The Emasculation of President José María Reyna Barrios: Manliness and Economic Crisis in Fin-de-Siècle Guatemala City

Michael D. Kirkpatrick*
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Abstract

Displays of ostentation were regarded as manly *faux pas* in nineteenth-century Guatemala City, a perspective shared by men of different ethnic and class origins, though gender norms were seldom uniformly enforced. When the Guatemalan export economy collapsed and a social crisis ensued in 1897, critics of the government blamed the excess and luxury of President José María Reyna Barrios for the economic turmoil. They argued that the president lacked manly self-restraint and had succumbed to his own vanity and sexual licentiousness. The emasculation of Reyna Barrios demonstrates how the boundaries of permissible gendered actions were constrained during a period of upheaval.

Keywords: gender; self-restraint; political economy; masculinity; sexuality

Resumen

En el siglo XIX la sociedad guatemalteca señalaba a los hombres ostentosos como faltos de hombría. A pesar de que varones de varias etnias y clases sociales compartían esta perspectiva, las normas de género pocas veces se impusieron de manera uniforme. Cuando la economía guatemalteca basada en la exportación colapsó ocasionando una crisis socioeconómica en 1897, los críticos del gobierno culparon al presidente Reyna Barrios por esta crisis, acusándolo de falta de autocontrol motivada por su vanidad y su licenciosa conducta sexual. La emasculación de Reyna Barrios demuestra cómo los límites del comportamiento de género aceptables fueron delimitados durante épocas de turbulencia social.

michael.kirkpatrick@mun.ca

Palabras clave: género; auto-control; economía política; masculinidad; sexualidad

In mid-August 1898, United States citizen Algeria Benton de Reyna Barrios, the former First Lady of Guatemala, made an appeal for asylum in a letter to the wife of the US Minister to Central America. The preceding months had been trying for Benton: her husband, President José María Reyna Barrios, had been assassinated on February 8. Scarcely four months later, she gave birth to the couple's first child, Consuelo Algeria Reyna Benton.[1] During the final year of his life, the president's popularity waned as he grew increasingly authoritarian amidst an economic crisis. A notorious philanderer, he was also involved in a widely acknowledged affair with a foreign actress named Josefina Roca, bringing gossip and derision to both himself and his wife. Indeed, Reyna Barrios was shot to death while returning home from Roca's residence through the streets of the capital. During the next 48 hours, gunshots rang out around the Presidential Palace and nearby military barracks as factions contended for power. Amidst the gunfights, a terrified Benton was escorted to the American Legation until the fate of the country's leadership was secured.[2] In the critical hours after Reyna Barrios's death, in spite of conspiracies among competing political cliques, Manuel Estrada Cabrera, the country's first designate, succeeded the slain president.

Over the coming months, the acting president made his hostility towards Benton known. Between "the bitter animosity of the public" and Estrada Cabrera's malevolence, Benton repeatedly sought protection from US Minister W. Godfrey Hunter who hesitated to intervene in these matters. After being subjected to harassment by the former Minister of War Salvador Toledo, Benton made one final appeal. "General Toledo," she explained in a letter,

> whom I have ever looked upon as an humble and loyal adherent to my husband's memory and family is acting in a most disgraceful way towards us now. He has the impertinence to forget himself and ask me to marry him every other day. I have closed these doors against him of no avail, he returns bullying my servants and on all of these last occasions threatening my life too with his revolver.[3]

Finally, Hunter acquiesced to her request.

While Toledo's advances may be dismissed as unsolicited carnal attention, rumors subsequently circulated suggesting a sexual scandal more sordid than merely unrequited lust. In the years after the death of Reyna Barrios, it was asserted that Consuelo Algeria was the daughter not of the former president

but of her mother's admirer, General Salvador Toledo.[4] The alleged cuckolding of Reyna Barrios fits well into a pattern of insults intended to emasculate him—that is, to deny his manliness—shortly before and after his assassination. But things were not always this way. Such treatment stood in stark contrast to the commencement of Reyna Barrios's presidency when he was heralded as a model of martial masculinity and observers attributed the period of prosperity experienced by coffee planters, merchants, and the national treasury from 1892 until 1896 to the confidence he exuded. But by 1897 and 1898, Reyna Barrios was pilloried for his foppish appearance and penchant for extravagance. The president, it was argued, lacked manly self-restraint.

Influenced by post-structural gender theorists like Joan Scott and Judith Butler, historians of Latin American have produced richly nuanced, field-defining work.[5] Characteristic of many regional studies, in their work on masculinity in Mexico City, Víctor Macías-González and Anne Rubenstein iterate the well-rehearsed maxim: "Gender is in constant flux, never static, always unstable."[6] And, indeed, scholars have described a multitudinous array of gendered subjectivities correlating to sex, ethnicity, class, sexuality, nationality, and cliques. Notwithstanding such pronouncements, categories of gender may be less immediately fluid than proclaimed. In fact, what much of the historiography displays is evidence of gender difference that *infers* instability or mutability without demonstrating it. Ultimately, although historians provide fascinating snapshots or moments of gender difference—gay Mexico City or machismo in 1950s cinema— they struggle to document historical change.[7]

The episodic nature of Latin American gender history arises from various sources. In part, it reflects the propensity of recent historians toward short-termism,[8] a disciplinary trend that does not analyze temporal ranges sufficiently lengthy for tracking historical transitions. Contrary to the trope of gender's malleability, like linguistic, aesthetic, or ideological shifts, the defining parameters of masculinities and femininities do not rapidly transform, even if they are disputed—*contested*—in everyday life. Short-termism is not conducive to chronicling change over time. But, equally likely, there may be conceptual and methodological limitations arising from a tendency to attribute historical change to discourse and power while dismissing materialist explanations of causality.[9] Nevertheless, political economy—and a close examination of production, finance, and trade—offers insight into responses to conditions beyond the control of individuals, including the performance of gender. In place of the flux and instability ascribed to gender subjectivities, the plurality of masculine and feminine identities coalesce around relatively coherent ideals for men and women, respectively. That said, flexibility is exhibited along the margins of gender norms, greatly influenced by the aforementioned categories of sex,

ethnicity, and class. Difference is condoned, regulated, or transgressed, and subjectivities take shape adjacent to these frontiers. Matters of political economy illuminate individual and group impulses to abide by, or discipline, gender practices. While dominant ideals for men and women exist, infringements—large or small—may be socially permissible in certain contexts yet objectionable in others. The boundaries of what is tolerable may quickly constrict and rigidify as historical actors rein in the perceived excesses of others. At such moments, actions that once warranted a shake of the head or whispers become worthy of public censure or coercive measures. Such is the case with manly self-restraint during the Guatemalan Belle Époque.[10]

Unlike gender history in the United States and Europe, little has been written explicitly about self-restraint in Latin American historiography.[11] Scholars of the region have been drawn to violence and masculinity, detailing elite attempts to refrain from violent conduct as a means of distinguishing themselves from lower-class individuals.[12] Manly self-restraint, however, extends beyond matters of violence. In the second half of the nineteenth century, urbanity was overwhelmingly prohibitory in nature as evidenced by etiquette guides that exhorted men against countless behaviors and actions. Oliver Bell Bunce's popular work, *Don't: A Manual of Mistakes & Improprieties more of less prevalent in Conduct & Speech* listed hundreds of unpleasant practices at the dinner table, in public, and in personal habits, each preceded by the caution "don't."[13] Bunce's advice on the art of negation was disseminated in Spanish-language works alongside that of self-help pioneer Samuel Smiles. Indeed, in the 1890s, Bunce's work was translated by José C. Díaz Durán and published by the Guatemalan government press.[14]

Among men in Guatemala City, displays of extravagance and hedonistic behavior were long-acknowledged *faux pas* that served as evidence of a dearth of self-restraint. Still, violations of this gendered discretion were seldom socially policed, least of all in a uniform fashion. Even though the pursuit of pleasure was still frowned upon, space opened for flaunting wealth among statesmen and economic elites during a period of unprecedented high prices on international coffee markets and bountiful harvests commencing in the late 1880s. Beginning in late 1896, however, global coffee prices collapsed.[15] I argue that the associated economic fallout gave rise to a reactionary gendered response from men whose livelihoods had been left in a precarious state, including civil servants whose salaries went unpaid for months as well as private-sector workers who lost jobs. These men sought—and found—explanations and culpable parties for their misfortunes, blaming political and economic elites who they reckoned had transgressed the boundaries of manly self-restraint. Although gender subjectivities did not undergo profound shifts, the willingness of many *capitalinos*—residents

of Guatemala City—to condone ostentation vanished and behavior hitherto begrudgingly tolerated became tightly invigilated and regulated.

