and food from the bar and ensuring that customers only stayed there long enough to receive or drink the pulque they bought."[27] Despite Gutiérrez's detailed assurances that he would enforce the regulations designed to curtail any convivial atmosphere, to ensure ease of surveillance, and to keep the social activity of drinking at a respectable distance from the local church, his application was unsuccessful. Municipal authorities were concerned that the indigenous inhabitants of the village would protest violently against the establishment of this pulquería because they were accustomed to trading and drinking their own locally – and illegally – produced *tlachique*, a lower-grade pulque.[28] Obviously, the municipal officials were equally reluctant to sanction this illegal activity but, since they were unable to provide policing resources to suppress any unrest, due to Xocotitlan's distance from the city, they decided to avoid risking the outbreak of protests and refused to grant Gutiérrez's pulquería license.[29]

Municipal authorities' heightened desire to control public space closer to the city centre is visible in Don Manuel Cerrano's 1806 application to renew his license for a pulquería at the entrance to Chapultepec forest and to open a further pulque stall at the bridge leading into the nearby Romita neighborhood. Moreover, this case demonstrates how pulque retailers quickly learned to mobilize the language of official regulations to protect their business interests.[30] Cerrano emphasized that his proposal would help to eliminate contraband trading of pulque and tepache in the area around Chapultepec forest, and that his previous record as a pulque vendor testified to his respect for legislative restrictions regarding social activities inside drinking places. He also offered to move his existing pulquería closer to the residential area of Chapultepec to facilitate better police supervision. The municipal authorities' response to his proposal demonstrates the conflict between their desires to increase surveillance of drinking places and to preserve the spatial integrity of more up market parts of the city. Whilst they agreed that Cerrano's proposal would serve an existing demand in a busy area, reduce contraband, and facilitate greater supervision, they concluded that positioning a stall at the Romita bridge would lower the tone of a respectable area and that his existing pulquería should also remain at the entrance to Chapultepec forest, just outside the boundaries of the city centre.[31] Rather than debasing the more prestigious and well-kept areas on which Cerrano proposed to encroach, therefore, they denied his request, even though this meant that contraband trade could continue and that his existing pulquería would often go unsupervised, due to the dif-

ficulties involved in stretching police resources to the outer limits of the city.[32]

This conflict of interests meant that keeping popular drinking places away from the more respectable parts of Mexico City would also make surveillance of potentially unruly social spaces more difficult. Consequently, with less policing around the outskirts of the city centre, pulquerías, vinaterías, and other drinking places continued to aggravate authorities' spatial concerns. Reports submitted in 1805 by the district magistrates of the minor districts 29, 30, 31, and 32, the outer suburbs of Mexico City, complained that the growing number of large and small vinaterías in these areas was causing an escalation of petty violence, robbery, indecent behavior, murder, and the frequent appearance of "drunken wretches lying in the street as if they were dead," which they felt unable to control without clearer laws about opening times.[33] In the same year, a group of priests from various Mexico City parishes wrote to the municipal authorities requesting that vinaterías, as well as pulquerías, should be obliged to keep their premises more open, that small vinaterías known as *zangarros* should be prohibited, that the overall number of vinaterías should be reduced, and that the remaining establishments be kept at a distance of at least 200 yards apart.[34] These concerns about the clustering of drinking places together in small spaces outside the reach of proper supervision were reiterated in 1807 by several magistrates who complained that "there is a prodigious number [of *zangarros*] mainly in the outlying neighborhoods and suburbs."[35]

Indeed, the number of popular drinking places did proliferate as Mexico City and its population grew larger throughout the nineteenth century. According to Michael Scardaville, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, Mexico City had some 1,600 drinking places, including 593 vinaterías, 45 pulquerías and 120 aguardiente-selling stores – variously known as tiendas*, pulperías, and cafeterías – which were all legally recognized establishments. There were also approximately 850 casas de pulque*, or illegal pulque houses, and tepacherías*, illegal bars selling tepache, a drink made from soured pulque, brown sugar, and citrus fruits. In addition, an unknown number of itinerant pulque vendors traded from stalls in the city's various markets.[36]

In June 1842, one of Mexico's leading national daily newspapers published a letter calling for a more rigorous application of the legal restrictions on pulquerías, which, the author predicted, might also result in bringing their number *down* to around 100, indicating that the existing number of pulquerías had increased significantly from the 45 legal establishments that Scardaville recorded for the beginning of the nineteenth century.[37] Exact figures in the mid-nineteenth century are difficult to verify, as a range of political conflicts resulted in inconsistent record-keeping. However, later *ayuntamiento* records show that by the early 1900s, there were over 900 pulquerías, in addition to more than one thousand other popular drinking places, including vinaterías, *cantinas* (bars selling a variety of distilled and fermented alcoholic drinks), and fondas or *figones* (small restaurants with licenses to sell pulque and other alcoholic beverages).[38] This remarkable increase in the number of pulquerías

over the course of a century was obviously linked to the large population growth that the city experienced, growing from 104,760 in 1790 and 168,846 in 1811 to between 344,721 and 369,000 in 1900, and 471,066 in 1910.[39] Between 1820 and 1850, the population fluctuated between 160,000 and 205,000 as a result of disease epidemics and migration from rural areas, so estimating the number of pulquerías in 1842 at more than 100, when the population had increased substantially from 1784 levels, seems reasonable.[40]

