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Politics, Identity, and Statehood at the New Mexico Territorial Fair, 1881–1912

Bryan Turo

For a full week each year from 1881 until 1911, the New Mexico Territorial Fair attracted people from all over New Mexico and the United States. Hosted in Albuquerque in early autumn, the fair presented interested patrons with exposition, entertainment, and education, all in the name of advancement for the city and the territory. Competing ideas of what progress meant for Albuquerque and New Mexico, however, entangled the fairs in the machines of politics and promotion. The early political reverberations of the annual event involved issues of territorial development, especially the question of which town would become New Mexico's commercial hub. The direction of economic growth in New Mexico was a regular source of contestation throughout the fair's tenure. This debate melded at times with national issues such as Populism in the 1890s or federal land allocation in the first decade of the twentieth century. But the most significant dialogue that emerged out of the territorial fair concerned the politics of identity for New

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Mexico and New Mexicans and its effect on the effort to secure statehood and self-administration.

The New Mexico Territorial Fair grew steadily from its inaugural exposition in 1881 until 1910, when Albuquerque hosted the Thirtieth Annual Festival and First State Fair.¹ The directors of the territorial fairs organized these events to showcase the best of what Albuquerque and New Mexico had to offer to two important audiences: people from the territory and those from outside it, especially from the financial centers of the East and Midwest. To promote attendance, the fair association—the New Mexico Exposition and Driving Park Association—implemented direct incentives, such as subsidized rail passes, and lured outsiders with promises of abounding opportunity in a modern, progressive, and Edenic New Mexico. The Driving Park Association wanted to present an image of Americanness to the territory through a campaign of cultural assimilation. A core rationale of the fair was to create a positive public image for New Mexico that could help planners and promoters achieve their goals of economic growth and statehood. In pursuing these aspirations, the fair provided a public stage on which to showcase fresh interpretations of New Mexico's past, present, and future as well as its racial, cultural, and national orientation. Historians who focus on race and identity during New Mexico's territorial period have yet to seriously analyze this annual event.² The territorial fair provided an opportune forum for businesses and boosters



ILL. 1. FRUIT EXHIBIT BOOTH, DECORATED WITH EVERGREEN BRANCHES AND AMERICAN FLAGS AND DISPLAYING PLATTERS AND CEILING-HIGH STACKS OF VARIOUS FRUITS, 1890–1893
(*Photograph courtesy Cobb Memorial Photography Collection, 1880–1942, Pict. 000-119-0736, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico*)

to display a modern, Americanized vision of New Mexico while challenging outsiders' notions of the territory's geographic isolation or non-white racial composition.

The history of the territorial fairs intersects directly with the narrative of New Mexico's fight for statehood from 1850 to 1912. Historians writing about the struggle for statehood during the 1960s, including Howard Lamar and Robert Larson, focused on the political relationship between the federal government and the territory of New Mexico.³ While this perspective is significant in explaining both the failure of New Mexico to achieve statehood for more than sixty years and occasionally the politics of the fair itself, more contemporary works have stressed the importance of looking at the social and cultural angles and attitudes that delayed admission. Charles Montgomery's *The Spanish Redemption: Heritage, Power, and Loss on New Mexico's Upper Rio Grande* (2002) and John Nieto-Phillips's *The Language of Blood: The Making of Spanish-American Identity in New Mexico* (2004) provide complementary explanations for how the categories of "Mexican" and "Hispanic" developed in New Mexico and how local and national attitudes toward the non-white population led some New Mexicans to work at carefully shaping the territory's image.⁴ These authors identify territorial boosters and promotional agencies as key actors in New Mexico's statehood saga. Some of these same individuals, like L. Bradford Prince and Miguel A. Otero, used the fair to achieve political and promotional goals. The Southwest's earliest and longest-lasting annual exposition performed significant work in forging new identities and a regional culture in New Mexico, beginning with the first territorial fair in October 1881.

Fair Beginnings

The promotion of New Mexico through the Albuquerque fair reflected international trends of modernization and exposition. Previous world's fairs had demonstrated the utility of festivals and exhibitions to business leaders and investors in Europe and the United States.⁵ Americans gained an appreciation for the power of international celebration and exposition to promote U.S. economic and political interests in 1851, when London held the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, which featured the impressive Crystal Palace. In 1876 the United States held its first major world's fair, celebrating the nation's centennial in Philadelphia. Over the next forty years, many of these enormous events lured tens of millions of people from around the globe to witness the marvels of modernity, encourage investment, and show off national pride and cultural stock.⁶

This period was the heyday of the fair. From national events like those in Paris and Chicago to state and county fairs, the art of exposition provided a powerful tool for local-, regional-, and national-identity formation and cultural dissemination. By the end of New Mexico's annual territorial fairs in 1910, the country was so enamored with these carnivals that the million-dollar corporation United States Agricultural and Industrial Exposition Company chartered the "United States National Fair, Exposition for the Advancement of American Progress."⁷ A promotional bulletin in 1910 for the national fair highlights the importance that some people attached to fairs:

Gradually and steadily this fair sentiment has grown until it has now reached the stage of the present perfectly conducted and intelligently managed state fairs. Statistics show that there is a permanent investment of nearly \$50,000,000 in the development of this enterprise, with an annual attendance of something like 10,000,000 with nearly \$5,000,000 disbursed in premiums. The tremendous influence institutions of this character must have exercised in the upbuilding of the American commonwealth, educationally, commercially, and socially is almost beyond conjecture. No other influence in American life can be credited with an equal showing in promoting progress in husbandry, the arts and the crafts.⁸

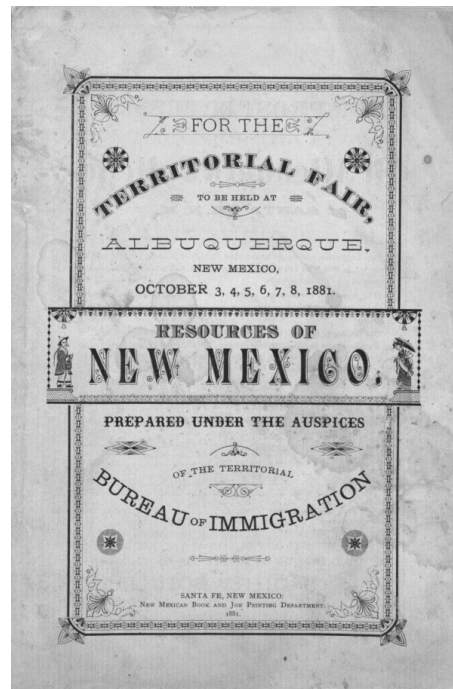
The leadership that arranged the New Mexico Territorial Fairs learned from, contributed to, and fit within these nationally held attitudes.

Territorial leaders first considered holding a New Mexico fair in the early 1850s. By 1854 the territorial legislature had discussed the idea of a large festival to take place annually in Albuquerque, but the plan was not realized until 1881.⁹ The Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad's (AT&SF's) arrival in Albuquerque in 1880 presented the major impetus for the fair's emergence the following year.¹⁰ The introduction of rail service into central New Mexico brought wide-ranging changes to the territory and especially to the towns that were next to the new lines, like Las Vegas and Albuquerque. The Duke City (named for the Duke of Albuquerque) developed through the particular influence of the railroad, which transformed the small town into New Mexico's central hub for transportation as well as economic, political, and cultural activity.¹¹ The rise in the town's population indicates the city's development during the lifetime of the territorial fair, growing from 2,135 in 1880 to 6,059 in 1890 and more than 13,000 by 1910.¹² Albuquerque's position on the new rail lines made it the logical place for the fair. Spur lines connected the burgeoning town with Santa Fe to the north and with the Southern Pacific

Railroad—a major conduit of travel—to the south. To entice people from all over the territory to visit and exhibit their goods at the fair, the rail companies offered discounted rates and special deals. In later years, companies extended these discounts throughout much of the Southwest.¹³

Beginning with the first fair, designers patterned their creation on larger, international events. At the local level, business and civic leaders in Albuquerque and Bernalillo County gathered to launch a corporation intent on imposing their grand vision on the still small southwestern town. Presided over by Comm. Elias Stover, the Driving Park Association hosted what it called the New Mexico Agricultural, Mineral, and Industrial Exposition. The initial board of directors included twenty members representing elite Nuevomexicanos and Anglo-Americans from “old” and “new” Albuquerque.¹⁴

ILL. 2. NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL FAIR PROGRAM COVER, 1881
(*Photograph courtesy New Mexico Bureau of Immigration, The Resources of New Mexico: Prepared under the Auspices of the Territorial Bureau of Immigration, for the Territorial Fair, to Be Held at Albuquerque, N.M., October 3d to 8th, 1881 [Santa Fe: New Mexican Book and Job Printing Department, 1881], Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico*)



When the AT&SF decided to bypass the capital and establish a hub just a few miles east of what is now known as Albuquerque’s Old Town, the area around the tracks became a mostly Anglo, “new” portion of the town. Leaders of both the old and new parts of Albuquerque hoped the exposition could showcase the town and turn it into a commercial center for the territory. The businessmen who supported the fair expected to use the event to advertise and advance their interests in city development, mining, agriculture, ranching, and politics. Many of them acted as partners in other improvement or investment companies and wanted to see the town prosper.

