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Brokering Modernity: The World's Fair, Mexico's Eighth Cavalry Band, and the Borderlands of New Orleans Music, 1884 – 1910

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ABSTRACT

In the wake of Hurricane Katrina's dramatic demographic changes, scholars, journalists, and politicians have discussed Mexican migration to New Orleans as a new phenomenon and an unwelcome threat to the city's social order, rich culture, and tourist economy. This dissertation challenges these ideas and demonstrates some of the myriad ways Mexican migrants have historically helped shape New Orleans' distinct culture and its economy. In order to understand the precarious and ever-changing position of what it has meant to be Mexican in New Orleans, this dissertation asks how Mexican migrants went from being socially excluded and racialized as non-white "others" throughout most of the nineteenth-century to gaining a degree of acceptance as socially and culturally white at the century's end despite the city's intensifying race relations.

To answer this question, this dissertation examines Mexico's relationship to New Orleans in the nineteenth-century, the stakes involved for both Mexico and New Orleans at the 1884 World's Fair, the popularity of Mexico's Eighth Cavalry Band at the Fair, and the lives the band's musicians created for themselves in the city after the Fair closed its doors. It reveals that Mexico and New Orleans were connected through the circulation of goods, people, and ideas throughout most of the nineteenth-century, and beginning with the 1884 World's Fair, Mexican diplomats and white New Orleanian leaders intentionally used cultural exchange and a "rhetoric of friendship" to reconcile past tensions between them and foster friendly relations as a strategy for advancing their own economic interests in the pursuit of modernity. The unintended result was the development of New Orleans' relatively small, but culturally significant community that helped shaped the city's distinct music culture and inadvertently helped forge a rigid color line in a city that had once been known for its racial fluidity.

The project unfolds in a specific place and occurs at a particular historical moment – the 1884 World's Fair in New Orleans – and argues that it fundamentally changed the relationship between New Orleans and Mexico and created new opportunities for Mexican musicians in the process. Both white New Orleanian and Mexican leaders utilized the fair as an international stage where they could showcase their ability to be leaders in modernity in a quickly expanding world economy. While the fair was ultimately a financial failure and has largely been overlooked by scholars, Mexico's Eighth Cavalry Band became its most enduring cultural legacy. The band's musicians had been sent as cultural brokers who used music to translate cultural differences and language barriers, giving a cultural sound to the fair's rhetoric. They emphasized a modern *Mexicanidad* and Mexican music as culturally modern and therefore "white" but foreign and "exotic" enough to appeal to white New Orleanian desires to experience a different culture while still allowing them to maintain their distance from the music's blackness since it was performed by representatives of the "sister republic." The band set off a popular craze for Mexican music and bolstered an intense local curiosity about Mexico and its people. Through examining this untold story, this project demonstrates how New Orleans and Mexico were intimately linked through the circulation of capital, culture, and actors in the late nineteenth-century, exposing the Crescent City as an unexamined U.S. – Mexican borderland.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

From a young age, my father cultivated my curiosity for history's seemingly invisible actors. He told me stories about the grandfather I never had the opportunity to meet – about his involvement in the Mexican Revolution, his adventures working on the railroads of Mexico and the U.S. southwest, and his travels working as a musician in the United States. These stories kept our family history alive, but as I began my graduate education, I realized that my grandfather and many like him were largely absent from the historical record. I spent many years longing to know more, to see photos, to find him in documents, to understand the man my father had always spoken about with such love and admiration. It was a longing to know my family's story and how people like my grandfather, living seemingly ordinary lives, shaped the course of history.

These early experiences motivated me to tell the stories of Latinxs and Chicanxs, and I find that in our current political climate, the need for understanding the ways in which they have shaped the rich culture of the United States is even more important. This dissertation is above all, a project of recovery. It is an attempt to understand the rich lives of those who have previously been neglected in the historical record and ensure that their stories are heard. I hope I have done justice to the complex lives of New Orleans' Mexican musicians.

I began my research on Mexican migrants in nineteenth-century New Orleans after my first year of the doctoral program at Northwestern University. I found the representation of Mexican and Latin American migrants in post-Katrina New Orleans as a new phenomena perplexing, particularly because the city's *Latinidad* had long made it feel comfortably familiar to me. I am grateful for the generous financial support from the Department of History at Northwestern University that afforded me the opportunity to do some preliminary research that was key to the development of this project.

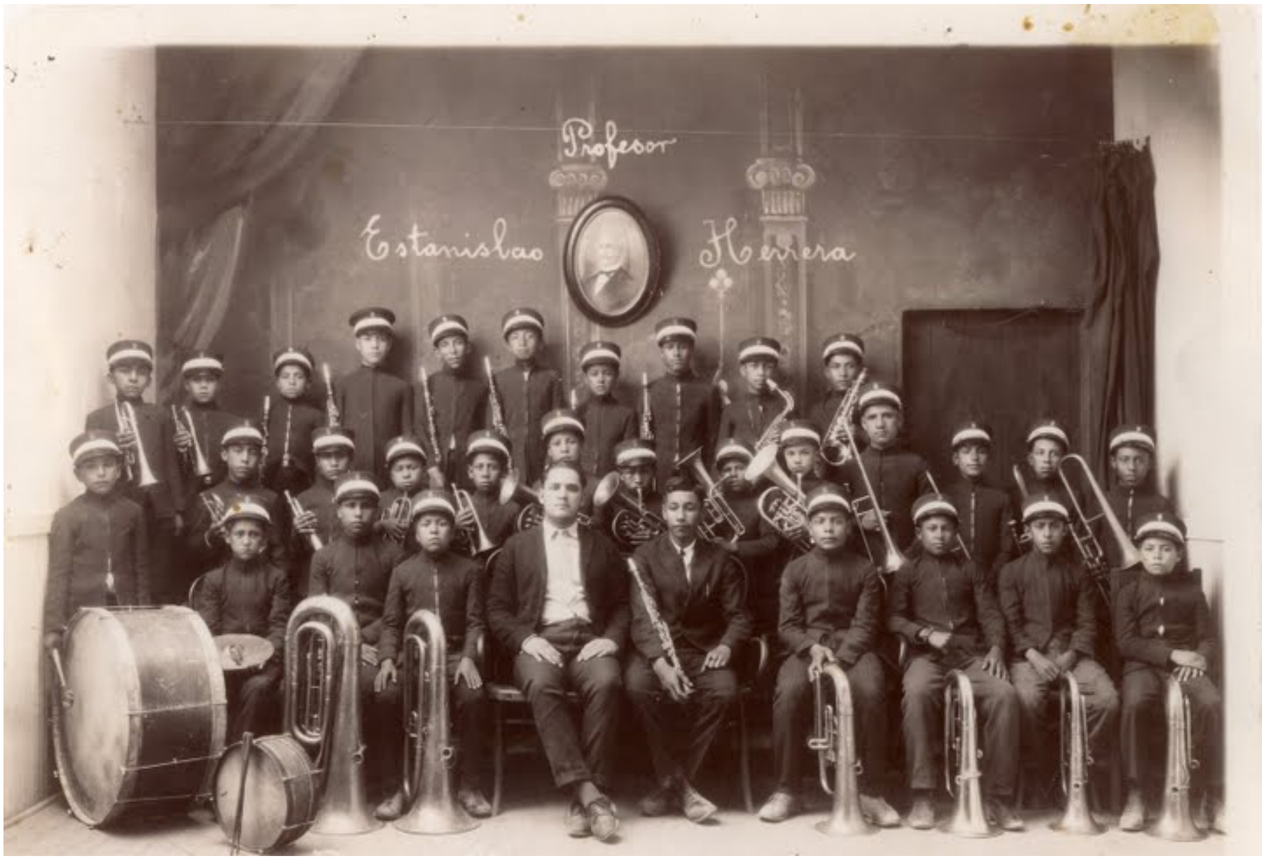

Figure 1: The author's grandfather, Monico Jiménez, pictured top left, later went on to work as a traveling musician in the U.S. for several years. His story was the inspiration for this project. Circa 1909. Photo courtesy of Luis J. Rodríguez.

Although I ran into one dead end after another and was told on more than one occasion that there were no Mexicans living in New Orleans in the nineteenth-century, I found numerous connections between the Crescent City and Mexico that needed to be explored. This project required countless months in the archives, particularly in New Orleans and in Mexico City and I was fortunate to encounter archivists and staff that were incredibly knowledgeable and helpful. The New Orleans Public Library's (NOPL) Louisiana Division / City Archives became a second home to me, and I am incredibly grateful to Greg Osborn and Irene Wainwright for their guidance in locating important records and documents in the NOPL's collections. I also had the pleasure of working with Eira Tansley in the Louisiana Research Collection at Tulane

University's Howard-Tilton Memorial Library. Eira's assistance was critical in locating documents that had been moved during Katrina and making them available for my research. This would be a very different project without their invaluable assistance.

My greatest intellectual debt is to my advisor, Gerry Cadava, who has supported this project since its inception. I have benefitted tremendously from his feedback, probing questions, and continued enthusiasm for my work throughout this process. He has supported my intellectual curiosity and has been patient with my many sidesteps throughout my graduate career. His professional guidance has been invaluable, as I have navigated academia as a first-generation college student. I am eternally grateful for his support.

My committee members, Julie Weise and Frances Aparicio, have read countless pages and have provided invaluable feedback that has pushed me to avoid simplistic explanations. Their thoughtful commentary has challenged me to rethink my analysis when necessary and this project is stronger for it. In addition to their intellectual support, I am grateful for their professional and personal support, which has been critical, as I have encountered challenges such as impostor syndrome during my time in the academy.

I was also fortunate to have the generous support of the Five College Dissertation Fellowship, which allowed me to focus on my research, writing, and a wonderful year of teaching at Hampshire College. My experiences at Hampshire College encouraged me to re-think pedagogical methods and demonstrated to me that educators can learn just as much from their students as they can teach. It also brought two wonderfully supportive mentors to my life – Kristen Luschen and Wilson Valentín. I am forever grateful to them for reminding me that I belong in the academy and have a great deal to offer. Similarly, the support of Jinah Kim and the Colloquium on Ethnicity and Diaspora (CED) at Northwestern University provided an intellectual community and home that nourished my passion for tracing the contributions of diasporic communities and many of history's seemingly invisible actors.

As my formal graduate education comes to its end, I recognize that my academic path has not been entirely traditional, and so there are some untraditional people who have been instrumental in helping me get to the finish line. Tough love and moral support were in no short order throughout this process and I am grateful to the roller derby community and the leagues I had the privilege of playing with – Chicago Outfit Roller Derby, Pioneer Valley Roller Derby, and San Fernando Valley Roller Derby – that helped me find homes away from "home" throughout my graduate education. They constantly reminded me to get back up again each time I got knocked down, literally and figuratively, and that the history I was writing needed to be accessible to a general audience. In the process, they reaffirmed my commitment to public history.

I especially want to thank Ivelisse Santos Rodríguez and Riva Pearson, two of the most supportive, fierce, and brilliant women that I have been fortunate to have in my life. They know far more about the subject of this project than they would have ever anticipated. They listened to countless stories, frustrations, and grappled with difficult questions with me while bringing a balance and fun to my life each step of the way. They helped make the work less solitary even from afar. Thank you.

And then there are those to whom I owe the largest debt – my family. My father, Marcello Jiménez sparked my passion for history from an early age and has, at each turn encouraged me with his tough love asking that dreaded question – "when will you be finished with your dissertation?" My mother, Leticia Jiménez, has been my confidant and greatest advocate throughout my life. From spending her evenings working through extra assignments with me so that I wouldn't flunk the first grade to being a pillar of strength through years of illness, she has always been the most brave and intelligent woman I've known. My education and this dissertation would not have been possible without their unwavering support and love. They have been my inspiration and motivation at each step. I hope that I have made them proud and that they know their many sacrifices have not been in vain. As my brother, Angelo Jiménez, makes his own way through medical school, I can only hope that in sharing my own experiences with him, I have made his journey a little less difficult.

I offer a most special thanks to my husband and partner in life, Roger Almendarez. We have weathered many storms together but you have been my rock and guiding light throughout this process, even at the darkest and most trying times, always reminding me "something is not nothing." I have been fortunate to have a partner who has understood and supported the endless hours of research and writing, the early wake-up calls to write before heading to a full-time job, and the adventures to new places for research. He has helped make my endeavors possible by serving as a sounding board for my ideas and building a beautiful life with me. I am forever grateful for his love, support, and companionship.

And finally, Adeline Jiménez Almendarez has served as the inspiration for this project long before she was conceived, and she has grown with me, researched, written, and revised with me over the last seven months. This project is not just an homage to my family and to history's seemingly invisible actors, but it is to also a tribute to future generations, including my soon-to-be-born daughter. As she enters this world, I hope she will always remember where she came from, including the many sacrifices of those who came before her, and recognizes that her seemingly ordinary actions have the ability to shape the course of history.

NOTE ON USAGE

I have borrowed the term “U.S. American” from historian Mary A. Renda to challenge the imperialism embodied by the more commonly used “American,” which is often used to refer to people and things in or from the United States. This colloquial nomenclature poses a problem for students and scholars of the Americas, and one response to this challenge has been to use the term “North American” in lieu of “American.” However, this term is also problematic in its erasure of Canada and Mexico. In using “U.S. American,” I acknowledge that the United States constitutes part, but not all, of America and that it began to constitute a national identity in the nineteenth-century, particularly in relation to Mexico and Latin America.

The use of the term “Mexican” to describe the experiences of people from Mexico in the nineteenth-century United States is not without its challenges. Throughout much of the nineteenth-century, most people from Mexico would have identified with their region and/or ancestry rather than as “Mexican.” However, I have chosen to use the term to convey how New Orleanians and U.S. Americans saw them in a U.S. context. Moreover, the term captures how musicians became Mexican at the World’s Fair and during their time in New Orleans as they engaged the idea of a foreign homeland.

All translations used in this dissertation are my own, and I have chosen not to use “sic” in quotations.

DEDICATION

To my parents, for inspiring my curiosity and helping to make my education possible.
To my loving husband for his unwavering support and for always reminding me that "something is not nothing."

And to Angelo and Adeline – may you always remember that each of your actions, like those of history's seemingly invisible actors, creates a ripple.

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“[New Orleans] is one of those Gulf cities that all seem like
sisters, but very large, very developed; Tampico, Veracruz,
and Campeche would all fit within it, and it has something
of all of them within it, of Veracruz above all.”
- *Justo Sierra*[1]

“New Orleans is all kinds of unfathomable, a city of
amorphous boundaries …where most rules are full of
exceptions the way most land here is full of water.”
- *Rebecca Snedeker and Rebecca Solnit*[2]

INTRODUCTION: A New Spice in the Gumbo?

A few months after Hurricane Katrina had devastated New Orleans, the city’s gift shops were flooded with new t-shirts that featured the slogan – “FEMA: Find Every Mexican Available.” Tourists and locals alike could see the slogan displayed in storefront windows next to a range of popular souvenir t-shirts that celebrated the city’s distinct culture with familiar local colloquialisms – “laissez les bon temps rouler,” “Nawlins,” “Who Dat?,” and “the Crescent City.”[3] Unlike these festive shirts, the new FEMA shirt reflected the growing racial and ethno-racial tensions that had become the subject of discussion in post-Katrina New Orleans in response to the city’s abrupt demographic changes and local frustration with failed relief efforts.[4] As the city’s Mexican population nearly doubled within the first months following the storm, people began to question if this “new spice in the gumbo” would change the city’s

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[1] Justo Sierra was a Mexican writer and politician. As quoted in: Andrew Sluyter, Case Watkins, James P. Chaney, and Annie M. Gibson, *Hispanic and Latino New Orleans: Immigration and Identity Since the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2015), 1.

[2] Rebecca Solnit and Rebecca Snedeker, *Unfathomable City: A New Orleans Atlas* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 2.

[3] The popular New Orleans saying “laissez les bon temps rouler” is French for “let the good times roll” and has become one of the city’s mottos. It reflects an attitude and culture that is part of the city’s tourism economy. Crescent City is a commonly used nickname for New Orleans that makes reference to the course of the Lower Mississippi River around and through the city, making the shape of a crescent half-moon around the city.

[4] For more on immigration and its implications for ethnoracial categorization and the color line, see: Jennifer Lee and Frank D. Bean, *The Diversity Paradox: Immigration and the Color Line in 21st Century America* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2012).

"complexion."[5] The media further encouraged these ideas by representing Mexicans as an undesirable foreign element, as newcomers that threatened the city's established relations that had long existed along a black-white racial binary.[6] The *New York Times* placed the arrival of these Mexican workers within the context of demographic changes happening in the broader U.S. South, claiming, "the arrival of hundreds of thousands of Hispanic immigrants over the past decade is quietly changing the dynamics of race relations in many Southern towns," and New Orleans was simply next.[7] Similarly, local politicians engaged in hyperbole, at times bemoaning that the city had been "overrun by Mexican workers" who were depressing wages, and at others, celebrating that the city could become a "future San Antonio."[8] As the African American population declined and the Mexican population continued to grow, New Orleans Mayor Ray Nagin argued that local residents should be first hired in the city's reconstruction efforts. Indeed, many white and black New Orleanians, politicians, and the media saw the influx of people who came to rebuild the city as a new phenomenon, an unwelcome threat to the city's social order, rich culture, and its tourist economy. These voices displayed an ignorance of the myriad ways Mexicans and Latinxs have helped shape the city's distinct culture and economy.

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[5] Arian Campo-Flores, "A New Spice in the Gumbo: Will Latino Day Laborers Locating in New Orleans Change Its Complexion?" *Newsweek* 147 (December 2005): 46.

[6] Sluyter, et al., *Hispanic and Latino New Orleans*, 8.

[7] There are six southern states that have had greater than two hundred percent growth rate in their Latina/o population between 1990 and 2000 – Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Moreover, between 2000 and 2010, the U.S. South saw a fifty-seven percent increase in its Latina/o population, which is substantially higher than the national growth rate of forty-three percent. This growth rate began before Katrina, and New Orleans did not experience growth at this level even after the storm. See: Rachel L. Swarns, "Bridging a Racial Rift That Isn't Black and White; The Latino South: A New Rivalry," *New York Times,* October 3, 2006, p. A1; Sluyter, et al., *Hispanic and Latino New Orleans*, 9. See also: Andy Grimm, "Hispanic Immigration post-Katrina finding permanent roots in metro New Orleans," *Times-Picayune*, August 27, 2015; Icess Fernandez Rojas, "10 Years After Katrina, A Defined Latino Presence in New Orleans," *NBC News*, August 29, 2015; Mary E. Odeam and Elaine Lacy, editors, *Latino Immigrants and the Transformation of the U.S. South* (Athens, The University of Georgia Press, 2009); and Rakesh Kochar, Roberto Suro, and Sonya Tafoya, *The New Latino South: The Context and Consequences of Rapid Population Growth* (Washington, D.C.: Pew Research Center, 2005), 2 – 3.

[8] Campo-Flores, "A New Spice in the Gumbo," 46.

However, this was not the first time that white New Orleanians had voiced concerns about Mexican migrants allegedly taking jobs from locals and depressing wages. Nearly one hundred years earlier, many of the city's white musicians argued that the number and popularity of Mexican musicians performing in the city since the 1884 World's Fair had resulted in pay for local talent to be "cut all to pieces."[9] In response, they advocated for the creation of a local chapter of the American Federation of Musicians (AFM), and supported its national appeal to President Theodore Roosevelt for a "fair and just interpretation of the Alien Contract Law as applied to the importation of foreign musicians."[10] The AFM argued that orchestra musicians should be re-classified as artisans rather than as artists, so that the Alien Contract Labor Law would then apply to them, prohibiting white New Orleanian businessmen from contracting Mexican musicians for local performances. While U.S. Congress continuously denied the AFM's request, New Orleanians successfully established a local chapter of the union for the city's white musicians – the Musicians Mutual and Protective Union. In what might initially seem to be an unexpected turn, they extended membership to Mexican musicians living in the city, suggesting that they considered them both white and an important part of the city's evolving music culture.[11]

Although New Orleans' late nineteenth century white musicians and post-Katrina residents deployed similar rhetoric about depressed wages and prioritizing local labor to address the influx of Mexican migrants, the similarities in these cases largely end there. While some late nineteenth-century white New Orleans musicians were indeed concerned about competition from

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[9] "Musicians, Too, To Be Organised as a Union Under Federation Auspices," *Times Picayune*, December 17, 1901; "In Defense of Local Talent," *Times Picayune*, April 16, 1893.

[10] "Alien Contract Labor Law," *Times Picayune*, November 28, 1902; American Federation of Labor, "Resolution No. 227," in *Report of Proceedings of the Thirty-Ninth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Volume 39* (Washington, D.C.: The Law Reporter Printing Company, 1919), 389.

[11] Eric Arnesen, editor, *Encyclopedia of U.S. Labor and Working Class History, Volume 1* (New York: Routledge, 2006), 81.

Mexican talent and fair wages for their work, the city's music lovers of all races had become enamored with Mexican music after the 1884 World's Fair, where Mexico's Eighth Cavalry Military Band had captivated them with their "strange" but "sweet" sounds.[12] Throughout the fair, the band sparked what historian Helen Delpar has called a "vogue" for all things Mexican in New Orleans, and local white socialites and businessmen regularly hired Mexican musicians to perform at the city's most respected social functions.[13] This local enthusiasm for Mexican music was latent with an exoticism that simultaneously celebrated it as both charmingly foreign and culturally modern, exposing its "otherness" while maintaining its suitability for white New Orleanian consumption.[14] Mexican danza, derived from the Afro-Cuban danzón, became particularly popular in the city because it allowed white New Orleanians to experience a different and foreign culture, while maintaining their distance from blackness since it was performed by members of a newly embraced, modern "sister republic."[15]

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[12] Hereafter referred to as the Eighth Cavalry Band.

[13] I am building on historian Helen Delpar's concept of a "vogue for things Mexican." Though her study examines U.S.-Mexican relations in the post-Mexican revolutionary era, I am locating the emergence of "cultural relations" between Mexico and New Orleans as beginning with the 1884 fair. The fair was the site where artists and intellectuals from Mexico and New Orleans were exposed to each other and influenced musical developments in both places. This vogue, or these cultural relations, developed earlier in New Orleans that in other parts of the United States as a result of the 1884 fair and the attempts at fostering commercial relations with Mexico. This vogue persisted in New Orleans until the rest of the United States was similarly affected by this vogue after the Mexican Revolution. See: Helen Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations Between the United States and Mexico, 1920 – 1935* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1995).

[14] While exoticism share similarities with Edward Said's theory of orientalism," it is not associated with a particular time or culture. It is most often discussed in relation to the production and consumption of music, art, and literature. See: Victor Segalen, *Essay on Exoticism: An Aesthetics of Diversity,* Durham: Duke University Press, 2002; Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh, "Introduction: On Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music," in *Western Music and Its Others,* ed. by Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 1 – 47; Alden Jones, "This is Not a Cruise," The Smart Set – Drexel University, August 6, 2007, https://thesmartset.com/article08060708/.

[15] Danzas Mexicanas, or Mexican danza, in the late nineteenth-century was a danzón-derived form that borrowed the conventional binary form or basic habanera accompaniment pattern, but featured more harmonic variety than most dance music and were very technically challenging. The habanera rhythm had become extremely popular in Mexico during the 1870s and many Mexican composers, including those who came to New Orleans in 1884, brought danzas influenced by the habanera rhythm and danzón to the city. See: John Storm Roberts, *The Latin Tinge: The Impact of Latin American Music on the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 24 – 43. See also: Alfred Lemmon, New Orleans Popular Sheet Music Imprints: The Latin Tinge Prior to 1900." *Southern Quarterly* 27.2

This enthusiasm for Mexican music created distinct opportunities for the band's musicians in late nineteenth-century New Orleans. Their music and services were in such high demand that it gave them access to privileged social events, allowing them to gain social status and a degree of whiteness as the city's racial line was becoming increasingly rigid. Unlike the Mexican migrants who came to rebuild New Orleans after Katrina that were seen as a threat to the city's social and racial order, many of these nineteenth-century musicians came to call New Orleans home after the fair and used their distinct talents and the popularity of Mexican music to claim a place for themselves as culturally and socially white, taking on important roles in local bands, music organizations, and in the white musician's union.

In order to understand the precarious and changing position of Mexican migrants in New Orleans, this dissertation asks how Mexican migrants went from being socially excluded and racialized as non-white "others" throughout most of the nineteenth-century to gaining a degree of acceptance into the city's white society at the century's end despite intensifying race relations. What prompted this shift and what was the role of Mexican musicians in creating this change? How did Mexican musicians come to claim their place as socially and culturally white in late nineteenth-century New Orleans despite increasing racial tensions and the beginning of legal segregation? In other words, how did Mexicans gain greater privileges and public rights in the very city where the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case formally legalized Jim Crow and "separate but equal"?[16] To answer these questions, this dissertation will examine Mexico's relationship to New Orleans in the nineteenth-century, the band's performances at the 1884 World's Fair, their

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(1989), 44; Alejandro L. Madrid and Robin D. Moore, *Danzón: Circum-Caribbean Dialogues in Music and Dance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 92 – 94, and 120 – 121.

[16] Historian Rebecca J. Scott has defined public rights as "the equal dignity of citizens in the public sphere," making it different from civil and political rights and from social equality. See: Rebecca J. Scott, "Public Rights, Social Equality, and the Conceptual Roots of the *Plessy* Challenge," *Michigan Law Review* 106.5 (2008), 781.

twenty-five year career in the city, and the lives those musicians created for themselves in the city. In uncovering New Orleans' relatively small but culturally significant Mexican community it complicates our understanding of how the city's racial line became increasingly rigid in the late nineteenth-century and demonstrates that the process of Mexicans becoming culturally and social white inadvertently helped forge a black-white racial binary in a city that had once been known for its racial fluidity and ultimately entrenched white supremacy locally. It is a story that brings nuance to the racial mythologizing that has come to define New Orleans' narrative over the last century and has relegated the city's Latin American influence to the colonial and antebellum past in the process.

The story of the Eighth Cavalry Band's musicians unfolds in a specific place and occurs at a particular historical moment – the 1884 World's Fair in New Orleans – but it is one that had a lasting impact on the city's distinct music culture and created new opportunities for Mexican musicians in the process. As such, this dissertation argues that the 1884 World's Fair was a pivotal moment that fundamentally changed the relationship between New Orleans and Mexico and the status of Mexicans living in the city. In an attempt to reconcile the tensions created by past hostilities and re-new relations between them, white New Orleanian businessmen and Mexican diplomats developed a "rhetoric of friendship" around the fair, a persuasive language, symbolism, and attitude in which they embraced one another as partners in commerce and modernity and as sister republics. The fair's rhetoric of friendship largely rang hollow and ultimately was unable to escape the history of uneven relations between them because of Mexican diplomats' continued feelings of distrust in white New Orleanians and their underlying benevolence. Nonetheless, the fair's rhetoric and white New Orleanians' growing fascination with Mexican music did help re-classify Mexican's social status in the city as culturally and socially white, and opened doors to new opportunities for the Eighth Cavalry Band's musicians. Unlike their counterparts in the southwest who attempted to make legal and biological claims to whiteness,[17] these musicians gained their social and cultural whiteness by capitalizing on the local enthusiasm for Mexican music and emphasizing the *Mexicanidad* the Mexican government had portrayed at the 1884 Fair – one that was culturally modern and therefore "white," but remained foreign and "exotic" enough to appeal to white New Orleanian desires. It was then, only a degree of whiteness that Mexican musicians gained within a specific context, but one that inadvertently helped affirm an increasingly rigid racial line in the process.

This was a significant shift in the social position of Mexicans in the city, one that was shaped by the fair's rhetoric and efforts at renewed relations between Mexican diplomats and white New Orleanian leaders. Indeed, geographic proximity, shared colonial histories, and the constant circulation of people, ideas, and goods between New Orleans and Mexico had long connected them. However, for most of the nineteenth-century Mexicans held a rather precarious position in New Orleans. As historian Sarah Cornell has shown, Mexicans may have gained legal whiteness but they were "denied many of the privileges of whiteness" throughout most of the nineteenth-century.[18] At times, Mexican workers found themselves in the city's jails and at others laboring alongside the enslaved as a result of their ambiguous racial status.[19] However, during and after the 1884 World's Fair, as Mexican diplomats and white New Orleanian leaders began intentionally using cultural exchange as a strategy for improving relations between them, the city's white population celebrated a charmingly foreign but modern Mexican culture and embraced its representatives. Indeed, Mexican musicians became the toast of white New Orleans' social world and were guests at social affairs throughout the city. Mexican experiences in the city had changed significantly and were shaped by changes happening in New Orleans, Mexico, and by both of their aspirations for the future. It reveals how efforts at diplomacy and the fair's rhetoric of friendship altered the experiences of Mexicans in New Orleans.

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[17] Julie M. Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms, Southern Racisms: Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the U.S. South, 1908 – 1939," *American Quarterly* 60, no. 3 (September 2008), 763 – 765.

[18] Sarah Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico: A Transnational History of Race, Slavery, and Freedom, 1810 – 1910" (PhD diss., New York University, 2008), 8.

[19] Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico," 139 – 140, 183 – 184.

An examination of the 1884 World's Fair also reveals how leaders in New Orleans and Mexico positioned themselves in relation to the world and the future they envisioned for themselves. Moreover, it demonstrates a moment ripe with the potential for reconciling past tensions and establishing new relations between them. While the fair was a colossal economic failure, it was nonetheless a popular success and a pivotal moment in New Orleans' history that fundamentally altered its relationship with Mexico. The fair and its rhetoric helped usher in a new era between them, one where Mexican and white New Orleanian leaders intentionally used cultural exchange as a strategy for building friendly relations with one another and furthering their commercial interests. Moreover, both New Orleanian and Mexican leaders – with New Orleans as the host city and Mexico as the fair's second largest financial contributor – were invested in the success of the fair as they saw it as a stage where they could re-create their images and perform modernity before an international audience. The end of New Orleans' slave economy followed by the end of Reconstruction left the city's leaders eager to industrialize and reclaim its status as the U.S. South's busiest commercial port. The fair served as a showcase for the city's postwar and post-Reconstruction recovery, and white New Orleans leaders turned to Mexico, their nearby southern neighbor as a potential trader partner that could boost the local economy and provide raw materials for newly developing industries. Similarly, the Mexican government was looking to lead Latin America's march towards modernity. They sought to attract foreign investors who could bring new industry to Mexico and help boost the economy.[20] The 1884 World's Fair, then, offered an international platform to demonstrate that they had both moved beyond the trials of war, and represented opportunity in an expanding world economy. These needs shaped a rhetoric of friendship, where white New Orleanian leaders embraced Mexico as a "sister republic" and consequently created distinct opportunities for Mexicans.

In an effort to help foster friendly relations between Mexican diplomats and white New Orleans leaders, the Mexican government sent their celebrated Eighth Cavalry Band to represent the young nation at the 1884 World's Fair. The band's musicians helped project an image of a culturally modern nation and their music helped to advance cross-cultural communication between New Orleans leaders and Mexican diplomats. While the circulation of ideas, people, and goods, had connected Mexico and New Orleans for generations, there were still cultural borders and language barriers separating them and Mexico's presentation at the fair was one of the first deliberate efforts to use culture to shape new relations between them. The Eighth Cavalry Band's musicians played an important role at the fair as cultural brokers, using music to translate between seemingly disparate cultures and to help foster new friendships between white New Orleanian leaders and Mexican diplomats.[21] They translated the fair's rhetoric of friendship into a musical language and gave it a cultural form. Their music and performances drew attention to Mexico's cultural modernity and inspired a curiosity, albeit one rooted in exoticist desires, about the sister republic in white New Orleanians.

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[20] Gene Yeager, "Porfirian Commercial Propaganda: Mexico in the World Industrial Expositions," *The Americas* 34.2 (October 1977), 235.

[21] While cultural brokers have at times served to reduce conflict between groups, they have also worked to produce change. In the case of Mexican musicians at the 1884 World's Fair, their role was central to changing the relationship between Mexico and New Orleans by creating new, friendly relations. Margaret Connell Szasz, *Between Indian and White Worlds: The Cultural Broker* (Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 11-19.

In the process, these musicians, who were from different regions and came from varying cultural backgrounds, constructed an idea of Mexico and its culture in New Orleans that was not yet fully formed at home. Like all nations, Mexico was a national community that had to be "imagined" to exist given its racial and regional diversity, a process that had been interrupted by civil war and invasion since it had gained its independence from Spain. It was in New Orleans that these Mexican musicians shared the forced realization of their place, identity, and relation to others from Mexico. This project is an exploration into how those elements were negotiated in the particular circumstances of the moment. It will demonstrate how these musicians utilized music and an image of a modern Mexico to create a nascent and ever-changing Mexicanness that was influenced by their situational racial positioning, their interactions with African Americans and white southerners, Mexican political projects, local politics, and their continued ties to Mexico. The constant negotiation of these new identities allowed Mexicans living in New Orleans to remain connected, figuratively and sometimes literally, to Mexican politics and culture while abroad. Their story demonstrates their ability to use their roles as cultural brokers who worked to cultivate friendly commercial relations during and after the fair to create a sense of belonging in New Orleans. It was their simultaneous charming "foreignness" and cultural modernity that opened doors for them in a city where white society embraced Mexican music as a way to experience a different culture that was racially acceptable when the city's color line was becoming increasingly rigid.[22] Their music, biculturalism, and the fair's rhetoric of friendship served as tools for culturally "whitening" Mexico, and the musicians who settled in New Orleans continued to utilize these tools throughout their many years living in the city.

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[22] Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms, Southern Racisms."

Rethinking Race & Region: The "Latinness" of New Orleans and the Gulf of Mexico System

Since the colonial period, New Orleans has been a place unto itself, an anomaly among U.S. American cities in its architecture, cuisine, music, religion, but perhaps most explicitly, for its distinct racial history. When the city was incorporated into the United States after the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, it was notable for its substantial population of *gens de couleur libre* (free people of color) and its French culture, which continued to disrupt "dominant codes of national affiliation to create hybrid cultural spaces and alternative aesthetic possibilities."[23] It has historically been a city of "amorphous boundaries" where everything from race to land boundaries and music tradition "mingle into each other," and yet it has also been a city whose racial mythologizing has shaped how the city exists in the popular imagination.[24] This project aims to bring the growing body of literature on the multiracial U.S. South into conversation with that on the U.S.-Mexico borderlands studies to reveal the ways in which New Orleans, as a non-traditional borderland, has been a site for the development of hybrid cultural forms and identities informed by political desires on both sides of the border.

As the metropolis of the lower south, New Orleans' historically multiracial and polyglot population beckons us to rethink neat categories of both race and region. The Louisiana Civil Code, a legal system based on a combination of the region's French and Spanish colonial precedents, afforded free people of color and the enslaved far greater legal rights and protections than did the English common law system of the rest of the Anglo-American South.[25] As historian

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[23] Kirsten Silva Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture: The Transamerican Origins of Latino Writing* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001, 109 – 110.

[24] Solnit and Snedeker, *Unfathomable City*, 2; Ned Hérnard, "Quotable New Orleans," (New Orleans: New Orleans Bar Association, 2016), 1.

[25] For more on French, Spanish, and early Anglo-American laws on the Afro-descended population, see: Jennifer M. Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University, 2009);

Jennifer Spear has noted, these various laws codified status and ancestry as important determinants of rights and privileges, affording slaves and free people of color greater autonomy and rights by dictating how people of African descent were to be treated, but they also shaped how racial identities emerged in the city.[26] These laws, particularly Spanish laws of coartación, or the right of the enslaved to purchase their own freedom, made New Orleans more similar to Latin American cities in its racial organization, than to the rest of the Anglo-American U.S. South.[27] The city's resulting racial system in which ancestry, color, and class determined one's social standing, allowed for Afro-descendants' conscious manipulation of racial identity and created opportunities for their social mobility in the colonial and antebellum periods.[28]

It was, in part, this same racial system and its continued legacy that later allowed Mexican musicians to find a place for themselves in the city after the 1884 World's Fair. While scholars such as Rodolphe Desdunes, Patricia Brady, and Michel Fabre have documented the artistic and literary contributions of free people of color in New Orleans, the cultural contributions of Mexican musicians in the city have yet to be examined.[29] This project will build

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Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1992); James H. Dormon, *Creoles of Color* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1996); Jerah Johnson, "Colonial New Orleans: A Fragment of the Eighteenth-Century French Ethos," in *Creole New Orleans*, ed. Arnold Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 2002), 12 – 57; Thomas Ingersoll, "A View from the Parish Jail: New Orleans" *Common-Place* 3.4; and New Sublette, *The World That Made New Orleans: From Spanish Silver to Congo Square* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill, 2000); Kimberly S. Hanger, *Bounded Lives, Bounded Places: Free Black Society in Colonial New Orleans* (Durham: Duke University, 1997); Shannon Lee Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire: French Colonial New Orleans* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2009).

[26] Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans*, 52.

[27] New Orleans' Spanish period (1763 – 1802) is largely understudied, but scholars have written about the role of Spanish laws in the development of the city's free black population. See: Hirsch and Logsdon, *Creole New Orleans*; and Domínguez, *White by Definition.*

[28] For more on Creoles and how they manipulated race in New Orleans, see: Domínguez, *White by Definition*.

[29] Patricia Brady, "Black Artists in Antebellum New Orleans," in *The African American Experience in Louisiana, Part A: From Africa to the Civil War*, ed. Charles Vincent (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1999) 370 – 383; Rodolphe Lucien Desdunes, *Our People and Our History: Fifty Creole Portraits* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001); and Michel Fabre, "The New Orleans Press and

upon the work of these scholars to demonstrate how New Orleans' unique racial history made it an appealing and important site of opportunity and social mobility for Mexican cultural producers such as the musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band. At stake is not just the addition of another group to the history of New Orleans' racial and cultural milieu, but the demonstration of how race was constantly being made and remade in the city. Moreover, their story shows how racial status was not only shaped by class, color, and ancestry, but also by relations between neighboring places and attempts at cultural diplomacy.

In analyzing the ways in which the social position of Mexican migrants in New Orleans changed over the course of the city's history, this study challenges our understanding of race relations in the South's most culturally diverse city. After the end of the Mexican-American War in 1848, over 115,000 Mexicans became U.S. citizens and Mexicans gradually gained legal status as white, but they were often denied many of the privileges of whiteness in daily practice.[30] It was, without a doubt, a contested whiteness and a precarious position. The non-white social status and racial ambiguity of Mexicans threatened their well-being and, at times, their freedom in mid-nineteenth-century New Orleans.[31] However, that changed with the 1884 World's Fair as the musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band used their music and the fair's rhetoric of friendship to gain the privileges of whiteness. The city's common historical narrative is that rights for people of color in New Orleans began to diminish in the 1840s through the Civil War,

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French-Language Literature of Creoles of Color," in *Multilingual America: Transnationalism, Ethnicity, and the Languages of American Literature*, ed. Werner Sollors, (New York: New York University Press, 1998) 29-49.

[30] Mexicans in the newly acquired U.S. southwest gained legal citizenship when it was still limited to white men. Though they gradually gained legal designation as white and were identified as such on the census, their social position was often similar to non-whites. See: Laura E. Gómez, *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race* (New York: NYU Press, 2008), 15. See also: Campbell Gibson and Kay Jung, "Historical Census Statistics On Population Totals By Race, 1790 to 1990, and By Hispanic Origin, 1970 to 1990, For Large Cities And Other Urban Places In The United States," *Working Paper Series No. 76* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2005); and Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico," vii.

[31] Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico." 103 – 153.

they then made some of the greatest political gains there during Reconstruction, and the color line became increasingly rigid after the late 1880s.[32] An examination of how Mexican musicians gained social status as racial segregation was on the rise after the 1884 fair suggests that they were not only able to use their role as cultural brokers, the fair's rhetoric of friendship, and the city's enthusiasm for Mexican music as a way to gain the privileges of whiteness, but also how they inadvertently helped entrench white supremacy in New Orleans. Contrary to the loss of privileges experienced by the city's African American population post-Reconstruction, Mexican musicians gained more privileges in New Orleans as the color line became increasingly rigid. As Mexican musicians became culturally and socially white in New Orleans, people of any African ancestry became black, eliminating differences in status between those who were formerly enslaved and those who were part of the city's educated, Afro-Creole population. In other words, Mexicans, as people who had once held a precarious and racially ambiguous position but gained acceptance as white in late nineteenth-century, indirectly affirmed the city's color line.

The story of the Eighth Cavalry Band and its musicians, then, adds to recent scholarship that has challenged neat racial categorizations in the U.S. South, including the role of "coolies" and Mexican migrants in constructions of racial boundaries in the nineteenth-century.[33] It builds on the recent work of historians such as Sarah Cornell and Julie Weise, who have broadened our understanding of Mexican migration by examining the connections between the southeastern region of the United States and Mexico.[34] Until recently, historians interested in Mexican migration and Mexican American history have privileged the Southwest as a site of study and the U.S. South has largely remained outside of their purview. This is changing, however, as more scholars, encouraged by recent demographic changes, inquire into the history of Mexican migrants in the U.S. South. Cornell's work illuminates both black and white Southerners' visions of themselves as members of a transnational community intimately tied to Mexico and shows that their conceptualizations of race and labor did not always fall neatly into categories of black and white, or into those of slavery and freedom. Her work demonstrates that nineteenth-century white Southerners experimented with the idea that Mexican workers could provide an alternative to a free African American workforce – an idea that hinged upon the belief that Mexicans were neither black nor white.[35] Cornell's work makes a significant contribution to both the history of race in the U.S. South and Mexican American history, but her emphasis is on labor and rural areas. This project builds on that work by looking at musicians within the urban context of New Orleans to highlight their cultural contributions to the South's multiracial metropolis.

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[32] For more on New Orleans' *gens de couleur libre* challenging a black-white binary, see: Arnold R. Hirsch and Joseph Logsdon, *Creole New Orleans: Race and Americanization* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1992); Caryn Cossé Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana, 1718-1868* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1997); Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: New Press, 2007); and James H. Dormon, ed, *Creoles of Color: Gulf South* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996); Dale A. Somers, "Black and White in New Orleans: A Study in Urban Race Relations, 1865 – 1900," in *The African American Experience in Louisiana, Part A: From Africa to the Civil War,* ed. Charles Vincent (Lafayette: University of Louisiana, Center for Louisiana Studies, 2000), 518 – 536.

[33] For Mexicans in the nineteenth-century South, see: Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico" For more on how Chinese workers played a pivotal role in reconstructions of race in the antebellum south, see: Moon-Ho Jung, *Coolies and Cane: Race, Labor, and Sugar in the Age of Emancipation* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2006).

The work of Julie Weise is one of the few to examine the experiences of Mexicans in New Orleans specifically, and this dissertation builds on her groundbreaking work. Weise argues that Mexicans in New Orleans, from the 1920s onward, claimed their space as European-style white immigrants and escaped racialization as a distinct group by emphasizing a Mexican foreignness unlike Mexicans in the southwest that often made claims to Americanness and citizenship through assimilation.[36] Indeed, Mexicans were able to successfully engage Mexico to claim their place as politically, culturally, and historically white in New Orleans, without arguing that they were Caucasian biologically or legally.[37] While Weise's analysis of Mexican immigrants in New Orleans focuses on the 1920s forward, she aptly points out that Mexican nationalists' "emphasis on cultural, political, and economic whitening – the Porfiriato's legacy – could serve as a wedge into the winning side of U.S. style white supremacy."[38] This dissertation will demonstrate that the process of whitening that Weise locates in 1920s New Orleans began decades earlier at the 1884 World's Fair as Mexican president Porfirio Díaz and his *científicos* worked to re-define Mexico's image on an international stage.[39] Mexico's presentation at the fair, including that of the Eighth Cavalry Band was intended to project an image of modernity and progress, which served to culturally whiten the nation and its representatives and made them a viable sister republic for white New Orleanians.[40] The success of the Eighth Cavalry Band and Mexican musicians at the fair and in late nineteenth-century New Orleans demonstrates the power of rhetoric and diplomatic efforts to effectively challenge racial categorization.

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[34] Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico"; Sarah E. Cornell, "Citizens of Nowhere: Fugitive Slaves and African Americans in Mexico, 1833-1857," *Journal of American History* 100.2 (September 2013), 351 – 374; Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms, Southern Racisms"; Julie M. Weise, *Corazón de Dixie: Mexicanos in the U.S. South Since 1910* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2015),

[35] Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico," 7 – 13.

In examining Mexico's contributions to the 1884 World's Fair, this dissertation also builds on the important work of historian Mauricio Tenorio to demonstrate that Mexico's presentations, particularly that of the Eighth Cavalry Band, are a reflection of the emerging concept of an ideal modern Mexican nation formulated during the decades of the Porfiriato.[41] For Tenorio, World's Fairs serve as a unique vantage point for examining Mexico's conscious representations of progress and modernity, as the Mexican government aimed to define Mexico's image at home and abroad as industrialism and capitalism were expanding. However, Tenorio, like many scholars who have studied world's fairs largely overlooks the importance of the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, or the 1884 World's Fair, because it was a financial failure and came to be overshadowed by some of the more successful fairs that followed, including the Paris Universal Exposition of 1889 and the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. While the 1884 fair did indeed fall short of organizer's ambitions and expectations, it was a popular success during its time and was Mexico's first concerted effort at a large-scale presentation for an international event. At the time of the 1884 fair, it was Mexico's first and largest financial investment in an international exposition and the Mexican government carefully crafted each detail of their presentation, including their advancements in architecture, literature, and music as well as displaying Mexico's abundant resources. This dissertation not only addresses this omission by Tenorio and other scholars of world's fairs, but in doing so it reveals the ways Mexican diplomats and white New Orleanian leaders utilized the event to develop a rhetoric of friendship around the fair that changed relations between them and in the process created new opportunities for Mexicans on the other side of the border, in the Crescent City.

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[36] Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms, Southern Racisms," 749. See also: Weise, *Corazón de Dixie*, 14 – 49.

[37] Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms, Southern Racisms," 765.

[38] Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms, Southern Racisms," 772. Porfirio Díaz served as the president of Mexico from 1876 – 1880 and again from 1884 – 1911. Despite the brief period (1880 – 1884) during which Manuel González was president, the period from 1880 – 1911 is often referred to as the Porfiriato because Díaz continued to assert his influence as a member of González's cabinet and as Mexico's Chief Commissioner to the 1884 Fair until he re-assumed the presidency. See: Don Marion Coerver, "The Porfirian Interregnum: The Presidency of Manuel González of Mexico, 1880 – 1884" (Ph.D. Diss., Tulane University, 1973).

[39] The *científicos* (scientists, or scientifically oriented) were a group of elite technocratic advisors to President Díaz and the intellectual center of his presidential era. See: Tenorio, *Mexico at the World's Fairs*; and Charles A. Hale, "Political and Social Ideas in Latin America, 1870 – 1930," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America, Volume 4*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 367 – 442.

[40] For more on Mexico's representations at World's Fair under President Porfirio Díaz, see: Mauricio Tenorio, *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996).

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[41] The Porfiriato refers to the era of Porfirio Díaz's government from 1876 – 1911 whose motto was "Order and Progress." While there was a brief four-year period, 1880 – 1884, during which he was not president of Mexico in this era, he remained involved in government leadership. See: Gilbert M. Joseph and Timothy J. Henderson, eds., "President Díaz, Hero of the Americas," in *The Mexico Reader: History, Culture, Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 285 – 291.

However, centering a study such as this one on a world's fair is not without its challenges. International expositions have historically been "upper-class creations initiated and controlled by local elites," and the 1884 World's Fair was no exception.[42] Indeed, all world's fairs represent the ambitions and desires of its promoters and those most involved in shaping the event, and in the case of the 1884 fair, they are namely those of prominent white New Orleanian business and political leaders as well as those of Mexico's Porfirian elite. Both contributed to promoting the extravagant affair as a way to boost the economic development of their respective regions, and as a result, the propaganda they produced to shape its success reflects their goals and perspectives. Moreover, these leaders were often involved in influencing how the fair itself was represented in newspapers and other print publications. For example, the fair's director general, Edward A. Burke, owned the *Times-Democrat*, a popular New Orleans newspaper, and worked to ensure that local writings about the fair focused on its successes. Newspapers practices of the era, where papers often reprinted articles from other news sources, further emphasized these perspectives locally, nationally, and internationally. Moreover, there are no surviving African American New Orleans newspapers from 1884 or 1885 and few African American newspapers from other parts of the U.S. covered the fair in much detail.[43] As a result, this dissertation, as an examination of the fair, largely reflects the voices of the fair's organizers and the elite, as they are what have been archived and remain of this historical moment.

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[42] Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876 – 1916*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), 235.

[43] There appears to be a significant gap in the printing of African American newspapers in Louisiana, including New Orleans, between 1882 and 1886. This could be because of the growing disenfranchisement and increased violence against African Americans in the state at the time. The African American newspapers that were printed had very short runs and have not survived in archives. I have tried to include African American newspapers from other states when possible – such as the *State Journal, Washington Bee, Topeka Tribune and Western Recorder, and the Huntsville* Gazette – but their coverage of the fair was limited and in many cases the articles were largely reprints from other New Orleans based newspapers. See: Library of Congress, "Chronicling America – U.S. Newspaper Directory, 1690 – present," < https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/search/titles/>; Committee on Negro Studies of the American Council for Learned Societies, "African American Newspapers," City Archives / Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library (NOPL); Louisiana State University Library, "Louisiana Black Newspapers by Date."

While New Orleanians of all backgrounds did indeed attend the fair with many days open to the public free of charge and the fairgrounds being shared by people of all races, the voices and perspectives of the local working-class and non-white population are unfortunately largely absent from this study. Their attendance at the fair and at the Eighth Cavalry Band's performances throughout the city are the strongest indication of their enthusiasm for the fair, its popular entertainment, and Mexican music. The oral histories of early African American jazz musicians fortunately are able to provide invaluable insight into how they viewed Mexican musicians and music after the fair.[44] Their voices help reveal the many ways Mexican musicians contributed to the city's rich music culture. Through the combination of these sources as well as official fair records in both Mexico and New Orleans, this study provides key insights into how New Orleanian and Mexican leaders understood their relation to their region and the world and how they used the fair to represent themselves as leaders in modernity. Moreover, it provides insight into their aspirations for their city or country and the fair, and how they intentionally used cross-border cultural exchanges in an attempt to advance their own interests, ultimately impacting people on both sides of the border.

By examining Mexico's presentation at the world's fair and its influence on the hosting city, this study also challenges notions of region, and the idea of a unified or monolithic South. Studying New Orleans strictly within the scope of U.S. American history or that of the U.S. South renders its connections to Mexico and Latin America invisible, blurring its diverse history and characteristics into stereotypes that limit our understanding.[45] By the time of the 1884 fair, New Orleans, which had once been the South's most prosperous city, found itself in a position of dependency on northern and Midwestern manufacturing and it became increasingly associated in the national imaginary with a "suspect developmental backwardness, a hovering chaos, presumed to be endemic to all southern space."[46] Consequently, scholars have conceived and written about nineteenth-century New Orleans as both the epitome of southern distinctiveness and as an exceptional case within it. The city came to epitomize the most brutal forms of southern racial violence; first as the home of the infamous slave market and then for the most egregious resistance to Reconstruction-era reform.[47] However, New Orleans is a city that cannot be fully understood within a traditional framework of the U.S. South. The 1884 World's Fair, the Eighth Cavalry Band's success at the fair, and the city's varied connections to Mexico implore us to reconsider the geographic context scholars have largely used to study New Orleans.

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[44] These oral histories and autobiographies, housed at Tulane University's Hogan Jazz Archive, are referenced throughout chapter four of this dissertation to demonstrate that Mexican musicians and their music not only impacted white New Orleanians, but also the development of the city's broader musical culture.

Recent scholarship has on Louisiana has begun to examine New Orleans' historical and extensive commercial and political connections to the Caribbean, but its ties to Mexico have remained largely unexamined. New Orleans has historically been connected to Mexico because it has been a Gulf city, strategically positioned within the transportation and communications system of the Gulf of Mexico. The important work of historians such as Rebecca Scott, Caryn

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[45] For more on the invention of a monolithic South in the popular imaginary, see: Edward Ayers, "What We Talk About When We Talk About the South," in *All Over the Map: Rethinking American Regions,* eds. Edward Ayers, Patricia Nelson, Limerick, et. Al. (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 62 – 82.

[46] Kirsten Silva Gruesz, "Delta Desterrados: Antebellum New Orleans and New World Print Culture," *Look Away! The U.S. South in New World Studies*, ed. Jon Smith and Deborah N. Cohn (Durham: Duke University, 2004), 53.

[47] Historians such as Walter Johnson and Justin Nystrom have documented both of these characterizations in their important works. For more about New Orleans as the center of the antebellum slave market, see: Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 2001); and Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge: Harvard University, 2013). For more on resistance to northern sovereignty in Reconstruction-era, see: Justin A. Nystrom, *New Orleans after the Civil War: Race, Politics, and a New Birth of Freedom* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2010.

Cossé Bell, and Carl Brasseaux has been critical to understanding the political and economic ties between New Orleans, Cuba, and Saint-Domingue, but it has also divided the U.S. coastal zone by either national lines or has folded it into the wider Caribbean or Atlantic worlds.[48] While the work of these scholars has been critical to understanding New Orleans as a cosmopolitan city, this eastward emphasis has obscured Mexico's connections to New Orleans as part of what literary scholar Kirsten Silva Gruesz has called a broader "Gulf of Mexico system."[49] This project helps to address this void in the historiography by highlighting how New Orleans and Mexico were not only culturally and politically connected, but that their relationship to one another often shaped their own aspirations.

What Gruesz calls New Orleans' "Latinness" becomes undeniable when examining the ways in which the city played a central role in the Gulf of Mexico's system of transnational cultural exchange throughout the nineteenth century.[50] While New Orleans' colonial history and racial system indeed contributed to its early "Latinness," what made it a Latin or Gulf city in the nineteenth-century was not only its proximity to Mexico, but also its central role in Latin American hemispheric politics. Throughout the nineteenth-century, New Orleans simultaneously served as the central launching point of U.S. filibustering expeditions into Mexico and the cosmopolitan center of Latin American exiles. White New Orleanians who aspired to increase the city's role in international commerce took advantage of the city's access to Latin American news to advance their own economic and political interests.[51] Exiled Mexicans often selected New Orleans as a destination, particularly during Mexico's struggles for independence, because of its proximity and due to the similarity of the racial system. Indeed, while New Orleans at times threatened Mexico's sovereignty, it was also strangely familiar to Mexicans and Latin Americans. By the time of the 1884 World's Fair, white New Orleanian leaders and Mexican diplomats saw the potential to benefit from commercial and cultural exchange with one another because of their long-standing connections to one another, even if those relations were historically contentious and uneven.

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[48] For work on the influence of the Haitian Revolution on Black Creole life in New Orleans, see: Carl A. Brasseaux, *The Road To Louisiana: The Saint-Domingue Refugees, 1792-1809*, (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1992). For more on the migrations of people and the implications it had for Black Creole political activism, see: Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana*. For more on the relationship between Black Creoles, both free and enslaved, in Louisiana and Cuba and how they influenced each other's notions of freedom, see: Rebecca Scott, *Degrees of Freedom: Louisiana and Cuba After Slavery* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008).

[49] Kirsten Silva Gruesz, "The Gulf of Mexico System and the "Latinness" of New Orleans," *American Literary History* 18.4 (Fall 2006), 468 – 495; Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture*.

[50] The historian Thomas N. Ingersoll has challenged the notion of New Orleans' "Latinness," arguing that "New Orleans was 'Latin' only in that French was spoken there and Catholic in that this religion was the only one officially recognized" concluding that "New Orleans was never Hispanicized in any basic way." However, like Gruesz, I am choosing to define the city's "Latinness" by its continued connections to Latin America and the cultural contributions of Latin Americans in New Orleans rather than by the measurable persistence of Spanish colonial institutions. See: Thomas N. Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon in Early New Orleans: The First Slave Society in the Deep South, 1718–1819* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999).

In order to better understand white New Orleanians' often contradictory attitudes towards Mexico, this study approaches the city as a contested borderland. Building on Gruesz's work that has argued New Orleans is a conduit point and a point of overlap between two souths, this dissertation does not accept nation-state borders as the defining boundaries of New Orleans' existence or analysis.[52] New Orleans' specific location, situated between different but not entirely incommensurate worlds, has historically been positioned between Anglo and Latinx political entities, cultures, and languages. While New Orleans has been an important site of Latin American exile, Gruesz has shown that for Latinxs writing from or about New Orleans in the nineteenth-century, the city also symbolized U.S. economic and cultural imperialism.[53] New Orleanian writers and southerners such as Jefferson Davis who claimed during the Mexican-American War that "the Gulf of Mexico is a basin of water belonging to the United States" regularly reinforced this idea.[54] These complex entanglements mark New Orleans as a U.S.-Mexico border system where different trajectories of cultural, political, and economic activity have met. Thinking about New Orleans this way demonstrates that the border is not only a 2,000 mile land border between Mexico and the United States stretching from California through Texas, but extends well beyond and covers the Gulf of Mexico region, specifically the eastern coast of Mexico and the southeastern coast of the United States, as demonstrated by the regulation and policing of racialized bodies via the port of New Orleans in the mid-nineteenth-century.[55] New Orleans' place as a borderland rests in its role as a port city and gateway to the U.S. interior, it is a peripheral zone between land and sea. Indeed, as with other borders, the port of New Orleans has regulated "the flow of people, the movement of commodities and capital, and the exchange of ideas" and it has separated "the familiar from the foreign."[56] This project shows how New Orleans, and its connections to Mexico through the Gulf of Mexico system, reconfigures hemispheric imaginaries, one that sees New Orleans as a borderland and as a point of overlap between two souths.[57]

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[51] During the course of the nineteenth century, New Orleans showed its vigilance of Mexico's political and cultural events in the publication of newspapers and popular sheet music – both of which are central to this study. Gruesz and historian Alfred Lemmon have contributed greatly to the study of the Spanish-language press and Mexican sheet music in New Orleans. See: Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture*; and Alfred Lemmon, "New Orleans Popular Sheet Culture Imprints: The Latin Tinge," in *Arts and Entertainment in Louisiana*, ed. Patricia Brady (Lafayette: Center for Louisiana Studies, University of Louisiana at Lafayette, 2006), 283 – 299.

[52] Gruesz, "Delta Desterrados," 53

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[53] Gruesz, "Delta *Desterrados,"* 53.

[54] Jefferson Davis as quoted in: Charles Henry Brown, *Agents of Manifest Destiny: The Lives and Times of the Filibusters* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 29.

[55] The work of the historian Sarah Cornell has demonstrated that Afro-Mexican and racially ambiguous Mexican sailors docked in New Orleans were legally required to check-in with local authorities due to the Negro Seaman Acts. The majority of these sailors were locally imprisoned until their ship was ready to leave the port. The regulation and policing of racialized bodies intended to assuage racial tensions by keeping these sailors from staying in New Orleans permanently. See: Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico," 107-155.

[56] Tore C. Olsson, *Agrarian Crossings: Reformers and the Remakings of the US and Mexican Countryside* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2017), 1.

[57] Gruesz, "Delta Desterrados," 53

The Mexican migration to New Orleans and the cultural productions that emerged from the 1884 World's Fair are perhaps what best illustrate that it is a borderland city. New Orleans, as the site of the fair, served as a contact zone, a site of linguistic, cultural, and social interactions that allowed for a "multidirectional and complex rearticulation of social relations," further making the city's role as a borderland clear.[58] Nineteenth-century New Orleans was a place where multiple cultures interacted, clashed, mixed, and negotiated boundaries in the forging of new identities. However, at the fair, New Orleanians and Mexicans encountered one another on new terms – one in which they could re-shape perceptions of themselves and their relationship to one another. Following in the works of scholars such as Shelley Streeby and Jason Ruiz, this dissertation explores the "discursive production of Mexico and Mexicanness in the American imagination" by examining the fair's rhetoric of friendship and its implications for Mexican musicians in the city.[59] Representatives of both Mexico and New Orleans helped shape this new image of Mexico and created distinct opportunities for Mexicans in the city in the process. The Mexicanness that was crafted and remade by Mexican diplomats and musicians in New Orleans during the fair lent itself to adaptations drawn from Mexico's political project in pursuit of modernity. However, this process of cultural formation also influenced the city's distinct culture – its music, art, and intellectual heritage.

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[58] Isabel Molina-Guzman, *Dangerous Curves: Latina Bodies in the Media*, (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 155.

[59] While historians have written about American aggression against Mexico in the 1840s as a foundational moment in the history of U.S. expansionism and empire, the historiography on U.S. imperialism largely shifts away from Mexico after the Mexican-American War. However, the scholarship of Streeby and Ruiz demonstrates that the idea of Mexico remained prominent in the mind of many Americans. See: Jason Ruiz, *Americans in the Treasure House: Travel to Porfirian Mexico and the Cultural Politics of Empire*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2014), 4 – 5; and Shelley Streeby, *American Sensations: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

New Orleans' regular interactions with its southern neighbors had long enriched the city with Latin American people and goods, but the Eighth Cavalry Band's performances at the 1884 World's fair represents a watershed in the city's vibrant music history. Indeed, the city already had a rich and established music culture before the fair that spanned from European operatic styles to Afro-influenced styles. However, the fair introduced an "extraordinary musical banquet" of superb local, national, and international talent, but none captivated the public in quite the same way as the Eighth Cavalry Band. [60] The band's performance brought musical innovations to the city and introduced New Orleanians to new instruments such as the saxophone. They also brought a new repertoire of Mexican music, and incorporated a combination of score-based band arrangements and improvised traditional music into their performances. Each of these innovations helped cultivate a local fervor for Mexican music and came to influence the development of ragtime, and later jazz music in New Orleans. The popularity of Mexican music in the city not only gained the musicians popularity and status in the city, but they significantly influenced the city's music culture in the process.

