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Architects of the Nation *Crafting a Spanish American Identity*



One Friday each September, after the rush of tourists has subsided, a procession of young men dressed in seventeenth-century Spanish colonial attire files into the Plaza, the central square in Santa Fe, New Mexico. The streets are blocked off from traffic, and a crowd of mostly Hispano Santa Feans and some tourists awaits the ritual procession. First enters a standard bearer carrying the royal seal of Spanish king Carlos Segundo, who ruled New Mexico in the late seventeenth century. Then comes a man carrying a spear, a man with an ax, friars in blue frocks, and soldiers in armor donated by the vice president of Spain. Last arrives the acclaimed “heroic resettler” of Santa Fe, Spanish general Don Diego De Vargas, astride a white horse and wearing a cape and a plumed helmet. These figures of Spanish authority have assembled for the *Entrada*—the core event of the annual Santa Fe Fiesta—a reenactment of De Vargas’s negotiation with a Pueblo chieftain for the return of Spanish settlers following the 1680 Pueblo Revolt.

In the heart of a plaza filled with chain stores and curio shops peddling Southwestern kitsch, symbols of Spanish pride and dominance now predominate. Lining the facade on one side of the Plaza are the *escudos*, or royal seals, of the Spanish founding families of Santa Fe, many with the same names as the Hispano elite who still grace the local newspaper’s society pages. On the backdrop of the stage where the figures take their places are depictions of the first Spanish explorers of the New World, their

names written to the side in a flowery Castilian script. As locals and tourists watch, La Conquistadora, a fifteenth-century Marian icon to whom legend credits De Vargas's "peaceful" resettlement, is carried onstage to witness the Pueblo Indians "welcoming" the Spaniards back into Santa Fe. The men hoist La Conquistadora high above the stage as the action concludes, and a victorious De Vargas and his men raise their voices in praise of the king of Spain. Shouts of "Viva el rey, Carlos Segundo!" fill the air.

Santa Fe's commemoration of its Spanish origins is unusual among the historic fiestas of other cities in the former Spanish borderlands, where organizers can scarcely find descendants of Spanish settlers to play their ancestors' parts (see McWilliams 1948). New Mexico's unique history and large and powerful Hispano population have made its harking back to its Spanish founders quite different from southern California's token gestures to a romantic Spanish past. Nevertheless, the casual visitor cannot help but be struck by a visible irony. The procession of Spanish settlers and Franciscan friars unfolds against the unlikely backdrop of contemporary Santa Fe—a town some have called Adobe Disneyland, one in which Anglo-Americans, rather than Hispanos, now constitute a majority.¹ (See plate 1.)

This book examines how Hispanos have re-created the modern Fiesta to stake their claims to Santa Fe, the heart of a "Hispano homeland" (Deutsch 1989; Gonzales 1997; Rodríguez 1992), even as they have become both economically marginalized and a demographic minority. Organizers call the Fiesta "the oldest community celebration in the United States." Yet they have refashioned the event in symbolic opposition to Anglo control of what was once a former homeland site. The hallmarks of the modern Fiesta—the presence of La Conquistadora during the Entrada, the roles of Don Diego De Vargas and the Fiesta Queen, the groups that plan and organize the Fiesta, and even the contemporary Entrada itself—have all been invented and re-created over the course of the twentieth century. These hallmarks lend Fiesta its new significance—not only as a claim to "tradition" but also as a veiled protest against contemporary circumstances.

Begun by the Museum of New Mexico in 1919, the earliest Santa Fe Fiestas were indeed in keeping with the belabored fiestas in other borderland cities that honored a dolled-up "Spanish fantasy heritage." In these ceremonial events, city fathers trotted out token native Californios to represent the splendor of a Spanish past, all the while precluding the city's Latino population from meaningful representation (McWilliams 1948). Santa Fe's first Fiestas were little different. The Museum of New Mexico began the Fiesta to spread the myth of Santa Fe as a haven of "exotic" Pueblo and quaint Spanish cultures and to pique the curiosity of American settlers and tourists. Early Fiestas were planned by the city's Anglo boosters, who had the nerve to feature prominent Anglos in the key role of the conquistador De Vargas, the "heroic resettler" of the city's origin myth.

When the city's Anglos usurped this role from the region's Hispanos—its rightful occupiers—they claimed a legacy of civilization and progress for themselves. Under Anglo direction, early Fiestas portrayed the tri-cultural history of the region as one of successive stages spanning the ancient settlement of Pueblo Indians and the pioneer-

ing conquest of Anglo-Americans. The early Fiestas projected a vision of the region's history as one of evolutionary progress, with Anglo settlement standing at the apex of civilization. (See plate 2.)

Yet the beginning of the twenty-first century has witnessed a Fiesta quite different from the old borderland celebrations that alluded to the Southwest's Spanish past as only colorful garnish. Over the past century, Hispano organizers have not only reclaimed the Fiesta but also imbued its key symbols and events with ethno-nationalist sentiment. Through the Entrada, Hispanos reenact Don Diego De Vargas's resettlement of the province for the kingdom of Spain, positing common descent from illustrious forebears. By foregrounding the role of La Conquistadora, a sacred icon, in the event, they stake claim to New Mexico as a sacred "homeland" granted divine sanction by the city's divine patroness. They assert the region's famed tri-cultural harmony as the enlightened legacy of the Spanish, subtly critiquing the ethnic chauvinism of the region's recent Anglo transplants. These key symbols and events thus serve to stake Hispanos' claims to noble ancestry and to a Hispano homeland, even as their occupancy of it has grown increasingly tenuous.

I examine the Fiesta as an "invented tradition"—as a claim to continuity with the past that is quite modern in origin. In their influential work on the subject, Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) illustrate the centrality of such invented traditions in the making of the modern nation, as novel traditions spread myths of cultural homogeneity among fellow "nationals" and foster allegiance to national symbols. It is precisely by fabricating symbols that claim continuity from the past that a nation can arrogate the authority of tradition for itself. Hobsbawm and Ranger's work unintentionally fueled a damaging deconstructionist frenzy, as subsequent scholarship focused on revealing the falsity of minority groups' claims to tradition (for a discussion of this period, see Briggs 1996). Yet in a neglected passage, the authors also point out that serious scholarly analysis must consider not only the artifice of constructed identities but also their appeal, and thus must explore the very circumstances that lend performances of tradition their persuasiveness. I follow this line of analysis, arguing that the Fiesta has acquired heightened contemporary significance because of Hispanos' dispossession, and suggesting that it was reinvented to serve specific racial and class projects.²

Yet the Fiesta is not only an invented tradition but also an origin myth that enshrines a very particular story about New Mexico's settlement as the official history. The Fiesta claims De Vargas's "peaceful resettlement" as the birth of a modern multi-cultural nation, establishing a legacy of tri-cultural harmony among the region's Hispanos, Pueblos, and Anglos. In upholding De Vargas's 1692 resettlement as the official founding of Santa Fe, this rhetoric obscures the fact that his reoccupation of the city the following year involved the execution of seventy Pueblo men and the enslavement of roughly four hundred Pueblo women and children (Montgomery 2002:131). As an origin myth of a New Mexican *patria chica*, or homeland, the Fiesta clearly silences alternative histories and publicly upholds—and thus legitimizes—particular social relations and racial structures (see Beezley, Martin, and French 1994). Moreover,

this origin myth stands in pointed contrast to that of many postcolonial nations in the Spanish Americas, which herald the Spanish conquest as the birth of mestizo nations of mixed blood and culture. Why has the myth of Spanish colonial origins and discrete, bounded cultures held sway in New Mexico, even as its Spanish-speaking neighbors farther south embrace a national ideology of *mestizaje*? Why does the Fiesta's construction of a patria chica appeal to New Mexicans, and how is this vision made persuasive? These are the questions I explore in the following chapters.