The Driving Park Association selected a plot of land just west of Old Town along Railroad Avenue (now Central Avenue) to house the territorial fair. This location, dubbed Traction Park because of the centrality of the race track, remained the site of the annual festival until shortly after the achievement of statehood.¹⁵ Although the fairgrounds abutted old Albuquerque, incoming guests arrived at the rail depot in New Town. To stimulate travel between the two locations, the Albuquerque Street Railroad Company constructed the town's first light rail, which consisted of a team of burros pulling a trolley car back and forth between the AT&SF tracks and Old Town. The company's incorporation records show that four of the five developers of the street railway sat on the board of the first fair, illustrating that Albuquerque's growth and the territorial fair were connected.¹⁶ Similarly, by 1902 the Alvarado Hotel, a Duke City institution until the 1970s, held banquets, balls, and congresses in connection with the fair.¹⁷ Holding these social occasions at the luxurious Alvarado helped present Albuquerque to tourists as a modern and potentially upscale city.

Support for a grand exposition developed outside Albuquerque as well. New Mexicans from other portions of the territory found ways to utilize the fair for their own political or economic agendas.¹⁸ The New Mexico Bureau of Immigration (NMBI), an agency based in Santa Fe, produced its first educational pamphlet in conjunction with the first territorial fair program. The leaders of the NMBI hoped to increase general knowledge about the territory and to encourage immigration and investment among fairgoers visiting from other parts of the country. The publication integrated the fair's program with a history lesson and a chronology of the dates and events important to New Mexico.¹⁹ In the two historical sections, the authors placed most of their emphasis on the U.S. military conquest or subsequent U.S. settlement and development. Discussion of the indigenous people of the area, most explicitly the "pre-historic race" of Pueblo Indians, remained brief, romantic, and evocative of the narrative of the "vanishing" Indian.²⁰ A similar narrative explained the transition from the Spanish and Mexican periods to U.S. conquest and settlement.

The information contained in the NMBI publication reflected an Anglo-American attempt to realign New Mexico's history and thus its contemporary identity. First, the authors minimized the histories of the region's prior inhabitants: Indians, Spaniards, and Mexicans. They included pieces of those stories as a straw-man backdrop to the progress and civilization brought by the United States. The authors emphasized the Spanish period over the Mexican period to highlight the Europeanness of the large population of Hispanic people, but they also laced this account with the brutality of the

“Black Legend.” Next, by making the Anglo-American presence and history in the region the most prevalent aspect of New Mexico’s past, the authors sought to write the territory into the national narrative, thereby transforming the Southwest into a place historically relevant to the United States.²¹

Prince, president of the NMBI, understood that future New Mexico expositions provided a forum to present the territory’s recent growth and potential. Although he was not directly connected to the fair commission, he was a prolific booster of New Mexico and its modernization, which he deemed necessary to effect economic growth and political sovereignty. Through his public speeches, Prince took an active role in shifting the public mindset about his adopted home. As chief justice of the territorial court, an officer in the Historical Society of New Mexico, and president of the NMBI, Prince worked to alter perceptions that the territory was barren, that it was the “Wild West,” and that it was run by corrupt men. His organization’s publications also attempted to boost the racial stock of the territory by narrating a grand history that traced the Indian people of the region back to ancient civilizations such as the Anasazi and Aztecs and the Hispanic people back to the Spain of the conquistadors.²²

Fairgoers may not have been aware of the booster booklet, but they viewed didactic exhibitions on New Mexico’s resources, opportunities, and exotic history. A speech at the fair’s inauguration by Gov. Lionel Sheldon helped welcome the crowd to Albuquerque and create excitement for the fair.²³ Because there were no permanent buildings, exhibit tents housed the cabinets full of precious minerals, quality produce, trade goods of wood and leather, and modern innovations and technologies new to the territory. Alongside these booths were displays showcasing New Mexico’s indigenous heritage through the exhibition of “Indian Curiosities,” which included ceremonial objects, pottery, basketry, and other trade goods and artifacts.²⁴ An exhibit of “ancient relics” reflected the territory’s long and exotic history, while the Women’s Auxiliary organized a “Fine Arts” department to show off the modern culture of New Mexico.²⁵ Unfortunately, unseasonable rain and generally poor weather in the fair’s first week of operation compromised its overall attendance and financial success.

Despite the fair commission’s efforts to produce a modern and civilized event, many of the daily activities played to the territory’s frontier character. An Italian Jesuit priest who attended the fair gave it a great review but did not mention any of its attractions, perhaps because most activities involved gambling.²⁶ In addition to games of roulette, monte, and faro around the celebrated “longest bar” in the territory, the fair offered horse races, baseball, and Indian footraces.²⁷ As much as investors and promoters wanted to showcase

a new, modern face of the city and the territory to visitors, fair activities also presented them with the reality that New Mexico was far from ready to host a Crystal Palace.

Maintaining law and order during the exposition created a problem for the board of directors. To deter criminal behavior, the organizers placed a jailhouse at the entrance to the fairgrounds, where visiting patrons could not miss it. Albuquerque authorities also ran a newspaper advertisement warning, “Those who commit holdups and burglars will be hanged before breakfast the next morning. Those creating a disturbance are liable to be shot on sight.”²⁸ Such threats hardly constructed a civilized image for New Mexico. Nevertheless, the first territorial fair must have been successful *enough*, because despite its poor start, the Driving Park Association called the fair back into action in September 1882.

The New Mexico Agricultural, Mineral, and Industrial Exposition of 1881 had a mixed legacy. While the commissioners had hoped that the fair would be seen as a sign of the territory’s coming of age, it left much to be desired. The event generally supported their interests, but it occasionally worked against them, as the gambling and jailhouse suggest. Despite this, the general theme of the fair—the modernization of New Mexico—continued in the years to come, as did the attractions of sports and entertainment.²⁹ Fair commissioners designed future expositions for a variety of purposes, including economic development, political grandstanding, and local and territorial boosterism. More importantly, statehood for New Mexico, a popular goal for many New Mexicans, became a hot topic of the territorial fair on multiple occasions. As the fair evolved, so too did the manner in which New Mexicans used it to alter outsiders’ perceptions of the territory for the greater statehood cause.

Politics and Identity Come to the Fair, 1882–1900

Continuity characterized the development of the territorial fair during the last two decades of the nineteenth century, as seen in the uniform nature of the fair’s programs from year to year.³⁰ A growing population in the territory, however, led organizers to reach for a larger audience. They promoted the fair to more people in New Mexico and the Southwest by adding new attractions, exhibits, and contests.³¹ As a result, boosters, merchants, and politicians—often with competing interests in mind—paid increasing attention to the fair. The exposition, which claimed to represent the entire territory, came under consideration by other towns competing for regional status. The politics of the Albuquerque fair reflected the competing local and national interests of a growing New Mexico.