In the throes of the economic catastrophe, political opponents harshly scrutinized government officials like Reyna Barrios who displayed luxury afforded by the national treasury. Whereas the president was considered a model of martial masculinity early in his mandate, a half-decade later detractors denounced him as an effeminate dandy whose unmanly impulses had run amuck. Critics accused Reyna Barrios of vanity, sexual excess, and decadence, charges that reverberated in a gendered world that celebrated self-restraint among men. By denying the president's manliness, opponents were engaging in political critique. Equally important, though, gender criticism possessed explanatory value that did not question the viability of the agro-export economy in accounting for the shift from economic serendipity to calamity. In emasculating Reyna Barrios, *capitalinos* began monitoring the margins of socially acceptable manhood that previously had been tolerated, in response to a spiraling social crisis. In so doing, they marked the ascendency of ladino masculine subjectivities—characterized by a self-restraint that denied ostentation while promoting courage and, when necessary, brashness—that had developed many decades earlier.

To trace the enforcement of gender expectations, *hojas sueltas* consisting of broadsheets, petitions, and denunciations will be analyzed. The Guatemalan Biblioteca Nacional's Fondo Antiguo holds a massive collection containing thousands of *hojas sueltas* from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries donated by the Valenzuela family.[16] Crucially for this study, in the final years of the 1890s, handwritten annotations appear on some of the leaflets. These scribbles include popular poems and songs, insults, and criticisms. It may be tempting to assume that Gilberto Valenzuela, who organized the collection, penned the marginalia; however, the distinctive cursive matches that of Felipe Estrada Paniagua, then a Justice of the Peace in Guatemala City. He also participated in street fighting to help secure Estrada Cabrera's victory in sham elections in September 1898. As a critic of Reyna Barrios, Estrada Paniagua transcribed popular verses mocking the president's manliness. I also examine a host of other primary sources including newspapers, etiquette guides, memoirs, diplomatic correspondence, and legislative appeals. These documents will be considered in light of changing economic and political conditions to demonstrate how partisans in Guatemala City debated the transgressions and enforcement of manly self-restraint.

Nineteenth-Century Manhood and Self-Restraint in Guatemala City

I have described elsewhere how proponents of ladino manliness rose in economic and political prominence during the Export Age.[17] The argument runs as follows: in the final several decades of colonial rule, ladinos migrated from Santiago de los Caballeros (La Antigua Guatemala) and Nueva Guatemala de la Asunción (Guatemala City) to the Western Highlands, a territory from which the colonial state had restricted them. There they settled on Crown and Indigenous lands, variously establishing systems of dual municipal rule to challenge the authority of Indigenous communities when expedient to do so.[18] Decades later, in the 1850s and 1860s, many of these migrant ladinos turned to coffee production and found the combination of acidic volcanic soil and elevated altitudes amenable to growing high-quality coffee beans. Meanwhile, ladinos in warmer coastal zones at lower altitudes cultivated sugar cane. Coffee and sugar production proved enormously lucrative. With the liberal reforms of the 1870s, ladino families relocated to the capital, thus transforming the social composition of Guatemala City's political and economic elite.[19] With this demographic shift, ladino families introduced new gender expectations into the city's most prominent cliques.

Since the late colonial period, criollo families had dominated social circles in the capital and they mostly subscribed to an aristocratic ideal of manliness—what they called *hombría de bien* or proper manhood.[20] *Hombría de bien* was characterized by integrity, chivalry, and dignity. Over the ensuing decades, some members of the emerging bourgeoisie—of criollo, ladino, or foreign origin—adopted many of the features of aristocratic *hombría de bien* while observing frugality for the sake of capital accumulation. Proponents of *hombría de bien* contrasted these virtues with *rudeza* or brashness and heavy-handedness. Both concepts possessed deep ethnic and class-based assumptions. While proper manhood was heralded as an ideal desirable for all men, in reality, it was only attainable for social elites. Meanwhile, *rudeza* was a quality associated with rural or working-class men, usually of ladino or Indigenous descent.

Coinciding with the rise of ethnic groups hitherto excluded from political and economic power, in the 1850s, criollos placed greater emphasis on acceptable manly behavior. They adopted etiquette guides written by both national and international authors for use in schools to teach socially ascending groups the values of criollo urbanity. Such reference texts instructed Guatemalan boys on proper manhood to counteract the *rudeza* of their upwardly-mobile planter, merchant, or bureaucratic fathers.[21] In some instances, local polyglots referenced English writer Samuel Smiles, translating his instructions for good manners into Spanish.[22] But the most cited guides used in Central America originated

regionally. The standard text, *Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras*—colloquially known as the *Manual de Carreño*—was composed in 1853 by the Venezuelan educator Manuel Antonio Carreño, and it provided instruction for generations of Latin American youths.[23] A second guide was Antonio Silva's 1861 *Manual de urbanidad y finos modales*, published explicitly for Central American youths.[24] A new but less influential text by Rafael Spínola appeared in 1900, synthesizing aristocratic ethos with bourgeois values.[25]

Consistent throughout these works was an emphasis on self-improvement through discipline. While various actions were applauded or censured, all authors agreed that proper manhood was essential in preserving the social order. Among elites, the best way to enhance social harmony among different socio-economic groups was to practice moderation: appearing calm, level-headed, and not prone to excess.[26] Indeed, Silva advised elites to manage their behavior "in order not to excite the envy and malice of their inferiors."[27] Writing during the travails of the economic depression that harkened Reyna Barrios's fall from grace, Spínola's writing on indulgence was sage advice to an aspiring bourgeoisie. Reflecting the teachings of liberal political economists, he encouraged savings and personal economy. Though spending money may enhance enjoyment, Spínola insisted on self-denial: gentlemen demonstrated character with thrift, abnegating pleasure for the sake of accumulating capital to be invested for general well-being.[28] For his part, Silva vilified vanity. Of social superiors, he insisted that their actions "breathe the modesty and decency that characterize people of true merit."[29] In short, such guides encouraged men, especially the wealthy, to ward off the temptation of hedonistic excess. In so doing, they practiced the self-restraint becoming of proper manhood.