Hispano Cultural Nationalism

In considering this discourse of shared origins and a common homeland as a form of cultural nationalism, I follow Partha Chatterjee's discussion of the origins of nationalist thought. Chatterjee argues that among colonized peoples, nationalism creates its own realm of sovereignty by dividing social institutions and practices into two domains: the material and the spiritual. While the former—the domain of the economy and state—modernizes, the latter is instead fashioned as an “inner domain bearing the ‘essential’ markers of cultural identity” (Chatterjee 1993:6). The more the material domain approximates the standard of modernity derived from the colonizer, the more the cultural domain attempts to preserve its difference. Through the Fiesta, Santa Fe's Hispanos have indeed assiduously attempted to preserve the hallmarks of a distinctive identity—their language, traditions, and even gender norms—despite their increasing acculturation.

Chatterjee notes that scholarly analyses have long neglected the significance of this cultural realm in nourishing the nationalist project. Yet attention should be paid to the cultural realm as well as the political; the distinctiveness of the former provides the “most powerful as well as the most creative results of the nationalist imagination” (Chatterjee 1993:5). It is this “inner sanctum” (121) of national identity, after all, that is vital to a sustained oppositional consciousness. It is within this domain that the nationalist imagination first articulates its resistance to the colonial project, a resistance that may be later actualized through political mobilization. While Chatterjee's arguments are based on studies of an Indian nationalism fashioned as the cultural antithesis to the West, his arguments may be extrapolated to any situation of colonialism.

Chatterjee's study focuses on cultural transformations antedating Indian anti-imperial mobilization, yet not all nationalism is necessarily separatist.³ Indeed, it is significant that Hispanos have articulated their claims to distinctiveness in cultural rather than political terms. As scholars have described for the case of Puerto Rico, politically separatist aims have decreased in popularity on the island, even as concerns for Puerto Rican cultural distinctiveness have proliferated (Dávila 1997; Duany 2002). Arlene Dávila argues that U.S. colonialism exerted a constraining force that led Puerto Ricans to emphasize their cultural distinctiveness, rather than the nation's political boundaries and sovereignty, as the primary determinant of national identity (Dávila

1997:9–12). She writes, “U.S. colonialism shaped both the content of Puerto Rico’s nationalist ideology and the scope and manner in which nationalism could be expressed on the island” (1997:251).⁴ Discussing the New Mexican context, Gonzales (n.d.; see also Gonzales and Massmann 2006) makes a similar argument about the constraints within which Hispanos’ identity claims could be expressed, suggesting that Hispano identity should be viewed as a form of “inverted subnationalism.” As Gonzales notes, this form of subnationalism is unique in that it fuses “ethnic heraldry, replete with its protest defensiveness, on one hand, and, on the other, a stunning patriotism toward the master state” (Gonzales n.d.:9). While Hispanos openly protest Anglo racism and discrimination, then, they exhibit a seemingly paradoxical patriotism because of requirements that they “prove” their loyalty to the United States.

How did this sense of collective Hispano identity first emerge? Gonzales (2000) has shown the origin of this “homeland identity” in Hispanos’ marginalization and exclusion from the polity at the turn of the last century. During the late nineteenth century, the arrival of the railroad brought an onslaught of newcomers into the region. They expressed their right to the region’s institutions with the racism and entitlement of Manifest Destiny. At the same time, the popularization of the printing press allowed Hispanos to imagine themselves as a collective people defending a homeland under occupation. Meléndez (1997) and Meyer (1996) have documented the crucial role of the Spanish-language press in catalyzing ethnic consciousness and resisting Anglo domination. Gonzales extends these analyses of the formation of a collective Hispano identity during the same period by examining Hispanos’ organization of *juntas de indignación*, or popular protests of Anglo racism. He argues that this public genre of protest, like the Spanish-language press, “opened up a major space for Hispanos to configure the idea of an ethnic homeland and a right to equality based on their ancestors’ prior settlement in New Mexico” (Gonzales 2000:166).

While Hispano politicians and newspaper editors had helped enshrine a collective homeland identity by the beginning of the twentieth century, cultural preservation organizations came to inherit this task. The Spanish-language press had all but disappeared by the 1940s, as Hispano acculturation led to the rapid loss of the Spanish language (see Meyer 1996). As Hispanos lost newspapers as a vehicle through which to express and articulate their cultural distinctiveness, they were forced to turn to other venues. Hispano elites—and a growing number of working-class Hispanos—continued to catalyze Hispano consciousness in domains such as literature, folklore, religion, and public ritual. Indeed, as shown by the elaborate 1998 Cuarto Centenario celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of Spain’s founding of New Mexico, and the monuments proposed to honor the region’s settlers, public commemorations of New Mexico’s Spanish heritage became a primary arena for articulating a sense of Hispano pride and claims to the region. As I suggest in the chapters that follow, these public performances showcase “fetish objects” that may be more ideologically powerful than print, transmitting nationalist messages through the senses rather than through reason (see McClintock 1993). Like its predecessor the Spanish-language press, then, the

Fiesta provides a potent public forum through which organizers redefine and elaborate what Gonzales calls an “insurgent homeland identity” (Gonzales 1997). Yet unlike Spanish-language newspapers, Fiesta organizers must elaborate their claims to a New Mexican homeland in full view of the region’s newest conquerors and thus must transmit their oppositional message in veiled terms.