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This dissertation begins by examining the myriad ways in which New Orleans and the region that became Mexico have been intimately connected since European contact with the Americas. It looks at how their shared colonial histories shaped similar, tripartite racial systems that made New Orleans more similar to much of Latin America than the Anglo U.S. South after the 1803 Louisiana Purchase. In exploring the connections between New Orleans and Mexico leading up to the 1884 World's Fair, the opening chapter demonstrates that New Orleans occupied a dual historical position throughout most of the nineteenth-century, as both friend and foe to its southern neighbor. For Mexicans, it was simultaneously a locus of power from which U.S. hegemony over Mexico was extended through filibustering and military campaigns, and a familiar space that offered refuge to exiles. For white New Orleanians, Mexico was a foreign, war-torn, and backwards place that threatened the city's slave economy with its early abolition of slavery and its refusal to return fugitive slaves. Their relations throughout much of the nineteenth-century were contentious, even if they remained connected, particularly through the circulation of information, goods, and people. This chapter argues that these complex relations are the result of New Orleans' position as a non-traditional borderland, an overlap between two souths – that of the U.S. and that of the southern American hemisphere – making it ripe for the forging of new cultural forms and racial identities.[61] This long history of uneven relations made New Orleanian and Mexican leaders distrustful of one another and contextualizes the significant shift in white New Orleanian attitudes towards Mexico on the eve of the 1884 fair.

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[60] Dr. Alfred E. Lemmon, "Introduction," in *A Fair to Remember: The 1884 – 1885 Concert Season in New Orleans* (New Orleans: The Historic New Orleans Collection, 2016), 4.

The second chapter offers a close analysis of the often overlooked 1884 World's Fair and in examining the stakes involved of its two largest contributors – New Orleans and Mexico – it reveals it as a pivotal moment in changing the relationship between them. After the Civil War and Reconstruction, New Orleans sought to reinvent itself as a modern, industrial city and aimed to reclaim its place as the U.S. South's most important commercial port. New Orleanian businessmen sought to develop new industry and commercial relations that could replace the slave economy on which the city had depended. In searching for raw materials such as precious metals to potentially support the development of new industry and partners with which they could expand commercial relations, they looked to Mexico since trade with them had helped the city survive the Civil War. White New Orleanian leaders used the fair as an opportunity to change their relationship with Mexico. They developed a rhetoric of friendship around the fair and encouraged New Orleanians to embrace their southern neighbor as a "sister republic." While there was a benevolence underlying this rhetoric, it served as a strategy for cultivating friendly relations with Mexican diplomats as a means to fostering commercial exchange.

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[61] Gruesz, "Delta Desterrados," 53.

Mexico, the fair's second largest financial contributor, was similarly invested in the fair and also sought to reinvent its public image on the international stage that it provided. After years of war with foreign and domestic powers, Mexican leaders aimed to correct the errors of world opinion regarding the young country as violent, uncivilized, and war-torn towards a picture of a place where prosperity and progress bloomed. By showcasing Mexico's abundant resources at the fair, the Mexican government aimed to attract New Orleanian and other foreign investors to develop industry and further modernize the country. Despite its financial failures, the fair offered Mexicans and white New Orleanians, excitement and "a glimmer of hope for the future."[62] Indeed, the fair was a moment ripe with possibility for reinvention and a prosperous future in which Mexico and New Orleans could benefit from commercial exchange with one another, but the continued distrust between them largely thwarted those efforts.

Chapter three examines Mexico's participation at the fair and the popularity of the young nation's Eighth Cavalry Military Band in New Orleans. Despite the limitations of the fair's rhetoric, the Eighth Cavalry Band became wildly popular and its musicians became the toast of the New Orleans social world. These Mexican musicians were invited to participate in social events that were limited to members of white society and they also performed at events throughout the city to audiences of all backgrounds. At each of these events they continued to deploy the fair's rhetoric of friendship, whether it was an official fair event, a social function, or a charitable fundraiser. As representatives of a modern sister republic and cultural brokers, the band's musicians used their music to translate language and cultural differences between the people of Mexico and New Orleans, setting off a local craze for Mexican music. Their renditions of Afro-influenced Mexican danza became particularly popular in the city as it appealed to white New Orleanian exoticist desires to experience a different culture while still allowing them to maintain their distance from the music's blackness since it was performed by representatives of the "sister republic." Indeed, white New Orleanians embraced the musicians and their music as both charmingly foreign and culturally modern. This chapter makes clear that although the fair's rhetoric of friendship was not ultimately able to foster prosperous commercial relations between Mexico and New Orleans, it was, along with the popularity of Mexican music, able to create new opportunities for Mexican musicians' social mobility in the city.

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[62] Samuel C. Shepherd, Jr., "A Glimmer of Hope: The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, New Orleans, 1884 – 1885," *Louisiana History* 26.3 (Summer 1985), 272.

The final chapter analyzes the Eighth Cavalry Band as the fair's most enduring cultural legacy and demonstrates the myriad ways in which its musicians impacted the city's rich musical culture. In looking at the lives of the Mexican musicians who opted to stay in New Orleans at the end of the fair, it also shows how they managed to use their affiliation with the Eighth Cavalry Band, the popularity of Mexican music, and the fair's rhetoric of friendship to gain the privileges of whiteness. In the process, these musicians influenced the city's soundscape, by training some of the earliest jazz musicians, helping to establish the city's first musician's union, and by infusing the city's music venues with a distinctly Mexican sound.[63] Some of these musicians played in both black and white ragtime and jazz bands and were able to access all of the city's public spaces, demonstrating that their role as cultural brokers and representatives of a culturally modern, sister republic had served to whiten them even as the city became increasingly segregated. Their story demonstrates that Mexican musicians were able to use their skills as cultural brokers and the popularity of Mexican music to gain a status as socially and culturally white, helping to reinforce the city's increasingly rigid color line that granted privileges to those who were not a racialized black "other." Their ability to engage with communities on both sides of the city's color line allowed Mexican musicians to make significant contribution's to New Orleans' rich music culture. Nevertheless, with the exception of a handful of scholars who have written about the Eighth Cavalry Band, there appears to be some historical amnesia in the historiography.[64] This chapter tells their story to demonstrate how Mexican musicians helped shaped the city's most popular tourist attraction – its distinct sound.

The epilogue examines the relationship between Mexico and New Orleans after the fair and their continued efforts to develop friendly commercial relations between them despite the fair's failure. It explores how New Orleans and Mexico continued to impact one another's development even though key moments such as the Mexican Revolution largely derailed those efforts. The one change that did persist after the fair was the racial standing of Mexican musicians in New Orleans. Mexican musicians continued to enjoy the privileges of whiteness in the city, an experience from which later Mexican and Latin American migrants benefitted. This was, in part, the legacy of the fair's rhetoric of friendship, but it was also a product of New Orleans' continued ties to Latin America through enterprises such as the United Fruit Company. The city drew more educated, middle class migrants from Mexico and Latin America. Similar to the musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band, they used their bilingualism to fill needed roles in the city – in diplomatic offices and as translators in commercial organizations. As a result, they blended into the city so well, that by the late twentieth century, many believed that the city didn't have much of a Mexican population. Their historical contributions to the city became largely invisible, shaping some of the post-Katrina rhetoric that framed Mexicans as newcomers who would disrupt the city's race relations.

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[63] Mexican influence on New Orleans' music can perhaps best be seen in the way Mexican danzón and New Orleans ragtime both "created characteristic sounds by 'ragging' or syncopating European-derived melodies or dances associated with a more straightforward duple meter." See: Madrid and Moore, *Danzón*, 120 – 121.

[64] Only three scholars have written about the Eighth Cavalry Band and their influence in New Orleans. They have written article length works on them, all of which have been influential in the development of this study. See: Jack Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend: Myth, Reality, and Musical Impact; A Preliminary Investigation," *The Jazz Archivist* 6.2 (December 1991), 1-15; Gaye Theresa Johnson, "'Sobre Las Olas': A Mexican Genesis in Borderlands Jazz and the Legacy for Ethnic Studies," *Comparative American Studies* 6.3 (2008), 225-240; and Lemmon, "New Orleans Popular Sheet Culture Imprints," 283 – 299.

This dissertation tells a different story, one where Mexican musicians helped shape the city's cultural development. It is, then, a project of recovery that seeks to share the story of the Eighth Cavalry Band and the Mexican musicians who transformed "racial difference into folk culture" in order to earn their place in the city, and changed the New Orleans soundscape in the process.[65] Their story not only demonstrates that nineteenth-century New Orleans was a borderland with deep connections to Mexico where identities were regularly being made and remade, but it also pushes us to rethink U.S. and Mexican identities, race, and the differences and commonalities between their cultural productions and imagined communities.

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[65] Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms," 763.

> "It is not an easy thing to describe one's first impression of New Orleans; while it actually resembles no other city upon the face of the earth, yet it recalls vague memories of a hundred cities…I fancy that the power of fascination which New Orleans exercises upon foreigners is due no less to this peculiar characteristic than to the tropical beauty of the city itself."
>
> – Lafcadio Hearn, 1879[66]

CHAPTER ONE: A Place of Contradictions

Beginning with the earliest European explorers, New Orleans has captivated the public imagination for its distinct geography and unique culture. It quickly gained a reputation as having a predisposition for disorder and a corrupt moral economy that has endured and become part of the city's lore. The earliest French colonists, such as the Ursuline nun Marie Hachard, characterized the city as a devilish place, stating, "the devil here possesses a large empire."[67] This idea persisted, but by the time the United States took possession of New Orleans in 1803, the city existed in the public imaginary as a place of contrasting virtues and contradictions: a pious but dangerous and wild town, and as nineteenth-century writer Lafcadio Hearn noted, a city unlike any other and yet one that was oddly familiar to visitors from all parts of the world. These contrasting depictions shaped the city's relationship to the United States, Mexico, and to the broader Gulf Region in myriad ways.

This chapter examines the contradictory and tenuous relationship between New Orleans and Mexico leading up to the 1884 World's Fair. As with the city's many other contradictions, New Orleans served as both friend and foe to Mexico, an ally and also a threat to the young country's sovereignty, and it was both strange and familiar to Mexican liberals and intellectuals who sought refuge in the city. These contradictory and complex relations set the stage for the 1884 World's Fair where New Orleans businessmen and Mexican diplomats shaped a new "rhetoric of friendship" between the Crescent City and the "sister republic" that they utilized to repair past hostilities and to renew relations between them. As this chapter will demonstrate, from the colonial period throughout most of the nineteenth-century, New Orleans and Mexico had been connected in complex ways through the movement of people, political relations, and the circulation of information. These people, ideas, and new mediums of communication all helped shape New Orleans' distinct culture and its attendant racial representations, which made it both foreign and familiar to people from Mexico and Latin America. However, it was not until the 1884 World's Fair that New Orleans leaders and Mexican diplomats would deliberately attempt to use cultural exchange as a way to alter relations between the Crescent City and the young nation in an effort to repair the many years of contradictory and uneven relations that had existed between them.

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[66] S. Frederick Starr, *Inventing New Orleans; Writings of Lafcadio Hearn* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2001), 26.

[67] As quoted in: Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire, 2.*

During the colonial era and into the nineteenth-century, New Orleans was a hub of commerce and communication that connected the Mississippi watershed, Mexico, the Gulf region, parts of west and central Africa, and Western Europe, making it "an urban crossroads of languages, both spoken and musical."[68] The city's strategic yet challenging geographic location, linking east and west as well as north and south, had made it both a site of competing empires and a place for the meeting of people and ideas from a broad range of backgrounds. New Orleans was situated at the center of three different circulation routes of people and goods – one going up the Mississippi River, one stretching across the Atlantic, and another spreading across the Gulf of Mexico to Veracruz, Havana, and other small port cities.[69] In other words, its distinct geography and colonial history had made New Orleans a cultural borderland by the turn of the nineteenth-century. It was a place of overlap and continuity of Spanish, French, African, and Anglo cultures, which shaped its simultaneous foreignness and familiarity for travelers from Latin America. Indeed, by the time the United States acquired New Orleans at the turn of the nineteenth century, it had become home to a mélange of diverse cultures, a side effect of existing betwixt and between empires during its colonial period.[70]

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[68] Sublette, *The World That Made New Orleans*, 3.

New Orleans' simultaneous foreignness and familiarity shaped its complicated and often contradictory relationship with the young, neighboring country of Mexico throughout the nineteenth-century. The city was what literary scholar Kirsten Silva-Gruesz has called, "a point of overlap between two Souths," situated between Anglo American and Latin American political entities, languages, and cultural practices.[71] As such, New Orleans occupied a dual and often contradictory position in the nineteenth-century: it was both "a locus of power from which U.S. hegemony" over Mexico and Latin America was extended, and "an abjected place within the national body" of the U.S.[72] This distinct positioning between different, but not entirely incommensurate worlds made New Orleans, at times, a familiar place and ally to the young, optimistic Mexican liberals who sought to shape their young republic. At other times, the city was a looming threat to the sovereignty of that young country, and served as a strategically located launching point for U.S. American filibusters who sought to use Mexico and other parts of Latin America to further their own political and economic interests. The city was, in other words, both a friend and foe to its southern neighbor.

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[69] Shannon Dawdy, "Nouvelle-Orléans au dix-huitième siècle: routes d'échange dans le monde caribéen" ("New Orleans in the Eighteenth Century: Routes of Exchange in the Caribbean World"), *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* (Paris), 62 (May – June 2007), 663 – 685.

[70] Victor Turner, "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in 'Rites de Passage,'" in *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), 93 – 110.

[71] Gruesz, "Delta Desterrados," 53.

[72] Gruesz, "The Gulf of Mexico System and the 'Latinness' of New Orleans," 470.

Although many U.S. Americans embraced Mexico in what historian Caitlin Fitz has called a "narrative of republican brotherhood" in the first part of the nineteenth-century, proximity made this much more difficult for white New Orleanians.[73] While U.S. Americans celebrated and drew parallels between the U.S. and the anti-colonial revolutions taking place in a "far off *South* America," white New Orleanians found Mexico to be more of a "pressing reality" given its close proximity and the circulation of goods, ideas, and people between them.[74] In other words, distance played a key role in cultivating a U.S. American enthusiasm for hemispheric revolution and republicanism in the early nineteenth-century since it made these new republics "an intellectual abstraction," and as a result of Mexico's close proximity, the sentiment did not take hold in New Orleans."[75] Indeed, white New Orleanians were more interested in Mexico as a trade partner than as a sister republic because they saw it as "too nearly connected, morally and geographically" not to affect its inhabitants.[76] The young country was ever present for white New Orleanians even in the early part of the nineteenth century, and as Mexico outlawed slavery in 1821, the Crescent City had become home to the United States' largest slave market. The close proximity and key differences in ideas about slavery and freedom created tensions between Mexico and New Orleans throughout most of the nineteenth century, with Mexico often serving as a convenient foil for the city's changing racial dynamics. Nevertheless, white New

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[73] Caitlin Fitz, *Our Sister republics: The United States in the Age of American Revolutions,* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2016),6 – 8.

[74] Fitz, *Our Sister republics*, 6, 8. Mexico's port of Veracruz was approximately 975 nautical miles away, only 100 miles further than Cuba. The port of Tampico, though smaller than Veracruz, was even closer at 750 nautical miles.

[75] Fitz, *Our Sister republics*, 8.

[76] *City Gazette*, July 23, 1822, 2.

Orleanians' aspirations for making their city an international commercial center was in large part, dependent on their relations with Mexico. These conflicting desires and the city's contradicting foreignness and familiarity made New Orleans both friend and foe, and shaped its relationship to Mexico and its people throughout the nineteenth century.

The Making of New Orleans

In order to understand the world of nineteenth-century New Orleans, the hosting city of the 1884 World's Fair, we must contend with the role of geography in shaping its complex colonial history and culture that made it a simultaneously strange yet familiar place. The city's particular geographic position made it a site of contestation in a struggle for empire during its colonial period and ultimately helped shape its distinct culture. While France, Britain, and Spain all rushed to claim the strategic Mississippi River Valley at the end of the seventeenth-century, it was France that staked her claim and began settling along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico in modern-day Mississippi and Louisiana.[77] Early French explorers sought the help of lower Louisiana's Chickasaw and Choctaw peoples who had mastered the region's labyrinth of swamps, bayous, rivers, and marshes, and learned how to efficiently navigating the difficult terrain.[78] This knowledge informed French explorers' settlement decisions, and although many argued that the swamp like conditions around the crescent-shaped riverbend at the mouth of the

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[77] Unlike with its successes at large-scale colonization in Canada and the West Indies, France "had neither the material nor the moral resources" for such an endeavor in Louisiana. See: Marcel Giraud, "France and Louisiana in the Early Eighteenth Century," *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 36.4 (March 1950), 657; William John Eccles, *France in America: 1500 – 1783.* (New York: Harper, 1972), 158; and Verner W. Crane, *The Southern Frontier: 1670 – 1732.* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), 52-70.

[78] Richard Campanella, *Bienville's Dilemma: A Historical Geography of New Orleans,* (Baton Rouge: University of Louisiana Press, 2008), 101; and, William M. Denevan, "The Pristine Myth: The Landscape of the Americas in 1492," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82.3 (September 1992), 370.

Mississippi was a terrible place to build a town, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville chose it as the site for what he called Nouvelle Orléans, or what we now call New Orleans.[79]

While human agency developed the city of New Orleans, it was the Mississippi River that – physically and economically – created its underlying terrain by drawing the attention of Native Americans and European colonists to the site, connecting it to trade systems, and by nurturing its crops and industries.[80] From the site of New Orleans, the Mississippi River continues for ninety-five miles before reaching the Gulf of Mexico, but it is extremely difficult to navigate due to the shifting sandbars. Since no place farther south on the river was usable and any port farther north of it could be choked off, the site for New Orleans seemed like the least bad place in the swamp to French explorers and it was the most practical single point from which they could both exploit and protect their vast claim to the Louisiana territory. Bienville and these early French explorers believed that whoever controlled the port at the mouth of the Mississippi River possessed the key to the entire North American continent.[81] New Orleans' specific location, then, served two purposes for the French crown's imperial desires – it was a strategic point from which they could defend their claim to Louisiana against the English and Spanish, and it was also a convenient port for the economic development of the Louisiana territory. However, as the French would soon realize, establishing a colonial settlement and ensuring its prosperity were quite different tasks.

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[79] New Orleans has faced flooding problems since before the colonial period due to the high precipitation levels, the flat topography, the swampy conditions, and its location between Lake Pontchartrain and the Mississippi River. Today, the city is sinking at a rate of approximately a third of an inch per year and approximately fifteen percent of the city is now ten feet below sea level. It is the lowest elevated and flattest city in the present day United States. See: R.B. Seed, et al., *Preliminary Report on the Performance of the New Orleans Levee System in Hurricane Katrina on August 29, 2005,* American Society of Civil Engineers Report USB/CITRIS – 05/01, November 2005; and Richard Campanella, *Geographies of New Orleans: Urban Fabrics Before the Storm* (Lafayette: University of Louisiana, Center for Louisiana Studies, 2006), 49; and Sublette, *The World That Made New Orleans*, 8 – 12.

[80] Campanella, *Bienville's Dilemma,* 86.

[81] Sublette, *The World That Made New Orleans,* 11.

Despite the region's strategic location and fertile soil, New Orleans' swampy terrain and brutal humidity made it unappealing to French colonists, which led to difficulties in its initial settling. The French crown struggled to get its citizens to move to the small settlement that was constrained from expanding on all sides by swamps, a lake, and the Mississippi River. Furthermore, within two years of claiming Louisiana, France went to war with England in the War of Spanish Succession, which had grave consequences for the young colony of New Orleans. With the French army and naval forces at war in Europe, France did not have adequate military backing to impose colonial power in New Orleans. The war lasted twelve years and depleted France's treasury to such an extent that shipments to the French colonies, including New Orleans, nearly ceased.[82] With the colony on the verge of abandonment, the French crown placed it under the control of financier Antoine Crozat, who used New Orleans as a base while he aimed to exploit gold and silver mines near Mexico.[83] Even from these early colonial years, New Orleans served as a site from which businessmen could exploit the resources of what became Mexico for their own economic advancement, shaping a local culture of economic expansionism. However, within five years Crozat resigned his post as the war continued and the few colonists living in New Orleans lost nearly all contact with France and were left to their own devices for survival. The small colony disbanded a number of times in those years as many went to live with natives in order to survive. Indeed, the colonists' survival quickly became dependent upon favorable relations with Native peoples, including those from nearby Mexico – which ranged from the establishment of trade to intermarriage.[84] These relations shaped the colony's reputation as a geographically and culturally difficult place, a place of sin and miscegenation in the French imagination. It also shaped a local culture of exchange and racial mixing.

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[82] For example, after 1704 only three supply ships arrived in Louisiana over the course of seven years – one in 1706, 1708, and 1711. Historian Fernand Braudel has argued that France's economy was depleted due to war throughout the course of the entire eighteenth century, leading to at least sixteen famines. See: Fernand Braudel, *The Perspective of the World: Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century, Vol. 3* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), 420; Sublette, *The World That Made New Orleans*, 41.

[83] Crozat was the proprietary owner of French Louisiana from 1712 to 1717. He resigned his post after he failed to find precious metals in neighboring Mexico. See: Paul E. Hoffman, *A History of Louisiana Before 1813* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1996), 80 – 90.

Within a decade of the city's establishment, writers described New Orleans as a colonial failure and the response of the French crown as one of abandonment. The city had already gained a reputation for having a predisposition toward disorder and a corrupt moral economy that has endured and become part of the city's notoriety. As a result, developing New Orleans continued to be a challenge, so the French crown found creative ways to people the settlement after the war. While a small number of workers did go to the colony voluntarily, the French crown's solution to under population was forced emigration. The French authorities used New Orleans as an opportunity to empty their prisons by deporting undesirables from France. Between 1718 and 1720, they issued a number of ordinances that targeted prostitutes, thieves, beggars, orphans, the unemployed, the depraved, and vagabonds for deportation to Louisiana.[85] The French had sent these convicts not only to populate the colony but to reform themselves as well. However, many did not and their resistance to reform and authority further encouraged the image of New Orleans as a place for "pragmatic rule-breakers and undomesticated travelers, independent minded and imaginative in their strategies for survival."[86] Aiming to enforce a state monopoly on smuggling with the Spanish colonies, the French had also enlisted Caribbean filibusters, professional privateers, Native American traders, and enslaved Africans to populate New Orleans. With such a recalcitrant group of settlers and workers that proved difficult to control, the French began sending another group of forced emigrants in large numbers in 1719 – African slaves. Unlike other slave societies, which developed gradually in regions where the labor force was at first dominated by indentured white servants, New Orleans was the first settlement in the New World to have an Afro-descended majority from the beginning and it shaped its distinct culture.

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[84] Daniel H. Usner, Jr., *Indians, Settlers, & Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992), 270 – 276.

[85] The exiled women included 16 prostitutes and 96 teenaged *débauchées* from Paris's La Salpétriere house of correction for women. By 1721, this group of deportees made of 21 percent of the female population in New Orleans. See: Carl A. Brasseaux, "The Moral Climate of French Colonial Louisiana, 1699 – 1763,"*Louisiana History* 27 (Winter 1986), 27 – 29.

[86] Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire,* 3.

Africans, free and enslaved, were critical to the survival of the colony because New Orleans began as a slave society.[87] By the 1720s it had become clear that lower Louisiana's economy was slowly moving toward the Caribbean model of plantation agriculture and slave labor. As such, France looked to its island colonies to determine how to govern Louisiana, and in 1724, colonial French authorities rewrote the Code Noir to regulate relationships between the enslaved and the free in New Orleans. The newly rewritten Code Noir outlined the conditions under which slaves might be set free, a list of the limited rights of slaves (which did not include rights to property or money), and under what conditions they could be punished. With minimal resources and an unruly population, local officials were limited in their ability to enforce laws and were therefore selective about which aspects of the Code Noir they chose to enforce. Consequently, slave owners often disregarded the code. As a result, the Code created a niche for free people of color, albeit one that few were able to take advantage of during the French colonial era. These free people of color would shape the city's culture and its reputation throughout the colonial period and well into the nineteenth-century.

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[87] Ira Berlin distinguishes societies with slaves from slave societies. A slave society is one where slaves are marginal to the central productive processes and slavery is just one form of labor among many. In contrast, in slave societies, slavery stands at the center of economic production, and the master-slave relationship is the model for all social relations. Historian Thomas N. Ingersoll has argued that, New Orleans was a slave society from the very beginning. See: Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2003), 8-16; and Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon in Early New Orleans*, 67.

Despite France's efforts to populate New Orleans and Louisiana, half of the 7,000 Europeans and 7,000 Africans transported to New Orleans had either died or departed by 1731, and the black population came to outnumber the French colonists.[88] By the mid-eighteenth-century, New Orleans had a population of approximately 4,000 whites and 5,000 blacks while there were still some 70,000 Native Americans living in the Lower Mississippi Valley region.[89] In the eyes of the French crown, the colony failed to bring the anticipated returns while Africans and Natives, for whom they had not intended New Orleans, made it their market town. Indeed, many considered the settlement of New Orleans to be savage and disorderly due to its ethnic diversity, smuggling activity, climate, swampy conditions, and the "spirit of insubordination" that was believed to thrive there.[90] This early reputation and the attendant racial representations would continue to define the city in the popular imaginary for centuries.

The French crown's difficulties in settling New Orleans led to what amounted to three colonial eras in rapid succession – French, Spanish, and Anglo American – and each change brought new cultures, languages, and slave regimes that would shape the city's simultaneous strangeness and familiarity. Each of these colonial powers brought new laws and customs that caused New Orleans, particularly with regard to race relations, to develop differently than other parts of what would eventually become the United States. By 1731, the French crown had virtually abandoned New Orleans again and there was no significant immigration from either Europe or Africa until the beginning of Spanish rule in 1763. After their defeat in the Seven Years' War, the French crown lost the majority of its settlements in North America, including

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[88] Leslie Choquette. "Center and Periphery in French North America," in *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americans, 1500-1820*, ed. by Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy (New York & London: Routledge, 2002), 193 – 206.
[89] Choquette, "Center and Periphery in French North America," 199.
[90] Dawdy, *Building the Devil's Empire,* 3.

New Orleans. As compensation for Spain's losses in Cuba and in order to prevent England from gaining control of Louisiana, Louis XV offered his cousin, King Carlos III of Spain, the Louisiana Territory west of the Mississippi. Despite the expense and burden of governing the region, Spain agreed to take control of the Louisiana territory because it functioned as a buffer zone between the aggressive British colonists and Spain's silver mines in northern Mexico.[91] In other words, geography, once again played a critical role in New Orleans' colonial experience.

While Spain only held Louisiana for approximately two generations – in theory, from 1762 to 1800 and in practice from 1769 to 1803 – it had the greatest influence on New Orleans' culture. It was a period of great change in New Orleans and Spanish laws and practices would shape the city's political and social culture in ways that would shape the city's development for generations. Just as Spain had used Florida as a crucial outpost in maintaining its presence against French and English intrusions during the first half of the eighteenth-century, they used New Orleans to protect their interests in northern New Spain after 1763.[92] As scholar Ned Sublette has argued, it was during Louisiana's time as a Spanish colony that New Orleans became a city, and the Spanish greatly influenced its development.[93] The Spanish emphasis on developing urban centers in the "New World" established New Orleans as a port of great importance and it was during the Spanish era that the small but growing city entered into a substantial economic relationship with other Spanish colonies.[94] As a result, New Orleans quickly became larger and wealthier than any other Spanish town within the boundaries of the modern-day U.S.[95] By the time the era came to a close, the Spanish crown had transformed New Orleans into the flourishing commercial center of a thriving plantation economy. However, that transformation was made possible only through an increase in the number of laborers, which Spain initiated when it reopened the local slave trade in 1777.[96]

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[91] Sublette, *The World That Made New Orleans,* 86.

[92] John Jay TePaske, "Integral to Empire: The Vital Peripheries of Colonial Spanish America," in *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*, ed. by Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy (New York & London: Routledge, 2002), 36.

[93] Sublette, *The World That Made New Orleans,* 5.

[94] Havana had the longest economic relationship with New Orleans given the similarity in their plantation economies (both used slave labor to cultivate sugar cane). See: Scott, *Degrees of Freedom.*

The successful shift to a plantation economy, the arrival of thousands of enslaved Africans, and the existence of Spanish slave laws during the end of the eighteenth century had contradictory consequences for the development of both slavery and an emerging population of free people of color in New Orleans. In order to establish their own authority and a degree of order to the multiracial and multicultural society they inherited from the French, Spanish officials attempted to organize New Orleans' society into three corporate bodies – Euro-Louisianans, *libres*, and slaves – all of which would shape New Orleans distinct culture in meaningful ways.[97] These legal changes reinforced the development of New Orleans' racial system that French laws had initiated by officially classifying the distinctive position of free Afro-Louisianans within it.

Just as the French had looked to their island colonies as a model for establishing a slave system, the Spanish looked to Havana for their rules regarding slavery in New Orleans. Almost immediately after his arrival, Alexander O'Reilly, the first Spanish official to formally exercise power in New Orleans, announced the imposition of Spanish law.[98] While the regulations implemented by the Spanish were less harsh than those of the French, they remained better in theory rather than in practice. The region's growing dependency on slave labor combined with the decline in slave prices in the early 1790s meant that slave owners could treat their slaves more harshly than they had when slaves were more scarce and expensive. Perhaps most important for slaves seeking freedom was the precariousness of Spanish authority over the inhabitants of the formerly French colony. As the Spanish primarily governed from afar, planters who had grown accustomed to largely ignoring French laws continued to maintain the slave regime in New Orleans and similarly ignored Spanish laws. While this meant that the Spanish regime had limited power over Louisiana and did very little to mediate slavery in New Orleans, it also led to significant political and economic exchange between the Crescent City and Spain's former and existing colonies in the Gulf region.

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[95] Sublette, *The World That Made New Orleans,* 105.

[96] Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans*, 101.

[97] Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans,* 101.

[98] Spanish laws replace the French Code Noir (or Black Codes). While O'Reilly was technically the second governor of Spanish New Orleans, he was the first to exercise formal and military power. His predecessor, Antonio de Ulloa y de la Torre-Giralt, served from March 1766 to October 1768. He was expelled from New Orleans after the Creole uprising of 1768 and never formally implemented Spanish law.

Despite Spain's limited power in practice, their laws and regulations did have some significant and real implications for enslaved Afro-Louisianans and created opportunities for their contribution to New Orleans' culture. The Spanish legal system encouraged manumission and strengthened the rights of both slaves and free people of color. Under Spanish law, slave owners did not need to obtain permission from officials to free their slaves as they had under French laws. In fact, slave owners were not allowed to refuse this right of self-purchase, which only existed in Cuba and Spanish New Orleans.[99] Spanish law also permitted slaves to own property, receive money, and enter into contracts – all rights the French had denied them. At the same time, the commercialization of New Orleans created new opportunities for slaves to hire themselves out while the increased availability of slaves at lower prices encouraged manumission. As a result, greater opportunities existed for slaves to acquire their freedom and slave owners could more easily replace slaves they had freed.

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[99] This unique right that was only implemented in Cuba and Spanish Louisiana led to many similarities in the development of their post-emancipation societies during the nineteenth century. See: Scott, *Degrees of Freedom.*

With the flexibility allowed under Spanish laws, the enslaved were able to practice their own culture, which would over time influence the city's distinct music. Spanish laws and practices gave the enslaved Sundays as a day or rest, but there were no laws that gave them the right to congregate. Nevertheless, many began finding informal public spaces around the city where they could congregate such as Bayou St. John where people of various ethnic and racial backgrounds had traded and socialized for decades.[100] This place later became known as Congo Square and became a popular space for the enslaved to set-up market, sing, and dance.[101] It was a tradition that persisted well beyond the colonial period despite later efforts to restrict the gathering of enslaved Africans and became an important part of New Orleans' Afro influenced culture.[102] It was in this informal marketplace space that New Orleans' enslaved population could remain connected to other enslaved populations through the Gulf Stream's circular, cultural flows. As labor brought enslaved people from other parts of the Gulf regions to and from the market, they shared music and dance with one another, leading to a constantly evolving Afro-diasporic sound and culture.[103] These practices would continue for generations as New Orleans later became the center of the U.S. domestic slave trade and is how the Afro-Cuban danzón later became popular among the city's Afro-descended population in the mid nineteenth century. While it would not become popular with white New Orleanians until much later, the evolution of the sound among the enslaved population demonstrates that New Orleans and Latin America shared a similar process of colonization and adaptation that shaped their cultures in similar ways and influenced each other.[104] Afro-descended music such as the danzón and other music performed at Congo square became familiar, if not popular, sounds in the city and were the seeds for Afro-influenced music which would become popular in the late nineteenth-century. Indeed, the laws of the French and Spanish, and the limited ability of each colonial power to enforce law had created distinct opportunities for the development of a rich local culture and for African descended people to obtain new freedoms.

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[100] In the nineteenth-century the Congo Square meeting space was moved to the area at the back of town, across from French Quarter and on the other side of Rampart Street. See: Daniel Henry Usner, Jr. "Frontier Exchange in the Lower Mississippi Valley: Race Relations and Economic Life in Colonial Louisiana, 1699 – 1793" (PhD diss., Duke University, 1981), 251; Daniel T. Walker, *No More, No More: Slavery and Cultural Resistance in Havana and New Orleans* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 1-17.

[101] Peter Kolchin, *American Slavery, 1619 – 1877* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2003), 46 – 48. See also: "George Wein Oral History Materials," sound recording (MSS 629.57), Permanent Collection, Williams Research Center, HNOC, New Orleans; Shane T. Lief, "Staging New Orleans: The Contested Space of Congo Square," (MA Thesis, Tulane University, 2011), 73 – 96.

[102] In 1817, after New Orleans had become part of the United States, the city's mayor issued an ordinance that restricted the gathering of enslaved Africans to one location – Congo Square. See: Jerah Johnson, *Congo Square in New Orleans* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing Company, 2011), 25.

Spanish New Orleans was unique in late eighteenth-century North America because of the intensity of its African culture and the relative freedom with which it was practiced, which would continue to influence the city's culture for generations.[105] During the Spanish period, the population of free Afro-New Orleanians increased dramatically as did the number of those individuals of mixed African, European, and Native American ancestry.[106] This was, in large part, a result of the growing number of families formed by women of color and European men. Spanish laws also changed policies regarding marriage and inheritance. As in other parts of colonial Spanish America, inheritance was based on the legitimacy, not the race, of heirs.

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[103] As colonial and international commerce continued to develop, these Afro-influenced sounds continued to spread along trade routes that connected New Orleans to Veracruz, Havana, Cartagena, San Juan de Puerto Rico, and elsewhere. See: Madrid and Moore, *Danzón*, 7 – 8.

[104] Madrid and Moore, *Danzón*, 7 – 8.

[105] Sublette, *The World That Made New Orleans,* 105.

[106] Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans,* 128.

Although inter-racial marriage remained uncommon, sacramental records indicate that marriages between Euro and Afro-New Orleanians did take place during the Spanish period since they were no longer outlawed as they were under the French crown.[107] Similarly, Spanish law had also banned the enslavement of Native Americans and there is evidence of a small number of marriages to Native women.[108] All of this racial mixing, and the laws that governed these relations, created a racial system in which social standing was determined by ancestry, color, and class, with a "higher class status serving to 'whiten' individuals."[109] This allowed for the conscious manipulation of racial identity and created opportunities for social mobility.[110] It was, then, a combination of freedom, mixed ancestry, and the possibilities for social mobility that shaped the city's community of free people of color by the end of the Spanish era.

War and rebellion further shaped the development of an Afro-Louisianan culture with the outbreak of revolution in nearby Saint-Domingue.[111] A largely mulatto planter class fled the island's anti-colonial and anti-slavery insurrection and sought refuge in New Orleans, a place with a similar racial system, laws, and languages. One of the legacies of racial mixing and French laws regarding slavery in Saint-Domingue had been the development of a large population of educated and wealthy people of color, many of which found a new home in New

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[107] In Louisiana, Spanish authorities recognized local Indians (particularly the Creeks, Chickasaws, and Choctaws) as free and independent nations who remained under the crown's protection. This was, in part, due to existing policies towards Indians throughout the Spanish Empire. However, it was also a strategic decision to prevent and Indian group from signing treaties with the United States (since they could not use force to prevent this from happening). See: David J. Weber, "Bourbons and Bárbaros: Center and Periphery in the Reshaping of Spanish Indian Policy," in *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*, edited by Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy (New York & London: Routledge, 2002), 79 – 104.

[108] Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans,* 128. The research of Jennifer Spear has demonstrated that although these marriages are often not found in sacramental records and registries, She has found evidence to support these statements in the writings of local priests and in minutes of meetings among the Ursuline nuns (as they made decisions about admitting females of mixed race to their boarding school).

[109] Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico," 9.

[110] Domínguez, *White by Definition*, 9 – 15.

[111] Present day Haiti.

Orleans where they could maintain their status as an educated class. They helped shape the culture of the city's *gens de couleur libre* as one that was artistic and largely skilled. Moreover, the black revolutionaries who burned down the Saint-Domingue plantations forced the issue of emancipation, and repelled European armies to create the Republic of Haiti. They challenged the ideological foundation of slavery and as some made their way to New Orleans, they also influenced ideas about race, slavery, and freedom in the city. These revolutionaries created great fear among imperial powers and European colonists and ultimately reshaped the Gulf world's sugar and slavery businesses, precipitating the bargain sale of Louisiana to the United States.[112]

These political and racial tensions, along with the Spanish empire's own struggling economy, caused the crown to lose all aspirations for the Louisiana colony by the end of the eighteenth century. Indeed, the Spanish crown had steadily been losing control over the colony after they granted the U.S. free use of the Mississippi River and the right to ship goods from the port of New Orleans beginning in 1795. While American trade from upriver had significantly increased the city's affluence, it also considerably expanded the power of the U.S. in the region.[113] Anglo-Americans had continued moving westward in the last ten years of the Spanish period, and they successfully redrew the lines of political influence in the process. As historian Arthur P. Whitaker has argued, "Louisiana [had become] worse than useless to Spain, but it was still valuable as a diplomatic pawn," and so, the Spanish began devising an exit strategy.[114]

Early nineteenth-century New Orleans and its distinct culture, then, were the products of nearly one hundred years of complex struggles between competing colonial powers, and by the close the Spanish period it was particularly distinctive among cities of the antebellum South in the social and economic status of its large class of free people of color.[115] Despite the contributions to economic development, architecture, and concepts of jurisprudence that Spain made in New Orleans, it was the French language that persisted in the city. Nevertheless, Spanish laws had the greatest influence on the city's distinct culture and intimately connected the city to other Spanish colonial regions. It was Spanish laws that afforded Afro-Louisianans far greater legal rights and protections, particularly in education, than did the English common law system of the largely Anglo-American South. [116] In other words, the Spanish laws of New Orleans' colonial period afforded slaves and free blacks greater autonomy and rights by dictating how people of African descent were to be treated, but they also shaped how racial identities, with their particular rights and obligations, emerged in the city. As a result, New Orleans' African-descended population, which by that time outnumbered whites, was relatively highly skilled and both physically and socially mobile compared to their Anglo-American counterparts. Brief though it was, New Orleans' Spanish period was crucial to the development of an Afro-Louisianan culture that made it culturally different from other parts of what would become the United States and connected it politically and culturally to Mexico and Latin America.

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[112] Sublette, *The World That Made New Orleans,* 5.

[113] Sublette, *The World That Made New Orleans,* 175.

[114] Arthur Preston Whitaker, *The Mississippi Question 1795 – 1803* (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1962), 52.

The "Latinness" of New Orleans

The New Orleans that the United States acquired in 1803 was a burgeoning cosmopolitan and commercial center, an urban crossroads of languages and music with a distinct Afro-

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[115] The Spanish colonial era came to a close as the crown temporarily transferred power to the French for the sale of the Louisiana territory to the United States in 1803. The sale was made between France and the United States. Spain had returned the territory to France for a period spanning several weeks before the territory traded hands once again. This was part of the original agreement between Spain and France when Spain first gained control of the Louisiana Territory in 1762.

[116] For more on French, Spanish, and early Anglo-American laws related to slaves and the free black population, see:, Spear, *Race, Sex, and Social Order in Early New Orleans*; Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*; Dormon, *Creoles of Color*; Johnson, "Colonial New Orleans: A Fragment of the Eighteenth-Century French Ethos," 12 – 57; and Thomas Ingersoll, "A View from the Parish Jail: New Orleans" *Common-Place* 3.4 (2003).

Louisianan influenced culture, which made it visibly and audibly distinct from the rest of the country. As a place whose colonial period had been popularly associated with gambling, voodoo, interracial sexuality, prostitution, piracy, and a ubiquitous free black population, New Orleans already existed as a dangerous and wild town in the public imagination at the turn of the nineteenth-century. The city's distinct geography and colonial history had made it, in the words of literary scholar Lewis P. Simpson, "unquestionably…the most exotic setting, rural or urban, in a whole nation."[117] Nevertheless, New Orleans continued to exist as a place of contradictions. Many nineteenth-century writers continued to deploy conflicting tropes in their depictions of the city – "contamination, backwardness, and danger on the negative spectrum" and "romance, exoticism, and sensual pleasure on the positive."[118] Throughout the nineteenth-century, U.S. American visitors to the city conceived and wrote about it as both the epitome of southern distinctiveness and as an exceptional case within it. Indeed, Frederick Law Olmstead wrote that he doubted there was another city in the world "where the resident population [had] been so divided in its origins, or where there [was] such a variety in the tastes, habits, manners, and moral codes of its citizens."[119] New Orleanian writers of all races and ethnic backgrounds largely embraced and furthered this notion of the city's exceptionalism in their own writing, often identifying its difference as being rooted in an innate "Latinness" that resulted from the city's colonial past.

However, New Orleans' "Latinness" in the nineteenth-century was not simply some innate flavor left over from the past, but rather, as literary scholar Kirsten Silva Gruesz has argued, a result of proximity and hemispheric politics.[120] Geography had not only shaped the city's development, but also its continued ties to Latin American politics, culture, and people. Situated along the Gulf coast, New Orleans was part of the broader Gulf of Mexico system that served as a site of cultural, political, and economic exchange with Caribbean and Latin American cities. For example, more than half of the ships that arrived in New Orleans in 1822 came from Latin American ports bringing in goods such as plantains, pineapples, cigars, and coffee.[121] Moreover, people and their political ideas continued to move between and within New Orleans and this Gulf system. As a result, New Orleans was a Gulf coast city that found itself positioned between two souths – the Anglo American U.S. South and a Latin South America.[122] While geography and Spanish colonialism had contributed to New Orleans' Latinness in the past, it was, the city's proximity to the emerging country of Mexico and the role it served in U.S. Americans' expansionist desires that shaped its Latinness throughout the nineteenth-century. During this time, New Orleans functioned as the primary launching point from which the city's filibusters initiated their incursions into Mexico and Latin America. For these filibusters, the Gulf of Mexico functioned as a "supersaturated site for nineteenth-century visions of the Spanish imperial past, as well as the commerce-driven U.S. empire of the future."[123] New Orleans, served as the "natural" access point to the Gulf of Mexico, continued to play a central role in hemispheric politics throughout the nineteenth-century, further shaping the city's continued "Latinness" and distinct culture.

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[117] Lewis P. Simpson, "New Orleans as a Literary Center: Some Problems," in *Literary New Orleans: Essays and Meditations*, ed. Richard S. Kennedy (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1992): 82, as quoted in Gruesz, "Latinness of New Orleans," 469.
[118] Gruesz, "Latinness of New Orleans," 469.
[119] Frederick Law Olmstead, *The Cotton Kindgom: A Traveler's Observations on Cotton and Slavery in the American Slave States, 1853 - 1861* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1996), 235.

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[120] Gruesz, "Latinness of New Orleans," 488.

[121] *Louisiana Gazette,* December 27, 1822; Passenger list of ships arriving at New Orleans, 1822, Louisiana Division/City Archives, New Orleans Public Library (NOPL).

[122] Gruesz, "Delta Desterrados," 53.

[123] Gruesz, "Latinness of New Orleans," 470.

For Mexican political exiles and travelers, New Orleans' Latinness and its culture, simultaneously made the city both inviting and threatening throughout the course of the nineteenth-century – it was both friend and foe, both foreign and familiar. Unlike U.S. American and New Orleans based writers who attributed the city's Latinness to the past, many nineteenth-century Spanish-speaking writers discussed the city's Latinness, or rather *Latinidad*, as part of the city's contemporary condition.[124] Indeed, the citizens of young, newly independent Latin American countries, especially those from Mexico, were acutely aware of the historical and continued economic and political links between New Orleans and the Gulf region. Exiled Mexicans often selected New Orleans as a destination because of its proximity and due to the similarity of the racial system in which social standing was determined on the basis of class, color, and ancestry.[125] Although New Orleans was not always a friendly place for Mexicans seeking refuge, it was at the very least familiar. At the same time, Mexican citizens also saw New Orleans as a threat to the young nation's sovereignty given its use as a launching point for U.S. American filibusters. In other words, New Orleans and Mexico were intimately linked in myriad ways throughout the nineteenth-century, including circulating actors, ideas, and capital. However, these relations were often uneven and contradictory at best.

Unequal Neighbors

Throughout the course of the nineteenth-century, Mexico and the United States' relationship was marked by tension, conflict, and mutual suspicion – sentiments from which New Orleans was not entirely excluded despite its economic and political ties to the young country. These feelings of distrust emerged as soon as Mexico gained its independence from

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[124] Gruesz, "Latinness of New Orleans," 488.

[125] For more about Mexican politicians in Mexico, see Brian Hamnett, *Juárez* (London: Longmany, 1994), 51-53; and Gruesz, "Delta *Desterrados,"* 60-65.

Spain with the signing of the Treat of Córdoba in 1822. Mexico's first president, Agustín de Iturbide, prioritized establishing "relations of friendship and good correspondence" with foreign powers, especially with their northern neighbor, and initiated multiple diplomatic missions towards this end.[126] One of the earliest of these missions was opening the first two Mexican consular offices in the U.S. They were located in the two largest and most important U.S. port cities with which Mexico had the strongest ties – New York and New Orleans.[127] Iturbide particularly emphasized the importance of establishing the New Orleans office for the purposes of "protecting the nation's commercial interests," "helping Mexican citizens in the city," and to maintain the "existing peace and harmony" between Mexico and the Crescent City.[128] In addition, as Mexican politicians learned that Spanish aristocrats refused to recognize the Treaty of Córdoba and Mexico's independence, Iturbide appointed lawyer José Manuel Zozaya as the nation's Minister Plenipotentiary and tasked him with promoting and soliciting recognition of the young nation's independence from foreign powers, especially from its closest and largest neighbor.[129] This granted the U.S. government and New Orleans leaders significant power in these new budding relations, as Mexican politicians needed their closest foreign neighbor to recognize their status as an independent nation.

U.S. American politicians offered Zozaya a warm welcome as he carried out his mission, but he quickly became skeptical of their ambitions, paving the way for the mutual suspicion that would shape relations between the two nations throughout the nineteenth-century and leading to the 1884 World's Fair. The U.S. government did indeed recognize Mexico's independence despite the aggressive protests of the Spanish crown.[130] Upon meeting with U.S. President James Monroe, Zozaya was granted the same treatment as all ministers of foreign nations, which implied recognition of the Mexican nation, but he did not receive official recognition outright.[131] It was not until April 1822 that the U.S. Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams, announced his intention to formalize relations with Mexico and his desire to "come to know the empire that emerged in one night…a country that few know where it begins and where it ends."[132] Nevertheless, despite the cordial manner in which U.S. politicians received Zozaya he quickly became distrustful of their intentions.[133] In his estimation, the "haughty Americans" were "disavowing reciprocity" and were only capable of establishing commercial alliances that favored their own economic interests.[134] He predicted that they would become Mexico's "sworn enemies" because they "cannot see us as equals, but only as inferiors."[135] Zozaya understood that even as U.S. politicians accepted the young nation, they viewed Mexico through a racial lens and did not see them as equals. Even these early attempts at diplomacy between the two nations were wrought with mutual skepticism and distrust, and continued to plague relations between Mexico and the United States throughout the nineteenth-century. Although New Orleans leaders were not entirely able to escape these tensions, the city remained connected to Mexico and the broader Gulf world, often serving as an ideal vantage point for assessing these complex relations.

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[126] "Instructions for José Manuel Zozaya Bermúdez," September 31, 1822, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores (SRE), Archiveo de la Embajada de México en Estados Unidos (AEMEU), t. 424, num 4, ff 7 – 8. Translation is my own. Original text: "el Imperio desea entablar y mantener relaciones de Amistad y buen correspondencia"

[127] "Mexican Consulate Opens Monday," *The Times-Picayune*, April 18, 2008; Jorge I. Dominguez and Rafael Fernandez de Castro, *The United States and Mexico: Between Partnership and Conflict* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 123.

[128] Agustín de Iturbide to D. Manuel Garcia, October 2, 1824, New Orleans, SRE, AEMEU, L-E 1615, ff. 171-19.

[129] "Instructions for José Manuel Zozaya Bermúdez," September 31, 1822.

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[130] Correspondence de Zozaya, SRE, AEMEU, t. 424, num. 4, ff. 7 – 8.

[131] Guillermo Ontiveros Ruiz, *Historia del Comercio de Mexico con los Estados Unidos durante los primeros 25 anos de vida indepdendiente (1821 – 1846)* (Mexico City: Juan Carlos Martinez, Coll, 2005), 17.

[132] Translation is my own. Original text: "a conocer el imperio que surgio en una noche… un pais que pocos saben donde empieza y donde acaba. See: "Instructions for José Manuel Zozaya Bermúdez," September 31, 1822, SRE, AEMEU, t. 424, num 4, ff 7 – 8.

[133] Ana Rosa Suárez Argüello, "Jose Manuel Zozaya y el inicio de Relaciones de Mexico con EU," *Sequencia* 20 (May – August 1991), 164.

[134] Enrique Santibáñez*, La diplomacia mexicana,* (Mexico: Secretaria de Relaciones Exteriores, 1910), t. I, 103; and "Museum Turns Tables on Uncle Sam," *The Evening Post*, Charleston, S.C., Friday, January 8, 1988, 7.

[135] Santibáñez*, La diplomacia Mexicana,* 103; "Museum Turns Tables on Uncle Sam," *The Evening Post,* 7.

El París Hispano

For the multiracial visitors from Mexico and Latin America, antebellum New Orleans was the least alienating city in the United States given its substantial population of Spanish speakers, the similarity in its racial system, and its cultural similarities. The city was what literary scholar Kirsten Silva Gruesz has called, el París hispano – an important center of Latin American intellectual life and a "locus of Hispanophone literary activity for the Caribbean" and for the Americas."[136] Indeed, the city became an important center for Latin American literary and political culture, drawing some of the region's most educated minds. Mexican and Latin American expatriates and emigrés of all political leanings who made their way to New Orleans during this period, such as José Antonio Mejía and Valentín Gómez Farías from Mexico, found other exiles and intellectuals in the city with whom they could strategize.[137] In the case of an institution rather than an individual in exile, the venerable Mexican liberal weekly *Diario del gobierno de la República Mexicana* was published in New Orleans for a period of six months in 1844. These expatriates, emigrés, and exiles primarily lived in the French Quarter alongside French speaking Creoles instead of the English dominant, Anglo-Americans living in the

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[136] Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture*, 108 – 109.

[137] Mejía and Farías lived in New Orleans while exiled from Mexico two different times – from 1834 – 1835 and again from 1840 – 1845. They were enemies of both President Agustín de Iturbide and President Antonio López de Santa Anna. It was from New Orleans that Mejía and Faría raised funds and volunteers to aid the Texan revolt against Iturbide's regime. Both later participated in various Mexican governments during the turbulent years of civil war in Mexico. Even Antonio López de Santa Anna found himself in New Orleans during one of his many times when he was exiled from Mexico. He was in the city long enough to have some of his personal items stolen and to file a lawsuit to recover his losses. See: John Smith Kendall, "Some Distinguished Hispano-Orleanians" *Louisiana Historical* Quarterly 18 (1935): 15; and Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture*, 110 – 111; "Don Valentin Gomez Farias," *New Orleans Bee*, September 9, 1835, 3; Antonio López de Santa Anna vs. Brent Clark. December 1837, First Judicial District Court, New Orleans, City Archives, NOPL.

"American" side of town.[138] Together, they forged a community that opposed Anglo-American dominance in the city, in the Caribbean, and in the Americas more broadly. They expressed this opposition in New Orleans' vibrant, multilingual print culture, which reached local, national, and global audiences throughout the nineteenth-century. This rich literary culture took many forms throughout New Orleans, including Spanish-language literary societies, bookstores, poetry publications, and newspapers. Moreover, it made nineteenth-century New Orleans a rich intellectual and cultural home for Spanish speakers from the Americas, who formed a community around their shared language rather than national alliances. These exiles and visitors were drawn to the city for its familiar political and literary culture, but they also helped shape the city's growing multilingual press in the process.

As a part of this rich literary culture, the Spanish-language press in particular had the most significant presence in the city and played an important role in shaping Latin American attitudes towards the United States. New Orleans was home to many English and French language newspapers in the nineteenth-century, so it was a fitting home for the United States' Spanish language press.[139] They kept a watchful eye and reported on the U.S. government and their activities in Latin America. New Spanish language newspapers regularly and continuously emerged in New Orleans throughout the nineteenth-century. In fact, *El Misisipí,* founded in 1808, was just one of twenty-three Spanish-language periodicals published in the city during the antebellum period.[140] Between 1840 and 1855, the period of the greatest Mexican immigration to New Orleans in the nineteenth-century, there were more than a dozen Spanish language periodicals being printed in the city.[141] These newspapers not only made New Orleans the undisputed capital of nineteenth-century Spanish-language print production, but they also reveal Mexican and Latin American attitudes towards "the rising Anglo-American world order."[142] The prominence of the Spanish-language press and this growing, multilingual culture that opposed U.S. dominance in the Americas made New Orleans an increasingly important place for political exiles, particularly those from Mexico, throughout the nineteenth-century.

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[138] Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture*, 111.

[139] Juan Gonzalez and Joseph Torres, *News for All the People: The Epic Story of Race and the American Media* (New York: Verso, 2011), 73.

[140] *El Misisipí* was also the first Spanish-language newspaper printed in the United States. See Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture*, 112; and Clint C. Wilson and Félix Gutiérrez, *Racism, Sexism, and the Media: Multicultural Issues Into the New Communications Age*, 4th edition (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, INC., 2013), 248

As tensions between Mexico and the United States intensified in the 1840s, Native-born Louisiana journalists Eusebio Juan Gómez and Victoriano Alemán, used their New Orleans based newspaper, *La Patria*, to unite communities spread very widely across North America on the basis of a common language as well as a shared opposition to U.S. intervention in Latin America.[143] *La Patria* was the most widely circulated Spanish-language newspaper of its time and had distribution in the U.S., Mexico, and Cuba. Nevertheless, while *La Patria's* editors promised to be spokesmen for the neglected and often maligned Spanish-speaking people, the front-page masthead of the paper featuring the flags of the United States, Mexico, and Spain make its Mexican leanings clear. While *La Patria*'s editors viewed themselves as cultural ambassadors responding to the stereotyping of the Spanish-speaking "race" and imagined a community unified around language, their primary audience was New Orleans' population of Mexican exiles. Through their writings, they sought to give readers a stronger determination to stand firm against the oncoming tide of increasing discrimination both locally and abroad.

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[141] It was in the 1840s that the Spanish-language press superseded the state's French-language press in reach and distribution. See: Lázaro Lima, "Louisiana," in *Latino America: A State-by-State Encyclopedia*, ed. Mark Overmyer-Velázquez, (Westport, Conn. and London: Greenwood Press, 2008), 347.

[142] Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture*, 111 – 112.

[143] They first published their weekly newspaper as *El Hablador*, in September 1845. However, in January 1846, they changed its name to *La Patria* and began publishing it three times per week. See: Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture*, 114 – 115.

Gómez and Alemán turned a critical eye towards the United States and they regularly stressed the contradiction between the United States' republicanism and their interventionism in Latin America.[144] After the U.S. declared war against Mexico in 1846, Gómez and Alemán argued that the action was not only a violation of the nation's founding principles, but that it was indeed a blatant display of hypocrisy – "this great nation that has always criticized the injustice of usurpers is now following the steps and bad examples of other nations dominated by tyranny and injustice."[145] They became some of the most vocal opponents of the war and rallied other Spanish speakers in New Orleans and in Latin America by declaring that the United States' war against Mexico was a "shameful and less than advantageous war."[146] Although New Orleans' Spanish speaking population, which included native-born Latinxs, represented various nationalities and political sympathies, they were often indistinguishable from one another to white, English-speaking New Orleanians and were assumed to be Mexican or sympathetic to Mexico during the war.[147] As a result, many Latinxs in New Orleans, particularly those who did not appear white, began to be classed along with African Americans as white New Orleanians and U.S. Americans began justifying the wartime violence through the denigration of Mexico's "conquered populations as 'uncivilized mongrels.'"[148] Indeed, the city's Anglo population was strongly in favor of the war, and being perceived as Mexican in the city became increasingly difficult regardless of political leanings, but those who did oppose the war such as Gómez and Alemán found themselves in an increasingly more difficult position.

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[144] Many Mexicans were shocked by the scope of U.S. American expansionist ambitions as they had previously regarded the United States as a sister republic. For more on this and how both Mexicans and Americans experienced the war, see: Peter Guardino, *The Dead March: A History of the Mexican-American War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2017).

[145] *La Patria,* June 4, 1846. Original text: "esta gran nación que tachaba siempre la injusticia de los usurpadores, sigue las huellas y los malos ejemplos de otras naciones dominadas por la tiranía y la injusticia."

[146] *La Patria,* June 4, 1846. Original text: "una Guerra lastimosa y poco procechosa." Translation from Gruesz, "Delta *Desterrados,"* 52 – 79.

[147] Lima, "Louisiana," 350.

[148] Lima, "Louisiana," 350.

Despite their criticism of U.S. intervention, Gómez and Alemán were still invaluable resources to U.S. Americans that wanted to keep appraised of the situation in Mexico given their relatively mobile position within both Spanish and English spheres of influence. Even during wartime violence, Gómez and Alemán remained well connected to people in Mexico, giving them unique insight into the war. In fact, as General Winfield Scott was en route to the port of Veracruz to invade Mexico, he stopped in New Orleans to meet with Gómez per the recommendation of army officials. Per Scott's request, Louisiana Governor Isaac Johnson commissioned Gómez as a lieutenant colonel in the U.S. army to serve as Scott's field interpreter in Mexico.[149] However, the appointment drew immediate criticism from local white New Orleanians who said he could not be trusted, and soon after there were allegations that Gómez had leaked secret information to Mexican officials in a meeting.[150] Although Gómez denied the allegations, Scott immediately withdrew his appointment saying that he was "un-American" and "a Mexican at heart."[151] Situations such as Gómez's reveal the precarious and often contradictory position of Spanish speaking people in mid-nineteenth-century New Orleans. They played an important role in local politics and culture, but Anglo New Orleanians often regarded them with suspicion and began treating them as racial inferiors. Indeed, white New Orleanians began viewing Native-born Louisiana Latinxs such as Gómez as "less American for their cultural, religious, and linguistic ties to Mexico – even if they were born in the United States."[152]

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[149] Tom Reilly, "A Spanish-Language Voice of Dissent in Antebellum New Orleans" *Louisiana History* 23, no. 4 (1982): 333.

[150] Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture*, 115; Reilly, "Voice of Dissent," 333.

[151] *National Intelligencer*, February 16, 1847.

Throughout the Mexican-American War, New Orleans Spanish speakers helped make the city the country's primary news source for information about the war and Mexico, and as a result it gained a crucially central role within U.S. print culture. Given the city's geographic location, New Orleans had served for many decades as a logical transfer point for people and goods moving between east and west as well as north and south. During the war, it served a similar role for the transfer of information in the nation's burgeoning print culture. The war with Mexico was the first foreign war to be covered extensively by correspondents from the United States, and New Orleans' highly competitive newspapers thrived on their "proximity to the center of action and officer's gossip."[153] The New Orleans dailies and key penny press newspapers combined transportation sources such as the pony express, steamships, railroads, and the still relatively new telegraph to develop an expansive two-thousand mile communications infrastructure that helped spread information quickly.[154] In fact, the press' news communication system was so fast that it often beat military couriers and it was through a telegram from the *Baltimore Sun* that President James Polk learned of the United States' victory in Veracruz.[155] New Orleans' geography once again made it indispensable to the rest of the continent – it was located right at the center of this evolving transportation and communications system, connecting the U.S. and the Spanish speaking Americas. However, these communications could not have happened without the involvement of New Orleans Spanish-speaking population. Indeed, even during these difficult and contentious times, New Orleans' Spanish-speaking culture helped shape the city's literary culture and advanced the city's development and prominence.

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[152] Lima, "Louisiana," 350.

[153] Tom Reilly, "The War Press of New Orleans: 1846 – 1848" *Journalism History* 13, no. 3 – 4 (1986), 86 – 95.

[154] Tom Reilly, *War With Mexico!: America's Reporters Cover the Battlefront* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2010), 15. While the war played an important role in the rise of the penny press, it was newspapers that thrived in New Orleans during this time. For more on the growth of the penny press in the United States and its sensationalism, see: Streeby, *American Sensations.*

[155] Reilly, *War with Mexico*, 122.

New Orleans based reporters of both the Spanish and English language press took full advantage of their central and convenient location to lead the war coverage, often representing information and news from Mexico to match their own wartime agenda. For the city's English language newspapers, run by white New Orleanians, the pages were filled with their pro-war propaganda and representations. George Wilkins Kendall, editor of the *New Orleans Picayune,* was the star reporter of the war's English-language coverage. He went into the field and wrote extensive accounts of military and political strategy and covered major battles all over Mexico.[156] At times, he glorified events and regularly infused his writing with a nationalistic fervor, quickly turning the *New Orleans Picayune* into an "advocate for American expansionism."[157] At least ten other journalists from New Orleans followed Kendall into the field, writing detailed accounts of the horrors and heroics of war for distribution back home and throughout the U.S.[158] These U.S. American writers empathized with the plight of U.S. soldiers finding themselves isolated, albeit together, in a distant land. Their coverage not only reinforced notions of U.S. American heroism, but it also shaped "attitudes of distrust" against Mexico and its people.[159] Since newspapers in other parts of the country were reliant on news from their exchanges, the biased words of these New Orleanian correspondents were reprinted throughout the U.S. and shaped the wartime perspectives of U.S. Americans throughout the country.[160]

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[156] *New Orleans Picayune*, articles ranging from April 1846 through January 1848.
[157] Reilly, "War Press of New Orleans," 87.
[158] Reilly, "War Press of New Orleans," 88 – 89.
[159] Margaret A. Blanchard, *History of the Mass Media in the United States*, (New York: Routledge, 1998), 390.