The fair's early years witnessed little significant alteration to its program or composition. The construction of some permanent buildings on the fairgrounds for housing exhibits and booths helped ensure improved conditions for the didactic display of New Mexican prosperity. The big attractions that helped draw crowds remained baseball games, horse races, Indian dances and performances, and agricultural and mineral exhibitions with the attendant blue ribbons and prizes. By the mid-1880s, the annual festival picked up steam through the inclusion of a few new entertaining competitions that remained with the fair off and on until 1910. First, based on outside models, the Albuquerque fair began hosting fire-team competitions, with crews traveling from southwestern locales such as Prescott, Arizona, and El Paso, Texas. Cowboy tournaments, the precursors to modern rodeos, came to the fair in 1882 and became the leading attractions by 1885.³² These competitions drew people to the fair by creating a contest out of the routine ranch labor known to many throughout the region.³³ The games brought in competitors from the territories and states, helping the exposition bridge ideas of culture,



ILL. 3. TIGHTROPE WALKER PERFORMING ABOVE CROWD IN AND BESIDE THE GRANDSTAND AT THE NEW MEXICO TERRITORIAL FAIR, 1890–1893 (Photograph courtesy Cobb Memorial Photography Collection, 1880–1942, Pict. 000-119-0729, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico)

identity, and entertainment across the Southwest. Bob Ford (the man who murdered Jesse James) even appeared at the fifth fair as a celebrity.³⁴ Other additions that enticed guests included the first balloon ascension in the territory at the second fair and daredevil feats that stunned crowds throughout the period. Owing in part to the increase in entertainment, turnout for the annual exposition possibly reached as high as thirty-five hundred by 1885, a number indicative of the fair's growing popularity.³⁵

Territory-wide promotion of the New Mexico exposition also accounted for the fair's growth and success in the 1880s and 1890s. As early as 1882, calls went out to counties urging participation in the fair for New Mexico's sake, so that "people who come purposefully to see the productions of the territory may be able to form from some of the exhibits some idea of the possibilities of the territory."³⁶ Spanish-language newspapers contributed to the clamor. For instance, *La Voz del Pueblo*, published in Las Vegas, New Mexico, advertised "La Feria de Albuquerque" throughout the 1890s.³⁷ The Spanish-language press acted as a significant means for broadcasting news and upcoming events to the large Nuevomexicano community, which was still the dominant population in the territory and made up a substantial portion of fairgoers.

Another source of encouragement to territorial unity came from rallying speeches delivered at the fair. Prince, speaking at the third annual fair, presented a commencement speech titled "New Mexico, Its Wonderful Resources and Products, Past and Present." Prince's address reflected one of the central tenets of rallying speeches made at the early fairs: inspiring territorial unity and cooperation through the exhibition of products and resources in Albuquerque, and thus tying the city's prospects to those of the whole territory.³⁸ The heightened interest and activity in the territorial fair by towns and counties all over New Mexico indicated that the organizers of the Albuquerque fair were successful.³⁹ By 1888 the New Mexico Fair's fame had followed the railroads westward to southern California and eastward at least as far as Kansas City, Missouri.⁴⁰

As Albuquerque's fair became successful, residents of other parts of the territory—namely Santa Fe and Las Vegas, but later also Socorro, Las Cruces, and other growing sections—attempted to beat the Duke City at its own game. Albuquerque's chief rival for economic and political leadership in the territory, Las Vegas, incorporated a fair company of its own in August 1881 but was unable to sustain momentum.⁴¹ Leaders from Doña Ana and Grant counties teamed up to create the Southern New Mexico Fair Association to show off their agricultural and mineral resources. Their endeavor unexpectedly benefited Albuquerque and its fair when the "fruit fair" held in Las Cruces

traveled north for the territorial exposition.⁴² The formation of competing fairs in New Mexico indicated that the continuation of the annual event in Albuquerque was not a given, and that not all residents of the territory cared to see the Albuquerque fair succeed.

The railroad companies, especially the AT&SF, valued the entertainment in New Mexico's hub city, and they played an important role in the spread of the exposition's influence through a new wave of southwestern railroad tourism.⁴³ The increased flow of outsiders traveling in and through New Mexico intensified the national gaze upon the territory. The railroads and the NMBI attempted to manage New Mexico's public relations by publishing booster pamphlets. Journalists informed fairgoers by broadcasting planned activities and daily news. The local Albuquerque papers, as was the custom of the time, ran listings of important people in attendance. During the fair in 1886, the *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Democrat* announced that Thomas B. Catron, one of the most powerful men in the territory and one of the leaders of the Santa Fe Ring, had "furnished the biggest pumpkin."⁴⁴ But the relationship of the press with the fair was not entirely superficial. At the same fair of 1886, journalists from around New Mexico established the Territorial Press Association, an organization that demonstrated the growing role of newspapers in connecting the people of the territory.⁴⁵

The fair commission also tried to make sure the festivities depicted the territory in a pleasing light, particularly to audiences from the East and Midwest. For territorial politicians, the exposition offered a place to be seen



ILL. 4. SANTA FE RAILWAY EXHIBIT AT THE TERRITORIAL FAIR, 1908
(Photograph courtesy International Industrial Exhibition Photograph Album, Pict. 991-030-0086, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico)

and heard and also a forum to push their political agendas. The territorial governors made speeches at the opening of each fair throughout its thirty-year duration. The fairgrounds presented a choice opportunity for the governors to address the public and to disseminate their ideas to other parts of the West and Southwest. When Gov. Edmund G. Ross gave a speech to inaugurate the seventh annual fair, for example, he focused on New Mexico's agricultural potential and the need to reverse the misperception that the territory was primarily a desert. Early in his speech he explained to his audience the importance of participation in the fair: "It is through the influence of expositions like this, of the product of the farm and garden, as well as of the mine and the forest, that the wonderful capacities of our territory are demonstrated and made known to the world."⁴⁶ Ross stressed the need to pay more attention to irrigation in New Mexico, declaring that a modern system would reclaim countless acres for the farmer's usage. Not only would this reclamation serve farmers throughout the territory, but the modern infrastructure it represented would also help achieve statehood by presenting advancement to eastern audiences. Ross closed his speech with gusto, declaring that "the granger is coming, and he is coming to stay and furthermore, he is coming to make of New Mexico, with her illimitable range of splendid resources, and her unparalleled climate, the richest, and greatest, and grandest state on earth. Ladies and gentlemen, I have the honor to announce the formal opening of the exposition."⁴⁷ Other than governors, the appearances and English and Spanish orations of leaders such as Prince in 1883 and 1891, territorial delegate Antonio Joseph in 1885, and Harvey B. Fergusson in 1893 — on topics ranging from New Mexico's present and future to the silver question and of course statehood — helped charge the fair with political energy.⁴⁸

In the 1890s, the territorial fair developed into a forum for public politicking, reflecting a strong political push for statehood from 1888 to 1896. During the fair in 1891, Prince delivered an address titled "The Present and Future of New Mexico: A Land of Prosperity and Happiness," which he designed to persuade fairgoers that New Mexico was modern and fit for statehood.⁴⁹ Prince congratulated the fairgoers and New Mexico, stating that "the magnificent exhibition of the products of our Territory now spread before us, the great concourse of people here assembled from all sections of New Mexico, tell of the success of our business interests and of the prosperity and happiness of the people."⁵⁰ Prince's main themes for the speech were the abundant resources across all the regions and counties of New Mexico and how each industry had advanced in just a few years' time. If his speech exaggerated at times the "rapid and substantial progress" of every branch of New Mexican industry, it was because Prince believed strongly in the fair's power of promotion. He

extended his marketing reach by publishing the speech in an NMBI pamphlet of the same title. By doing so, Prince informed the audience at the fair and thousands of others who received the NMBI pamphlet of New Mexico's undeserved and unequal status and its unique potential to overcome. Despite the charges leveled against New Mexico by those back East, Prince's message remained one of promise. From the pulpit of the fair, Prince foretold that

in every way, the tendency is upward and onward. The future is not only assured, but in the full fruition of its prosperity is near at hand. Already we are enjoying the first fruits of the new era of progress. We are producing far more, and buying much less, this year than last. With a little increase, we will soon bring the balance of trade to our own side. No more propitious time for new citizens to take part in our manifest destiny can be imagined. The night of waiting is far spent, the day is at hand. And we welcome all worthy men and women to join us in the pleasures and the prosperity of that day.⁵¹

Of course, that day did not come for another twenty years.



ILL.5. TERRITORIAL FAIR PARADE ON GOLD AVENUE BETWEEN 3RD AND 4TH STREETS, LOOKING WEST, 1890

(*Photograph courtesy William A. Keleher Pictorial Collection, 1840–1970, Pict. 000-742-0610, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico*)

Two years later, at the fair in 1893, the politics of Populism came out amid a national economic depression and public debate over the “free coinage of silver.” Leading Democrats in the territory, spurred by Albuquerque businessman Fergusson, hoped to bring new groups of voters into their fold by casting themselves on the side of silver. The free coinage proposition would have had great consequences for the silver-producing regions of New Mexico had it ever passed.⁵² Fergusson led a committee of silver promoters in holding a Southwest Silver Convention in tandem with the Albuquerque fair. In a letter published by territorial newspapers, Fergusson, as the chairman of the executive committee, summoned the rhetoric of American democracy to make clear the necessity of a full turnout at the convention:

If silver should be defeated in this congress, then the fight will only be begun—and it is our duty and privilege to assemble and make the power and determination of the southwest felt. . . . [A]s the Bill of Rights declares, “all political power is vested in and belongs to the people” and if we are worthy citizens of a country whose whole structure is built upon that sentence as the foundation alone, then the people must be vigilant and active, and no self-sacrifice should be so great as to deter them. Moreover, these gatherings are educational. We must meet and exchange ideas and study and learn, in order to know the impregnable nature of our position to the end that, in the probable coming “battle of the standards” we may fight “freely,” as men fight for the right.⁵³

Fergusson’s comments show one way in which the territorial fair acted as a valuable site for developing political causes along local and national axes.