Despite criollo assumptions, they were not alone in promoting self-restraint as one of the most cherished virtues of manhood. In fact, ladinos agreed on the basic contours of self-restraint: the ability to control emotions and impulses while presenting oneself in a dignified manner. Moderation was the watchword for self-restraint. The degree to which working-class and socially mobile ladinos, members of the bourgeoisie, and criollos tolerated transgression fluctuated and was context-specific. At times, personal and familial tribulations or individual comportment compelled certain men to lash out at perceived gender infringements. But for collections of men, political developments, bodily concerns, or the well-being of the economy motivated groups to act. In the case of wealth and ostentation, boundaries of acceptability were not always vigorously enforced. During the closing decades of the nineteenth century, the social repercussions of flaunting wealth were minimal. Working-class *capitalinos* and the urban poor might engage in public mockery or criticism of wealthy individuals or families—typical weapons of the weak[30]—but the social standing of the privi-

leged was not jeopardized. For example, in 1895 hundreds of residents publicly denounced and ridiculed the criollo Jáuregui family for attempting to claim and sell commonly held property at the small plaza in Guadalupe at the capital's southeast corner.[31] Thus, while wealth and ostentation were frowned upon, outside flashes of tensions and temporary frustrations, consequences were limited. Nevertheless, changing conditions called for new measures, and the thresholds between acceptable and intolerable were not fixed. Indeed, perceptions of Reyna Barrios transformed from portraying him as a stalwart of martial masculinity to an emasculated dandy lacking in self-restraint reflecting the fortunes of the export economy.

Martial Masculinity and Confidence During the 1892 Presidential Election

José María Reyna Barrios was a military man through and through. He was the nephew of the Great Reformer Justo Rufino Barrios and, from age twelve, Reyna Barrios participated in his uncle's liberal uprisings against the conservative government of President Vicente Cerna. By the time he was seventeen, he had fought in numerous battles, achieved the rank of First Sergeant, and helped break conservative resistance in June 1871.[32] While Reyna Barrios served as a diplomat and state governor after the liberals seized power, he frequently returned to the military to suppress insurgencies in Eastern Guatemala and to participate in the ill-fated 1885 campaign to unite the Central American republics, which cost Justo Rufino Barrios his life.[33] Reyna Barrios had a troubled relationship with his uncle's successor Manuel Lisandro Barillas who was wary of the now-General's popularity. After an alleged uprising was detected in October 1889, Reyna Barrios escaped into exile for fear of reprisals from the president.

During his reign, Barillas cultivated a paternalistic relationship with his subjects, like that of President Manuel Estrada Cabrera some years later.[34] As the patriarch of the Guatemalan family, the president responded to the concerns of citizens as an impartial, if sometimes harsh, arbiter of justice. As a result, Guatemalans directly appealed to him to resolve instances of injustice and abuse. In maintaining the fiction of a patriarch, the president's "children" often pressured him to pass fair judgment on a matter, not-so-subtly reminding him of the duty of a ruler while also deferring to his authority. The last couple of years of Barillas's administration were shaped by profound social unrest. The government was heavily indebted from military expenditures and it attempted to remedy its poor finances by issuing treasury bills in lieu of metallic coins. The measure proved deeply unpopular among both capitalists and working-class citizens

because the currency rapidly devalued. In response, several women petitioned Barillas personally, insisting that the ruler be responsible for the well-being of people over whom he watches and pleading for him to issue metallic coinage.[35] The financial strife of 1891 increasingly altered this patriarchal relationship. Barillas's credibility dropped as his measures failed. To observers, Barillas appeared prostrated from his failure to resolve the financial troubles. Following a military clash with El Salvador, the British Minister Audley Gosling privately remarked that Barillas "showed signs of pusillanimity which has neither been forgiven nor forgotten" by Guatemalans.[36]

In a climate of financial hardship and Barillas' political debilitation, Reyna Barrios returned to Guatemala City from the United States in late December 1891 to campaign for the presidency. Unsurprisingly, supporters of Reyna Barrios's candidacy highlighted his illustrious military career and his martial masculinity. Historian Stephen B. Neufeld argues of the Mexican military under Porfirio Díaz that "[b]y devising and enacting their particular visions of the nation, and embodying them through practices that ranged from drill and duels to parades and battle, the Porfirian military proved integral to the formation of nationalism and its constituent (and contingent) identities of gender, class, and ethnic organization."[37] Similarly, in Guatemala, the military strove to embody certain ideals for the advancement of the nation. Conscripts and volunteers were expected to shed their selfhood and freewill, instead exhibiting martial masculinity whereby discipline, honor, service, duty, and self-sacrifice ranked among the most hallowed manly virtues. In his memoir, General Salvador Toledo—the alleged cuckold of Reyna Barrios—recalled barracks life and how he struggled to concede authority to someone other than his father. Moreover, Toledo was stripped of his individuality, transformed instead into the number assigned to him as a recruit: 118. These digits marked his bed, his equipment, his clothing, and ultimately his self-identity.[38] In his study of masculinity, George Mosse argues that service to higher ideals became integral to the militarization of European masculinity.[39] So too was the case among Guatemalan officers whereby duty to *la patria* ostensibly trumped personal ambition and was essential to martial masculinity.

To his supporters, Reyna Barrios embodied such martial values. Months before he returned from exile, political clubs and citizens' groups in different parts of the republic campaigned on behalf of the "eminent General." They described him as the "illustrated and stern military man," the "indefatigable defender of national rights," and the soldier who "risked his life to salvage the honor of the nation."[40] "An honorable, brave, and prestigious leader," wrote Liberal Party members in Chiquimula, claiming that Reyna Barrios's "sword has always been at the service of national dignity and decorum."[41] Campaigners

in Quiché argued that "[a]s a military man, he will know how to use the sword with decision, he will know how to battle with courage, fight bravely, and even die fearlessly to defend the autonomy and honor of Guatemala."[42]

Far from the condemnation of effeminacy levelled at him years later, during the 1892 electoral campaign, opponents pilloried Reyna Barrios's history of excessive brutality and macho behavior, conduct unbefitting of a measured officer. Conservatives labelled him a "*panterista*" to denote his liberal extremism and adherence to the political legacy of "the panther," Justo Rufino Barrios. They insisted that, as a fervent supporter of President Barrios, the nephew—invariably depicted as a thug—had participated in many of the regime's despotic deeds: beating women and having the residents of entire municipalities shot.[43] Most notoriously, Reyna Barrios interrogated suspects following a failed assassination attempt on Justo Rufino Barrios in 1884. In extracting confessions and names of accomplices, Reyna Barrios was accused of severely flogging several prisoners.[44] To his opponents, then, Reyna Barrios was the heir to *panterismo*. In this regard Reyna Barrios displayed typical ladino manliness: quick to succumb to passionate rage while resorting to unilateral violence in defense of his ideals. His violent outbursts and inability to contain a hot temper evidenced Reyna Barrios's lack of manly self-restraint.[45]

When Reyna Barrios returned to Guatemala with his wife Algeria Benton, his polite manners and refined character dispelled concerns about the legacy of *panterismo*. Historian Robert Buffington suggests that in Mexico, President Porfirio Díaz's young wife Carmen Romero Rubio cultivated the military officer-cum-politician's public persona, civilizing him through his dress and manners.[46] Similarly, while living in the United States, the future president underwent a makeover at the behest of Benton. In place of a crude soldier, Reyna Barrios's image was rehabilitated as a civilized and cosmopolitan military officer, and his rough edges were softened.[47] Civil matrimony was less common within working-class families; however, for the well-to-do, marriage was a prevalent gender expectation and the legal basis for hetero-normative sexual relations in liberal Guatemala City. Nevertheless, his refined comportment later exposed Reyna Barrios to criticisms of being an effeminate dandy.

Beyond his rumoured *panterismo*, adversaries did not interrogate Reyna Barrios's manliness and self-restraint during the 1891-1892 campaign. Some feared that, as a high-degree mason, the candidate was sworn to uphold secret oaths and fraternal bonds rather than serve the nation.[48] Meanwhile, insofar as his personal traits were maligned, his enemies asserted that Reyna Barrios was talentless and unintelligent.[49] They sneered at his manner of speech and his tendency to accentuate monosyllabic diphthongs in words by adding a "y" in between vowels. For example, he pronounced, "yo creo" [I believe] as "yo

creyo," or "esta idea" [this idea] as "esta ideya," effectively stressing a syllable where none existed. This linguistic habit was viewed as evidence of Reyna Barrios's incompetence, one of many things he did "that offends the language."[50] By and large, however, his manliness was not questioned.