The city's Spanish-language press continued to play a critical role in the dissemination of information about Mexico and Latin America and they helped New Orleans' gain importance in the U.S. for its newspaper culture and access to information about Latin America. The need to keep people apprised of the wartime actions led Gómez and Alemán to increase the publication pace of *La Patria,* making it the nation's first Spanish-language daily. Despite the large number of U.S. American correspondents that were reporting from Mexico, English-language newspapers regularly reprinted *La Patria*'s war reports, albeit with their own liberally modified translations that excluded Gómez and Alemán's anti-expansionist perspectives.[161] Indeed, Gómez and Alemán remained firmly connected to Mexican sources, offering an insider's perspective on the war that English-language correspondents could not access on their own despite having correspondents in the field. They continued to be vocal opponents of the war and often printed articles about their outright suspicions that the United States had designs not only on Mexico, but also on the rest of the hemisphere.[162] They saw the war with Mexico as a clear indicator that the United States intended to build a large empire, threatening the sovereignty of newly independent Latin American nations. Their very vocal opposition to the war continued to increase the tensions between the newspaper editors and their Anglo-American neighbors in the city that had first emerged during the debacle with General Winfield Scott.

After the Mexican-American War, Gómez and Alemán remained in New Orleans despite these tensions and worked to address the increasingly harsh stereotyping of Mexicans that the war had encouraged by convincing Anglo-Americans that Spanish speakers, particularly those residing in the Crescent City, were a diverse and lettered group.[163] Nevertheless, the years of political tensions between them and the local Anglo-American community finally came to a head on August 21, 1851, when news hit the city that U.S. Army colonel William L. Crittenden and fifty Americans, many of which were white New Orleanians, had been killed in Cuba while on a filibustering expedition. Frustrated by the news and with Gómez and Alemán's reporting on the matter, an angry Anglo-American mob brought the illustrious newspaper's career to an end after they burned down its French Quarter offices.[164] In just a matter of moments the crowd's fury had ended the controversial six-year career of the pioneering Spanish-language newspaper that had served as the voice of New Orleans' Spanish-speaking community during the turbulent years of the Mexican-American War. Gómez and Alemán escaped, but Gómez's recommendation and subsequent denial of a key military position as well as the success and subsequent demise of *La Patria* demonstrated that while New Orleans was a familiar home to a significant, Spanish-speaking intellectual and literary community, it could also be a hostile and unwelcoming place for them. The position of Mexicans in the city was precarious and the idea of Mexicans and Latinxs as foreigners increased as New Orleans' Anglo American population grew and the importance of the region's French colonial history was exalted by the city's French speakers who aimed to maintain their cultural importance in the city.[165] Moreover, it demonstrates the deep seeded roots of distrust between white New Orleanians and Mexicans that persisted throughout the nineteenth-century.

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[160] Reilly, *War with Mexico*, 125.
[161] Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture*, 112.
[162] In 1851, Gómez and Alemán renamed the newspaper to *La Union* for reasons unknown.

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[163] Gruesz, "Delta Desterrados," 63.

[164] Chester Stanley Urban, "New Orleans and the Cuban Question During the Lopez Expeditions of 1849 – 1851: A Local Study in 'Manifest Destiny,'" *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* XXII (1939), 1149 – 1159.

[165] Lima, "Louisiana," 351.

Although New Orleans had proven to be an increasingly hostile place for Latin Americans who vocally opposed U.S. expansionism, it still remained one of the least alienating places for Mexican exiles seeking refuge from the political turmoil of their own home. As the "París Hispano" with a significant Spanish speaking intellectual community, New Orleans was also a good place for staying under the radar while doing some political strategizing with one's compatriots.[166] As a culturally and racially diverse city, it was a "model space in which heterogeneous interests could functionally co-exist."[167] In addition to the significant population of Spanish speakers, New Orleans still had a large French-speaking population. Since many of the Mexican educated class also knew French, they could often get by in New Orleans without speaking any English. In December 1853, the exiled ex-governor of the Mexican state of Oaxaca, followed in the path of previous political exiles from his homeland and arrived in New Orleans.[168] During his two years in the city, Juárez lived with limited means and moved throughout the city, interacting with its diverse population. Juárez and his compatriot, General Montenegro, rented a modestly furnished room on St. Peter Street in the French Quarter home of a friendly Italian who was an admirer of the Mexican land of "God and Liberty."[169] He worked alongside free people of color rolling cigars and supplemented his limited income by catching fish in the early morning hours, which Montenegro would then sell in the French Market.[170]

An educated man, Juárez was able to remain informed about Mexican politics despite his limited means because of the city's thriving Spanish-language print culture that kept a watchful eye on activities in Latin America. He would regularly visit the office of the *New Orleans Picayune* where he borrowed some of the Mexican and Spanish-language exchange newspapers. Although Juárez always returned the papers to the *Picayune* office, the editors observed that the margins were regularly removed and learned from one of Juárez's colleagues that he was living in such poverty that he used the margins to make cigarettes for his own personal use.[171] Despite having to live within these very limited means, Juárez remained in New Orleans for two years because it was an ideal site from which he could remain connected to exiled compatriots and strategize with like-minded individuals. It was in New Orleans that he found a "colony of Mexican outlaws," including liberals such as Melchor Ocampo, Ponciano Arriaga, José María Mata, Guadalupe Montenegro, Cepeda Peraza, and many others.[172] This rich community of Mexican intellectuals would continue to find refuge in New Orleans throughout the nineteenth-century, learning from and influencing New Orleanians of different backgrounds.

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[166] Charles Allen Smart, *Viva Juarez! The Founder of Modern Mexico* (New York: J.B. Lippincott, 1963), 103-105.
[167] Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture*, 109.
[168] Juárez arrived after spending just one month in Havana. See: Hamnet, *Juárez*, 51 – 53; "President Juarez, of Mexico," *Daily Picayune*, July 26, 1863, 4.)
[169] "The Late President Juarez of Mexico," *Daily Picayune*, July 28, 1872; "Benito Juárez: The Times-Picayune covers 175 Years of New Orleans History," *Times-Picayune*, February 1, 2012.
[170] Hamnett,*Juárez*, 51 – 53; Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture*, 110 – 111; "The Late President Juarez of Mexico," *Daily Picayune*, July 28, 1872.

After hearing news that conservative, centralist Mexican president Antonio López de Santa Anna would not allow exiles to return to Mexico without them first submitting a contract of civil obedience, these exiles worked together to draft a statement that would inform the Plan de Ayutla and ignite the young nation's era of Liberal Reform.[173] The Plan initiated nearly a year and a half of civil unrest, and at first the New Orleans based exiles supported the cause by sending weapons to General Juan Álvarez and colonel Ignacio Comonfort who were leading the warfare in Mexico.[174] Desirous of taking more direct action, Juárez and several of his compatriots finally departed New Orleans on June 20, 1855 to serve as an ally to Juan Álvarez and Ignacio Comonfort and joined in the final push to remove Santa Anna from office.[175] Despite the Liberal victory, years of rebellion and political turmoil continued, and with each change of power, Mexican exiles continued to find their way to a culturally diverse New Orleans, including a return stint by Juárez himself in 1857.[176] Even after Júarez and his partners left New Orleans, it continued to be a central meeting point for Mexican political exiles, where they would develop new political strategies together in a seemingly familiar but nonetheless foreign land. The city continued to function as an important site for Mexican and Latin American literary and political culture throughout the nineteenth-century.

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[171] "The Late President Juarez of Mexico," *Daily Picayune*, July 28, 1872.

[172] Translation is my own. Original text: "En esta ciudad encuentra una colonia de proscritos mexicanos, que el regimen santanista había arrojado del suelo patrio: Melchor Ocampo, Ponciano Arriaga, José María Mata, Guadalupe Montenegro, Cepeda Peraza; más tarde llega su condiscípulo y paisano José Inés Sandoval, su cuñado José Vidal Maza y otros más." See: Benito Juárez, *Benito Juárez: documentos, discursos y correspondencia* (México: Editorial libros de Mexico, S.A., 1972), 840.

[173] Michael C Meyer and William L. Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History: Second Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 376 – 378.

Mexico – Land of Opportunity, State of Chaos

Upon returning to Mexico, Juárez and Mexican liberals helped usher in an era of liberal reform during which a great deal of change transpired in the country and to many U.S. Americans looked like complete chaos and anarchy.[177] It was in these post Mexican-American War years that Mexico transformed "from an object of speculation to one of derision" for many of New Orleans' Anglo-American elite.[178] They saw these years of war and rebellion in Mexico as a sign that its people were "not yet ripe for the establishment of republican institutions" and used the situation as a way to justify their own designs on Mexican land and resources.[179] In other words, in the eyes of Anglo-American southerners, Mexico's chaotic state represented new opportunities to extend commerce and slavery further west. For many of New Orleans' free black population whose legal rights were increasingly eroded, 1850s Mexico represented a different kind of opportunity. As sectional debates over slavery intensified and "their status became closer to that of slaves than of free men," New Orleans' free people of color "projected their hopes for freedom from the slaveholding republic of their birth" on to Mexico.[180] In other words, in the decade following the Mexican-American War, Mexico came to represent a wide range of opportunity for the people of New Orleans. Despite Mexico's political turmoil during those years, it became a place where New Orleanians from wildly different backgrounds could project their hopes and aspirations for the future, keeping the Crescent City and its southern neighbor connected, albeit unevenly, through the circulation of people and political ideas.

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[174] Meyer and Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History*, 378.

[175] "President Juarez, of Mexico," *Daily Picayune*, July 26, 1863, 4.

[176] Arrival of Twenty-Three Political Exiles," *Daily Picayune*, November 24, 1857, 1; "The Mexican Political Exiles," *Daily Picayune*, November 25, 1857, 2.

[177] This idea of nineteenth-century Mexico as an established nation in which the "order" of concentrated power in Mexico City was ineffectively struggling against disorder has persisted, and had yielded a "declension narrative." However, historians have begun challenging that interpretation in recent years by arguing that a Mexican nation did not yet exist and this period was an intense struggle over the contours of the nation. This "disorder" and "chaos" was actually a battle for "local autonomy, municipal self-government, democratic inclusion, and ultimately a populist form of federalism." See Timothy E. Anna, *Forging Mexico, 1821 – 1835* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 268. See also: Peter F. Guardino, *Peasants, Politics, and the Formation of the National State: Guerrero, 1800 – 1857* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2002); Florencia E. Mallon, *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995).

In the 1850s, New Orleans' free people of color were increasingly driven from their homes by violence and new laws that diminished their legal rights, and many looked to Mexico as a place where they could be prosperous and equal citizens.[181] While Juárez and other Mexican political exiles had been in New Orleans, many of them lived and worked among free people of color, and they very likely shared their ideas about race and liberty with each other. As a dark skinned Mestizo himself, Juárez may have seen similarities between the plight of Mexico's mestizos and the free people of color and slaves he worked alongside while in New Orleans.[182] Some scholars have argued that it was his experiences in New Orleans that later led Juárez, as Chief Justice and Vice-President of Mexico, to work with Mexican president Ignacio Comonfort to officially establish Veracruz's Eureka Colony in 1857.[183]

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[178] Michael Fuhlhage, "The Mexican Image through Southern Eyes: *De Bow's Review* in the Era of Manifest Destiny" *American Journalism* 30.2 (2013), 193.

[179] Gustavus Schmidt, "Mexico, Its Social and Political Condition," *De Bow's Review*, February 1846, 120.

[180] Mary Niall Mitchell, *Raising Freedom's Child: Black Children and Visions of the Future After* Slavery (New York: NYU Press, 2008), 12 – 13.

[181] Mexico had abolished slavery in 1829. See: Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico," 93, 104; Alexandre Barde, *Histoire des Comités de Vigilance aux Attakapas* (Louisiana: Meschacebe et de l"Avant-Coureur, 1861), 337; H.E. Sterkx, *The Free Negro in Ante-Bellum Louisiana* (Rutherford and Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1972), 286, 296-297; Carl A. Brasseaux, "Creoles of Color in Louisiana's Bayou Country," in *Creoles of Color of the Gulf South*, ed. James H. Dormon (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1996), 77-78.

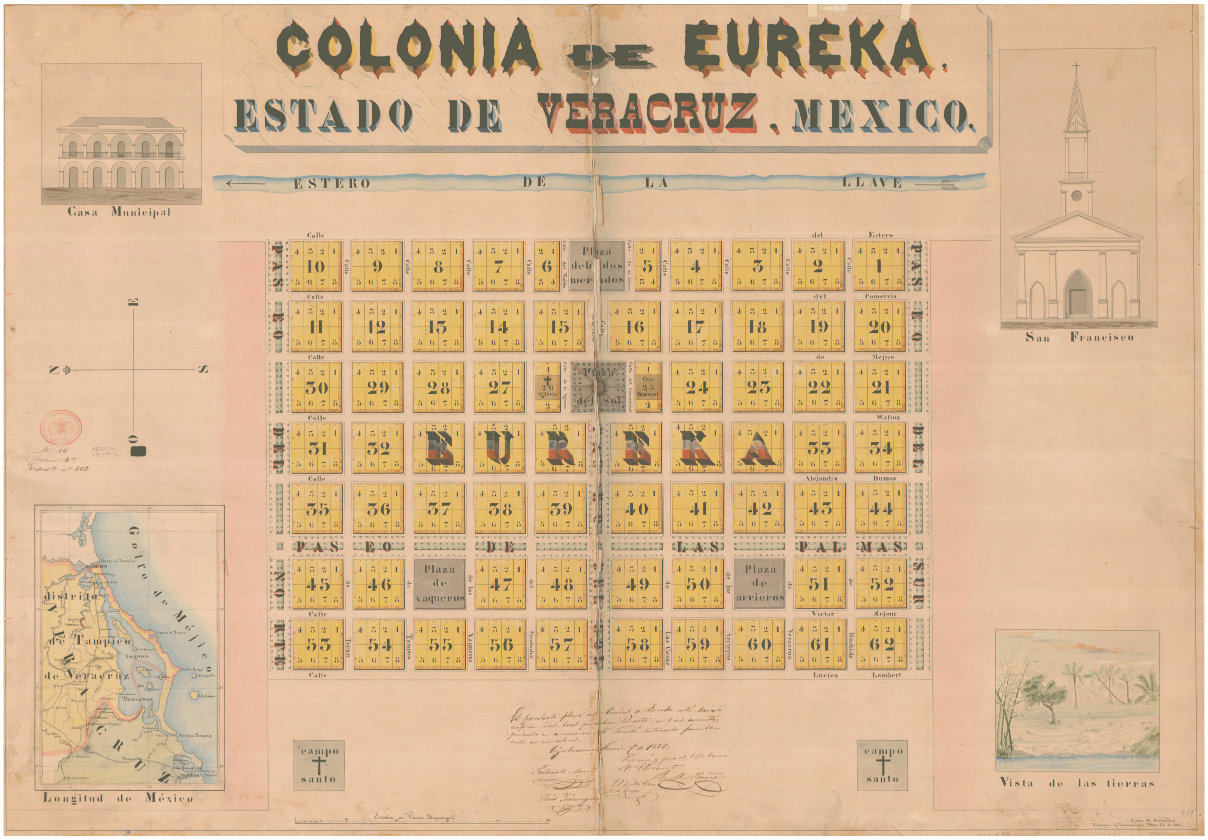
COLONIA DE EUREKA.
ESTADO DE VERACRUZ, MEXICO.
ESTERO DE LA LLAVE
Casa Municipal
San Francisco
Plaza de los mercados
Plaza del sol
EUREKA
PASEO DE LAS PALMAS
Plaza de vaqueros
Plaza de arrieros
campo santo
campo santo
Golfo de Méjico
Longitud de México
Vista de las tierras
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Figure 2: 1857 Map of the Eureka Colony made by R.M. Nuñez y Portunato Mora Luis Jauregui. Colección Orozco y Berra, Mapoteca Manuel Orozco y Berra, México.

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[182] Colonel John Sobieski, *Life of President Benito Pablo Juarez: The Savior and Regenerator of Mexico* (Rosendale: S.A. Coffman, 1919), 7.

[183] Sobieski, *Life of President Benito Pablo Juarez,* 8 – 12; Manuel Siliceo, ministro de Fomento, "Decreto de Ignacio Comonfort autorizando la formación de una colonia con el nombre Eureka," July 2, 1857, Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México, Volumen 1 BIS, Expediente 416, Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), México, D.F.; "Decreto de colonia modelo en el estado de Veracruz," SRE, 6-16-142.

Louis Nelson Fouché, a successful Afro-Creole architect, purchased the colony and then divided the land into plots for free creole families.[184] With the help of Lucien Mansion, an established cigar maker from New Orleans who helped fund the project, he encouraged over four hundred free people of color to migrate to the Eureka Colony.[185] Tomás Marcos Tío and his family were among the group of migrants who settled down in Eureka and would eventually become established and renowned in Mexico for their musical talents.[186] For the Tios and the other families, the Eureka Colony seemed like an ideal opportunity because the Mexican government sold the land at reasonable rates that could be paid for in installments, colonists were exempt from taxes, and all colonists were granted Mexican citizenship.[187] Unfortunately, these concessions did not apply to other free black colonies that were established along Mexico's Gulf coast. The Eureka arrangements were the result of relationships between free black families in Louisiana who had long standing connections to Veracruz merchants and the efforts of the liberal Mexican government to populate the coastal region in order to protect the country from foreign invasion and develop the nation's economy. It appeared to be a mutually beneficial arrangement for the free black colonists from New Orleans and for the Mexican government.

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[184] Octave de Armas, Notary, Act 335, "Confrérie et colonie d'Eureka," August 25, 1859, New Orleans, Volume 74, Notarial Archives Research Center; R.M. Nuñez y Portunato Mora Luis Jauregui, "Colonia de Eureka Estado de Veracruz, Mexico," 1857, Colección Orozco y Berra, Mapoteca Manuel Orozco y Berra, Mexico, http://w2.siap.sagarpa.gob.mx/mapoteca/; Mary Gehman, *The Free People of Color of New Orleans: An Introduction* (New Orleans: Margaret Media, Inc., 1994), 73.

[185] Ignacio Comonfort: Veracruz-Laace, "Documens relatifs à la colonie d'Eureka, dans l'eĕtat de Veracruz, République Mexicaine," Nouvelle-Orleans, Imprimerie Meĕridier, 1857, Louisiana Research Collection, Tulane University; Mitchell, *Raising Freedom's Child*, 29-30; Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico, 132-135.

[186] The Tio family, while prominent, were not yet the noted family of musicians they would become in the late nineteenth-century. They lived in Mexico for several decades, where they gained musical training and became noted clarinetists before returning to New Orleans. They had lived in Mexico for so long that when they returned to New Orleans, they were sometimes referred to as "the Mexicans" because many people did not know that the family was originally from the Crescent City. See: Johnson, "'Sobre Las Olas,'" 225 – 240; Charles E. Kinzer, "The Tios of New Orleans and Their Pedagogical influence on the Early Jazz Clarinet Style," *Black Music Research Journal* 16.2 (Autumn 1996), 279 – 302; Charles E. Kinzer, "The Tio Family and Its Role in the Creole-of-Color Musical Traditions of New Orleans," *Second Line* 43.3 (Summer 1991), 18 – 27.

[187] Siliceo, "Decreto de Ignacio Comonfort autorizando la formación de una colonia con el nombre Eureka"; Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico, 132 – 135; Mitchell, *Raising Freedom's Child,* 29 – 35; Bell, *Revolution, Romanticism, and the Afro-Creole Protest Tradition in Louisiana*, 85 – 86; Brasseaux, "Creoles of Color in Louisiana's Bayou Country," 77-78.

The Eureka Colony, and other settlements like it in Mexico, continued to inspire the free people of color that remained in New Orleans and influenced their political desires and economic ambitions. Historian Mary Nial Mitchell has demonstrated how Mexico remained ever present in the minds of New Orleans' people of color as they conceptualized different possibilities for their freedom. In response to an assignment where they were asked to design their own vision of freedom, the students of the New Orleans Catholic Institute, a school for free children of color, wrote letters about the economic possibilities and social opportunities they imagined for themselves in what they believed to be an antiracist, abolitionist Mexico.[188] They envisioned themselves as established merchants moving freely and regularly between New Orleans and Mexico and in their minds both places remained intimately connected.[189] Although imaginary, the student's writings reveal how free people of color saw themselves belonging to a broad Caribbean and Gulf community where people, ideas, and goods circulated freely and of which New Orleans and Mexico both played central roles. The economic and physical freedom they envisioned was not one that was tied to the rest of the United States, but one that they believed would lead them to a "good and delicious country" – Mexico.[190]

For New Orleans' enslaved population, Mexico's proximity and the promise of freedom made it even more appealing, even if it proved to be an imperfect sanctuary. Some of the enslaved learned about opportunities in Mexico from working alongside Mexican sailors whose ships were docked in New Orleans as part of the flourishing trade between New Orleans and the states of Veracruz and Yucatán.[191] Others learned about Mexico and its abolition of slavery by word of mouth.[192] Nevertheless, while there are no firm numbers or statistics specific to New Orleans, over four thousand enslaved people from Louisiana, Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, and the Arkansas territory successfully gained their personal liberty by crossing the border into Mexico.[193] Countless others made attempts at the same journey but were unsuccessful. Given its proximity, reaching Mexico seemed much more possible than reaching the northern United States for the enslaved in New Orleans and the Gulf South.[194] While runaways who made it to Mexico did secure their personal liberty upon entry, historian Sarah Cornell has demonstrated that it was a precarious and contingent freedom since the Mexican government did not create a comprehensive national policy to address the dilemmas that former slaves faced.[195] Indeed, the Mexican government officially refused to extradite fugitive slaves to the United States in 1833, a commitment they continued to reaffirm for decades.[196] Nevertheless, Mexican laws that required foreign men to provide proof of national citizenship when applying for permission to reside in Mexico, left fugitive slaves with a liminal legal status.[197] Without the rights of legal citizenship, male fugitive slaves used strategies such as marriage, military service, and conversion to Catholicism to integrate into local communities and gain social citizenship. [198] Through these processes, they carved out a "constrained and contingent freedom" in addition to the personal liberty they gained in Mexico.[199] For New Orleans' enslaved population, Mexico represented freedom and the opportunity for a better, albeit imperfect, life. There was a regular flow of culture, goods, ideas, and people between the Crescent City and its southern neighbor, further demonstrating that Mexico and New Orleans were intimately linked throughout the nineteenth-century.

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[188] Mitchell, *Raising Freedom's Child*, 11 – 22; Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico, 132 – 135. See also: Andrew J. Torget, *Seeds of Empire: Cotton, Slavery, and the Transformation of the Texas Borderlands, 1800 – 1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

[189] Catholic Institute English Composition Copy Book, begun on the 24th of November, 1856, Archdiocese of New Orleans, Folder 1, Catholic Indigent Orphan Asylum [Couvent School]: Student Composition Books, 1856-1863; Catholic Institute English Composition Copy Book, begun on the 13th of March, 1861, Archdiocese of New Orleans, Folder 1, Catholic Indigent Orphan Asylum [Couvent School]: Student Composition Books, 1856-1863.

[190] Mitchell, *Raising Freedom's Child*, 13.

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[191] Cornell, “Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico,” 107.

[192] Cornell, “Citizens of Nowhere,” 351 – 374.

[193] Stephen B. Oates, ed., *Rip Ford’s Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1963), 196, as cited in Cornell, “Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico,” 93 – 94.

[194] The enslaved in the lower South were more likely to flee to Mexico than their counterparts in the upper south. See: Cornell, ‘Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico,” 8.

[195] Cornell, “Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico,” 14.

[196] Rosalie Schwartz, *Across the Rio to Freedom: U.S. Negroes in Mexico* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1975), 11 – 18; Cornell, “Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico,” 94.

[197] While enslaved women did flee to Mexico, they were not required to submit the same application. Mexican laws were designed so that a woman’s application to reside in Mexican territory fell under their husband or father. Since they did not have to meet the same requirements, female fugitive slaves did not have the same liminal legal status as their male counterparts. See: John Hope Franklin and Loren Schweninger, *Runaway Slaves: Rebels on the*

The very same reasons that free and enslaved black New Orleanians came to venerate Mexico led many Anglo New Orleanians to revile their southern neighbor. They saw the opportunities that Mexico represented for both free and enslaved New Orleanians as a threat to the racial order and institution of slavery. When the Act Prohibiting the Importation of Slaves went into effect in the United States in 1808, it gave rise to the domestic slave trade. Slaves were moved from the upper South to the lower South as a "kingdom" for cotton emerged after the invention of the cotton gin.[200] This domestic slave trade became institutionalized and New Orleans served as the home of the nation's largest slave market. Indeed, the slave market accounted for a significant portion of the city's economy, and even New Orleanians who were not directly involved in the slave trade often benefitted as enslaved bodies had to be transported,

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Plantation (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 211 – 212; Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico," 94 – 95.

[198] Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico," 94 – 95.

[199] Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico," 14.

[200] The ban on the importation of African slaves was written into the United States Constitution that was ratified in 1789, but it did not go into effect until 1808. It officially ended that Atlantic slave trade into the United States, but it did not mean the end of slavery.

fed, clothed, housed, and their sales had to be notarized, insured, and taxed.[201] As historian Walter Johnson has documented, the New Orleans slave market lined the pockets of landlords, provisioners, physicians, and insurance agents before the enslaved were even sold and this ancillary economy accounted for 13.5 percent of the price of a person, or tens of millions of dollars throughout the antebellum period.[202] The city's slave pens were not just selling field hands, artisans, and household help, but also a "stake in the commercial and social aspirations of the expanding Southwest."[203] In other words, New Orleans' slave market not only helped shape the city's economy, but also its white residents' sense of place in the growing nation and their ideas about the future. A threat to the institution of slavery, then, was a threat to their own well-being. Indeed, while antebellum New Orleans was home to the largest free black population, it was also home to some of the most brutal and profitable realities of slavery.

The institution of slavery was already being challenged by slave rebellions and a nascent abolitionist movement in the North, and in the eyes of white New Orleanians and Southerners, Mexico's role as a sanctuary for fugitive slaves further threatened the peculiar institution's security.[204] White southerners had been clashing with Mexico in disputes over slavery in Texas and the extradition of slaves prior to the Mexican-American war of 1846, fostering mutual feelings of distrust between them. In fact, when the U.S. invaded Mexico, white New Orleanians and Southerners made efforts to capture fugitive slaves, increasing the threat of their re-enslavement.[205] They continued these efforts to recapture former slaves in Mexico after the war as they were emboldened by U.S. Congress' passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.[206] Upon their return from Mexico, white New Orleanians often wrote about their experiences and portrayed their southern neighbor as "an anarchic state inhabited by militaristic, antiracists, abolitionist savages that threated the security of the U.S. South."[207] Given the city's proximity to Mexico, white New Orleanians argued that Mexico was not only a threat to their livelihood since slaves could escape and find refuge there, but that it was also a threat to their safety. Moreover, they used the widespread indigenous violence on Mexico's northern frontier as evidence that the young nation's government could not control "non-white people living near U.S. borders."[208] For white New Orleanians, their city and its slave based economy seemed particularly vulnerable given its constant movement of people, culture, and commerce to and from Mexico.

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[201] Johnson, *Soul by Soul,* 4 – 7; Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams*, 3 – 5.

[202] Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, 6.

[203] Johnson, *Soul by Soul*, 7.

[204] Historian John Hope Franklin has demonstrated how slave revolts shaped white southerners' fear, particularly those in the lower South, of slave conspiracies and the implications they believed it could have on their own personal safety, livelihood, and the stability of the institution of slavery. See: Franklin, *Runaway Slaves*, 6 – 16.

[205] Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico," 14.

As the U.S. South increasingly felt the institution of slavery being threatened, the influential New Orleans press once again played a key role in shaping public opinion about Mexico and contributed to growing feelings of mutual distrust between the city's leaders and Mexican diplomats. The Anglo New Orleans press responded to their perceived threat of Mexico by portraying the young nation not only as a failed republic, but also through an increasingly racialized lens that further muddled their relationship with their southern neighbor. The prominent New Orleans based newspaper, *De Bow's Review,* began publishing articles that dissected Mexico's racial make-up at length and equated the term "Mexican" with a mixed race,

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[206] Although the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 was a national law that required the arrest and return of fugitive slaves on U.S. soil, white southerners felt emboldened by its passage. It was a victory for the institution of slavery when tensions between the United States North and South were intensifying. See: Stanley W. Campbell, *The Slave Catchers: Enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, 1850 – 1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), 49 – 95.

[207] Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South," 13.

[208] Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South," 77; Brian Delay, *War of a Thousand Deserts: Indian Raids and the U.S.-Mexican War* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009); Geo Fitzhugh, "Acquisition of Mexico – Filibustering," *De Bow's Review* 25.6 (December 1858), 613.

"mongrel" people rather than simply a country.[209] The southern elite contributors to *De Bow's Review* made claims that Mexican Indians and the Spanish had watered down the virtues of each other's blood through interracial mixing and eroded the vitality of each.[210] They repeatedly characterized Mexicans as cowardly, servile, treacherous, indolent, and disorderly.[211] With the largest circulation of all southern periodicals, *De Bow's Review* had a "cultural weight unmatched by any other single source in the southern states" and was influential in shaping southerners' understanding of Mexico.[212] It quickly became the principal voice of the South's plantation, commercial, and financial interests with articles written by white Southern elites that were then disseminated to a broader regional audience.[213] As such, the newspaper played a vital role in shaping white Southerners' ideas about Mexico, its people, and the South's relationship to the young nation. They used their representations of Mexicans as broken, degenerate, and incapable of solving their own problems, the inverse of their representations of Anglo Americans, as a way to justify their designs for their southern neighbor's land and resources.

Guided by the doctrine of manifest destiny, *De Bow's Review* contributors preached an increasingly southern nationalism and argued that "superior" Anglo-Americans played a central role in extending their influence and solving the problems of inferior people and nations, often using Mexico as a prime example. These ideologies informed their discussions and plans for the 1.3 million square miles of territory that the U.S. came to control after the Mexican-American War.[214] During the antebellum period, *De Bow's Review* had functioned as a "discursive space in which elites applied their logic in an agrarian but modernizing South."[215] As tensions between the South's agriculture and slaved based economy and the impulse to industrialize increased, so too did the need for land and the extension of slavery. As anti-slavery sentiments in the U.S. North continued to intensify, and *De Bow's* writers increasingly looked towards the borderlands, Mexico, and Latin America to fulfill this need. The Mexico that white New Orleanians had failed to see as a sister republic in the past, *De Bow's* writers now argued was ripe for U.S. intervention and conquest. They argued that if Mexican land were not acquired by Anglo southerners, it would "fall a prey to the Indians that infest and surround it."[216] Therefore, it was the responsibility of white New Orleanians and southerners to usher in modernity through conquest and expansion in an increasingly backwards Mexico, where indolence, misrule, and anarchy had continually reigned for the nearly forty years since the removal of European powers.[217]

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[209] Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South," 13.

[210] Fuhlhage, "The Mexican Image through Southern Eyes," 191.

[211] Joel R. Poinsett, "Mexico and the Mexicans," *De Bow's Review* 2.2 (September 1846), 165 – 177; A.W. Roysdon, "Mexico," *De Bow's Review* 6.2 (February 1869), 160 – 167; H. Yoakum, "The Republics of Mexico and the United States," *De Bow's Review* 21.4 (October 1856), 350 – 361; Col. James Gadsden, "Some Notes on Mexico and General Jackson," *De Bow's Review* 23.1 (July 1857), 94 – 98; "Slaver in Central and South America, and Mexico," *De Bow's Review* 23.4 (October 1857), 441 – 443; "Our Neighbors – Mexico and South America," *De Bow's Review* 24.4 (April 1858), 326 – 327; Geo Fitzhugh, "Acquisition of Mexico – Filibustering," *De Bow's Review* 25.6 (December 1858), 613 – 626.

[212] In 1855, at the height of its existence, *De Bow's Review* had 4,656 subscribers and all but 177 of them lived in the slave states. As a point of comparison, *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine,* the only general commercial journal in the northern states, had a circulation of 4,000. See: Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, Volume 2, 1850–1865* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), 96; Jonathan B. Crider, "De Bow's Revolution: The Memory of the American Revolution in the Politics of the Secession Crisis, 1850–1861," *American Nineteenth Century History* 10.3 (2009): 317.

[213] Crider, "De Bow's Revolution," 322.

Key to white New Orleanians' ideas for regenerating the progress that had been stunted when the Spanish lost control of Mexico was the goal of developing a transportation route across Mexican land to the Pacific Ocean. *De Bow's Review* contributors and white New Orleanian businessmen were determined to accomplish this by diplomacy or force because they saw it as being critical to the growth of New Orleans and southern commerce.[218] In fact, in the decade following the Mexican-American War, "annexation, intervention, and acquisition of transit rights" dominated white New Orleanian visions of Mexico and Latin America more broadly.[219] White New Orleanian businessmen focused in on the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, which was the shortest distance between the Gulf of Mexico and the Pacific Ocean, for the development of a commercial route that directed both Northern and Atlantic shipping directly through the Gulf.[220] Whether it was a canal or railroad that connected the Gulf to the Pacific, it would place New Orleans at the center of what they believed would be a new empire of commerce. Just as geography had been used to argue that New Orleans served as a gateway between the continental U.S., the Gulf, and the Atlantic, so was it used to describe Tehuantepec as "the gateway between the Gulf and the Pacific Ocean."[221] J.D.B. De Bow, editor of *De Bow's Review,* rallied local support for developing the route by arguing in his paper that New Orleans "instead of being the great mart of southern commerce…would of necessity become the great mart of American commerce, and perhaps the greatest commercial mart in the world."[222] Indeed, white New Orleanians were more deeply interested in developing the route than other U.S. Americans because it was thought that it would reassert the city's edge against New York in terms of both shipping tonnage and in its "ideological centrality to the national body."[223] Given the crucial importance of the question of Tehuantepec, it played a key role in defining relations between New Orleans and Mexico for several decades, bringing further imbalance and tensions to the economic and political ties that had connected them in previous years.

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[214] This accounted for approximately forty percent of Mexico's land. See: Fuhlhage, "The Mexican Image through Southern Eyes," 183.
[215] Fuhlage, "The Mexican Image through Southern Eyes," 189.
[216] Geo. Fitzhugh, Esq., "Acquisition of Mexico – Filibustering," *De Bow's Review* 25.6 (December 1858), 613.
[217] Fitzhugh, "Acquisition of Mexico," 613 – 626.

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[218] *De Bow's* Review editor, J.D.B. De Bow, was an early and ardent supporter of the Tehuantepec route and regularly reported on efforts to develop the route in his newspaper. See also: Fuhlage, "The Mexican Image through Southern Eyes," 193.

[219] Robert May, *The Southern Dream of Caribbean Empire, 1854 – 1861* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2002), 155.

[220] The Isthmus of Tehuantepec, from the mouth of the Coatzacoalcos River across to the port of La Ventosa on the Pacific was 143 ½ miles wide. Booster's of a Tehuantepec route tirelessly compared distances between alternative routes - 3,61 miles from New York to San Francisco by way of Tehuantepec versus 5,415 miles via Panama. This shortened travel by a minimum of 1,854 miles. See: Simon Stevens, *The Tehuantepec Railway: Its Location and Advantages Under the La Sere Grant of 1869* (New York: Appleton, 1869), xix; "Tehuantepec," *De Bow's Review* 22.2 (February 1857), 193; "The Isthmus of Tehuantepec," *De Bow's Review* 13.1 (July 1852), 45; Gruesz, "The Latinness of New Orleans," 481.

[221] Stevens, *The Tehuantepec Railway*, xix; Gruesz, "The Latinness of New Orleans," 481.

[222] James D. B. De Bow, "Passage Between the Ocean's by Ship Canal," *De Bow's Review* 3 (June 1847), 496.

Although various U.S. presidential administrations approached the question of developing a Tehuantepec route diplomatically, white New Orleanians who felt that the future of the city's commercial growth were dependent on it were willing to accomplish their mission by force if necessary. Louisiana politician John Slidell had served as president James Polk's special minister to Mexico and had tried to purchase the isthmus as early as 1845 but was unsuccessful. After the Mexican-American War, the prospective canal zone remained on the negotiation table until the final draft of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo where peace commissioner Nicholas Trist conceded Tehuantepec and Arizona's Mesilla tract as a compromise with the Mexican government.[224] Refusing to give up on what they believed would ensure New Orleans' economic prosperity, Slidell and future Confederate vice president, Judah P. Benjamin, partnered with other local investors to create the Louisiana Tehuantepec Company. Determined to take control of the isthmus however necessary, the company used New Orleans as a launching point for their filibustering expedition and sent a group of engineers and surveyors to the isthmus who bought steamships, hired a local workforce to begin constructing a road, and started planning a U.S. American colony for the region.[225] However, the Mexican government quickly intervened, declared the Louisiana Tehuantepec Company's possession of the land invalid, and sold the access rights to a group of Mexicans who were working with the Tehuantepec Railway Company under the leadership of New Orleans' Emile La Sere and Pierre Soule.[226] Nevertheless, the Tehuantepec Railway Company's efforts to build a railroad across the isthmus was short lived and failed due to a lack of financial support.

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[223] Gruesz, "The Latinness of New Orleans," 481.

[224] Richard Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo: A Legacy of Conflict* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 24, 39; J. Fred Rippy, "Diplomacy of the United States and Mexico Regarding the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, 1848 – 1860," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 6.4 (March 1920), 505.

[225] Rippy, "Diplomacy of the United States and Mexico," 504 – 507; Gruesz, "The Latinness of New Orleans," 484; Merle E. Reed, *New Orleans and the Railroads: The Struggle for Commercial Empire, 1830 – 1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966).

In the following years, the Tehuantepec question continued to reveal sectional differences within the United States as well as growing tensions between New Orleans and Mexico. The 1854 Gasden Treaty had officially granted the United States transit rights across Tehuantepec along with the right to intervene militarily in order to protect the property of U.S. citizens.[227] Nevertheless, the project had lost support outside of New Orleans and had in fact gained the disapproval of many northern anti-expansionists.[228] On the other side of the border, the Mexican press began keeping a watchful eye on Tehuantepec and on the movements of U.S. Americans in the region. The Mexican conservative newspaper, *El Universal,* regularly reported on the actions of the Polk administration, and called U.S. Democrats a "demagogical party" that sought to take advantage of Mexico's dissensions and rob it of its territory.[229] However, the Polk administration showed little interest in actually developing a route across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and instead was increasingly supportive of constructing railroad connections entirely within the existing United States territory.[230] Nevertheless, white New Orleanians persisted in their pursuit to create a Tehuantepec route because the city would not play a similarly central role in routes that went across the United States. *De Bow's Review* and other New Orleans newspapers continued to print articles on the subject to rally support for a Tehuantepec project. In response, the Mexican press continued to reprint articles from newspapers such as the *New Orleans Picayune* to highlight New Orleans' continued designs on Tehuantepec and to remind readers that white New Orleanians and U.S. Americans more broadly could not be trusted.[231] Indeed, the question of Tehuantepec had further complicated relations between the Crescent City and their southern neighbor, fostering mutual feelings of distrust and skepticism between their leaders.[232]

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[226] William M. Burwell, *Memoir Explanatory of the Transunion and Tehuantepec Route Between Europe and Asia: Prepared for the Tehuantepec Railroad* Company (Washington: Gideon & Company, 1851), 6; Pierre E. Trastour, *A Memorial of P.E. Trastour, Concerning His Claim Against the Tehuantepec Rail Road Company of New Orleans* (New Orleans: J.L. Sollée, 1853), 8; Rippy, "Diplomacy of the United States and Mexico," 504; Gruesz, "The Latinness of New Orleans, 484 – 485.

[227] Griswold del Castillo, *The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo,* 59; Gruesz, "The Latinness of New Orleans," 481.

[228] Rippy, "Diplomacy of the United States and Mexico," 526.

[229] *El Universal,* March 23, 1853.

Despite the growing tensions between Mexico and New Orleans, the outbreak of both the Civil War in the United States and the second French invasion of Mexico in 1861 once again changed the dynamics between them. With five hundred million dollars worth of trade passing through the city, New Orleans had gained unprecedented economic, military, and political power by the outbreak of the Civil War.[233] It was undoubtedly the most important commercial port in the southern U.S. Aiming to limit Confederate trade and access to supplies, the Union army deployed a blockade of the Atlantic and Gulf coastlines, including the Port of New Orleans, as one of its earliest strategies. The Union blockade quickly reduced the amount of trade passing through New Orleans to fifty-two million dollars and southern cotton exports fell by ninety-five percent, devastating the city's economy and that of the Confederate states.[234] Moreover, under the blockade, New Orleans and other Confederate cities were almost entirely cut off from necessary supplies including food and weapons. As such, white New Orleanians needed to find alternative options for trade and acquiring supplies, and given the city' limited port access, they looked to land routes and its nearby southern neighbor for a solution.

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[230] Lewis H. Haney, *Congressional History of Railways in the United States to 1850* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1908), 147.

[231] *Eco de España*, October 15 – 19, 1853; *El Siglo XIX*, April to December 1853; *El Universal*, numerous issues throughout 1852 and 1853.

[232] Undeterred by past failures, New Orleanian efforts to develop a railroad across Tehuantepec continued even past the Civil War in 1869 and again in 1879.

[233] Chester G. Hearn, *The Capture of New Orleans, 1862* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 41.

After five violent and tumultuous decades of revolution and civil war, Mexico once again found itself at war with France in 1861, putting an economic and political strain on Mexican society. Nevertheless, the Civil War taking place in the U.S. created distinct opportunities for much-needed economic regeneration in Mexico. The U.S. South had supplied cotton for the New England textile industry and about five-sixths of Great Britain's cotton imports prior to the Civil War.[235] However, with the Confederate states at war and the Union blockade limiting southern trade, the world price of cotton skyrocketed. Mexico, eager to meet the demand caused by this world cotton shortage, increased cotton production in the areas under liberal control. As historian Thomas Schoonover has demonstrated, Mexico exported over twelve million pounds of cotton to the U.S. in the fiscal years 1863 – 1865 alone.[236] This not only aided economic development in several Mexican regions, but it also served as "one basis for the expansion of trade ties between two liberal governments – Juárez in Mexico and the Republicans in the United States."[237] However, Mexico also traded with New Orleans and the Confederate states throughout the U.S. Civil War. With traditional commercial routes constrained by the Union blockade, trade with and through Mexico became one of the only ways that white New Orleanians and Confederates could obtain supplies and maintain any commercial productivity.[238] They conducted international trade by land via Matamoros, which generated significant tax revenues for Mexico and increased its trade with the United States five fold.[239] Throughout the remaining Civil War years, white New Orleanian and other Southern businessmen largely depended on a healthy trade relationship with Mexico. Indeed, Mexico's importance to the New Orleans economy increased significantly during the Civil War, and it proved to be a mutually beneficial exchange. Expanding these new, lucrative trade relations would become an increasingly important element of post-bellum revitalization for New Orleans and Mexican diplomats also saw the economic potential as they worked to modernize the young nation after eliminating the French invaders. As devastating as the Civil War and French Intervention were, they gave rise to new possibilities for relations between New Orleans and her southern neighbor and changed the dynamic between them.

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[234] Hearn, *The Capture of New Orleans,* 41 – 43; Thomas Schoonover, "Mexican Cotton and the American Civil War," *The Americas* 30.4 (April 1974), 429.

[235] "Empire and the Cotton Supply, *New York Times*, June 1, 1861; Schoonover, "Mexican Cotton and the American Civil War," 429 – 434. See also: Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Vintage Books, 2015); and Torget, *Seeds of Empire*.

[236] Schoonover, "Mexican Cotton and the American Civil War," 445.

[237] Schoonover, "Mexican Cotton and the American Civil War," 447.

Times of Change

In the years following emancipation and the U.S. Civil War, New Orleans was what historian Dale Somers has called a "crucible of change" in a seemingly backwards and antiquated South and the city played an important role in shaping new possibilities for African Americans.[240] As historian Edward Ayers has demonstrated, after the Civil War the South was made up of nine distinct subregions with different terrains, landscapes, and crops, but they were all similarly marked by economic disparity and remained largely rural.[241] Even after African

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[238] Johnson, "'Sobre las Olas,'" 228.

[239] This was five times the amount of trade between Mexico and New Orleans for the period preceding the Civil War (1855 – 1860). See; Schoonover, "Mexican Cotton and the American Civil War," 429.

[240] Somers, "Black and White in New Orleans," 20.

[241] Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life After Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 5 – 9.

Americans gained legal citizenship and rights, racial violence and various forms of agricultural peonage kept former slaves in a condition of economic subordination that left the South feeling more similar than different to the antebellum years.[242] However, in urban New Orleans, social and racial distinctions were often blurred and "undermined the rigid controls of the South's paternalistic, agrarian society by fostering a spirit of tolerance."[243] Although many urban and rural white southerners shared a belief in their own racial superiority, in densely populated cities like New Orleans, blacks and whites often lived, worked, and spent leisure time in close proximity. As a result, black New Orleanians enjoyed a freedom of movement that was unmatched in the South's rural areas, making the city "a relatively accommodating place for people of color."[244] The dynamics of urban living had allowed black New Orleanians to continue living with a degree of social mobility and the ability to implement greater change in the city.

New Orleans began experiencing these changes after the city fell to Federal forces in 1862 and the city's demographics changed abruptly and drastically, creating new political and social opportunities for African Americans. Although New Orleans had a multiracial and polyglot population dating back to the early colonial period, after emancipation the city experienced a large influx of formerly enslaved individuals and the black population nearly doubled while the white population declined significantly.[245] Buy this time, many of the Mexican exiles who had been living in the city had returned to Mexico, where they worked to develop the young country's economy and government under president Benito Juárez. These shifts complicated the city's racial dynamics as the rural, former slaves were often less educated, predominantly Protestant, English speaking, and moved to the uptown "American" neighborhoods, while the largely educated, French speaking Creoles of color remained in their neighborhoods on the downriver side of the city.[246] Despite these differences and the increased pressure for housing and jobs created by population growth, Creoles of color who came from a long tradition of interracial fraternity, took on leadership roles and helped the newly freed adjust to freedom.[247] Federally protected black suffrage helped them work together to keep Republicans in power and move forward Reconstruction-era legislation that granted them greater social access. Within just a few short years, they were able to desegregate New Orleans schools, make interracial marriage legal in Louisiana, and gained enough political power to create local mutual aid societies. They also gained important public rights and integrated public facilities such as parks and lakeside beaches as well as the city's streetcars.[248]

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[242] Somers, "Black and White in New Orleans," 20.

[243] Somers, "Black and White in New Orleans," 21.

[244] Gary Krist, *Empire of Sin: A Story of Sex, Jazz, Murder, and the Battle for Modern New Orleans*, (New York: Penguin Books, 2014), 62.

[245] Between 1860 and 1870, the white population declined from 144,601 to 140,923. It is unclear how much of this decline is due to war casualties and how much of it is due to people moving away from New Orleans. On the other hand, the black population went from 24,074 to 50, 456. See: Somers, "Black and White in New Orleans," 21.

Despite these significant social and political advances, Reconstruction was rather short-lived and its end brought on some dismaying changes for New Orleans' black population. The presence of a proportionately large and politically strong black enclave in a city with a still predominantly white population intensified the existing racial tensions. Federal laws and policies during Reconstruction had prevented white New Orleanians from creating a legal color line in the city. After the removal of federal troops from the South, many white conservative Democrats acted quickly to "redeem" one state after another and re-asserted political control by driving

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[246] Somers, "Black and White in New Orleans," 27; John Blassingame, *Black New Orleans*, 1860 – 1880 (Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1973), 1 – 5.

[247] Blassingame, *Black New Orleans*, 12 – 23.

[248] Blassingame, *Black New Orleans*, 25 – 35, 107 – 120; Keith Medley, *We As Freemen: Plessy v. Ferguson*, (Gretna: Pelican Publishing, 2003), 25; Arthé Agnes Anthony, "The Negro Creole Community in New Orleans: An Oral History," (PhD diss., University of California Irvine, 1978), 41 – 43; Krist, *Empire of Sin*, 62 – 63; Rebecca J. Scott, "Public Rights, Social Equality, and the Conceptual Roots of the *Plessy* Challenge," *Michigan Law Review* 106:777 (March 2008), 777 – 804.

Republican governments from power. However, Louisiana's governor, Francis T. Nicholls, and the state's other white politicians were reluctant to deprive blacks of their political rights for fear of inviting a return to federal control, so they initially refrained from passing discriminatory legislation. Instead, Nicholls encouraged local officials and New Orleans' white citizens to informally begin separating the races in schools, hospitals, and other public institutions.[249] Nevertheless, "Reconstruction's final gasp came in 1877" when Congress declared victory for the Democrats in Louisiana's contested state elections.[250] It had become clear that the federal government had abandoned the cause of African American rights, and Louisiana's own white "redeemers" implemented a new state constitution in 1879 that removed many of the equal rights provisions put in place during Reconstruction.[251] Just two decades after the end of slavery, New Orleans, a city of contradictions, had paradoxically become "a bastion of white supremacy in politics and a fertile ground for cross-racial organizing in the public sphere."[252] Although black New Orleanians had played central roles in advancing racial equality and continued to work together to resist conservative Democrat rule, Reconstruction had indeed failed, even in the urban, cosmopolitan Crescent City.

All of these political changes and tensions were happening when New Orleans, and the South more broadly, needed to project an image of competence and stability to the nation and to the world. New Orleans' antebellum glory days, when business in sugar, cotton, and slaves was booming, were long past. It was no longer the cosmopolitan commercial center of the U.S. South that had made it indispensable to international trade routes. It had dropped from being the country's fourth largest city in the antebellum years to ninth after decades of civil war and federal occupation. These changes, along with competition from new railroad centers and faster growing ports had been hard on the city's economy. Moreover, the city government had taken on a level of debt that limited its ability to remain competitive with other southern cities. In terms of urban development, New Orleans seemed hopelessly backward as other major U.S. cities such as New York, St. Louis, and Chicago surged ahead with electric streetcars, miles of well-paved roads, and modern sanitation infrastructure.[253] New Orleans, on the other hand, still had streetcars pulled by mules, dirt paved streets, sewage that ran through open gutters, and streets lit by old-fashioned gas lamps, leaving the city looking as if it were stuck in an era long passed.

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[249] Somers, ""Black and White in New Orleans," 36.

[250] Ayers, *Promise of a New South,* 8.

[251] Germaine A. Reed, "Race Legislation in Louisiana, 1864 - 1920," *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 6.4 (Autumn 1965), 382 – 385; Somers, "Black and White in New Orleans,"27; Krist, *Empire of Sin*, 63.

[252] Scott, *Degrees of Freedom*, 2 – 3.

Eager to regain its status as the cosmopolitan center of the U.S. South, white New Orleanian politicians and leaders turned to the increasingly popular "New South" ideology as a strategy to move the city forward. Economic recovery in the post-bellum south had been slow as slavery and the plantation system were replaced with farm tenancy and sharecropping, and white Southern leaders aimed to change that through industrializing the region.[254] Henry W. Grady, editor of *The Atlanta Constitution*, had coined the term "New South" in his articles and speeches as a strategy for transforming the heavily agrarian south into an industrial society and would lead to significant economic growth.[255] Like other New South advocates, New Orleans leaders believed that forming partnerships with Northern capitalists was key to the city's economic regeneration. In addition, they believed that increasing international commerce would catalyze the city's economic development since it was a port city that connected the United States to the rest of the Americas and the Atlantic world. They focused on connecting the city to as many places as possible by land and by sea, and one of the most practical partners in the city's mission to modernize and once again become a key commercial center, was their southern neighbor who had helped the city sustain itself years earlier during its most trying times. Recalling how trade with and through Mexico had helped the city survive the Union blockade during the war, white New Orleanian leaders, once again, set their designs on Mexico. However, eager to make commercial relations work with Mexico, they took on a new strategy this time. No longer were they filibustering from New Orleans and seeking to control Mexico by force and occupation. Instead, white New Orleanians turned to fostering friendly relations with Mexico to build key alliances and partnerships that would usher in economic development and modernize the city.

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[253] Krist, *Empire of Sin*, 23 – 24.

[254] Lima, "Louisiana," 351.

[255] Henry Woodfin Grady, *The New South, and Other Addresses: With biography, Critical Opinions, and Explanatory Notes* (New York: Maynard, Merrill, & Co., 1904); *Ayers*, *Promise of the New South*, 6 – 10.

During the 1880s, U.S. Americans began to once again see Mexico's potential as a viable sister republic, but this time, New Orleanians fully embraced the concept. When the railroads connected the U.S. and Mexico in 1884 and travel between the two countries became more affordable, "Americans developed an intense curiosity about Mexico, its people, and its opportunities."[256] Middle class Americans could now afford to visit Mexico and they wrote in abundance about their travels, shaping ideas about Mexico as a logical place for the U.S. to extend its economic and cultural influence. White U.S. American travelers wrote numerous articles and books "aimed specifically at potential investors who might take advantage of the rail lines and the opening of business relations between the two republics."[257] They enticed U.S. American investment in Mexico and contributed to the young nation's economic growth. Mexican president Porfirio Díaz encouraged this foreign investment, as it was a key part of his plans to modernize the nation. Moreover, with Díaz leading Mexico towards modernity under his motto of “order and progress,” the young nation demonstrated it was a fitting sister republic. Eager to create new business and commerce for the city, white New Orleanian businessmen, embraced the possibility and looked to their southern neighbor to create new economic partnerships. The contentions over land and property that had shaped relations between Mexico and New Orleans began shifting as the young nation became a site for capitalist expansion.

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[256] Ruiz, *Americans in the Treasure House,* 5 – 7.
[257] Ruiz, *Americans in the Treasure House*, 14.

White New Orleanian leaders changed the language they used in their portrayals of Mexico, and the 1880s were ripe with possibility for them to redefine relations with their southern neighbors. With Mexico modernizing under Díaz’s leadership, no longer did New Orleans have to be both friend and foe to Mexico. The language white New Orleanians used to describe Mexico shifted and the city’s newspapers no longer wrote of the young nation as one that needed the United States to repair its government and teach its people how to run a true democracy.[258] No longer did white New Orleanian journalists write about the need to take over Mexico by force. Instead, they attempted to wipe the slate clean and began to focus on developing “friendships” that would benefit the city’s planters, merchants, and industrialists as well as Mexico’s own economic development. White New Orleanian journalists changed their tune with regard to the young nation’s racial makeup and now “obscured or erased slavery and people of African descent in Mexico,” and portrayed its indigenous and mestizo people as fundamentally different from Native Americans in the U.S.[259] Moreover, white New Orleanian businessmen became the biggest promoters of Mexico as a logical place for foreign investment and capitalist expansion. Instead of using language that emphasized invasion, white New

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[258] Fuhlhage, “The Mexican Image through Southern Eyes,” 196 – 197.

[259] Cornell, “Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico,” 12 – 13.

Orleanians reframed their discussions regarding Mexico to one of business opportunities and economic development. Though Mexico and New Orleans had been connected through the circulation of people, goods, and ideas throughout the nineteenth-century, the 1880s ushered in an era where both Mexican diplomats and New Orleans leaders would intentionally use cultural exchange as a means to foster friendly commercial relations between them. Only time would tell if they would be able to overcome the decades of mutual distrust and skepticism in one another so that these redefined relations could blossom.

“Your prosperity is ours, our destinies the same,
Republicans forever one in glory; one in shame.
Land of the Montezumas! We hail thee from afar;
The ‘Crescent City’ hails thee, their ‘Southern Guiding Star;’
The city by the sea sends her greeting warm to-day,
And her message reads as follows: ‘Let us be friends for aye.’
- New Orleans, May 29, 1885”[260]

CHAPTER TWO: New Orleans’ “Southern Guiding Star”

On an unusually cold December morning in New Orleans, the long anticipated World’s Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, or the 1884 World’s Fair, opened its doors to the public after mismanagement and poor financial planning had led to a month-long delay.[261] Nevertheless, the fair opened to great fanfare after its Director General, Edward A. Burke, had spent the preceding year promoting the event as the grandest exposition in history, and promising that it would be the “crowning achievement of the age” for those who participated, including New Orleans, the United States, and Mexico.[262] Indeed, local white New Orleans newspapers similarly promised that the fair would make the United States leaders of modernity, claiming that it would be “unequalled in its gigantic proportions by any of those held in the old world.”[263] Moreover, the fair would demonstrate to the world that New Orleans and the broader U.S. South had reconciled with the northern states, promoting national unity.

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[260] “Mexico,” *Daily Picayune,* May 31, 1885, p 2. Poem written by Mr. Isaac N. Maynard, founder of the New Orleans Clearing House Association, in honor of Mexico Day at the Exposition. These brief lines are emblematic of the fair’s rhetoric of friendship between Mexico and New Orleans.

[261] Shepherd, “A Glimmer of Hope,” 276.

[262] Thomas D. Watson, “Staging the ‘Crowning Achievement of the Age’: Major Edward A. Burke, New Orleans and the Cotton Centennial Exposition,” *Louisiana History: The Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association* 25.3 (Summer 1984), 234; *New Orleans Mascot*, January 24, 1885, February 28, 1885; *Monroe Bulletin*, May 20, 1885; *Report of the Board of Management of the World’s Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition to the President, Feb 2, 1885* (New Orleans, 1885), 4-8.

[263] *Daily Capitolian-Advocate*, December 17, 1884, 2.

Despite these grand assertions, the scene at the fair's opening told a very different story. Eager attendees who visited during the fair's first weeks entered into a scene of chaos and disorganization. They found the grounds in a "sadly, unfinished condition" with buildings that were still under construction and exhibits that were incomplete or had not yet been installed.[264] Patrons who had made the long journey to the fair by mule-drawn streetcar were disappointed to find that the grounds lacked restrooms, restaurants, and seating areas, making their visit uncomfortable and inconvenient.[265] The landscape surrounding the buildings was barren, and the flora and fauna that promotional materials had advertised were nowhere in sight.[266] Furthermore, brochures promising warm weather had lured patrons and instructed visitors to "leave their heavy coats and shawls at home." [267] Unfortunately, New Orleans was experiencing an unusually severe winter. Instead of warm weather, visitors experienced a "raw piercing wind" that wreaked havoc on the "light, fair weather buildings."[268] To make matters worse, torrential downpours plagued the first nineteen days of the fair, leaving the streets and grounds muddy.[269] Consequently, early travelers to the fair left New Orleans disgruntled seeing that the fair's management had made promises that were left seemingly unfulfilled. These early visitors returned home with reports of the dismal conditions and advised their friends and family to stay home rather than making the expensive journey to New Orleans.[270] Much to the dismay of Director General Burke and New Orleans business leaders, these early reports continued to shape public opinion for the fair's duration, contributing to its poor attendance and failures.

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[264] Herbert Fairall, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition,* (Iowa: Republican Publishing Co., 1885), 12; Donald Clive Hardy, "The Worlds Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition," (M.A. Thesis, Tulane University, 1964), 28; *Chicago Daily Tribune,* December 16, 1884; *Times-Democrat*, December 24, 1884.

[265] A. De G. De Fonblanque, "Report by Consul Fonblanque on the World's Cotton Centennial Exhibition at New Orleans," *Commercial*, No. 11 (1885), 28 (Louisiana Research Collection, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, New Orleans); *Times-Democrat*, December 24, 1884; *Daily Picayune*, December 29, 1884, 8; Fairall, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition,* 12; Hardy, "The Worlds Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition," 28; Shepherd, "A Glimmer of Hope," 276.

[266] Eugene V. Smalley, "In and Out of the New Orleans Exposition," *Century Magazine* 30.2 (1885), 185; *New Orleans Times-Democrat*, November 25, 1884, December 7, 1884; *Shreveport Daily Times,* December 13, 1884; Eugene V. Smalley, "The New Orleans Exposition," *Century Magazine* 30.1 (May 1885), 7; *Kentucky New Era*, January 26, 1885; *Report of the Board of Management*, 4.

[267] *The World's Exposition* postcard book, Rare Vertical File Collection, Louisiana Division/City Archives, NOPL; *Our Great All Around Tour for the Winter of '84 – '85 Issued by the Passenger Departments of the Richmond and Danville Railroad, Piedmont Air Line, and Atlantic Coast Line* (New York, 1884), 28.

[268] *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 20, 1884, 6; Samuel C. Shepherd, Jr., "A Glimmer of Hope," 274.

[269] *Times-Democrat*, January 11, 1884.

This scene captures both the promise and disappointment that the fair represented for white New Orleanian leaders and the fair's second largest financial contributor, the Mexican government, who were all hoping that the affair would usher in a new era of prosperity. It was an opportune moment for reinvention, but one that ultimately fell short of Director General Burke's promises. Indeed, the 1884 World's Fair was by all accounts a financial failure. Nevertheless, it was of great importance to those most invested in the fair, both the city of New Orleans and Mexico, as each utilized it as an opportunity to reinvent their image in the popular imaginary and to forge new connections with each other that were intended to redefine their relationship. Plagued by a long history of uneven relations between nations, including the contentious memory of the Mexican-American War, the fair offered a setting where New Orleans leaders and Mexican diplomats could work to repair relations between them, as representatives of their regions and nations.[271] In addition, both Mexican diplomats and white New Orleans leaders sought to demonstrate to the world that they were ready to lead their respective regions towards modernity. White New Orleans leaders aimed to regain the city's antebellum status as one of the nation's premier commercial ports through trade with Mexico and Latin America more broadly. The Mexican government saw the event as an opportunity to correct the errors of world opinion regarding the young nation as a violent, uncivilized, and war-torn country towards a picture of a place where prosperity, opportunity, and progress bloomed.[272] Therefore, the fair offered visitors and participants, particularly those from Mexico and New Orleans, excitement and "a glimmer of hope for the future" despite its financial failure.[273] Indeed, the fair was a moment ripe with possibility for reinvention and a prosperous future in which both Mexico and New Orleans could reconcile past tensions, re-define relations between them, and benefit from commercial exchange with one another.

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[270] *Chicago Tribune*, December 20, 1884; Shepherd, "A Glimmer of Hope," 274.