Eurocentric versus Mestizo Nationalisms

The contention that New Mexico’s Hispanos articulate a form of cultural nationalism through the Fiesta necessarily begs comparison with national origin myths throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. Although the Southwest has long been portrayed as a region whose exceptionalism demanded a kind of hermetic analytical isolation, scholars have recently suggested that we open it to comparative analysis with other New World contexts (see Mitchell 2005; Schmidt-Nowara and Nieto-Phillips 2005). Nationalists are forced to articulate their claims to nationhood in terms set by the West, where sovereignty rests upon cultural homogeneity, autochthony, and congruence with a distinct territory (Chatterjee 1995; Munasinghe 2002). As in other New World nations, nation builders in New Mexico face the conundrum of how to fashion a myth of cultural homogeneity out of a pluralistic population, and claims to indigeneity out of Old World origins (Munasinghe 2002). Across the New World, nation makers have turned to the assertion of a creole identity—a mixed identity as a novel product unique to the New World—to satisfy these requirements. Yet while nation-building projects in many parts of Latin America have indeed enshrined the myth of a blended mestizo culture, the identity formation forged in New Mexico at roughly the same time instead stressed Hispanos’ Spanish ancestry. The contrast between the national identity forged in Mexico and that forged in New Mexico is the result of different elite projects of nation building in different contexts.

In both Mexico and New Mexico, nation builders in the early twentieth century faced the challenge of forging unity out of diversity and transforming Old World origins into claims to autochthony. Elites in both areas worked with similar artistic materials. They drew upon a flourishing modernist movement that exalted the “folk” as a source of “authenticity” and creative renewal, fashioning it as the antithesis of a mechanized and cold-hearted industrial society. Both identities were forged in reaction to an imperialist United States, one that threatened to control the western hemisphere. Yet whereas nation builders in Mexico created the mestizo as a pointed challenge to the racism of the United States, the “Spanish” identity forged in New Mexico more intimately bears the imprint of Anglo-American chauvinism.

In the wake of the Mexican Revolution, politicians called upon the nascent nation’s artists and writers to fashion new symbols with which its diverse populace could identify. These cultural specialists drew upon a transnational modernist movement that viewed the popular folk as a source of creative renewal, a welcome reprieve from a bourgeois industrial society. As José Vasconcelos, the architect of Mexico’s mes-

tizo national identity, boasted, the mestizo was a product unique to the New World, a “superior” race embodying both the artistic talent of the Aztecs and the pioneering spirit of the conquistadores. In claiming Mexico as a nation of mestizos—a new “cosmic race” born out of the colonial encounter—nation builders strategically emphasized the “creole” origins of the Mexican populace to claim cultural homogeneity and indigeneity. Thus this imagery of indigenous authenticity did not emanate organically from Mexico’s history but was rather deliberately and artfully cultivated by a cosmopolitan cadre of modernist Mexican intellectuals (López 2006:24).

In claiming a distinct national spirit, nation makers define their people in contrast to both internal and external “Others,” differentiating their populace from those of other nations. Nationalism relies upon a common discursive structure that has circulated transnationally, yet postcolonial nation makers must make a case for their nation’s uniqueness by positing its distinction from the West (Chatterjee 1993). This new mestizo identity was fashioned not only as a claim to a form of autochthony but also as a claim to distinction from the national identity of Mexico’s looming neighbor to the north. In a pointed rebuke to the racism and imperialism of the United States at the time, Mexican intellectuals exalted the indigenous component of their national identity. They upheld the new “cosmic race” as soulful and authentic, the antithesis of the cold rationalism and mechanized culture of the United States (Lomnitz 2001). Indeed, at a time when the United States had gained control of Cuba and Puerto Rico following the Spanish-American War, Mexican nationalists’ embrace of a non-European identity served to forge national solidarity in opposition to U.S. imperialism in the region (Gould 1996). Thus Mexican intellectuals crafted a mestizo national identity not only to forge a common peoplehood but also in pointed rebuke to the imperialist incursions of the United States.

In turn-of-the-twentieth-century New Mexico, in contrast, Anglo imperialism struck much closer to home. After Mexico’s independence in 1821, the province’s increasing integration into the U.S. economy paved the way for its 1848 annexation by the United States as part of the spoils of the Mexican War. The American public initially viewed the mixed racial origins and loyalties of the Spanish-speaking population in this new territory with great suspicion, claiming the region’s unsuitability for statehood and Hispanos’ unfitness for citizenship (Nieto-Phillips 2004; Wilson 1997:72–75). Americans maligned Hispanos’ ability to govern themselves, arguing that their distinct language and foreign ways were obstacles to national integration. Hispanos’ national loyalties came under intense scrutiny first during the Spanish-American War in 1898, when many Hispanos in fact enlisted in the U.S. Army, and later during the political turbulence of the Mexican Revolution (Gonzales 1993:166). The region’s Anglo and Hispano elites faced the conundrum of how to persuade a skeptical nation that the territory was fit for statehood. Attempting to assuage congressional concerns about a population often denigrated as “dirty Mexicans,” politicians and boosters transformed Hispanos into “Spanish Americans.” This label performed the double service of distancing Hispanos from the chaos of revolutionary

Mexico while asserting residents' whiteness, and thus their fitness for inclusion in the body politic (Nieto-Phillips 2004).

The term proved politically useful not only in New Mexicans' drive for statehood but also in Hispanos' everyday struggles against marginalization. The arrival of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway in 1880 directly linked the new territory to the East and served as a pipeline for Anglo-American immigration. The Anglo newcomers brought an ideology of Manifest Destiny, as well as racism toward the "Mexican mongrel" inhabitants of the territory. Struggling to have linguistic, educational, and citizenship rights incorporated into the state constitution, Hispanos banded together to assert their right to equality based on their ancestors' prior settlement (Gonzales 1997:135).⁵ As Anglos consolidated control over the territory, Hispanos increasingly referred to themselves as Spanish Americans in resistance. In comparison with southern Texas, southern Arizona, and California, northern New Mexico's dense Hispano settlement and sparse Anglo immigration after the turn of the century afforded its Hispano elite greater power vis-à-vis the newcomers, leading to a unique emphasis on Spanish descent as a "rhetorical compromise" between the two parties (Montgomery 2002:10–12).⁶ Standing as a "protest identity" against Hispano dispossession and Anglo encroachment, the term *Spanish American* simultaneously claimed parity with the region's newest "conquerors."⁷

It is naive to overstate the progressive implications of a mestizo as opposed to a "Spanish" form of national identity, and short-sighted to view them in isolation. Rather than see the Southwest as a region that should remain analytically distinct, rigorous analysis should consider the unique circumstances behind the formation of different dominant national identities in parts of Latin America and the Southwest.⁸ Both national fictions—whether of a blended *raza cósmica* or a "pure" Spanish ancestry—are predicated upon particular violences and silences; the former on the "disappearance" of Latin American nations' indigenous populations, or their "improvement" through whitening (see Gould 1996), and the latter on the denial of miscegenation. While the dominant discourse of mestizo nations is often inclusive in name only, quietly sweeping indigenous populations under the proverbial rug (Field 1999, 2002; García Canclini 1995; Gould 1996), New Mexico's rhetoric of tri-cultural harmony silences a tense history of intermixing between Hispanos and Pueblos, instead portraying each group as static, homogeneous, and bounded. Thus, like the myth of tri-cultural harmony, the myth of harmonious mestizaje, as Charles Hale puts it, "covers its tracks of violence, dispossession, racism, and the like" (Hale 1996a:2).