Following his election in early 1892, President Reyna Barrios's administration set out to rectify the financial problems of his predecessor. Finance Minister Salvador Herrera consulted with monetary experts on how best to rebuild national credit.[51] Without doubt, the government was aided by skyrocketing coffee earnings. But something else was at play: whereas by the end of Barillas's term, he was viewed as prostrated, the new president brought a vitality to the role that had been absent from the previous administration. Reyna Barrios typified reassuring confidence in the presidential office, a virtue in the eyes of the country's bourgeoisie. In a world of firm handshakes and direct eye-contact—the surety of the salesman who trusts his product—confident men appeared guarantors of promised fortune.[52]

A recurring theme from Reyna Barrios's first year in power was the confidence that he exuded, encouraging investors and consumers alike to engage in commercial activities. Guatemalan capitalists were drawn to the president's possession of self-control and unwavering conviction.[53] Reports written throughout 1892 by the British Consul Audley Gosling are particularly telling. Within weeks of assuming power, the government announced it was going to contract a loan from resident capitalists to pay civil servants' salaries then in arrears. Several dozen companies, merchants, and private investors quickly subscribed to the loan, despite a low premium, and the necessary capital was raised in about a day. Gosling reported: "This spontaneous mark of confidence shown in the president is highly gratifying to him and to his government."[54] Scarcely two months in office, the British diplomat marveled, the new administration solved financial problems that for a year and a half "had been in a state of hopeless chaos." Reyna Barrios achieved this by reducing the military budget, "a step which conclusively shows him to be a man of political courage and in possession of great self-confidence."[55] Juxtaposing the economic stagnation at the end of Barillas's term, Gosling reported: "The popularity of General Reyna Barrios, not only among his own supporters but with the opposition party, has steadily increased since his accession to power: confidence in commercial circles has been restored, and trade generally is in a more flourishing state than it has been since… 1885."[56]

Following the president's later downfall, Guatemalan writers retrospectively continued to echo Gosling's praise for the first years of his rule. Felipe Pineda C., a vocal critic of Reyna Barrios, later conceded that, early in his reign, the president ruled with the consent of the population regardless of class and politi-

cal creed.[57] Antonio Batres Jáuregui said that Reyna Barrios's presidency was among the best Guatemala had experienced. He relates a story in which one night the young Enrique Valenzuela Micheo—the son of a prominent conservative family—drunkenly sang in the streets of the capital, calling for death to Reyna Barrios and his "gringa" wife. The youngster was arrested but Reyna Barrios saw to it that he was released. When Valenzuela's mother personally apologized, the president insisted that a mother is not to be blamed for the indiscretions of her son.[58] Even in the face of insult and derision, the president remained calm, gracefully practicing manly self-restraint while pardoning his political enemies.

The government was lauded for its initiatives: a state-owned pawnbroker was established in 1893—the Monte de Piedad—to provide low-interest loans to working-class families, saving them from establishments granting credit at usurious rates.[59] The Reyna Barrios administration also changed the urban physiognomy of Guatemala City during the Belle Époque. His government oversaw the construction of the viaduct of the canton La Exposición, the Parisian-inspired Boulevard 30 de Junio, and La Reforma Park. To further beautify the capital, his government contracted the construction of public statues of Bartolomé de las Casas and Christopher Columbus while renovating the main plaza to include a paseo lined with gardens and musical kiosks.

Unquestionably, government projects to renovate urban space—a source of Reyna Barrios's popularity—were made possible by record-breaking coffee harvests and unprecedented coffee prices on international markets, factors for which the administration could not claim much credit. Although the coffee boom commenced during the government of Barillas, it was not readily apparent due to government indebtedness and currency instability.[60] As these barriers to profitability receded under Reyna Barrios, the government was enriched primarily from taxes on the importation of foreign-manufactured goods by coffee planters and merchants. The general wellbeing of the state treasury from 1892 to 1896 is critical to understanding what followed. With the surety that coffee prices would remain high and that production would expand, the government financed expensive initiatives, seeking foreign and national loans to provide necessary capital. These loans covered massive expenditures like Reyna Barrios's bid to renew construction of the Northern Railway between Guatemala City and the Atlantic Coast as well as the 1897 Central American Exposition, not to mention the aforementioned public works projects.

Crucially—and noteworthy given subsequent events—in October 1893, President Reyna Barrios suspended the constitution and dissolved the National Legislative Assembly while the body was recessed. Members of the congressional Permanent Commission had attempted to organize extraordinary legislative sessions to limit executive power in response to the planned abolition

of forced labor by presidential decree.[61] To pass his labor legislation, Reyna Barrios effectively seized dictatorial power for several months, until the legislature reconvened in March 1894 as scheduled. At the reopening of the Assembly, the body's president, Arturo Ubico, addressed him, stating that as Reyna Barrios had consolidated power in the executive, he could have continued to rule by decree indefinitely. Instead, the president guaranteed the rights of all citizens, thus demonstrating his "elevated character" and his "proven *hombría de bien*."[62] In essence, Ubico praised the president's self-restraint in avoiding the temptation of dictatorial power, thus affirming Reyna Barrios's manhood. Nevertheless, during the coming years, this perception of self-restraint rapidly eroded, a consequence of Guatemala's economic misfortune.

The Coffee Collapse and the Coming Death of Reyna Barrios

As usual, the 1896 coffee harvest began in October. In the preceding months, predictions were rife that coffee markets were going to collapse from global overproduction owing to the maturation of Brazilian coffee trees planted in the late 1880s. When the price of coffee began falling, Guatemalan banks restricted the amount of credit available by increasing interest rates and the cost of bank drafts. Of course, the first months of the harvest was when coffee planters most needed credit to cover labour and transportation costs. The absence of credit and the lower prices obtained from coffee sales meant that little money circulated in local markets in December 1896.[63] By the following harvest, the economy was in the midst of a profound depression.

The crash of 1897 precipitated a general social crisis. Importation tariffs were the government's principal source of revenue: as commercial activity lagged and the revenue from imports decreased, so too did the state's liquid assets. Ultimately, the state treasury was left unable to pay civil servant salaries for several months. Police agents, court officials, postal and telegraph employees, and military officers were all left without income. Further, the cessation of business and public projects made employment precarious for day-labourers, cobblers, tailors, and others. In the midst of this uncertainty, various cliques vied for social prominence as political violence erupted. The class character of the "mobs" who engaged in street fighting was laid bare by their political adversaries who disparaged them as *descamisados*: these "shirtless ones" were working-class ladinos who took to the streets and belittled the unmanly behaviors of elites.[64] They responded this way out of frustration, fear, and precarity, acting in defense of their livelihoods and, for some government bureaucrats, to safeguard their modest class privileges. Although these men had tolerated the

opulence and self-indulgence of their social superiors during the coffee bonanza, in the throes of economic upheaval, they began to circumscribe the margins of admissible manly comportment. Herein lies the origins of the emasculation of Reyna Barrios.