[271] For many in the United States, the Mexican-American War was seen as the conflict that helped cause the Civil War and as a result was disgraced and receded from public memory. However, for Mexicans, the war was a difficult defeat, a fresh wound and injury that made them suspicious of U.S. ambitions. See: Alys D. Beverton, "'We Knew no North, No South,': U.S. – Mexican War Veterans and the Construction of Memory in the Post-Civil War United States, 1874 – 1897," *American Nineteenth Century History* 17.1 (2016): 2;

While the 1884 World's Fair was indeed a failure by many accounts and has thereby largely been overlooked by historians, it warrants a closer examination because it reflected new motivations for cross-border exchanges and changed the rhetoric, if not the politics, surrounding relations between New Orleans and Mexico.[274] During its six-month duration, fair organizers and local leaders hosted world diplomats and many of Mexico's cultural and political elite, inevitably having a profound impact on the culture and economy of New Orleans.[275] Political and commercial ties had connected Mexico and New Orleans throughout the early nineteenth-century, but these relations were wrought with feelings of skepticism and distrust that resulted from broader, contentious relations between Mexico and the United States. Attempts at formal diplomatic relations between the two nations began in 1822, but were marked by periodic ruptures, including the Mexican-American War of 1846 – 1848. As history shows us, the quest for economic, and at times territorial control, often overrode U.S. foreign policy planners' attempts at diplomacy with Mexico throughout the nineteenth-century.[276] More specifically, these broader national contexts often led to contentious and unequal relations between Mexico and New Orleans, as the city served as both the launching site for several American filibustering expeditions and as a haven for Mexican political exiles over the course of the nineteenth-century. Nevertheless, the fair was a moment when white New Orleans leaders and Mexican diplomats aimed to reconcile the enduring tensions between them after the Mexican-American war and failed filibustering expeditions. Indeed, the fair functioned as a "contact zone," where these seemingly disparate cultures met and grappled with each other in a new context.[277] The fair, then, offered a time and place, a specific context, for an attempt at changing relations between Mexico and New Orleans. As such, it was ripe with the possibility of re-invention, one where New Orleans and Mexico could reframe their respective public images and commercial relations between them could blossom.

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[272] Secretaria de Fomento, Colonización, Industria y Comercio, *Memorias*, Vol 1 (Mexico: 1887), 693. Biblioteca, Archivo General de la Nación, México.

[273] Shepherd, "A Glimmer of Hope," 272.

[274] Since the fair was an overall financial failure, historians have largely ignored it as a subject of inquiry. Only a handful of Louisiana historians have assessed the fair's significance and contributions to New Orleans. Donald Clive Hardy wrote a Master's thesis exposing the mismanagement of the fair's organizers. Joy Jackson has argued for the symbolic importance of holding the fair in New Orleans as the city aimed to compete with other American cities for industry and capital. Lastly, Samuel C. Shepherd, Jr. has demonstrated that the fair offered the people of Louisiana a "glimmer of hope" for the future. See: Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition"; Joy J. Jackson, *New Orleans in the Gilded Age: Politics and Urban Progress, 1880 – 1896* (Baton Rouge: University of Southwestern Louisiana, 1969), 204 – 206; and Shepherd, "A Glimmer of Hope."

[275] Economist Vicente González Loscertales has demonstrated that world's fairs have historically had a tremendous impact on their host cities. Due to their enormity, world's fairs and expositions affect every imaginable aspect of a city. See: Vicente González Loscertales, "Foreword," in *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions*. North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2008), 3.

The fair came at a particularly opportune time, as 1884 was the year that railroads officially connected Mexico and the United States, representing opportunities for transforming relations and leading to notable shifts in representations of Mexico in U.S. American popular culture. U.S. American travel writing shifted away from a discourse about "backward peons and ruthless bandidos" to one that depicted Mexico as a "struggling but viable 'sister republic'" that could be “cultivated through commercial and cultural influence from its northern neighbor.”[278] Indeed, U.S. American popular culture, and travel writing in particular, demonstrated Mexico’s potential as a partner in the march towards modernity by highlighting technological advances ushered in by the Porfiriato,[279] such as paved roads, electricity, and a “population capable of capitalist discipline.”[280] While these representations emphasized Mexico’s potential as a modern nation state, it was also latent with an exoticism that celebrated Mexican culture as charmingly foreign and exposed its “otherness,” albeit an otherness that was suitable for U.S. American consumption.[281] Moreover, these representations were latent with U.S. American benevolence toward their southern neighbor and reflected growing U.S. American desires for economic dominance over Mexico. However, U.S. American and white New Orleanian desires to build business and commercial ties with Mexico didn’t seem too far removed from the Mexican government’s own goal of drawing foreign investment to the young nation’s resources. As such, both New Orleanian leaders and Mexican businessmen were interested in changing the relationship between them and by the time of the fair both saw the potential improved commercial relations could have for their regions. Nevertheless, many Mexican officials continued to approach U.S. Americans, including white New Orleanian leaders, with caution and suspicion given their thirst for economic dominance, and these conflicting attitudes and desires ultimately thwarted efforts at improving relations between Mexico and New Orleans.

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[276] Gilbert G. González, *Culture of Empire: American Writers, Mexico, and Mexican Immigrants, 1880 – 1930* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 5 – 6.

[277] Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge Press, 1992), 4, as quoted in Ruiz, *Americans in the Treasure House,* 2 - 3.

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[278] Ruiz, *Americans in the Treasure House*, 6.

[279] The Porfiriato refers to the era of Porfirio Díaz’s government from 1876 – 1911 whose motto was “Order and Progress.” While there was a brief four-year period, 1880 – 1884, during which he was not president of Mexico in this era, he remained involved in government leadership. See: Joseph and Henderson, “President Díaz, Hero of the Americas,” 285 – 291; John M. Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico: The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987); and Freidrich Katz, “The Liberal Republic and the Porfiriato, 1867 – 1910,” in *The Cambridge History of Latin America, Volume 5*, ed. Leslie Bethell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 3 – 81.

[280] Ruiz, *Americans in the Treasure House,* 6.

[281] See: Segalen, *Essay on Exoticism*; Born and Hesmondhalgh, “Introduction: On Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music,” 1 – 47; Jones, “This is Not a Cruise.”

Despite their contentious history, New Orleanians of all backgrounds embraced these changing attitudes towards Mexico, making the 1884 World's Fair a pivotal moment that altered the language regarding the city's relationship with their southern neighbor and marked the beginning of a fundamentally different era in diplomatic and cultural relations between them. Indeed, the fair marks the moment when Mexican diplomats and New Orleans leaders deliberately began using cultural exchange in an attempt to ultimately improve commercial relations between them. From that moment forward, they were no longer simply connected by the movement of people, ideas, and goods between them, but by the intentional circulation of culture as well. Seeking to encourage "commercial ties of a warm and lasting nature" that were seen as central to the development of both New Orleans' and Mexico's economies, the fair's organizers and the city's local elite produced a great deal of propaganda that emphasized friendly relations between the two.[282] Southern journalists who had spent the preceding decades criticizing Mexico's refusal to extradite fugitive slaves and depicting the young nation as "an anarchic state inhabited by militaristic, antiracist, abolitionist savages that threatened the security of the U.S. South," changed their tone.[283] Instead, New Orleans' white journalists and leaders deployed a new strategy and emphasized Mexico's importance in enriching the city's economic vitality through new trade networks.[284] Despite the nation's past, which had been "thwarted by a profound sense of backwardness," Mexico represented abundant natural resources, cheap labor, and a market for investment with enormous potential for New Orleans business leaders.[285] Encouraging commercial relations between New Orleans and Mexico not only became one of the central goals of the fair, but it also birthed a new rhetoric of friendship between the two.

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[282] "From the Land of Romance," *The Times-Democrat*, February 13, 1884.
[283] Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico," 12 – 13.
[284] Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico," 12 – 13.

The year 1884 was a pivotal moment for establishing commercial relations between Mexico and New Orleans in yet another way – it was the year Porfirio Díaz was re-elected as Mexico's president and he aggressively pursued his agenda of bringing "order and progress" to the young nation and helped further galvanize its image as a "sister republic." Díaz had also spent the previous year working to shape this ideal image of a modern Mexican nation as Mexico's Chief Commissioner to the 1884 fair, a role in which he played a key role in developing the young nation's exhibits and representations at the event.[286] Indeed, the 1884 fair was Mexico's first major effort to portray itself as a modern nation, and it led to significant and transformative cultural exchanges between Mexico and the hosting city.[287] This new level of exposure to Mexican culture created a "vogue" for things Mexican in New Orleans, even if it was often guided by an exoticism and curiosity for the charmingly foreign.[288] Moreover, white New Orleanian interest in Mexican culture was undoubtedly driven by a desire to familiarize themselves with the sister republic and its diplomats for the purposes of economic opportunity, and perhaps dominance, a figurative and literal desire to consume Mexico and its culture. Nevertheless, relations between the two were no longer solely dependent on the "relative weakness of Mexico," politically and economically, but were guided by New Orleans leaders' strategy to befriend Mexican diplomats to further commercial relations. As such, fair organizers and New Orleans leaders deployed a rhetoric of friendship that emphasized Mexico's important resources and its role as a potential partner in the march towards broader U.S. American standards of progress and modernity.[289] Despite this significant change, many Mexican diplomats still resented past U.S. interventions in Mexico and the mistreatment of Mexicans in other parts of the United States, leading to continued underlying feelings of distrust in the relations being fostered between New Orleans and Mexico.

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[285] Historian Jason Ruiz documents the way American representations of Mexico in travel writing were in constant flux. See: Ruiz, *Americans in the Treasure House*, 3.
[286] Don Marion Coerver, "The Porfirian Interregnum."
[287] Tenorio, *Mexico at the World's Fairs* 40.
[288] Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican*; Segalen, *Essay on Exoticism*; Born and Hesmondhalgh, *Western Music and Its Others,* 1 – 15.

This chapter will demonstrate how the efforts to foster commercial relations between New Orleans and Mexico at the 1884 World's Fair reveal a complex and often contradictory relationship between Mexico and New Orleans; one in which they tried to embrace each other as friends for economic reasons, but the broader historical and unequal relations of domination and resistance between Mexico and the U.S. continuously thwarted those efforts. For the fair's six-month duration, there was a festive atmosphere in the city and both New Orleans leaders and Mexican diplomats used every opportunity to celebrate the emerging relations between them. However, the festivities were punctuated by key moments that exposed the fragility of the relations being formed. Indeed, a closer analysis of the fair's rhetoric and these revealing key moments suggests that white New Orleanian leaders were most interested in learning about and understanding Mexican culture and befriending Mexican diplomats to advance their own economic ambitions. On the other hand, Mexican diplomats remained skeptical of New Orleanian leaders, but they were most interested in using the fair as a platform for reinventing their image, with the potential to draw investors from the city as an added bonus. Therefore, they all remained invested in utilizing the fair to establish seemingly friendly relations with each other even though the continued underlying feelings of distrust were evident throughout its six-month duration.

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[289] Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican*, 2.

While the fair's rhetoric ultimately fell short and was unable to reconcile tensions between them or escape decades of contentious relations, the fair itself did provide a space for the appreciation of an exoticized Mexican culture and as a result created new opportunities for Mexican musicians in New Orleans. In other words, New Orleans and Mexico may not have developed the intended commercial relations due to continued underlying tensions between them which became clear at critical moments throughout the fair, but the rhetoric of friendship deployed by fair organizers represented a significant change in local public attitudes towards Mexico's representatives and fostered a curiosity and taste for Mexican culture in the city. New Orleans, as an overlap between two souths, became even more intimately linked to Mexico through the circulation of culture and historical actors in the late nineteenth-century, giving us a more nuanced understanding of the city's changing connections to its southern neighbor.[290]

Planning the "Crowning Achievement of the Age"

The 1884 World's Fair offered white New Orleanians excitement and hope for a post-Reconstruction future full of new opportunities, but the city's elite did not initially share the National Cotton Planters Association's (NCPA) enthusiasm for such a grand affair. Franklin C. Morehead, president of the NCPA based in Vicksburg, Mississippi,[291] received his inspiration for the centennial from prominent Bostonian Edward Atkinson,[292] who first suggested the idea for such an event in an August 1880 letter to the *New York Herald*. He argued, "a great exposition exclusively devoted to cotton" would be mutually beneficial to cotton planters and textile manufacturers.[293] Atkinson argued that it would be a step towards addressing the cotton textile industry's problems with inferior cotton processing methods in the South. Furthermore, cotton could serve to symbolically unify the nation, bringing together northern and southern interests. Morehead was inspired by the idea and saw 1884 as the fitting year for such an affair since it was the centennial of the first cotton shipment from the United States to Europe.[294] He set his hopes on New Orleans as the host for the event given that it was the cotton capital of the U.S. South.[295] By October of 1882, Morehead and the delegates of the NCPA had resolved to sponsor a "World's Cotton Centennial" and called on New Orleans and other Southern cities to bid for the honor to host the event. Though the NCPA committed to helping the first city to raise $500,000 for the fair by raising an additional $1,500,000 in outside additional funds, the announcement initially received lukewarm notice in New Orleans.[296]

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[290] Gruesz, "Delta Desterrados," 53

[291] An article in the *Daily Picayune* recounts Morehead's activities on behalf of the fair, in which he was called "the father of the New Orleans Exposition." See: *Daily Picayune*, February 13, 1885.

[292] Smalley, "The New Orleans Exposition," 12; Watson, "Staging the 'Crowning Achievement of the Age,'" 234; Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition," 12.

Despite the NCPA and Morehead's strong convictions that New Orleans was "the most suitable and desirable" location for an international cotton exposition, local elite were weary at the prospect of hosting such an event as they felt that the city's economy wasn't prepared for such an expensive undertaking.[297] More than one third of the country's cotton production went through New Orleans, making it an important cotton center and a fitting location for the exposition. However, years of war and federal occupation had devastated New Orleans' cotton and slave economy, and the city was still working to recover. Indeed, world's fairs and expositions impact all aspects of their host cities, and many of the city's leaders felt that they needed to prioritize other issues. Although local business was growing, the city's government had taken on a level of debt that severely limited its ability to remain commercially competitive.[298] John Phelps, president of New Orleans' powerful Cotton Exchange, initially declined Morehead's offer to co-sponsor the cotton centennial because he declared the city was "too poor" to provide the infrastructure required for such an affair.[299] Local newspaper, *The Daily Picayune*, seconded Phelps' decision and declared that there were civic improvements that "claimed higher priority" on local financial resources, such as the drainage system, public sanitation, and street repairs.[300] The *Daily Picayune* scoffed at the idea of placing such a large amount of local funds in the hands of an out-of-state organization.[301] The *Times-Democrat*, supported the idea but felt the timing was premature given the South's rate of recovery following the war and Reconstruction.[302] The *Daily States,* polled local business leaders about the prospect of hosting the fair, but the poll was terminated after leaders replied with limited interest.[303]

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[293] *Times-Democrat*, December 17, 1884; Harold Francis Williamson, *Edward Atkinson: The Biography of an American Liberal* (Boston: Old Corner Bookstore, 1934), 166 – 167.

[294] Fairall, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition,* 10; "Exposicion Universal de Nueva Orleans," *El Socialista*, March 8, 1884, 2.

[295] Atlanta took the initiative and hosted the International Cotton Exposition at Atlanta in 1881. Despite its name, the exposition was relatively small in scope and had a regional focus, but it further strengthened Morehead's determination to host a truly international exposition modeled after the Centennial International Exposition of Philadelphia held in 1876. See: *Planters Journal* X (December 1884), 162 – 163; *Daily States,* May 13, 1883.

[296] *Daily States,* November 19, 1882; Watson, "Staging the 'Crowning Achievement of the Age,'" 234.

[297] *Daily States*, December 10, 1882.

In response to the initial lack of enthusiasm in New Orleans, Morehead solicited official recognition of the fair from U.S. Congress to induce a shift of opinion. Before leaving for Washington to meet with legislators, Morehead extended the site selection deadline with the hope that federal support could change the opinion of New Orleans' leaders. Morehead aimed to gain "the same charter and similar privileges granted to the Philadelphia Centennial" for his proposed affair.[304] An influential man, Morehead gained the support of Senator Augustus H. Garland of Arkansas who introduced a bill "to encourage the holding" of a World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition in 1884.[305] With Morehead and Garland assuring Congress that it would merely grant recognition to the event and would not require financial support from the federal government, the bill passed into law within eighteen days.[306] While cotton was to be the primary theme, the exhibits would include "all arts, manufactures, and products of the soil and mine."[307] In response, the NCPA promptly selected the Crescent City as the site for the fair.

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[298] In the antebellum years, New Orleans had been the fourth largest city in the country, but dropped to ninth after the Civil War. Other ports had continued to grow and railroad development created new competition in other, non-port cities. See: Krist, *Empire of Sin*, 23.

[299] *Daily Picayune*, December 21, 1882.

[300] *Daily Picayune*, December 22, 1882; Watson, "Staging the 'Crowning Achievement of the Age,'" 235.

[301] *Daily Picayune*, December 16, 1882.

[302] *Times-Democrat*, September 24, 1913.

[303] *Daily States,* December 9, 1882.

The promise of federal support for an international fair had begun to shift public opinion in New Orleans most notably that of Louisiana State Treasurer Edward Burke who had started publishing articles in support of the idea in his local newspaper the *Times-Democrat.* While the bill was making its way through Congress, the *Times-Democrat* published the opinion of James Eads, an engineer whose viewpoint had become highly respected in New Orleans after his work had deepened the channel below the city and opened the south pass of the Mississippi River to deep-water navigation.[308] It was believed that Eads' work would revolutionize commerce in New Orleans since it permitted ocean-going boats to dock there.[309] Indeed, the fair's publications would highlight Eads' jetties and argue that they were critical to ushering in a new era for New Orleans, as no city in the world had a brighter future, particularly in international commerce.[310] The implementation of these jetties had already increased the number of Latin American ships engaged at the port of New Orleans from three to seventeen, and the number was expected to further increase to twenty-eight in the following year.[311] After hearing of Morehead's mission to host the fair in New Orleans, Eads declared it to be a "grand idea" and expressed confusion at the news that local leaders had rejected Morehead's plan.[312] Eads believed that the fair would link the hosting city "to the trade of the civilized world" and advance its economic interests as well as those of the South and the U.S. more broadly.[313] Motivated by Eads declaration that letting the fair go elsewhere "would be a shame," Edward Burke became one of the first New Orleanian businessmen to publicly support hosting the fair.[314] In fact, he would become the fair's most vocal and fervent advocate.

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[304] *Daily Picayune*, December 31, 1882.

[305] U.S., Congress, Senate debates, 47th Congress, 2nd session, January 23, 1883, *Congressional Record,* 14: 1457.

[306] Fonblanque, "Report by Consul Fonblanque on the World's Cotton Centennial Exhibition at New Orleans," *Commercial*, 25 – 26; Watson, "Staging the Crowning Achievement of the Age," 236; Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition," 17.

[307] The act stipulated that the exposition was to be conducted under the "joint auspices" of the federal government, the NCPA, and a city of the NCPA's choosing. *An act to encourage the holding of a World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition in the year eighteen hundred and eighty-four, Statutes at Large*, 22, chapter 42, 414 (1883).

[308] Watson, "Staging the 'Crowning Achievement of the Age,'" 237; Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition," 85; Joy Juanita Jackson, "Municipal Problems in New Orleans, 1880 – 1896," (PhD diss, Tulane University, 1961), 193, *New Orleans Price-Current, Commercial Bulletin and Shipping List,* August 20, 1884.

[309] Eads had flushed the silt away at the mouth of the Mississippi River and introduced a new system of jetties that deepened the channel below the city and made it possible for sea vessels to navigate more easily. See: James W. Buel, *Metropolitan Life Unveiled, or, The Mysteries and Miseries of America's Great Cities: Embracing New York, Washington City, San Francisco, Salt Lake City, and New Orleans* (St. Louis: Dan Linahan & Co, 1882), 586; Shepherd, "A Glimmer of Hope," 273; *Daily Picayune,* February 2, 1885.

In the early months of 1883, support for hosting the fair finally began to coalesce in New Orleans and Burke, now "determined to have it" held in the Crescent City was the first to offer financial support.[315] An astute businessman, Burke was committed to New Orleans' economic prosperity. On March 17, 1883, he announced that his newspaper, the *Times-Democrat* would pledge $5,000 in cotton centennial stock.[316] While other leaders in New Orleans also began to support the idea of hosting the fair, the local Cotton Exchange continued to voice their dissent arguing that the city lacked adequate hotel space for such a large event and that raising the required $500,000 was impossible.[317] However, by April, the fair had gained the support of the most prestigious member of the Cotton Exchange, Edmund Richardson.[318] A few weeks later, the NCPA officially declared New Orleans as the host city for the 1884 fair.[319] When the news reached the city, New Orleans leaders immediately began to fundraise for the event, but had only raised $68,000 by the end of June.[320] Discussions about the "vitality, energy, and promise of New Orleans" quickly began to turn to debates over whether the city should continue with the fair at all.[321] Concerned about the city's reputation, the *Daily Picayune* quickly rebutted that resigning from hosting the fair was "simply suicidal" and would make the city a laughingstock to the rest of the nation and to international audiences.[322] Indeed, the progress and success of the fair would only become increasingly intertwined with the city's reputation. While concerns about the city's ability to host such a grand affair persisted, local businessmen believed that New Orleans' ability to host the fair symbolized its re-emergence into active competition with other U.S. cities for more business, commerce, and capital.[323] Some even argued that the fair was "the event upon which, in large measure, the future prosperity of the city hinge[d]."[324]

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[310] *Catalogue of the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition* (New Orleans: J.S. Rivers, 1885), 34.
[311] Secretaría de Fomento, *Memorias de Fomento, Vol. IV, 1883 – 1885* (Mexico), 617 – 618, (Biblioteca, AGN, México); *New Orleans Commercial Bulletin*, April 16, 1884; Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition," 7.
[312] *Times-Democrat*, February 1, 1883.
[313] *Times-Democrat*, February 1, 1883.
[314] *Times-Democrat*, February 1, 1883 and February 4, 1883; *Daily States,* January 23, 1883; Watson, "Staging the 'Crowning Achievement of the Age,'" 237.
[315] *Times-Democrat*, March 10, 1883.
[316] Approximately $122,000 by today's standards. *Times-Democrat*, March 17, 1883.

The inability to raise funds in New Orleans had created a serious crisis, so when Burke raised over $200,000 for the fair during a two-week tour of northern U.S. cities in July 1883, he was promptly appointed as the fair's Director General.[325] Although Burke would be required to work with a Board of Management,[326] Director General carried the greatest level of responsibility and oversaw "the general management and execution of all the working details of the fair in its construction, arrangement and conduct."[327] Upon assuming his new post, Burke spared no effort to "expand the enterprise from a celebration of cotton to a truly international fair."[328] He committed to raising the additional $232,000 in funds necessary within thirty days. Confident in his ability to raise these funds, Burke successfully applied to Washington, D.C. for an official proclamation of the fair, and on September 10, 1883, U.S. President Chester A. Arthur formally announced that the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition would be a national event.[329] The Crescent City would host the 1884 world's fair despite not yet having the necessary financial resources, and Burke began planning an affair of great magnitude because New Orleans, and the South, had a great deal to prove to the nation and to the world.

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[317] *Times-Democrat*, March 9, 1883 and March 20, 1883; *Daily States*, March 28, 1883.

[318] Richardson was a senior partner of Richardson and May, the largest cotton brokerage in New Orleans. He was not only a member of the New Orleans Cotton Exchange, but he was also a member of the executive committee of the NCPA. He was also the person who made the case for New Orleans to the NCPA even though the city had not yet raised the required $500,000. See: *Daily Picayune*, April 18, 1883 and April 20, 1883; and Watson, "Staging the 'Crowning Achievement of the Age,'" 238 – 239.

[319] *Daily Picayune*, April 25, 1883.

[320] *Daily Picayune*, June 23, 1883.

[321] *Times-Democrat*, May 6, 1883 and June 20, 1883.

[322] *Daily Picayune*, June 20, 1883.

[323] Jackson, *New Orleans in the Gilded Age*, 204 – 211.

[324] "Editorial," *New Orleans Price-Current, Commercial Bulletin and Shipping List,* July 19, 1884.

The Stakes of the Fair

Both New Orleans and Mexico became invested in the 1884 fair as a platform for political posturing, and Mexico helped offset some of Burke and the Board of Management's financial shortcomings with an appropriation exceeding $200,000.[330] Indeed, once both New Orleans and Mexico officially committed to the fair, they used it as an opportunity to reinvent their image in the popular imaginary. As they worked to recover after years of war, both internal wars and with each other, Mexico and New Orleans sought to demonstrate to the world that they were ready to lead their respective regions towards modernity. Moreover, Mexican and white New Orleanian leaders saw the potential for moving beyond the tensions created by the Mexican-American War and failed filibustering expeditions and renewing relations between them. In addition, New Orleans aimed to regain her antebellum status as one of the nation's premier ports through trade with Mexico, and Latin America more broadly. For New Orleans and the South, the fair was an opportunity to advertise commercial revitalization following the end of Reconstruction.[331] As one southern woman would later describe it, the fair was an opportunity "to break the shackles that bound New Orleans to a political past that held her in a kind of commercial servitude."[332] Similarly, Mexican political leaders saw the fair as a platform for representing Mexico as a place where prosperity and progress bloomed and to secure an outlet for its raw materials in a modern world economy.[333] It was a moment ripe with possibility for a prosperous future in which the two would benefit from commercial trade with one another. Seeking to encourage commercial exchange, fair organizers produced a wealth of propaganda deploying a rhetoric of friendship to attempt redefining relations between them.

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[325] *Daily States,* July 28, 1883; *Times-Democrat*, August 8, 1883; William Hosea Ballou, "Major Edward A. Burke," *The Journalist* III (April 1886), 2; Watson, "Staging the 'Crowning Achievement of the Age,'" 244.

[326] The board was mostly made up of notable and prominent local businessmen, including Duncan F. Kenner, Albert Baldwin, Bertrand Beer, E.L. Carriere, B.F. Eshleman, A.J. Gomila, Ander Hero, Sigmund Katz, A.A. Maginnis, E. Miltenberg, B.J. Montgomery, B.D. Woodland, and General Fred N. Ogden. See: John B. Lillard, *Visitor's Guide to the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, and New Orleans Commencing Dec. 16, 1884, and Ending May 31, 1885* (Louisville, 1884), 7; Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition," 18.

[327] U.S. Senate, *Report of the Board of Management of the New Orleans Exposition of 1884 – '85,* Executive Document 18, 49th Congress, 1st session, December 21, 1885, Appendix D: World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition By-laws, June 7, 1883; Watson, "Staging the 'Crowning Achievement of the Age,'" 243.

[328] Smalley, "The New Orleans Exposition," 4-5; *Visitor's Guide to the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition,* 3-8; Shepherd, "A Glimmer of Hope," 273.

[329] Watson, "Staging the 'Crowning Achievement of the Age,'" 246.

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[330] Yeager, "Porfirian Commercial Propaganda," 235; Smalley "The New Orleans Exposition," 7; Lafcadio Hearn, "Mexico at New Orleans," *Harpers Weekly, A Journal of Civilization* XXIX (March 14, 1885), 167; Tenorio, *Mexico at the World's Fairs*, 40.

[331] Gavin Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets, and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Norton, 1978).

[332] Grace King, *Memories of a Southern Woman of Letters* (New York, 1932), 49.

[333] Yeager, "Porfirian Commercial Propaganda," 242.

After U.S. president Chester A. Arthur had officially announced national support for the 1884 fair, New Orleans leaders overwhelmingly rallied behind the idea and saw it as an opportunity to demonstrate that the Crescent City and the South were fully reconciled with the rest of the nation.[334] Indeed, the fair organizers sought to accomplish distinct goals from those underlying any preceding world's fairs and expositions – uniting a country that had been divorced by civil war and demonstrating to the world that the trials of war were in the past. After Reconstruction ended, there had been a growing optimism amongst white southern leaders, particularly those from Louisiana, about the possibility of reconciliation. New Orleans businessmen sought to put aside the memories of the Civil War's destruction and of federal military occupation during Reconstruction. The *Times-Democrat* declared that the fair was an opportunity to "teach representative men from all sections how little cause could reasonably exist for sectional rivalry."[335] Although "King Cotton" had been used as a slogan encouraging the South's secession prior to the Civil War, the NCPA now used it as a symbol of national reconciliation and fittingly chose New Orleans, the "chief city of the cotton-belt," as the site for the fair.[336] Organizers utilized the fair to celebrate the centennial of the first shipment of U.S. cotton to Europe as an important national moment. They also believed that using the fair to increase direct communication between southern cotton farmers and northern manufacturers would benefit both regions and lead to further reconciliation. Indeed, southern businessmen believed that if they could convince northerners that past animosities had been set aside, northern businessmen might invest in southern enterprises that would reinvigorate the economy. They strategically aligned their rhetoric of progress and modernity with a rhetoric of nationalism, re-defining cotton as a symbolic, unifying product rather than a divisive one.[337]

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[334] David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2001), 324 – 333.

[335] *Times-Democrat*, December 14, 1884.

[336] "The New Orleans Exposition," *The Century Magazine* 30.1, May 1885, 4.

Advocates of the fair believed that a grand international showpiece, like a world's fair, hosted by the U.S. South would not only showcase the nation's resources to the world, but it would also demonstrate national unity to an international audience and create a nationalist, patriotic sentiment.[338] Understanding the importance of the fair for demonstrating "the triumphs of peace" and national reconciliation, the federal government became a willing financial sponsor of the event, committing $1,000,000 and constructing the largest government exhibits ever produced by the United States.[339] With the exception of the exhibits from foreign nations, the entire contents of the buildings and fair grounds were products of the federal government and states. Further aiming to demonstrate sectional reconciliation and revived nationalism, the fair organizers invited Julia Ward Howe of Boston to act as director of the fair's Women's Department, which aimed to redefine women's work and emphasized the importance of training and education for U.S. American women. Howe's appointment initially upset some local women who saw it as an implication that no southern woman was competent to fill the position, but Howe approached her role with enthusiasm and gained their support.[340] The North replied to these efforts by sending the Liberty Bell to New Orleans for display at the fair.[341] Although U.S. president Chester A. Arthur was unable to personally attend, his large portrait was hung on the stage during the opening ceremonies, where it remained on display throughout the fair.[342] Such patriotic gestures and symbols made the fair an important stage for demonstrating national unity.

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[337] Alejandra Uslenghi, *Latin America at Fin-de-Siècle Universal Exhibitions: Modern Cultures of Visuality* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 4.

[338] Fairall, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition,* 1.

[339] U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on Appropriations. *World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition (to accompany H.R. 6856)* (H.Rpt. 1432). Washington: Government Printing Office, April 28, 1884; Chester A. Arthur, "Proclamation 255 – Opening of the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition," September 10, 1883; Fairall, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition,* 10.

[340] *Alexandria Town Talk*, November 4, 1884; World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition, Woman's Department, *Report and Catalogue of the Woman's Department of the World's Exposition, Held at New Orleans, 1884 – 1885* (Boston, 1885)*,* 26; Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition," 67 – 68; and Miki Pfeffer, "An 'Enlarging Influence': Women of New Orleans, Julia Ward Howe, and the Woman's Department at the Cotton Centennial Exposition, 1884 – 1885" (PhD diss., University of New Orleans, 2012).

The 1884 fair not only promoted sectional reconciliation, but it also attempted to propel the South into the forefront of national and international economic growth by demonstrating to the nation that the leaders of the "New South" were capable of guiding their own region and the nation toward further progress. Fair organizers did not expect the affair to produce an immediate profit. Instead, they saw the fair as a way to promote long-term economic interest in the city, the region, and the nation.[343] As such, the fair served as a critical venue for highlighting the agricultural and mineral wealth of the neglected southern region, and its potential for contributing to the growth of commerce and industry.[344] A local newspaper even described the fair as a spectacle that would show off "the marvelous resources of the South and contribute to its ever increasing prosperity."[345] Similarly, southern journalists, including the publisher of New Orleans' *Times-Democrat* and the fair's director general, Edward A. Burke, had begun promoting the idea of a "New South" in the 1880s, a vision of industrial birth and commercial revival for southern states.[346] As commercial life and a slow but steady prosperity had progressed sufficiently to give hope to better times, the phrase "New South" was taken up and spread across the region in trade journals and newspaper editorials "as a means of converting this tenuous born again hope to the hard currency of reality."[347] The new cotton mills, sugar refineries, cotton seed oil mills, foundries, machine shops, tobacco and cigar manufactures that emerged in New Orleans after the Southern Pacific Railroad connected with eastern lines were emblematic of this "New South" enthusiasm.[348] At the core of this "New South" ideology was progress, but it was also, in the words of historian C. Vann Woodward, "a slogan, a rallying cry. It vaguely set apart those whose faith lay in the future from those whose heart was with the past."[349] It was the motivating force behind the 1884 fair as Burke, fair organizers, and white New Orleans' leaders sought to highlight the Crescent City as the center of the New South's commercial revival.

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[341] Hardy, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition,* 5; "Liberty Bell Exhibit" and "The Old Bell Independence" photographs (1982.127.36 & 2007.0071), Permanent Collection, Williams Research Center, HNOC, New Orleans.

[342] Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 73.

[343] Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 235.

[344] Fairall, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition,* 10.

[345] "Sixty-Second Annual Review of the New Orleans Markets," *Price-Current, Commercial Bulletin and Shipping List,* September 1, 1884.

[346] Henry W. Grady's concept of a "New South," as proclaimed in his *Atlanta Constitution* highly influenced the organizers of the exposition. See: Miki Pfeffer, "New Orleans 1884 – 1885," in *Encyclopedia of World's Fairs and Expositions* (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., Publishers, 2008), 83; C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, *1887 – 1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), ix.

The fair was not only important to the broader U.S. South, but it was particularly important to New Orleans' white business leaders who emphasized the city's distinct geography as they worked to regain the city's antebellum status as one of the nation's central commercial ports. The mere hosting of the fair was wrought with symbolism, and New Orleans' wealthy, white leaders saw it as an opportunity to reclaim the city's place as the cosmopolitan center of the South and to advertise economic opportunities following the end of Reconstruction.[350] The affair was to be the city's redemption, in which it would demonstrate its re-emergence "into active competition again with other American cities for more business, industry, and capital."[351]

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[347] Hardy, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition,* 2.

[348] *New Orleans Price-Current, Commercial Bulletin and Shipping List,* September 1, 883; *New Orleans Price-Current, Commercial Bulletin and Shipping List*, August 20, 1884; Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial," 85.

[349] Woodward, *Origins of the New South*, ix.

[350] Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South,* 28; E. M. Beck and Stewart E. Tolnay, "The Killing Fields of the Deep South: the Market for Cotton and the Lynching of Blacks, 1882-1930" in *American Sociological Review* 55(4) (August 1990): 528.

[351] Jackson, *New Orleans in the Gilded Age*, 204 – 206.

Fair brochures and publications made the case that New Orleans' specific geography not only made it the logical place to hold the fair but that it would, once again, make the city "the commercial metropolis" of the South.[352] Situated in the center of the New South's tobacco and sugar production, newly emerging manufactories that employed thousands, and the establishment of new industry, these publications argued that New Orleans was entering a new era of greater "wealth, prosperity, honor and power," than it had experienced in the antebellum period.[353] Furthermore, surrounded by the rapidly developing states of Florida, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi to the north and east, Texas to the west, and Mexico and Latin American to the south, the city of New Orleans connected east and west as well as north and south, and "no such position for gathering wealth and power ever existed."[354] The official fair catalogue highlighted the ways New Orleans, at the mouth of the great Mississippi River was connected to an abundance of resources and markets. With over twenty-thousand miles of navigable streams, the Mississippi River and its branches reached the most fertile lands of the earth producing every variety of crop which might be grown *and* was the "cheapest outlet to the markets of the world." This specific geography made New Orleans "the central depot" for produce and goods brought from more than a thousand rivers.[355]

White New Orleanian businessmen and fair promoters also saw the importance of reconciling with their southern neighbor and believed that further developing commercial relations with Mexico was key to the city's port regaining the prominence it had lost during the

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[352] *Official Catalogue of the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition*, 35; "Souvenir of New Orleans and the Exposition," World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, Rare Vertical File Collection, Louisiana Division/City Archives, New Orleans Public Library; *The World's Exposition* postcard book, Rare Vertical File Collection, Louisiana Division/City Archives, New Orleans Public Library.
[353] *Official Catalogue of the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, 34.*
[354] *Official Catalogue of the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, 35.*
[355] *Official Catalogue of the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, 33.*

Civil War and Reconstruction. Once again, fair propaganda emphasized geography as a justification for establishing commercial relations between them claiming that New Orleans was "the natural gateway" to and from Latin America.[356] U.S. President Chester A. Arthur further described New Orleans as "standing at the threshold of the almost unopened markets of Spanish America," and saw the fair as an opportunity to encourage commercial exports to Latin America, where only ten percent of exports went prior to 1884.[357] Indeed, local white businessmen saw similar opportunities and had come together the previous year to establish the New Orleans based Mexican, Central and South American Exchange in order to begin "making a noble fight for the rich and remunerative trade of those countries."[358]

The Mexican, Central and South American Exchange, led by New Orleans' most prominent white business leaders, also produced publications directed specifically at Latin American politicians and businessmen. In a strategy aimed at encouraging Mexican and Latin American participation in the 1884, they portrayed the commercial relations they sought to establish as respectful and mutually beneficial, distancing their efforts from earlier New Orleanian and U.S. attempts at acquiring Mexican resources.[359] According to a brochure published by the Exchange, "any increase in commercial importance that New Orleans may acquire in the future, would be due mostly to its relations with Mexico and Central and South

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[356] "General Announcement" in *World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition*, 4, Smithsonian Institution Archives, Record Unit 70, Exposition Records of the Smithsonian Institution and the United States National Museum, 1875 – 1916; Secretaría de Fomento, *Memorias de Fomento, Vol. IV*, 619 – 620.

[357] Chester Arthur, "A letter from the Board charged with preparing a Department exhibit for the World's Exposition, to be held at New Orleans, December 1, 1884," Executive Document No. 166, June 9, 1884, 2.

[358] The Mexican and South American Exchange was established in 1883, with H. Dudley Coleman as president, Joseph Bowling as Vice President, Pearl Wight as Treasurer, and Chas. De Vaux serving as secretary. See: *Nueva Orleans, Centro de Comercio Interior y Exterior* (New Orleans: A.W. Hyatt, 1883), 1; and *Report of the Joint Committee of the Commercial Bodies of New Orleans to the United States, Mexican, Central and South American Commission* (New Orleans: A.W. Hyatt, 1884), 1.

[359] *Nueva Orleans, Centro de Comercio Interior y Exterior,* 3.

America."[360] Fair supporters and organizers aimed to not only develop the natural resources of the South but also to broaden its commercial horizons overseas and Mexico seemed the logical market for surplus production.[361] They made the case that while New Orleans needed Mexico in order to prosper, Mexico's economy would also benefit from these relations and exchanges.

The white New Orleans businessmen who comprised the Mexican, Central and South American Exchange not only deployed the fair's rhetoric of friendship as a strategy to encourage commercial relations, but they also developed a new symbolism that drew parallels between the history and culture of the United States and Mexico as a way to minimize the long-standing tensions between them. Many of the publications produced by the Exchange were specifically developed for a Mexican audience, and represented the United States and Mexico as sister republics, with New Orleans at the center of this relationship. One of the booklets published by the Exchange, *New Orleans, Center of Interior and Exterior Commerce*, featured images of the capitols, flags, and agriculture of both nations, with Mexico represented on the right and the United States on the left, as equals. At center, connecting the symbolism of both nations, is none other than New Orleans, a city situated between two souths.[362] The mighty Mississippi, railroads, and the Crescent City's industrial factories provided the background for the goddess-like images of Columbia and Marianne, representing liberty and modernity in both nations.[363] Perhaps most striking is the crest at the center of this page, featuring a pelican representing Louisiana along with the Spanish world for friendship - “Amistad.” Indeed, Louisiana, and New Orleans more specifically, were at the center of what New Orleans’ white leaders portrayed as a friendship between nations – both physically and symbolically. It was an attempt to reconcile the hostilities that had existed between the two nations, and New Orleans was represented as central to these new relations. However, the Mexican, Central and South American Exchange went one step further by including also included a slogan commonly used in family crests – “I Die for Those I Love” – affirming the idea of near “familial” ties between the “sister” republics. This symbolism would become quite common and popular throughout fair. Indeed, fair organizers and white New Orleans leaders used them to visually convey to the broader New Orleans public, Mexican representatives, and the world that these newly developing relations were friendly, mutually beneficial, and most importantly, that New Orleans was central to them. Perhaps less directly, this imagery reaffirmed the significance of the fair, as it was the event that catalyzed these new relations and the opportunity to reconcile and move beyond past tensions and aggressions.

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[360] The quote is my own translation. Original quote: "Cualquier aumento que, en importancia, commercial, Nueva Orleans pueda adquirir en lo futuro, sera debido en su mayor parte a sus relaciones con Mexico y la American Central y Meridional." See: *Nueva Orleans, Centro de Comercio Interior y Exterior*, 32.

[361] S.C. Lyford, "Board on Behalf of United States Executive Department at the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition, 1884-85," Washington, D.C., May 22, 1884, p 3

[362] Gruesz, "Delta Desterrados," 53

[363] Columbia had become a symbol of the U.S. American people in the early colonial period. Porfirio Díaz and his *científicos* adopted France's Marianne to represent a modern Mexico. French culture and goods had gained cachet in Mexico during the Porfiriato, often serving as the benchmark of modernity among the upper and middle classes. The choice to emulate French culture in order to demonstrate Mexican modernity is ironic given that this modernity was tied to Mexico's independence from Spain and French occupation. See: Steven B. Bunker, *Creating Mexican Consumer Culture in the Age of Porfirio Díaz* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 2012), 61.

The 1884 fair provided the perfect opportunity to attempt advancing commercial relations established between New Orleans and its southernmost neighbor during the U.S. Civil War, and the Crescent City’s businessmen appealed to Porfirian theories of economic development that encouraged foreign capital and investment in Mexico.[364] Despite the tensions that persisted between them after the Mexican-American War, trade with Mexico had become one of the only ways for New Orleans to maintain commercial activity during the Union’s blockade of the port throughout the U.S. Civil War.[365] This trade also generated important tax revenues for Mexico,

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[364] Yeager, “Porfirian Commercial Propaganda,” 230.

[365] Schoonover, “Mexican Cotton and the American Civil War,” 431.

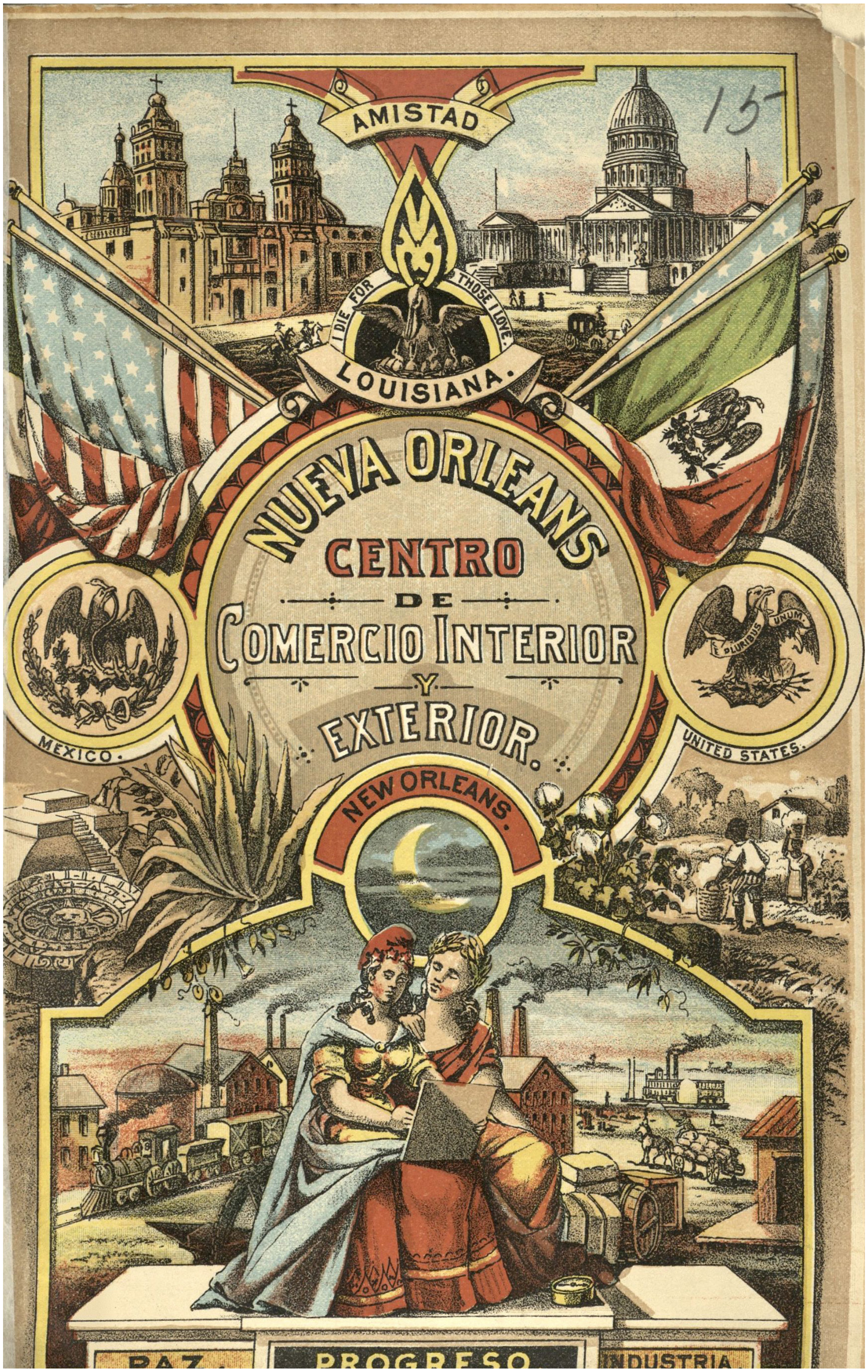
AMISTAD
I DIE FOR THOSE I LOVE.
LOUISIANA.
NUEVA ORLEANS
CENTRO
DE
COMERCIO INTERIOR
Y
EXTERIOR.
NEW ORLEANS.
MEXICO.
UNITED STATES.
E PLURIBUS UNUM
15
PAZ.
PROGRESO.
INDUSTRIA

Figure 3: "Nueva Orleans Centro de Comercio Interior y Exterior." Published by the Mexican, Central and South American Exchange, 1883.

having a great impact on the young nation's economy at a time when it was struggling with its own foreign debt.[366] Therefore, expanding trade with Mexico became an increasingly important element of post-bellum revitalization for New Orleans, and Mexican diplomats also saw the potential economic benefit of strengthening these budding commercial relations.[367] U.S. American railroad and mining promoters organized trade commissions in the U.S., such as The New Orleans Mexican Exchange (not to be confused with The Mexican, Central and South American Exchange), to encourage industry and investment in Mexico, which was welcomed by the Mexican government. These commissions sponsored public meetings on Mexican trade, studied tariff regulations, and organized commercial exchanges to and from Mexico.[368] Leaders of The New Orleans Mexican Exchange also served on the fair's board of management and in an attempt to foster friendly relations with their southern neighbors, they prioritized Mexican goods, displays, and diplomats. In addition, directors of the Mexican Exchange entertained and offered lodging to Mexican visitors to the fair with the hope of advancing commercial relations.[369]

White New Orleans businessmen, such as the directors of The New Orleans Mexican Exchange, were eager to host the 1884 fair as they saw the potential to further their own business interests, but they strategically promoted it as a mutually beneficial exchange that would also boost the Mexican economy. As Isaac W. Avery wrote to Mexican President Porfirio Díaz, "Mexico needs everything the United States manufactures…and it is to the interest of the United

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[366] Schoonover, "Mexican Cotton and the American Civil War," 429 – 447.

[367] Johnson, "'Sobre las Olas,'" 228.

[368] *Commercial Bulletin and Shipping List*, October 24, 1883; *Times-Democrat,* October 21, 1884; *Times-Democrat*, November 24, 1884.

[369] *Times-Democrat,* September 24, 1884, 3; *Times-Democrat,* December 22, 1884, 2; Yeager, "Porfirian Commercial Propaganda," 234.

States to join the development of Mexico's imperial advantage."[370] Indeed, white New Orleans businessmen saw Mexico as a potential market for American surplus production, but as the fair approached, they made sure to also emphasize the U.S. as a potential market for Mexico's abundant natural resources. Their publications continued to reiterate for Mexican politicians and businessmen that the fair was also an opportunity for the sister republic to exhibit its abundant resources, particularly as American railway systems that could transport Mexican products were being extended further into Mexico.[371] Indeed, they reminded Mexican diplomats that the fair provided a stage where Mexico's good, resources, and material culture could be assembled, displayed, and presented to potential consumers and commercial partners, while simultaneously demonstrating its national advancement.[372] Although New Orleanian businessmen were interested in trade with Latin America more broadly, their primary focus was on Mexico, and they often gave Mexican diplomats preferential treatment throughout the fair as a strategy for building friendly commercial relations. For example, fair management and The New Orleans Mexican Exchange named a lake on the fair grounds, "Carmelita," after the Mexican president's nickname for his wife.[373] The New Orleans Mexican Exchange, a commercial organization established to advance commercial interests with Mexico, further emphasized that this hospitality could be expected from all New Orleanians. They claimed that New Orleans was not only a natural deposit for Mexican commodities, but that its residents understood Mexico's importance to their own economy and would welcome their "effects, immigrants, and correspondences."[374]

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[370] Avery to Minister of Foreign Affairs, 29 November 1884; and Avery to Porfirio Díaz, 25 April 1885, Isaac W. Avery Collection, Georgia State Archives.

[371] *Nueva Orleans, Centro de Comercio Interior y Exterior,* 32.

[372] Uslenghi, *Latin America at Fin-de-Siècle Universal Exhibitions,* 6 – 7.

[373] Her full name was Carmen Romero Rubio. See: "The Lake" photograph (1982.127.20), Permanent Collection, Williams Research Center, HNOC, New Orleans; Rydell, *All the World's a Fair,* 93.

Despite these grand gestures, white New Orleanians still struggled to reconcile radically different representations of Mexico – it's "backwardness" of the earlier nineteenth-century and the "order and progress" of the Porfiriato – and it played out publicly in local newspapers in the year leading up to the fair, alarming Mexican diplomats and exposing the fragility of these allegedly friendly relations between New Orleans and the sister republic. Despite the fair's rhetoric of friendship, not even New Orleanians could fully escape Mexico's feelings of skepticism and distrust for U.S. Americans resulting from the historically unequal relations between Mexico and the United States. Many white New Orleanians found Mexican culture charmingly foreign, but they still viewed it through a lens of exoticism, that reified its otherness, an otherness that wasn't quite equal to U.S. American culture despite the fair's rhetoric of friendship. New Orleanians had indeed been utilizing the fair's newly emerging rhetoric of friendship to cultivate relations with Mexican diplomats in the city. However, tensions between the U.S. and Mexico persisted and, at times, challenged these relations. Just three days before the fair opened, *The Daily Picayune* published an article that deeply concerned the Mexican Consul General in New Orleans, J. Francisco de Zamacona.[375] The article made a case for purchasing over 750,000 square miles of Mexican territory, including "nine or ten Mexican states," for the purpose of obtaining valuable mines and agricultural land.[376] Although *The Daily Picayune* and other New Orleans newspapers had been referring to Mexico as a sister republic for months leading up to the fair, these allegedly "friendly" relations seemed irrelevant in discussions of economic expansion and territorial acquisition. In fact, *The Daily Picayune* claimed it was unlikely "the Mexicans" would sell "unless first well beaten," but insisted that obtaining the northern regions would yield a significant profit given their abundant resources.[377] The article suggests that some white New Orleanians, while appreciative of Mexico's charming foreignness, were most interested in the consumption of both Mexican culture *and* its territory, reflecting growing U.S. American imperialist designs that would not allow them to fully see Mexico as an equal or a true sister republic. Moreover, this language only reminded Mexican diplomats of the vast territory they had already lost to the United States and served as a reminder of their defeat and inability to trust U.S. Americans, including New Orleanians.

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[374] The quote is my own translation. Original quote: "Esta ciudad es, en una palabra, el deposito y almacen de todas esas permutables mercaderias; el punto natural en el cual muchos de esos estados Americanos pueden recibir sus efectos, sus immigrantes, y correspondencias." See: *Nueva Orleans, Centro de Comercio Interior y Exterior*, 3.

[375] Letter from Mexican Consul J. Francisco de Zamacona to Mexico's Secretary of the Interior, December 13, 1884, SRE, AEMEUA Collection, Legajo 131, Expediente 13.

Director General Burke's own newspaper, *The Times-Democrat*, tried to diffuse some of the tensions these articles caused by stating that its editors lamented "the woeful ignorance displayed by various American periodicals regarding the political situation in Mexico," particularly those that stated "war with Mexico would be pleasing."[378] Although Zamacona saw the *Times-Democrat's* defense of Mexico as a gesture of friendship from the fair's director general, he continued to keep a watchful eye on the local press and its representations of Mexico.[379] These articles indicate that white New Orleans business leaders' desire to participate in the United States' national "culture of empire" continued to underlay the fair's rhetoric of friendship and left Mexican leaders unconvinced of the "friendly" relations being forged at the fair.[380] Mexican diplomats like Consul General Zamacona were aware of this inconsistency and worked to build advantageous relations with New Orleanian leaders that would encourage foreign investment and help modernize Mexico without risking the young nation's sovereignty through a process of economic conquest. They maintained a hopeful, but skeptical attitude of the new friendship with New Orleans' business and political leaders. Nevertheless, these feelings of distrust and suspicion would continue throughout the fair's duration and hindered these new relations. It was not the only moment throughout the fair where political differences would reveal the fragility of the relations being fostered between Mexico and New Orleans at the fair.

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[376] The article included the states of Coahuila, Chihuahua, Durango, Nuevo Leon, San Luis Potosi, Sinaloa, Sonora, Tamaulipas, Zacatecas, and Baja California. See: "The Purchase of Mexico," *The Daily Picayune*, December 13, 1884.

[377] "The Purchase of Mexico," *The Daily Picayune*, December 13, 1884.

[378] "Mexican Alarmists, *Times-Democrat*, July 10, 1884.

[379] Letter from J. Francisco de Zamacona, Mexican consul at New Orleans, to the Subsecretary of the State and Foreign Relations, July 10, 1884. Collección de la Secretaria de Justicia é Instruccion Publica, Legajo 87, AGN.

While many of these tensions persisted, the fair's rhetoric did indeed change something – absent from the article were blatant concerns about the racial status of the 2,000,000 Mexican people that the U.S. would acquire through such a purchase, which had been addressed extensively in newspapers before the fair.[381] New Orleans newspapers no longer referred to Mexican people as bandidos or savages. Instead, they portrayed Mexican culture and its representatives through a lens of exoticism, one where they were charmingly foreign and exciting but that also had an underlying benevolence and implied otherness. Local papers welcomed the opportunity for New Orleanians of all backgrounds to gain an "insight into Mexico's social traits and domestic customs" through attending the fair and meeting the many representatives of Mexico.[382] They wanted to view and consume a different, curious, and unthreatening culture, often romanticizing Mexican culture in the process.[383] The *Times-Democrat* assured the New Orleans public that Mexicans were "as charming and graceful as their country is beautiful and majestic" because they were "rich in culture and in social graces, quick of mind and brilliant of intellect, friendly, hospitable, full of tact and instinct, with a spontaneous and genuine politeness."[384] Indeed, although the fair's rhetoric was unable to heal the wounds between the two nations, it did begin to change the language used to discuss Mexican people from one that was blatantly racist to one of a romanticized exoticism that still portrayed Mexico as a foreign other, but one that could be embraced. It helped create anticipation for the arrival of Mexican representatives to the fair, and contributed to a growing local fascination with their foreign neighbor's curious and foreign culture.

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[380] Historian Jason Ruiz has argued that the United States' "culture of empire" made Mexico "an important object of imperialist fascination long after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo." See: Ruiz, *American in the Treasure House*, 5.

[381] These debates over Mexicans' racial status were prominent in newspapers leading to the Mexican-American War.

[382] "The Mexican Exhibit – Wonderful Display by Our Neighbors," *Times-Democrat,* September 20, 1884.

Mexico's Motivations for the Fair

Mexico was in a process of transition and political reinvention, and the 1884 fair offered an opportunity to correct the errors of world opinion about the young nation and portray a strong, unified Mexican state. The 1880s saw both the end of political turbulence that had characterized the country since its independence from Spain and the beginning of the modern Mexican nation-state under President Porfirio Díaz. After decades of war and political turmoil, president Díaz and his government sought to change the common perception of Mexico as a violent, uncivilized, and politically unstable country that was vulnerable to foreign invasion to one of a prosperous and unified nation that was suited to lead Latin America in the march towards modernity.[385] Díaz and his *científicos* consciously produced an ideal image of Mexico as a place where prosperity and progress bloomed in an atmosphere of political stability.[386] As historian Mauricio Tenorio has demonstrated, the world's fairs and expositions were central to the development of Mexico's national image during the Porfiriato, and Díaz unequivocally endorsed Mexico's participation at the fairs, and he played a pivotal role in shaping its representation as the nation's Chief Commissioner to the 1884 world's fair.[387] He exerted his powerful influence, first as Chief Commissioner and then as president, to recruit displays and personnel for the exhibition.[388] He organized The Mexican Commission to the fair, which was comprised of *cientificos,* including politicians, scholars, and famous publicists such as José Francisco Godoy.[389] As a result, it was the fair in which he was most involved and represented his particular vision for a modern Mexico, which came to define the era of the Porifiriato. Mariano Bárcena, Mexican commissioner to the fair after Díaz re-assumed the presidency in December 1884, explained Mexico's extravagant presentations at the fair by saying, "A country which presents a well-organized display deserves the respect of the entire world."[390] Indeed, the 1884 fair was Mexico's first major effort to portray itself as a modern nation to the world, one that could defend itself if faced with foreign invasion.[391]

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[383] Segalen, *Essay on Exoticism,* 1 – 10.

[384] "The Mexican Exhibit," *Times-Democrat,* September 20, 1884.

[385] Secretaria de Fomento, Colonización, Industria y Comercio, *Memorias*, Vol 1 (1887), 693.

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[386] Sebastian B. de Mier, *México en la exposición universal internacional de Paris – 1900* (Paris: Imprenta de J. Dumoulin, 1901), 3-10; Bunker, *Creating Mexican Consumer Culture*, 140.

[387] Tenorio, *Mexico at the World's Fairs,* 40 – 41.

[388] Manuel Gonzalez Flores,was president of Mexico from 1880 – 1884, but these years are still considered to be part of the Porfiriato due to Díaz's continued power and influence. González was both preceded and succeeded by Díaz. See: *El Municipio Libre: Periodico Dedicado a los Asuntos Municipales de Mexico*, December 6, 1892; Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs*, xii; Yeager, "Porifiran Commercial Propaganda," 235; Coerver, "The Porfirian Interregnum."

[389] Tenorio, *Mexico at the World's Fairs,* 40.

[390] Secretaria de Fomento, *Boletín* Vol X (July 25, 1885), 268.

[391] Paolo Riguzzi, "México próspero: Las dimensiones de la imagen nacional en el porfiriato," *Historias* 20 (1988): 137-60.

The Mexican Government wanted to showcase the "greatness and dignity that characterize[d] the nation," and it solicited the active support of its citizens in order to do so.[392] Díaz's government proclaimed "the patriotic efforts of Mexico's good children" could "rectify the grave errors of foreign opinion regarding Mexico," and called on its citizens to contribute to the nation's presentation at the fair."[393] Eager to prove their patriotism and support of the Díaz government, businessmen from the country's different regions answered enthusiastically and sent samples of their goods and products, ranging from plants to artisanal crafts, to Mexico City for display at the 1884 fair.[394] Reforming Mexico's image before the world was seen as necessary for economic development,[395] and contributing to the nation's displays and representation was hailed as a patriotic duty that would "improve the Republic's condition for the greater well-being of its children."[396] The 1880s, then, was a period of political posturing for Mexico, and international events such as the 1884 fair provided a platform for assembling, displaying, and presenting material goods as a sign of national advancement and gaining the respect of the world as a modern nation.[397]

Díaz and his *científicos*' theory of economic development advocated for the creation of markets for Mexican goods as key to the nation's progress and the 1884 fair was an opportunity to demonstrate that the young nation had an abundance of resources and valuable commodities to offer those who approached them as partners.[398] Indeed, Díaz's government saw the fair as an ideal place to "display the natural resources of her soil and the products of her industry, which…show great promise for development."[399] They believed that Mexico's participation in the modern world economy could only be realized through an active program of promotion of the nation's natural wealth, and the 1884 fair offered a world stage. In order to create the most comprehensive representation of the country's vast resources, the Mexican government solicited samples of various goods and resources from every region of the country and proclaimed that contributing to Mexico's displays at the fair was a necessary and patriotic deed.[400] With the materials the government purchased and collected, Mexico produced some of the fair's most elaborate displays including manufactured products and natural resources from every region of the nation. The goal was to secure outlets for these raw materials and products and to inspire industriousness in the Mexican people.[401] The 1884 fair, then, was Mexico's first major effort to showcase its commercial and industrial progress and to portray its readiness to participate in a modern world economy. However, Mexican diplomats also made clear that these resources were not available to be taken by force as they had been in the past as this was a new chapter for the young nation.

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[392] Translation is my own: "La República Mexicana se presente con la dignidad y grandeza que la caracterizan." See: "Exposicion Universal de Nueva Orleans – Comision Mexicana," *Periodico Oficial*, March 7, 1884, 1.

[393] Translation is my own. Original text: "se requieren los patrióticos esfuerzos de los buenos hijos de México… porque rectificará los graves errores que se tienen en el estranjero respecto á nuestro país." See: Secretaría de Fomento, February 17, 1883, Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, Vol 38, AGN, 393.

[394] Exposición de Nueva Orleans, Caja 71, Colección Secretaria de Fomento, Serie Exposiciones Extranjeras, AGN.

[395] de Mier, *México en la exposición universal,* 693.

[396] Translation is my own. Original text: "á utilizar la Exposicion como medio de mejorar la condicion de la República por el mayor bienestar de sus hijos." See: Secretaría de Fomento, February 19, 1883, Coleccion de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico, Vol 38, AGN, 395.

[397] Uslenghi, *Latin America at Fin-de-Siècle Universal Exhibitions*, 6 – 7.

While Mexico's participation at the 1884 fair and subsequent world's fairs was part of a political project largely aimed at attracting foreign investment it was also an attempt to define

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[398] Secretaría de Fomento, *Memorias de Fomento, Vol. IV*, 620 – 621; Yeager, "Porfirian Commercial Propaganda," 230.

[399] Secretaria de Fomento, Colonización, Industria y Comercio, *Boletín de la exposición Mexicana*, Vol. II (Mexico, 1888), 205, Biblioteca, AGN.