The proliferation of popular drinking places aggravated the concerns of Mexico City's municipal officials regarding the control of social space, and made many elite figures anxious about the detrimental image that popular drinking places could confer on the central areas of the city. For instance, a September 1823 law stipulated that pulque stalls had to be removed from all public squares, except for a limited number of licensed vendors in the Plaza del Volador in the city centre and four other selected squares further outside the centre, in order to "avoid clandestine and dangerous gatherings," and to maintain "the beauty and cleanliness of the capital."[41] In 1856, another decree extended the zone around the central area of Mexico City in which no new pulquerías or pulque stalls could thenceforth be established. Already existing pulquerías within the new prohibited zone, which extended outwards from the central plaza (the *Zócalo*) to include some 85 blocks, had to demonstrate their compliance with all the regulations regarding the restriction of social gatherings at risk of closure.[42]

Despite these ongoing legislative efforts, however, in the eyes of elite social commentators, popular drinking places continued to tarnish Mexico City's urban space. *El Siglo XIX* complained in the 1840s that there was a

> multitude of taverns known as pulquerías, vinaterías and others, in some of which gather the common people, and in the rest gather people of different social classes… In them, a certain number of idle vagabonds gather daily, acting as examples of demoralization; and this happens in all parts, from the most prominent street, even in the streets next to the building where the patrol itself resides, to the most miserable suburb.[43]

The journalist clearly links his concerns about popular drinking places to both the clientele that frequented them and the spatial arrangement of these places around the city. His description conveys a sense of crowding: the multitude of drinking places crowds the city streets and they themselves are crowded with people of low or mixed social backgrounds. Moreover, from the writer's point of view, the boundaries between the centre and the peripheries of the city were being crossed, as the social space of the various taverns seemed to infiltrate the whole urban landscape.

Urban modernization and social space, 1850-1910

As the 1842 article from *El Siglo XIX* suggests, Mexico City's elite were persistently concerned with the threat to social order posed by the unruly spaces of drink in Mexico City, from the late colonial era, through the early republi-

can period. Such concerns became even more pronounced in the second half of the nineteenth century during the era of liberal reforms, and especially when Porfirio Díaz's government (1876-1910) sought to showcase Mexico City as a modern urban embodiment of its motto "Order and Progress."[44] Many scholars highlight the elevated levels of migration to the capital city in search of work, and in response to changing conditions of land ownership, as the driving force behind the Porfirian government's renewed determination to contain popular social spaces and to establish firmer boundaries between elite and popular spaces.[45] However, it is important to recognize more clearly the continuities in agenda and approach that the Porfirian administration shared with earlier republican and even colonial era governments. The difference lies more in the additional financial resources that were available to implement regulations regarding the segregation of social space and in the expanded scale of the perceived problem than in any dramatically new Porfirian agenda.

Drinking places continued to be a major target of official concerns regarding the spatial organization of Mexico City in the nineteenth century. In November 1847, the city council declared that all established pulque vendors had to register their licenses with the municipal authorities and demonstrate their compliance with existing regulations within twenty days.[46] Newspaper articles continued to note that regulations, such as fixed opening hours, were being ignored by drinking places,[47] and that "the places that dispense intoxicating drinks," especially pulquerías, were still causing "disorders, a lack of cleanliness, scandalous behavior, robberies, murder, and often hunger."[48] In May 1849, the governor of the Federal District declared that "all the vagrants who spend entire days in the pulquerías and vinaterías would be apprehended."[49]

The radical liberalism of the Reforma era, from 1855 onwards, introduced a short-lived alternative approach to drinking places. The liberal agenda during the Reforma era, which produced the 1857 Constitution and provoked a long civil war with conservative forces, was defined by a concerted move towards free trade, the separation of church and state, the abolition of corporate privileges such as corporate land ownership and separate legal institutions (hitherto enjoyed to various degrees by three key corporate groups in Mexican society: the Catholic Church, the military, and indigenous villages), and a greater array of civil and political liberties. Freedom of commerce, in particular, affected the position of popular drinking places in Mexico City, as some restrictions and regulations on their businesses were relaxed. However, as noted previously, 1856 saw the establishment of an even larger zone in the city centre where pulquerías could not be established, which as María Áurea Toxqui Garay has argued, highlights the internal "contradictions" of Mexican liberalism in the nineteenth century. While the principle of freedom of commerce ought to have led to the abolition of such restrictions, the liberal desire to transform Mexico City and its population into a more modern, "civilized", sober and productive society led to a continued attempt to regulate the population's social behavior and to protect orderly public spaces from being infiltrated by the disorder as-

sociated with popular drinking places, especially pulquerías.[50]

Nevertheless, the 1856 decree allowed vinaterías and cantinas to be established in the central area of the city that was prohibited to new pulquerías. Although music, dancing, gambling and food were still prohibited from these taverns, their opening hours were extended until 9pm, in contrast to pulquerías, which had to close at 6pm. During the 1860s, a period of civil war between conservatives and liberals, multiple contradictory and rapidly revoked decrees about pulquerías, vinaterías, and cantinas were passed. With a return to relative stability in the 1870s, legislation was implemented that created two different types of pulquerías: interior sale and exterior sale pulquerías. The former would be more like cantinas and fondas, providing customers with seats, tables, food and longer opening hours, while the latter would operate like off-licenses, selling pulque to be taken away and consumed elsewhere. However, having legally allowed in some pulquerías the development of convivial social atmospheres that had been the target of punitive action for several hundred years, liberal officials quickly concluded that this measure actually exacerbated the problem of social disorder – indeed, many felt they had inadvertently sanctioned it – and the dual-licensing law was revoked in 1873.[51]

Liberal writers were keen to explain the apparent contradiction in their policies between the principle of freedom of commerce and the regulation of popular drinking places in terms of their location, trading conditions, opening hours, and produce. Many of the leading journalists writing for the daily national newspaper, *El Siglo XIX*, were liberal public figures and politicians. In 1872, one such writer argued for the inapplicability of the principle of freedom of commerce in the case of pulquerías:

> This reason is next to worthless because, according to an article of the constitution, one of the restrictions placed upon the right to freedom of property is that, in dealing with it, no harm must be done to society. Consequently, any embarrassing, unhealthy, and dangerous establishments are necessarily subject to certain restrictions by the constitution. No-one could question that pulquerías are, at the very least, embarrassing establishments, and therefore that the authorities are perfectly justified in prohibiting them from being established in selected places in the city.[52]

The author's dissatisfaction with the legal situation regarding pulquerías in the early 1870s is clearly focused on the negative impact they had on the image, as well as the reality, of Mexico City society. In his opinion, pulquerías should be excluded from respectable parts of the city, since they were at best embarrassing and at worst unhealthy and dangerous. Despite the liberal principle of freedom of commerce, therefore, many liberals believed that in order to construct an orderly, modern, and productive society, popular drinking places would have to be strictly controlled in terms of their location and operational conditions. These regulations and restrictions constituted an integral part of a larger process through which the social organization of Mexico City itself was geared towards the creation and preservation of orderly, modern, and elite social spaces that could be kept separate from the disorder associated

with popular drinking places.

The increasing desire to marginalize popular drinking places to more peripheral and impoverished areas of Mexico City over the latter half of the nineteenth century was accompanied by the emergence and proliferation of expensive and socially exclusive elite drinking places, especially cafés. While cafés had not featured significantly in colonial Mexico City, they flourished in the first decade of the nineteenth century, serving, as they did in many European cities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as meeting places for the more educated sectors of society to discuss politics, read newspapers, and hold literary debates, while having refreshments such as coffee, hot chocolate, and pastries. While European café culture of this era is commonly viewed as a sober social space for middle and upper class sociability, Mexico City's cafés were generally alcoholized social spaces, although their clientele had not always been limited to the elite sectors of society.[53]

Clementina Díaz y de Ovando has shown that, up to the mid-nineteenth century, cafés acted as quite inclusive social spaces for the gathering, communication, and recreation of a range of clientele, including the idle poor, as well as clerics, soldiers, writers, and fashionable ladies. From the middle of the nineteenth century onwards, however, many cafés became more cosmopolitan and expensive, serving often imported high-end wines, liqueurs, and cuisine. Consequently they catered more exclusively for the elite sector of society: successful businessmen, hacendados, high-ranking military officers, wealthy foreigners, and prominent public figures.[54] The most renowned and respected of these establishments, including *La Gran Sociedad, Café del Bazar, Café del Progreso, Café de la Concordia* and *El Tivoli del Eliseo,* were all located in either the downtown central area of the city or in the prestigious District Eight to the southwest. Their spatial location within the city reflected the higher degree of respectability and esteem they commanded as social spaces, in comparison to popular drinking places that were located on the impoverished eastside and in the other peripheries of the city.[55]

In contrast to the denigration and suspicion which pulquerías and vinaterías received in the Mexican press, cafés were frequently extolled for their finery, excellent produce, and convivial atmospheres in articles and opinion pieces, as well as in advertisements. In 1849, *El Monitor Republicano* described the newly established *Café del Bazar* with admiration, noting that it was "decorated with the most exquisite taste" and served the "highest quality of coffee, chocolate, liqueurs, etc, etc."[56] The "magnificence" and "luxury" of *La Gran Sociedad*'s decor was extolled by *El Siglo XIX* in 1872, which also detailed its impressive array of wines and edible delicacies imported from France, Germany, England, Holland, and Spain.[57] Advertisements for certain elite drinking places also began to emphasize their special family areas, indicating that they wanted to portray their establishments as respectable, safe, and orderly social spaces. In February 1872, for instance, the *Restaurante del Hotel Iturbide* hosted a masquerade ball, serving its usual array of fine wines and French

cuisine, and reserving "suites and private rooms for families."[58] Providing a more regular service, the *Café de la Bella Unión* announced the availability of their new "beautiful private rooms" to cater for families,[59] and the *Café del Refugio* also emphasized its newly expanded area for entertaining families: "In order to provide greater comfort to the families that honor us with their custom, the PRIVATE SUITES and ROOMS in the upper levels of the establishment have been augmented."[60]

Cafés and the grand social occasions they catered for were also accredited with providing a social space that fostered harmony between national political rivals. In 1849, *El Monitor Republicano* reported that the *Tívoli* had been host to "a splendid banquet" for the third and fifth battalions of the National Guard, noting that although they had a history of bitter disputes, "the gathering of all of them in the same place, will have given them a mutual satisfaction, and the conviction that the two sides would like to conserve at all costs the greatest harmony between them."[61] Similarly, in 1872 *El Siglo XIX* praised a New Year's banquet held at the elegant *Tívoli de San Cosme* for its atmosphere of "frank and expansive happiness… sincere and cordial friendship," despite its eighty guests hailing from a range of different political positions.[62] Several other functions at the *Tívoli del Eliseo,* the *Café de la Concordia,* and the *Tívoli de Petit Versailles* also exuded "the greatest harmony and a boundless cordiality," despite the attendance of renowned political opponents.[63] Rather than the disorder that was frequently associated with popular spaces of sociability, journalists therefore frequently emphasized the harmonizing potential of more elite social spaces to heal political divisions among the middle and upper classes of Mexican society.

This difference between elite and popular social spaces, associating more elite drinking places with harmony and more popular drinking places with disorder, was, however, more imagined than real. In 1850, *El Monitor Republicano* reported on a violent disturbance that had occurred in the *Café de la Bella Unión* when several drunken military sergeants instigated a brawl that resulted in serious injuries to themselves and to the café's staff, indicating that even a well-respected drinking place in a salubrious part of Mexico City could become the scene of social disorder.[64] Indeed, the political nature of many of the discussions and transactions being conducted in the social space of the café made clashes likely. The journalist's commentary on the 1850 disturbance in the *Bella Unión*, however, also reveals the social expectation that cafés should be immune to such disorder: "excesses of this kind are intolerable among the same class of people destined to conserve order, especially in these public establishments where decent people gather, and where one should be able to find shelter from such unforeseen occurrences."[65] The officers' fight was condemned because it besmirched the reputation of a public space that was supposed to offer decent people (the journalist used the term *gente* rather than *pueblo*) a refuge from coming into contact with antisocial behavior, as they might, by implication, in popular spaces such as pulquerías

and vinaterías.