The Santa Fe Art Colony: Crafting a Hispano "Folk" Identity

The label *Spanish American* thus served many different purposes. For proponents of statehood, it mollified politicians' concerns about Hispanos' worthiness of inclusion into a white Anglo-American nation. For Hispanos, it asserted a "protest identity" that claimed their prior settlement while contesting their subordination at the hands

of Anglos. Meanwhile, for the region's boosters, it formed part of an emerging myth of tri-cultural harmony. Hoping to draw Anglo settlement and capital, these businessmen and politicians attempted to convert a territory seen as an undesirable backwater into a tourist mecca. The myth of tri-cultural harmony, the elites hoped, would transform the region's diversity from a liability into a marketable asset. Dressing up the region's mixed populace as "Spaniards," "Pueblos," and "Anglos," they promoted the unique culture and achievements of each distinct group. By the early twentieth century, their efforts had borne fruit. Portraying New Mexico as an exotic refuge, tourism promoters made the region a haven from the nation's industrial core.

At the turn of the twentieth century, a group of disaffected artists and writers flocked to New Mexico, fleeing the homogeneity and artificiality they attributed to mainstream America. Steeped in a modernist sensibility that rejected European classicism, they sought authenticity in the traditions of the region's Hispanos and Pueblos. Inspired by the boosters' visions of noble Spanish settlers and primordial Pueblos, they saw New Mexico as a prototype of preindustrial society that held an "inverted promise for industrial America" (Rothman 1998:81). In the spirit of the same transnational modernism that had influenced the creation of Mexico's national identity, Anglo art colonists instead fashioned Hispanos into a rustic "folk" who represented a warm reprieve from the mechanistic spirit of mainstream America. Members of the Santa Fe and Taos art colonies spearheaded revivals of Hispano handicrafts, exalting the humble Hispano villager as the public face of the region. Much like the mestizo identity fashioned by Mexican artists and elites, this folk identity was positioned as the mirror image of the dominant United States.

The Hispano folk identity was crafted out of the same symbolic materials as the mestizo identity that the Mexican intelligentsia had encouraged farther south. Writer Mary Austin, who helped found Santa Fe's Spanish Colonial Arts Society in 1925, was influenced by Mexico's renaissance of indigenous arts (Forrest 1989:68–71). Echoing Vasconcelos's nationalist project to the south, Austin's 1931 article "Mexicans and New Mexico" extolled the "Indian inheritance" of New Mexico's mixed-blood "peons" (1931:143). Claiming that the indigenous groups of northern Mexico made up much of the first wave of Spanish settlers to New Mexico, Austin and other art colonists took pains to link the artistic revival of New Mexico with the flourishing of *indigenismo* in Mexico. She believed this indigenous "racial inheritance" gave Hispano and Mexican working classes alike a penchant for artistic expression and "group-mindedness" that made them a welcome antidote to cold-hearted American rationalism and individualism. Much like the nationalist project in Mexico, the folkloric revival in New Mexico drew upon the values of modernism to fashion a romantic identity for the region's popular classes, exalting them as the antithesis of the U.S. mainstream.⁹

Yet this portrayal of a rustic, "authentic" Hispano folk partook of much the same paternalism as *indigenismo*; Austin viewed Hispanos as "flock-minded," childlike innocents who relied upon Anglo settlers for direction. Just as Vasconcelos believed that Mexican villagers' artistic impulses required the careful stewardship of elites

(López 2006:28), Austin believed it was only the art colonists' deliberate revival of New Mexican crafts that allowed Hispanos' natural artistic inclinations to emerge (Austin 1931:188). Through their creation of organizations such as the Spanish Colonial Arts Society, Santa Fe's artists encouraged the flourishing of the "auto-expressive impulses" inherent in the "racial inheritance" of this "peon" class (187). Hispanos' mixed origins best suited them to artistic careers, she wrote; their dropout rate testified that at adolescence, "the racial inheritance rises to bind them to patterns of an older habit of thinking." "Much more than two or three generations is required to make any primitive group a reading people," she admonished educators (144). Thus this warm folk image masked a patronizing view of Hispano "peons" as dependent wards. In both turn-of-the-twentieth-century Mexico and New Mexico then, culture brokers fashioned a view of the "authentic" and "intuitive" folk that legitimized their subordinate position in the social order.

This modernist sensibility has left an enduring imprint on the city and its annual Fiesta and has continued to shape popular images of Santa Fe's Hispano and Pueblo inhabitants. Over the course of the last century, however, Hispano cultural preservationists, writers, and politicians have refashioned the public image of the region and its idyllic "folk." By reappropriating the Fiesta, they have transformed Hispanos' public image and the region's central origin myth. Under Hispano direction, the Fiesta no longer justifies Anglo domination but rather glorifies the Spanish reconquest as establishing the origins of intercultural peace. While art colonists once used the Fiesta to showcase the work of the rustic Hispano craftsmen Austin so patronizingly praised, Hispano organizers have instead shifted focus to a more virile figure. Under Hispano direction, the contemporary Fiesta celebrates the potent figure of the conquistador, claiming the Hispano presence in the region as a birthright.

How Does Nationalism Appeal to People?

Nationalism as a "Structure of Feeling"

The comparison between Mexico and New Mexico reveals the unique context within which a "Spanish" identity was initially forged—that of incorporation into U.S. and Anglo domination. The contention that the form of identity expressed through the Fiesta is necessarily nationalistic highlights the structural experience of racism that Hispanos share with other colonized groups. David Lloyd (1997:176) has pointed out that conventional accounts of the rise of nationalism neglect "the psychic impact of domination" on those who formulate and join nationalist movements.¹⁰ Nationalist solidarity is forged not merely through artful ideological manipulation, he argues, but rather emerges out of a shared subjective experience of domination. Certainly, one should not overstate the discrimination Hispanos suffered at the hands of Anglos, as it paled in comparison with the racism and disenfranchisement endured by the region's Navajos, Apaches, Utes, and Pueblo Indians.¹¹ Nevertheless, the Anglo usurpation of this former homeland did constitute a form of imperialism (see Mitchell

2005)—one whose reach has always been both overtly and covertly contested by the region's powerful Hispano elite. It is this backdrop of Anglo encroachment upon a former Hispano homeland that makes the Fiesta's claims to identity and territory persuasive to organizers and participants alike.