[400] Secretaría de Fomento, *Anales de la Secretaría de Fomento* (México, 1877 – 1882), 413; Secretaría de Fomento, *Memorias de Fomento*, 559, Biblioteca, AGN; Various letters to and from President Porfirio Díaz, "Colección Porfirio Díaz" Legajo 9, Caja 3, Universidad Iberoamericana, Ciudad de México; and Exposición de Nueva Orleans, 1884 – 1885, Cajas 71 & 72, Colección Secretaria de Fomento, Serie Exposiciones Extranjeras, AGN.

[401] Secretaría de Fomento, *Memorias de Fomento, Vol. IV*, 616.

Mexico culturally. Their presentation at the fair was part of the Mexican government's broader nation-building project largely aimed at defining Mexico and what it meant to be Mexican both domestically and abroad. Like other nations, Mexico was a national community that had to be "imagined" to exist given its racial and regional diversity.[402] Prior to this period, residents of Mexico identified with their region or state rather than as Mexican – a national identity that was only beginning to take form. Díaz and the *científicos* began working to construct a national Mexican identity both for its people and for an international audience in an attempt to unify a country that had been at war for several decades.[403] The Porfirian elite shaped the idea of a Mexican *patria* by developing the nation's first comprehensive synthesis of a national and patriotic history, the increased scientific study of Mexico's territory, and the reorganization of government at all levels.[404] Thereafter, Mexico was defined by an amalgamation of the collective hopes of the elite, industrial and social changes, and a constant accommodation between modernity and tradition and the 1884 Fair offered an opportunity to share this new rhetoric of nationalism with an international audience.[405]

The Mexican Commission that represented the nation in New Orleans throughout the fair was comprised of political and business leaders from each of Mexico's states, as well as by literary men and those talented in various arts.[406] Mexico's displays at the fair showcased the art, music, folk crafts, and literary talents of all its regions – all of which were presented as the culture and talent of a collective and rich Mexican nation.[407] Nevertheless, for some of Mexico's elite, the marching bands and archaeological displays that the Mexican government put so much effort into producing for the fair seemed to conflict with the nation's commercial objectives.[408] However, others argued that it was these very cultural exhibits that gave form to a collective sense of Mexico and drew general attention to the nation. Indeed, Mexico's cultural exhibits had the greatest success at the fair. One in particular, the Eighth Cavalry Band, captured the imagination of New Orleans audiences, and would continue to be part of Mexican international exhibits for decades to follow. For the Mexican government, the attention these exhibits drew from foreign nations could help stimulate Mexican commerce, and the fair helped give rise to the young nation's rich and modern visual culture.[409]

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[402] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Press, 1983), 5 – 7.

[403] Although the construction of a Mexican national identity was most aggressively pursued in the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution, it was a process that gained momentum earlier during the Porfiriato.

[404] Though the notion of a Mexican *patria* emerged during the mid-nineteenth-century that included the old criollo patriotism and the liberal nationalism, which was fortified by two wars of intervention, it was Díaz's government that gave the notion of *patria* a more intelligible historical and political content. See: Tenorio, *Mexico at the World's Fairs*, 31.

[405] Uslenghi, *Latin America at Fin-de-Siècle Universal Exhibitions*, 1 – 10.

[406] Secretaria de Fomento, "Lista de las Personas Que Componen Las Comisiones de los Estados Para la Exposición de Nueva Orleans," 1884, Secretaria de Fomento, Exposición de Nueva Orleans, Legajo 9, Expediente 3, AGN.

The Mexican government used the 1884 fair as an opportunity to teach New Orleanians, U.S. Americans, and the world how to see, know, and understand Mexico and each of their exhibits and presentations was intended to be displayed. The fair was a site where culture, both material and symbolic was exhibited and performed as spectacle, with modern, western eyes, especially those of white New Orleanians, as the intended audience.[410] The fair was "the great educator of the age,"[411] exposing its visitors to new worlds, and the Mexican government hoped to familiarize the American public with a modern Mexico that was a fitting sister republic with abundant investment opportunities. They produced some of the largest and most elaborate displays to showcase Mexico's resources, including an industrial and agricultural display of nearly 50,000 square feet in the fair's Main Building, and 200,000 square feet of native Mexican flora and fauna in the gardens and in the Horticulture building.[412] These displays taught New Orleanians and U.S. Americans about Mexico's industry, agriculture, and economic possibilities, ensuring that the young nation's importance to New Orleans' post-bellum economy would not go overlooked by the city's politicians and businessmen.

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[407] The Mexican government requested some of these items, and some artists, musicians, and writers volunteered their works to the Mexican government. All were responding to a call to help demonstrate Mexico's vast and modern culture. "Exposición de Nueva Orleans, 1884 – 1885," Colección Secretaria de Fomento, Serie Exposiciones Extranjeras, Caja 71, Expedientes 3, 5, 7, 9, 12, 13, 21, 22, 27, 80, AGN.

[408] Díaz and his government had even considered building a bullfighting ring on the fair grounds and hosting bullfights as part of Mexico's display. However, the idea was not presented until 2 weeks after the fair began, and at that point, there were insufficient funds available to produce such an endeavor. Secretaria de Fomento, Colonización, Industria y Comercio, *Memorias*, Vol. 1 (1887), 692, Biblioteca, AGN; Correspondence between Porfirio Díaz and Cipriano Arteaga, "Colección Porfirio Díaz," Legajo 9, Caja 3, Documento 001337, Universidad Iberoamericana, Ciudad de México; *Daily Picayune*, January 15, 1885.

[409] Alejandra Uslenghi sees the material culture that emerges from presentations at universal exhibitions such as the 1884 world's fair as the material expression of Latin American elites' dream images of modernity, progress, and national achievement. See; Uslenghi, *Latin America at Fin-de-Siècle Universal Exhibitions*, 7 – 8.

[410] Uslenghi, *Latin America at Fin-de-Siècle Universal Exhibitions*, 2 – 3.

Mexico's elaborate displays at the 1884 fair aimed to showcase the nation's modernity and role as a suitable sister republic to the United States in another important way – through a project of cultural whitening. Díaz's *científicos* emphasized the potential of all Mexicans to culturally whiten through racial mixing, culture, and education. This combination offered a promise of whiteness, and according to the Porfirian elite, would enable Mexico's largely mestizo population to overcome the challenges and limitations posed by biology.[413] Díaz and his *científicos* carefully crafted each aspect of Mexico's presentation at the 1884 fair – including its exhibits, buildings, and national historical narrative – to whiten the nation and its people. Indeed, this goal of culturally whitening Mexico was considered in each detail, including the styling of the Eighth Cavalry Band's stylish and modern uniforms and those of all other Mexican performers throughout the fair.

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[411] Robert W. Furnas, *Report of Robt. W. Furnas, United States Commissioner for Nebraska at the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial, New Orleans* (Lincoln: Journal Co., State Printers, 1885), 10.

[412] After the fair closed its doors, the Mexican government gave all of these plants to the New Orleans city government as a sign of friendship. "Letter from Matías Romero to Porfirio Díaz," April 27, 1885, Legajo 10, Caja 10, Documento 4965, "Colección Porfirio Díaz," Universidad Iberoamericana, Ciudad de México; "World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition" photograph album (1982.127.1 – 225), Permanent Collection, Williams Research Center, HNOC, New Orleans.

[413] Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms, Southern Racisms," 753. See also: Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution, Volume 1: Porfirians, Liberals, and Peasants* (Omaha: University of Nebraska, 1990), and Alan Knight, "Racism, Revolution, and *Indigenismo*: Mexico, 1910 – 1940," in *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870 – 1940*, ed. Richard Graham (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990).

The Fair

Despite the difficult opening weeks, when visitors found the grounds in a sad and unfinished condition, the 1884 World's Fair was the most elaborate, expensive, and grandiose event of its time. Attendees and participants, such as Iowa Commissioner, Herbert S. Fairall, even proclaimed that it was far more successful than the 1876 Centennial at Philadelphia.[414] In fact, many visitors found themselves overwhelmed by the fair's size and the variety of its exhibits.[415] Seeking to demonstrate the economic strength of their respective nations, the governments of the United States and Mexico had made large financial contributions to the fair and produced elaborate exhibits to display for the world. Fair organizers had created a microcosm of the world in over fifteen free-standing buildings that were constructed for the fair grounds' 249 acres. [416] These buildings housed displays that offered windows to other countries, and like all nineteenth-century world's fairs, aimed to build public support for the acceptance of the hosting country's foreign and domestic goals and policies.[417] In the case of the 1884 fair, these goals reflected the desires of the local and regional elite – expanded commerce between New Orleans and the nation's sister republic of Mexico.

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[414] Although the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago, IL would come to be seen as the United States' most important and grand world's fair, it was still nearly 10 years away at the time of the New Orleans fair. Nevertheless, they shared the goal of staging the most impressive, and largest event of its type to showcase the hosting nation's modernity. See; Norman Bolotin and Christine Laing, *The World's Columbian Exposition: The World's Fair of 1893* (Urbana-Champaign: The University of Illinois Press, 2002); and Erik Larson, *The Devil in the White City*: *Murder, Magic, and Madness at the Fair that Changed America* (New York: Vintage Books, 2004).

[415] *Times-Democrat*, November 21, 1884; Smalley, "The New Orleans Exposition," 6-10.

[416] The fair grounds were located just off the Mississippi River, in New Orleans' Uptown neighborhood, which had once been part of Étienne Boré's plantation and are now part of what is Audubon Park and Zoo. *Times-Democrat* newspaper clipping with images, undated, Scrapbook Collection – News Clippings, Louisiana Division/City Archives, NOPL; *The World's Exposition* postcard book, Rare Vertical File Collection, Louisiana Division/City Archives, NOPL; *Times-Democrat*, November 21, 1884; Smalley, "The New Orleans Exposition," 6-10.

[417] Rydell, *All the World's a Fair,* 6.

The centerpiece of the 1884 fair was the Main Building, which put commerce and industry front and center and devoted most of its 31-acre space to displays by private companies.[418] It was the largest structure that had ever been constructed for a world's fair and was estimated to be approximately ten times the size of the Main Building constructed just eight years before for the first world's fair held in the United States, the Philadelphia Centennial.[419] It's combination of technology and architecture – with elevators, electric lighting, and impressive design – offered visitors a dazzling experience.[420] Measuring at 1,378 feet long by 905 feet wide, the Main Building had over twenty-five miles of walkways between all of its exhibits.[421] These exhibits ranged from industrial machinery to farm implements, and included goods such as stoves and firearms.[422] Many of the private companies featured in the Main Building put together creative displays to capture the public's attention.[423] For example, The Blatz Beer Company displayed a huge barrel where visitors could see a small-scale replica of the company's factory and gardens by peering through a small hole.[424] Esterbrook Pens displayed a large owl that was made exclusively from their pens. One company displayed a Greek temple built of soap, while another one constructed a cathedral of cracker boxes.[425] The American Salt Company displayed a towering sculpture of Lot's Wife made from pure rock salt.[426] Companies also distributed product samples and souvenir cards to draw the attention of visitors. One woman even claimed that she had recouped the cost of admission by collecting these samples, which included soap, a box of snuff, a box of mustard, spools of thread, tobacco, and yeast powder.[427] Indeed, the displays of the Main Building encouraged consumption and the fair, like other world's fairs of the nineteenth-century, helped erect a "universe of commodities."[428] These displays aimed to encourage the consumption of material goods, and thereby boost the economic development of New Orleans, the South, and the United States more broadly.

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[418] "World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition" photograph album (1982.127.1 – 225), Permanent Collection, Williams Research Center, HNOC, New Orleans; Fonblanque, "Report on the Exhibition," No. 11, p. 27; Smalley, "New Orleans Exposition," 7; Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition; 34; *The World's Exposition* postcard book, NOPL.

[419] *The World's Exposition* postcard book, NOPL; *Visitor's Guide*, 9 – 13.

[420] Uslenghi, *Latin America at Fin-de-Siècle Universal Exhibitions*, 4.

[421] *Visitor's Guide*, 9 – 13; "Postcard Book."

[422] "World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition" photograph album (1982.127.1 – 225), Permanent Collection, Williams Research Center, HNOC, New Orleans; *Times-Democrat,* December 18, 1884; *The World's Exposition* postcard book, NOPL.

[423] "World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition" photograph album (1982.127.1 – 225), Permanent Collection, Williams Research Center, HNOC, New Orleans.

[424] *Kentucky New Era,* February 18, 1885.

In addition to the focus on commerce and industry, the Main Building also prominently featured the arts, intended to highlight cultural modernity. It housed the Music Hall, which featured a large, powerful pipe organ and seated six hundred musicians and eleven thousand guests.[429] Just in front of the entrance to the Music Hall, Mexico displayed a solid mass of silver that weighed over two and a half tons and was estimated to be worth more than $100,000.[430] While this extravagant Music Hall was only intended to be an appropriate space for speeches and large music receptions, it quickly became an important New Orleans social center that hosted some of the most popular programs throughout the fair, particularly the concerts of Mexico's

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[425] Fonblanque, "Report on the Exhibition," 33 – 34.

[426] In the Book of Genesis, Lot's wife was a woman who became a pillar of salt after she looked back at Sodom. "Lot's Wife" photograph (1982.127.13), Permanent Collection, Williams Research Center, HNOC, New Orleans.

[427] *Shreveport Daily Times*, March 19, 1885; Shepherd, "A Glimmer of Hope," 279.

[428] Walter Benjamin, "Paris, Capital of the 19th-Century," in *Reflections: Essays, Aphorisms, Autobiographical Writings,* ed. Peter Demetz (New York: Schocken Books, 1986), 148. Essay was originally published in 1939.

[429] *Visitor's Guide*, 9 – 13; Fonblanque, "Report on the Exhibition," 27; Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition," 36; "World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition" photograph album (1982.127.1 – 225), Permanent Collection, Williams Research Center, HNOC; *The World's Exposition* postcard book, NOPL.

[430] Approximately $2.3 million today. "Mexican Silver," (1982.127.3), Permanent Collection, Williams Research Center, HNOC; Fairall, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition*, 351 – 404.

Eighth Cavalry Band.[431] As with all world's fairs of the nineteenth-century, the 1884 fair presented new mediums of entertainment, spectacles that served as commodities, and this would ultimately lead to its most lasting impact on the hosting city.[432]

Continuing with the emphasis on culture and the arts, the Art Gallery sat just opposite of the Main Building. One magazine writer described the building as "a substantial and chaste looking iron structure."[433] However, construction on the gallery was delayed and did not open until February 15, 1885, approximately two months after the fair's opening.[434] Nevertheless, while some visitors were disappointed by what they believed were limited offerings, at its time it was "one of the grandest art shows ever held in the South."[435] Of the approximately nine hundred works of art displayed, 380 were from the United States, and 69 were from Mexico.[436] The paintings of American artists such as Thomas Eakins and Albert Bierstadt were featured alongside works from various parts of the world. As with all aspects of the fair, Mexico made significant contributions to the art gallery.[437] Art was an important part of the young nation's image, and Mexico's School of Fine Arts contributed paintings by artists such as José Obregón, Santiago Rebull, Gonzalo Carrasco, and José María Velasco.[438] Indeed, the Mexican government had contributed to each aspect of the fair, and highlighting the work of its artists was a way to showcase the young nation's cultural modernity. It was one of many ways that Mexico's political and cultural elites conceived of culture as a spectacle for mass consumption.[439] Indeed, art and culture served as an important way for nations to craft an international image and display their modernity for the world, and the 1884 fair was a fitting stage.

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[431] Fairall, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition,* 1; Andrew Morrison, *The Industries of New Orleans* (New Orleans: J.M. Elstner & Co., 1885), 19.
[432] Uslenghi, *Latin America at Fin-de-Siècle Universal Exhibitions*, 4.
[433] Smalley, "In and Out of the New Orleans Exposition," 186 – 187.
[434] Fairall, *World's Cotton Exposition*, 405.
[435] Shepherd, "A Glimmer of Hope," 282; Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition," 55; Fairall, World's Cotton Exposition, 408.
[436] *Visitor's Guide*, 16.
[437] "World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition" photograph album (1982.127.1 – 225), Permanent Collection, Williams Research Center, HNOC.
[438] Tenorio, *Mexico at the World's Fair*, 40.

The Government & States Building, which nearly equaled the Main Building in size, was evidence that the U.S. government saw the 1884 fair as an event of great importance.[440] The federal and state governments of the United States had put great efforts into producing an unprecedented collection of exhibits, many of which were some of the most memorable of the fair.[441] The Government & States Building exhibits were national in character and the entire contents of the building and surrounding grounds featured products of the States and Territories.[442] In the center of the Government & States Building, various departments of the U.S. government had displays, including the State Department, the Post Office, the Treasury Department, the Bureau of Education, and many others.[443] At the War Department's exhibit, visitors could learn about the treatment of various diseases. The Agricultural Department's exhibit offered visitors books and displays about agricultural science, and the Interior Department featured tanks showing the various life stages of fish.[444] These impressive displays highlighted the many technological and scientific advances being made by the agencies of the

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[439] Uslenghi, *Latin America at Fin-de-Siècle Universal Exhibitions*, 5.

[440] The Government & States Building was, 885' long and 565' wide, which was somewhat smaller than the Main Building, but was the second largest building constructed for the fair. See: *The World's Exposition* postcard book, NOPL; Shepherd, "A Glimmer of Hope," 281.

[441] *Monroe Bulletin,* March 4, 1885; Smalley, "New Orleans Exposition," 11; *The World's Exposition* postcard book, NOPL.

[442] "World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition" photograph album (1982.127.1 – 225), Permanent Collection, Williams Research Center, HNOC.

[443] "World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition" photograph album (1982.127.1 – 225), Permanent Collection, Williams Research Center, HNOC.

[444] Fairall, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition,* 376 – 386.

U.S. government. While all of the U.S. territories and their vast resources were also represented in this building, there was no explanation given as to how the country had acquired them.

State exhibits lined the interior of the Government & States Building and they were grouped geographically, which inevitably revealed the nation's regional differences. However, as organizers intended to utilize the fair as a space to showcase national reconciliation, these differences were presented as complimentary to each other. If the country's regions focused on building up their strengths and cooperated with each other, it would strengthen the national economy. The Midwest and far West highlighted their agricultural products and education, such as Nebraska's public school program.[445] Southern states highlighted their natural and agricultural resources. The hosting state of Louisiana constructed a pavilion made entirely of native resources – it was covered with rice straw, surrounded by cotton and oranges, and supported with posts made of sugarcane. Visitors to this pavilion could view and sample locally produced sugar, nuts, wood, and cottonseed oil.[446] The state of Louisiana also displayed an extremely large sculpture made entirely of cotton, proudly named "King Cotton."[447] The sculpture was complimented by a series of wax figures that showed the cotton plant in its various stages, from the time it first appears above ground to open bolls,[448] which was made by a local and celebrated Mexican artist,

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[445] "A Visit to the New Orleans Exposition," *Demorest's Monthly Magazine* (March 1885), 280.

[446] *Visitor's Guide,* 14; *Monroe Bulletin*, March 4, 1885; *Daily Picayune*, February 2, 1885; Smalley, "New Orleans Exposition," 11.

[447] "King Cotton & Louisiana, G&S Building" photograph (1982.127.30), Permanent Collection, Williams Research Center, HNOC.

[448] Vargas' wax figures were so well received at the 1884 fair, that he was later commissioned to produce much larger displays to represent Louisiana at other fairs and expositions. Correspondence between Francisco Vargas and E.A. Burke, Correspondence between Francisco Vargas and C.J. Barrow, 1884 – 1885, Louisiana State Museum Archives, New Orleans. For more on Vargas and his family's artistic legacy in New Orleans, see: John Mangipano, "Remolding Mexican Identity: The Wax Art of Francisco Vargas in Nineteenth Century New Orleans," (Master's Thesis, University of New Orleans, 2011); *Daily Picayune,* November 12, 1884, p 4.

Francisco J. Vargas.[449] The Northeastern states displayed powerful machines and various products of industry that were made with many of the South's natural resources. While these stark differences did not do much to represent a modern and industrial New South, it did show how these regions were complimentary to one another and how the New South could continue industrializing to make commercial products from its own natural resources.

The fair's other buildings similarly displayed exhibits that featured advances in a variety of areas, from technology to horticulture, emphasizing progress and modernity. The Machinery Hall adjacent to the Main Building showcased the products that new machinery and industry could produce. Visitors were impressed by demonstrations of new machines that made carpets, handkerchiefs, pins, furniture, and a new product – barbed wire.[450] After observing Clark's automatic spooler place spools, then reel, cut, and fasten thread to produce quantities for distribution, a man joked that he was so amazed by the spooler's intelligence that he wondered whom it had voted for in the last election.[451]

Visitors were similarly impressed by the variety of unusual plants and trees displayed at the Horticultural Hall. The building also featured an impressive ninety-foot tower in the center and an ornate, indoor fountain. Throughout the hall, visitors could see and sample fruit from around the world and were most impressed by Mexico's impressive collection of cacti, some which were over thirty feet high.[452] Mexico also displayed other flora and fauna, including a native palm tree that required the labor of over two hundred workers to transport and transplant it to the fair.[453] As visitors explored the grounds, they were amazed by the extravagance of the fair and all of its varied displays. Each detail of the displays represented the modernity of the states, nations, and businesses that had produced them. However, as guests took in the sites, one thing became clear – Mexico's presence at the fair was larger and more elaborate than that of any other foreign nation. Indeed, Mexico's exhibits served as a window into the young nation, teaching visitors how to see and understand its culture. Visitors to the fair and New Orleanians in particular could see this faraway land repackaged into a commodified representation of modernity, a spectacle for an audience who was eager to view this charmingly foreign culture.[454]

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[449] Francisco Vargas, an immigrant to New Orleans from Mexico, had become well-known in New Orleans during the 1880s for his wax figures, made in a traditional Mexican style. His success rooted him to the city, where he made his permanent home and applied for U.S. citizenship as early as 1885. "Certificate of Citizenship for Francisco Vargas," 99-65-L, Vargas Family Papers Collection, Williams Research Center, HNOC, New Orleans.

[450] *Kentucky New Era,* February 16, 1885.

[451] Shepherd, "A Glimmer of Hope," 280.

[452] Smalley, "In and Out," 190; *Visitor's Guide*, 15; Shepherd, "A Glimmer of Hope," 282.

Despite the grandiosity of the fair, its elaborate domestic exhibits, and being pronounced as "one of the really great international exhibitions of modern times," many visitors believed that the fair lacked in foreign exhibits, but Mexico again proved to be the great exception.[455] Nearly the entire contents of most of the fair's buildings and grounds were products of individual U.S. States and Territories or the U.S. government. Only Mexico, Japan, China, and a few other countries produced exhibits that were national in scope and character.[456] However, visitors to the fair were most impressed by the Mexican exhibits, which occupied some seventy-six acres, and often pronounced them superior to all other displays.[457] In fact, the Mexican exhibits were so extensive that newspapers reported it took a Mexican guide over thirty minutes to circle the grounds.[458] One delegate commented, “Mexico may be said to have held…a national exhibit of her own,” while describing those of other Latin American countries as “compact” and “indeed disappointing.”[459] Local newspapers described the Mexican exhibits in great detail and claimed, “Mexico is today a new nation, in line with modern progress and bending forward with sturdy and active strides in the race of modern civilization. Mexico…has taken a foremost place in the World’s Exposition.”[460] Yet another observer claimed that Mexico had developed such a reputation for its displays at the 1884 fair that other Latin American nations followed its lead in participating and adopting their display innovations for later fairs.[461] The Mexican government had succeeded in impressing fair visitors and in highlighting Mexico’s role in leading Latin America towards modernity. Indeed, Mexican diplomat Sebastián B. de Mier claimed that it was at the 1884 fair that Mexico’s progress first began to be appreciated on an international level.[462] However, due to the nature of world’s fairs and exhibitions as spectacles for consumption, Mexican culture was packaged for western eyes, who viewed it with benevolence as charmingly foreign.

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[453] "The World's Fair," *The Commercial Gazette,* September 8, 1884.

[454] Uslenghi, *Latin America at Fin-de-Siècle Universal Exhibitions*, 5 – 6.

[455] Fairall, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition,* 1.

[456] Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Austria, Russia, Germany, Sweden, Norway, Portugal, Siam, Honduras, Venezula, Brazil, and Guatemala presented exhibits, but they were not national in character. Instead, they highlighted selected products or cultural artifacts. See: "World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition" photograph album (1982.127.1 – 225), Permanent Collection, Williams Research Center, HNOC; *Kentucky New Era,* January 26, 1885; Fairall, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition*, 351 – 404; *Time-Democrat*, December 20, 1884; and "A Visit to the New Orleans Exposition," 280; "The Great Exposition at New Orleans*," State Journal*, December 20, 1884, 3.

[457] Lafcadio Hearn, "The New Orleans Exposition," *Harpers Weekly* XXIX (January 3, 1885), 14.

In addition to contributing to displays throughout the fair’s varied buildings and grounds, Mexico also produced its most ambitious experiments in architecture for the 1884 fair.[463] Mexican laborers and architects constructed two freestanding buildings on the fair grounds in what was newly defined as a Mexican style. Rather than exploiting Mexico’s indigenous cultures as primitive, Díaz’s *científicos* chose to emphasize Spain’s cultural legacy by incorporating a more familiar exoticism that simultaneously whitened the young nation into the design of these buildings – architecture inspired by southern Spain.[464] Ramon Ybarrola, the man in charge of the architectural and engineering works for Mexico's presentation at the fair, designed and produced a "faithful picture of the most advanced achievements of his nation."[465] The resulting buildings of "striking beauty" indirectly racially and culturally whitened Mexico's image in the public imaginary by associating its most advanced achievement with its European and colonial history.[466]

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[458] Smalley, “The New Orleans Exposition,” 7; Lafcadio Hearn, “Mexico at New Orleans,” 167.
[459] Fairall, *The World’s Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition*, 388.
[460] *Daily Picayune,* December 21, 1884, p 2.
[461] Richard Nixon, “An Exposition of the Three Americas,” *Century Magazine,* Vol. XXXI (November 1885), 153.
[462] De Mier served as the Mexican Commissioner to the 1900 World’s Fair held in Paris, and reflected on Mexico’s participation in international expositions. See: Sebastián B. de Mier, *México en la Exposición Universal Internacional de París—1900* (Mexico City, 1901), 6.
[463] Lafcadio Hearn, “The New Orleans Exposition,” 14.

The first and perhaps more impressive building, officially called the Mexican Pavilion but often referred to as the Mexican Alhambra, was an "octagonal building of light and fantastic style, decorated with much elegant tracery and with strong, bright coloring in the Arabesque manner."[467] Conspicuously located near the Main Building, it quickly drew the attention of fair visitors with its elaborate details and distinct foreign look.[468] The Mexican flag waved high at the top of the intricately detailed building next to a large sculpture of the eagle and serpent, quickly identifying the eye-catching creation as a product of the sister republic.[469] The steel and glass structure was over two stories tall and housed Mexican minerals, including half a ton of silver displayed as a mountain and supported on amethyst pillars that was valued at $240,000.[470] The flashy architecture was intended to offer visitors a dazzling experience of "pure visual pleasure," emphasizing the modernity of the young nation that was rooted in its white, colonial heritage.[471] The Mexican Alhambra also contained over two hundred carloads of Mexican relics, ranging from artifacts of the Anahuacs to contemporary Mexican fabrics, which were all transported to New Orleans via ship and rail.[472] Nevertheless, the building was an impressive display in itself and was proclaimed as being "wonderfully exquisitely done."[473] Indeed, visitors marveled at the Alhambra's ornate details, and the building became one of the most popular sites at the fair. It was in fact so popular that the acclaimed Eighth Cavalry Band would host a number of impromptu concerts and fundraisers there, allowing visitors to immerse themselves in this modern and curiously foreign Mexican culture.

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[464] Tenorio, *Mexico at the World's Fairs,* 41.

[465] "The Mexican Exhibit–Wonderful Display by Our Next-Door Neighbors," *Times-Democrat,* September 20, 1884.

[466] "The Mexican Exhibit," *Times-Democrat*, September 20, 1884.

[467] Smalley, "The New Orleans Exposition," 7; Lafcadio Hearn, "Mexico at New Orleans," 167.

[468] "The Mexican Exhibit," *Times-Democrat*, September 20, 1884.

[469] "Mexican Iron Building" photograph (1982.127.95), Williams Research Center, HNOC, New Orleans; "Pabellon de México para la Exposición de Nueva Orleans," photographic slides, Acervos Históricos, Universidad Iberoamericana, Ciudad de México.

[470] Worth approx. $5,418,582 today. "The World's Fair," *The Commercial Gazette,* September 8, 1884; Stewart, "The Mexican Band," 4; Smalley, "The New Orleans Exposition," 7; Hearn, "Mexico at New Orleans," 167.

The second building was large, ornate, and challenged the fair's Main Building in both size and importance. Indeed, the *Times-Democrat* called it "the feature of the Exposition."[474] Standing at two stories tall and approximately one hundred fifty square feet, it was "an elegant hacienda, with a broad court beautified with Mexican floor and with fountains."[475] The Mexican Hacienda was "an imposing structure" with towers, courtyards, parlors, reception and sleeping rooms, its own music hall, and apartments for soldiers.[476] It housed general exhibits from the young nation, including artwork of feather, wax, and pottery, as well as "bric-a-brac" and "all the more minute forms of artistic creation for which Mexico is so justly celebrated."[477] The Hacienda also served as the Mexican headquarters, housing many of Mexico's personnel for the fair, including a “barracks” section for soldiers of the Eighth Cavalry Military Band.[478] Mexico’s presence at the 1884 fair was larger and more elaborate than that of any other Latin American nation present, and aimed to reaffirm Mexico’s whiteness in every possible way. Moreover, it represented a charmingly foreign culture that could be consumed by visitors who were eager to experience a faraway and exotic land that was increasingly becoming more modern.

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[471] Uslenghi, *Latin America at Fin-de-Siècle Universal Exhibitions*, 1 – 10.
[472] Mrs. M.W.J., *Southern Dental Journal*, Volume 3, 499.
[473] "The Mexican Exhibit," *Times-Democrat*, September 20, 1884.
[474] "The Mexican Exhibit," *Times-Democrat*, September 20, 1884.
[475] "The World's Fair," *The Commercial Gazette*, September 8, 1884; Smalley, "The New Orleans Exposition," 7; Hearn, "The New Orleans Exposition," 14.
[476] "The World's Fair," *The Commercial Gazette*, September 8, 1884.
[477] "The Mexican Exhibit," *Times-Democrat*, September 20, 1884.

Celebrating Modernity & Mexico

Despite its financial failures, the fair offered entertainment and gaiety during an era when U.S. American people increasingly sought to indulge in and consume public forms of entertainment and U.S. American popular culture was taking new form. Minstrel troupes were wildly popular and traveled across the country, P.T. Barnum had taken his show on the road as a traveling circus, showboats that traveled along the Mississippi River were becoming a popular diversion, and pianos had become more affordable for the average consumer and were increasingly commonplace in U.S. American parlor rooms.[479] Given the growing importance and popularity of public entertainment, the fair’s management used festivities and social events as spectacles that could draw crowds. New Orleans, a city that had already developed a reputation for its raucous public festivities such as Mardi Gras, was uniquely positioned to host a broad range of entertainment. In fact, the fair's popular entertainment would become its most enduring legacy, as themed celebrations became its central focus. Indeed, newspaper accounts and public announcements make it evident that almost no twenty-four hour period elapsed without special fanfare during the fair's six months.[480] These events were part of a strategy to increase fair attendance, but more importantly, they were also used to showcase the modernity of New Orleans. By offering a broad range of entertainment, the fair organizers sought to demonstrate that the hosting city was not only politically and economically modern, but that it was culturally modern as well. However, at times these events also reveal both the efforts taken and the difficulty in cultivating friendly relations between Mexico and New Orleans, given their broader national histories of uneven and contentious relations.

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[478] The soldiers of the Eighth Cavalry Band arrived before the start of the fair, and the barracks were not fully constructed given the shipping delays caused by management’s poor planning. As a result, the soldiers began residing in the barracks while construction was being finished on the Hacienda building. See: Letter from Ramón de Ybarrola (architect) to President Porfirio Díaz, January 7, 1885, “Colección Porfirio Díaz,” Universidad Iberoamericana, Ciudad de México; Smalley, “The New Orleans Exposition,” 7; Lafcadio Hearn, “Mexico at New Orleans,” 167; “The Mexican Exhibit,” *Times-Democrat*, September 20, 1884; “World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition” photograph album (1982.127.1 – 225), Permanent Collection, Williams Research Center, HNOC.

[479] W.T. Lhamon Jr, *Raising Cain: Blackface Performance from Jim Crow to Hip Hop* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000); Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Larry Starr and Christopher Waterman, *American Popular Music: From Minstrelsy to MP3, 4th edition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); James W. Cook, ed., *The Colossal P.T. Barnum Reader: Nothing Else Like it in the Universe* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2000); Jim Cullen, *Popular Culture in American History* (Malden: Blackwell Publishers, 2001); Hardy, “The World’s Industrial and Cotton Exposition,” 70.

In an effort to present the United States as a modern and unified nation, many of the fair's festivities highlighted reconciliation and a revived nationalism. Although the United States did not yet have an official national anthem, popular patriotic hymns were a regular staple of the fair's musical repertoire.[481] Songs like "Hail, Columbia" and the "Star Spangled Banner" were played at each of the fair's events and activities. Furthermore, the fair's festivities were ripe with patriotic symbolism. The U.S. flag was displayed throughout the fair grounds and lined the corridors of the Main Building, while U.S. state flags and flags of the Confederate states were nowhere in sight.[482] A large portrait of U.S. president, Chester A. Arthur was prominently displayed in the Main Building, serving as a reminder that the nation was unified.[483] Perhaps the event where American patriotism was most prominently on display was the celebration held on February 22, 1885 in honor of George Washington's birthday. The affair was replete with a noonday salute presented by the Washington Artillery and similarly patriotic gestures that served to demonstrate a revived nationalism in the United States.[484]

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[480] Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition," 70.

[481] The United States would not officially adopt "The Star-Spangled Banner" as the national anthem until 1931.

[482] Lithographs of Edward Frederick Ertz (1953.10.5; 1953.10.3; 1957.102 i, ii;), Permanent Collection, Williams Research Center, HNOC; "World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition" photograph album (1982.127.1 – 225), Permanent Collection, Williams Research Center, HNOC.

One of the most favored forms of celebrations at the fair were special themed days that honored a particular place or group. Many of these days honored a particular state – there was an Illinois Day, a Connecticut Day, and an Iowa Day, to name a few.[485] In fact, each state that had produced an exhibit for the fair had a day on which they were honored and their products and strengths were highlighted for the world to see.[486] These occasions featured popular band music, poems, and speeches by notable visitors such as the famous author and activist Julia Ward Howe. In addition to the many states days, there were also countless other themed "days," including a Cotton Planter's Day to showcase Louisiana's leading crop, a Women's National Christian Union Day, a Red Cross Day, a Shakespeare Day, a Pickwick Club Day, and a School Children's Day.[487] Some people managed to have more than one day, by falling into multiple groups or categories. For example, veterans of the Mexican-American war were honored with a day in April, while veterans of the Civil War were recognized with a day in May, and those who were veterans of both wars, were celebrated at both.[488] Nevertheless, while nearly each day of the fair had a theme, no specific group or place was honored on more than one day, save for one.

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[483] Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, 73.
[484] "Washington's Birthday," *Daily-Picayune*, February 23, 1885.
[485] *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 7, 1885; Fairall, *World's Cotton Exposition*, 94, 72, 120.
[486] Fairall, *World's Cotton Exposition*, 414.
[487] Fairall, *World's Cotton Exposition,* 420.
[488] Fairall, *World's Cotton Exposition*, 413 – 419.

As with many things related to the 1884 fair, Mexico was the exception and had the grandest and most largely attended celebrations. The Board of Management had declared March 24, 1885 as "Mexican Band Day," where they honored the fair's official band, which was Mexico's Eighth Cavalry Band, for all of its contributions to the fair and the city of New Orleans. However, as it became clear that the fair was not likely to be open much longer, white New Orleanian business leaders began demanding a day specifically celebrating Mexico. A journalist at *The Daily Picayune* argued that Mexico had "contributed so magnificently to the Fair that to leave out the sister republic from the public days would be like leaving Hamlet out of the play of which he is the most distinguished character."[489] Although the Board of Management pointed out that Mexico had been honored on "Mexican Band Day," they quickly complied with the local public's wishes and declared May 29, 1885 "Mexico Day" at the fair.[490] It was a day dedicated to reconciling and moving beyond past aggressions and affirming renewed and friendly commercial relations between Mexican diplomats and white New Orleans leaders.

While "Mexico Day" was advertised as an occasion that would have a "beneficial effect upon the ever growing relations of friendship" between Mexico and New Orleans, underlying these grandiose preparations was a continued interest in furthering the commercial interests of New Orleans businessmen.[491] In his letter to Mexican President Porfirio Díaz, S.H. Buck explained that the Board of Management was working with the authorities of the State of Louisiana and of the City of New Orleans as well as the city's commercial bodies to make "the most elaborate preparations" "in order to celebrate the occasion with becoming éclat."[492] Mexico Day was indeed an effort to recognize "the cordial and liberal manner" in which Mexico's "government and people contributed towards its [the fair's] success."[493] However, it was the first time over the fair's six-months that a committee formed solely by commercial bodies had been appointed to take charge of the general arrangements. The committee charged with the preparations for Mexico Day was exclusively comprised of white businessmen from The Mexican Exchange, The Produce Exchange, The Cotton Exchange, The Maritime Association, and the Mechanics, Dealers, and Lumbermen's Exchange. These businessmen carefully worked up the preparations for Mexico Day and "every exertion" was used "to make the occasion one of unusual grandeur and attractiveness."[494]

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[489] *Daily Picayune,* May 23, 1885, 2.

[490] "The Closing Days," *The Atlanta Constitution,* May 28, 1885, 5.

[491] Letter to United States President Grover Cleveland from S. H. Buck, Director General of the Exposition as published in *The Daily Picayune*, May 23, 1885, 2.

Mexico Day was given the same importance as a state holiday when Louisiana Governor Samuel D. McEnery issued a proclamation urging businessmen to close their places of business at noon so that their employees could attend the fair "and assist in giving the Mexicans a genuine ovation."[495] Offices of foreign government, such as those of the Spanish and Portuguese Consulates, had already issued public notices that they would be closed in order to attend the Mexico Day Festivities before the proclamation was posted.[496] The governor himself planned to take the day off in order to attend the festivities and thought it proper to "thus officially recommend and urge the people of Louisiana to contribute by their presence to the successful celebration of the appointed day, and for that purpose to suspend their ordinary business, so that all employed therein may be free to join in making the day a glad memory to the heart of our

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[492] Letter to Mexican President Porfirio Díaz from S.H. Buck, Director General of the Exposition as published in *The Daily Picayune*, May 23, 1885, 2.

[493] "Letter to Porfirio Díaz," *Daily Picayune,* May 23, 1885, 2.

[494] *Daily Picayune*, May 27, 1885, 2.

[495] Proclamation by Hon. S. D. McEnery, Governor of Louisiana, as printed in *Daily Picayune,* May 29, 1885, 8.

[496] *Daily Picayune*, May 28, 1885, 2.

Mexican competitors and visitors."[497] He went on to argue that the special dedication of a separate day in honor of the Mexican Republic was a fitting tribute given their multitude of contributions to the fair. He stated that the "commissioners, agents, and visitors" from Mexico had "won the confidence and esteem of all who met them" and the results would "strengthen the bonds of amity between the two republics."[498] Since Mexico had honored New Orleans with their elaborate displays and by furnishing the Eighth Cavalry Band, who performed at all of the city's public fetes over their six-month stay, Governor McEnery believed that "the people of this city" would "recognize their great obligation therefore and turn out to assist in giving the sister republic a brimming bumper of greeting and acknowledgement."[499] And New Orleanians of all backgrounds, either out of obligation or a curiosity about Mexico's charmingly foreign culture, did attend, as it was the most highly attended day of the fair with nearly forty thousand attendees.

Perhaps because Governor McEnery and the Board of Management had argued that the two republics had similar histories and "an identical and glorious common destiny" or because white New Orleans leaders were still working to reconcile relations with Mexican diplomats, the Mexico Day festivities honored Mexico much as the Opening Day ceremonies had honored the United States, and, in fact, the ceremonies looked quite similar.[500] At 12:00p.m. on May 29th, the First Brigade of the Louisiana State National Guard under the direction of Brig. Gen. Ad. Meyer, escorted Governor McEnery, his staff, foreign consuls, U.S. and foreign commissioners, State and city officials, local businessmen, and others holding special cards of invitation from the St.

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[497] Proclamation by Hon. S. D. McEnery, *Daily Picayune,* May 29, 1885, 8.
[498] Proclamation by Hon. S. D. McEnery, *Daily Picayune,* May 29, 1885, 8.
[499] *The Daily Picayune,* May 29, 1885, 8; *The Atlanta Constitution,* May 28, 1885, 5.
[500] Proclamation by Hon. S. D. McEnery, *The Daily Picayune,* May 29, 1885, 8

Charles hotel to the steamboat landing at the head of Canal Street.[501] Upon arrival, they would embark on the steamboat Jesse K. Bell for the fairgrounds – the exact same route used on Opening Day. Upon arrival of the steamer at the dock closest to the fair, the Washington Artillery fired a national salute of twenty-one guns, which was returned by other members of the artillery on the fair grounds. The governor and his procession then headed to the Mexican Pavilion where the very group they were honoring that day – The Mexican Commission and the Commissioner General of Mexico, Eduardo E. Zarate – met them and then proceeded together to the Main Building's Music Hall for the day's ceremonies.[502]

After a couple of opening songs by the Eighth Cavalry Band, Director General Burke, gave the welcoming address in which he highlighted Mexico's contributions to the fair and "expressed a belief in the grand future of the Mexican Republic and in the success and benefits of which he was sure" New Orleans was to have a large share.[503] Burke's speech discussed the many contributions Mexico had made to the fair's various departments. As the Treasurer of Louisiana and a businessman who had found his greatest success in the railroads and publishing, he was particularly enthusiastic in his discussion of the friendship that had been developed between Mexican diplomats and white New Orleans leaders over the course of the fair. He thanked the Mexican commissioners for their kindness and efforts over the previous six months and concluded his speech by declaring, "Mexico is the Exposition" to which he received a standing ovation.[504]

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[501] "General Order No 8 issued by command of Major Gen. Jno. Glynn Jr.," *Daily Picayune*, May 27, 1885, 2.

[502] "Mexico's Day – The Sister republic Outdoes Herself at the Exposition," *Alton Evening Telegraph*, May 30, 1885, 1; and *Daily Picayune,* May 30, 1885, 8.

[503] "Speech of Major E.A. Burke," *Daily Picayune,* May 30, 1885, 8.

[504] "Speech of E.A. Burke," *Daily Picayune*, May 30, 1885, 8.

After another song by the Eighth Cavalry Band, the Mexican consul in New Orleans, J. Francisco de Zamacona, took the stage and gave a speech in Spanish (with an English translator on hand) sharing with the audience Mexico's intended goals for the fair. Though Zamacona had been living in New Orleans as the Mexican Consul for several years, he dressed in the official uniform for his military rank, a dark blue coat embroidered in silver with Mexico's arms and civil insignia, for the special occasion, re-affirming the image of Mexico as a strong and unified nation-state.[505] He began his speech by speaking of the earlier errors of world opinion regarding Mexican politics and society and how the fair had provided Mexico an opportunity to change those misperceptions. "Mexico, so often mocked and ridiculed without reason" was "so justly honored and admired" on this special occasion.[506] For Zamacona and Mexican diplomats, the injury and defeat of the Mexican-American War was ever present even as they worked with white New Orleanians to begin changing relations between them, but they saw their success at the fair as a step towards changing that.

Nevertheless, Mexico Day, with the colors of Mexico's flag proudly decorating the fairgrounds demonstrated to Zamacona that Mexico had been successful in "winning new laurels – laurels which the Mexicans should look upon with more than usual pride."[507] He went on to discuss the risk that Mexico had taken in participating in the fair. They had done so without hesitation, but understood that Mexico might fall short of its goals of encouraging foreign investment. However, if they did, the country would still "derive good fruits for the future" whether by re-shaping the country's reputation or through forming better business relations with the people of New Orleans.[508] They "did not stop to calculate their strength" and "with no pretension whatever came to show the whole world examples of its products and of that which Mexicans were capable of doing in the way of industry."[509] Mexico's presentation at the fair said, "This I produce, this I manufacture, this I am," and the Mexican government, under the re-elected president Díaz, gave Zamacona great hope for the future.

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[505] "Speech of Hon. J.F. de Zamacona," *Daily Picayune*, May 30, 1885, 8.
[506] "Speech of Hon. J.F. de Zamacona," *Daily Picayune*, May 30, 1885, 8.
[507] "Speech of Hon. J.F. de Zamacona," *Daily Picayune*, May 30, 1885, 8.

After Zamacona's speech, the Eighth Cavalry Band then played the young nation's patriotic song "Ecos de México" with great pride before Eduardo E. Zarate, Mexico's Commissioner General to the fair, took the stage to speak of "Mexico Day" as a symbol of the newly developing friendship between New Orleans and Mexico.[510] Zarate believed that the elaborate Mexico Day ceremonies were a testament to the friendship being fostered at the fair. He praised New Orleans as "the Queen of the South, the center of exquisite cultivation."[511] He claimed that New Orleans had demonstrated that it was the cosmopolitan city of the U.S. South and that it should indeed be the primary port for commerce between the U.S. and Mexico. He concluded by thanking the fair organizers for their "tender courtesy for the Mexican commissioners" which exceeded "the limits of acknowledgment" and declared that the fair was the beginning of new meaningful and hopefully fruitful friendly commercial relations between New Orleans and Mexico.[512] For Zarate, the fair demonstrated that Mexico had come a long way from the indignities it had suffered at the hands of the United States during the Mexican-

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[508] "Speech of Hon. J.F. de Zamacona," *Daily Picayune*, May 30, 1885, 8.
[509] "Speech of Hon. J.F. de Zamacona," *Daily Picayune*, May 30, 1885, 8.
[510] Zarate also gave his speech in Spanish with an English translator for the audience. His speech was also translated to English for publication in local newspapers.
[511] "Speech of Hon. Eduardo E. Zarate" *Daily Picayune*, May 30, 1885, 8.
[512] "Speech of Hon. Eduardo E. Zarate" *Daily Picayune*, May 30, 1885, 8.

American War and after, and saw that the young nation shared a common cause with New Orleans in leading their respective regions in the march towards modernity.[513]

After the Eighth Cavalry Band played several more selections of popular Mexican songs, Dr. Plutarco Ornelas, Secretary General of the Mexican National Commission, led a presentation that honored the first presidents of each nation – George Washington and Miguel Hidalgo – again symbolically linking the histories of Mexico and the United States and symbolizing reconciliation between the two nations. Life size portraits of each republic's respective liberators, were revealed to the audience as Dr. Ornelas spoke of Mexico's and the United States' similar histories of fighting for their independence and their "common cause for development."[514] Commissioners representing both Mexico and the United States laid wreaths of laurel at the portraits to "bid fraternity to their neighbors."[515] He spoke of Mexico's distinct history to contextualize its recent progress and to discredit ideas that Mexico and its people had not aligned themselves with the rapid march of modern progress. He concluded by saying that the fair was not only the beginning of New Orleans' "renaissance of prosperity," but another step in the road toward the "intimate commercial and fraternal relations" between the two great American Republics, which were more similar than dissimilar.[516] As a symbol of these new friendly relations and in honor to both republics, the Eighth Cavalry Band concluded the wreath ceremony and officially began their evening concert by playing the "Himno Nacional Mexicano" and "Hail, Colombia."[517] The "Mexico Day" ceremonies and festivities had confirmed that the goal of fostering new friendships between Mexico and New Orleans were largely focused on establishing commercial relations and increased prosperity. Their similar histories had led them to a shared goal of modern progress and the fair was, at least symbolically, the beginning of an intended renaissance for both Mexico and New Orleans as they sought to redefine themselves to an international audience.

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[513] Van Wagenen, *Remembering the Forgotten War*, 2 – 3.

[514] "Speech of Dr. Plutarco Ornelas," *Daily Picayune,* May 30, 1885, 8; and *Daily Picayune,* May 29, 1885, 6.

[515] "Speech of Dr. Plutarco Ornelas," *Daily Picayune,* May 30, 1885, 8.

[516] "Speech of Plutarco Ornelas," *Daily Picayune,* May 30, 1885, 8.

[517] The "Himno Nacional Mexicano" (or the "Mexican National Hymn") was the unofficial national anthem of Mexico that started being used in 1854. However, the Mexican government did not officially adopted it until 1943.

Mexico Day was made especially memorable by the elaborate ceremonies and an exceedingly large attendance, making it one of the most successful events of the six-month fair.[518] Mexico had done nothing in a half-hearted way, but newspapers reported "she surpassed herself in the brilliancy with which she celebrated her day."[519] They had distributed ten thousand souvenirs in Mexico's colors as a memory of the special occasion to women and children. They celebrated the array of awards they had received the day before in categories ranging from tannery to agriculture to minerals and to pharmaceuticals. Mexico Day was not only the fair's most successful celebration, but it confirmed that Mexico had accomplished its goal of conveying to the world that it was a modern nation, and it had captured the curiosity of New Orleanians of all backgrounds. Nevertheless, despite being one of the fair's most widely attended events, the gate receipts for the day only amounted to $5,813 and did not even cover the day's operating expenses and could not help address the fair's growing debt.[520]

The Fair's Failures

At its time, the 1884 fair was the most grandiose international event ever to be held in the United States, but it failed to meet the expectations of those who had invested in it. The reasons

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Similarly, "Hail, Columbia," was a patriotic song in the United States and was considered, along with several other songs, to be one of the unofficial national anthems. See also: *The Salt Lake Herald,* June 14, 1885;

[518] *The Atlanta Constitution,* May 30, 1885, 5; *The National Republican*, May 30, 1885, 1.

[519] "Mexico's Day – The Sister republic Outdoes Herself," *Alton Evening Telegraph*, May 30, 1885, 1.

[520] *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 31, 1885, 11.

for the fair's failures were numerous – some of which were beyond the control of its organizers, and others which they helped shape. However, as the fair's financial failings came to light, critics argued that its biggest challenge was Director General Edward Burke's financial mismanagement.[521] While the fair was originally intended to be a small-scale regional event, Burke made the mistake of trying to expand it to an international-scale world's fair that would outshine the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition of 1876, but he grossly underestimated the time and resources required and tried to make the arrangements in less than a year.[522] As a result, exhibit shipments were delayed and more costly since railroads and steamboats were busy handling seasonal shipments of sugar and cotton, which was proof that the fair became increasingly expensive due to poor planning and mismanagement.[523] Burke tried to produce this elaborate international-scale affair on a budget of $1.5 million despite the fact that the construction of the Philadelphia exposition's buildings alone had cost more than $5 million.[524] Indeed, Burke's aspirations for the fair exceeded his managerial skills and inflated costs.

Burke's lack of experience also led to poor logistical planning, which further contributed to the fair's financial failure. As a stipulation for its financial contributions to the fair, U.S. Congress required that the fair open in 1884.[525] As the anticipated December 1st opening day approached, Burke and the board recognized that they were unprepared to welcome the public.

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[521] Fonblanque, "Report by Consul Fonblanque on the World's Cotton Centennial Exhibition at New Orleans," 7.

[522] In comparison, the Philadelphia exposition benefitted from three years of planning. See: Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition," 63 – 77; *The World's Exposition* postcard book, NOPL.

[523] Historian Samuel Shepherd has argued that this shipping bottleneck could have been avoided if Burke and fair management had made arrangements in advance. See: Shepherd, "A Glimmer of Hope," 277; Smalley, "The New Orleans Exposition," 6-7; and *Report and Catalogue of the Woman's Department of the World's Exposition,* 7.

[524] Shepherd, "A Glimmer of Hope," 278.

[525] "Report of the Joint Committee of the Commercial Bodies of New Orleans to the United States, Mexican, Central and South American Commission,"; "World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition," 48th Congress, 1st Session, April 28, 1884, House of Representatives, Report 1432; "Department Exhibit for World's Exposition to be Held at New Orleans," 48th Congress, 1st session, June 9, 1884, House of Representatives, Executive Document 166.

They delayed the fair's opening by two weeks, but it was still an insufficient amount of time to complete the necessary construction and arrangements for receiving exhibit materials.[526] In the weeks leading up to the opening, fair organizers were scrambling to finalize construction on the fairgrounds, as indicated by a *Times-Democrat* advertisement calling for "fifty painters, quick workers, who need not be first class artists."[527] Indeed, newspapers continuously reported on the lack of preparation, sharing that hundreds of carloads of exhibit material were arriving daily, but workers were unable to unload and place all of it due to ongoing construction on the fair grounds.[528] Fair management had to pay workers for round-the-clock efforts to construct additional buildings and to move exhibit materials over muddy streets. Despite these efforts, fair management was still unable to find space for 500 exhibitors.[529] They decided to build a 400-foot addition to the Main Building to accommodate these exhibitors, but it was not ready for the fair's opening. This kind of poor logistical planning led to unexpected and costly labor expenses that increased the Board of Management's expenses, and still left the fairgrounds incomplete on opening day.

Burke's poor logistical planning also created tensions, or "general manifestations of distrust," between exhibitors and management that only increased as the fair went on.[530] As exhibitors arrived at the fair grounds to prepare their displays, they found that management was painfully unprepared and experienced a number of problems. One exhibitor found that his valuable shipment of materials had been misplaced, while another found that the space promised to him for his display had not yet been constructed.[531] These exhibitors, and many others, grew increasingly frustrated as management failed to provide any answers to their queries or solutions to these challenges. Exhibitors had spent "vast sums in preparing exhibits" and shipping them to New Orleans, making them "anxious that the exposition should be a success."[532] As exhibitors began threatening to pack up and head home, fair management met in a "secret conclave" that lasted late into the night to find solutions that would assuage the exhibitors' concerns. Nevertheless, tensions continued and the exhibitors, wanting to see their investments through, stayed and formed an Exhibitors Association so that they could begin making demands collectively.[533]

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[526] In November 1884, fair management changed the opening date from December 1 to December 16. See: Fairall, "World's Cotton Exposition," 12; *Times-Picayune,* November 15, 1884; *Times-Democrat*, November 15, 1884.
[527] *Times-Democrat*, November 25, 1884.
[528] *Times-Democrat*, December 7, 1884; *Shreveport Daily Times*, December 13, 1884; Smalley, "The New Orleans Exposition," 7; *Kentucky New Era*, January 26, 1885; and *Report of the Board of Management of the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition to the President, February 2, 1885* (New Orleans, 1885), 4.
[529] *Shreveport Daily Times*, December 13, 1884.
[530] "The World's Fair: Quarrel in the Management and Grumbling from the Exhibiters," *Chicago Tribune*, December 20, 1884, 6.

While fair management continued to frustrate private exhibitors as well as exhibitors charged with producing government and state exhibits, Mexican exhibits received priority, further angering the Exhibitors Association. For example, when a Mexican ship containing displays for the fair sank en route to New Orleans, Burke dispatched a special ship to Veracruz in order to secure replacement exhibit materials. This preferential treatment of Mexican exhibitors further demonstrates the importance that fair management placed on cultivating commercial relations with their southern neighbor. However, it also reveals that management was capable of addressing the challenges that their poor logistical planning had created, but at a very high cost.

Tensions between fair management and the Exhibitors Association continued even as the fair was underway and came to a head in a very public demonstration that further damaged the fair's reputation. On February 11, 1885, a mob of over 160 irate exhibitors broke down the fair's entrance gates and held an "indignation meeting" where they very publicly decried management's failings. A small handful of exhibitors refrained from participating in the action for fear that it might "destroy the Exposition" and therefore have financial consequences for them.[534] Despite management's best efforts to keep the problems between them and the Exhibitors Association private, newspapers across the country covered this public denouncement. The New Orleans based *Daily Picayune,* concerned for the city's reputation and disdainful of the fair's Director General published a scathing editorial denouncing the fair's management. It pleaded to readers and visitors asking them not to judge the city's business community by the mismanagement of the fair as it "would not be fair to measure the capacity of the business men of New Orleans by that enterprise."[535] Nevertheless, the public denouncement of management for its failings and mistakes significantly contributed to the fair's reputation.[536]

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[531] "The World's Fair," *Chicago Tribune*, December 20, 1884, 6.
[532] "The World's Fair," *Chicago Tribune*, December 20, 1884, 6.
[533] "The World's Fair," *Chicago Tribune*, December 20, 1884, 6.

As the fair's failings became increasingly public, visitors and exhibitors began to question Burke's ability to fulfill his duties. Although Burke's ability to raise quickly had originally made him a compelling choice for the role of Director General, his ambitions for the fair and lack of experience ultimately led to the fair's financial failure. Burke had a "supreme confidence in his ability to shape and control the outcome of events," and this led him to take action before having the resources to support his ambitions.[537] Initially, Burke seemed like the best candidate for the position given that he had been the first to pledge substantial financial support to the fair and he successfully raised crucial additional funds. He was also a well-connected man with many powerful and influential friends locally and nationally.[538] Perhaps most importantly, Burke was also expanding his international influence as the publisher of the *Times-Democrat*, a leading southern journal with correspondents based in Mexico and Central America.[539] Nevertheless, Burke was unable to raise all of the funds necessary to support the fair, but he kept the Board of Management's financial problems enshrouded in secrecy.[540]

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[534] *Daily Picayune,* February 12, 1885; *New York Times*, December 19, 1884; *New York Times*, December 20, 1884; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 16, 1884.
[535] "Editorial," *Daily Picayune*, February 11, 1885.
[536] Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition," 68 – 70.
[537] Watson, "Staging the 'Crowning Achievement of the Age,'" 246.

U.S. Congress stepped in and provided the board of management with a $1 million loan to pay for building costs, but it was contingent upon the board raising an additional $500,000 to match it.[541] Falling short of fundraising efforts once again, Burke used his role as State Treasurer to convince the Louisiana legislature to loan the fair's Board of Management an additional $100,000.[542] As a result, the Board of Management had accrued a substantial debt before the fair had even opened its doors. Nevertheless, Burke remained optimistic and planned to repay these loans and operating expenses with anticipated revenue from ticket sales.[543] Aware that his personal reputation and that of the city were dependent on the fair's success, Burke turned to the pages of his newspaper to create an illusion of smooth progress throughout the fair's developmental stage. Unfortunately, the signs of Burke's mismanagement wouldn't become visible to the public until it was too late to correct his errors.

Burke's plan to pay operating expenses using ticket revenue failed given the fair's low attendance. His estimates that fifty percent of U.S. southerners over the age of twenty-one and over one million people from Northern cities would attend the fair proved to be inaccurate.[544] The abnormally bad weather in the fair's opening weeks left visitors and fair organizers similarly disheartened, contributing to low attendance. Even Burke's *Times-Democrat* lamented "It was cold; it rained a half-hail sort of rain that the wind blew in a slanting direction athwart the city; the streets were muddy, the sidewalks sloppy, and the street cars uncomfortable."[545] This unfavorable weather that initially plagued the fair sent the earliest visitors home with poor reviews and led to bad press, which contributed to the fair's low attendance. Indeed, the poor weather and unfinished condition of the fair in its first months greatly affected attendance. Without the anticipated ticket revenue, fair management was unable to meet daily operating costs. By February 1885, just two months after the fair's opening, management had already accumulated a deficit of $319,422.[546]

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[538] Watson, "Staging the 'Crowning Achievement of the Age,'" 246.

[539] *Times-Democrat,* March 22, 1884; Ballou, "Major Edward A. Burke," 1; Watson, "Staging the 'Crowning Achievement of the Age,'" 246.

[540] Watson, "Staging the 'Crowning Achievement of the Age,'" 247.

[541] Fonblanque, "Report on the Cotton Exhibition," 26 – 27; U.S., *Statutes at Large, 1883* – 1885, XXIII (Washington, 1885) 28, 207, 513; Smalley, "The New Orleans Exposition," 6; Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition," 21.

[542] *Times-Democrat,* January 9, 1884 and January 22, 1884; *Monroe Bulletin*, July 6, 1884.

[543] Smalley, "The New Orleans Exposition," 6; *Report of the Board of Management*, December 21, 1885.

The fair's low attendance was also shaped by another misfortune that the fair organizers and managers had not anticipated – the nation was beset by financial difficulties. The United States suffered "a brief, but severe, economic depression," from 1883 until mid-1885, essentially coinciding with the fair's six-month duration.[547] The nation's cities were particularly hard hit by the depression with Louisiana newspapers reporting that approximately 20,000 people were unemployed in St. Louis and 50,000 were without work in New York City.[548] This economic depression had serious consequences for the fair's attendance, as even many of those who were employed could not afford to make the expensive journey to New Orleans. At a time when many people in the United States earned less than $100 per month, a round-trip train fare to the

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[544] *Times-Democrat,* June 3, 1884; Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition," 3.
[545] *Times-Democrat*, December 11, 1884.
[546] *New Orleans Mascot*, February 28, 1885; Shepherd, "A Glimmer of Hope," 278.
[547] Ray Ginger, *Age of Excess: The United States from 1877 to 1914* (New York, 1965), 43, cited in Shepherd, "A Glimmer of Hope," 274.
[548] *Shreveport Daily Times,* January 11, 1885; *Alexandria Daily Town Talk,* January 6, 1885.

Crescent City, which was quite far from the populated northeastern cities, was too costly.[549] For example, a round-trip ticket from New York was $60, and even visitors from other southern cities such as Atlanta had to pay $29.80 for a round-trip fare.[550] These high railroad fares and the average cost of lodging were beyond the reach of many U.S. Americans during this brief depression. The National Association of General Passenger Agents convened in December 1884 to address these concerns, and developed a reduced fare schedule for travel to the fair, but the costs were still too high for most Americans.[551] It was not until the rates were further reduced for the fair's "Louisiana Day" in April 1885 that organizers saw a notable increase in attendance.[552] However, by then it was too late to draw enough paying visitors to alleviate the fair's growing debt.