Political orations and convention gatherings held at the fair were not the only methods by which promoters attempted to shape New Mexico’s public image. One innovation involved bringing a little piece of New Mexico to major expositions in places outside the Southwest where millions of Americans could view a representative display from the territory. The New Mexico World’s Fair Board, which formed in 1893 under the leadership of Nuevo-mexicano elite Miguel A. Otero, sent an exhibit that same year to the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago. But the traveling exhibits did not carry the message of a modern New Mexico and Southwest to the United States and the world.⁵⁴ Most of the exported exhibits focused on Native American curios and artifacts to play up the territory’s long history, exotic cultures, and opportunities for American business or tourism.⁵⁵

Just four years later, in 1897, Otero, as the newly appointed governor, led the processional opening at the seventeenth territorial fair.⁵⁶ After organizing

the New Mexican exhibit at the Columbian Exposition, Governor Otero (1897–1906) knew how to craft an image to promote New Mexico’s interests. He would also go on to become one of the most ardent promoters of statehood during his years as governor.⁵⁷ In his inaugural address at the opening ceremony for the fair, he spoke of the calamity that had befallen New Mexico regarding its continued territorial status. He also described many features that made the territory great, including its natural abundance, splendid climate, and ample opportunity for capitalist investment and business growth. He admitted that “unfortunately these facts are little known to the people of the States; and heretofore money has sought investment, and emigrants homes elsewhere. — It is only necessary however, that our superior advantages be fully made known to the world, to turn capital, and the tide of emigration in this direction; and nothing aids more in diffusing such information than exhibitions such as we see here today.”⁵⁸ Otero’s participation in the fair reflects an ideological bridge between the marketing of a New Mexican image to a national audience and the use of the fair for similar efforts at home.



ILL. 6. METROPOLITAN HOTEL DECORATED FOR THE TERRITORIAL FAIR, 1908
(*Photograph courtesy International Industrial Exhibition Photograph Album, Pict. 991-030-0029, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico*)

Through the close of the century, the territorial fair remained a memorable and important annual event for Albuquerque, New Mexico, and the Southwest as a whole. Planners still valued its central purposes of exhibition and entertainment, and they utilized a modernizing thread to tie the festival to their economic interests and to help show New Mexico’s Americanness.

Reflecting a broad range of cultures, the scheduled events in 1899 included a “Street Fair” showing the fair’s evolution and its development as a venue of eclectic exhibits, a balloon ascension, a “chinamen” footrace, bicycle races, lawn tennis, vaudeville shows, Indian races, a pyrotechnic exhibition, a sixty-five-foot-high dive, a “Little Egypt” exhibit, a dog and pony show, and a “Negro” minstrel show. The coup de grâce was a re-creation of the Battle of Manila.⁵⁹

The debates regarding the Spanish-American War and especially New Mexico’s participation in the military effort reached the guests during the fairs in 1898 and 1899. While addressing the audience on “Rough Rider’s Day,” Governor Otero praised New Mexico and New Mexicans for their exceptional service during the recent war with Spain.⁶⁰ Political leaders such as Otero sincerely hoped that the patriotic fervor employed at these installments of the fair would help prove New Mexico’s proper allegiance and fulfillment of duty to the rest of the country.⁶¹ Theodore Roosevelt, future president and acclaimed leader of the Rough Riders, did in fact praise New Mexicans for their valor and zeal in the war. He remained, however, unwilling or unable to convince the national Republican leadership to endorse statehood for Arizona and New Mexico. Negative views of the demographic composition of New Mexico, its apparent backwardness, and its isolation continued to mire progress toward political equality. But the fair would lead the charge toward changing minds in the United States during the next decade.

The last fair of the nineteenth century signified a transitional moment for the nineteen-year-old institution. When multiple members of the fair commission’s executive committee resigned, they opened the way for a new, more aggressive leadership.⁶² If the fairs at the close of the nineteenth century presented a narrative of progress and American civilization, organizers of fairs in the twentieth century advocated those features even more explicitly with an eye toward achieving New Mexico statehood. The extended struggle for statehood during the first twelve years of the century in New Mexico and Arizona was the biggest issue facing the southwestern territories in the early twentieth century.⁶³ Influential New Mexicans believed that they were under the U.S. imperial microscope, which led to an escalation in territorial boosterism both at home and abroad. The territorial fairs took center stage in this political campaigning, at moments even leading the charge for statehood. The fair’s evolution from its infancy in the early 1880s to a mature institution by 1899 indicates the power that territorial elites were able to harness to shape a new narrative of Albuquerque’s ascendancy and New Mexico’s past, present, and future. In the next decade, the fair would become even bigger and bolder in its exhibition of the territory’s new Progressive image and demand for statehood.

Statehood at the Fair, 1900–1910

By its twentieth anniversary in 1900, New Mexico's annual fair had gained recognition and respect throughout the region. According to the *Denver (Colo.) News*, "the great industrial exposition and festival of the Southwest" was an event not to be missed.⁶⁴ Similarly, the *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Daily Citizen* stepped up its advertising campaign, running a large announcement in August before the fair. Attracting guests with "Mirth, Music, and Midways," the newly elected management of the fair commission in 1900 represented a shift from the older generation of Albuquerque civic and business leaders who had organized the fair in the nineteenth century.⁶⁵ Beginning early in the century, coordinators sought to utilize the fair's prestige and popularity to boost one major current in New Mexico territorial politics: the struggle for statehood. From the beginning of the new century until 1912, few organizations spurred as much promotional activity as the territorial fair. The way in which business leaders, exposition organizers, and New Mexico politicians worked together to promote the territory's economic and political interests makes the fair an important place of local image production and national response.

Assuming office in 1900, the new president of the fair commission, William T. McCreight, was one of the forward-thinking and resourceful officers who engineered the fair's evolution. Originally from Missouri, he came to New Mexico in the early 1880s, finding work as printer and editor and later as business manager and owner of the *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Daily Citizen*.⁶⁶ Soon after his arrival, McCreight made an impact on the territory and on its annual fair. He established the first baseball team in New Mexico, naming it the Albuquerque Browns after his hometown team in St. Louis. Baseball games attracted visitors and showed off New Mexico's American tendencies through athletic competition. The games were popular throughout the fair's thirty-year duration. In addition, McCreight's paper, the *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Daily Citizen*, aggressively promoted "Albuquerque's grand free street fair and carnival."⁶⁷ A successful networker, he convinced papers as far away as Prescott, Arizona, to run his personal booster advertisement of the fair.⁶⁸ McCreight's fusion of press and exposition interests, though not entirely new, reflected a significant trend for the fair in the early twentieth century. New Mexicans, such as McCreight, attempted to educate the country about their modern ways by constructing and displaying a new image of the territory at their largest annual promotional event: the territorial fair.

A statehood convention held in conjunction with the fair in 1901 represented the most explicit blending of entertainment, exhibition, and statehood

politics. Governor Otero vigorously and vocally promoted New Mexico statehood. He called the convention so that “the people” could be present and dispel the opposition’s harsh critiques of New Mexico.⁶⁹ In the inaugural speech of the fair on 15 October, Otero advised those in attendance that “this occasion is one of unusual significance and importance to you and the whole Territory, as upon your action today will largely depend the action of Congress in regard to that question of supreme importance to our future, our admission as a State of the Union.”⁷⁰ Demonstrating the historic injustice done to New Mexico by the federal government, Otero’s talk detailed some of the specific instances of oversight by Congress. He explained that since New Mexico’s creation as a territory, fifteen other states had gained admission to the Union, despite all having smaller populations. Otero lamented the territory’s many failures to achieve the statehood he felt it deserved in years such as 1850, 1874, and 1890.⁷¹ He designed the history lesson to establish New Mexico’s long territorial relationship with the United States, but he also cited the contemporary reasons why the nation owed statehood to New Mexico’s people, like loyalty and service during the Spanish-American War. With a hopeful turn from the past to the future, Governor Otero expressed to the audience his belief that “the time is now ripe for the fruition of our hopes; that Congress knows the merit of our claims and will not [*sic*] longer deny the privilege we have sought so long, and that the action of this assemblage of representative citizens of the Territory will prove a potent help toward that end.”⁷²