Yet the power of any nationalist vision relies not only upon the structural conditions of colonialism that subordinate groups face but also upon the very persuasiveness of its aesthetic structures. How does this homeland identity appeal to people? How do Fiesta organizers make their ethno-nationalist vision persuasive? Benedict Anderson (1991) put this question succinctly when he asked why individuals give their lives for a nation, which is, after all, just an abstract construct. What is it about ideologies of nationalism that manage to insinuate themselves so intimately into an individual's vision of the world? Drawing upon Raymond Williams (1977), Ana Alonso (1994) proposes that we examine nationalism as a "structure of feeling." She suggests that scholars analyze and deconstruct the tropes of gender, sexuality, space, and time through which nationalism, as a form of "imagined community," achieves the illusion of materiality. I follow Alonso in examining the tropes of genealogy, time, and gender/sexuality that make an imagined Hispano nation appear real. I show how the participation of descendants of the Spanish settlers in the De Vargas Entrada asserts the continuity of both genealogy and culture, despite Santa Fe's contemporary environs. The figure of the Fiesta Queen models colonial gender norms, embodying an "authentic" preconquest Spanish culture. Meanwhile, key Fiesta symbols such as La Conquistadora, a fifteenth-century Marian icon used in the Spanish crusades, appear to promise a return to a former Spanish glory. These ritual symbols are powerful means of transmitting ideological messages in a sensory envelope and imprinting them upon the minds of ritual participants.

Yet Hispano nationalism makes itself persuasive not only through symbols that lend concrete form to national imaginings but also through a particular construction of time. In his classic work, Benedict Anderson (1991:12) argues that the ideology of nationalism arose from the ashes of great religious dynasties, drawing its power from the sense of continuity and meaning they had once provided their followers. Yet he argues for a fundamental distinction in the understanding of time between the sacral dynasties and modern secular nations. Traditional religious worldviews relied upon a notion of what Anderson, borrowing from Benjamin, calls messianic time—in which the everyday was but a particular instantiation of a sacred script. In this religious worldview, writings of canonical religious texts foreshadow events of the present, which are but fulfillments of ancient prophecies. Thus the relationship between past and present is not conceived as one of cause and effect but rather as one of "prefiguring and fulfillment" (24). In contrast, modern nationalism, he argues, relies not upon the fulfillment of mythic promises but upon secular temporal coincidence. Anderson argues that the modern nation, as perhaps the exemplar of secular time, was born through individuals' simultaneous reading of novels and newspapers, thus allowing them to imagine themselves as a unified body moving steadily through history.

Critics have suggested that perhaps because Anderson focused primarily on modern secular European nation-states, he missed the salience of religion in fueling expressions of ethno-nationalism in areas where religious and racial distinctions have long been intertwined (Brow 1990; Kapferer 1988; Kemper 1991; Lomnitz 2001). This may be particularly true in the case of the Spanish Americas, as notions of peoplehood in both Spain and Mexico have long held religious overtones (Gutiérrez 1991; Lomnitz 2001). As Claudio Lomnitz argues, the construction of a Spanish nation in fact began with the nationalization of the church, and “national consciousness emerged as an offshoot of religious expansionism” (2001:14). The Spanish colonization of the New World was but a continuation of this religious worldview, only further substantiating the teleology of Christendom. Indeed, the Spanish colonizers viewed the indigenous groups they encountered as the “Moors” of the New World, interpreting their conquest as having been foreordained by the inevitable triumph of Christianity (Gutiérrez 1991). Not only did Catholicism provide the impetus for the conquest, but religion itself initially formed the basis for the distinction between colonizer and colonized. Moreover, the battle for Mexican independence was waged under the banner of Catholicism, as Hidalgo and Morelos charged that the Spaniards had betrayed their true Christian mission in their exploitation of the Indians (Lomnitz 2001:29). In short, in the Spanish New World, not only have nation and religion long been intertwined, but religious teleology has infused nationalist fervor with the promise of inevitability.

La Conquistadora illustrates the unique discursive structure of religiously inspired nationalisms and the special resonance religious sentiment lends to nationalist imaginings. First hoisted on a staff to expel Moors from a Christian Spain, and then used to convert and colonize the Pueblos of New Mexico, *La Conquistadora* evokes the very history of the sacral dynasties. In suggesting the divine favor once granted the Spanish conquest, the icon’s emotional force is predicated upon the notion of messianic time in religious communities—that a past Spanish glory may recur in the present. This discursive structure posits an “epic past” of glorious conquistador virtue, all the more virtuous in comparison to Hispanos’ present dispossession, holding out the promise that such virtue will recur in the future (Brow 1990; Kemper 1991). Indeed, the *Entrada*’s reenactment of the Spanish resettlement draws upon this mythic past to reinvigorate the present with its power. Through the *Entrada*, Hispanos similarly articulate an origin myth of “prefiguring and fulfillment”—both harking back to an imperial glory and holding out hope for this glory to again be fulfilled. (See plate 3.)

The case of New Mexico suggests that nationalist ideology does not draw only upon secular temporal coincidence but rather on a fulfillment of a mythic promise.¹² Other scholars have noticed this shortcoming in Anderson’s analysis, pointing out that nationalist discourse commonly borrows on religious categories to sacralize social categories of peoplehood (Brow 1990; Kapferer 1988; Kemper 1991:6; Lomnitz 2001). Religious notions of time, such as that embodied by *La Conquistadora*, help lend nationalism especial resonance—the ability to link the mundane with the mythic.¹³

Hispano nationalism's vision of this conquistador past resonates with the present while remaining glorious in comparison. It is also Hispanos' sense of indignation at this disparity that makes the claims of this vision compelling.

The Work of Hispano Elites: Making Nationalism Persuasive

Anderson focuses on the cultural logic of nationalism as though it is divorced from the concrete circumstances of the elites who create it. But nationalist visions do not spring fully formed from the lands in which they are born. Instead, cultural preservationists are the ones who craft nationalist symbols, while writers and historians circulate these symbols and lend them legitimacy. Recent scholarship has drawn attention to the agentic processes of intellectuals such as journalists, academics, and television producers in creating, circulating, and accrediting notions of the nation (Abu-Lughod 2005; Boyer 2000; Boyer and Lomnitz 2005; Handler 1988). These analyses call attention to the "social lives" of these individuals and the way they objectify and "make real" the schemes of cultural difference they intuit (Boyer 2000; Boyer and Lomnitz 2005; Suny and Kennedy 2001). Whether they contribute to nation making aesthetically (Abu-Lughod 2005; Handler 1988; Herzfeld 1997) or practically through administration (Lomnitz 2001), intellectuals sit at the center of nation-making processes. Studies of nation making, then, must complement the kind of cultural analysis of nationalist discourse that Anderson performs with concrete analyses of the social and material circumstances of the individuals who imagine them. It is for this reason that this book pays attention both to the discursive structure of the ethno-nationalism that organizers express through the Fiesta and the lives of organizers themselves, the cultural logic of Hispano ethno-nationalism and the concrete circumstances that shape organizers' articulation of this discourse. I situate my discussion of Hispanos' transformation of the Fiesta to articulate their enduring ties to the region in the context of a flurry of cultural preservation activities between the 1930s and the 1950s, when Santa Fe underwent a demographic sea change, and since the tipping of the city's demographic scales in 1990.