In another earlier example from 1842, a writer at *El Siglo XIX* recognized that cafés could be sites of disorder and dissipation, where middle and upper class youths, in particular, gave themselves over to drunkenness, idleness, and disruptive behavior: "Not only do our lower classes contribute to the public depravity in these places; others of a better social position do so too. Unfortunately Mexico has cafés and billiard halls of all sorts, in which different people gather to practice idleness with a respectable facade… a multitude of lazy youths who waste their time and abandon their affairs… dissipated in a licentious lifestyle, they flock to these places to become masters of vagrancy, drunkenness, and other excesses."[66] Again, the tone here is suggestive of an attitude that cafés *should* be more respectable social spaces, due to the higher social class of people who frequented them, whereas the "public depravity" displayed by the lower classes was to be expected. Seen in light of comments such as these, the repeated legislative attempts to regulate the spatial organization of popular drinking places in the second half of the nineteenth century were part of an endeavor to preserve social boundaries between elite and popular sectors of society. By segregating the spaces in which elite and popular groups routinely socialized, liberal politicians believed they could protect the more orderly, harmonious atmosphere that should characterize elite social spaces from being infiltrated by the disorder associated with popular social spaces. While disruptive incidents no doubt continued to occur in elite cafés throughout the nineteenth century, by the turn of the twentieth century, the liberal authorities eventually succeeded – at least to a greater extent than previous administrations – in enforcing the spatial boundaries between elite drinking places in the centre and southwest of the city, and popular drinking places in the city's peripheries.

Spatial re-organization of the city intensified around the turn of the twentieth century. Although the late colonial division of the city into eight major districts remained, John Lear has outlined three broad trends in the "redefinition of geographical class relations" during the final years of the Porfiriato, with investment patterns cementing divisions between elite and poorer areas of the city. Eastern, southeastern, and northeastern parts of the city, particularly District One around the edges of Lake Texcoco, were neglected, with crowded tenements and irregular neighborhoods providing the living space for the urban poor. The downtown centre of the city, which had previously been characterized by a "mixture of wealthy and poor residents," as well as commercial offices, and trading activities, became the hub for large-scale commercial enterprise and finance, while its residential function all but disappeared. With poorer residents clustered on the underdeveloped east side, the elite moved to "more exclusive residential divisions called colonías" to the west of the city. The most exclusive colonías developed in the southwestern District Eight, encompassing the Paseo de la Reforma, Chapultepec castle, and Avenida Juárez, which attracted much investment and was comprised of

modern, elite residences, hotels, restaurants, and businesses.[67]

These transformations had a significant effect on the spatial arrangement of drinking places in the city. Pulquerías were, again, particularly targeted for marginalization. Restrictive laws against pulquerías were passed in 1901-2, echoing earlier nineteenth-century concerns regarding their contamination of elite social spaces. A new licensing regime banished pulquerías from the areas surrounding the Alameda, Mexico City's central park, where tourists and the city's elite gathered to socialize, and from the southwestern areas of the city that were developing into elite neighborhoods, with elegant residences, fashionable restaurants, and shopping complexes. Although pulquerías did remain in all the city's eight districts, they were heavily concentrated in Districts One and Two, in the eastern, poorer areas. They were also required to be located at least sixty meters apart from one another, their opening hours were restricted from 6am to 6:30pm, and food, music, games, and seats were also prohibited, in a familiar attempt to obstruct their role as spaces for popular social interaction.[68] Additional measures were taken to assist enforcement on this occasion, such as a 1904 municipal law prohibiting the sale of food "in doorways and entrances and especially outside of pulquerías and taverns."[69] Moreover, the city's police force had additional resources at its disposal in the enforcement of these regulations, including "422 mounted police, 1872 gendarmes on foot, and a corps of secret police" by the beginning of the twentieth century.[70]

CONCLUSIONS

Campaigns to regulate Mexico City's social spaces, targeting popular drinking places in particular, were common to the colonial, early national, and Porfirian periods. The major re-organization of the city's urban geography from the 1780s witnessed a systematized attempt to curtail the disorderly social spaces created in the pulquerías and vinaterías. While a mixed social and ethnic cohort of patrons continued to frequent these popular drinking places, and flout regulations regarding the consumption of food, the playing of music, dancing, and gathering in groups, licensees and owners of these drinking establishments paid increasing attention to the spatial concerns of municipal authorities, and tried to prove their ability to uphold standards of social order and social boundaries, in order to protect their businesses.

Although continuing already well-established trends, therefore, the second half of the nineteenth century, and especially the Porfirian period, was characterized by an increased intensity in the government's attempts to impose a more rigidly segregated spatial organization of Mexico City, which is visible in policies towards and discourses about popular and elite drinking places. While increasingly up-market cafés, restaurants and social clubs were populating the increasingly fashionable, modernizing, and exclusive central and southwestern areas of the city in the late nineteenth century, pulquerías and other popular drinking places were once again being restricted to the poorer districts and peripheral neighborhoods of the city, after the temporary

relaxation of some aspects of their spatial regulation from the mid 1850s to the early 1870s. Their geographical exclusion from the city centre and wealthier neighborhoods was also compounded by their conceptual exclusion from the social space of modern, urban, respectable Mexicans. Despite the diverse ethnic and social make-up of the clientele of late colonial and early republican drinking places, including pulquerías, vinaterías, and cafés, the prevailing attitudes regarding their respective levels of respectability as social spaces became more rigidly separated as the nineteenth century progressed, mirroring the geographical entrenchment of social divisions into the urban landscape into an elite, respectable, orderly centre and southwest and an impoverished, disorderly, and unsanitary east. This spatial and social division of the city had become more entrenched by the end of the nineteenth century and the different drinking places had undoubtedly become more exclusive in their roles as social spaces. Yet, these boundaries were perhaps less rigid in practice than they were often imagined to be in elite discourse. Despite municipal authorities' and prominent social commentators' desires for the popular and elite classes to each "know their place," cafés were not always the bastions of harmony and order they were hoped to be, nor had the social exchanges and convivial atmospheres long associated with the disorderly social spaces of pulquerías and vinaterías been stamped out.