U.S. Congress again tried to address the fair's financial challenges and provided $350,000 in aid with the stipulation that Burke appoint a new Board of Management and resign as Director General, but even this came too late to remedy the situation. Although Burke did indeed resign in mid-May 1885, he was unwilling to appoint a new Board of Managers, ultimately leading the federal government to consider closing the fair earlier than originally planned. Burke fought relentlessly against the suggested early closing and argued that keeping it open indefinitely would help recover the fair's losses. Despite Burke's appeals, the federal government closed the fair's doors permanently on May 31, 1885. Throughout the course of the fair's duration, slightly more than one million patrons had attended, falling short of the 2.5 to 4 million visitors that Burke had initially predicted.[553] Furthermore, Congress authorized the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury to use federal funds only to pay fair debts owed to non-residents of Louisiana. When the fair closed, many of the fair's New Orleans based creditors and investors were left with partial payments at best, further damaging the local economy.[554] Though Burke eventually was able to produce a grand fair, he was unable to make it a financial success and the federal government declared it a national financial failure.[555]

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[549] Furnas, *Report of Robt. W. Furnas,* 18.

[550] *Visitor's Guide,* 48; Shepherd, "A Glimmer of Hope," 275.

[551] *The World's Exposition* postcard book, NOPL; Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Preliminary Circular Respecting the Exhibition of Education at the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition* (Washington, 1884), 5; Smalley, "The New Orleans Exposition," 5; Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition," 7.

[552] Fairall, *Centennial Exposition*, 14; Shepherd, "A Glimmer of Hope," 275.

Just five short months after the federal government closed the fair's doors, The North, Central and South American Exposition at New Orleans, opened on the same site, promising to be everything that the fair had failed to be and accomplish.[556] The fact that the world's fair owed over $470,000 when it closed its doors was not a sufficient deterrent to prevent a new company from attempting to re-invigorate the endeavor under a new name.[557] This new company sought to distinguish itself from the failed fair and did not retain any of the fair's management, which it made clear to the public by printing the names of the new exposition's executive officers on all advertising and on the program cover.[558] Nevertheless, the exposition kept the same goal of strengthening the economy of New Orleans and the U.S. South more broadly through cultivating commercial relations with Mexico and Latin America. The exposition's executive officers emphasized the importance of commercial relations with Mexico and Latin America more explicitly, not only in name, but by turning its focus to the countries and goods of the Americas, rather than those of the world. The North, Central and South American Exposition was held at the same location and occupied the same structures that had been constructed for the world's fair. Like the 1884 fair, this exposition showcased local and Latin American goods and culture. While the exposition's officers made great efforts to cast the event as a new and distinct venture, it remained in the shadow of its predecessor.[559] It met a similar fate and was also a financial failure, forcing exposition officers to close it on April 1, 1886, two months earlier than originally planned.[560]

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[553] Unfortunately, more detailed information about attendees are unavailable. It is unclear what the racial or class makeup of attendees was or which regions they visited from. Pfeffer, "New Orleans, 1884 – 1885," 86

[554] $335,000 of the aid was to be used to make back payments to contractors and $15,000 was to be used to cover the government sponsored Woman's Department expenses. Louisiana creditors who had invested in the exposition were left with partial payments at best. See: Pfeffer, "New Orleans, 1884 – 1885," 86; *Monroe Bulletin*, May 20, 1885; *New Orleans Mascot*, February 28, 1885; *Report of the Board of Management of the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition to the President,* 4-8.

[555] Despite his financial mismanagement of the fair, Burke continued to serve as the State Treasurer of Louisiana until 1888 when it was discovered that he had embezzled State Treasury Funds. Having befriended Luis Bográn, the President of Honduras, during the fair, Burke fled to Honduras where he became a major landowner and held government positions within the nationalized railway system until his death in 1928. See: "Louisiana's Stolen Bonds," *New York Times*, October 27, 1889; "Major Burke Indicted," *New York Times*, November 24, 1889; "Going to Honduras," *New York Times*, January 18, 1893; "Major A. Burke dies in Honduras at 89," *New York Times,* September 25, 1928; and Watson, "Staging the Crowning Achievement of the Age," 364 – 366.

[556] *Report of the Board of Management of the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition,* 4-8.

[557] *Daily Picayune*, June 4, 1885.

[558] *North, Central & South American Exposition at New Orleans Program Book*, (New Orleans: 1885), Louisiana Research Collection, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, New Orleans.

The Great Educator of the Age

Although the 1884 fair was a financial failure, over one million people of different racial, ethnic, and class backgrounds did attend and it was indeed the largest fair of its time. Indeed, despite increasing racial tensions in the city after Reconstruction, the fair offered a space where people of all races, nationalities, and classes could take in the sights and learn from the exhibits. Newspaper accounts reveal that those who did attend found it to be a dazzling experience. For the people of the U.S. South, and for white New Orleanians in particular, it was a "bright interlude" in a world that had been long been plagued by "the rancor and unhappiness wrought by a generation of war," Reconstruction, and economic misfortune.[561] In a letter to the *Alexandria Talk Town*, one southern white woman recounted her experience of the fair and its impact: “There is so much to see, so many sounds to hear, such a host of brilliant and useful things dancing before the eye.”[562] Indeed, the same newspaper declared it shared the opinion of “thousands of newspapermen throughout the world,” and proclaimed the fair to be “the grandest collection of the resources and art of the world under one management.”[563] Visitors found the displays “grand” and “wonderful,” and a visit to the fair was full of “walking, thinking, staring, dancing, and talking.”[564] In other words, the fair served as a great source of entertainment and those who did attend after the exhibits had been completed enjoyed themselves.

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[559] Pfeffer, "New Orleans 1884 – 1885," 83; Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition," 79.
[560] *Daily Picayune,* November 11, 1885; *Daily Picayune*, April 1, 1886; Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition," 79.
[561] Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition," 69 – 70.

Perhaps the 1884 fair’s greatest success was its role in exposing attendees to information, the arts, and foreign cultures, making it what Commissioner for Nebraska, Robert Furnas, called “the great educator of the age.”[565] Such a large and comprehensive exhibition had never been installed in the United States before, showcasing all of the states and territories along with their respective products and inventions. The *New York Times* praised the fair for offering more of interest to U.S. Americans than any previous event of its kind.[566] And the fair did, in fact, draw eager minds. Seeing the great educational value of the fair’s exhibits, white schoolteachers arrived in large groups of 50 to 100 with notebooks and pencils in hand to document the vast range of information they were exposed to at the fair.[567] Visitors became “wiser and better” by attending the fair as they learned of resources and cultures that were previously unknown to them.[568] People from the country’s rural areas had come to the cosmopolitan city of New Orleans to attend the fair, leading U.S. Americans from different backgrounds to become better acquainted with one another.

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[562] *Alexandria Town Talk*, February 3, 1885; Shepherd, “A Glimmer of Hope,” 280.
[563] *Alexandria Town Talk,* April 11, 1885.
[564] *Kentucky New Era,* February 16, 1885.
[565] Furnas, *Report of Robt. W. Furnas,* 20.
[566] *New York Times,* April 7, 1885.
[567] *Shreveport Daily Times,* January 13, 1885; *Monroe Bulletin*, April 8, 1885; *Times-Democrat*, December 26, 1884; Furnas, *Report of Robert W. Furnas,* 32.
[568] Furnas, *Report of Robert W. Furnas,* 30 – 35.

As a "contact zone" that brought the seemingly disparate cultures of the U.S. north and south into contact with one another in this new context, the 1884 fair succeeded in its patriotic goal of sectional reconciliation.[569] The very act of holding a world's fair in the southern city of New Orleans seemed to be a significant step towards this goal given that the South had largely been unable to participate in the 1876 fair held in Philadelphia due to distance, financial limitations, and tensions caused by Reconstruction.[570] The fair's planning and festivities had made great strides in quelling sectional tensions and helped create a national, patriotic sentiment amongst its white participants and attendees. For example, though New Orleanian and southern white women had initially been offended by Burke's selection of Boston's Julia Ward Howe as director of the fair's Woman's Department, Howe had "gained the admiration and won the heart of all New Orleans" by the fair's end.[571] Indeed, one white southern woman claimed that Howe's work in helping local women of society to assemble an exhibit "helped many New Orleanians rediscover their city's own history."[572] White Northerners and Southerners also worked together in honoring white veterans of the Civil War at the fair, as nearly 1,000 white soldiers from both the Union and Confederate armies paraded in festivities together.[573] Former members of the Ninth Connecticut Regiment returned a captured flag to veterans of the Third Mississippi

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[569] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 324 – 333.

[570] *Times-Democrat*, December 14, 1884; *Shreveport Daily Times*, December 16, 1884; *Alexandria Daily Town Talk,* February 7, 1885; Fairall, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition,* 10.

[571] King, *Memories of a Southern Woman of Letters*, 53, as quoted in Shepherd, "A Glimmer of Hope," 284.

[572] King, *Memories of a Southern Woman of Letters,* 55.

[573] Fairall, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition*, 71; *Times-Democrat*, February 22, 1885.

Regiment during one of the fair's symbolically rich festivities.[574] As the event successfully brought people from different regions together and helped cultivate a sense of national unity, many believed that the fair had healed "the wounds of the nation more effectually than could have been done by any other agency or instrumentality."[575]

U.S. American visitors to the fair from all backgrounds not only learned about their compatriots from other regions in the United States, but the foreign exhibits served as an introduction to the world beyond. Nations from around the world vied to most advantageously present themselves on an international stage, Americans who had not had the good fortune to travel abroad were exposed firsthand to foreign worlds. Indeed, the fair served as a doorway to other civilizations that had only previously been available to them in literature. It was a space where foreign cultures were displayed for their own curiosity and consumption. Though it is not possible to know how many of these visitors came to view the Mexican exhibits specifically, newspaper account make clear that white New Orleanians were especially dazzled by them as they found themselves immersed in elaborate and elegant Mexican buildings, exhibits, and performances. However, although Mexico's investment in the fair did not ultimately generate commercial exchanges with the United States to the degree Díaz and his *científicos* had anticipated, it did inspire a curiosity about Mexican culture, albeit one rooted in exoticism, particularly among the city's white elite.[576] The pages of local newspapers increasingly advertised local stores that carried Mexican goods ranging from sheet music and crafts to chocolate and other delicacies.[577] The fair had educated visitors about worlds that had been largely inaccessible to them, and particularly fostered a familiarity with their southern neighbor.

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[574] *Shreveport Daily Times,* May 31, 1885; *Times-Democrat*, May 12, 1885; Fairall, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition*, 70.

[575] Furnas, *Report of Robert W. Furnas*, 10.

[576] Yeager, "Porfirian Commercial Propaganda," 230 – 243; Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican.*

While the port of New Orleans did regain its prominence largely through trade with Latin America in the years after the fair, it did not boost the local and Southern economy on the scale that fair organizers had anticipated.[578] The fair did contribute to New Orleans' and Louisiana's economy ever so slightly during its six month duration, but there is no evidence that the fair significantly increased the commercial or industrial development of the U.S. South more broadly.[579] The sustained national media attention to the 1884 fair did lead to some tourism and emigration to New Orleans, but it was relatively short-lived after the fair closed its doors. Some northern investments were made to cut vast forests of Louisiana timber, but this was another short-lived venture since little reforestation was undertaken, and the stripped land was eventually resold for agricultural rather than industrial uses.[580] Although commerce and trade did continue to develop in New Orleans, there is no evidence that this growth was a direct result of the fair. Indeed historian Donald Hardy has demonstrated that commercial statistics for the South after 1885 show no upward surge which might be attributed to the fair's influence.[581]

U.S. American economic investment in Mexico did increase in the years following the fair, but the "friendly" commercial relations both Mexican diplomats and white American businessmen had worked to cultivate continued to be thwarted by underlying feelings of distrust in one another. Mexico's elaborate presentation at the fair did contribute to American interest in economic opportunities in the young nation, and while Mexico's exports increased seven-fold between the year preceding the fair and the year 1910 – 1911, this increase likely reflects a rising tide of world commercial activity more so than a direct correlation to the fair.[582] One American cotton-mill owner reportedly moved his entire operation to Mexico immediately after being impressed by the sister republic's displays at the fair, and the *Times-Democrat* reported that other American investors responded similarly.[583] However, it was the technological advances, such as the construction of railroads connecting the two nations, rather than the fair that largely contributed to the period of "massive investment of U.S. capital in Mexico" that emerged in 1884.[584] While Díaz welcomed this investment as a means to modernizing the nation, Mexican officials remained distrustful of American intentions and feared that the nation's sovereignty was at risk. U.S. politicians also remained skeptical of Mexico's government as U.S. American newspapers printed reports that President Díaz was making moves to re-acquire land the young nation had lost to the United States just a few decades before.[585] While this rumor quickly proved to be untrue, these broader feelings of distrust between the two nations ultimately undermined the "friendly" relations that had been cultivated between New Orleans and Mexico at the fair.

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[577] *Daily Picayune*, January 16, 1885, 2; *Daily Picayune,* February 12, 1885, 5; *Daily Picayune*, March 7, 1885, 4; *Daily Picayune*, May 1, 1885, 9; *Daily Picayune*, February 20, 1886, 2; *Daily Picayune*, May 29, 1886, 6; *Daily Picayune*, November 14, 1886, 8.

[578] Pfeffer, "New Orleans 1884 – 1885," 83; Harold Sinclair, *The Port of New Orleans* (New York, 1942), 275.

[579] Hardy, "The Worlds Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition 86 – 87.

[580] Pfeffer, "New Orleans 1884 – 1885," 83; and Henry Rightor, ed., *Standard History of New Orleans, Louisiana* (Chicago, 1900), 576.

[581] Hardy, "The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition," 86 – 87.

These underlying feelings of distrust and skepticism also thwarted efforts at establishing commercial relations between white New Orleanian businessmen and the Mexican government. Despite the efforts made at the fair to re-define relations between them, Mexican diplomats continued to view white New Orleanian leaders with suspicion because they continued to entertain the idea of purchasing Mexican territory. The fair's management had deployed a rhetoric of friendship to gain access to Mexican resources, but a broader U.S. American attitude of condescension and hostility towards their southern neighbor continued to underlie those relations. The conflicting desires and intentions of white New Orleanians re-emerged just a short month after the fair had closed its doors. Though Burke, fair management, and white New Orleanian businessmen had spent the fair's six-months publicly embracing Mexico as a sister republic, they too continued to entertain the prospect of colonizing and purchasing Mexico. Local New Orleans newspapers began printing articles again that made a case for taking over Mexico. They justified this call to action by emphasizing the nation's assumed inability to become a modern nation, blatantly contradicting the rhetoric developed during the fair.[586] It seemed clear that although white New Orleanians had spent the previous six months embracing Mexico as a sister republic, they were guided by their own economic ambitions. In response, the Mexican Minister to the United States, Matias Romero, advised Mexican consular officials in New Orleans to proceed with caution in these new friendships and to pay particular attention to local discussions regarding Mexican politics and business matters.[587]

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[582] *Estadísticas económicas del Porfiriato: Comercio exterior de México, 1877 – 1911* (México: El Colegio de Mexico, 1960), 78; Yeager, "Porifiran Commercial Propaganda," 52 – 53.

[583] "Mexico Exhibit," *Times-Democrat,* February 16, 1885; *Times-Democrat Almanac 1896* (New Orleans, 1896), 17.

[584] Ruiz, *Americans in the Treasure House*, 3.

[585] "Letter from Matías Romero (Emajador de México) to Porfirio Díaz," July 12, 1885, Colecciόon Porfirio Díaz," Legajo 10, Caja 15, Documento 7386, Universidad Iberoamericana, Ciudad de México.

These contradictions continued to make Mexican diplomats weary of their relations with white New Orleans leaders and ultimately undermined commercial efforts between New Orleans and Mexico. The alleged friendship fostered between white New Orleanian businessmen and Mexican diplomats at the fair was unable to assuage feelings of distrust because of broader national contradictions – such as the United States' promotion of Mexico as a "sister republic" and its expansionist desires, as well as Mexico's desire to encourage foreign economic investment and maintain its sovereignty. While these contradictions created tensions between New Orleans' and Mexico's leaders, the fair's rhetoric did ultimately create unexpected new opportunities for Mexicans within New Orleans, prompting some of the young nation's representatives to create a new home in the Crescent City after the fair closed its doors.

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[586] "The Talk About Buying Mexico," *Daily Picayune*, July 9, 1885; *Times-Democrat*, July 10, 1885.

[587] Letter from Matias Romero, Mexican Minister to the United States, to J. Francisco de Zamacona, Mexican consul in New Orleans, July 13, 1885, SRE, AEMEUA Collection, legajo 131, expediente 13; *Daily Picayune,* July 7, 1885, July 9, 1885.

Although the 1884 fair was indeed an economic failure, it created new opportunities for cultural exchange between Mexico and New Orleans that had a lasting impact on the hosting city. For New Orleanians of all backgrounds, it had served as a doorway to other civilizations, particularly to Mexico. Visitors who had only known about Mexico second-hand through literature and newspapers were exposed to Mexico's cultural forms – its art, its literature, and most notably, its music – in person. As a result, the fair inspired a curiosity and "vogue" for all things Mexican in the Crescent City, as it fed a desire to consume a charmingly foreign but non-threatening culture. This vogue for Mexican culture was further fueled by the Eighth Cavalry Band's central role at the fair. They played at all of the fair's official events and festivities. Having developed a reputation for its debaucherous public festivities, New Orleans brought its unique spirit to the fair – the numerous performances and festivities became the highlights. Indeed, as the fair was nearing its final days, a local newspaper reflected on the previous months and concluded that the affair was characterized by "managerial self-congratulation, speech making, and trumpet blowing."[588] In other words, the fair's rhetoric of friendship deployed at its numerous speeches and its contributions to the city's musical culture were just as notable as its reputation for mismanagement and economic failure. Indeed, it was the "trumpet blowing" and music of the Eighth Cavalry Band that became the fair’s most enduring cultural legacy and would influence New Orleans’ unique musical sound for decades to come.

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[588] *New Orleans Mascot*, April 25, 1885.

“Mi general, hemos hecho sonar el nombre de México,
como solo nosotros lo podemos hacer sonar,
Con las trompetas que vibran con las notas
de nuestro hermoso himno patria.”
- Captain Encarnación Payén to
General Troncoso[589]

CHAPTER THREE: “Over the Waves” – Mexico’s Eighth Cavalry Band at the Fair

In the early morning hours of December 16, 1884, Mexico’s multiracial Eighth Cavalry Military Band led a New Orleans style procession from the French Quarter’s illustrious St. Charles Hotel to the city’s Uptown neighborhood, commencing the Opening Day ceremonies for the 1884 World’s Fair.[590] As the musicians emerged from the hotel, accompanied by distinguished diplomats, businessmen, and esteemed guests of the fair, they were greeted by a large and diverse crowd that was “anxious to witness every detail of the movement from the centre of the city toward the all-important attraction in the upper portion.”[591] However, what the crowd was most interested in seeing was the long anticipated performance of Captain Encarnación Payén’s Eighth Cavalry Band who “played their lively airs to the delight of the vast crowd gathered around.”[592] Indeed, white New Orleanians had been waiting nearly an entire year for the arrival of Mexico’s celebrated band and they were eager to witness the charmingly foreign spectacle first-hand. Local newspapers had been publishing accounts of the musicians' travels as they made their way from Mexico City through Galveston, Texas and on to New Orleans via the Texas & Pacific railroad, which had recently connected the United States and Mexico.[593] Now that the musicians had finally arrived, thousands of New Orleanians from all backgrounds thronged the procession route and the fairgrounds, curious to catch a glimpse of these curious and talented foreigners. Given that the band had only committed to performing at the fair for two weeks, New Orleans' diverse population was particularly eager to catch every opportunity to hear the band perform given that it was a very limited engagement.[594]

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[589] Rafael Torres, “Historia de las Bandas Militares de Música en México: 1767 – 1920,” (Master’s Thesis, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana Plantel Iztapalapa, 2002), 211; Juan Manuel Torea, *La Banda de Música del 8o. Regimiento de Caballería, Estado Mayor 1892-1942*, (Mexico: 1945), 7.

[590] Hereafter referred to as the Eighth Cavalry Band. Local newspapers often reported grievances of “colored travelers, opera, and other troupes” at being denied access to first-class hotels and public comforts, but the diplomats representing the sister republic as the Mexican Commission enjoyed accommodations at hotels throughout the city, including the popular St. Charles Hotel. At its time, the St. Charles Hotel’s Parlor P had allegedly witnessed more important political events than any other in the country outside of the Capitol in Washington D.C. While many Mexican diplomats founds accommodations at the St. Charles hotel, one enterprising New Orleanian, hoping to capitalize on the wave of Mexican visitors, refurbished a hotel with capacity for one-thousand guests, which he named “El Hotel Royal.” See: “The Mexican Soldiers,” *Daily* Picayune, December 7, 1884, 1; Daily *Picayune*, December 17, 1884, 2; William H. Coleman, *Historical Sketch Book and Guide to New Orleans and Environs*, (New York: Will H. Coleman, 1885), 74.

[591] *Times-Democrat,* December 17, 1884, 1.

[592] *Times-Democrat,* December 17, 1884, 1.

Dressed in their navy blue uniforms decorated with silver thread, boots of English leather, and plumed helmets,[595] the seventy-five men comprising the Eighth Cavalry Band "looked a gallant band of soldiers" as they led the festivities with their renditions of local New Orleans favorite tunes,[596] the Mexican National Hymn, and "Hail, Columbia."[597] Their elegant military uniforms resembled those of modern, western nations and were comfortably familiar, but their Mexican emblems and embroidery made them just different enough to inspire curiosity about the foreign representatives. The band's Opening Day repertoire complemented the fair's rhetoric of friendship between Mexico and New Orleans by giving it a musical sound, and their performances dazzled visitors in the fair's difficult opening weeks.[598] While many had previously read about the band's excellence through newspaper accounts, they found themselves surprised that such skill and discipline could come from a country that had spent the previous decades at war with itself and with invading foreign powers. Indeed, although the fair's rhetoric celebrated Mexico as a sister republic, white New Orleanians had spent the previous decades imagining a far away land comprised of banditos and anarchy. Confronted with the uniformed and disciplined military band, they were seeing a new representation of Mexico, one that was both modern and familiar, but foreign enough to inspire curiosity and fascination.

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[593] *San Antonio* Light, July 21, 1883; Daily *Picayune,* November 25, 1884, 4; "Sparks from Dallas: Sweet Music by the Mexican Band," *Galveston Daily News*, November 27, 1884, 6.

[594] "Sparks from Dallas," *Galveston Daily News*, November 27, 1884, 6.

[595] *Daily Picayune*, July 19, 1884, 1.

[596] *Daily Picayune,* December 17, 1884, 2.

[597] In support of the fair's rhetoric of friendship, the Eighth Cavalry Band played these two songs together in each of their performances, making the pairing wildly popular. In fact, a local New Orleans publisher, Junius Hart, published sheet music entitled "Las Dos Republicas / The Two Republics," which contained the piano score for both Hail Columbia and the Mexican National Hymn. See: *Las Deps Republicas / The Two Republics*, by Miguel Rios Toledano, Williams Research Center, HNOC, MSS 526, #1433.

"In spite of the cold and disagreeable weather" that plagued the fair's early days, music loving New Orleanians of all backgrounds still attended the band's performances.[599] Indeed, while many early visitors had returned home with unfavorable reports regarding the fair's unfinished condition, their reviews of the Eighth Cavalry Band were the exception. Newspapers throughout the United States raved about the band's technical excellence, commanding performance, and novel repertoire. In the eyes of "the lovers of great music," the Eighth Cavalry Band's performances "made up for almost any other privation."[600] After the Board of Management lost the fair's official band in the first week after opening, the Mexican government extended the Eighth Cavalry Band's services for the duration of the fair as a a demonstration of friendship to New Orleans' leaders.[601] In response to this generosity, the fair organizers quickly named the Eighth Cavalry Band the fair's official band, and the musicians gained access to the city's most coveted formal music institutions in the process.[602]

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[598] *Chicago Tribune*, December 20, 1884; "The Great Exposition. Opening Cermonies at New Orleans and Washington," *Washington Bee,* December 27, 1884, 4; Lydia Strawn, *Illinois Central World's Exposition Messenger* (Chicago: Illinois Central, 1884), 5-6; and Shepherd, "A Glimmer of Hope," 274.

[599] *Daily Picayune,* January 19, 1885, 8.

[600] *Daily Picayune,* January 19, 1885, 8.

[601] In fact, the band was such a success that Díaz tried to augment the band by adding other military musicians. See: Letter from Diaz to Pablo Rocha y Portu, Governor of Guanajuato, January 12, 1885, Coleccion Porfirio Díaz, Legajo, 10, Caja, 4, Doctos 1922 – 1923, Universidad Iberoamericana. Mexico, D.F.; Jesús C. Romero, "Biografías de Músicos Mexicanos: José Encarnación Payen", en *Revista Musical Mexicana, Crítica, Técnica, Historia y*

While military brass bands had become a pervasive aspect of American life by the 1880s, the arrival of the Eighth Cavalry Band represents a watershed in New Orleans' vibrant music history, a moment when Afro-influenced sounds and the music of foreign "others" became popular in the city.[603] New Orleans already had a rich and established musical tradition before the fair, but "the combination of a fertile setting and robust event set the stage" for the burgeoning of an exceptionally diverse musical season.[604] The fair introduced an "extraordinary musical banquet" of superb local, national, and international talent, but none captivated the public in quite the same way as the Eighth Cavalry Band.[605] Indeed, the band seemed to capture the right balance between music that was familiar enough to resonate with local white audiences, but foreign enough to inspire a curiosity and exoticism. Moreover, they offered enough variation in their repertoire to appeal to different races and classes for distinct reasons, and straddled boundaries between traditional and popular, black and white, "confounding simplistic categorization."[606] As a result, the musicians not only gained popularity, but as the fair's official band, they also gained a great deal of status in New Orleans as they played at some of the most prestigious social events that concert season. This status would make them influential in the city's rich musical culture, and over time indirectly re-affirmed the city's increasingly rigid racial line as the musicians gained a status as both culturally foreign and white.

Folklore, VI.5 (México, D. F.,1946), 55; Torres, "Historia de las Bandas Militares de Música en México," 210; "The Mexican Band," *Daily Picayune*, December 30, 1884, 8.

[602] *Daily Picayune,* December 22, 1884, 1; "The Mexican Band," *Daily Picayune*, December 30, 1884, 8;

[603] Margaret Hindle Hazen and Robert M. Hazen, *The Music Men: An Illustrated History of Brass Bands in America, 1800 – 1920* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1987), xvii.

[604] Lemmon, "Introduction," 2.

[605] Lemmon, "Introduction," 4.

[606] Madrid and Moore, *Danzón,* 6.

It was the Eighth Cavalry Band that introduced white New Orleanians and many of the fair's visitors to Mexico's "strange melodies" and "sweet sounds," inciting a curiosity about Mexican culture that was rooted in exoticism.[607] The band's music evoked a far-off land, signifying a foreign otherness that intrigued white New Orleanians. These musicians and their renowned conductor, Encarnación Payén, quickly came to dominate New Orleans' concert life, captivating the city and setting off a local popular craze for Mexican music. The music's very "strangeness" and "foreignness" made it appealing to local audiences and the Eighth Cavalry Band not only became the fair's unexpected yet welcome success, but its contributions to the city's rich musical texture can still be heard today.[608] Their distinct rhythms and sonorities had a lasting effect on New Orleans' popular music, ultimately influencing the development of ragtime and jazz.[609] As the musicians immersed themselves in the city's culture, they played to thousands of spectators and became the highlight of the 1884 – 1885 New Orleans concert season.

The emphasis New Orleans leaders and Mexican diplomats placed on building friendly commercial relations with each other during the 1884 fair not only shaped a new rhetoric of friendship between the hosting city and the sister republic, but it also created new opportunities for the musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band as they worked to amplify the fair's rhetoric and gave it a sound that could reach a diverse audience. This chapter will examine the role of the Eighth Cavalry Band's musicians at the 1884 World's Fair as cultural brokers whose music served as a tool to advance cross-cultural communication between the people of New Orleans and Mexico.[610] While Mexico and New Orleans had historical and commercial ties that connected them throughout the nineteenth-century, there were still cultural borders and language barriers separating these two places and their people and the band helped bridge these differences. Indeed, the musicians played an important role at the fair as cultural brokers, using music to translate between seemingly disparate cultures and to foster friendly relations between New Orleans' leaders and Mexican diplomats.[611] In other words, their music gave a sonic form to the fair's rhetoric and created new cultural connections between New Orleans and Mexico. It translated the fair's rhetoric of friendship into a musical language that New Orleanians and Mexicans of all backgrounds could understand. Their performances drew attention to Mexico's charmingly foreign music and helped foster a better understanding of Mexico as a modern nation, inspiring a curiosity about the sister republic in white New Orleanians.

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[607] *The Daily Inter Ocean,* July 5, 1885, 13.
[608] Lemmon, "Introduction," 2.
[609] John H. Baron, *Concert Life in Nineteenth-Century New Orleans: A Comprehensive Reference* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2013), 468.

Despite the success and popularity of the Eighth Cavalry Band in New Orleans, there were key moments during the fair that reveal their limitations in fostering friendly relations between the city's white leaders and Mexican diplomats. Not even the musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band could fully eliminate the tensions and feelings of distrust that decades of uneven relations had created between Mexico's and New Orleans' leaders. While New Orleanians of all backgrounds certainly became enamored with Mexican music for different reasons, it was the city's white elite and business leaders who embraced the band and musicians most. However, the fair's celebratory and festive spirit was momentarily derailed by incidents involving the Eighth Cavalry Band – "Mexican-American Veteran's Day" and the Golding v. Rodríguez case. These two moments exposed the fragility of the friendly relations that the Eighth Cavalry Band had been helping to cultivate during the fair. The response of New Orleans' leaders in both of these situations suggest that they were not simply interested in redefining relations with Mexican diplomats for the sake of friendship, but rather it was a targeted strategy that they used to advance their own commercial and economic ambitions. Indeed, they embraced Mexico as a "sister republic" and befriended Mexican leaders to facilitate commercial relations, but in the process, they familiarized themselves with and consumed Mexican culture as it appealed to their desires to experience a foreign culture. This interest in Mexican music created distinct opportunities for the musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band and they used their bilingualism and biculturalism not only to attempt facilitating friendships and diffusing long-standing tensions, but also for their own social advancement at a time when racial tensions in the city were on the rise.

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[610] While historian Margaret Connell Szasz has focused on the role of "cultural brokers" in frontier regions, she has also argued "those who were only temporarily detached from their own culture may have become intermediaries" as well. This chapter will examine the role of the Eighth Cavalry Band musicians at the fair in this context, as well as those who chose to make a permanent home in New Orleans at the fair's end. See: Szasz, *Between Indian and White Worlds*, 11.

[611] While cultural brokers have at times served to reduce conflict between groups, they have also worked to produce change. In the case of Mexican musicians at the 1884 World's Fair, their role was central to changing the relationship between Mexico and New Orleans by creating new, friendly relations. Szasz, *Between Indian and White Worlds,* 19.

New Orleans' colonial history had created a broad range of opportunities for the city's *gens de couleur libres* and racial identity was fluid and often shifting,[612] but by the 1880s the racial divide was much stricter than at any other time before, making it a complex world for the Mexican musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band to navigate.[613] As the compromise of 1876 ended Reconstruction, federal troops left the South and white "Redeemers" acted quickly to re-assert control over New Orleans. They implemented a new state constitution in 1879, removing many of the equal rights provisions that the federal government had put in place at the end of the Civil

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[612] Historian Virginia R. Domínguez has argued that Creoles consciously manipulated racial identity throughout the history of New Orleans and Louisiana. She demonstrates that New Orleans is a place where social and legal forces such as color, property, ancestry, and inheritance shaped one's racial status. In other words, Louisiana, and New Orleans in particular, has been a place where racial identity has been more fluid than in other parts of the United States South. See: Domínguez, *White by Definition.*

[613] Somers, "Black and White in New Orleans," 33.

War. While some “more liberal-minded New Orleanians” still occasionally opened their concerts to black performers in the early 1880s, many increasingly excluded people of color from formal concert halls.[614] However, the fair offered a momentary break in this gradual movement towards greater racial segregation in public spaces with African Americans, Mexicans, foreign visitors, and white New Orleanians of all classes attending many of the same musical engagements.

Indeed, between 1884 and 1885, with the eyes of the entire world fixed on New Orleans for the World’s Fair, it appeared as if “there was no color line,” with visitors of all races attending and sharing the same spaces, which further contributed to an assortment of opportunities for Mexico’s multiracial Eighth Cavalry Band.[615] One prominent visitor to the fair, writer Charles Dudley Warner, found himself pleasantly surprised by what he saw at the fair and claimed, “the races mingled on the fairgrounds in unconscious equality of privileges.”[616] While racial tensions were indeed on the rise in the city, the fair grounds were not segregated to the public even if the displays were, which helped give the appearance of racial equality.[617] Mexican musicians were able to seize the moment and gain privileges which were becoming increasingly reserved for whites after Reconstruction and they attained a degree of social status in part due to New Orleans’ unique racial history in which social status was not only based on class and race but on education, color, and ancestry. The fair’s emphasis on building friendly relations between white New Orleans leaders and Mexican diplomats in order to further commercial interests offered Mexican musicians even greater flexibility in navigating the city’s color line. They were able to leverage their roles as cultural brokers to not only foster friendly relations, but also to advance their social status at a time when the city's race relations were once again in flux.

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[614] Baron, *Concert Life in New Orleans*, 103.
[615] Somers, “Black and White in New Orleans,” 33.
[616] Krist, *Empire of Sin*, 63.
[617] The fair exhibits were separated by country, and the U.S. displays were arranged by state. However, African Americans were only represented in the separate “Colored” section.

An in depth examination of Mexican musicians' participation at the 1884 World's Fair the ways these cultural brokers worked both within and outside formal cultural institutions. It offers an alternative interpretation of Mexican immigration – one where the sister republic's musicians incorporated Mexican cultural elements into their music that emphasized their foreignness and Mexicanidad and to claim their place as culturally and socially white in New Orleans. Rather than trying to distance themselves from Mexican culture, they embraced it and emphasized Mexican music as charmingly foreign, appealing to white New Orleanian desires to experience the exotic in a way that did not threaten the city's increasingly rigid racial divides.

When the fair finally closed in the summer of 1885, a number of the band members chose to stay in New Orleans and their affiliation with the Eighth Cavalry Band offered them a degree of cultural capital. Within a few months of the fair's closing, African Americans were officially denied access to the city's concert halls and formal music spaces, as racist propaganda and a growing contempt for people of color were on the rise.[618] It was in this racial and social context that Mexican musicians were able to gain cultural and social whiteness in New Orleans, unlike their counterparts in the Southwest who were often subjected to de facto segregation. Their ability to move between cultures, their affiliation with the Eighth Cavalry Band, and the fair's attempts at reconciliation with a rhetoric of friendship between New Orleans and Mexico created opportunities for their own social advancement at a time when segregation was slowly beginning to take hold of the city. Although the fair's rhetoric proved to ring hollow and often masked white New Orleanian economic and expansionist desires, it did help shape the idea of Mexicans as white in the city. The musicians and their music were foreign, but they were not black and maintained a comfortably degree of familiarity as representatives of a nation with which white New Orleanian leaders were attempting to reconcile. Indeed, the fair's rhetoric and local efforts at reconciliation simultaneously offered Mexican musicians access to spaces that were increasingly becoming white only, but it also re-affirmed a hardening racial line in the process. These Mexican musicians not only translated cultural differences between Mexico and New Orleans, but they were also able to move between racial boundaries, living and working in both white and black spaces. Their ability to move between different social groups with apparent ease as cultural brokers allowed them to make important contributions to the mélange that is New Orleans' music culture, leaving an important notation on the city's sound.

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[618] Baron, *Concert Life in New Orleans,* 103.

New Orleans' Music Culture Before the Fair

Propelled by a growing consumer-focused publishing industry and a U.S. American "desire to become a cultured people," band music flourished in the early nineteenth-century United States.[619] Brass bands in particular began gaining popularity in the 1830s as a form of musical entertainment and quickly emerged as a sort of popular music across the country.[620] At the time, they provided the only instrumental concert music aside from church and parlor music, and their repertoires often included sentimental songs, activist music, dramatic ballads, or patriotic anthems.[621] U.S. American brass bands entertained guests, who were most often wealthy and white, at a variety of celebrations and events, often playing at commencement ceremonies, temperance meetings, and on leisurely steamboat excursions. Politicians also hired them to serve as entertainment during their campaigns, and when traveling entertainers such as the circus came to town, they often hired local brass bands to accompany their daring acts with spirited tunes.[622] Playing at such a variety of venues and events made brass bands the most visible and audible music organizations of their time, and they quickly became an "important part of the United States' civic and cultural identity."[623]

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[619] Bryan Whiteside Smith, "Mormon Brass Bands and the Westward Migration, 1830 – 1920" (PhD diss., University of Northern Colorado, 2012), 3.
[620] Smith, "Mormon Brass Bands and the Westward Migration," 2 – 3.
[621] Hazen and Hazen, *The Music Men*, xviii; Smith, "Mormon Brass Bands and the Westward Migration," 5.

Despite the popularity of brass bands in the first half of the nineteenth-century, U.S. Americans did not solely see them as entertainment, but they also associated them with the military, further cementing their prominence in a developing U.S. American culture and identity. Originating in the military fife and drum traditions that Europeans brought with them across the Atlantic in the colonial period, band music had been a part of life in the United States since the 1700s.[624] The limited bugle-call notes of earlier bands had defined the sound of military bands before the nineteenth-century, but technological advances and the innovations of European instrument makers enabled brass instruments to play chromatic and diatonic scales.[625] This change allowed for significantly larger military bands and led to the creation of military bands composed almost exclusively of brass instruments.[626] By the mid-nineteenth-century, technological advances had also made instruments and printed sheet music more accessible to the public at the same time that musician-soldiers were returning home from various wars, further contributing to the popularity of military style brass bands in the United States.[627]

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[622] Hazen and Hazen, *The Music Men*, xviii.
[623] Smith, "Mormon Brass Bands and the Westward Migration," 4.
[624] Smith, "Mormon Brass Bands and the Westward Migration," 3.
[625] Hazen and Hazen, *The Music Men,* 8.
[626] Hazen and Hazen, *The Music Men,* 8.
[627] Starr and Waterman, *American Popular Music,* 25; Smith, "Mormon Brass Bands and the Westward Migration," 4.

As these musician-soldiers returned home, they began forming military style bands that played in public spaces and made them a regular part of U.S. American life. These bands regularly accompanied military units in parades and provided the "pomp of ceremony, the rhythm of marching, and the pride associated with unity among soldiers."[628] While these military style brass bands had a broad repertoire, the location of the venue determined their musical selections. For example, they played popular airs in the streets, marches in parades, dances at balls, and patriotic music at civic gatherings. By playing to such a wide range of audiences in a variety of settings, brass bands quickly surpassed classical symphony and orchestra in both prominence and popularity throughout the country and became the most important source of musical entertainment outside the home. They became social as well as musical institutions, "and the universality of their appeal rendered them conspicuous features on the [U.S] American cultural landscape."[629]

Military brass bands were slower to gain popularity in New Orleans than in other parts of the country due to the city' ubiquitous opera scene. New Orleans had become a cosmopolitan music capital of not only the United States but of the world after the talented performers who emigrated from Saint-Domingue first established opera in the city in 1796.[630] By the 1830s, opera performances in New Orleans had reached an artistic level surpassed only by the most notable houses in Europe.[631] New Orleans' operatic productions were rich and multidimensional, featuring talented musicians of color, solo performers, chamber music, and large ensemble pieces. They became such an important part of the city's social scene that music historian, John H. Baron, has argued that these operatic productions also functioned as "soirées."[632] The various clubs and societies that both professional and enthusiastic amateur musicians formed further enhanced New Orleans' rich, multiracial, music culture. Ancillary music activities and businesses also emerged in the city, including music stores, publishers, instructors, and instrument makers, all of which supported the rich concert scene.[633] In fact, the city's music culture was so pervasive that tourists came from across the United States to experience it and "no important American artist could escape its charm."[634] Opera had become such an important part of the city's culture, economy, and identity during the nineteenth-century that it was the first U.S. American metropolis to build an opera house, but the last to build a sewage system.[635] New Orleans' music scene thrived to such a degree that it was still able to sustain operatic productions for a few years following the Civil War. However, the changes brought on by Reconstruction ended the city's ability to pay for these costly productions, and by the time of the 1884 World's Fair, New Orleans was ready for a new musical form to take hold of the city.

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[628] Smith, "Mormon Brass Bands and the Westward Migration," 3.

[629] Hazen and Hazen, *The Music Men,* 5.

[630] New Orleans experienced an influx of refugees from Saint-Domingue with the outbreak of what is now known as the Haitian Revolution in 1791. Many of these were talented musicians who made important contributions to the city's musical culture, including the first documented opera performance in 1796. At the time of the Revolution, Haiti was the wealthiest colony in the Americas and these refugees were often educated and cultured. See: Baron, *Concert Life in New Orleans*, 4; Sublette, *The World That Made New Orleans*; Nathalie Dessens, *From Saint-Domingue to New Orleans: Migration and Influences* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2010); Gary Giddins and Scott DeVeaux, *Jazz* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2009).

New Orleans was in serious financial distress in the 1880s, but fair organizers planned an elaborate affair with a grandiose Music Hall as one of its central features, reflecting music's importance to the city. Poor financial leadership in the years after the Civil War left the city with a staggering $24 million debt.[636] As the city struggled financially, so too did many of its music institutions. By the time of the fair's opening, the French Opera House was unable to support an in-house opera company, leaving the city without a resident troupe for the first time in nearly one hundred years.[637] Without its own grand opera company, the French Opera House no longer needed a high-quality resident orchestra, so the musicians disbanded and the number of chamber and orchestral concerts in the city noticeably declined. One of the city's other notable music venues, the St. Charles Theatre, was also experiencing financial difficulties. The building was in such severe disrepair that plaster reportedly fell on the audience during a performance on January 26, 1885.[638] With the decline of these traditional music institutions, New Orleanians, particularly the city's white elite, who were long accustomed to fine musical offerings anticipated a mediocre concert season. However, the opening of the World's Fair in December 1884, introduced an "extraordinarily musical banquet of excellent national and international talent."[639] Musicians from several countries, including Spain, Japan, Germany, and Mexico, performed not only at the fairgrounds, but also in venues throughout the city leading to one of New Orleans' most bountiful concert seasons despite the local economic hardships.

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[631] Some American cities offered a few operatic productions, but antebellum New Orleans outshone other major American cities including New York, Boston, and San Francisco. See: Baron, *Concert Life in New Orleans*, 5.

[632] Baron, *Concert Life in New Orleans*, 4.

[633] Baron, *Concert Life in New Orleans*, xi – 6; Lemmon, "Introduction," 2.

[634] Baron, *Concert Life in New Orleans*, x.

[635] New Orleans built the first U.S. opera house in 1859, known as the French Opera House. The first sewer system in the United States were built in the 1850s, but New Orleans did not have an operational drainage system until 1900. See: Krist, *Empire of Sin*, 23 – 25; Campanella, *Geographies of New Orleans,* 91 – 112; Craig E. Colten, *An Unnatural Metropolis: Wresting New Orleans from Nature* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2006), 93 – 94.

"Strange" and "Sweet" Melodies

No one dazzled New Orleans' diverse population during the 1884 – 1885 concert season more so than Mexico's Eighth Cavalry Band, and it was often their "strangeness" that appealed to the city's music loving audiences. Indeed, they played at society events, official fair events, and fundraisers as well as free concerts throughout the city, allowing them to reach a diverse audience of all races and classes. Moreover, they were often lauded for their difference and foreignness, or as one editor wrote, “a delightful and unique feature” even “amidst the multiplicity of musical entertainments of the city.”[640] While the band appealed to the city’s diverse audiences, it did so for different reasons. White New Orleanian businessmen sought to familiarize themselves with Mexican culture as a strategy for building friendly relations with Mexican diplomats that could potentially lead to commercial opportunities. For white New Orleanians of different class backgrounds, the fair and Mexican music offered an opportunity for a cultural tourism from the comfort of their own city. Indeed, the Mexican music of the Eighth Cavalry Band presented an opportunity to participate in a charmingly foreign culture that was not a racial other, which was particularly important in Reconstruction’s aftermath. For many black New Orleanians, some Mexican styles offered rhythms that were somewhat familiar and entertaining. Indeed, the band’s diverse repertoire allowed them to appeal to New Orleanians of different races and classes in distinct ways.

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[636] Lemmon, "Introduction," 2.
[637] Lemmon, "Introduction," 4; Baron, *Concert Life in New Orleans,* 427.
[638] Lemmon, "Introduction," 4.
[639] Lemmon, "Introduction," 4.

One of the key ways that the Eighth Cavalry Band was able to appeal to New Orleans’ diverse audiences was through their broad repertoire that combined both foreign and familiar sounds. Unlike the popular U.S. American brass bands that determined their repertoire based on the event and venue they were playing, the Eighth Cavalry Band incorporated various genres into each of their performances. Their ability to move between genres not only demonstrated their musical prowess but also affirmed their roles as cultural brokers, making Mexican music intriguing to the city’s diverse music loving audiences. They opened each performance with European-influenced operatic and classical music that appealed to white New Orleanians’

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[640] *The Daily Inter Ocean*, July 5, 1885, 13.

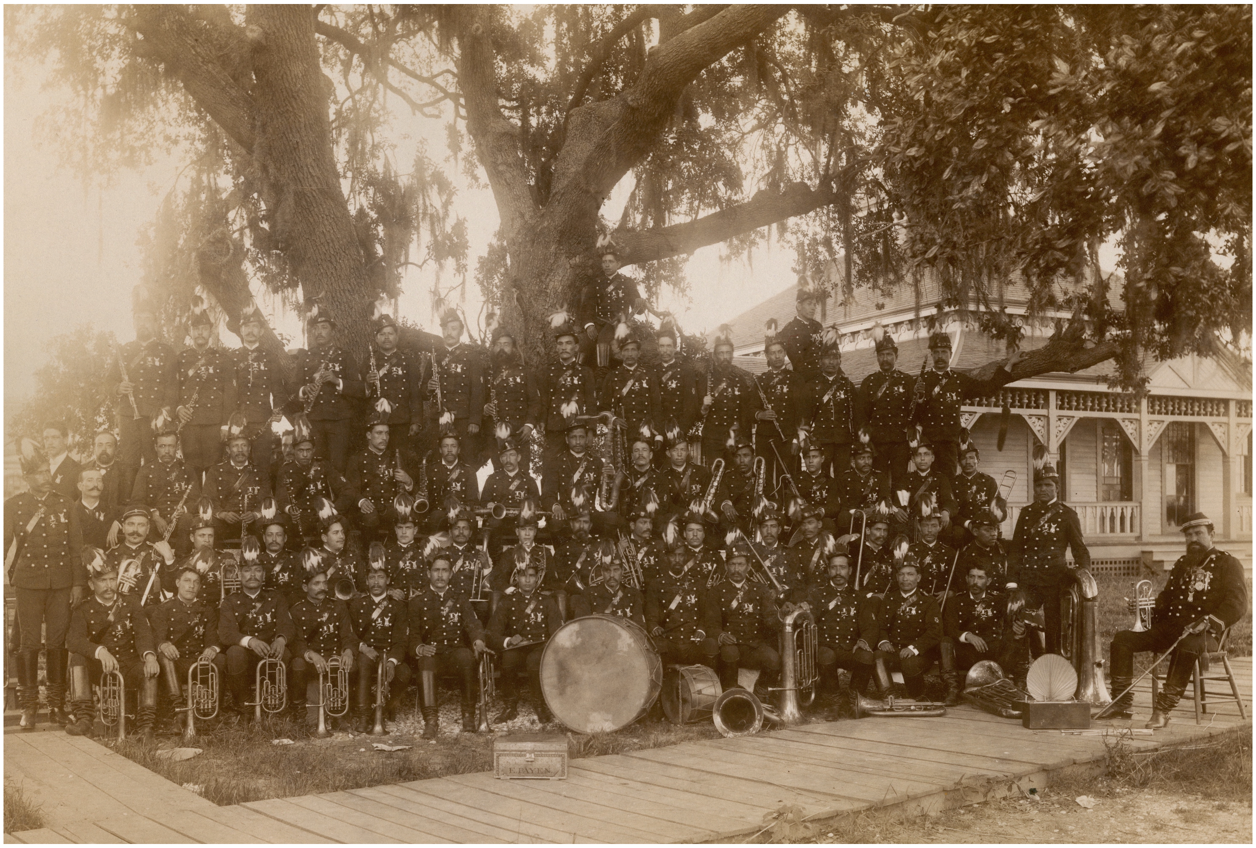

Figure 4: Photo of Mexico's Eighth Cavalry Military Band at the World's Fair, circa 1885. Item 1982.127.225, Williams Research Center at the Historic New Orleans Collection. Reproduced courtesy of The Historic New Orleans Collection.

nostalgia for the city's more prosperous times and music culture, and represented modernity. After these familiar tunes, the band then turned to fashionable dancing music, including waltzes, mazurkas, habaneras, and Mexican danzas.[641]

The danzas became the most popular in the Eighth Cavalry Band's repertoire as they derived from the Cuban danzón, which had been heard in the city for decades, particularly in black spaces such as Congo Square, and were a somewhat familiar sound.[642] Indeed, the music had been popular with the city's Afro-descended population, but it was only when it was modified and presented as Mexican music that it appealed to the city's white audiences. Mexican elites had adopted the Afro-diasporic music without paying much attention to its racial overtones because they associated it with white Cuban elites who had relocated to Mexico.[643] This allowed them to re-define it as Mexican music while continuing to exclude blackness from a national discourse and culture, and did not conflict with their European influenced notions of modernity. In Mexico, the sound had been modified with harmonic variety and technical skill that made it distinctly Mexican, and as it was presented at the fair, it offered a means for the city's white audiences to experience a somewhat familiar Afro influenced sound in a way that still excluded blackness from constructs of Mexicanidad and a modern Mexican nation. In other words, dancing to the Mexican danzas performed by the Eighth Cavalry Band allowed white New Orleanians to enjoy Afro influenced music while continuing to distance themselves from blackness since it was performed by charmingly foreign, yet culturally and socially white musicians. Moreover, the band would conclude their performances with marches, hymns, and military style music, which reaffirmed the European influence and modernity of Mexican music and its representatives.[644] Indeed, their performances had something that appealed to all New Orleanians, from those who wanted to remember better times in the city to those who sought highbrow music to those who wanted to enjoy an evening of dancing. Their diverse musical language was appealing to a diverse audience, allowing the Eighth Cavalry Band and its music to straddle boundaries between the familiar and foreign, traditional and popular, modern and exotic.

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[641] Torres, "Historia de las Bandas Militares," 206.

[642] Danzas Mexicanas, or Mexican danza, in the late nineteenth-century was a danzón related form that borrowed the conventional binary form or basic habanera accompaniment pattern, but featured more harmonic variety than most dance repertoire and were very technically challenging. See: Madrid and Moore, 90 – 92, 217 – 218.

In giving a musical form to the fair's rhetoric of friendship, the Eighth Cavalry Band further elicited in local audiences, particularly white New Orleanians, a curiosity about the sister republic and its seemingly exotic culture. The musicians, in their role as cultural brokers, made a distant and foreign place accessible and understandable.[645] In other words, the band's "Mexicanness" made them a particularly "agreeable novelty" to local audiences since they offered an alternative and "foreign" sound, but one that still represented a proclaimed modern, sister republic.[646] For many white New Orleanians, Mexico had "long hidden beyond the border lines of the Gulf," but the Eighth Cavalry Band demonstrated that the young nation possessed "a musical culture that [had] been proudly affected by its conditions."[647] As with all of Mexico's presentations at the fair, the Eighth Cavalry Band's foreignness was what made them and the nation they represented a curiosity.[648] The band "opened the eyes of [U.S.] Americans to the merit and originality of the Mexican brother, and showed that he is worthy of profound respect by appealing for consideration in the high esthetic plane of music."[649] While this reveals a troubling underlying surprise at Mexican ingenuity, it also demonstrates that these musicians' importance at the fair exceeded their musical measure; they helped shape a new image of a modern Mexico in an effort to demonstrate the young nation's suitability as a sister republic.

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[643] Madrid and Moore, 5 – 6.

[644] Rafael A. Ruiz, "Música y banda militar de música desde la Gran Década Nacional hasta el fin del Porfiriato," *Cuicuilco* 66 (mayo – Agosto 2016), 99.

The Eighth Cavalry Band brought an alternative sound to the city that was curious and exciting just as the popularity of classical music had begun to decline in New Orleans due to the opera's absence. This was, in part, due to the band's unique instrumental composition that created a distinct and intriguing sound. What distinguished the Eighth Cavalry Band from the popular U.S. American military bands of the era was that they were from a foreign and seemingly "exotic place" as well as the band's unique instrumental composition – a combination of both brass and woodwind instruments.[650] The foreignness of Mexican musical styles as well as the unique sound created by this instrumental combination appealed to New Orleanians of all races and classes. The Eighth Cavalry Band also gained acclaim and popularity in New Orleans by introducing new instruments that played distinct sounds. Few New Orleanians had seen or heard the newly developed saxophone, and the Eighth Cavalry Band's soloists, Florencio Ramos and Leonardo Vizcarra, helped establish its permanent presence in the city before the instrument became widely available in the United States.[651] These musicians intrigued local audiences with their musical innovation and mesmerized them with their ability to "display the wonderful capacity of that instrument to make sweet music."[652] Perhaps what made the Eighth Cavalry Band even more appealing was the way they applied these new, innovative sounds to a diverse repertoire that included traditional and familiar tunes. Moreover, the city's music loving audiences believed that the band had found the perfect musical combination, allowing the "timbre of each instrument's voice" to be heard.[653] One local newspaper editor claimed that "an excess of brass instruments" would make the music "too harsh and braying, while too great a proportion of wooden wind instruments" would produce "soft and melodious" sounds, "wanting in brassy brilliance."[654] The band's instrumentation created a "due equilibrium between the parts," allowing the Mexican musicians to express "the true language of music, its feelings, its sympathies, its soul."[655] As cultural brokers, the musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band were able to use the language of music to translate across cultural differences, further cultivating a local curiosity for all things Mexican.

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[645] Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms, Southern Racisms," 749 – 752.
[646] *The Daily Inter Ocean,* July 5, 1885, 13.
[647] *The Daily Inter Ocean,* July 5, 1885, 13.
[648] Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms, Southern Racisms," 749 – 752.
[649] *The Daily Inter Ocean,* July 5, 1885, 16.

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[650] Johnson, "'Sobre Las Olas,'" 229.

[651] Adolphe Sax first invented the saxophone in 1840, but the instrument was not manufactured on a larger scale until his patent expired in 1866. Furthermore, U.S. production did not begin until 1888 (after the fair), when Charles Gerard Conn began manufacturing it for military bands. Given that the saxophone gained popularity in New Orleans earlier than in other parts of the United States, it is not surprising that it was a New Orleanian, Sidney Bechet, who incorporated the instrument into popular music. It was only after Bechet that Americans began to see the saxophone as a serious instrument outside of military bands. See: John Chilton, *Sidney Bechet: The Wizard of Jazz* (New York: Oxford University, 1988), 23; Sidney Bechet, *Treat it Gentle: An Autobiography* (Cambridge: Da Capo, 1960); "Sidney Bechet, 'Soprano Sax King,'" *NPR Jazz Profiles* series, July 18, 2007; Kat Eschner, "The First Saxophone was Made of Wood," Smithsonian.com, March 22, 2017; Hugh Hart, "June 28, 1846: Parisian Inventor Patents Saxophone," *Wired*, June 28, 2010; Jack Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend: Part III," *The Jazz Archivist* XX (2007), 4.

[652] "A Grand Concert," *Daily* Picayune, December 10, 1884; Al Rose and Edmond Souchon, *New Orleans Jazz: A Family Album* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), 104; Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend – Part II," 4; "The Death Roll," *Daily Picayune*, September 30, 1983, 3.

[653] *Daily Picayune*, December 22, 1884, 1.

By interpreting and translating cultural differences through their music, the Eighth Cavalry Band's musicians were both curiously foreign and comfortably familiar to local white audiences. Although the band included popular U.S. American tunes in their repertoire, even "a stranger to the nationality of the performers" could "detect the peculiarity of sweet melodies" that were "freighted with the charm of a new interpretation."[656] While the musicians were able to move between cultures, they could not hide their foreignness, and opted instead to accentuate it. By translating their cultural differences into a representation of new musical forms and modernity, they demonstrated Mexico's viability as a sister republic and thereby socially and culturally whitened themselves as its representatives. They represented a charmingly foreign culture that as a sister republic was still modern enough to be accepted as white locally while the city's racial line was slowly hardening. Their "native Mexican music" quickly became "the crowning glory of their repertoire," and New Orleans audiences regularly requested that the band play Mexican songs during their encores.[657] One local man said there was nothing more beautiful in the way of sentimental music, and described the Eighth Cavalry Band's music as "so passionate, so joyous and so full of wild despair, so pure and rich in melody."[658] While comments such as these emphasize perceived Mexican emotion and sentimentality during a time when reason symbolized modernity, the Eighth Cavalry Band musicians had nonetheless captivated New Orleans' music loving audiences with their superb technical excellence and discipline as a military group, and their innovation and unique sound left a permanent mark on the city's distinct sound and vibrant music culture.

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[654] *Daily Picayune*, December 22, 1884, 1.
[655] *Daily Picayune*, December 22, 1884, 1.
[656] *The Daily Inter Ocean,* July 5, 1885, 13.
[657] *Daily Picayune,* January 19, 1885, 8.

The Eighth Cavalry Band was undoubtedly the most prominent music act in New Orleans during the fair, but the Mexican government also sent other notable performers that further contributed to the white New Orleanians' growing exoticism around Mexican music.[659] Just two months into the fair, the government sent another musical act to New Orleans for a limited engagement – La Orquesta Típica Mexicana (the Mexican Typical Orchestra). When they arrived in New Orleans via Morgan's Louisiana and Texas Railroad on February 27, 1885, the Eighth Cavalry Band and a large crowd of white New Orleans music lovers greeted them.[660] The orchestra was composed entirely of string instruments, and while the twenty musicians were only in New Orleans for a few weeks, as official representatives of Mexico, they too carefully crafted every detail of their presentation and performances, balancing modernity and white New Orleanian desire for an exotic and foreign culture.[661] This "picturesque body of musicians" wore beautifully detailed buckskin outfits that included sombrero hats trimmed with silver embroidery,

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[658] *Daily Picayune,* January 19, 1885, 8.
[659] Jack Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend," 4.
[660] *Daily Picayune,* February 28, 1885.
[661] Lemmon, "New Orleans Popular Sheet Music Imprints," 43; *L'Abeille,* March 18, 1885, 4; *Daily Picayune*, February 27, 1885, 2; Baron, *Concert Life in New Orleans,* 61.

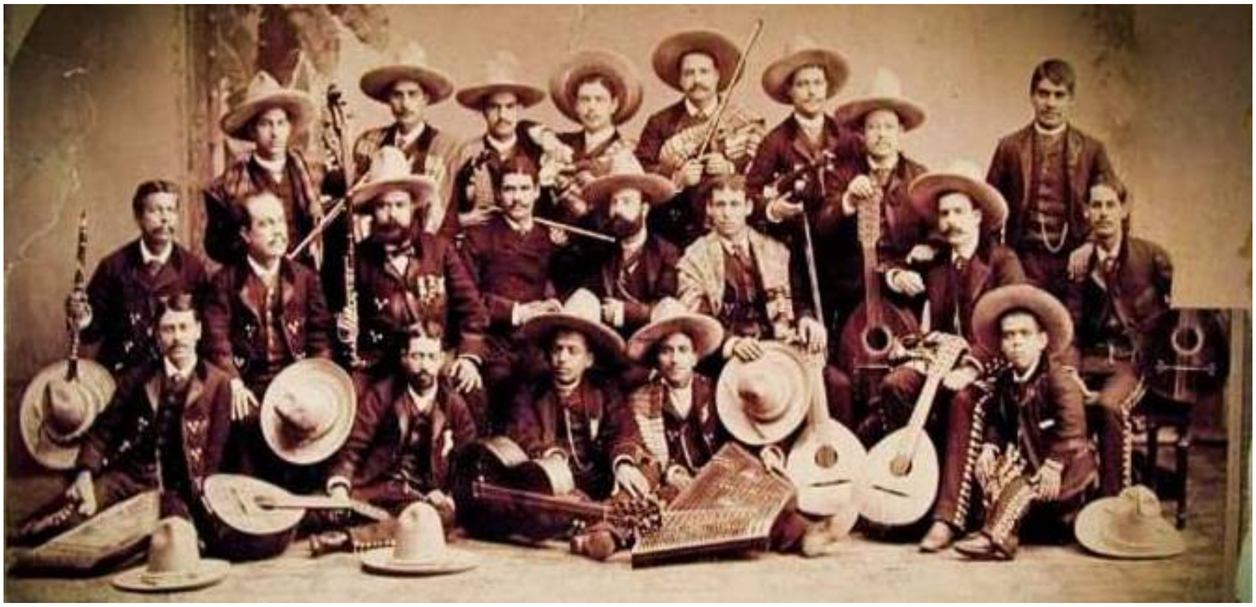

Figure 5: Mexican Typical Orchestra at the World's Fair, circa 1885.

similar to "the typical dress of the Mexican horseman or charro," during all of their performances.[662] Playing to New Orleanians' nostalgia for the "good old days" when opera reigned supreme in the city, the Mexican Typical Orchestra delighted local audiences with their interpretations of familiar operatic tunes by Schubert, Suppé, and Rossini.[663] The xylophone performances of the orchestra's director, Carlos Curti, particularly impressed audiences.[664] These performances of familiar music in foreign and exotic outfits allowed white New Orleanians audiences to engage in a foreign culture that was still distant enough from blackness. However, what most appealed to white New Orleanians was when Mexican musicians fused their own "exotic" culture with familiar sounds. It was then Juventino Rosas, an Otomí Mexican Indian, violinist, and one of the Mexican Typical Orchestra's youngest musicians, who eventually made the most notable mark on New Orleans' music culture, with his Viennese influenced waltz, "Sobre las Olas" ("Over the Waves").[665] The song quickly became a permanent part of the New Orleans repertoire, and some music historians have argued that the earliest printings of sheet music for the song were published in the Crescent City.[666] Despite this important contribution to New Orleans' music culture, the orchestra's stay in New Orleans was brief and they did not gain the same prominence as the Eighth Cavalry Band.

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[662] *Daily Picayune,* February 28, 1885, 2.