Following the Albuquerque fair, Otero took his argument on the road, visiting an Arizona Statehood Convention in Phoenix to continue to lobby for the southwestern territories. The two conventions evolved with the hope that collaboration between the territories would add strength to their cause and present a united front to Congress. To display this unity, the governor of each territory attended and delivered a speech at the other’s convention. Gov. Nathaniel Murphy of Arizona stepped up to promote the benefits that statehood would bring to the Southwest at the Albuquerque convention. Similarly, when Otero spoke to the audience in Phoenix he declared their common struggle and shared status as well as the detrimental effect of the eastern press on the region’s image. Once again, Otero’s remedy was to highlight Arizona’s and New Mexico’s selfless roles in American wars. He concluded his address by commending the southwestern territories for providing “more than one-half of the grandest regiment organized during the war, ‘Roosevelt’s Rough Riders.’”⁷³

Although New Mexico and Arizona both failed to achieve statehood in 1901, the statehood conventions held early in the twentieth century realized moderate success. One positive outcome was that they presented a solid

rationale for the territory's aspirations for self-rule.⁷⁴ The collaboration between New Mexico and Arizona also allowed the two territories to strengthen their position with regard to congressional action. Taking the territories' demands seriously, the Senate Subcommittee on Territories scheduled a fact-finding mission to the Southwest to investigate the conditions there and to determine whether the territories warranted admission. But when the committee led by Progressive Republican senator Albert Beveridge of Indiana came through New Mexico in November 1902, the negative report on the "Land of Sunshine" served the opposition's scheme to block statehood.⁷⁵

The opposition, spearheaded by Beveridge, disapproved of statehood on the grounds that these territories were unqualified for self-rule.⁷⁶ Beveridge's accusations against New Mexico focused specifically on the racial makeup of the majority of the population, whom he referred to as "Mexican."⁷⁷ Beveridge explained that

when the masses of the people or even a majority of them shall in the usages and employment of their daily life have become identical in language and customs with . . . the American people; when the immigration of English-speaking people who have been citizens of other States does its modifying work with the "Mexican" element—when all these things have come to pass, the committee hopes and believes that this mass of people, unlike us in race, language, and social customs, will finally come to form a creditable portion of American citizenship.⁷⁸

After this upsetting "whirlwind tour," during which Beveridge publicly condemned the Southwest, the territorial marketing campaign needed some positive publicity.⁷⁹ Some New Mexicans started producing booster publications and obtained the help of eastern press magnate William Randolph Hearst to drum up support and "correct" the national misperceptions.

Leading the drive to counter Senator Beveridge's damning appraisal of New Mexico was the NMBI, which published annual reports titled *The Land of Sunshine: A Handbook of the Resources, Products, Industries and Climate of New Mexico*.⁸⁰ Other promotional periodicals also endorsed New Mexico and the Southwest. They included *The Albuquerque Booster: A Magazine of the Great Southwest*, first available in June 1908, and a giant bound booklet distributed as the *Official Southwestern Souvenir* for the Sixteenth National Irrigation Congress, which met in Albuquerque alongside the territorial fair in 1908. Both of these publications printed articles featuring the exposition and the innovations displayed there.⁸¹ Although this New Mexico booster

literature generally went only to those attending the irrigation congress or paying dues for the *Albuquerque Booster*, Hearst's many newspapers reached a national audience. The highly publicized southwestern tour that he organized for the fall of 1903 offered New Mexico and the fair an excellent opportunity to persuade the nation of the need for and right to territorial progress.⁸²

When Hearst decided to tour the Southwest, he traveled with at least two programs in mind. One involved leading a group of congressmen and their families on a fact-finding mission similar to Beveridge's to ascertain whether the territories of Arizona, New Mexico, and Oklahoma as well as the Indian Territory were indeed ready for statehood.⁸³ His other agenda was to increase his own public acclaim. In 1903 Hearst was campaigning against Alden B. Parker for the Democratic presidential nomination of 1904, and he was looking to the territories for votes at the party convention.⁸⁴ For the journey, Hearst reserved five Pullman cars to leave from Chicago with the large congressional body, though some of the members met up in St. Louis before heading out west. One of the first stops just so happened to be Albuquerque, and Hearst scheduled it just in time for the twenty-third annual territorial fair. The *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Journal* ran an extensive campaign to drum up local support, advertising the event as "Twenty-Three Times Bigger Than Any Fair Ever Held Before In The Great Southwest."⁸⁵ Supportive newspaper articles also appeared in cities such as New York, Chicago, and San Francisco lauding the progress of New Mexico and pointing to the fun had at the territorial fair. A journalist who was happy to travel with Hearst sent an article to the *Charlotte (N.C.) Daily Observer* titled "Wonders of the Occident. Tour of the Great Southwest."⁸⁶

The unidentified author heralded the fair at Albuquerque as a wonderful time, claiming (improbably) that twenty-thousand people lined the streets.⁸⁷ While the journalist endorsed the Duke City, he shared his views about the racial composition of New Mexico. He described Albuquerque as having a "cultured people" and an "exclusive Spanish Aristocracy." More revealing was his observation that it was "very interesting" to see in New Mexican towns "the old and the new, the Mexican and the American, in immediate contact and contrast. One civilization is aesthetic, the other practical; one loves ease, the other money."⁸⁸ This binary, as offered by a reporter for a southern paper, was similar to the message of the fair's promoters. From the fair's first appearance, New Mexico's exotic historic legacy and its modernizing thrust were not contradictory but complementary, melding regional and national traits into the new face of the territory.

When the publicity tour—framed as a litmus test for southwestern statehood—finished, those attending brought back a positive report to Congress.

Press coverage of New Mexico and the fair was substantial and generally favorable. Shortly after the visit, an Albuquerque journalist with high hopes claimed that members of the Hearst party “all agree that we have people enough, and of the right sort, to fully entitle us to admission as a state while they regard the avenues of growth, development, and progress that open to us as a territory, and more importantly as a state, as practically unlimited.”⁸⁹ If the eastern press had stuck around, though, they might have witnessed another side of the territory when a group of Navajo men who were scheduled to participate in a mock battle loaded their firearms with live ammunition. This type of incident threatened the message and legitimacy of the fair’s narrative.⁹⁰

This staged gunfight between cowboys, Indians, and a U.S. cavalry detachment fit well within the intended plot and grand narrative of the fair. D. K. B. Sellers, an Albuquerque real estate investor and fair president, organized the event. Sellers descended from a long line of presidents who sought to benefit financially from successfully presenting aspects of New Mexico’s frontier history at the annual exposition.⁹¹ Basing the battle on popular performances like Buffalo Bill’s Wild West show, Sellers wanted to re-create a “typical” scene of the American frontier, bringing the narrative of Anglo-American progress and civilization unequivocally to the Albuquerque spotlight. The Navajos who volunteered to participate, however, desired to see the story conclude on a different note. A leader among them convinced the others to rig the battle by firing live ammunition. Although authorities dodged the crisis (the show went on with the Navajos carrying no weapons at all), the incident highlights the not-so-peaceful or -pleasant cultural interactions that continued to play out in New Mexico, even at its glorious fair.⁹²

When exporting a carefully constructed New Mexican image, cultural producers staged the territory’s Native inhabitants in a positive light. In 1904 the directors of the New Mexico Exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis based their production on the territorial fair’s story of how Anglo intrusion into the Southwest helped lead the region’s indigenous peoples from savagery to civilization.⁹³ By design, the living exhibits displaying Native American people and culture allayed national worries over Indian barbarity by showcasing the subdued and domesticated Native peoples.⁹⁴ The New Mexico Exhibit at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition was no different. Housed in an enormous building shaped to resemble a mountainside with a cliff house built into it, the exhibit featured different stages of the territory’s indigenous cultures, from “ancient Anasazi cliff-dwellers” to modern Navajo and Pueblo Indians who practiced their “authentic” crafts for public spectacle and wonderment.⁹⁵ The message to be gleaned by the fairgoer was that recent

Anglo activity in the Southwest had helped civilize “savages” and transform them into productive government wards.