University of London
deborah.toner@sas.ac.uk

Endnotes

    1. Guillermo Prieto, *Memorias de mis tiempos* (prologue by Horacio Labastida, Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1985), 48.
    2. Prieto served liberal administrations variously as Congressional Deputy, Minister of Finance, and Minister of Foreign Relations. See Leonor Ludlow, "Guillermo Prieto," in *La república de las letras: asomos a la cultura escrita del México decimonónico,* ed. Belem Clark de Lara and Elisa Speckman Guerra, III (3 vols, Mexico City: UNAM, 2005): 190-92; Guadalupe Fernández Ariza, "Guillermo Prieto," in *Historia de la literatura hispanoamericana. Vol. 2: Del neoclasicismo al modernismo* ed. Luis Iñigo Madrigal (3 vols, Madrid: Cátedra, 1987): 251-52.
    3. Prieto, *Memorias de mis tiempos*, 49. Xochitl is a figure from Aztec history and mythology, reputedly involved in the discovery of pulque, whose legend was revived in nineteenth-century Mexican art and literature. See Deborah Toner, "Xochitl's Bar: Pulquerías and Mexican *costumbrismo,*" *Art and Architecture of the Americas* 8 (2010): 1-16.
    4. Hugh Thomas, *The Conquest of Mexico* (London: Pimlico, 1994), 561; William Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979), 16; Charles Gibson, *Spain in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1967), 125-26; Clarence Pullen, "The City of Mexico," *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New*

York 20 (1888): 162-63.

5. Throughout the colonial period, Indians frequented the central areas of the city as traders in the Plaza Mayor, to work as domestic servants in the employ of wealthy Spaniards, and to find work of other kinds after migrating to Mexico City as a means of avoiding the tax obligations that were imposed on indigenous villages in the countryside. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide and Rebellion*, 25; Jeffrey Pilcher, *¡Que vivan los tamales! Food and the Making of Mexican Identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998), 51.

6. Enrique Florescano, *Precios del maíz y crisis agrícolas en México, 1708-1810* (Mexico City: Ediciones Era, 1986), 95; Gustavo G. Garza Merodio, "Technological Innovation and the Expansion of Mexico City, 1870-1920," *Journal of Latin American Geography* 5, no. 2 (2006) 117; John Lear, "Mexico City: Space and Class in the Porfirian Capital, 1884-1910," *Journal of Urban History* 22 (1996): 464. The numbers cited here should be taken as an estimate that reflects a definite demographic trend. The exact figures are contested, but historians agree that the later decades of the eighteenth century witnessed a sharp increase in the city's population, caused by migration from surrounding rural communities. See Richard A. Warren, *Vagrants and Citizens. Politics and the Masses in Mexico City from Colony to Republic* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 2001), 9-10.

7. María Áurea Toxqui Garay, "'El recreo de los amigos.' Mexico City's Pulquerías during the Liberal Republic (1856-1911)" (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2008), 49-50; Louise M. Burkhart, *The Slippery Earth. Nahua-Christian Moral Dialogue in Sixteenth-Century Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1989), 161-64; Luis Alberto Vargas and Leticia E. Casillas, "El encuentro de dos cocinas: México en el siglo XVI," in *Conquista y comida: consecuencias del encuentro de dos mundos* ed. Janet Long (Mexico City: UNAM, 1997), 162; Teresa Lozano Armendares, "Mezcales, pulques y chinguiritos," in Long, *Conquista y comida*, 424; Alfonso Paredes, "Social Control of Drinking among the Aztec Indians of Mesoamerica," *Journal of Studies on Alcohol* 36 (1975): 1143-44; Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide and Rebellion,* 35-37; Michael E. Smith, Jennifer B. Wharton and Jan Marie Olson, "Aztec Feasts, Rituals and Markets. Political Uses of Ceramic Vessels in a Commercial Economy," *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires,* ed. Tamara L. Bray (New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum, 2003), 244-46.

8. Vargas and Casillas, "El encuentro de dos cocinas," 162-63; Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide and Rebellion*, 36-38; Toxqui Garay, "Mexico City's Pulquerías," 53-55; Sonia Corcuera de Mancera, *Del amor al temor. Borrachez, catequesis y control en la Nueva España (1555-1771)* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1994), 213-16.

9. Robert McCaa, "Calidad, Clase and Marriage in Colonial Mexico: The Case of Parral, 1788-90," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 64 (1984): 477-78; Marie Francois, "Cloth and Silver: Pawning and Material Life in Mexico City at the Turn of the Nineteenth Century," *The Americas* 60 (2004): 345-56.