An academic study of organic intellectuals raises epistemological issues, including that of the role of anthropological knowledge in the very process of "accrediting" and "sedimenting" categories of cultural difference (see Boyer 2000; Handler 1988). In the 1980s, as studies of the "invention of tradition" pointed to the artifice of ideals of authenticity, deconstructionist scholars such as Richard Handler noted the overweening sympathy of anthropologists to the identity claims of marginalized groups and their complicity in lending the imprimatur of expert knowledge to essentialized notions of culture and nationhood. That decade and the following decade witnessed a trend of scholarly analyses revealing the very constructedness of traditions, including subordinated groups' claims to identity and homeland. More recently, some have critiqued the excesses of this era, urging anthropologists to be mindful of their own privilege in revealing minority "traditions" as "invented." As Charles Briggs has shown,

anthropologists' unmasking of the traditions that organic intellectuals have worked so hard to establish not only damages minority groups but also usurps the authority of native scholars who have less access to institutional power (Briggs 1996). In studying the construction of particular identities, then, we anthropologists must be particularly mindful of the social effects of our analyses, as we have the power to either legitimate or intellectually demolish groups' sociopolitical constructions.

For scholars studying the fraught terrain of identity politics in New Mexico, such cautions resonate with particular force. In examining the role of local cultural preservationists in constructing the idea of a Hispano nation, I am aware of my own institutional privilege in gaining access to material and publishing venues. For this reason, I hope to use this book to foreground the voices of organic intellectuals and native Hispano scholars whom Anglo historians and academics have long overlooked or misinterpreted. I highlight the careful craftsmanship of Hispano intellectuals such as Fray Angélico Chávez and Pedro Ribera-Ortega in creating the modern myth of La Conquistadora, as well as the "artifice and artisanry" (Boyer 2000) of the many Hispano cultural preservationists who have progressively refashioned the Fiesta over the course of the century. In helping amplify the audience for these neglected accounts, I may be accused of reifying a Hispano nation or sanctioning the essentialisms of the nationalist project (see Handler 1988). Yet I also hope to expose the cleavages of race, class, and gender within this imagined community, as celebrations of Hispano continuity have long been accomplished through symbolic denigrations of nativeness. While highlighting the craftsmanship of the Hispano intellectuals who have forged this sense of commonality, I remain critical of how this imagined "nation" positions the "Others" within it.

Methods and Fieldwork

This book is the product of four years of research and one year of intensive fieldwork examining the Fiesta and the organizations that plan it, stretching from 1997 to 2001. To update the manuscript, I returned for briefer research periods during the summers of 2007 and 2008, during which time I received feedback on sections of the manuscript from organizers and participants. All in all, I conducted more than seventy interviews with five different groups of individuals: (1) members of Fiesta-related organizations, with particular emphasis on the Fiesta Council and the Caballeros de Vargas; (2) young participants who assumed the key Fiesta roles of De Vargas and the Fiesta Queen; (3) Hispano Santa Feans who regularly attend the event without being involved; (4) *coyotes*, or individuals of both Pueblo and Hispano ancestry, who participate in the event; and (5) diasporic Hispanos living in other states who return regularly for the event. These interviews touched upon the themes discussed above.

These interviews turned out to be more revealing of the Fiesta's imbrication with Hispano Santa Feans' contemporary concerns and life histories than of the ethno-racial meanings that the Fiesta expresses. When asked why they attended the Fiesta, for

example, many locals unreflectively referred to its comprising a taken-for-granted part of their annual calendar. “We have to follow our culture, no?” one Santa Fean responded to the question in a surprised tone. Thus ritual scholars must complement study of participants’ subjective understandings of an event with analyses of its symbolic form. To this end, I supplemented interviews about the personal significance of the Fiesta with attendance at the year-round cycle of Fiesta events: monthly meetings of the Fiesta Council and the Caballeros de Vargas and activities connected with each organization. Finally, I also conducted historical research in the main Fiesta archives to examine changes in the event since its founding.¹⁴

As a nonnative Santa Fean and an Anglo outsider, my initial entrée into Fiesta organizations was greeted with a degree of justifiable skepticism. Less than a decade before, filmmaker Jeanette De Bouzek had produced a provocative documentary on the Fiesta, *Gathering Up Again* (1992), which portrayed the celebration as a Latin American conquest drama that denigrated the region’s Native Americans. In 1992 controversy surrounded the issue of how best to commemorate the quincentenary of Columbus’s arrival in the New World, and the release of De Bouzek’s video added fuel to the fire. The video spotlighted the tears of a Pueblo Fiesta participant upon witnessing insulting, Hollywood-like portrayals of Native Americans: Anglo and Hispano men with painted faces, dressed in burlap sacks, playing supporting roles to that of Domingo Naranjo, the Pueblo chief who accepted De Vargas’s return (see chapter 9). While the video captured the boorishness of these portrayals, the pervasive context of Anglo dominance was perhaps less easily captured on video. When the video was screened, Fiesta organizers, who had welcomed the filmmaker with the assumption that the project was not intended as a critique, felt their trust had been betrayed. The video catalyzed public discussion about the appropriateness of a public commemoration of the Pueblo Indians’ defeat and made Fiesta organizers leery of outside researchers. These lingering resentments understandably clouded my own project.

Yet over time, I gradually won the trust of a core of Fiesta organizers, who came to view me as an asset rather than a threat. My attendance at “insider-only” events such as 6 a.m. novenas impressed organizers, whose own children often failed to attend. My familiarity with traditions and concern for details earned me—the organization president told me—the title of honorary caballero (that is, a member of the Caballeros de Vargas). As my years of fieldwork and visits wore on, the organizers’ initial skepticism mellowed to a warm welcome. I came to realize that the organizers had their own agenda. I had been enlisted to perform a service to the organization—helping it educate the public about their Fiesta. When I asked one Fiesta Council member what I could do to assist the group in return for the access granted me, he replied that this book would in fact further the organization’s aims. “You’re helping to spread the Fiesta, and that’s important,” he said.

While I have tried to walk a thin line between their agendas and mine, I do intend this book to correct common misperceptions about the event and the Hispano identity it celebrates. Popular understandings of the Fiesta tend to participate in a modernist

dichotomizing of “traditional” versus “modern” culture; to some outsiders, the Fiesta’s peculiar mix of the two and its pastiche of historical styles condemn it to the reviled category of “spurious” culture. Previous scholarship on the event tends to recapitulate this dichotomy, viewing the Fiesta as either a quaint Hispano tradition continuously celebrated since the 1712 Fiesta Proclamation (Grimes 1976) or as a modern Anglo ploy to lure tourists by advertising the region’s “exotic” cultures (Wilson 1997).¹⁵ Side stepping the surface issue of authenticity versus invention, I suggest that both of these portrayals obscure the very contemporary reasons for the Fiesta’s revival. In the context of a disappearing “homeland,” the Fiesta, as a symbol of Hispano continuity, has grown increasingly significant.