Just as Reyna Barrios's administration was not responsible for the coffee boom of the early 1890s, nor was the calamity after late 1896 the president's making. Government actions may have mitigated the severity of the crisis but only by degrees. Nevertheless, opponents overwhelmingly faulted the government for the reversal of national fortunes. Those challenging the government spared no quarter to their rivals, making crude gender insinuations in print media and through popular verse. Rather than interpreting the economic downturn as a consequence of structural contradictions related to global markets, export agriculture, and overproduction, political foes explained the depression in gendered terms, questioning the president's manliness. They argued that Reyna Barrios's calm confidence and self-restraint had given way to effeminacy. Critics charged that Reyna Barrios had surrendered to hedonistic impulses and was vainly obsessed with his appearance. But opponents also accused him of sexual deviance, considering him oversexed and controlled by domineering women. They claimed that he squandered public funds to quench the desires of his demanding thespian lover, Josefina Roca.

From the earliest days of his presidency, Reyna Barrios spared little expense on the lavish and ornate. At the time, concerned foreign interests raised objections to government spending. In 1894, the British Consul complained to the Guatemalan Minister of Finance on behalf of English bondholders who held much of the Guatemalan debt. They objected that, rather than finance its debt obligations, the administration spent approximately one million dollars on the sponsorship of an Italian opera company, for Prussian military uniforms and accoutrement to dress the Artillery Corps that was unsuitable for the Guatemalan climate, and on a public paseo.[65] The two greatest expenses of his rule were the Northern Railway and the Central American Exposition. While the former could be justified as an expensive addition to national infrastructure for the benefit of the coffee industry, once the economy began to falter, many detractors viewed the latter as an unnecessary expense. Francisco Lainfiesta, Reyna Barrios's main competitor in the 1892 presidential election, was among his fiercest critics. Writing in the opposition newspaper *La República* in October 1896 as the effects of the coffee collapse were first being felt, Lainfiesta described the Expo as "calamity in perspective" owing to its high costs.[66] Months later, during their annual parade before Holy Week in April 1897, students from the capital's professional schools bravely jeered the government's inability to pay the salaries of civil servants nor complete the works of the Northern Railway.[67]

Students published a mock program for their Easter festivities, opening with a marimba band playing a song entitled "The Squandering" whose authors used the pseudonym "Executive Power."[68]

Perhaps most damning, however, was Reyna Barrios and Algeria Benton's penchant for extravagance. Top government officials habitually hosted private events about which the reading public was kept apprised. Gossip columns featured news of all-night parties lit by electric lights and full of alcohol, food, perfumes, and the latest fashions.[69] The president's widow Algeria Benton subsequently related,

> We entertained elaborately and frequently. The decorations and details of these affairs were always a pleasure to me. The beautiful tropical plants and flowers lend themselves so gracefully to decoration, and the pine needles with which the floors of the courts and corridors are strewn have the most delicate, subtle fragrance.[70]

The president aspired to impress foreign guests, catering to their fancies while presenting himself as cultivated and cosmopolitan. The British Rear Admiral H. Bury Palliser, visiting Guatemala in April 1897 from aboard the Pacific Squadron Flagship Imperieuse, commented on Reyna Barrios's "dignified bearing and love of ceremony."[71] The Admiral and his officers were taken to the Central American Exposition and fêted by the administration, who spared no expense in hosting a ball in their honor.[72] Meanwhile, Henry Bax-Ironside, briefly in charge of the British Central American Legation, wrote privately in July 1897: "General [Reyna] Barrios is an effeminate 'poseur' […] wrapped up in himself, his personal appearance, and his own fortunes." Continuing,

> In private life he is grossly immoral and no reliance can be placed on his word or statements. His pomposity is abnormal and his personal vanity and love of display are tending to drag his country to the verge of ruin, if not to actual bankruptcy itself.[73]

The charges of wastefulness and vanity spoke to Reyna Barrios's alleged inability to control his desires. In contrast to the restraint demonstrated during the 1893 congressional showdown, the president now yielded to temptation, allowing feminine impulses to prevail.

As the economic crisis escalated through 1897, a minority of allies rose to defend the assailed president's reputation. Antonio Pérez petitioned Congress in April 1897 to prorogue the legislative body, praising Reyna Barrios's character: "a learned military man, well-informed, valiant, and of polite and courteous

manners."[74] In contrast, criticism grew louder, decrying his unmanly behaviour. Some months later, amidst the Revolution of 1897, a leaflet signed by "the People of Quetzaltenango" appeared, lambasting Reyna Barrios's tyranny and excess. "The one who yesterday couldn't afford bread for your hungry mouth," it railed, "today lives in palaces, is pulled in carriages, and exports his millions. He who drowns himself in scandalous luxury, takes everything from you including the freedom of thought."[75]

An Oversexed Dandy: The Posthumous Emasculation of Reyna Barrios

Directly criticizing the president during the woeful days of 1897 and early 1898 carried great risk, especially when constitutional guarantees were suspended. It is no surprise then that the bulk of criticism was levelled after Reyna Barrios was assassinated near his residence on the evening of February 8, 1898. His assassin, the British subject Edgar Zollinger, fired a single shot from his revolver, striking the president in the mouth, with the bullet knocking out the victim's front teeth and lodging itself in his cranium.[76] Insults were often vulgar, celebrating his assassin and—reflecting where the deadly bullet struck the president—prescribing "Zollinger pills" for would-be tyrants. In the aftermath of his murder, discussion of Reyna Barrios's character intensified and took on an explicitly gendered nature. Posthumous criticism of the president emphasized his preoccupation with personal appearance and, implicitly or explicitly, his deviant sexuality. Regardless of their diverse—and contradictory—nature, these judgments were consistent in implying that Reyna Barrios was weak-willed and lacked the self-restraint necessary to control his impulses.

Many years later, Reyna Barrios's personal valet José María Monterroso alleged that during his lengthy tenure, he never once saw the president in casual clothes. When Reyna Barrios left his private quarters in the morning, he appeared with his hair trimmed, his boots shined, and with "every last button fastened" like someone attending a ceremony.[77] His infatuation with his looks was not lost upon detractors who directed much of their ire at the dead president's public presentation. In so doing, they drew upon an established practice in Latin America of expressing class-based resentment through commentary on fashion and grooming.[78] Personal appearance had long been a means through which elites displayed their prestige. But after independence and, with it, the dissolution of legal rights and privileges once afforded to elite, clothing gained heightened importance as a signifier of status. For many criollos, and ladinos aspiring to positions of social influence, being well-groomed and carefully dressed were crucial elements of their respectability.

Non-elites scoffed at the self-care rituals practiced by aristocrats. At best, such attention to appearance was immodest; at worst, it was feminine or even indicated a preference for same-sex intercourse. In Buenos Aires during the 1830s, the federalist *Mazorca* targeted liberal-minded *Unitarios* whom they cast as effeminate sodomites who busied themselves with primping and perfuming.[79] Decades later, in fin-de-siècle Mexico City, people derided elite men who offended modesty and frugality with their powdering and perfume, labeling them fops. Similarly, authors wrote derisively of dandies or fops in Guatemala during the fin-de-siècle, singling out their vanity.[80] Such was the case with the former president.