With a national audience in mind, directors of the territorial fair attempted to reorient New Mexican identity by placing European ancestry and racial whiteness at the top of a racial hierarchy. In 1902 the attendance of his imperial majesty Montezuma I and a contest to become the fair queen resulted in Albuquerque sheriff Thomas Hubbell escorting Mabel Hunt in a historic procession.⁹⁶ The parade ended at the Alvarado Hotel, where the “Montezuma Ball” commenced. Similarly, in 1907 Albuquerque held a “Commemorative Convention” celebrating Coronado’s “First Exploration” during the fair. The local branch of the Elks Lodge made up the ranks of the party, overtly Anglicizing the famous expedition and ultimately New Mexico’s history. The directors commented that they wanted to hold a pageant “in which Coronado’s band, floats representing the progress of the Southwest, our usual trades display, etc., will all be shown” along with troops, cowboys, and Indians.⁹⁷ By orchestrating this didactic portrayal, the fair’s board of directors merged politics, history, and cultural appropriation in order to meet the goals of statehood and national assimilation.



ILL. 7. EXHIBIT OF THE AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE OF NEW MEXICO FOR THE TERRITORIAL FAIR, 1908 (Photograph courtesy International Industrial Exhibition Photograph Album, Pict. 991-030-0059, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico)

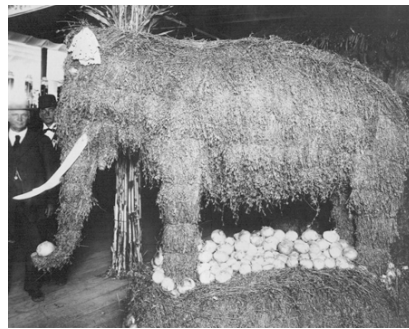
Given the national attention focused on New Mexico in the first decade of the twentieth century, it is surprising that New Mexicans did not officially achieve statehood until January 1912. Territorial fairs played a role in promoting the interests of New Mexicans to a regional and even national audience. Significant events like Albuquerque’s statehood convention in 1901 and Hearst’s southwestern tour brought acclaim—or at least awareness—to the territory, enriching its image for a skeptical American populace. Other notable events

that transpired at the annual New Mexico Exposition, such as the joint holding of the fair and the Sixteenth National Irrigation Congress in 1908 and a visit by Pres. William H. Taft to the festival in 1909, rounded out its importance as a meeting place and medium for understanding New Mexico and its bid for statehood. But with that goal just around the corner, the Albuquerque Driving Park Association's territorial fair had reached its end.

Despite the best efforts of the territorial fair's organizers, statehood was slow to arrive. When Congress passed an omnibus bill authorizing the territories of Arizona and New Mexico to submit state constitutions to the legislature for review in 1910, each county in New Mexico immediately elected officers to represent bipartisan interests throughout the territory in a constitutional convention.⁹⁸ While the convention deliberated on the nature and wording of the future state's constitution, the fair commission (with Prince still involved) drew up plans of its own. Their product for 1910 was the Thirtieth Annual Festival and First State Fair, which demonstrated the same innovation and optimism that had characterized the fair for thirty years.⁹⁹ Along with the usual set of events, including "a \$25,000 exhibit of amusements and resources," the planners also designed a "Grand Statehood Celebration."¹⁰⁰ This celebration, as they would come to find out, was fifteen months premature.

The thirtieth fair's early statehood festival is a fitting depiction of the fair's nature throughout its three decades of existence. From the fair's very beginning in 1881, the fair board placed great value in its ability to stand at the vanguard of local and territorial advancement. The reality, however, did not always match the best intentions of promoters such as Prince and Otero. The fair could bring to the surface the real social problems that existed in New Mexico at the time, as Sellers learned just in the nick of time. But the fairs could also help lead the way toward industrial and agricultural advancement for the residents of New Mexico and teach outsiders about the territory's modern face. Because the art of the exposition had grown so popular by the turn of the century, Albuquerque businessmen and territorial promoters found common ground in the use of the fair. They understood how to harness these

ILL. 8. ALFALFA ELEPHANT AT THE TERRITORIAL FAIR, 1908
(*Photograph courtesy International Industrial Exhibition Photograph Album, Pict. 991-030-0055, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico*)



events for personal and regional gain while also exposing Americans to an image of New Mexico that they could better appreciate. This picture included a U.S.-centered set of educational exhibits and a southwestern-influenced array of amusements.

In the few years after New Mexico's admission in 1912 as the forty-seventh state, the "grand street fair" that brought together the territory and the region dissolved, not to reappear again in Albuquerque (and never again at Traction Park) until the New Mexico State Fair began in the 1930s.¹⁰¹ As the Albuquerque fair waned in the years after 1912, the Santa Fe Fiesta boomed in popularity and attendance. The annual fiesta presented a slightly different display of New Mexico and the local culture. The achievement of statehood had deprived the territorial fair of one of its most significant purposes, especially since the turn of the century. But even though the fair had run its course, New Mexico leaders continued to utilize fairs and expositions to shape the state's national image. The growing popularity of the Santa Fe Fiesta and the creation of New Mexico state exhibits at world's fairs, including the Pan-American Exposition in San Diego in 1914, indicate a continued interest in the promotional power of exposition by boosters and businessmen alike.¹⁰² Although the territorial fair would be no more, its packaging of education and entertainment represented what advancement meant to many New Mexicans. These goals would not soon be forgotten as New Mexico and the United States entered new periods in their histories.

Notes

1. The First State Fair was held in 1910, fifteen months before Pres. William H. Taft signed the proclamation making New Mexico a state on 6 January 1912.
2. Scholarship discussing identity politics in New Mexico has continued to attract attention and yield innovative approaches to understanding the region's particular signs of racial categorization, as best expressed by the myth of tricultural unity between Native American, Hispanic, and Anglo New Mexicans. Some examples include Chris Wilson, *The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997); Erlinda Gonzalez-Berry and David R. Maciel, eds., *The Contested Homeland: A Chicano History of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000); Laura E. Gómez, *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2007); Charles Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption: Heritage, Power, and Loss on New Mexico's Upper Rio Grande* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); and John M. Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood: The Making of Spanish-American Identity in New Mexico, 1880s–1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004).

For histories of the New Mexico Territorial Fair, see Wade McIntyre, *State Fair! The Biggest Show in New Mexico* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: State Publications Program,

- 1996); John O. Baxter, "Sport on the Rio Grande: Cowboy Tournaments at New Mexico's Territorial Fair, 1885–1905," *New Mexico Historical Review* 78 (summer 2003): 246–63; and Marc Simmons, *Albuquerque: A Narrative History* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 319–25.
3. Howard R. Lamar, *The Far Southwest, 1846–1912: A Territorial History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), 486–89; and Robert W. Larson, *New Mexico's Quest for Statehood, 1846–1912* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968).
 4. Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption*; and Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood*. New Mexico is not the only place where promoters attempted to alter regional history and contemporary identity. Similar processes occurred throughout the Southwest, but California offers the closest comparison to the type of regional identity construction that developed in New Mexico. For interpretations of identity formation and regional boosterism, see Ramón Gutiérrez, "Charles Fletcher Lummis and the Orientalization of New Mexico," in *Nuevomexicano Cultural Legacy: Forms, Agencies, and Discourse*, ed. Francisco A. Lomeli, Victor A. Sorell, and Genaro M. Padilla (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2002), 11–27; Ramón Gutiérrez, "Aztlán, Montezuma, and New Mexico: The Political Uses of American Indian Mythology," in *Aztlán: Essays on the Chicano Homeland*, ed. Rudolfo A. Anaya and Francisco A. Lomeli (Albuquerque: Academia/El Norte Publications, 1989), 172–90; and William Deverall, "Privileging the Mission over the Mexican: The Rise of Regional Identity in Southern California," in *Many Wests: Place, Culture, and Regional Identity*, ed. David M. Wrobel and Michael C. Steiner (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 235–58.
 5. The critical examination of fairs and expositions is still relatively underdeveloped. Much of the work on fairs focuses on major world's fairs from the angle of ethnology or anthropology, paying special attention to how these events helped shape modern conceptions of cultural or racial difference. Some significant works of historical scholarship offer thoughtful staging points, notably Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876–1916* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984); and Matthew F. Bokovoy, *The San Diego World's Fairs and Southwestern Memory, 1880–1940* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005). These two histories depict the expositions as places in which nationalism, colonialism, and racism all worked as part of the built environment to fulfill the agendas of western European and American empires. Anthropologists also find the sites of fairs and expositions to be meaningful places for the understanding of cultural patterns. See Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007).
 6. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 8.
 7. "United States National Fair, Exposition for the Advancement of American Progress. To be known as The United States Agricultural and Industrial Exposition Co.," folder 12, box 14027, subser. 4.3, ser. 4, Governor L. Bradford Prince Papers, 1889–1893, Collection No. 1959–088, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe [hereafter NMSRCA].
 8. *Ibid.*
 9. McIntyre, *State Fair!*, 1–2.