The Structure of the Book

This book addresses the issues discussed above in a thematic fashion. To understand the circumstances that have led Hispanos to imbue the Fiesta with sacred significance, I first turn to Hispanos’ contemporary environs. In chapter 2 I explore Fiesta organizers’ histories of displacement from this former homeland site, illustrating a correlation between their reasons for Fiesta involvement and their experiences of dispossession and minoritization.¹⁶ In chapter 3 I introduce the Fiesta and its ethno-religious significance to Hispanos by first describing what has become its most popular event, the burning of Zozobra. The Library of Congress has selected Zozobra as a community festival representative of Santa Fe and its diverse cultures, but I show that, if anything, the rite is more representative of the bohemian sensibility for which Santa Fe, “the City Different,” has become infamous. This chapter introduces the burning and describes its significance to New Agers, who have migrated to Santa Fe in droves, as a foil to the ethno-religious significance of the Fiesta, which has crystallized largely in opposition to the former. I intend this chapter to highlight some of the circumstances that have made the Fiesta particularly significant to Hispanos, as well as to illuminate the broader context within which this significance is largely ignored.

While chapter 3 introduces the Fiesta’s ethno-religious significance, chapters 4 and 5 document the role of local intellectuals and cultural preservation organizations in constructing and elaborating the modern Fiesta. In chapter 4 I describe the involvement of the Hispano elite in the creation of four Fiesta-related organizations between 1935 and 1956 and its mobilization of new forms of symbolic distinction to offset status losses. While I describe some modern traditions in this chapter, my main focus is on the circumstances that have created a “felt need” (Hobsbawm 1983b:307) for such fictions of continuity. While much scholarly attention has focused on the art colonists’ arrival in the 1920s (Montgomery 2002) and the New Deal as crucial periods in the fashioning of the region’s modern Spanish heritage (Deutsch 1987; Forrest 1989)—largely under Anglo direction—here I examine the role of increased Anglo immigration and Hispano outmigration in the period around World War II in sparking Hispanos’ reappropriation of this heritage.

Not only did organizations re-create the Fiesta, but they also imbued it with ethno-nationalist overtones. In chapter 5 I explore the ethno-nationalist significance of the Fiesta by examining how La Conquistadora serves as a key symbol in the event. I examine the efforts of prominent Hispano historian Fray Angélico Chávez to increase the icon's following and to make her appear to "speak" to Hispanos of their noble origins and their rightful occupation of New Mexico. Chávez's works made the icon a symbol of Hispanos' sacred homeland, and La Conquistadora's new association with the Fiesta in the 1950s was one of many modern traditions that lent it new significance.

While chapters 4 and 5 describe the role of Fiesta organizations in fashioning a modern Hispano identity, chapter 6 explores the discursive strategies through which this narrative of identity resonates with Hispanos. I show that tropes of genealogical continuity are central to this ethno-nationalist discourse's claim to the vitality of the past in the present. In this way, individuals who can claim descent from the region's founders are central to the mythic structure of prefiguring and fulfillment that legitimizes nationalist claims. While this mythic structure may be common to many discourses of nationalism, Hispano ethno-nationalist discourse bears a unique Ibero-American emphasis on descent and purity of blood.

Chapter 7 continues this focus on Hispano ethno-nationalism's unique features by examining the gendered values projected by its key figures, De Vargas and the Fiesta Queen. I show that each holds a particular relationship to time as well as a particular ethno-nationalist significance. While the queen has sometimes mistakenly been viewed as the focus of the Fiesta, attempts to reclaim De Vargas have come at the expense of an affront to the Pueblo Indians through the event's renewed militarism. While chapter 8 shows that Fiesta discourse unites participants and organizers into an expansive Fiesta "family," chapter 9 shows how the primordial sense of community the Fiesta imagines is predicated upon particular exclusions. I explore the contradictions of the state's myth of tri-cultural harmony in chapter 9 and illustrate how Pueblo Indians are incorporated into this "family" only as symbolic children.

In chapter 10 I return to my argument that any deconstruction of ethno-nationalist discourses should be complemented by attention to the sociopolitical circumstances that make them appealing. Here I explore how the Fiesta, as a symbol of Hispanos' ties to a homeland site, has become increasingly significant to a population of returnees who have been pushed out of the city by gentrification and a lack of jobs. Returnees' involvement in the Fiesta illustrates how Hispano displacement and dispossession has played a key role in the Fiesta's revitalization. In short, to understand why Hispanos use the Fiesta to claim a natural, and even sacred, tie to a disappearing homeland, we must first understand the very modern circumstances that have made such claims appealing. It is to this contemporary context that I turn next.

Notes

1. Hispanos are a distinctive regional subgrouping of Mexican Americans in New Mexico and

southern Colorado who trace their roots to the seventeenth-century Spanish settlement of the Southwest. They are also known as Spanish Americans.

2. My approach is similar to Sylvia Rodriguez's analysis of the Taos Fiesta (1997). However, the uniqueness of my subject matter affords an analysis of the ethno-nationalist significance that the Santa Fe Fiesta has accrued. The Taos Fiesta is a much less grand version of Santa Fe's own, lacking both an origin myth as well as a divine benefactor. Since Santa Fe has historically remained the capital of a northern New Mexican *patria chica* (Gonzales n.d.), its fiesta serves as a "charter" for the Hispano presence in the region, commemorating the origin of Hispanos across the Southwest. While the Taos version remains mainly a fiesta for locals, that in Santa Fe attracts a broad regional following of northern New Mexicans, tourists, and even diasporic Hispanos from other states (see chapter 10).

3. This move builds on a long sociological tradition. In 1978 Walker Connor (1994:91) first argued that a "fundamental error" in scholarship "has been a tendency to equate nationalism with a feeling of loyalty to the state rather than loyalty to the nation." Craig Calhoun (1997:9) argues that nationalism is a modern discursive formation that transforms the meaning and form of "long-existing cultural patterns." Part of the modern legacy of nationalism is the ideal of political legitimacy—"increased participation in an existing state, national autonomy, independence and self-determination, or the amalgamation of territories" (6). Thus nationalist rhetoric is not necessarily separatist. As in the case of Hispano New Mexicans' mobilization against collective racism and discrimination in the early twentieth century, a population may exhibit a political drive for autonomy and self-determination within a broader political unit. Gonzales's new work (n.d.) explores more fully the circumstances attending annexation that discouraged the development of extensive separatist sentiments among Hispanos.