10. José Jesús Hernández Palomo, *El pulque: usos indígenas y abusas criollos* (Seville: Asociación Española de Americanistas, 2004), 15-16; Corcuera de Mancera, *Del amor al temor*, 210-17; William H. Beezley, *Judas at the Jockey Club and Other Episodes of Porfirian Mexico* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 5-6; Sergio Rivera Ayala, "Lewd Songs and Dances from the Streets in Eighteenth Century New Spain," in *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico,* ed. William H. Beezley, Cheryl English Martin and William E. French (Wilmington: SR Books, 1994), 32; Susan Deans-Smith, "The Working Poor and the Eighteenth Century Colonial State: Gender, Public Order and Work Discipline," in Beezley, Martin and French, *Rituals of Rule*, 48-51; Virginia Guedea, "México en 1812: control político y bebidas prohibidas," *Estudios de historia moderna y contemporanea de México* 8 (1980): 28-33; María Cristina Suárez y Farías, "Ámbitos y sabores virreinales," *Artes de México* 36 (1997): 45-46; Torcuato S. di Tella, "The Dangerous Classes in Early Nineteenth Century Mexico," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 5 (1973): 81, 95-98; Warren, *Vagrants and Citizens,* 7-10; John E. Kicza, "The Pulque Trade of Late Colonial Mexico City," *The Americas* 37(1980): 196; Juan Pedro Viquiera Albán, *Propriety and Permissiveness in Bourbon Mexico* trans. Sonya Lipsett-Rivera and Sergio Rivera Ayala (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, 1999), 98-99, 145; Serge Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico. The Incorporation of Indian Societies into*

the Western World, 16th to 18th Centuries trans. Eileen Corrigan (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 277-79; Steve J. Stern, The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men and Power in Late Colonial Mexico (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 173, 267; Michael C. Scardaville, "Alcohol Abuse and Tavern Reform in Late Colonial Mexico City," Hispanic American Historical Review 60 (1980): 647.

11. Viquiera Albán, Propriety and Permissiveness, 101, 143; Guedea, "México en 1812," 32; Scardaville, "Alcohol Abuse and Tavern Reform," 648; Corcuera de Mancera, Del amor al temor, 215; Anne Staples, "Policia y Buen Gobierno: Municipal Efforts to Regulate Public Behaviour, 1821-1857" in Beezley, Martin and French, Rituals of Rule, 119-21.

12. Kicza, "The Pulque Trade," 197; Scardaville, "Alcohol Abuse and Tavern Reform," 648.

13. R. Douglas Cope, The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico, 1660-1720 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 143.

14. Cope, Limits of Racial Domination, 155-56. See also Linda A. Curcio-Nagy, "Giants and Gypsies: Corpus Christi in Colonial Mexico City," in Beezley, Martin and French, Rituals of Rule, 19-20; Guedea, "México en 1812," 24-26.

15. Carlos de Sigüenza y Góngora, "Alboroto y Motín de México del 8 de Junio de 1692," in Relaciones Históricas ed. by Manuel Romero de Terreros (Mexico City: UNAM, 1954), 137-39.

16. Viquiera Albán, Propriety and Permissiveness, 133; Corcuera de Mancera, Del amor al temor, 208-10.

17. Guedea, "México en 1812," 28-29; Warren, Vagrants and Citizens, 13; María Dolores Morales, "Espacio, propiedad y órganos de poder en la ciudad de México en el siglo XIX" in Ciudad de México: Instituciones, actores sociales y conflicto político, 1774-1931, ed. Carlos Illades and Ariel Rodríguez (Zamora: El Colegio de Michoacán, 1996), 15.

18. Cited in Guedea, "México en 1812," 28.

19. Scardaville, "Alcohol Abuse and Tavern Reform," 657-60; Guedea, "México en 1812," 29, 37-40; Kicza, "The Pulque Trade," 195-96.

20. Archivo General de la Nación (hereafter AGN), Fondo Real Audencia (hereafter FRA), Criminal, "Contra Don José Antonio Merino, Soldado de Militias Urbanas del Comercio de esta Corte, por excesos cometidos con la Ronda del Teniente de Alguacil mayor Don Pedro 64 Castillo," January 1802, Vol. 485, exp. 4, fs. 56-7.

21. AGN, FRA, Criminal, "Contra José Manuel Bonilla por malos tratamientos a su mujer, ebrios y haver blasfemado," April 1803, Vol. 363, exp. 2, fs. 149-58; AGN, FRA, Criminal, "Causa número 62 contra José Guillermo García por Omicida," July 1811, Vol. 86, exp. 12, fs. 312-15.

22. In the record, the three young men are described as "paisanos," which could have multiple translations, as civilians, compatriots or countrymen; in this context, the use of the term is unusual as it was much more common for defendants and witnesses to be referred to by both occupation and color or race. Since the vinatería owner was referred to as "Español" (Spaniard), meaning from the Hispanic population generally, rather than necessarily meaning he was of Spanish nationality, the term "paisano" to describe the other three men, indicates that they were of similar origin and status to the proprietor, and hence of the Hispanic/creole population. AGN, Suprema Corte de Justicia de la Nación (hereafter SCJN), Asuntos económicos, 1845, Exp. 6489.

23. AGN, FRA, Criminal, "Desórdenes en la Pulquería de la Alamedita que es del cargo de Felipe Galan," June 1804, Vol. 467, exp. 6, fs.140-49.

24. AGN, Fondo Regio Patronato Indiano (hereafter FRPI), Bienes nacionales, "Información sumaria sobre procedimientos escandalosos el corista Fray Agustin Gonzalez del convent de San Diego," March 1848, Vol. 1056, exp. 17; AGN, SCJN, Asuntos económicos, April 1853, Exp. 13425.

25. AGN, Fondo Archivo de Guerra (hereafter AG), "Sumaria instruidas e averiguación de las escándalos cometidas el día 15 de marzo del presente año por el soldado José María Rivera," March 1858, Vol. 310, exp. 3070, fs. 523-49.