10. Simmons, *Albuquerque*, 319; Baxter, "Sport on the Rio Grande," 246; and McIntyre, *State Fair!*, 2.
11. Simmons, *Albuquerque*, 319. Personal accounts of Albuquerque's growth after the arrival of the railroad can be found in Kenneth C. Balcomb, *A Boy's Albuquerque, 1898–1912* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1980); and Roy A. Stamm, *For Me, the Sun: The Autobiography of Roy A. Stamm, an Early Albuquerque Business Leader*, ed. James S. Carson and Ann L. Carson (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Albuquerque Museum, 1999).
12. Simmons, *Albuquerque*, 284, 327, 344.
13. "First Territorial Fair," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Journal*, 9 September 1906, p. 6.
14. The New Mexico Agricultural, Mineral, and Industrial Exposition and Driving Park Association, 4 April 1881, bk. 1, July 1876–January 1882, Records of Incorporation, Records of the Secretary of the Territory, 1851–1911, ser. 1, Territorial Archives of New Mexico, 1846–1912, Collection No. 1959–293, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe [hereafter RST, TANM, NMSRCA]. See also New Mexico Bureau of Immigration, *The Resources of New Mexico: Prepared under the Auspices of the Territorial Bureau of Immigration, for the Territorial Fair, to Be Held at Albuquerque, N.M., October 3d to 8th, 1881* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Book and Job Printing Department, 1881), 57; and Simmons, *Albuquerque*, 319. The directors were Ambrosio Armijo, Santiago Baca, William K. P. Wilson, Thomas D. Pash, Elwood Madden, William M. Patton, Nicholas T. Armijo, Thomas Hughes, Franz Huning, Jeff Gravis, Francisco Peña, Mariano S. Otero, Albert Grumsfeld, Jesus M. Perea, William C. Hazeldine, Harry Whiting, Leonard Skimer, Jose L. Perea, Austerio Baca, and Santiago L. Hubbell.
15. McIntyre, *State Fair!*, 23.
16. Albuquerque Street Railroad Company, 14 May 1881, bk. 1, July 1876–January 1882, Records of Incorporation, RST, TANM, NMSRCA. These four developers were Franz Huning, Elias Stover, William C. Hazeldine, and William K. D. Wilson. Melchoir Werner was the only railway developer who did not sit on the fair board. Hazeldine and Stover also acted together in the incorporation of the Manzanita Consolidated Mining Company in September 1879; Stover, Huning, and Hazeldine incorporated the Albuquerque Academy in October 1879; Huning, Stover, Hazeldine, and Werner incorporated the Albuquerque Bridge Company and the Rio Grande Irrigating and Improvement Company in November 1879; and Huning, Wilson, and Hazeldine started the Albuquerque Gas Company in December 1880.
17. H. B. Hening and E. Dana Johnson, comps., *Albuquerque, New Mexico: Chief City of a New Empire in the Great Southwest*, published with the endorsement of the City Government of Albuquerque and the Albuquerque Commercial Club; and with approval of the New Mexico Bureau of Immigration (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Press of the Albuquerque Morning Journal, 1908), item 17, folder 1, box 1, Albuquerque and New Mexico Pamphlet Collection, 1880–1961, MSS 112 BC, Center for Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque [hereafter CSWR, UNM].
18. Advertisement, "New Mexico Press Busily Boosting the Big Fair," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Journal*, 26 July 1906, p. 8.

19. See New Mexico Bureau of Immigration, *Resources of New Mexico*, 5–12B, 13–45.
20. For more on the vanishing Indian, see Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1982); and Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places*, CultureAmerica series (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004).
21. New Mexico Bureau of Immigration, *Resources of New Mexico*, 5–12B, 13–45.
22. New Mexico Bureau of Immigration, “New Mexico. Its Present Condition and Prospects.—An Interview with Chief Justice L. Bradford Prince, as Published in the *New York Tribune*, July 12, 1881,” in *Resources of New Mexico*, 49–52.
23. McIntyre, *State Fair!*, 4.
24. “The Fair. A Splendid Showing of the Products of the Territory at Albuquerque,” *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Daily Gazette*, 9 October 1881, p. 8.
25. *Ibid.*; and “First Territorial Fair,” *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Journal*, 9 September 1906, p. 6.
26. “1881 Fair, as a Jesuit Priest Saw It,” *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, September 1881, folder 3, New Mexico State Fair, Vertical Files, CSWR, UNM.
27. Simmons, *Albuquerque*, 321.
28. McIntyre, *State Fair!*, 4.
29. *Ibid.*, 20.
30. This statement is based on the programs of three territorial fairs as well as many informal lists of the attractions that visitors to the fair remembered seeing. The three programs are found in New Mexico Bureau of Immigration, *Resources of New Mexico*, 57–64; E. H. Dunbar, Real Estate Dealer, *Official Program of the Fifteenth Annual Exhibition of the Territorial Fair Association of New Mexico at Albuquerque, September 17–21, 1895* (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: The Citizen Book and Job Print, 1895); and Ralph Kendal Noble, ed., *The Albuquerque Booster: A Magazine of the Great Southwest* (The Booster Press), 15 October 1908.
31. McIntyre, *State Fair!*, 7.
32. Baxter, “Sport on the Rio Grande,” 246–63.
33. *Ibid.*, 247.
34. Howard Bryan, “Off the Beaten Path,” 23 September 1971, clipping, folder 4, New Mexico State Fair, Vertical Files, CSWR, UNML.
35. McIntyre, *State Fair!*, 7.
36. *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Daily Gazette*, 8 August 1882, p. 2.
37. *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) La Voz del Pueblo*, 28 September 1893, frame 612, r. 1, microfilm, New Mexico Newspaper Collection, NMSRCA.
38. L. Bradford Prince, “New Mexico, Its Wonderful Resources and Products, Past and Present,” address delivered at the territorial exposition in Albuquerque, 1 October 1883, folder 251, ser. 1, serial 8421, Benjamin M. Read Collection, 1704–1926, Collection No. 1959–179, NMSRCA.
39. *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Evening Democrat*, 8 March 1886, p. 2; and “New Mexico Press Busily Boosting the Big Fair,” *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Journal*, 26 July 1906, p. 8.
40. “Albuquerque, New Mexico,” *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, 9 September 1888, p. 2.
41. The San Miguel Stock, Agriculture, and Fair Association, 26 August 1881, bk. 1, July 1876–January 1882, Records of Incorporation, RST, TANM, NMSRCA.

42. "Territorial Tidings. Points of Interest Gathered from Various Reliable Sources Canonizing the Territory of New Mexico," *Las Cruces (N.Mex.) Mesilla Valley Democrat*, 8 August 1887, p. 1.
43. Robert A. Trennert, "Fairs, Expositions, and the Changing Image of Southwestern Indians, 1876–1904," *New Mexico Historical Review* 62 (April 1987): 127–50, 128.
44. "The Great Fair. Successful Opening of the Territorial Fair of New Mexico," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Democrat*, 29 September 1886, p. 4.
45. *Ibid.*
46. "Territorial Fair. Opening of the Seventh Annual Exposition under the Most Favorable Auspices," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Democrat*, 21 September 1887, p. 3.
47. *Ibid.*
48. See L. Bradford Prince, "The Present and Future of New Mexico: A Land of Prosperity and Happiness, An Address Delivered at the Territorial Exposition, at Albuquerque, September 15, 1891" (Rand, McNally, 1891), folder 2, box 1, New Mexico Guide Book Collection, AC 332, Fray Angelico Chavez History Library, New Mexico History Museum, Santa Fe [hereafter FACHL, NMHM]; "Southwest Silver Convention," *Las Cruces (N.Mex.) Democrat*, 13 September 1893, p. 3; and McIntyre, *State Fair!*, 7.
49. Prince, "The Present and Future of New Mexico," p. 1, folder 2, box 1, New Mexico Guide Book Collection, FACHL, NMHM.
50. *Ibid.*
51. *Ibid.*, 11–12.
52. For Populism and the politics of Harvey B. Fergusson in New Mexico, see Robert W. Larson, *New Mexico Populism: A Study of Radical Protest in a Western Territory* (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1974).
53. "Southwest Silver Convention," *Las Cruces (N.Mex.) Democrat*, 13 September 1893, p. 3.
54. "New Mexico; World's Fair Board," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Democrat*, 29 January 1893, p. 2.
55. Trennert, "Fairs, Expositions, and the Changing Image of Southwestern Indians," 133.
56. "Auspicious Opening—The Territorial Fair Formally Opened by the Governor in an Eloquent Address.—A Magnificent Procession—Excorts [sic] the Governor and His Staff from New Albuquerque to the Fair Grounds," clipping, scrapbook 21–2, box 6, Miguel Antonio Otero Papers, 1819–1938, MSS 21 BC, CSWR, UNM.
57. For Miguel A. Otero's role in the struggle for New Mexico statehood, see Cynthia Secor Welsh, "A 'Star Will Be Added': Miguel Antonio Otero and the Struggle for Statehood," *New Mexico Historical Review* 67 (January 1992): 33–51.
58. "Auspicious Opening," scrapbook 21–2, box 6, Miguel Antonio Otero Papers, 1819–1938, MSS 21 BC, CSWR, UNM.
59. McIntyre, *State Fair!*, 14–15; and "New Mexico Fair," *Las Cruces (N.Mex.) Rio Grande Republican*, 8 September 1899, p. 1. The idea of a mock naval battle taking place in the high Chihuahua desert seems an amazing spectacle indeed.
60. Gov. Miguel A. Otero, speech at the New Mexico Territorial Fair of 1899, folder 9, box 4, Miguel Antonio Otero Papers, 1819–1938, MSS 21 BC, CSWR, UNM.
61. *Ibid.*
62. "New Mexico Territorial Fair! The Beginning of the New Arrangements for the Nineteenth Annual Fair," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Daily Citizen*, 9 September 1899, p. 1.