According to one leaflet, Reyna Barrios "[t]he spurious son of Guatemala," distinguished himself from his presidential predecessors "by his effeminate style of dress," his cowardice, and "his presumptuous ostentation of luxury" until he "died like a dog."[81] Others spoke of Reyna Barrios's "ruinous soirées" and "immense vanity."[82] Lainfiesta labelled him a "romantic dandy," flawed by his vanity and haughtiness.[83] University students degradingly called him the "extremely vain little General."[84] Speaking at an extraordinary meeting of Congress in October 1898, Arturo Ubico listed "the decadence of La Reforma's conquests" and the "exhausted treasury" as "the consequences of grave errors, the misfortunes over which we have been dragged, and the Republic's poor legacy inherited from the past."[85] Even his supporters conceded that Reyna Barrios was preoccupied by his looks but noted that vanity was better than despotism and cowardice.[86] A booklet published after his death defiantly defended the fallen president. Of Reyna Barrios's alleged vanity, the author retorted that, as a military man, he always wore his uniform with neatness instead of donning civilian outfits. "Imbued with the dignity of his office," it continued, "he used refined manners and excessively ceremonial and courteous language."[87]

Related to the accusation that Reyna Barrios's excessive grooming and decadence were detrimental to the treasury, his enemies insisted that he was an oversexed deviant. Of course, reproductive sex between spouses was the paragon of sexual relations in postcolonial Latin America, sanctioned by the Church, state, and general public.[88] Intrinsic to hetero-normative sex was male dominion over the household. Patricia Harms has analyzed how home life in liberal Guatemala after 1877 was legally governed by the precepts of *patria potestad* where a man's authority over his family was beyond dispute.[89] It is in this setting that prostitution was legalized, though still the topic of vociferous public debate. Other carnal practices like adultery, premarital sex, sodomy, or same-sex unions were all grounds for legal recourse.[90] Social commentators and their writings on marriage and monogamy reinforced the law. For example, a year following Reyna Barrios's death, man-of-letters Rafael Spínola denigrated

the habits of libertines who flouted chastity and abstinence. According to the author, licentiousness spawned disease, destroying men's intelligence while corrupting their most noble and dignified faculties.[91]

But legal and popular limitations on sexuality did not prevent deviance. Even though same-sex relations were banned, they were likely permissible in some circles if prudently conducted.[92] Discretion often meant living in a hetero-normative relationship, giving rise to a stereotype that queer men cohabited with domineering spinsters whom they obeyed. Like same-sex partners, debauchees—unable to harness their passions—abided by the dictates of controlling women. In so doing, they relinquished their legal responsibility to *patria potestad* to fulfill their carnal desire. The unchaste man, especially one obsessed with his appearance, abdicated his manliness and was bereft of self-restraint. In the deteriorating economic climate, tolerance of sexual aberrations—real or imagined—that departed from manly scripts diminished, and partisans publicly chided wealthy government officials or social aspirants for their unmanly tendencies.

Reyna Barrios was said to be an oversexed deviant, given his extra-marital philandering, especially his affair with Josefina Roca, an Italian actress performing with a theatre company in Guatemala City. He was accused of diverting funds from public institutions to pay for sex. Addressing the president as "Señor Tachuela"—Mr. Thumbtack—on account of his diminutive size and large head, one popular verse alleged,

> He will shutter the hospital,
> 'Cause his whorehouses,
> Need the money.[93]

The narrative ran that the president was unable to deny Roca's exigencies and cravenly appeased her lavishness at great cost to the treasury. She was accused of driving Algeria Benton mad and, alongside other public figures, of making a show of "shitting on Guatemala" without shame. One poem from December 1897, written from the perspective of Reyna Barrios, stated,

> I take bread from the mouths,
> Of more than ten thousand people,
> To support Roca.

In mid-1898, one newspaper published satirical responses to news of the president's death including one from Roca. "Only the air of Europe can mitigate my profound sorrow," she bemoaned. Roca then reminisced on the scented

letters sent by Reyna Barrios, speaking to her "of kisses, bank shares, hugs, stocks, jewels, perfumes, and in which he swore to me that I was the Diva of his heart and that, in thinking of me, he was not attending to public matters."[94] Oversexed and weak-willed, Reyna Barrios capitulated to the fancies of his lovers. Responding to the accusation of licentiousness, one defender conceded that Reyna Barrios "loved love and women." Viewing his virility as proof of his manliness, however, the author opined that "he was a full-fledged man […] a great sin of not being a hypocrite or a poof [*marico*]."[95]

Conclusion: The Cuckolding of Reyna Barrios

Toward the end of Reyna Barrios's life and posthumously, opponents alleged that he was bereft of manly self-restraint, evidenced by extravagance, sexual excess, and a nearly bankrupt public treasury. In time, rumors circulated that Reyna Barrios had been cuckolded by General Salvador Toledo, his widow's supposed paramour. Evidence of the affair is slim. Besides Algeria Benton's complaint that Toledo tormented her with relentless marriage proposals, the primary account of Toledo fathering Benton's child comes from Antonio Batres Jáuregui. The story follows that unbeknownst to Reyna Barrios, Benton was in the second trimester of pregnancy even though the couple had not been sexually intimate in over a year. Her lover, Toledo, conspired with Estrada Cabrera and Zollinger to assassinate the president to hide his affair with the First Lady.[96] The rumored cuckolding of Reyna Barrios appears the final emasculating detail of his life.[97] Upon viewing Reyna Barrios's corpse lying in state in the Ministry of Foreign Relations, fourteen year-old Federico Hernández de León marvelled at the rapidity at which the once mighty president was "reduced to complete impotence." For the aspiring journalist, the prostration of Reyna Barrios manifested at death but was the product of Guatemala's economic decline.[98]

After the mid-nineteenth century, masculine ideals among the well-to-do in Guatemala City underwent substantive change with the social ascension of working-class and rural ladinos. Notwithstanding the changing social composition of the urban elites, ladino notions of manliness converged with those of the criollo elite around the demand for manly self-restraint, including the avoidance of decadence. In general, even if ladinos had little patience for refinement, apart from mild aggravation, whispers, and mild rebukes, the repercussions for urban elites who displayed their extravagance were limited. Ladino tolerance for hedonism rapidly evaporated, however, when political and economic crises combined in 1897 and 1898. Many men responded to the collapse of coffee prices and the subsequent social uncertainty by enforcing the parameters of

gendered ideals such as self-restraint, displaying prejudice against political foes deemed vulnerable to temptation.

In the social quagmire, President Reyna Barrios—the embodiment of martial masculinity and confidence at his term's commencement in 1892—was described as an effeminate dandy. His critics insisted that he was obsessed with his appearance and cravenly catered to the demands of insistent women. Indeed, the president's lack of self-restraint possessed explanatory faculties, as opponents understood the shift in national fortunes partly as the consequence of Reyna Barrios's lavish spending. The policing of gender boundaries—attested by the emasculation of Reyna Barrios—expedited a broader shift towards notions of ladino manliness which had commenced decades earlier and would typify the rule of President Manuel Estrada Cabrera.

Notas

* The author would like to express his gratitude to Manuela Campa Tóc (Head of the Sala Fondo Antiguo at the Biblioteca Nacional) and Tomás Ceto Santiago (Head of Reader Services at the Hemeroteca Nacional) for their assistance and expertise.

1. Consuelo Algeria Reyna Bentón appears under her mother's name in the registry the day after her birth. "Guatemala Civil Registration, 1877-2008, Nacimientos 1897-1898" s.v. "Reyna Barrios, Algeria" (born June 4, 1898), *Ancestry.com*.
2. Barbaroux [Felipe Estrada Paniagua], *El 9 de febrero 1898 en Guatemala* (Guatemala: Tipografía de Arturo Siguere y Cía., 1899), pp. 80-81.
3. Hunter to Department of State, January 19, 1903, United States National Archive (USNA), Despatches from United States Ministers to Central America, 1824-1906, 219/66.
4. Antonio Batres Jáuregui, *La América Central ante la historia, 1821-1921, Tomo III* (Guatemala: Impreso Nacional, 1949), pp. 589-590.
5. See Joan Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988); Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge, 1990); Donna J. Guy, *Sex & Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family, and the Nation in Argentina* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991); Robert Buffington, *A Sentimental Education for the Working Man: The Mexico City Penny Press, 1900-1910* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2015); Ann Twinam, *Public Lives, Private Secrets: Gender, Honor, Sexuality, and Illegitimacy in Colonial Spanish America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999).
6. "Introduction," Víctor M. Macías-González and Anne Rubenstein (eds.), *Masculinity and Sexuality in Modern Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012), p. 2.
7. Anne Rubenstein, "Bodies, Cities, Cinema: Pedro Infante's Death as Political Spectacle," in Gilbert M. Joseph, Anne Rubenstein, and Eric Zolov (eds.), *Fragments of a Golden Age: The Politics of Culture in Mexico Since 1940* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001) and Víctor M. Macías-González, "The Bathhouse and Male Homosexuality in Porfirian Mexico," in Macías-González and Rubenstein (eds.), *Masculinity and Sexuality.*