[663] *Daily Picayune,* February 28, 1885, 2; *Daily Picayune*, March 10, 1885, 3; Lemmon, "New Orleans Popular Sheet Music," 43.

[664] *Daily Picayune,* February 28, 1885, 2; *Daily Picayune*, March 12, 1885, 8; Lemmon, "New Orleans Popular Sheet Music," 44.

Seeking to honor while simultaneously distancing the young, modern nation from its indigenous past, Mexico also sent a group of Mayan Indians to the fair, and they too impressed local audiences with their foreign and "exotic" performances. President Díaz and his *científicos* sought to modernize and thereby culturally whiten the nation by relegating its indigenous people and its blackness to the past; their music and dance was to be celebrated as an important reminder of an earlier time. In fact, under the positivist philosophy of the Porfiriato, Mexico's mestizo population could overcome the challenges of biology with culture, including proper education, hygiene, and clothing among other things.[667] This philosophy was underlying all of Mexico's presentations at the 1884 World's Fair, including the performances of the Mayan Indians. Indeed, each of Mexico's musical performance groups, including the Eighth Cavalry Band and Mayan performers, was presented to reflect a modern nation, with a specific, white audience in mind. In other words, while their performances were shaped to represent that young nation's modern culture, they were also presentations made for the consumption of white New Orleanians and U.S Americans. This group of twenty men and six women from Mexico's Yucatan peninsula, along with their musical accompaniment, always performed in native Mayan dress.[668] However, they framed these performances as a celebration of Mexico's rich cultural past, and ignored the continued existence Mayan people and their culture. In order to make the Mayan Indian performers seem more "strange" and interesting, newspapers advertised that their songs, music, and dances had sixteenth-century origins and were an homage to one of Mexico's ancient cultures. Local editors also emphasized that "a difficult dance performed as an Indian is about to be sacrificed" was the highlight of the show, further intriguing local audiences with the "exoticisim" of the Mayan Indians.[669] Due to popular demand, the Mayan Indians extended their stay in New Orleans. Nevertheless, not even the "exotic" Mayan Indians gained the same acclaim as the Eighth Cavalry Band as they were simply foreign and different and didn't strike the same balance between foreign and familiar. As a result, they left the city after only a month.

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[665] Rosas lived a short life and died at the age of 26 just 10 years after the fair, but he became one of Mexico's most renowned composers. "Sobre las Olas" is his best-known work in the United States and Mexico. While some believe that the song was first introduced at the 1884 fair, it is not listed on any of their programs for the 1884 – 1885 concert season. It is more likely that the song was introduced during one of the orchestra's return visits to the city. See: J. Jesus Rodríguez Frausto, *Juventino Rosas: Notas Nuevas Sobre su Vida* (Guanajuato: Universidad de Guanajuato, 1969), 111; Johnson, "'Sobre Las Olas,'" 225.

[666] Numerous New Orleans jazz musicians, including Pete Fountain, recorded the song well into the late twentieth-century. See: Roberts, *The Latin Tinge,* 23; Luc Delannoy, *Caliente: Una Historia del Jazz Latino* (Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2001), 12; Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend," 4.

[667] Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms, Southern Racisms," 753.

Representing a Modern Nation

The fair's rhetoric of friendship inspired white New Orleanians' curiosity about Mexican culture, but the Eighth Cavalry Band was particularly successful in the Crescent City due to the musicians' ability to effectively translate cultural differences through music. The city's developing interest in the military band sound and the Eighth Cavalry Band's broad repertoire made the musicians both comfortably familiar and intriguingly different to white New Orleanians. The band also addressed the city's need for a new and economically feasible musical form that could fill the opera's absence. However, the Mexican government also promoted the Eighth Cavalry Band more so than any of the nation's other performers because it was also the golden age for military bands in Mexico.[670] Indeed, the military and its developing music traditions took on new meaning in Porfirian Mexico.

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[668] *Daily Picayune*, April 21, 1885, 4; *Daily Picayune*, April 27, 1885, 1; *Daily Picayune*, April 30, 1885, 4; Lemmon, "Introduction," 5; Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend – Part II," 2.

[669] Lemmon, "Introduction," 5; *Daily Picayune*, April 30, 1885, 4; Lemmon, "New Orleans Sheet Music," 43.

For Díaz and his government, the Eighth Cavalry Band struck a perfect balance between the need to demonstrate Mexico's cultural modernity, and representing a strong national government. The military not only became one of the most important institutions of the Mexican state at the time, but it was also one of Díaz's proudest accomplishments.[671] After the young nation experienced years of civil war and foreign invasion in the preceding decades, seeing a strong, disciplined, and professional military inspired confidence in New Orleanian leaders about Mexico's political future and stability. This goal of demonstrating modernity and a strong national government went into every detail of Mexico's presentation at the 1884 World's Fair, particularly the performances of The Eighth Cavalry Band. The Mexican government had specifically chosen to send the Eighth Cavalry Band because they represented the nation's modernity in two separate ways. First, as a disciplined and sharply dressed military band, they represented a strong and stable Mexican government that was no longer afflicted by the political turbulence that had characterized the country since its independence from Spain. Second, their extraordinary talent and musical training, modeled after the education offered by European music conservatories, demonstrated the nation's advancements in education and the arts. In other words, as a military music group, the Eighth Cavalry Band and their music simultaneously demonstrated Mexico's modern culture *and* its political stability.[672] This ability to represent Mexico both culturally and politically also made them exceptionally appealing to music loving white New Orleanian leaders and fair organizers, who saw them as simultaneously modern enough to be familiar and foreign enough to appeal to their interest in the exotic.

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[670] The golden age of military bands has been argued to have begun in the mid-nineteenth-century and ending in the early second decade of the twentieth-century. See: Torres, "Historia de las Bandas Militares," ii; Torea, *La Banda de Música del 8o. Regimiento de Caballería,,* 12; Geronimo Baqueiro Foster, "Las Banda Militares de Música y su Función Social," *El Nacional* 365 (1954), 22; and Henry George Farmer, *The Rise and Development of Military Music* (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1970), 31.

[671] Díaz saw the military, along with the development of Mexico's railroads and the nation's economic growth, as his greatest accomplishments. See: Ruiz, "Directores de Banda Militar Durante El Porfiriato," 3.

The Eighth Cavalry Band had already become Mexico's most popular and important band at home, making them the best suited to represent the young nation at the 1884 World's Fair.[673] The Mexican government formed the Eighth Cavalry Band in the early 1880s during Porfirio Díaz's first presidential term when they established new military bands tasked with creating a new national music that could unify the nation's distinct regions and their respective cultures.[674] Entrusting this task to the military seemed practical given that military music had already begun to gain popularity in Mexico during the French intervention.[675] In the 1860s, the French army sent their bands to serenade the Mexican people in the main plazas of towns throughout the country as a way to make their invasion and government seem less harsh and more palatable.[676] While this approach did not endear the French to the Mexican people, it did initiate a new tradition in the young nation – one of military bands performing in public spaces and on a variety of occasions. The Porfirian government modeled Mexico's new military bands, including the Eighth Cavalry Band, after those of the French army. Unlike Mexico's earlier military bands who only played at official government events and religious ceremonies, the

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[672] It is important to note that in emphasizing political stability, the Porifian government was aiming to encourage foreign investment to help develop Mexico's economy. See: Torres, "Historia de las Bandas Militares," 208 – 209.

[673] Torres, "Historia de las Bandas Militares," 200.

[674] The popular folkloric song accompanied by a typical orchestra dressed as churros and the mariachi both became popular national symbols in the postrevoluionary era. However, during the Porfiriato, the goal was to create a national music that unified Mexico's many distinct regions. See: Torres, "Historia de las Bandas Militares," 209.

[675] Ruiz, "Música y banda militar de música," 98.

[676] Ruiz, "Música y banda militar de música," 98.

Porfirian military bands played at a wide range of events and in a broad range of venues, including public plazas, parades, and theaters.[677] These new military bands also had a broad repertoire that included the works of European and Mexican master composers, placing a cosmopolitan music culture within reach of Mexico's general population. The Eighth Cavalry Band brought this spirit of playing anywhere and for any occasion with it to New Orleans, and it was, in part, what made them widely accessible and wildly popular.

The Eighth Cavalry Band was not only popular, but it was emblematic of the order and progress that defined the Porfiriato, and played a critical role in shaping Mexico's image as a modern nation, both at home and abroad. Díaz made the Eighth Cavalry Band the official band of the presidential office and they not only performed at all of his official public events, but they also represented him and Mexico abroad at international fairs.[678] At home, the band gave a melodic expression to a new political reality by bringing together different musical styles, vernacular themes, and semi-formal dances with parlor music to create a unified sound.[679] They popularized songs about Mexico's wars and their heroes to shape the concepts of nation and homeland, and created a national patriotic feeling among Mexicans.[680] Among the songs that the Eighth Cavalry Band helped popularize was Mexico's new national anthem, the "Himno

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[677] Ruiz, "Música y banda militar de música," 96.

[678] The Eighth Cavalry Band was the first band to represent Mexico at an international exposition and the 1884 world's fair was their first time abroad. In 1890, they were renamed to "Banda del Estado Mayor," but the name never took hold in New Orleans, where they were always referred to at "The Mexican Band" or "Payen's Mexican Band." Over the course of the Porfiriato, they represented the nation at various world's fairs and international expositions, including the 4th Centennial of Spain's "discovery" of the new world held in Spain. See: Torres, "Historia de las Bandas Militares," 211; and Torrea, *La Banda de Música del 8o. Regimiento de Caballería*, 9.

[679] Yolanda Moreno Rivas, "Los Estilos Nacionalistas en la música culta: aculturación de las formas populares," in *El nacionalism y el arte mexicano* (IX Coloquio de Historia del Arte), Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, Estudios de arte y estética No 25, (1986), 37 – 65.

[680] Rivas, "Los Estilos Nacionalistas en la música culta," 43.

Nacional."[681] Some of Mexico's most notable nineteenth-century composers, such as Antonio Pacheco, Juventino Rosas, Genaro Codina, and Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, also used music to shape a new patriotism by writing songs dedicated to President Díaz and his wife, Carmen.[682] In addition to popularizing this patriotic music, the Eighth Cavalry Band also became a source of pride for Mexican nationals and inspired a confidence in the new Porfirian government when they marched with other military regiments in national celebrations such as Mexican Independence Day.[683] Their success and ability to inspire such confidence in this new, modern Mexico made them the perfect band to represent Mexico at the 1884 World's Fair. The Eighth Cavalry Band, then, became the first symbol of national unification and came to define Mexican musical culture both at home and abroad. At home, they were responsible for translating new political realities, and they were responsible for projecting a new image for Mexico and translating cultural differences while abroad.

The Eighth Cavalry Band at the Fair

The New Orleans public had eagerly awaited the arrival of the Eighth Cavalry Band and their conductor, Encarnación Payén, because the band had already established itself as Mexico's premier band by the time of the 1884 World's Fair. Under the baton of Mexico's most distinguished conductor, the Eighth Cavalry Band brought a level of training, skill, and expertise to the fair that made them an exemplary model of the young nation's cultural modernity while still being foreign and different enough to intrigue white New Orleanians and the city's leaders.[684] Payén, born in 1844, started his musical training in a church choir, like many Mexican musicians before *La Reforma*, or the country's period of liberal reform.[685] However, as a young man, he began playing the cornet in military bands, and by the time president Díaz established the Eighth Cavalry Band, Payén already had a long, distinguished career as a musician and talented conductor.[686] He had also developed a reputation as a tough and talented professor at Mexico's renowned National Conservatory of Music, where a number of the band's musicians received their training.[687] The Mexican government had restructured the school in the 1870s and modeled it after European conservatories that offered a more formal, structured, and varied music education and training.[688] Payen's status at the Conservatory and the fact that many of the musicians were trained there only added to the band's skill, prestige, and status. In fact, the band's musicians were some of the most talented in the nation and many later went on to have illustrious careers that continued to shape the course of Mexican music.[689]

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[681] The song became wildly popular in New Orleans. At the request of the audience, the Eighth Cavalry Band often played the song multiple times in each of their performances.

[682] Antonio Pacheco wrote "Canta Guerrero" in honor of Díaz, while Genaro Codina (famous for the song Zacatecas) wrote the song "Porfirio Díaz" for him. Miguel Lerdo de Tejada also wrote "El Gran Presidente" for Díaz. Juventino Rosas, most famous for "Sobre las Olas," also wrote "Carmen" in honor of Díaz's wife. See: Juan S. Garrido, *Historia de la Musica Popular en Mexico* (Mexico, D.F.: Editorial Extemporaneos, 1974), 31; Torres, "Historia de las bandas militares," 207.

[683] Ruiz, "Directores de Banda Militar Durante El Porfiriato," 5.

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[684] Helena Simonett, *Banda: Mexican Musical Life Across Borders* (Middletown: Wesleyan University, 2001), 107.

[685] One of the goals of Mexico's Liberal Reform, which began in 1854 with the "Plan de Ayutla," was to reduce the power of the Catholic Church by separating church from state. They aimed to replace the unsteady pillars of the old order – the church, army, regional caciques, & communal villages – with a "modern foundation." See: Jan Bazant, *Alienation of Church Wealth in Mexico: Social and Economic Aspects of the Liberal Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University, 1971); Katz, "The Liberal Republic and the Porfiriato, 1867 – 1910," 49 – 124.

[686] Given Mexico's many political changes throughout the nineteenth-century, Payén played in numerous military bands, including: Artillreía de Mina, Primero Activo de Celaya, Noveno de Caballería, Sexto de Infantería, Tercero Ligero de Querétaro, Tercero Ligero de Colima. See: Romero, "Biografías de Músicos Mexicanos," 54-59.

[687] "Conservatorio – Programa de Exámenes, 1878," Colección Secretaria de Justicia é Instruccion Pública, Caja 58, Expediente 58, AGN.

[688] The National Conservatory of Music in Mexico City was started in 1866 by the Mexican Philharmonic Society (Sociedad Filarmónica Mexicana) and declared a national school in 1877. The reorganization documents make it clear that the school was deliberately modeled after European music conservatories, particularly those in France and Italy. See: "Conservatorio – Programa de Exámenes, 1878," Colección Secretaria de Justicia é Instruccion Pública, Archivo General de la Nación"; and "Proyecto de Oranizacion del Conservatorio Nacional de Musica," Colección Secretaria de Justicia é Instruccion Pública, AGN.

[689] Several, of the Eighth Cavalry Band musician would later go on to become instructors at the National Conservatory of Music as indicated by the school's records. Oboist Julio Avila went on to become the founder of the National Symphonic Orchestra. See: "Conservatorio – Programa de Exámenes, 1893," Colección Secretaria de Justicia é Instruccion Pública, AGN; and Ruiz, "Directores de Banda Militar Durante El Porfiriato," 12.

The Eighth Cavalry Band was an ideal representation of Mexico's cultural modernity because it exemplified a significant number of changes in music and politics that emerged after the French Revolution and the industrial revolution. With the French Revolution military music took on new meaning as composers and their work were expected to reflect the spirit of the nation and to make the common man a citizen-soldier, one with his nation.[690] Not only were all of the musicians in the Eighth Cavalry Band soldiers first, but their music also reflected the nation's cultural modernity. The band's education and talent illustrated Mexico's advancements in education and the arts. Their diverse instrumental composition gave them a unique distinction and their advanced training was a product of the changes brought on by the industrial revolution. Since a large number of the band's seventy-five musicians had been students of Mexico's National Conservatory of Music, they had trained in a wide range of instruments. Many of them could play both brass and newly developed woodwind instruments that technological advancements had made possible. The band was composed of 12 clarionets, 3 flutes, 2 piccolos, 2 hautbois, 4 cornets, 9 saxophones, 3 bugles, 2 French horns, 7 trombones, 7 oboes, 6 tenors, baritones, bass drums, fagots, tenor drums, cymbals, and a tabourinist.[691] This instrumental combination intrigued music loving New Orleanians of all backgrounds and one journalist observed, "their playing is remarkably effective; the attack and finish is characterized by the promptitude of the soldier, and the phrasing and shading are well defined and graceful."[692] The musicians' ability to be both disciplined soldiers and graceful, elegant musicians made them the ideal representation of a nation that was both politically and culturally modern. As the Mexican government deployed culture as part of a strategy to promote economic development and investment in Mexico by drawing attention to the nation's modernity, it consequently created distinct opportunities for Mexican musicians as cultural brokers in New Orleans, where they had an audience that was eager to indulge in a foreign and exotic culture that was not black.

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[690] Torres, "Historia de las Bandas Militares de Música en México, 1767 – 1920," 212.

[691] Lieutenant Victor Paris served as second cornet and Lieutenant Adrian Galarza was first clarionet. Both of these men would later lead their own bands in New Orleans and became well known in the city. See: *The Daily Inter Ocean*, July 5, 1885, 13; "Grand Promenade Concert" program book, December 9, 1884, Louisiana Division/City Archives, NOPL.

[692] *The Daily Inter Ocean*, July 5, 1885, 13.

Setting the Stage

The fair's opening day was initially scheduled for December 1, 1884, but when it was postponed just a few days before, the Eighth Cavalry Band musicians found themselves with two weeks of unexpected free time in New Orleans. They used it as an opportunity to ingratiate themselves with the people of New Orleans by offering a number of free performances in which they adopted the fair's rhetoric of friendship and played for diverse audiences including city leaders and residents of all races and classes. The first of these performances was at the St. Louis Cathedral for the festival of St. Barbe, the patron saint of all soldiers. The festival was especially important to the Washington Artillery, New Orleans' oldest white military unit, and they welcomed the contributions of the Eighth Calvary Band and Mexico's diplomats.[693] Monsignor Eulogio Gillow, who was in New Orleans representing Mexico at the fair as part of the Mexican Commission, led high mass on the sacred day. White New Orleans had a long-standing custom of celebrating St. Barbe's day "with all the pomp and solemnity of a street parade in full battle array, followed by military mass," but as the militia system declined, so too did the celebrations.[694] The Eighth Cavalry Band endeared themselves to the soldiers of the Washington Artillery, many who were prominent in the city, by bringing the pomp and ceremony back to the St. Barbe's day festivities. They did so by playing "to the delight of the crowds of people of all ages, conditions, and kinds" at the end of the mass.[695] The festivities continued just outside of the cathedral in Jackson Square as people sat "basking in the sunshine and enjoying the warm, balmy air."[696] Within a few days of their arrival, the Eighth Cavalry Band had helped revive an important local tradition and captured the attention of New Orleanians from all walks of life.

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[693] "The Fete of St. Barbe," *Daily Picayune*, December 8, 1884, 4.
[694] "Society," *Daily Picayune*, December 7, 1884, 15.

Seeking to maintain this momentum and to foster relations with the city's most influential leaders, the Eighth Cavalry Band offered to perform at the Washington Artillery's armory just two days later.[697] The elaborate affair was the first event to give a sound and visual representation to the fair's emerging rhetoric of friendship and offered a vision of what reconciliation between New Orleans and Mexico could look like. The Eighth Cavalry Band offered the performance as a sign of friendship, from one group of soldiers to another, to the Washington Artillery, whose committee was comprised of some of the city's most important leaders.[698] The "Arrangements Committee," largely made up of Mexican diplomats, artistically decorated the spacious armory and adorned it with variegated colors and the flags of both Mexico and the United States.[699] It visually represented the desired reconciliation and subsequent friendship between New Orleans and Mexico to the 6,000 persons in attendance.[700] They affirmed the importance of this new relationship and the fair's rhetoric of friendship with the evening's program book, which featured the flags of Mexico and the United States, along with their respective patriotic symbolism – for Mexico, this was represented by the eagle with the serpent and for the United States it was represented by the eagle holding a ribbon with *e pluribus*

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[695] "The Fete of St. Barbe," *Daily Picayune*, December 8, 1884, 4;

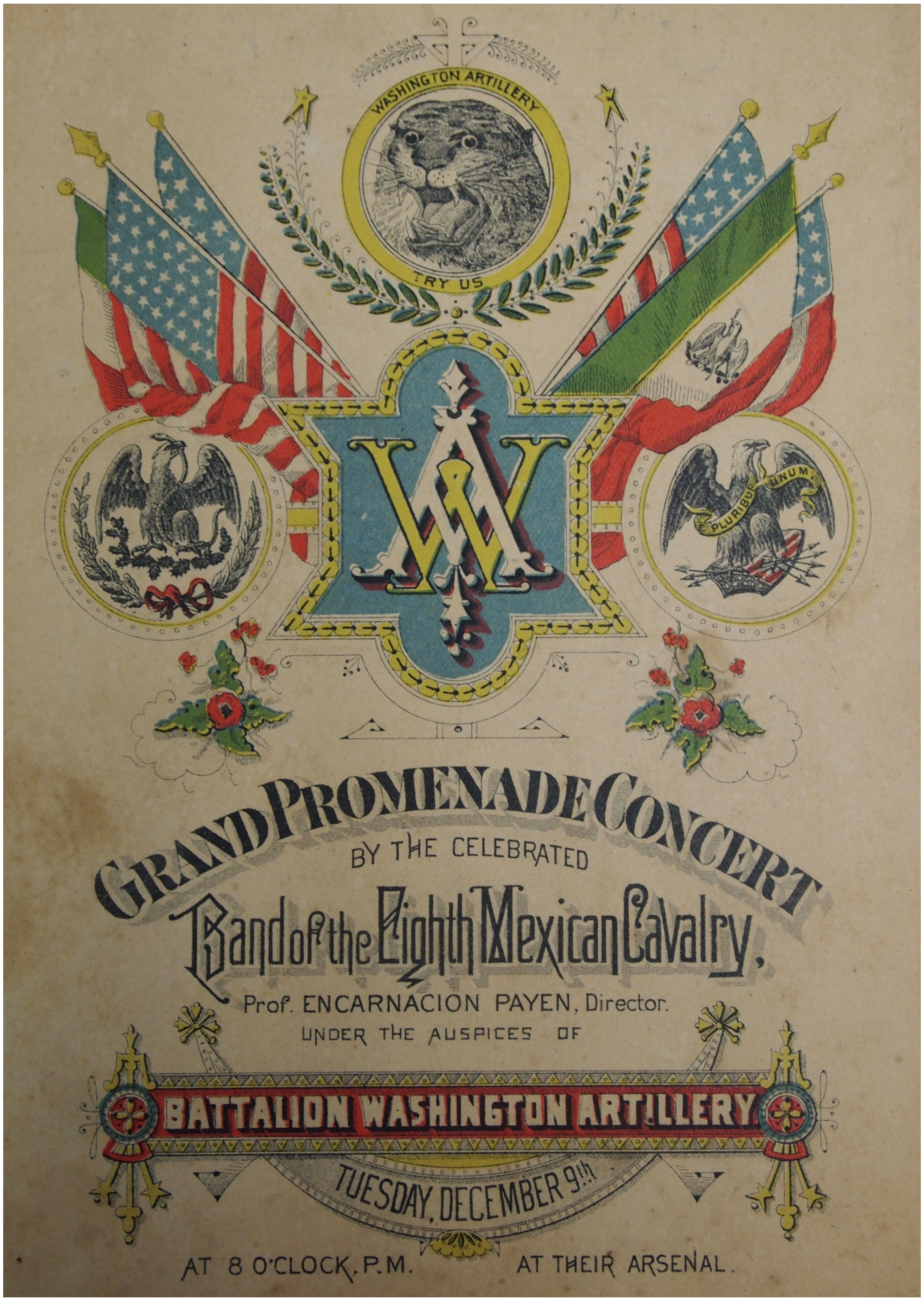
[696] "Society," *Daily Picayune*, December 7, 1884, 15; "Fete of St. Barbe," Picayune, December 8, 1884, 4.

[697] "A Grand Concert," *Daily Picayune*, December 10, 1884, 2; "Entertaining the Mexicans," *Daily Picayune*, December 14, 1884, 15; "Grand Promenade Concert" program book, December 9, 1884, Louisiana Division/City Archives, NOPL.

[698] "Grand Promenade Concert" program book, December 9, 1884, Louisiana Division/City Archives, NOPL.

[699] "Entertaining the Mexicans," *Daily Picayune*, December 14, 1884, 15.

[700] "A Grand Concert," *Daily Picayune*, December 10, 1884, 2.



WASHINGTON ARTILLERY
TRY US
WA
E PLURIBUS UNUM

GRAND PROMENADE CONCERT
BY THE CELEBRATED
Band of the Eighth Mexican Cavalry,
Prof. ENCARNACION PAYEN, Director.
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF
BATTALION WASHINGTON ARTILLERY
TUESDAY, DECEMBER 9th
AT 8 O'CLOCK, P.M. AT THEIR ARSENAL.

Figure 6: Grand Promenade Concert at the Washington Artillery Concert Program, December 9, 1884. Rare Vertical Files, City Archives / Louisiana Division, New Orleans Public Library. Reproduced with Permission from the New Orleans Public Library.

unum on it.[701] The affair was rich with this kind of patriotic symbolism and the evening's festivities emphasized the importance of repairing relations and forging a new friendship with the "sister republic." However, these friendships were not merely symbolic, as some personal friendships did indeed begin to take form after the affair. The band's director, Encarnación Payén, had ingratiated himself with the members of the Washington Artillery and developed a relationship with many members of the organization. The following year, Payén sent a letter expressing his regret and sympathy for the organization's loss along with a musical composition entitled "Washington Artillery March," which he dedicated to his "friends," after learning of the death of the Washington Artillery's veteran commander, Col. J.B. Walton.[702]

As they awaited the fair's official opening, the band spent the remaining days offering free performances to the public in front of the impressive Mexican barracks located on the fairgrounds.[703] Since the performances were offered free of charge, it allowed New Orleanians of different classes and racial backgrounds to attend and familiarize themselves with these curiously and charmingly foreign visitors. The band's performances helped build up more excitement for the fair's opening and drew large crowds who were eager to hear their music and see the progress being made on the grounds. They adopted the fair's rhetoric of friendship at each of these performances, always displaying the flags of both Mexico and the United States. As a result, the musicians became familiar faces in the city before the fair even began. By opening day, they were both curiously different and comfortably familiar. These early performances offered just a small glimpse into what the 1884 Fair would bring to the city of New Orleans.

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[701] Latin for "Out of many, one." It is adopted as a national motto in 1776 and refers to the Union formed by the separate states. It is on the modern day Great Seal of the United States.

[702] *Times-Picayune*, September 17, 1885, 2.

[703] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, December 20, 1884, 285 – Williams Research Center, HNOC, 1976.71.2

The Eighth Cavalry Band at the Fair

The Opening Day ceremonies were grand and elaborate; fitting for a World's Fair that organizers intended to be the "Crowning Achievement of the Age."[704] Each detail of the day's events emphasized New Orleans' and Mexico's modernity, reconciled relations between them, and their anticipated friendship. As the boat carrying the fair organizers, Mexican Commission, and Eighth Cavalry Band reached the landing at the fairgrounds, they "set the crowd wild with enthusiasm by their rendition of Mexican airs with exquisite delicacy and feeling."[705] The band's new friends, the Washington Artillery, greeted them upon their arrival, and they fired friendly salutes to each other, making a grand display of the idea of reconciled relations and friendship between Mexico and New Orleans.[706] The distinguished guests and the crowd made their way to the Music Hall stage in a lengthy procession that stretched from the dock to the Main Building's entrance facing St. Charles Street. They were greeted by thousands of people who had been waiting for their arrival at the fairgrounds despite the dewy morning and overcast skies.[707] As guests and attendees moved into the Music Hall, the Eighth Cavalry Band played their "enchanting sounds" and the Washington Artillery Battalion presented arms.[708] After all of the guests had entered the building, the Eighth Cavalry Band marched through the central aisle of the Music Hall's twelve thousand occupied seats and took their place on the stage next to the Mexican Commission delegates who wore the red, green, and white of their nation. The band commenced the formal ceremonies with their own take on Rossini's opera overture, "Semiramide," delighting New Orleans' music loving audience.[709]

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[704] Watson, "Staging the 'Crowning Achievement of the Age,'" 229 – 257.
[705] *Times-Democrat*, December 17, 1884, 1.
[706] *Daily Picayune,* December 17, 1884, 2.
[707] *Daily Picayune,* December 17, 1884, 2.
[708] *Daily Picayune,* December 17, 1884, 2.

The lengthy speeches of the Opening Day ceremonies all deployed a rhetoric of friendship that highlighted the importance of friendly, commercial relations between New Orleans and Mexico and a new era which was no longer marred by past hostilities, and the Eighth Cavalry Band's music supplemented it. Indeed, the band played a pivotal role in translating this rhetoric into a cultural form that all audiences could understand, but the contentious history of uneven relations between the two nations was always underlying these efforts, and was exposed at key moments throughout the fair. Despite efforts to reframe the relationship between them, the continued feelings of distrust between New Orleans leaders and Mexican diplomats were evident even in the celebratory opening day speeches and presentations. As a telegraph instrument located to the side of the main stage ticked busily, the Eighth Cavalry Band continued playing several Mexican selections, including the "Mexican National Hymn," to great applause. When the telegram had finally finished transmitting, Colonel G.A. Breaux of the fair's Board of Directors read the message aloud for all of the guests to hear. It was a note from U.S. President Chester A. Arthur, in which he highlighted the importance of the fair to developing relations between the United States and its Latin American neighbors.[710] He explained that seeing the advantage of holding such a grand event in New Orleans, the U.S. government had supported the fair with the hope that it would promote "not only good feelings, but profitable intercourse between the United States and the States of Central and South

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[709] While there were 12,000 seated guests at the event, newspaper accounts mention that all of the gallery spaces were also full of bystanders. *Daily Picayune,* December 17, 1884, p. 2; Mrs. M.W.J., *Southern Dental Journal*, Volume 3, 499; *Times-Democrat*, December 17, 1884, 2.

[710] *Daily Picayune,* December 17, 1884, 2; *Times-Democrat*, December 17, 1884, 3.

America."[711] Like the fair organizers, President Arthur emphasized the city's geography to stress the important role it would play in developing these relations, stating, "Situated as it is at the gateway of trade between the United States and Central and South America, New Orleans will attract the attention of the people of neighboring nations to the American system."[712] However, in turning to the city's strategic geographical location, he also made an indirect reference to New Orleans' fairly recent role as a filibustering site.

In referencing a long history of transnational exchange between New Orleans and Latin America, President Arthur inadvertently reminded the Mexican Commission and the Eighth Cavalry Band of how New Orleans' "natural" access to the Gulf had also made it a locus for U.S. goals of empire throughout most of the nineteenth-century. The very geography that had made New Orleans an ideal city for fostering relations with Mexico, had also made it an important site of various exchanges that had shaped these feelings of distrust. The 1884 World's Fair would be a testing site to see if Mexico and New Orleans would be able to move beyond this contentious history and reconcile past hostilities to build new, friendly relations. These new friendships were thwarted by this contentious history since the fair's opening, but the musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band would make every effort to shape these new relations throughout the fair.

Exactly two weeks after the successful Opening Day ceremonies, local newspapers informed the New Orleans public that per the generosity of the Mexican government, the Eighth Cavalry Band would be extending their stay and become the fair's official band. Published correspondence between Monsignor Eulogio G. Gillow of the Mexican Commission and E. M. Hudson, the chairman of the fair's Committee on Music and the Arts, confirmed the agreement and said it was a reflection of the new friendly relations emerging between Mexico and New Orleans. Msr. Gillow wrote that after "noticing the success won by the music band" and it "being the fondest desire of the Government of Mexico to contribute as much as possible" to the fair that he would tender the use of said band for the noble enterprise.[713] Mr. Hudson, accepted the gesture of friendship on behalf of the fair's Board of Directors, stating that they could not "too emphatically express their acknowledgement of the personal as well as the international favor thereby conveyed."[714] The agreement demonstrated that music was proving to be a useful tool for reconciling relations and shaping a new, friendly dynamic between white New Orleans leaders and Mexican diplomats.

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[711] *Daily Picayune,* December 17, 1884, 2; *Times-Democrat*, December 17, 1884, 3.
[712] *Daily Picayune,* December 17, 1884, 2; *Times-Democrat*, December 17, 1884, 3.

As the official band of the 1884 World's Fair, the Eighth Cavalry Band played several shows a night, several times per week at the Music Hall throughout the fair's duration. They played at all official functions and in the words of *Century* magazine, "enlivened the fair throughout all of its stages, furnishing music on every ceremonial occasion with never-failing courtesy and good nature."[715] The band was so highly acclaimed by New Orleanians of all backgrounds that seats at their concerts were often hard to find. Crowds came to each of these performances eager to hear the bands wide ranging repertoire including popular songs such as "Dixie," classical works by Mozart and other composers, as well as "songs of love and patriotism of their own country."[716] The band regularly "set the crowd wild with enthusiasm" with their renditions of Mexican airs and "enthusiastic applause always followed each selection."[717] Local newspapers often published the band's set-list, which had an eclectic mix of waltzes, schottisches, as well as danzas, which were a Mexicanization of Cuban habanera and danzón.[718] It was the band's ability to "render all classes and schools of music intelligently and with full effect" that appealed to white New Orleanians desire to experience a foreign culture in a way that still allowed them to continue to distance themselves from blackness.[719] Local music aficionados claimed, "no band in the country has a more perfect capability for expressing the true language of music, its feeling, its sympathies, its soul."[720] This wide-ranging musical language allowed the musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band to appeal to a broader audience by moving between both language barriers and musical genres.

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[713] *Daily Picayune,* December 30, 1884, 8.
[714] *Daily Picayune,* December 30, 1884, 8.
[715] *Century Magazine*, May 28, 1885, 3.
[716] *Century Magazine,* May 28, 1885, 4.

While the Mexican musicians' ability to move fluidly between different musical genres most impressed white New Orleanians and earned them a place in the local social world as highly skilled artists, "the crowning glory of their repertoire" was the native Mexican music that they played.[721] In other words, these musicians' ability to move between cultural borders gained them a degree of social status, but it was their foreignness or their Mexicanidad that most intrigued and appealed to white New Orleanians.[722] The city's leaders and other white New Orleanians were eager to familiarize themselves with the exotic and charmingly curious culture of their declared friends. Indeed, the local music loving crowds enjoyed the Eighth Cavalry Band's Mexican music so much that the Díaz government sent other performers to meet the overwhelming demand.[723] For example, Señor Ricardo Castro, a distinguished pianist from Mexico's National Conservatory of Music, went to New Orleans in March 1885 to represent Mexico at the fair. He intrigued New Orleanian audiences with his fine selections of Mexican music and the Eighth Cavalry Band supplemented his performance with their own renditions of Mexican tunes that they had begun popularizing in the city. These joint performances not only "proved to be of a high order of merit," but they also reaffirmed an image of a unified Mexican nation.[724] Newspapers spoke highly of these performances and stated that Castro and the Eighth Cavalry Band had proven that Mexico was "the great nursery of music in the New World…these Mexican musical artists have literally conquered their way to public favor here, and their excellence has been fully recognized."[725] Their technical skills and professional music training made them undoubtedly modern, but their "strange melodies" also made them charmingly foreign. Their ability to straddle both the modern and foreign with their music further incited white New Orleanians' curiosity about Mexico, its people, and its culture.

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[717] *New Orleans Times-Democrat,* December 17, 1884, 2.

[718] The habanera rhythm had become extremely popular in Mexico during the 1870s and many Mexican composers, including those who came to New Orleans in 1884, brought danzas influenced by the habanera rhythm and danzón to the city. See: Roberts, *The Latin Tinge,* 24 – 43. See also: Lemmon, "New Orleans Sheet Music," 44; Madrid and Moore, *Danzón*, 92 – 94.

[719] *Daily Picayune,* December 22, 1884, 1.

[720] *Daily Picayune,* December 22, 1884, 1.

[721] *Daily Picayune,* January 19, 1885, 8.

[722] Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms, Southern Racisms," 749 – 753.

Over the course of the Fair, the band became so beloved by white New Orleans leaders that the fair organizers declared Encarnación Payén's birthday "Mexican Band Day," which was replete with symbolic displays of friendship.[726] The fair's Board of Directors made the announcement of the special celebration at Castro's final joint performance with the Eighth Cavalry Band. They presented Payén with a beautiful silver chalice, which they introduced with their words of friendship to him, "while among us we hope you will consider yourself as in your own home, and that each day that passes may convince you more and more that although in a strange country, you are residing among sincere friends."[727] The presentation affirmed that New Orleans and Mexico were culturally different from one another, but their shared cause of leading their regions towards modernity made them friends. The Eighth Cavalry Band, which had only ever performed in their military uniforms, donned conventional black evening attire for the festivities demonstrating that they were not only politically modern as soldiers, but also culturally modern. Since Payén was the celebrated guest of honor, the band performed under the direction of their second cornet, Lieutenant Victor Paris.[728] After the band's concert, the evening's formal festivities began, during which Payén was presented with numerous gifts ranging from floral arrangements to a gold medal inscribed with a dedication of friendship. He was honored by all of New Orleans' white society, including "Louisiana's Daughters," fair organizers, and local businessmen. Throughout the evening's speeches, the fair's Board of Directors highlighted Payen's contributions to the fair and those of the band, stating "the heavenly music of this band has touched the hearts of New Orleanians."[729] Indeed, these speeches and gestures suggest that the band had made great progress in helping to reconcile relations between Mexican and New Orleanian leaders.

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[723] Letter from Carlos Pacheco, Ministro Fomento to Porfirio Díaz, September 23, 1884. Colección Porfirio Díaz, Legajo 9, Caja 1, Documento 248, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F.
[724] *Daily Picayune,* March 7, 1885, 8.
[725] *Daily Picayune*, March 9, 1885, 8.
[726] *Daily Picayune*, March 24, 1885, 1; "The Band Master's Birthday," *Daily-Picayune*, March 25, 1885, 2.

Payén responded to the gifts, speeches, and gestures by giving a speech of his own in which he described his experiences in New Orleans over the preceding months. He explained that while he had gone to New Orleans as part of his military duty in service to his nation's government and to "bear evidences" of Mexico's attainments in "the divine art of music," he had been surprised by the "affectionate greetings," "generosity," and "great spirit of friendship" with which he and the Eighth Cavalry Band musicians had been received.[730] Indeed, relations between New Orleans and Mexico had not always been friendly, and he was not certain of what awaited him in the Crescent City. As he expressed his gratitude, he praised New Orleans and its people, and thanked the fair organizers for the evening stating that the "little occasion will serve to enlarge and put new life into the ties of friendship" that the band had helped establish in the city.[731] Indeed, white New Orleans leaders and the Eighth Cavalry Band had put a great deal of effort into fostering new friendships between the city and Mexico, and it appeared that these efforts had been fruitful. Although Mexican diplomats remained suspicious of these new relations, it increasingly seemed that New Orleans' leaders had developed a genuine appreciation for the band and that the long-standing tensions between them could be reconciled.

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[727] *Daily Picayune,* March 9, 1885, 8.

[728] *Times-Democrat*, March 25, 1885, 1; *Daily Picayune* March 25, 1885, 1; *Daily Picayune,* March 26, 1885, 2; *L'Abeille*, March 25, 1885, 1.

[729] *Daily Picayune* March 26, 1885, 2.

Just two weeks after the successful celebrations of "Mexican Band Day," fair organizers planned a "Mexican-American Veterans Day" which challenged these new relations and once again exposed their fragility. Indeed, the event and the attitudes around it made clear that these tensions and feelings of distrust persisted despite the many efforts to redefine relations between Mexico and New Orleans. In other words, it was a telling moment that punctuated the otherwise celebratory ambience that defined the fair's six-months duration. Mexican-American Veterans Day was jointly organized by the National Association of Veterans of the Mexican War (NAVWM) and the fair's Board of Directors and celebrated the white U.S. veterans who had fought in the war against Mexico just forty years earlier. The NAVWM had formed in 1874 and its members had been working to recast the memory of the war as a representation of a more harmonious time in U.S. American history rather than a key moment leading to the sectional crisis.[732] Indeed, they insisted that the Mexican-American War had united “patriotic Americans in a common purpose” and used the fair’s “Mexican-American Veterans Day” as a way to advocate support for the Mexican Pension Bill they were trying to push through Congress.[733] Indeed, for the veterans, the war and “Mexican-American Veterans Day” served as unique opportunities to foster a sense of national reconciliation, where soldiers who had fought against each other during the Civil War could come together around a common cause. However, for Mexican diplomats, the war represented something very different - it served as a reminder of their nation’s defeat and the long and contentious history of uneven relations between Mexico and the United States.[734] In deciding to host “Mexican-American Veterans Day,” fair organizers prioritized U.S. American reconciliation over repairing and fostering new relations with Mexican diplomats, and ignored the strong opinions of Mexican diplomats regarding the war and the history between their nations. Moreover, it reveals that fair organizers and Mexican diplomats were only interested in fostering friendships with Mexican diplomats for the purposes of advancing their own economic ambitions rather than making an effort to truly change the dynamic between them. Unsurprisingly, the event revived some of the feelings of distrust that Mexican diplomats still had towards New Orleans’ leaders.

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[730] *Daily Picayune* March 26, 1885, 2.
[731] *Daily Picayune* March 26, 1885, 2.

As the official band of the fair, the Eighth Cavalry Band was expected to play at the event just as it did at all official fair events, but some New Orleanians saw the threat that such an event could pose to efforts at reconciliation with Mexico and the new friendly relations that were being fostered at the fair. One New Orleans man made a case against the event and at the band’s required participation by appealing to the Board of Directors in a letter that was published in a local newspaper. He argued, “Would it not be in good taste to…not flaunt into the face of our Mexican visitors how we thrashed them at the various battles fought? The Mexicans are our near neighbors – our great friends; they have contributed largely to the success of our Exposition.”[735] Nevertheless, rather than using the event as a way to atone for past transgressions and redefine relations between New Orleans and Mexico, the fair’s Board of Directors proceeded with preparations for the event and invited the diplomats of the Mexican Commission to attend. The Mexican Consul in New Orleans, J. Francisco de Zamacona, saw the event as an affront to the Mexican government and immediately alerted the ambassador of Mexico to the United States, Matías Romero. After some discussion, Zamacona and Romero decided that the Eighth Cavalry Band and the Mexican Commission would not attend the “Mexican-American Veterans Day” event.[736] They could not have the Mexican musicians and diplomats sit patiently and listen to the repeated glorification of their country’s defeat. Events such as these reveal the fragility of these new friendships and the tensions and distrust that persisted despite the many efforts to improve relations between New Orleans and Mexico. Moreover, it demonstrates that New Orleans leaders were not simply interested in developing “friendships” with Mexican diplomats, but were doing so as a strategy to advance their own ambitions. Indeed, it was a missed opportunity for repairing relations between leaders of Mexico and New Orleans, as representatives of their nations.

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[732] Beverton, “’We Knew no North, No South,’” 2.
[733] Beverton, “’We Knew no North, no South,” 2, 9; Michael Scott Van Wagenen, *Remembering the Forgotten War: The Enduring Legacies of the U.S.-Mexican* War (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012), 59 – 78.
[734] Van Wagenen, *Remembering the Forgotten War,* 41 – 58.

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[735] “A Parallel Case – The Mexican Veteran’s Day and Waterloo,” *The Daily City Item,* April 17, 1885.

[736] “Letter from J. Francisco de Zamacona, Consul of Mexico in New Orleans, to Matías Romero in Washington, D.C., March 31, 1885, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Colección AEMEUA, Legajo 131, Exp 13.

The Toast of the New Orleans Social World

Despite the continued tensions between New Orleans leaders and Mexican diplomats, the musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band quickly became the toast of the New Orleans social world during the fair's six-month duration. New Orleans newspapers during the 1884 – 1885 music season are full of commentary regarding the band's performances at the fair and throughout the city.[737] In addition to their regularly scheduled performances on the fairgrounds, the Eighth Cavalry Band also performed at venues throughout the city and for a number of different occasions, including a large number of high society events.[738] What New Orleanians of all backgrounds found most impressive was that the Eighth Cavalry Band musicians sometimes played as many as three full-length concerts a day, often for charity, and never showed any signs of weariness.[739] They were committed to their craft and the band's presence throughout the city endeared the musicians to music loving New Orleanians and further incited a local curiosity about Mexican culture.

The Eighth Cavalry Band continued to incorporate the fair's rhetoric and worked to cultivate friendships with the city's leaders at each of their performances, including social events and those held away from the fairgrounds. In February 1885, President Porfirio Díaz sent his portrait to Pearl Wight, President of the Mexican Exchange, an organization established in New Orleans specifically to further commercial relations with Mexico. The portrait was to be presented to the Upper Bethel of New Orleans with formal ceremonies played by the Eighth Cavalry Band as a way to further strengthen the growing bonds between Mexico and New

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[737] Lemmon, "Introduction," 2.
[738] They were regularly mentioned in the "Society" pages of the *Picayune*. Initially, they were hired as musicians for these events. In later years, their personal lives and those of their families were highlighted in the "Society" pages.
[739] Baron, *Concert Life in New Orleans*, 472 – 473; *L'Abeille*, March 13, 1885, 4.

Orleans.[740] The Bethel was an institution to protect sailors, and sailors were key to maritime commerce, "and therefore the pioneer in uniting the two countries."[741] Mexican Consul J. Francisco de Zamacona led the formal ceremonies in a speech that highlighted the importance of New Orleans as "the gateway of Latin America" and stated that president Díaz hoped "that the people of the two countries would learn to know each other better by the interchange of visits."[742] The President sending his portrait to the Bethel, and the Bethel receiving it, was a symbolic honor aimed at encouraging friendly relations and commerce between New Orleans and Mexico. The Bethel received this gift by giving president Díaz the highest honor and positioning the portrait next to those of other rulers of great nations in the building's gallery. The gesture conveyed a meaning beyond a mere demonstration of affection for the sister republic, but it was intended as a "recognition of the great civic virtues of an eminent man."[743]

The Upper Bethel was filled with a large and fashionable audience comprised of city leaders eager to see the portrait unveiled and to hear the sweet but strange music of the Eighth Cavalry Band. Seeking to bolster friendly relations between the people of New Orleans and Mexico, the Eighth Cavalry Band commenced the evening's ceremonies with their rendition of "Hail Columbia," which guests admired and applauded.[744] As the event was held on the day of Mexico's constitutional anniversary, the Eighth Cavalry Band also played the "Mexican National

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[740] "Mexican Full Band Concert," *Daily Picayune*, February 3, 1885, 5; Letter from Pearl Wight, President of the Mexican, Central American, and South American Commercial Exchange, to Porfirio Diaz, January 21, 1885, Colección Porfirio Díaz, Legajo, 10, Caja, 5, Doctos 2090 – 2091, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F.

[741] The Upper Bethel was opened in 1878 by Reverend Andrew J. Witherspoon, which was affiliated with the First Presbyterian church, focused on the spiritual salvation of sailors by bringing them under the pastoral care of Dr. Witherspoon and keeping sailors away from saloons and disreputable resorts. It grew to be one of the best–known and most useful institutions of its kind in the world. See: Alcée Fortier, ed., *Louisiana: Comprising Sketches of Parishes, Towns, Events, Institutions, and Persons, Arranged in Cyclopedic Form,* Volume 3 (New York: Century Historical Association, 1914), 470 – 471; *Daily Picayune,* February 6, 1885, 3.

[742] *Daily Picayune,* February 6, 1885, 3.

[743] *Daily Picayune,* February 6, 1885, 3.

[744] *Daily Picayune,* February 6, 1885, 3.

Airs" to celebrate the occasion. Newspapers reporting on the event the following day commented that no band had ever taken such hold on the affections of the people of New Orleans, "not only on account of its artistic ability, but of the individual and social qualifications of its members."[745] New Orleans leaders were so impressed with the musicians' social qualifications that white ladies of local society entertained them at supper following the formal ceremonies, something that would not have been acceptable if the musicians were not considered socially white. The musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band had made their way into the New Orleans social world not only as providers of entertainment but as guests of some of the very events at which they entertained, all in the name of reconciling past hostilities and encouraging friendly relations and commerce between New Orleans and Mexico.

The Eighth Cavalry Band became so immersed in the New Orleans social world that less than two weeks after their performance at the Upper Bethel, they played a key role in the city's illustrious Mardi Gras celebration. As the city prepared to share its celebrated tradition with the international visitors to the fair, local leaders made arrangements "on a scale of magnificence commensurate with the occasion."[746] Rex, King of Carnival, arrived in the city by rail and the Washington Artillery and the Eighth Cavalry Band greeted him at the depot. They then escorted him to City Hall, where the city's mayor, Joseph Valsin Guillotte, would hand Rex the keys to the city. From City Hall, the Eighth Cavalry Band and Washington Artillery escorted Rex to the levee at the foot of Canal Street where the King of Carnival's steamboat and a royal fleet consisting of seventeen ships of both the United States and Mexican Navy. The large entourage made the short trip up the Mississippi River to the fairgrounds, where they held a large reception of his Majesty. Following Rex's address, the Eighth Cavalry Band gave a grand performance and played "If I Ever Cease to Love," a song that has reigned as the theme song of Mardi Gras ever since.[747] The day's events concluded with the Rex Ball, where the Eighth Cavalry Band provided all of the music. Indeed, as Rex, King of Carnival reigned over his make-believe realm, none other than the Eighth Cavalry Band accompanied him.[748]

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[745] *Times-Democrat,* Feburary 6, 1885, 2.

[746] *Daily Picayune*, February 15, 1885, 2; *Daily Picayune,* February 17, 1885, 8; Lemmon, "New Orleans Sheet Music," 44.

The musicians had become an important part of the New Orleans social world during their tenure at the fair, and all of white society wished to have these charmingly foreign performers at their events. The band's performances at these social events were such a success that the band monopolized New Orleans' concert scene and they performed all but two of the concerts given in the city during the month of March.[749] They played anywhere and everywhere, including St. Louis Cathedral, the local resort towns of Spanish Fort and the West End, the Carrollton Gardens, and several different social balls.[750] Perhaps most notably, the band performed at an event held in March to celebrate Grover Cleveland becoming president of the United States, demonstrating that this band of foreigners, as representatives of a modern, sister republic, could animate even the most patriotic events.[751] They had gained acceptance and found their place within the white New Orleans social world.

In an effort to return the hospitality they received while in New Orleans and further their friendships with a broad range of New Orleans leaders, the band offered their services, free of charge, for a number of charitable fundraisers over the course of their six-month stay. They gave a concert at the French Opera House for the benefit of the fair's Woman's Department. The event drew such a large audience that the New Orleans and Carrollton Railroad placed three additional cars at the disposal of the event.[752] The director of the Woman's Department, Julia Ward Howe, published a letter of thanks in the newspaper to captain Payén and "the distinguished artists" of the Eighth Cavalry Band.[753] They also performed at benefits to raise money for a local school for the poor and for the New Orleans' Charity Hospital, which primarily served the city's impoverished population.[754] These events were often organized by the ladies of New Orleans white society, and the Eighth Cavalry Band was not only working to cultivate friendly relations with city leaders, but was establishing connections to New Orleans white society in the process. They also performed at fundraisers for local organizations, and these organizations often adopted the fair's rhetoric of friendship and presented the band with lavish symbolic gifts to show their gratitude. For example, the Chess, Checkers, and Whist Club presented Payén with a magnificent silver baton bearing the monogram of the organization, and the Mexican national colors at one end and those of the United States at the other.[755] New Orleanian leaders saw the band's participation at these benefits and fundraisers throughout the city as another sign of friendship, and the fair's rhetoric was deployed at each one of them.

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[747] *Daily Picayune*, February 15, 1885, 2; *Daily Picayune,* February 18, 1885. 8; Lemmon, "New Orleans Sheet Music," 44.

[748] "Mardi Gras Rex and his Merrie Krew at New Orleans," *Huntsville Gazette*, February 21, 1885, 1.

[749] Baron, *Concert Life in New Orleans*, 470.

[750] *L'Abeille*, March 3, 1885, 4; *L'Abeille*, March 4, 1885, 4; *L'Abeille*, March 19, 1885, 4;

[751] Romero, "Biografías de Músicos Mexicanos," 55; Torres, "Historia de las Bandas Militares de Música en México," 210.

Scandal at the Fair & Continued Distrust

After nearly six months of the fair's rhetoric and the Eighth Cavalry Band's concerted efforts to reconcile past hostilities and foster friendly relations between Mexican and white New

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[752] *Daily Picayune*, February 3, 1885, 5; *Daily Picayune*, February 7, 1885, 4; Lemmon, "New Orleans Sheet Music," 44.

[753] "The Mapleson Opera and Mexican Band Concert," *Daily Picayune*, February 7, 1885, 4.

[754] *Daily* Picayune, May 24, 1885, 5; *L'Abeille,* May 25, 1885, 4; *L'Abeille,* May 28, 1885, 2; *L'Abeille,* May 30, 1885, 4; *L'Abeille,* June 7, 1885, 4; Baron, *Concert Life in New Orleans*, 472 – 473.

[755] "The Concert of the Chess, Checkers and Whist Club," *Daily Picayune*, May 3, 1885, 3.

Orleanian leaders, a violent incident on the fairgrounds once again exposed the fragility of these relations and brought Mexican diplomats' continued underlying feelings of distrust to the surface. The musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band had become so immersed in the New Orleans social world that some of them developed relations with local women. There is no evidence that there were public concerns over these interactions, and in fact, it seems that at many events local young ladies were encouraged to mingle with and entertain the musicians. However, the events following the violent assault of nineteen-year old Rodolfo Rodríguez, a coronet player in the Eighth Cavalry Band, exposed some of the latent tensions underlying these relations. More importantly, the response of both the Mexican and New Orleans government, reveal the continued feelings of distrust between them and make it clear that the fair's rhetoric was not enough to truly reconcile past aggressions or escape their history of uneven relations.

At 3:30pm on May 16, 1885, John C. Golding, a former Confederate soldier and a prominent man in New Orleans politics,[756] arrived at the gate to the fairgrounds located on the corner of Exposition Boulevard and Laurel Street, "where members of the Mexican Band had free ingress and egress to and from the [fair] grounds."[757] Having worked as a groundskeeper at the fair, Golding was familiar with the grounds. On this particular sunny and humid Saturday afternoon, Golding waited in the area for approximately thirty minutes before he finally saw who he was looking for as Rodolfo Rodríguez approached the gate and headed towards the Mexican barracks to prepare for that evening's scheduled Eighth Cavalry Band performance.[758]

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[756] John Canigan Golding was a forty-four year old widower from Louisiana. He was a southerner through and through and served in the Confederate Army during the Civil War. In 1877, he helped form the Association of the Army of Tennessee, a benevolent society for the Louisiana veterans of the Army of Tennessee. Golding took charge of raising his ten-year-old daughter Emma on his own after his wife, Kate E. Westerfield of Louisiana, passed away. See: "The Army of Tennessee," *Daily Picayune,* May 9, 1877, 1; *New Orleans Item*, August 9, 1877, 2; and *Daily Picayune,* July 11, 1877, 1.

[757] *Daily Picayune,* May 17, 1885, 7.

Rodríguez had been courting Golding's blonde, sixteen-year-old daughter, Emma, who worked as an attendant on the fairgrounds and this did not present any issues. However, when Golding found out that the young couple had "loved unwisely," he set out to avenge the sexual transgression.[759] Intending to defend his own honor and that of his daughter, Golding approached the young musician and asked him if his name was Rodolfo Rodríguez. The musician had never seen the man before and simply replied, "yes." Golding then yelled, "you are a rascal," and seized Rodríguez by the collar of his military jacket while drawing a revolver from his own pocket.[760] Enraged, Golding then opened fire and shot Rodríguez four times.[761] Officer Leopold Guillie of the New Orleans Police Department was across the street when he heard the first shot and saw the scene unfold.[762] Guillie ran across Exposition Boulevard and when he was within five or six feet from the scene, Golding ceased firing, faced Guillie, handed over his pistol, and submitted to arrest. In his own defense, Golding claimed, "Rodríguez brought this upon himself" before the police took him to the seventh precinct station to be booked and processed.[763] Golding declined to make any further statements other than admitting to "having shot Rodríguez, and saying that he would do so again under like circumstances."[764] The musicians of the Eighth

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[758] *Daily Picayune,* May 17, 1885, 7.

[759] "Avenged His Daughter's Dishonor," *The Courier-Journal,* May 17, 1885, 5; "Marking a Musical Masher," *Daily Picayune*, May 17, 1885, 3; and "A Father's Vengeance," *Times-Democrat*, May 17, 1885, 2.

[760] *Daily Picayune,* May 17, 1885, 7.

[761] Golding shot Rodríguez once in the left cheek, once in the left wrist, once in the neck behind the right ear, and finally in the small of the back. See: Charity Hospital Admission Records, May 16, 1885, V. 40, Louisiana Division/City Archives, NOPL; and "Badly Shot," *Sunday States*, May 17, 1885, 1.

[762] "Testimony of Leopold Guillie," Docket #7367. Criminal District Court of Orleans Parish, Louisiana. Louisiana Division / City Archives, NOPL.

[763] "Testimony of Leopold Guillie," Docket #7367. Criminal District Court of Orleans Parish, Louisiana. Louisiana Division / City Archives, NOPL.

[764] *Daily Picayune,* May 17, 1885, 7.

Cavalry Band who had heard the shots also rushed to the scene and carried the seriously injured Rodríguez to the Mexican headquarters located on the fairgrounds where Mexican surgeon, H. Fernandez Artigosa, extracted one of the bullets before an ambulance arrived and took him to nearby Charity Hospital. Many believed that Rodríguez's wounds were fatal and newspapers reported that the musician was in critical condition and doctors did not expect him to survive.[765]

Aware that the Golding and Rodríguez situation could disrupt the "growing relations of friendship" that had developed between white New Orleans leaders and Mexican diplomats during the fair, reporters quickly picked up the story and it is in the newspapers that the details of the case were contested.[766] As Rodríguez remained in critical condition at Charity Hospital, newspapers published conflicting details of the event. However, despite that Rodriguez was the victim in this case, it was the theme of ruined women and the defense of both Golding's and his daughter's honor that remained consistent in all accounts. Golding declared that he acted in defense of his own honor and that of his daughter, but never explicitly revealed just how Rodríguez insulted them.[767] Despite Golding's unwillingness to speak to reporters in the days following the shooting, newspaper reporters speculated that Rodríguez had seduced Golding's young daughter and this quickly became the locally accepted version. Indeed, local newspapers attempted to treat the issue with a degree of delicacy, but one anonymous New Orleanian came to Golding's defense declaring, "a slight wound satisfies wounded honor" and "there are greater calamities than the loss of a brass band player."[768] Absent from these reports was the fair's rhetoric of friendship as it was replaced with coded language about gender and honor.

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[765] *Topeka Tribune and Western Recorder*, May 23, 1885, 2.

[766] "Letter to President Grover Cleveland from Director S. H. Buck" published in *Daily Picayune*, May 23, 1885, 2.

[767] In the nineteenth-century South, it was men's honor and reputation that was at stake in the protection of women's bodies, and a seducer was seen as "invading the honor and peace of a household." See: Stephanie McCurry*, Masters of Small Worlds* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).

New Orleans' newspaper coverage of the incident also reveals that although the Eighth Cavalry Band's multiracial makeup at times raised questions about the racial status of Mexicans, the whiteness of the musicians was being publicly affirmed since they had become the toast of local white society in the preceding months. Indeed, one newspaper report regarding the Golding and Rodríguez incident affirmed the musician's whiteness by referring to him as a "pure-blooded Spaniard" so that potential guilt would not be attributed to his race.[769] While it was the only mention of race pertaining to the Eighth Cavalry Band in white New Orleans newspapers, this concept of blood purity had a long-standing history in the city, where the Spanish had briefly been in control and brought their ideas about race and purity of blood to distinguish themselves from mixed race people.[770] These ideas had persisted in the city despite the ways in which people used class, education, and inheritance to manipulate racial and social identities.[771] However, aside from this one affirmation of Rodríguez's blood purity, white New Orleanians newspapers never mentioned race in relation to the case, as Mexicans had gained acceptance as white in the city. Indeed, Rodríguez had not committed a racial transgression, but one that was gendered and classed. In fact, Golding's own statements strictly referenced a violation of his honor and he made no mention of Rodríguez's race or nationality. Various newspaper accounts reported that Golding had asked Rodríguez to correct the transgression committed against his family by marrying his daughter and shot him only after Rodríguez laughed at the suggestion.[772] Since the transgression was sexual and not racial, Rodríguez could restore Emma's honor by marrying her. This would not have been possible if Rodríguez was a non-white person, given the rise of anti-miscegenation laws following the end of Reconstruction.[773] These laws not only made interracial marriage illegal, but it made it seem unnatural and threatened one's social respectability even in a place like New Orleans that had a long history of plaçage.[774] The fact that Rodríguez could correct his transgression by marrying Emma Golding, a white woman, suggests that Mexican musicians had gained a degree of whiteness in New Orleans.

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[768] "Our Picayunes," *Daily Picayune,* May 18, 1885, 4.

[769] "Avenged his Daughter's Dishonor," *The Courier-Journal,* May 17, 1885, 5; "Another New Orleans Tragedy," *The Daily Inter-Ocean,* May 17, 1885, 5.

[770] Though these ideas primarily took hold in Latin America, the Spanish brought these ideas with them to each of their colonies in the Americas. See: María Elena Martínez, *Genealogical Fictions: Limpieza de Sangre, Religion, and Gender in Colonial Mexico* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2011).

[771] Domínguez, *White by Definition,* 24.

Mexican diplomats saw the inaccuracies of the newspaper reports on the incident as an affront that threatened the reputation of their nation and the relations they had worked to establish in New Orleans throughout the fair. These unfavorable portrayals contributed to the skepticism and distrust that Mexican diplomats continued to feel towards the United States and by default, white New Orleans leaders. Testimonies from Golding, Rodríguez, and witnesses confirmed that Rodríguez was alone when Golding approached him, but newspapers falsely reported that the musician was "surrounded by his comrades."[775] In particular, newspapers identified Mr. F.J. de la Fuente and the highly acclaimed Mexican saxophonist, Leonardo Vizcarra, as Rodríguez's companions, and claimed they were present at the time of the shooting.[776] Further sensationalizing the story, local newspapers reported that amongst the crowd that gathered at the scene immediately following the shooting were many Mexicans with "dark looks and muttering words that plainly indicated the vindictive mood they felt at the time."[777] The account went on to accuse the Mexican bystanders of making vows of vengeance and suggested that police were holding Golding at the Seventh Precinct Station for his own safety rather than as an appropriate part of the judicial process. Tasked with fostering friendly relations between the people of New Orleans and Mexico, the band's director, Encarnación Payén, wrote to the *Daily Picayune* to clarify these errors and defend the "reputation and honor of the whole band," and that of the nation they represented.[778] Payen's letter, printed in full form in the *Daily Picayune* read, "Your Sunday paper…contained some items which must be based upon some misunderstandings, which I respectfully request you to correct."[779] He went on to clarify that Mr. de la Fuente and Vizcarra came to Rodríguez's aid *after* the shooting had occurred, which was supported by the police report, proving that Rodríguez was not as guilty as the newspapers made him appear. His letter made clear that the manner in which the Golding and Rodríguez case was handled would have serious consequences for the relations that had been fostered at the fair.