4. Jorge Duany (2002) builds on Dávila's work by adding the provocative insight that migration to the mainland has only intensified the discourse of cultural nationalism in Puerto Rico, a point that has relevance for the New Mexican case as well (see chapter 10). Duany notes that as U.S. citizenship, and the mobility it confers, has become central to Puerto Ricans in the diaspora and on the island, politically separatist aims have diminished in authority. He further notes that the "permeable and elastic boundaries of the Puerto Rican nation defy political, geographical, and linguistic categories" (2002:37).

5. According to Gonzales (1997:129), the term *Hispano* shares the same connotations as *Spanish American*. It derives from the Spanish term *Hispano Americano*, which means "Spanish American."

6. While in other areas of the Southwest, Spanish-speaking populations were rapidly dispossessed in the decades following U.S. occupation in 1846 (Almaguer 1994; Montgomery 2002; Sheridan 1986; Weber 1982), in Santa Fe, Hispanos have only recently become a demographic minority. The turn of the last century provides a useful point of comparison. In California, due to a massive influx of Anglo newcomers and investment capital after the gold rush, the Mexican-origin population was rapidly minoritized, comprising less than 3 percent of the state's population by 1900 (Montgomery 2002:11). In New Mexico, Hispano society had reached its apex of power and influence by 1900, and persons of Mexican origin comprised nearly half of the state's population (Mitchell 2005:4). For these reasons, New Mexico may be viewed as what Pablo Mitchell calls "a relative anomaly in the United States, a land where powerful entrenched forces demanded conciliation and concession rather than naked contempt" (2005:83). In northern New Mexico, Hispanos' historic stronghold, Hispanos have retained both political and demographic prominence until the present day. The presence of powerful Hispano elites in northern New Mexico, and their retention of influence despite their very marginalization, makes race relations in New Mexico more comparable to those in colonies such as Puerto Rico.

7. This identity is not too dissimilar from that crafted by Puerto Rico's Hispanophilic elites in the face of U.S. occupation. They too turned to Spanish colonization as a means of asserting their "civilization" amid the onslaught of "barbaric" Yankee imperialists (Duany 2002:18).

8. The Fiesta's rhetoric of tri-cultural harmony may be compared to the nationalist myth of the "Great Puerto Rican Family," which posits the harmonious integration of the three main roots of the island's population: Amerindian, European, and African. Moreover, as Jorge Duany has pointed out, this myth of harmonious multiracial existence was pointedly fashioned in critique of the racism of the United States (2002:24–25). In Puerto Rico's nationalist myth, the racial divisions that beset U.S. society were overcome on the island.

9. Indeed, both New Mexican art colonists and the Mexican intellectuals who fashioned a folkloric vision of "Mexicanidad" partook of the same neo-romantic ideas about artistic talent. Embracing the popular as a rejection of European classical art, both saw folkloric art as emerging intuitively from the collective subconscious. Austin liberally peppered her work with references to New Mexicans' "racial inheritance." She quite tellingly wrote: "When the Indian withdraws himself from the group and works from auto-expressive impulses, he withdraws wholly, with the most absorbing personal concentration, the sort of concentration that in our kind of society is only known to the creative artist. That is why all Indian artifacts partake of that quality of expressiveness which makes works of art of them. They proceed out of the profound withdrawal of the individual into the experience of the race" (1931:187). Similarly, López writes of Mexican intellectuals' views of the "Mexican peasant" at the time: "They created their art intuitively from their, and the nation's, collective unconscious rather than from artificial learning or imitation of Europe" (2006:36).

10. Both Gellner (1983) and Hobsbawm (1992) argue that nationalism was a by-product of the homogenization process created by the bureaucratic and industrial state. Although Anderson draws from this analysis with his emphasis on the crucial role print-capitalism played in fostering national imaginations, he does devote attention to the structural factors of discrimination that led to the independence movements among "creole pioneers" in Latin America (1991:47–66). Unable to secure a post in the peninsular "motherland," creole officials came to a consciousness of their commonalities due to the "shared fatality of trans-Atlantic birth" (57). Moreover, he points out that due to the increase of miscegenation and the growth of slavery, racial distinctions emerged, serving to lend new connotations to the existing differences between *peninsulares* and *criollos* (1991:58–59).

11. See Almaguer for a comparison of racialization processes of "Mexicans" and "Indians" in California.

12. Alonso (1994:387–88) states that "Anderson's dismissal of the importance of prefiguring and fulfillment in nationalist temporalizing seems hasty (and overly dependent on an opposition between religion and nationalism). Nations, after all, are commonly imagined as having a destiny and a heritage rooted in an immemorial past."

13. It is important to point out that the case of New Mexico may be unique in that the former province of New Spain, unlike its southern neighbors, never made the transition from imperial colony to nation-state. In other words, New Mexico was only later subject to the modern processes of rationalization, bureaucratization, and secularization that accompanied the creation of Latin American nation-states. For this reason, the mythic origins of Hispano settlement are imperial, recalling the Spanish colonization of this former province.

14. There are multiple archives with sources on the Fiesta in Santa Fe, and the researcher needs to approach the wealth of materials with a degree of judiciousness. The main archives include the Palace of the Governors, the New Mexico State Records and Archives Center, and the Museum of

International Folk Art. The School for Advanced Research has an excellent archive of materials on the museum's early Fiesta; the Santa Fe Public Library and the *Santa Fe New Mexican* have a stock of contemporary news articles about the event; and the Fiesta Council itself has an archive with assorted promotional materials and personal papers. To winnow down the arduous task of historical research, I left the Fiesta of the art colonists in the 1920s to Charles Montgomery and Chris Wilson, who have meticulously documented its history. I concentrated on the history of the Santa Fe Fiesta since the 1930s, which has been less thoroughly documented. I paid particular attention to news articles related to the Fiesta, and I studied the public face of the Fiesta by analyzing three to five Fiesta programs from each decade.

15. In taking this tack, my study of the Fiesta departs from Ronald Grimes's much earlier analysis of it as a public "symbol system" (1976:44) that almost seamlessly transmits a common civic culture. Grimes analyzes the Fiesta as an expression of a unified civil religion, his synchronic focus obscuring the contestations and reappropriations of the event and its key symbols over time. Treating the Fiesta as a continuous "tradition" with unchanging significance, his approach ignores the Fiesta's varying significance to different groups at different historical moments. Instead, historical approaches have shown that public commemorations in New Mexico have long offered particularly opportune venues for Hispanos and Anglos to present their different views of the state's history and to stake claims to the legitimacy of their power (Mitchell 2005; Rehberger 1995; Wilson 1997).

16. The term *minoritization* commonly refers to two processes: that by which Hispanos were transformed into a subordinated minority group following U.S. annexation, and a more recent process by which Hispanos have been steadily rendered a demographic minority vis-à-vis Anglos. I use the term in both senses in this book, since the latter process is a continuation of the former. However, since this book focuses on the recent reevaluation of the Fiesta's significance, I am most concerned with the term in its latter meaning.