8. Jo Guldi and David Armitage, *The History Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 1-2.
9. See the tendency to attribute social change to discourse in William E. French and Katherine Elaine Bliss, "Introduction: Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America Since Independence," in William E. French and Katherine Elaine Bliss (eds.), *Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America Since Independence* (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007).
10. The use of "Belle Époque" is intended to recall the shared cultural experience of middle classes and elites around the world owing, in large part, to the expansion of consumer culture and global trade, also evoking the contradictions inherent in economic systems that relied on the extraction of surplus value from labor. See Jeffrey Needell, *A Tropical Belle Époque: Elite Culture and Society in Turn-of-the Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) and Christof Dejung, David Motadel, and Jürgen Österhammel (eds.), *The Global Bourgeoisie: The Rise of the Middle Classes in the Age of Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019).
11. Ground-breaking works include Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) and George L. Mosse, *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996).
12. Steve J. Stern, *The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1995); Martha S. Santos, *Cleansing Honor With Blood: Masculinity, Violence, and Power in the Backlands of Northeast Brazil, 1845-1889* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012); and Sonya Lipsett-Rivera, *The Origins of Macho: Men and Masculinity in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2019).
13. Censor [Oliver Bell Bunce], *Don't: A Manual of Mistakes & Improprieties more of less prevalent in Conduct & Speech* (London: Ward, Lock, and Co.).
14. El Censor [Oliver Bell Bunce], *No, o sean instrucciones para abolir las impropiedades en la conducta y reglas para adquirir una educación completa en el hogar y en la Sociedad*, José C. Díaz Durán (trans.) (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1897).
15. For accounts of the coffee collapse, see Valentín Solórzano F., *Evolución económica de Guatemala, cuarta edición* (Guatemala: Editorial José de Pineda Ibarra, 1977); Regina Wagner, *The History of Coffee in Guatemala* (Bogotá: Villegas Editores, 2001); J.C. Cambranes, *Coffee and Peasants: The Origins of the Modern Plantation Economy in Guatemala, 1853-1897* (Stockholm, Sweden: Institute of Latin American Studies).
16. Todd Little-Siebold, "The Valenzuela Collection in the Biblioteca Nacional de Guatemala," *Latin American Research Review*, 29: 3 (1994), pp.143-152.
17. Michael D. Kirkpatrick, "Crybaby Candidates and *Apeleadores*: Manly Self-Restraint, Violence, and Ethnicity in Late Nineteenth-Century Guatemala City," *under review*. After the Liberal Reforms, the state recognized two ethnic groups: Indigenous and ladino. These groups were primarily understood culturally: Indigenous people were identified through language, attachment to community land, and other markers while ladinos were simply non-Indigenous. The boundaries between these categories were more complicated, especially with the spread of scientific racism. In contrast, criollo was an unofficial label describing people of European descent whose genealogies in the Americas dated back to the colonial era. Criollo families frequently used marriage with other criollos to preserve their blood "purity." See Todd Little-Siebold, "'Where Have All the Spaniards Gone?' Independent Identities: Ethnicities, Class and the Emergent

National State," *Journal of Latin American Anthropology* 6:2 (2001), pp. 106-33; Greg Grandin, *The Blood of Guatemala: A History of Race and Nation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000); and Marta Elena Casaús Arzú, *Guatemala: Linaje y racismo*, 5th ed. (Guatemala City: F&G Editores, 2018).

18. See Severo Martínez Peláez, *La Patria del Criollo: An Interpretation of Colonial Guatemala*, translated by Susan M. Neve and W. George Lovell (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009) and René Reeves, *Ladinos with Ladinos, Indians with Indians: Land, Labor, and Regional Ethnic Conflict in the Making of Guatemala* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).
19. For more on the process of ladino assimilation into criollo families, see Casaús Arzú, *Linaje y racismo*.
20. An important feature of manliness in Guatemala City in the opening decades of the nineteenth century was the fact that the capital was an overwhelmingly female city with 50% more women appearing in an early republican census than men. See Catherine Komisaruk, *Labor and Love in Guatemala: The Eve of Independence* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), p. 115.
21. For studies concerning the education of children, see Ann S. Blum, *Domestic Economies: Family, Work, and Welfare in Mexico City, 1884-1943* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010) and Lipsett-Rivera, *Origins of Macho.*
22. *El Instituto Nacional*, August 15, 1883, p. 361.
23. Manuel Antonio Carreño, *Manual de urbanidad y buenas maneras* (New York: D. Appleton y Cía, 1857). See *Gaceta de los Tribunales de la República de Guatemala*, October 15, 1884, pp. 235-236.
24. Antonio Silva, *Manual de urbanidad y finos modales, para el uso de la juventud centro-americana* (Guatemala: Imprenta de Luna, 1861).
25. Rafael Spínola, *Moral razonada y lecturas escogidas: primer curso* (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1900), p. 103.
26. Silva, *Manual de urbanidad*, pp. 135-136.
27. Ibid., p. 15.
28. Spínola, *Moral razonada*, pp. 103-113.
29. Silva, *Manual de urbanidad*, p. 79.
30. James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).
31. See "Cuestión Santuario" and "La cuestión del Santuario de Guadalupe," 1895, Fondo Antiguo, Biblioteca Nacional de Guatemala, Colección Valenzuela, Hojas Sueltas (BNGCV-HS), Paquete (Paq.) 1988.
32. See Wayne M. Clegern, *Origins of Liberal Dictatorship in Central America: Guatemala, 1865-1873* (Niwot, CO: University Press of Colorado, 1994).
33. A biographical sketch is found in María Lorena Castellanos Rodríguez, "José María de Jesús Reina Barrios, un presidente guatemalteco olvidado por la historia," PhD diss., Universidad Francisco Marroquín, 2017.
34. David Carey, *I Ask for Justice: Maya Women, Dictators, and Crime in Guatemala, 1898-1944* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2013).
35. "Señor General D. Manuel L. Barillas," 1891, BNGCV-HS, Paq. 1987.
36. Gosling to the Marquis of Salisbury, May 4, 1891, British National Archives, Foreign Office (BNA FO) 15/263.
37. Stephen B. Neufeld, *The Blood Contingent: The Military and the Making of Modern Mexico, 1876-1911* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2017), p. 4.