26. Criminal, "Desórdenes en la Pulquería de la Alamedita," fs.146-47.

27. AGN, Fondo Ayuntamiento (hereafter FA), Policías y empedrados, "Don Manuel Doroteo Gutiérrez del Pueblo de Xocotitlan sobre que se le permita una pulquería," February 1800, Vol. 32, exp. 6, fl. 163.

28. Tlachique was an inferior quality pulque, typically produced by indigenous villagers in

the Valley of Mexico. Taylor, *Drinking, Homicide and Rebellion*, 49; Kicza, "The Pulque Trade," 199.

29. Policias y empedrados, "Don Manuel Doroteo Gutiérrez," February 1800, Vol. 32, exp. 6, fs. 171-76. Several other applications were denied to open pulquerías in barrios on the outskirts of Mexico City on the grounds that they would be too close to already existing licensed pulquerías and would result in social disturbances. See AGN, FA, Policías y empedrados, "Ocurso de Hipóli-to Casiano Linares sobre licencia para poner una pulquería en la villa de Tacuba," January 1809, Vol. 32, exp. 13, fs. 281-85; AGN, FA, Policías y empedrados, "Don Felix Lucio, sobre que se le conceda licencia para poner una pulquería en la calzada de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe," May 1810, Vol. 32, exp. 14, fs. 286-98. Other applications that proposed to establish pulquerías in villages or neighbourhoods in underserved areas were more successful. See AGN, Fondo Indiferente Virreinal (hereafter FIV), Pulques, "Pueblo de Santo Lorenzo donde solicita el Indio José Ignacio poner pulquería," April 1817, caja 5148, exp. 23, fl. 1; AGN, FIV, Pulques, "Don José Coria que permiso para poner una pulquería," 1815, caja 5789, exp. 38, fs. 1-7.

30. Susie Porter has identified a similar rhetorical strategy employed by female food vendors in late nineteenth-century Mexico City, who were under threat from legislative changes designed to remove them from central and "posh" parts of the city. See Susie S. Porter, "'And That It Is Custom Makes It Law': Class Conflict and Gender Ideology in the Public Sphere, Mexico City, 1880-1910," *Social Science History* 24 (2000): 134-35.

31. AGN, FA, Policías y empedrados, "Don Manuel Cerrano, vecino de esta ciudad, sobre que no se le prive de la pulquería de Chapultepec," August 1806, Vol. 32, exp. 12, fs. 264-76.

32. In a similar case in 1809, the municipal authorities reluctantly agreed to license two pulquerías in the barrio of San Antonio Abad, provided they were established a significant distance away from the main carriageway leading into the centre of the city from the west, as a means of preventing the establishment of illegal stalls along the road and of preventing the circulation of contraband pulque. One of these licenses was granted to the wealthy hacienda, or estate, owner named in the document title and the other was granted to a local Indian man, Andrés Alvarez. It is unlikely that Alvarez's license would have been granted if his application had not been made in association with the wealthy landowner's. AGN, FIV, Pulques, "Don Ambrosio Alfaro, vecino de México y comerciante de pulques, queja sobre los pulques de contraband," 1809, caja 5875, exp. 91, fs. 1-25.

33. AGN, FRA, Civil, "Sobre corrección de la embriaguez," 1805-1822, Vol. 2126, exp. 1, fl. 1.

34. Civil, "Sobre corrección de la embriaguez," fs. 7-8.

35. Civil, "Sobre corrección de la embriaguez," fl. 24.

36. Scardaville, "Alcohol Abuse and Tavern Reform," 645-46.

37. José Mariano Gallegos, [no title], *El Siglo XIX,* August 12, 1842.

38. Toxqui Garay, "Mexico City's Pulquerías," 157.

39. 1790 and 1811 population figures from Florescano, *Precios del maíz,* 95 and Mark Wasserman, *Everyday Life and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Mexico: Men, Women, and War* (Alburquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 37; 1900 and 1910 figures from Garza Merodio, "Technological Innovation," 117 and Lear, "Mexico City," 464.

40. Population figures from Wasserman, *Everyday Life and Politics,* 37; Garza Merodio, "Technological Innovation," 117; Lear, "Mexico City," 464.

41. AGN, Fondo Justicia (hereafter FJ), Justicia, "La sentencia que ha pronunciado a favor de Don Manuel Alfaro," November 1824, Vol. 49, exp. 30, fl. 241. A similar decree had been promulgated in 1816. See di Tella, "The Dangerous Classes," 96.

42. Toxqui Garay, "Mexico City's Pulquerías," 137-39.

43. *El Siglo XIX,* June 16, 1842.

44. Mauricio Tenorio Trillo, "1910 Mexico City: Space and Nation in the City of the Centenario," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28 (1996): 78-85; Matthew D. Esposito, *Funerals, Festivals, and Cultural Politics in Porfirian Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2010), 115-16; Barbara A. Tenenbaum, "Streetwise History: The Paseo de la Reforma and the Porfirian State, 1876-1910," in Beezley, Martin and French, *Rituals of Rule*, 130; Pablo Piccato, *City of Suspects: Crime in Mexico City, 1900-1931* (Durham and London: Duke University

Press, 2001), 14-20; James Alex Garza, *The Imagined Underworld. Sex, Crime and Vice in Porfirian Mexico City* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 6-8; Claudio Lomnitz, *Deep Mexico, Silent Mexico: An Anthropology of Nationalism* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 101-4; John Mraz, *Looking for Mexico: Modern Visual Culture and National Identity* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2009), 57-58; Tim Mitchell, *Intoxicated Identities. Alcohol's Power in Mexican History and Culture* (New York and London: Routledge, 2004), 64.