63. Larson, *New Mexico's Quest for Statehood*; Lamar, *The Far Southwest*, 486–88; and David V. Holtby, “Two Photographs and Their Stories of New Mexico’s Statehood,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 87 (winter 2012): 1–32.
64. McIntyre, *State Fair!*, 16.
65. “Albuquerque’s Great Street Fair and Carnival. Under the Auspices of the New Mexico Territorial Fair Association,” *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Daily Citizen*, 14 August 1900, p. 3.
66. “Albuquerque Pioneer Goes to Kentucky. William T. McCreight Will Return to Old Home after More than Twenty Years as a Prominent Figure,” *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Journal*, 30 June 1907, p. 7.
67. “Albuquerque’s Great Street Fair and Carnival,” *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Daily Citizen*, 14 August 1900, p. 3.
68. It is likely that Prescott and Albuquerque had developed a strong relationship based on their common territorial status and struggle with the federal government, at least from 1888 onward.
69. Miguel A. Otero, “I Speak on Statehood,” in *My Nine Years as Governor of the Territory of New Mexico, 1897–1906*, ed. Marion Dargan (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940), 389–91. See also “Call for Statehood Convention. Proclamation of Governor Otero Calling a Convention to Be Held at Albuquerque to Consider Statehood,” *Las Cruces (N.Mex.) Rio Grande Republican*, 27 September 1901, p. 3; and *Springer (N.Mex.) Sentinel*, 27 September 1901, p. 2.
70. Gov. Miguel A. Otero, inaugural speech at New Mexico Territorial Fair of 1901, folder 7, box 4, Miguel Antonio Otero Papers, 1819–1938, MSS 21 BC, CSWR, UNM.
71. *Ibid.* For a description of the close calls for New Mexico statehood, see Larson, *New Mexico's Struggle for Statehood*.
72. Otero, inaugural speech at New Mexico Territorial Fair of 1901, folder 7, box 4, Miguel Antonio Otero Papers, 1819–1938, MSS 21 BC, CSWR, UNM.
73. Otero, “My Speech at Statehood Convention,” in *My Nine Years*, 391–93.
74. The issue of whether the New Mexican population as a whole desired statehood is relevant. In 1890 a vote for a new state constitution failed largely because of its overtly partisan wording. Nevertheless, the unsuccessful drive to put together a viable state government in 1890 had lasting effects on New Mexico’s ability to press for national admittance well into the twentieth century. See Larson, *New Mexico's Quest for Statehood*, 158–61.
75. John Braeman, *Albert J. Beveridge: American Nationalist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), 184.
76. The reasons for Beveridge’s unwillingness to grant statehood to New Mexico and Arizona are complex and at times contradictory. Strands of Progressivism, nationalism, imperialism, xenophobia, and overt racism worked together to shape his opinions and arguments against statehood for the Southwest. Braeman, *Albert J. Beveridge*, 82–83; and Holtby, “Two Photographs,” 9.
77. Jesse de la Cruz, “Rejection Because of Race: Albert J. Beveridge and Nuevo México’s Struggle for Statehood, 1902–1903,” *Aztlan* 7, no. 1 (1976): 79–97.
78. Albert Beveridge, speaking on New Mexico statehood, 1902, 57th Cong., 2d sess., *Congressional Record* 36, pt. 1: 188–90.
79. “Admitting New States,” *The Nation*, 12 February 1903, 124–25.

80. See New Mexico Bureau of Immigration, *The Land of Sunshine: A Handbook of the Resources, Products, Industries and Climate of New Mexico*, ed. and comp. Max Frost and Paul A. F. Walter (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, 1906).
81. See Ralph Kendal Noble, ed., *The Albuquerque Booster: A Magazine of the Great Southwest* (The Booster Press), 15 October 1908; and Sixteenth National Irrigation Congress, *Official Southwestern Souvenir*, ed. Ralph Emerson Twitchell (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, 1908).
82. "Hearst's Party to Visit the Territories Is Now Being Arranged at Washington," *Tucson (Ariz.) Citizen*, 24 March 1903, p. 1; and "Hearst Takes Them All Along. Is the Trip to Boom the Territories of a Presidential Nomination," *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, 12 October 1903, p. 1.
83. "Hearst and His Party," *Columbus (Ga.) Enquirer-Sun*, 13 October 1903, p. 7.
84. "Joy for the Republicans. How the Democratic Opposition Looks upon the Hearst Boom," *Kansas City (Mo.) Star*, 19 October 1903, p. 1.
85. "The Twenty-Third Annual New Mexico Territorial Fair," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Journal*, 10 October 1903, p. 7.
86. "Wonders of the Occident. Tour of the Great Southwest," *Charlotte (N.C.) Daily Observer*, 8 November 1903, p. 9.
87. Ibid.
88. Ibid.
89. "Keeping Us before the People," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Journal*, 18 October 1903, p. 12.
90. McIntyre, *State Fair!*, 18; and Howard Bryan, "Off the Beaten Path," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Journal*, 28 September 1953, clipping, folder 2, New Mexico State Fair, Vertical Files, CSWR, UNM.
91. University Heights Improvement Company, *University Heights Albuquerque, New Mexico* (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Sellers Printing, 1906), item 13, box 1, Albuquerque and New Mexico Pamphlet Collection, 1880–1961, MSS 112 BC, CSWR, UNM.
92. McIntyre, *State Fair!*, 18; and Simmons, *Albuquerque*, 322.
93. In his article on the changing images of southwestern Indians at American world's fairs, Robert Trennert argues that the indigenous people of the Southwest had gained national attention and approbation by 1904. Trennert, "Fairs, Expositions, and the Changing Image of Southwestern Indians," 144–49.
94. Ibid., 143.
95. Ibid., 150.
96. "Reina Del Carnaval Y Feria," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) La Bandera Americana*, 2 October 1903, p. 3.
97. Secretary Roy A. Stamm to L. Bradford Prince, 6 July 1907, folder 7 (New Mexico Fair and Exposition), box 14027, Historical Celebrations, subser. 4.3, ser. 4, Governor L. Bradford Prince Papers, 1889–1893, Collection No. 1959–088, NMSRCA.
98. Larson, *New Mexico's Quest for Statehood*, 272.
99. *The Thirtieth Annual New Mexico Fair and Resources Exposition, Albuquerque, N.M. October 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 1910*, program, folder 7 (New Mexico Fair and Exposition), box 14027, Historical Celebrations, subser. 4.3, ser. 4, Governor L. Bradford Prince Papers, 1889–1893, Collection No. 1959–088, NMSRCA.

100. John B. McManus to L. Bradford Prince, 23 July 1910, folder 7 (New Mexico Fair and Exposition), box 14027, Historical Celebrations, subser. 4.3, ser. 4, Governor L. Bradford Prince Papers, 1889–1893, Collection No. 1959–088, NMSRCA.
101. McIntyre, *State Fair!*, 23. The few historians who speculate about the reasons for its demise blame the onset of World War I, and especially the financial and manpower drains brought about by the war.
102. Max Frost, ed., *New Mexico, The Land of Opportunity Official Data on the Resources and Industries of New Mexico—the Sunshine State* (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Press of the Albuquerque Morning Journal, 1914), 8–9.