38. Salvador Toledo, *Recuerdos de un soldado ó el número 118* (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1897), pp. 7 and 10.
39. Mosse, *Image*, p. 44.
40. "Loor á la juventud altense," 1891, "Nuestro candidato," 1891, "Alcance de *La Verdad*," 1891, BNGCV-HS, Paq. 1987.
41. "El Partido Liberal," 1891, BNGCV-HS, Paq. 1987.
42. "El General Don José María Reina Barrios," 1891, BNGCV-HS, Paq. 1987.
43. "Luchas electorales," *El Pueblo*, June 12, 1891, p. 3.
44. "Reina Barrios esbirro," *El Pueblo*, July 24, 1891, pp. 2-3.
45. For similar accounts in Brazil and Mexico, see Santos, *Cleansing Honor* and Lipsett-Rivera, *Origins of Macho*.
46. Buffington, *A Sentimental Education*, p. 140.
47. From his Guatemalan contacts, British Minister Audley Gosling ascertained that Reyna Barrios's "long banishment in the United States and his marriage with a highly-gifted American Lady have, it is said, imbued him with more advanced and more civilised notions than is usually the case with Presidents in these countries." Gosling to the Marquis of Salisbury, January 27, 1892, BNA, FO 15/268.
48. See, for example, "Reina Barrios y las elecciones," *El Pueblo*, February 5, 1892, p. 1; "Alcance of *El Patriota*," 1891, BNGCV-HS, Paq. 1987.
49. "La candidatura Reina Barrios," *El Pueblo*, June 12, 1891, pp. 3-4.
50. "La candidatura Reina Barrios," *El Pueblo*, June 24, 1891, pp. 2-3.
51. *Memoria de Hacienda y Crédito Público de 1892* (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1893), pp. 4-5.
52. See T.J. Jackson Lears, *Something for Nothing: Luck in America* (New York: Penguin, 2003).
53. Michael Kimmel argues that confidence was the hallmark of the self-made man. See *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: The Free Press, 1996), pp. 44-45. Also see Bederman, *Manliness*.
54. Gosling to Marquis of Salisbury, April 10, 1892, BNA, FO 15/268. Gosling included an article clipped from *El Guatemalteco* which praised Reyna Barrios.
55. Ibid.
56. Gosling to the Earl of Rosebery, November 11, 1892, BNA, FO 15/269.
57. Felipe Pineda C., *Para la historia de Guatemala: Datos sobre el gobierno del Licendiado Manuel Estrada Cabrera* (Mexico: 1902), p. 3.
58. Batres Jáuregui, *La América Central*, pp. 556-559.
59. *Memoria de Hacienda y Crédito Público de 1893* (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1894), pp. 22-24. See Marie Eileen Francois, *A Culture of Everyday Credit: Housekeeping, Pawnbroking, and Governance in Mexico City, 1750-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2006).
60. See Wagner, *History of Coffee.*
61. The abolition of *mandamientos* and its impact on the gender roles of patriarchs among the Kaqchikel of Chimaltenango and the Q'eqchi' of Alta Verapaz have been examined by Edgar Esquit *La superación del indígena: la política de la modernización entre las élites indígenas de Comalapa, siglo XX* (Guatemala: Instituto de Estudios Interétnicos, 2010) and Julie Gibbings, *Our Time Is Now: Race and Modernity in Postcolonial Guatemala* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020). Undoubtedly, abolition profoundly affected the lived experience of masculinity among ladino plantation owners and managers whose social power was predicated on the legal subordination of Maya

men. Indigenous laborers were officially called *mozos*—literally *boys*—as a means of denying their manhood. How abolition impacted urban ladino conceptions of manliness and indigeneity, however, is less clear, and an interesting avenue for further investigation. See Gibbings, *Our Time Is Now*, p. 151.

62. *Contestación al mensaje que el Sr. Presidente de la República General Don José María Reina Barrios dirigió a la Asamblea Nacional Legislativa al abrir sus sesiones de 1894* (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1894), p. 3.
63. A. Macías del Real, "Resumen Quincenal," *La ilustración guatemalteca*, September 15, 1896, p. 55, December 1, 1896, p. 144, and January 1, 1897, p. 176.
64. "Las prosperistas sacan las uñas," 1897, BNGCV-HS, Paq. 1989, for example.
65. Gosling to the Earl of Kimberley, March 29, 1894, BNA, FO 15/282.
66. "La Exposición," *La República*, October 9, 1896, p. 1.
67. For more on the tradition of student protest see Heather Vrana, *This City Belongs to You: A History of Student Activism in Guatemala, 1944-1996* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2017).
68. "Programa," 1897, BNGCV-HS, Paq. 1989.
69. *La ilustración guatemalteca*, August 15, 1896, p. 28 and October 1, 1896, p. 72.
70. "To Be Plain 'Mrs.' Or the Wife of a Central American President," *San Francisco Call*, February 12, 1899, p. 22.
71. Rear Admiral H. Bury Palliser to the Secretary of the Admiralty, April 9, 1897, BNA, FO 15/314.
72. Roberts to Marquess of Salisbury, April 10, 1897, BNA, FO 15/309.
73. Bax-Ironside to Marquess of Salisbury, July 13, 1897, BNA, FO 15/310. Undoubtedly, US and British commentators frequently disparaged Latin American men as children or as effeminate. While Bax-Ironside's comment may speak to this tendency, it also represents a significant departure from early foreign accounts of Reyna Barrios. Bax-Ironside's words also parallel the contemporaneous shift in perception among Guatemalan observers. See Mary A. Renda, *Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915-1940* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001).
74. Letter to ANL, April 26, 1897, Archivo General de Centro América, Guatemala City (AGCA), Signatura C1 (Congreso), Legajo 363, Expediente 9367.
75. "Pueblos de la República," 1897, BNGCV-HS, Paq. 1989.
76. Beaupre to Department of State, February 11, 1898, USNA, Despatches from United States Consuls in Guatemala, 1824-1906, 337/11.
77. Federico Hernández de León, *De las gentes que conoci, Vol. I* (Guatemala: Tipografía Nacional, 1957), pp. 83-84.
78. See Regina A. Root, *Couture and Consensus: Fashion and Politics in Postcolonial Argentina* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010) and Buffington, *A Sentimental Education.*
79. Root, *Couture and Consensus.*
80. For example, see "Salón Municipal 'La Calzada' en Quezaltenango," *La Ilustración Guatemalteca*, December 1, 1896, p. 132.
81. "José María Reyna Barrios," 1898, BNGCV-HS, Paq. 1990.
82. "9 de febrero de 1898" and *El 9 de febrero*, 1898, BNGCV-HS, Paq. 1990.
83. Francisco Lainfiesta, *Mis memorias* (Guatemala: Academia de Geografía e Historia de Guatemala, 1980), p. 389.
84. "Decreto número 8," 1898, BNGCV-HS, Paq. 1990.

85. "Actas de la Asamblea Nacional Legislativa Sesiones Extraordinarias," October 2, 1898, AGCA, Sig. C1, Leg. 367, Exp. 9404.
86. "El General J.M. Reyna Barrios," *Reyna Barrios*, February 8, 1902, p.1.
87. *Reyna Barrios*, 1898, BNGCV-HS, Paq. 1990.
88. Lipsett-Rivera calls reproductive sex the "gold standard" in colonial Mexico. See *Origins of Macho*, p. 46.
89. Patricia Harms, *Ladina Social Activism in Guatemala City, 1871-1954* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2020), pp. 25-26.
90. See Komisaruk, p. 136 and Sueann Caulfield, *In Defense of Honor: Sexual Morality, Modernity, and Nation in Early-Twentieth-Century Brazil* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000).
91. Spínola, *Moral razonada*, pp. 125-128.
92. As with Mexico City, this was likely the case in Guatemala City. See Macías-Gonzalez, "The Bathhouse."
93. Estrada Paniagua wrote the poems and verses out on *hojas sueltas* found in BNGCV-HS, Paq. 1990.
94. "Reyna Barrios y Zollinger," *La Situación*, July 23, 1898, p. 2.
95. *Reyna Barrios*, 1898, BNGCV-HS, Paq. 1990.
96. Batres Jáuregui, *La América Central*, pp. 589-590.
97. For more on cuckolding in Guatemala, see David Carey, "Lost Labor and Love: Adultery in Early Twentieth-Century Guatemala," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 95: 2 (2015), pp. 229-267.
98. Hernández de León, *De las gentes*, pp. 85-86.