45. Garza, *Imagined Underworld*, 3; Lear, "Mexico City," 463, 475-77; Porter, "'And That It Is Custom Makes It Law,'" 130-31; Garza Merodio, "Technological Innovation," 111-12; Michael Johns, *The City of Mexico in the Age of Díaz* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997), 13-15; Emily Wakild, "Naturalizing Modernity: Urban Parks, Public Gardens and Drainage Projects in Porfirian Mexico City," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 23 (2007): 116-18; Alberto del Castillo, "Prensa, poder, y criminalidad a finales del siglo XIX en la Ciudad de México," in *Hábitos, normas, y escándalo. Prensa, criminalidad y drogas durante el porfiriato tardío* eds. Ricardo Pérez Montfort, Alberto del Castillo and Pablo Piccato, 20-23 (Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés, 1997); Cristina Rivera-Garza, "Dangerous Minds: Changing Psychiatric Views of the Mentally Ill in Porfirian Mexico, 1876-1911," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 56 (2001): 40-41.

46. Those without licenses were required to obtain them within the same time frame or risk their establishments being closed permanently. Cártulo Barreda, "Anunciado por la secretaria del ayuntamiento," *El Monitor Republicano*, November 19, 1847.

47. *El Monitor Republicano,* December 15, 1847.

48. "Policia," *El Monitor Republicano*, March 25, 1849.

49. "Policia," *El Monitor Republicano,* May 20, 1849.

50. Toxqui Garay, "Mexico City's Pulquerías," 130-31.

51. Ibid., 141-45, 147.

52. *El Siglo XIX,* February 17, 1872. A previous article made the announcement about the governor requiring pulque vendors to register their establishments anew. *El Siglo XIX,* January 14, 1872.

53. Clementina Díaz y de Ovando, *Los cafés en México en el siglo XIX* (Mexico City: UNAM, 2000); Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise. A Social History of Spices, Stimulants and Intoxicants* trans. David Jacobson (New York: Vintage Books, 1993), 37-52; Daniel Roche, *The People of Paris. An Essay in Popular Culture in the Eighteenth Century* trans. Marie Evans and Gwynne Lewis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 254. Thomas Brennan offers an important corrective to this in the case of French cafés, arguing that the elite, sober, intellectual café was in the minority in eighteenth century France, and that, in fact, many Parisian cafés catered for a wide range of social classes and served a range of alcoholic drinks, including wine, beer, and brandy. Thomas Brennan, "Taverns and the Public Sphere in the French Revolution," in *Alcohol: A Social and Cultural History* ed. Mack P. Holt, (Oxford: Berg, 2006) 109-10.

54. Díaz y de Ovando, *Los cafés*, 13-14, 18-24, 57-61.

55. Díaz y de Ovando, *Los cafés*, 24-25, 41, 60; Garza, *Imagined Underworld,* 77; María Stoopen, "Convulsiones y revoluciones culinarias de los siglos XIX y XX," *Artes de México* 36 (1997): 54-56; Pilcher, *¡Que vivan los tamales!*, 64-65; Lear, "Mexico City," 469-71.

56. *El Monitor Republicano*, March 11, 1849, March 20, 1849. *El Siglo XIX* published similar praise for the *Café del Bazar* after some renovations in 1851, noting that it boasted excellent standards of cooking, service, and cleanliness, as well as a lively atmosphere and a top selection of wines. *El Siglo XIX,* December 21, 1851. See also *El Siglo XIX,* September 16, 1851*, September 26, 1851.

57. *El Siglo XIX,* March 25, 1872. Subsequent issues in March and April 1872 also featured prominent advertisements for *La Gran Sociedad.*

58. *El Siglo XIX,* February 29, 1872.

59. *El Siglo XIX*, February 19, 1872.

60. *El Siglo XIX,* February 21, 1872. These adverts were repeated throughout the February issues of the newspaper. Similar announcements, using capitalization to emphasize the newly available facilities for families, were made by the *Restaurante del Bazar*, in *El Siglo XIX,* March

1, 1872, and the *Café del Progreso*, in *El Siglo XIX,* June 28, 1872. Of course, these private suites may have attracted a somewhat raunchier clientele than wholesome families, but the newspaper advertisements refrain from highlighting any such alternative benefits of privacy.

61. "Confraternidad," *El Monitor Republicano*, April 18, 1849.

62. *El Siglo XIX,* January 2, 1872.

63. *El Siglo XIX*, August 1, 1872*,* August 9, 1872.

64. "Riña escandalosa," *El Monitor Republicano*, April 10, 1850.

65. *Ibid*.

66. *El Siglo XIX,* 16 June 1842.

67. Lear, "Mexico City," 456, 469. See also Garza, *Imagined Underworld*, pp. 15-16, 22-23; Tenorio Trillo, "1910 Mexico City," 83-87; Tenenbaum, "Streetwise History," 128-30; Piccato, *City of Suspects,* 17-20; Matthew D. Esposito, "Death and Disorder in Mexico City: The State Funeral of Manuel Romero Rubio," in *Latin American Popular Culture: An Introduction,* ed. William H. Beezley and Linda A. Curcio-Nagy (Wilmington: SR Books, 2000), 96; Johns, *City of Mexico*, 14-15; Garza Merodio, "Technological Innovation," 114-16; Wakild, "Naturalizing Modernity," 111-13.

68. Garza, *Imagined Underworld*, 24, 27; Piccato, *City of Suspects,* 29-30; Lear, "Mexico City," 480; Toxqui Garay, "Mexico City's Pulquerías," 153-55.

69. Porter, "'And That It Is Custom Makes It Law,'" 120. Porter argues compellingly that this measure was part of a broader official campaign to curtail the movement of lower class women in particular areas of Mexico City, since elite ideas about public order associated female street workers with "moral degeneracy" (121). While this argument is convincing, the specific prohibition of selling food outside popular drinking places is as much to do with a broader official campaign (with a very long history) for the regulation of the immoral and potentially subversive social spaces of the pulquerías, vinaterías, and other taverns.

70. Lear, "Mexico City," 480.