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[772] "Avenged his Daughter's Dishonor," *The Courier-Journal*, May 17, 1885, 5; "Another New Orleans Tragedy," *The Inter Ocean*, May 17, 1885, 5; "Badly Shot," *Sunday States*, May 17, 1885, 1; and "The New Orleans Tragedy," *The Two Republics,* May 24, 1885, 4.

[773] Mexicans were absent from miscegenation laws, but historian Peggy Pascoe has demonstrated that as the U.S. moved towards one-drop definitions of white purity, courts began to distinguish between Mexicans whose origins could be traced to "Spanish" and therefore "white" from those whose origins could be traced to Indian or African and therefore non-white. As we have seen, the only mention of Rodríguez's race is to emphasize his Spanish blood, and therefore his "whiteness" and eligibility to marry Emma Golding. See: Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 120 – 123.

[774] Plaçage was a recognized extralegal system in New Orleans similar to a common-law marriage that dates back to the French and Spanish colonial periods. Free-women of color could enter into these contracts with white men that often provided financial support and property for any children that the arrangement produced. By the time of the Civil War, the plaçage system had ended. See: Joan M. Martin, "Plaçage and the Louisiana Gens de Couleur Libre," in *Creole: The History and Legacy of Louisiana's Free People of Color* ed. Sybil Kein (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 57 – 70; Diana Williams, "'They Call it Marriage': The Louisiana Interracial Family and the Making of American Legitimacy" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 2007).

There was no published response to Payén's letter, but the Eighth Cavalry Band nonetheless continued their efforts to reconcile past hostilities and cultivate friendly relations with the people of New Orleans and to assuage the tensions caused by the Rodríguez-Golding incident. The doctors at Charity Hospital continued to care for Rodríguez during his long recovery, and in response Captain Payén and the Eighth Cavalry Band performed at a benefit concert to raise funds for the hospital.[780] His letter to the hospital's Board of Administrators thanked them and the staff for the kindness and care they had continued to show Rodríguez, saving him from what could have been mortal wounds.[781] After the hospital administrators accepted the generous offer the *Daily Picayune* encouraged New Orleanians of all backgrounds to attend the event as it would "furnish them the opportunity of enjoying the sight of this large band of handsomely costumed musicians on the spacious stage of the most beautiful theatre in the country…thereby fixing the last sight of our departing friends in a setting as beautiful as their memory will be pleasant."[782] The French Opera House was still the city's most fashionable establishment and the fair's rhetoric of friendship clearly prevailed after the incident.[783] The event was a success and raised a significant sum for the hospital even though admission had only been fifty cents.[784] Rodríguez's treatment and the band's role in fundraising for the hospital was a continuation of the exchange of symbolic and friendly gestures between New Orleans and Mexico. Despite the tensions caused by the Rodríguez-Golding affair, the members of the Eighth Cavalry Band would depart as friends of the city. However, Mexican politicians would remain skeptical of the new relationships forged at the fair, as the Golding case was far from resolved when the band departed New Orleans.

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[775] "Avenged his Daughter's Dishonor," *The Courier-Journal*, May 17, 1885, 5
[776] *Daily Picayune,* May 17, 1885, 8.
[777] "Badly Shot," *Sunday States*, May 17, 1885, 1.
[778] *Daily Picayune*, May 19, 1885, 4.
[779] *Daily Picayune*, May 19, 1885, 4.

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[780] Charity Hospital originally named L'Hôpital des Pauvres de la Charité (Hospital for the Poor) and founded on May 10, 1736, was the second oldest continually operated public hospital in the United States until Hurricane Katrina forced its doors to be shut. The hospital was established to treat the poor and indigent of New Orleans and had become a celebrated institution of healing by the time of the World's Fair in 1884. At the time of the Rodríguez shooting, the Sisters of Charity were running the hospital, leading to its name.

[781] "The Mexican Band Tender a Complimentary Benefit to the Charity Hospital," *Daily Picayune,* May 27, 1885, 2.

[782] "Mexican Band Concert for the Charity Hospital Fund," *Daily Picayune,* June 2, 1885, 4.

[783] The Opera House was located at the corner of Bourbon and Toulouse streets in the French Quarter. It was the center of social activity in New Orleans, hosting Carnival balls, receptions, and concerts until it burned down on December 4, 1919.

[784] *Daily Picayune,* June 3, 1885, 5.

The slow progress of the Golding case troubled Mexican politicians and it continued to breed feelings of distrust and skepticism of New Orleanian politicians for over a year after the shooting. On June 2, 1885, as Rodríguez still lay in the hospital recovering from his injuries and only days before the Eighth Cavalry Band left New Orleans, the state of Louisiana officially charged Golding with "shooting with the intent to murder and inflicting a wound less than mayhem with a dangerous weapon."[785] Police took statements from Rodríguez and Officer Guillie and listed twenty other potential witnesses, six of which were Mexican musicians.[786] Police arrested Golding immediately after the incident, but they also released him on bail the same day that the state officially filed charges against him.[787] He only served a short seventeen days in jail and was released without a set trial date, which alarmed J. Francisco de Zamacona, the Mexican consul in New Orleans, and he immediately alerted Mexican diplomats. For Mexican diplomats, this was an injustice and no way to treat a matter involving representatives of the sister republic. Indeed, the way New Orleans officials handled the incident was the final blow to the friendly relations that had been fostered at the fair.

Rodríguez came to represent Mexico's extension of friendship to New Orleans and relations that were not fully reconciled, as well as the young nation's continued vulnerability and New Orleans leaders' selfish motivations behind the rhetoric of friendship. Mexican diplomats demanded justice for Rodríguez and resorted to requesting the assistance of their new political friends, but they were unable to effectively shape a just outcome and found the Golding case proceedings to be an offense to the Mexican nation. The response of the local and state judicial system shook and tested the stability of the friendly relations fostered throughout the fair. Consul Zamacona reminded governor McEnery that the Eighth Cavalry Band had been sent by Mexico as "a sign of courtesy" and requested that the governor personally urge the presiding judge to make sure justice was served.[788] Correspondence between Mexican diplomats and McEnery never clearly indicates what they would have found to be just, but what is clear is that they saw Golding's release after serving only seventeen days in prison as a "denigration of justice."[789]

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[785] Docket #7367. Criminal District Court of Orleans Parish, Louisiana. Louisiana Division / City Archives, NOPL.

[786] "Witness List," Docket #7367. Criminal District Court of Orleans Parish, Louisiana. Louisiana Division / City Archives, NOPL.

[787] Golding's friend, Waldo P. Todd, had guaranteed $2,000 in bail and used his property on the corner of Camp and Austerlitz streets as collateral. Newspaper accounts claimed Golding's bail was $4,000, while others stated that it was $5,000. However, court documents confirm that his bail was $2,000. See: "The Wounded Musician," *Times-Picayune*, May 18, 1885, 8; and Docket #7367. Criminal District Court of Orleans Parish, Louisiana. Louisiana Division / City Archives, NOPL.

Louisiana governor McEnery's response to these requests reveals both an insistence on maintaining the friendly relations fostered at the fair, and also an underlying condescension towards Mexico and its representatives. McEnery continuously reassured consul Zamacona that all citizens of Louisiana deplored the unfortunate event. Furthermore, he insisted that the matter was a private affair that stemmed from particular personal matters. This was not a reflection of the feelings of New Orleanians towards Mexicans or of broader relations between Mexico and the people of Louisiana.[790] However, McEnery also refused to intervene in the Golding case. He not only argued that it would be "indelicate" of him to do so, but went on to describe that a

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[788] Translation is my own. Original text: "como una muestra de cortesía y atención de esta República." Letter from J. Francisco de Zamacona, Mexican Consul in New Orleans, to Samuel D. Mc Enery, Governor of Louisiana, May 17, 1885, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, folder 17-20-213.

[789] Translation is my own. Original text: "una denegración de justicia." Letter from Matias Romero, Mexican Minister to the United States, to J. Francisco de Zamacona, Mexican Consul in New Orleans, June 5, 1885. Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Colleción AEMEUA, folder 17-20-213.

[790] Letter from Samuel McEnery, Governor of Louisiana, to J. Francisco de Zamacona, Mexican Consul at New Orleans. May 24, 1885, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Colleción AEMEUA, folder 17-20-213; and Letter from Samuel McEnery, Governor of Louisiana, to J. Francisco de Zamacona, Mexican Consul at New Orleans. June 3, 1885, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Colleción AEMEUA, folder 17-20-213

"Republican" government prohibited his involvement in other departments.[791] After six-months of referring to Mexico as a sister-republic with similar histories of colonialism, similar political ideals, and similar goals for the future, McEnery still seemed to believe that Mexican diplomats needed an explanation of how a republican government functioned.

Mexican diplomats saw McEnery's unwillingness to intervene in the Golding-Rodríguez affair as insufficient, and while they thought it prudent to refrain from insisting on McEnery's involvement for reasons of diplomacy, they remained vigilant of the trial proceedings. They became increasingly more skeptical of Louisiana's judicial system and the fair treatment of Mexican citizens. Matias Romero, the Mexican Minister to the United States based in Washington, D.C., charged Zamacona with the task of following the case proceedings and notifying his superiors if due process was not followed. The Mexican government was prepared to take further action if necessary to ensure that Golding would be punished appropriately for his crime against Rodríguez.[792] Mexican diplomats did tread carefully to maintain the illusion of friendly relations with New Orleanians, but they remained on guard and vigilant, ever distrustful of the sincerity of their "friends."

After four months had passed with no progress made in the Golding case, Mexican diplomats became increasingly doubtful that justice would be served if they did not further intervene. At Minister Romero's insistence, consul Zamacona hired New Orleans based Alberto D. Henriquez, a bilingual lawyer familiar with the local judicial process to expedite the case on

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[791] Letter from Samuel McEnery, Governor of Louisiana, to J. Francisco de Zamacona, Mexican Consul at New Orleans. May 24, 1885, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Colleción AEMEUA, folder 17-20-213.

[792] Letter from Matias Romero, Mexican Minister to the United States, to J. Francisco Zamacona, Mexican Consul at New Orleans, June 5, 1885, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Colleción AEMEUA, folder 17-20-213.

Mexico's behalf and to ensure that Golding would pay for his crime.[793] Rodolfo Rodríguez had recovered from his injuries and returned to Mexico City, unable to join the Eighth Cavalry Band on their tour of the United States.[794] Nevertheless, the Mexican government was determined to see the case through and offered to help Rodríguez return to New Orleans for the trial if his presence was required to prosecute Golding.[795] Counsel Henriquez advised that Louisiana law did not require Rodríguez to be present for the proceedings and notified Mexican diplomats that he would not be able to expedite the case given that Golding was free on bail.[796] The continued delays in the case only further frustrated Mexican diplomats both at home and abroad.

Due to the insistence of the Mexican government, Golding was finally arraigned on October 23, 1885. It was four and a half months after the Eighth Cavalry Band had left New Orleans and Golding pled "not guilty" without Rodríguez or any of the Mexican musicians present in court. Despite the assistance of counsel Henriquez, the case continued to be delayed after the arraignment, and Golding passed away ten-months later, with the case still pending.[797] It is unknown what the outcome of the case would have been, but it is clear that reconciling relations and maintaining a friendly exchange with Mexico was not sufficient reason to process the case in a timely manner. The slow and unresolved proceedings made Mexican diplomats distrustful of their new friends in New Orleans, and made it clear that these relations would not be able to escape the long, contentious history of uneven relations between them.

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[793] Letter from Matias Romero, to J. Francisco de Zamacona, September 4, 1885, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Colleción AEMEUA, folder 17-20-213; and Letter from Matias Romero to J. Francisco de Zamacona, September 15, 1885, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, Colleción AEMEUA, folder 17-20-213.

[794] Rodríguez cannot be located in public records or in newspaper accounts after returning to Mexico City. It is unclear is he continued with his career as a musician but appears unlikely given the injuries sustained to his face.

[795] Letter from Matias Romero, Mexican Minister to the United States, to J. Francisco de Zamacona, Mexican Consul at New Orleans, September 24, 1885, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, folder 17-20-213.

[796] Letter from J. Francisco de Zamacona, Mexican Consul at New Orleans, to Matias Romero, Mexican Minister to the United States, October 5, 1885, Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, folder 17-20-213.

[797] "Golding, John C.," *Orleans Death Indices 1877 – 1895*, volume 89, page 905.

The Enduring Cultural Legacy of the Eighth Cavalry Band

When the World's Fair closed its doors on June 2, 1885, white New Orleanians' curiosity about Mexico, its people, and its culture persisted. Since the fair had closed rather abruptly and several weeks earlier than expected, local music loving audiences demanded that fair organizers arrange a formal farewell for the Eighth Cavalry Band.[798] The fair's Board of Directors responded by opening the fair gates to the public one last time on Friday, June 5th for an evening concert to benefit the musicians.[799] The band posed for photographs in front of the fair's Main Building and then headed to the oaks near the Art Hall and performed their final concert. White New Orleanians danced the night away under the evening sky to the sound of Mexican popular songs and danzas.[800] The affair was a great success and all of the proceeds raised went to the musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band. It was a fitting farewell, and despite the tensions created by the Rodríguez-Golding situation just a few weeks earlier, the band departed for their good-will tour of the United States as the proclaimed friends of New Orleans.[801]

Despite the formal farewell, it appears that New Orleans leaders were not ready to part with the Eighth Cavalry Band just yet. While the band was making its tour of cities across the United States, over five hundred white New Orleans merchants collectively petitioned President Díaz for the band's return to the city. Díaz obliged and the band visited New Orleans for the opening days of the North, Central and South American Exposition in November of 1885. Having just completed their tour of the United States, the band made the stop on their return to

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[798] *Daily Picayune*, June 3, 1885.
[799] *Daily Picayune,* June 5, 1885.
[800] Fairall, *The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition*, 392 – 393; *Daily Picayune*, June 6, 1885.
[801] *Times-Democrat*, June 10, 1885, 4.

Mexico, and white New Orleanians greeted them with jubilant fanfare.[802] Though it was a different event, the North, Central and South American Exposition felt familiar to the musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band because a number of the Mexican buildings and artifacts had been sold to the exposition organizers.[803] New Orleans seemed ripe with opportunities for Mexican musicians and a number of the Eighth Cavalry Band's members chose to stay in the city permanently when their peers retuned to Mexico a few days later. Their experiences with the city's vibrant music culture had shown them that there were ample opportunities for employment as musicians and music teachers, particularly for those standout "eminent solo performers" that music loving New Orleanians came to recognize.[804] Therefore, the Eighth Cavalry Band returned to Mexico, a little smaller than it had been when it arrived in New Orleans nearly a year before.

The Mexican government had made large contributions to the fair because they saw it as a natural forum for the exchange of technical and commercial information, and hoped to cultivate commercial ties with New Orleanians and encourage economic development in the young nation.[805] Indeed, Mexican diplomats had identified the New Orleanian businessmen "with the capital to invest in Mexican businesses or mining companies," and they, along with New Orleans leaders made great efforts to facilitate commercial transactions.[806] For example, the fair's Director General, Edward A. Burke, developed a personal relationship with Díaz throughout the fair's planning and visited with him when he was in Mexico, in the hopes of earning his favor for business transactions.[807] When Burke's colleagues visited Mexico and he was unable to join them, he sent letters of introduction to Díaz with the hope that he would meet with them to discuss business opportunities.[808] The chair of the Mexican Exchange, Pearl Wight, wrote similar letters of introduction, when New Orleanian businessmen were traveling to Mexico, and Díaz regularly honored the requests for meetings.[809] Nevertheless, as historian Gene Yeager has demonstrated, the impact of Mexico's participation in the 1884 World's Fair on Mexican trade and development cannot easily be traced, and drawing "a one-to-one relationship between expositions and the expansion of Mexican international trade would, at best, be a hazardous endeavor."[810] While there is some evidence that the relations fostered at the fair, and the many meetings between Díaz and New Orleanian businessmen did stimulate *some* commercial and investment activity, it is possible that Mexico "may have been riding a rising tide of late nineteenth-century commercial activity."[811] It is also possible that this increase in U.S. economic investment in Mexico was effected by the need for raw materials resulting from the industrial boom, and the increased access to the sister republic made possible by new railroad connections. What is clear is that the commercial exchange that the Mexican government and New Orleanian businessmen had hoped would emerge from the fair, never reached the scale they had intended.

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[802] *Times-Democrat*, September 12, 1885, 2; Yeager, "Porfirian Commercial Propaganda," 238.

[803] The Mexican government benefited from these transactions as well since they were working to recoup some of Mexico's costs associated with the 1884 World's Fair. Letter from Porfirio Díaz to Eduardo Zarate, May 25, 1885, Colección Porfirio Díaz, Legajo, 10, Caja, 11, Doctos 5150 – 5151, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F.

[804] Hazen and Hazen, *The Music Men*, 5; *Daily Picayune*, December 22, 1884, 1.

[805] de Mier, *México en la exposición universal internacional de Paris – 1900*, 3 – 10; Secretaria de Fomento, Colonicación, Industria y Comerico, *Memorias*, Vol. 1 (1887), 693; Yeager, "Porfirian Commercial Propaganda," 232.

[806] Letter from Antonio Carbajal to Porfirio Díaz, March 4, 1885, Colección Porfirio Díaz, Legajo 10, Caja 5, Documentos 2357, 2358, and 2359, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F.

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[807] Letter from E.A. Burke to Porfirio Díaz, January 24, 1885, Colección Porfirio Díaz, Legajo 10, Caja 5, Documento 2232, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F.

[808] Letter from Burke to Porfirio Díaz, November 12, 1884, Colección Porfirio Díaz, Legajo 10, Caja 5, Documentos 2258 - 2259, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F.; Letter from Porfirio Díaz to Burke, March 24, 1885, Colección Porfirio Díaz, Legajo 10, Caja 5, Documentos 2245 - 2246, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F.; and Letter from Carlo J. Lee-Cook to Porfirio Díaz, May 9, 1885, Colección Porfirio Díaz, Legajo 10, Caja 11, Documento 5187, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F.

[809] Letter from Pearl Wight to Porfirio Díaz, February 4, 1885, Colección Porfirio Díaz, Legajo 10, Caja 5, Documento 2087, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F.; Letter from Carlo J. Lee-Cook to Porfirio Díaz, May 9, 1885, Colección Porfirio Díaz, Legajo 11, Caja 2, Documento 774, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F

[810] Yeager, "Porfirian Commercial Propaganda," 242.

[811] Sanford A. Mosk, "Latin America and the World Economy, 1850 – 1914," *Journal of Inter-American Economic Affaircs*II:3 (Winter, 1948), 63, as quoted in Yeager, "Porfirian Commercial Propaganda," 242.

Nevertheless, Díaz and his *científicos* still saw the 1884 World's Fair as a great success because it "rectified the world's negative ideas about Mexico."[812] The Mexican government had sent the musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band and the diplomats of the Mexican Commission to New Orleans not only to foster friendly business relations, but also as part of a "delicate diplomatic mission for their republic" aimed at improving the nation's self-image.[813] For the Díaz government, expositions such as the 1884 World's Fair served as a strategic space for re-shaping the nation's image. The musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band and the nation's displays at the fair had successfully conveyed that Mexico was a place where prosperity bloomed. The Eighth Cavalry Band, in particular, had had helped correct the errors of world opinion about Mexican politics and society. As a military band, they affirmed that the young nation was beyond the chaos of civil war and foreign intervention that had plagued it throughout most of the nineteenth-century. The sister republic was now in an era of political stability and was a modern nation. The band also used their music to demonstrate that Mexico was cultured and, like many European nations, had mastered the language of music. Indeed, the young nation's participation in the 1884 World's Fair was a success because it "succeeded in placing Mexico in a proper position before the world."[814]

The Eighth Cavalry Band was undoubtedly the most enduring cultural legacy of Mexico's participation in the 1884 World's Fair, but the friendships the musicians worked to help foster could not escape the long history of uneven relations between their nation and the

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[812] Letter from Antonio Carbajal to Porfirio Díaz, March 4, 1885, Colección Porfirio Díaz, Legajo 10, Caja 5, Documentos 2357, 2358, and 2359, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F.; Letter from Ricardo Campos to Porfirio Díaz, May 8, 1885, Colección Porfirio Díaz, Legajo 10, Caja 11, Documento 5454, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F.; Letter from Porfirio Díaz to Ricardo Campos, May 11, 1885, Colección Porfirio Díaz, Legajo 10, Caja 11, Documento 5455, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F.

[813] *The Daily Inter Ocean*, July 5, 1885, 16.

[814] *Prospectus of the Mexican International Exposition of Industries and Fine Arts to be Opened in the City of Mexico*, September 15, 1886, p 13, Archivo General de la Nación Library.

United States, and thereby New Orleans. In fact, as soon as the Eighth Cavalry Band left New Orleans following their brief visit for the North, South and Central American Exposition, the actions of Edward A. Burke left Mexican diplomats feeling betrayed. Burke, as the fair's Director General, had been Mexico's most fervent advocate and consistent ally throughout the fair. However, shortly after the fair, his New Orleans based newspaper, *The Times-Democrat*, began publishing unfavorable stories about the sister republic. In September 1885, the newspaper published a story stating that Mexico did not have freedom of the press.[815] This claim challenged the newly formed notion of the sister republic as a modern and politically stable nation, and it alarmed Mexican diplomats.[816] In fact Mexican consul Zamacona wrote a concerned letter to President Díaz, "we can no longer count on the *Times-Democrat* like before, they are no longer in favor of, but seem to be against Mexico."[817] The fair's doors had not even been closed for three months, and the relations the musicians had helped foster, such as the one with Director General Burke and his newspaper, had already proven unstable. Nevertheless, the band's participation in the fair inspired a local curiosity about Mexican music and culture, thereby shaping distinct opportunities for Mexican musicians whose influence would echo throughout the New Orleans music world for the next twenty-five years.[818]

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[815] *Times-Democrat*, September 8, 1885, 2.

[816] Letter from Francisco Zamacona to Porfirio Díaz, September 9, 13, 1885, Colección Porfirio Díaz, Legajo 10, Caja 20, Documentos 9585-9589, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F.; Letter from Porfirio Díaz to Francisco Zamacona, September 10, 1885, Colección Porfirio Díaz, Legajo 10, Caja 20, Documentos 9578 - 9579, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F.

[817] Letter from Francisco Zamacona to Porfirio Díaz, September 9, 13, 1885, Colección Porfirio Díaz, Legajo 10, Caja 20, Documentos 9585-9589, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F.

[818] Johnson, "'Sobre las Olas," 225.

"New Orleans is the only place where you ask a little kid
what he wants to be and instead of saying, I want to be a
policeman, or I want to be a fireman, he says, I want to be a
musician."
- *Alan Jaffe*[819]

CHAPTER FOUR: Mexico's "Unidentified Seasoning" in the New Orleans Sound

When the 1884 World's Fair closed its doors, the Eighth Cavalry Band had become the event's most enduring cultural legacy and its musicians continued to leave an indelible mark on the music culture of New Orleans. The band's popularity helped bolster a curiosity about Mexico and its people, albeit one rooted in exoticism, and the musicians were not only accepted as a novelty during the fair, but New Orleanians of all racial and class backgrounds had embraced the band and its musicians as fitting representatives of the sister republic. The "inexpressibly beautiful," compositions, largely Mexican danzas written by the band's musicians, were "so much in vogue" in New Orleans that newspapers reported on the distinct sound developing in the city.[820] These songs evoked feelings of a far off, foreign land that was modern, thereby allowing white New Orleanians to experience a culturally different music while continuing to distance themselves from blackness. Although these danzas had evolved from the Afro-Cuban danzon, they had been presented as the music of a culturally white and modern Mexican nation. As a result, Mexican compositions had become "household words and songs" in New Orleans, quickly becoming a part of the city's evolving music culture as the city's racial line was becoming increasingly rigid.[821] Indeed, the most popular music in New Orleans in the years immediately following the fair was Mexican music, primarily danzas popularized by the Eighth

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[819] Alan Jaffe is a well-known New Orleans jazz musician. Quoted in: Evan Christopher, "Jazz Musician Riffs on New Orleans Traditions," *Times-Picayune*, October 14, 2011.

[820] *Daily Picayune*, January 2, 1890, 3; *New York Star*, December 30, 1890, 5.

[821] *Daily Picayune*, January 2, 1890, 3; *New York Star*, December 30, 1890, 5.

Cavalry Band. These musicians had tapped into white New Orleanian desires to experience a foreign and "exotic" culture and created a vogue for Mexican music, and those of them who chose to remain in the cosmopolitan southern city after the fair claimed a place for themselves, further establishing an important cultural link between Mexico and New Orleans.[822]

The Eighth Cavalry Band's musicians had played such a central role in attempts at reconciliation and fostering friendly relations between Mexican diplomats and New Orleans leaders that those who chose to stay in the city after the fair closed its doors were able to deploy their talents to gain a degree of social status. In their roles as cultural brokers who translated across cultural differences they became people living between two souths – a U.S. South and the Latin, southern hemisphere – whose bilingualism and biculturalism created opportunities for their own social advancement even after the fair.[823] They continued to use their ability to bridge cultural differences to navigate the city's increasingly tense racial landscape. Indeed, after the fair closed, the city's African American and white populations increasingly found themselves in social and public spaces separated along racial lines. While newspapers had written about the absence of a color line during the fair and highlighted the fact that people of all races had shared the same spaces, this began to change after the fair as African Americans found themselves increasingly excluded from public spaces, including some popular music venues such as the French Opera House.[824] Racial bigotry was on the rise in the years following the fair, but the Mexican musicians who had remained in the city continued to use their skills as cultural brokers and their status as members of the Eighth Cavalry Band to move between cultures and racial groups, and they influenced New Orleans' distinct music culture in the process. Accustomed to transcending both geopolitical and cultural borders, these Mexican musicians were able to move in and between various social circles, often performing alongside both black and white musicians throughout the city. Nevertheless, as Mexican musicians continued to gain social and cultural whiteness in New Orleans, they also inadvertently helped forge a black-white binary that entrenched white supremacy locally in a city that had once been known for its racial fluidity.

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[822] Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican*.
[823] Gruesz, "Delta Desterrados," 53
[824] Somers, "Black and White in New Orleans," 33.

The legacy of the Eighth Cavalry Band in New Orleans is not just how they contributed to the city's changing racial landscape, but the ways in which they continued to shape the city's distinct sound and music culture well after the fair had ended. The band's musicians who settled in New Orleans after the fair contributed to the development of ragtime, and later jazz, in important ways, but they have been relatively absent from discussions of the city's music. In order to understand how Mexican musicians collaborated in the creation of these musical forms, we need to examine who they were and the ways in which they helped build the city's rich music culture. What emerges from examining the lives of Mexican musicians in New Orleans after the fair is a history of people who moved between various racial, cultural, social circles. They drew on the continued prestige of the Eighth Cavalry Band, their work as cultural brokers, and the fair's attempts at reconciliation and its corresponding rhetoric of friendship between Mexico and New Orleans to claim a space for themselves in the city. By the early 1890s, the former musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band had established careers for themselves in New Orleans as performers, composers, and instructors. Despite their ability to make claims to the cultural and social benefits of whiteness, some of them trained a large number of the city's most promising musicians, both black and white, in a variety of instruments and in reading musical notation. Their roles as cultural brokers at the fair had primed them for success in New Orleans, and they continued to develop the city's evolving sound alongside both black and white musicians.

Indeed, as they gained a degree of social status and access to the privileges of whiteness by appealing to the local public's continued interest in Mexican music and consistently emphasizing their Mexicanness, they also continued to use their skills as cultural brokers to help shape the city's rich music culture in a variety of ways and on both sides of the color line.[825]

The "Mexican" Series and Popular Sheet Music

The popularity of the Eighth Cavalry Band and local desires to experience a charmingly foreign culture in the form of Mexican music created new economic opportunities for Mexican musicians in New Orleans. Music publisher, Junius Hart, was one of the first to take advantage of nineteenth-century technological advances and the success of the Eighth Cavalry Band to become one of the most successful New Orleanian businessmen that capitalized on the relations being fostered between Mexican diplomats and white New Orleans leaders during the 1884 World's Fair. Hart, a native of Alabama, moved to New Orleans in 1879 where he opened his music house, which was moderately successful in its first five years.[826] Though Tin Pan Alley, the popular New York based music publishing business, had not officially gotten its start yet, Hart's publishing house began using a "tin pan alley" approach to sheet music when he started publishing, mass producing, and widely publicizing his "Mexican" series during the fair.[827] Breakthroughs in merchandising had made pianos affordable for a broader public and created a greater demand for sheet music, as people sought to play their favorite tunes in their home parlor rooms. Hart saw a new market emerging and seized the opportunity made possible by new affordable printing technologies and the popularity of the Eighth Cavalry Band to develop the "Mexican" series of sheet music, which initially contained sixty-three transcriptions for piano from the band's repertoire. [828] The series quickly became the greatest success of his career and allowed white New Orleanians to learn to play their favorite songs by the Eighth Cavalry Band in their very own parlor rooms, performing and embodying a foreign but modern culture, further cementing the popular songs in the city's culture. The Junius Hart Piano House became the most active promoter of Mexican music in New Orleans as he undertook to issue the works of the leading composers, which quickly gained him a local reputation as "an excellent judge of music" even though he was not a musician himself.[829]

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[825] Cornell, "Americans in the U.S. South and Mexico," vii – 10; Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms, Southern Racisms," 749 – 753.

[826] The landmark store was located at 1001 Canal Street at the corner of Burgundy street. Hart ran the store and lived upstairs until his death in 1893.

[827] Tin Pan Alley would get its official start two years later with the 1886 publication of "Grover Cleveland's Wedding March" by Isidore Witmark. According to music historian David A. Jasen, the industrial revolution seen in Europe during the 1830s had been delayed by the Civil War and finally blossomed in the United States in the 1880s. This made the decade one of great technological change and allowed for the inexpensive printing of sheet music. There was also a greater demand for sheet music as more families had pianos in their homes. See: David A. Jasen, *Tin Pan Alley*, New York: Donald I. Fine, Inc., 1988, xv – xxiv, 7; and Peggy C. Boudreaux, "Music Publishing in New Orleans in the Nineteenth Century" (Master's Thesis, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, August 1977), 4 & 93-94.

The growth and popularity of Hart's music house and sheet music catalogue was fostered by the inauguration of the Mexican series, which quickly grew to include 1,688 titles in three short years, and made him "one of the leading spirits in musical circles throughout the city."[830] Local sheet music sales of Mexican music exceeded 200,000 units by late 1885, and reflected the city's continued fascination with the Eighth Cavalry Band's repertoire and Mexican music more broadly even after the fair's closing.[831] Advertisements in local newspapers regularly notified an eager New Orleans public when new titles were available for purchase so that they could continue learning to play Mexican tunes, many of which were danzas.[832] As jazz historian Jack Stewart has argued, the presence of the Eighth Cavalry Band in New Orleans during the fair not only stimulated musical composition and publishing activity, but it also attracted musical talent to the city and "ultimately pushed along the development of the New Orleans vernacular sound."[833] The popularity of the Eighth Cavalry Band had established New Orleans as an important center for Mexican music and the "Mexican Series" was a landmark in New Orleans music because from then on, Mexican inflections became a permanent part of the city's music culture. This was, in part, because of the close cultural contact between the two countries that had been fostered by the fair, and also because Mexican composers often wrote dance forms, such as mazurkas, that were already popular locally.

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[828] Lemmon, "New Orleans Popular Sheet Music Imprints," 46.

[829] "The Death Roll," *Daily Picayune*, September 30, 1893, 3.

[830] Junius Hart, *Descriptive Catalogue of Selective Music Published by Junius Hart*, New Orleans: Junius Hart Publishing, 1888; and Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend: Part III," 3; *Daily Picayune*, September 30, 1893, 3.

[831] Pamela Smith, "Caribbean Influences on Early New Orleans Jazz" (M.A. Thesis, Tulane University, 1986), 95.

[832] *Daily Picayune,* 1885 – 1893, *passim.*

Hart's successful publishing enterprise further bolstered a growing enthusiasm and curiosity for Mexican music and ultimately influenced the city's sound, but it also obscured the complexity of the Mexican music that was being heard in the city.[834] His promotion of the Mexican series both popularized Mexican music and, at times, simultaneously concealed the talent behind it. He advertised that the music in the series was composed of "all of that weird, sweet nature which characterizes the music of Mexico" that had become "justly popular" in New Orleans.[835] Emphasizing the foreignness of the series, Hart primarily publicized the music as "Mexican" and used different names for the same band in his publications, sometimes referring to the Eighth Cavalry Band by name and other times using "The Mexican National Band," "The Mexican Military Band," or simply "The Mexican Band."[836] For Hart and for consumers, The Eighth Cavalry Band had become synonymous with Mexican music, quickly making it a novelty

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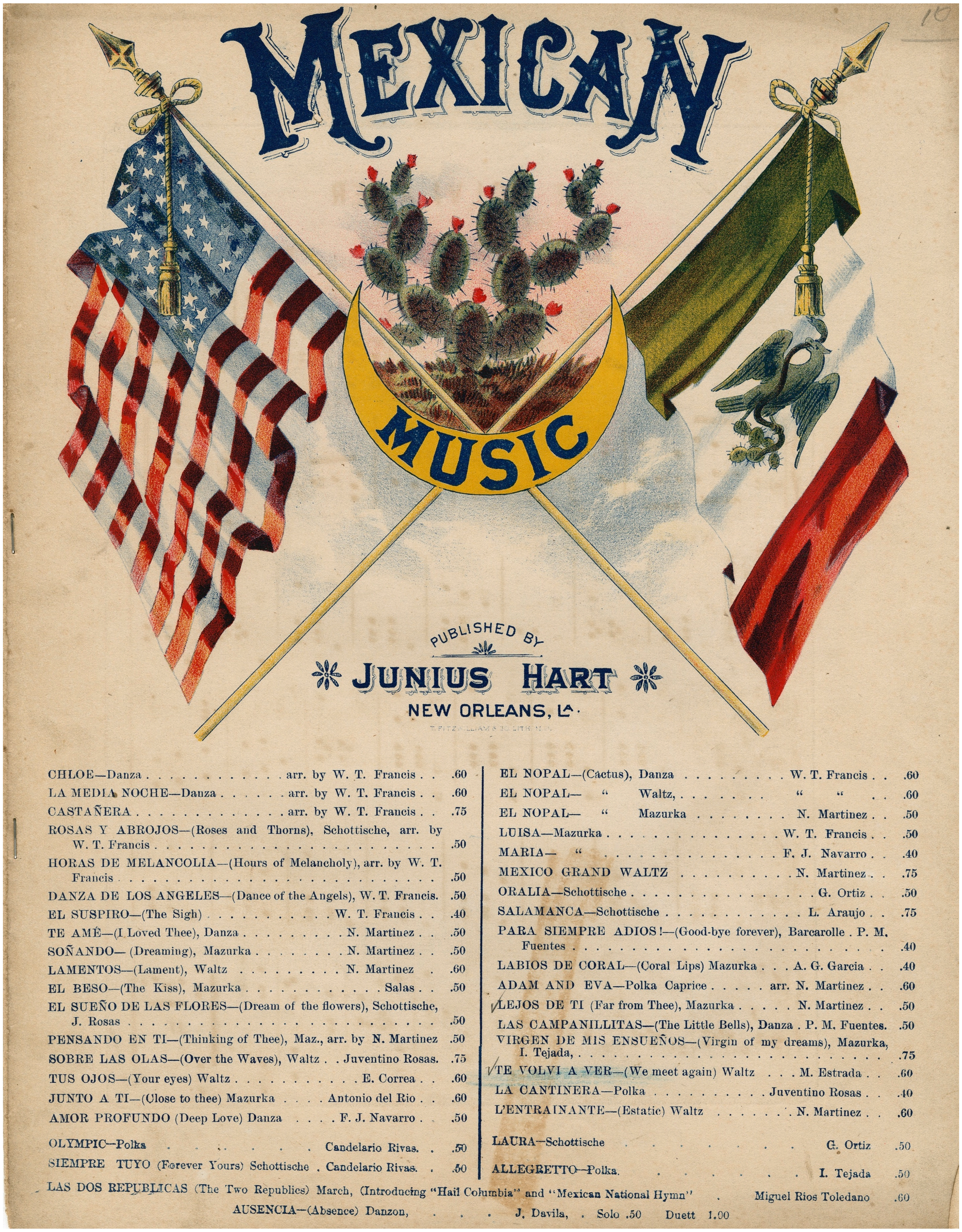
[833] Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend: Part III," 3.

[834] Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican.*

[835] "Advertisement," *Daily Picayune*, April 23, 1885, 6.

[836] W.T. Francis, "Chloé," New Orleans: Junius Hart Publishing, 1885, Sheet Music Collection, Williams Research Center, HNOC, L 976.3 (780) z 99; Narcisco Martinez, "Mexico Grand Waltz," New Orleans: Junius Hart Publishing, 1884 from William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, Louisiana Sheet Music Collection, Box 35, Folder 15.



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MEXICAN MUSIC

PUBLISHED BY
JUNIUS HART
NEW ORLEANS, La.

CHLOE—Danza	arr. by W. T. Francis	.60
LA MEDIA NOCHE—Danza	arr. by W. T. Francis	.60
CASTAÑERA	arr. by W. T. Francis	.75
ROSAS Y ABROJOS—(Roses and Thorns), Schottische, arr. by W. T. Francis		.50
HORAS DE MELANCOLIA—(Hours of Melancholy), arr. by W. T. Francis		.50
DANZA DE LOS ANGELES—(Dance of the Angels), W. T. Francis.		.50
EL SUSPIRO—(The Sigh)	W. T. Francis	.40
TE AMÉ—(I Loved Thee), Danza	N. Martinez	.50
SOÑANDO— (Dreaming), Mazurka	N. Martinez	.50
LAMENTOS—(Lament), Waltz	N. Martinez	.60
EL BESO—(The Kiss), Mazurka	Salas	.50
EL SUEÑO DE LAS FLORES—(Dream of the flowers), Schottische, J. Rosas		.50
PENSANDO EN TI—(Thinking of Thee), Maz., arr. by N. Martinez		.50
SOBRE LAS OLAS—(Over the Waves), Waltz	Juventino Rosas.	.75
TUS OJOS—(Your eyes) Waltz	E. Correa	.60
JUNTO A TI—(Close to thee) Mazurka	Antonio del Rio	.60
AMOR PROFUNDO (Deep Love) Danza	F. J. Navarro	.50
OLYMPIC—Polka	Candelario Rivas.	.50
SIEMPRE TUYO (Forever Yours) Schottische	Candelario Rivas.	.50
EL NOPAL—(Cactus), Danza	W. T. Francis	.60
EL NOPAL— “ Waltz,	“ “	.60
EL NOPAL— “ Mazurka	N. Martinez	.50
LUISA—Mazurka	W. T. Francis	.50
MARIA— “	F. J. Navarro	.40
MEXICO GRAND WALTZ	N. Martinez	.75
ORALIA—Schottische	G. Ortiz	.50
SALAMANCA—Schottische	L. Araujo	.75
PARA SIEMPRE ADIOS!—(Good-bye forever), Barcarolle . P. M. Fuentes		.40
LABIOS DE CORAL—(Coral Lips) Mazurka	A. G. Garcia	.40
ADAM AND EVA—Polka Caprice	arr. N. Martinez	.60
✓LEJOS DE TI (Far from Thee), Mazurka	N. Martinez	.50
LAS CAMPANILLITAS—(The Little Bells), Danza . P. M. Fuentes.		.50
VIRGEN DE MIS ENSUEÑOS—(Virgin of my dreams), Mazurka, I. Tejada,		.75
✓TE VOLVI A VER—(We meet again) Waltz	M. Estrada	.60
LA CANTINERA—Polka	Juventino Rosas	.40
L'ENTRAINANTE—(Estatic) Waltz	N. Martinez	.60
LAURA—Schottische	G. Ortiz	.50
ALLEGRETTO—Polka.	I. Tejada	.50
LAS DOS REPUBLICAS (The Two Republics) March, (Introducing “Hail Columbia” and “Mexican National Hymn”	Miguel Rios Toledano	.60
AUSENCIA—(Absence) Danzon,	J. Davila,	Solo .50 Duett 1.00

Figure 7: "Mexican Music," Published by Junius Hart, circa 1889. Williams Research Center, Historic New Orleans Collection.

ripe for consumption. Though Mexico sent several bands to New Orleans during the fair, including a typical string orchestra and a Mayan musical dance troupe, the large majority of the songs in the Mexican series are attributed to the Eighth Cavalry Band given that they had gained the greatest popularity and played the most diverse repertoire, allowing them to strike a balance between modern and foreign.[837] Indeed, the "Mexican Series" represented an "exotic" Mexican cultural form that evoked feelings of a far away and foreign place had been produced for consumption by another culture, and ultimately helped popularize it. Other local music publishers, such as Louis Grunewald and John Schwab, followed Hart's lead and created their own series and utilized similar practices with regards to the name of the band.[838] Indeed, the music of the Eighth Cavalry Band, or "The Mexican Band" as they became colloquially known in the city, had become synonymous with Mexican music in New Orleans and the popularity of the band muted the success of other musical acts that Mexico had sent to the fair.[839]

Much like later Tin Pan Alley artists, most of the original composers behind Hart's Mexican series did not financially benefit from the publication of their work, but some of them did gain a degree of cultural capital from it within the city of New Orleans. Hart reproduced the compositions of Mexican salon writers, orchestral musicians, and bandleaders such as Leonardo F. Bolado, Juan H. Cuevas, Narciso Martinez, Francisco J. Navarro, Miguel Rios Toledano, and R. Susano Robles that were first published by A. Wagner y Levien of Mexico City before they came to New Orleans, but it is unclear if he did so with or without permission since many of his publications lack a copyright date.[840] It is likely that Hart obtained some of these pieces from the Eighth Cavalry Band members who were in New Orleans for the fair since several pieces have survived in New Orleans archives.[841] Nevertheless, members of the Eighth Cavalry Band wrote the vast majority of the compositions that comprised Hart's Mexican series.

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[837] *Daily Picayune,* April 21, 1885, 4-5; *Daily Picayune*, April 27, 1885, 5; *Daily Picayune*, April 30, 1885, 4.

[838] J.W. H. Eckert, "Boccaccio Serenade," New Orleans: Louis Grunewald, 1885, Sheet Music Collection, Williams Research Center HNOC, M25.E25 B6 1885.

[839] However, the lack of specificity in the name "The Mexican Band," led to a number of local myths about Mexican musicians and music in New Orleans in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Jazz historian, Jack Stewart, has done a great deal of work at identifying the various bands from Mexico that were influential in New Orleans. See: Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend: Myth, Reality, and Musical Impact," 1-14.

Initially, Hart enlisted the services of William T. Francis, a composer and arranger from Alabama, to initiate the Mexican Series. Francis went to New Orleans for the opportunity that Hart offered him – using his astute ear for musical arrangements, he was to arrange each of the Eighth Cavalry Band's songs for piano, which would then be sold as part of Hart's Mexican sheet music series.[842] A gifted composer, Francis attended the performances of the Eighth Cavalry Band at the fair, listened intently to each song, and then arranged them for piano from memory.[843] Unfortunately, the majority of the early pieces arranged by Francis prominently featured his name on the front cover and listed Hart as the publisher, but did not credit the original Mexican composer by name.[844] Instead, the contents were simply identified as "Mexican Music" or "Music of the Eighth Cavalry Band." This quickly changed as the New Orleans public began to recognize Mexican musicians and composers by name, largely due to featured solos at the band's performances and to the set lists that were published in local newspapers. Hart eventually began to credit the Mexican composers on the covers, but Francis' name was still featured much more prominently, often in the center and in significantly larger print.[845]

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[840] Francisco J. Navarro was a particularly prolific composer and came to New Orleans with the Eighth Cavalry Band. Hart published a number of his works, including books that only contained his compositions. However, Navarro did not stay in New Orleans and left with the band. His works remained incredibly popular even after his departure from the city. Musicologist Robert Stevenson also notes that in the 1890s two Chicago based companies, National Music Company and the McKinley Music Company, published the same repertoire as Hart. See: Robert Stevenson, "The Latin Tinge, 1800 – 1900," *Inter-American Music* Review 2 (Summer 1980), 88-90.

[841] The Louisiana Historical Center has copies of several A. Wagner y Levien pieces, including "Horas de Melancolia" by F.J. Navarro. See: Lemmon, "New Orleans Sheet Music," 46.

[842] With the development of Tin Pan Alley, Francis' work on the Mexican series would later be republished both in New Orleans (by Louis Grunewald) and in other parts of the United States (by W.D. Wetford and A.W. Pond in New York). See: Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend – Part II," 7.

[843] Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend – Part II," 7.

[844] W.T. Francis, "Chloé," New Orleans: Junius Hart 1885, from the William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, Louisiana Sheet Music Collection, Box 16, Folder 24.

Despite the fact that Francis and Hart were reaping the benefits from the Eighth Cavalry Band's popularity through sheet music sales, they both managed to maintain a good working relationship with the band throughout the fair and some of the musicians eventually used Hart's tactics to benefit their own careers. Indeed, Hart's sheet music covers reveal a good deal of information about the city's music culture and relations among Mexican musicians and city leaders. For example, Francis included dedications to the band's director, Encarnación Payén, and his daughter Victorina Payén, on two of his published pieces.[846] Though dedications were common practice in sheet music, they were done as a demonstration of respect for a person(s), and in this particular case, reveals an amicable relation between Francis and the esteemed band director. These pieces of sheet music also used the fair's symbolism of reconciliation and friendship between the U.S. and Mexico, with New Orleans prominently featured at the center of the patriotic symbols of both countries.

Musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band, such as those who stayed in New Orleans after the fair like saxophonist Florencio Ramos, sought to profit from their work and began publishing their own compositions in the city, often drawing on Hart's successful advertising tactics.[847] The cover for Ramos' popular "Endorados Ensueños / Golden Dreams" sheet music looked very similar to those of Hart's Mexican Series. Ramos followed Hart's lead by drawing on the fair's symbolism and rhetoric of friendship and prominently featured both the Mexican and U.S. flags on the front cover. Perhaps moves such as Ramos' prompted even further change in Hart's business approach as he began publishing compilations of works by individual Mexican musicians and composers, such as Narciso Martinez, as part of the Mexican series.[848] Over time, Hart also began hiring musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band to arrange songs from the band's repertoire for piano as he had with Francis.[849] As a result of these various efforts, Mexican musicians, particularly those associated with the Eighth Cavalry Band, began making a name for themselves in New Orleans and established themselves as reputable musicians who were interested in furthering their own careers outside of the band. Their efforts not only provided them with additional income, but it also gave them greater exposure as individual musicians and further opened doors to New Orleans' social world for them.

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[845] W.T. Francis, " El Nopal (The Cactus)," New Orleans: Junius Hart, 1885, from the William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University, Louisiana Sheet Music Collection, Box 35, Folder 6.

[846] Francis dedicated "La Media Noche" to "Señor Encaración Payen, Leader of the Mexican Band" and "Adieu Ma Belle" to "Señorita Victorina Payen of Mexico." See: W.T. Francis, "La Media Noche," New Orleans: Junius Hart, 1885 and W.T. Franciso, "Adieu Ma Belle," New Orleans: Junius Hart, 1886, both from the Williams Research Center at The Historic New Orleans Collection, Sheet Music Collection, M25.F68 M4 1885. See also: Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legened – Part II," 7.

[847] F. Ramos, "Dorados Ensueños / Golden Dreams," New Orleans: F. Ramos, 1886, from Louisiana State University, Special Collections, LLMVC M1. M86 Box 1, No. 44.

Although Hart's business transactions involving the Mexican Series of sheet music were rarely equally beneficial to Mexican musicians, the Eighth Cavalry Band still contracted Hart as their manager for their tour across the United States at the fair's end, and this particular enterprise proved to be successful for all parties involved. Though New Orleanian leaders had worked tirelessly throughout the fair to foster mutually beneficial relationships between Mexican diplomats and white New Orleanian businessmen, after the fair ended the band revealed to a *Cincinnati Commercial-Gazette* reporter that the fair's Board of Management had seriously underpaid them.[850] Though the Mexican government had offered the complimentary services of the Eighth Cavalry Band to the fair and had paid the band's expenses during their stay in New Orleans, the fair's Board of Management had offered the band of seventy-five musicians a mere $8,000, or $100 per musician, for six months of services. The musicians clarified that they thought the fair was beautiful and they "were all well pleased with it," but they "felt disgusted" with the Board of Management.[851] The musicians made it clear that their negative sentiments were directed at the Board of Management and not at the people of New Orleans who had been generous hosts and friends to them.

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[848] Narciso Martinez, "Compositions of Narciso Martinez," New Orleans: Junius Hart, 1887; and Narciso Martinez, "Compositions of Naciso Martinez, New Orleans: Junius Hart, 1888, both from from Louisiana State University, Special Collections, LLMVC M1 .M86 Box 3, no. 13b and LLMVC M1. M86 Box 3, no. 8c, respectively.

[849] Narciso Martinez, "Adam y Eva," New Orleans: Junius Hart, 1888, from Louisiana State University, Special Collections, LLMVC M1 .M86 Box 3, no. 14; Ignacio Tejada, "Alegretto Polka," New Orleans: Junius Hart, 1890, from Louisiana State University, Special Collections, LLMVC M1 .M86 Box 3, No. 19b; J. Davila, "Ausencia," New Orleans: Junius Hart, 1890, from Louisiana State University, Special Collections, LLMVC M1 .M86 Box 3, No. 17; among many others.

Seeking to supplement their small salaries, the members of the Eighth Cavalry Band worked with the fair's Board of Management to organize two benefit concerts on the fair grounds before leaving New Orleans. They successfully raised $7,000 through these concerts, of which the Board of Management pocketed $4,000 in their own attempt to recoup some of the fair's major financial losses.[852] When the benefit concerts failed to produce the results the musicians had hoped for, the Eighth Cavalry Band members notified the Mexican government of the situation and requested time off to tour the United States in order to earn more money. The Mexican government responded by offering the band members three months of paid furlough, with the profits from the tour to be divided among the musicians. Despite that many of the band members had complicated relationships with William T. Francis and Junius Hart, they paled in comparison to the continued feelings of distrust that the band members felt towards the fair's Board of Management. And so, bandleader Encarnación Payén signed a contract with Hart on

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[850] *St. Louis Post,* June 21, 1885, 2; *Daily Picayune*, June 22, 1885, 3. See also: Lemmon, "New Orleans Sheet Music," 45.

[851] *St. Louis Post,* June 29, 1885, p 2; *Daily Picayune,* June 30, 1885, 4.

[852] *St. Louis Post,* June 29, 1885, p 2; *Daily Picayune,* June 30, 1885, 4.

June 9, 1885, offering him a month's salary in advance in order to manage the Eighth Cavalry Band's U.S. tour, with Francis serving as the assistant manager.[853] In exchange, Hart guaranteed the band $4,000 a week plus expenses, which was a risky venture, but he knew the music business well and had plans to create a broader market for his Mexican series of sheet music.[854]

It was June 10, 1885, when the Eighth Cavalry Band finally left New Orleans and headed north via the steamboat, City of Natchez, to St. Louis where they received a "heroes' welcome."[855] Hundreds of New Orleanians of all backgrounds who had enjoyed the band's music made their way down to the levee to bid the musicians farewell. The band's success followed them to St. Louis, where they were met with many more eager fans who had read about the band's performances at the fair in the preceding months.[856] Indeed, the band's success followed them throughout the country, including Chicago, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, as newspapers had been reporting on their popularity for months throughout the duration of the fair.[857] Although the band gave upwards of one hundred concerts around the country, drawing large crowds and acclaim in all cities, they had the greatest success outside of New Orleans in St. Louis and Cincinnati.[858] In fact, the St. Louis Exposition Directors sold nearly four thousand tickets for the first concert and had to issue a special set of rules that regulated transportation arrival and appropriate entrances to maintain order at the band's performances.[859] People in each of the cities on the tour "anticipated a grand performance, and the result was a realization of all that had been said in praise of the famous organization."[860]

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[853] "The Mexican Band Starts North," *The New York Times*, June 10, 1885; "The Mexican Band Take Their Departure for the West and North," *Daily Picayune*, June 10, 1885, 8.

[854] "The Mexican Band Starts North," *The New York Times*, June 10, 1885; "Mexican Band Music," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* June 19, 1885, 8.

[855] *Daily Picayune*, June 18, 1885, 6.

[856] *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 15, 1885, 8.

[857] They also played in Memphis, Indianapolis, Louisville, Detroit, Columbus (Ohio), Cleveland, Buffalo, Niagara Falls (where they were the feature of the ceremony of turning the Falls over to the Reservation Committee), Albany, Long Branch, Asbury Park, Pittsburgh, Peoria, and Bloomington. See: "Amusements," *The Daily Picayune*, August 29, 1885, 2; *Chicago Tribune*, June 27, 1885; *Galveston Daily News*, June 12, 1887

[858] "The Death Roll," *Daily Picayune*, September 30, 1893, 3.

The Eighth Cavalry Band continued to deploy the fair's rhetoric of friendship and symbolism throughout its tour, and cities throughout the nation responded with great enthusiasm for the band and Mexican music. In each city, the band carried on with the rhetoric of friendship, displaying the flags of Mexico and playing patriotic songs such as the "Star Spangled Banner" and the "Mexican National Hymn" at all of their performances.[861] As in New Orleans, they were well received in each city, and the band stayed at some of the best hotels and traveled first class throughout their three months of travel.[862] Local leaders in several cities awarded the band with medals of gratitude and spoke of reconciling past hostilities and making efforts to improve relations with Mexico since both nations were "engaged in the same cause of extending civilization, refinement and culture to all parts of North America."[863] Indeed, the band's success had proven that Mexico was a capable leader for bringing modernity, including culture, industry, and technology, to Latin America. In St. Louis, local leaders presented the band with large banners that prominently featured the flags of both nations and the band proudly displayed them at each performance throughout the remainder of the tour as a reminder of the renewed relations they desired with the United States and to draw symbolic parallels between their respective nations' struggles for independence.[864] The tour had not only become a way for the Eighth Cavalry Band members to supplement their incomes, but also a way for Mexico to showcase its cultural modernity to a broader U.S. American audience, bringing these musician soldiers and representatives of the young nation in "closer and more friendly contact" with the people of major U.S. cities beyond New Orleans.[865]

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[859] "Exposition Notes, *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, June 12, 1885, 12.

[860] "The Mexican Band," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* June 16, 1885; "The Mexican Band at St. Louis," *Daily Picayune*, June 18, 1885, 6.

[861] "The Mexican Band at St. Louis," *Daily Picayune*, June 18, 1885, 6.

[862] "Amusements," *The Daily Picayune*, August 29, 1885, 2.

[863] "The Mexican Band," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, June 20, 1885, 10; "Gen. Sherman's Speech," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, June 21, 1885, 16.

[864] "The Mexican Band," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* June 22, 1885, 7.

Though the musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band had been impressed with the "advancement of the United States" and had a pleasant time on their tour, they "did not feel so much at home as when [they] got back to New Orleans."[866] At the demand of their fans, the band stopped in New Orleans for another visit before finally returning to Mexico for the celebration of Mexican national independence in September of 1885.[867] Indeed, as one African American journalist reported, the musicians, who to him looked "like mulattoes" had "made themselves very familiar to white and colored people" and New Orleans' music loving audiences were eager for their return.[868] With the fair grounds officially closed, the band played at the West End during their weeklong stay.[869] The West End, located on Lake Pontchartrain, was a nationally renowned resort where musicians from all strata of local economic, cultural, and racial groups performed until it increasingly became a "whites only" space with the state's adoption of a new constitution in 1898.[870] New Orleans felt like a second "home" for many of the Eighth Cavalry Band musicians, in part because they had gained a degree of social and cultural acceptance as indicated by their access to popular white spaces both prior to and after segregation laws were enacted throughout the city.[871] As Captain Payen shared with the editors of the *Daily Picayune* and the broader New Orleans public, the "generous treatment" and hospitality the band received in the city had "endeared the name of New Orleans to [their] hearts" so much that it almost made them forget that they "were strangers and on foreign soil."[872] The musicians were "in the best of humor" and were happy to be back in New Orleans, where they felt they were embraced my music lovers of all races and backgrounds who were eager to hear their renditions of popular tunes and Mexican danzas.[873] The Eighth Cavalry Band had introduced a Mexican repertoire to the city, and New Orleans had an abundance of opportunities for the beloved musicians. Consequently, when the band departed from New Orleans for Mexico City by train on September 8, 1885, they were short a number of musicians. Several of the Eighth Cavalry Band's musicians had decided to make New Orleans their home and, as the years passed, established themselves in the city as music professionals and performers of ragtime and early jazz.[874]

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[865] "Gen. Sherman's Speech," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, June 21, 1885, 16.

[866] "The Mexican Band," *The Daily Picayune*, August 31, 1885, 4.

[867] *Huntsville Gazette*, September 5, 1885, 2.

[868] *Huntsville Gazette*, September 5, 1885, 2.

[869] "Mexican Band at West End," *The Daily Picayune*, September 2, 1885, 2; "Mexican Band at West End," *The Daily Picayune*, September 4, 1885, 4; "Mexican Band at the West End," *The Daily Picayune*, September 6, 1885, 11; "The Mexican Band's Farewell," *The Daily Picayune*, September 7, 1885, 4; "Farewell to the Mexican Band," *The Daily Picayune*, September 8, 1885, 8.

[870] However, by the 1920s, all aspects of the West End including accommodations, restaurants, the pier, performance spaces, and the amusement park, had all become racially segregated. It was a municipal park to which blacks were denied access. See: Harland Bartholomew and Associates, "Preliminary Reports on a System of Recreation Facilities and Civic Art, New Orleans, Louisiana." New Orleans City Planning Commission Collection, Box 2, Item 11, City Archives, NOPL.

The fair and the tour were undoubtedly prosperous for the band and for its manager, Junius Hart, but the band's successes in the United States further symbolized Mexico's promise as a modern nation. Hart established a successful career for himself based on his associations with the band – both as its celebrated manager and as a publisher of its music – a success that he enjoyed for the rest of his life.[875] Similarly, when the musicians who remained with the Eighth Cavalry Band finally returned home to Mexico City, they were received with the highest honors and were greeted by Mexican president Porfirio Díaz himself and over ten thousand enthusiastic Mexican citizens.[876] Mexican newspapers proudly published detailed descriptions of the various medals and banners that had been given to the Eighth Cavalry Band while they were in the United States and encouraged the public to visit the National Conservatory of Music where the items would be on display.[877] For the Mexican public, these awards represented a new with the possibility for prosperous relations with the United States and New Orleans in particular, where they were accepted as a modern nation. The band had been so successful while abroad that President Díaz rewarded Captain Payen with an appointment as the Minister of the prestigious National Conservatory of Music, where he had once been a student, so that he could continue to train young musicians and shape the country's musical traditions.[878] Nevertheless, just three weeks later, newspapers began reporting that Payen was already planning his next trip to New Orleans with the Eighth Cavalry Band and that they were busy preparing new music for their trip.[879] Though Mexico had given the band a warm welcome, Payen and his band also continued to see opportunities for their own musical careers in New Orleans.

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[871] Jim Crow laws and local ordinances were enacted in New Orleans beginning in the 1890s and many public and private spaces in the city became increasingly segregated. However, these regulations were not systematically enforced until the World War I period, but Mexican musicians were still able to access spaces that were designated as "white."

[872] "Letter to the Editor of the Picayune," *The Daily Picayune*, September 7, 1885, 4.

[873] *Huntsville Gazette*, September 6, 1885, 2.

[874] Madrid and Moore, *Danzón,* 127.

[875] Other bands, such as the Chambers Great Southern Band of Baltimore, would often perform Mexican music for Mr. Hart when they visited New Orleans. It was seen as an homage to his life's work. See; "Chamber's Great Southern Band," *Daily Picayune*, February 15, 1891, 3.

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[876] *Times-Democrat,* June 30, 1885, 4; "La música del 8o. Regimiento," *La Patria*, September 19, 1885, 2; "The Day's Gossip," *The Two Republics,* September 16, 1885, 4; *El Partido Liberal*, September 16, 1885, 3; and *Diario del Hogar,* September 15, 1885, 3.

[877] All of the medals, banners, flags, and various tokens of appreciation that were presented to the band while in the United States were given to Díaz and were then publicly displayed at the National Conservatory of Music in Mexico City. Mexican newspapers encouraged the public to go see these awards and to see them as a sign that Mexico was on the march towards modernity and the nations of the world were taking notice. See: "Local News, *The Two Republics,* September 21, 1885, 4; and "Local News," *The Two Republics,* October 9, 1885, 4; "La música del 8o. Regimiento," *La Patria*, September 19, 1885, 2; "La música del 8o. Regimiento," *El Partido Liberal*, September 16, 1775, 3; "The Mexican Band to Play at West End," *Times Democrat*, May 17, 1891, 3.

[878] Student records of Mexico's National Conservatory (Conservatorio Nacional de Música) from the nineteenth-century are incomplete, but records that do remain show that while Encarnación Payén had a long and prestigious military and musical career, he also attended the Conservatory as an adult student. He took his band conductor's exam in October of 1882. However, it is unclear how long he studied at the Conservatory. Upon his return to Mexico in 1885, official Conservatory records demonstrate that he became an instructor at the school and the director of the school. "Programa de Examenes," October 7, 1882, AGN, México, Ramo Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, Box 4, Folder 5; and "Nombramiento de Encarnación Payen, October 1885, AGN, Ramo Instrucción Pública y Bellas Artes, Box 60, Folder 10.

See also: Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend: Part II," 2; "The Mexican Band to Play at West End," *Times Democrat*, May 17, 1891, 3.

What's Mexican about the "Spanish" or "Latin" Tinge?

While it had been white New Orleans business leaders who had most embraced the Eighth Cavalry Band during the fair, it was African American and creole musicians that came to most recognize their influence on the city's music. Indeed, it was the creole early jazz musician, Jelly Roll Morton, that coined the term "Spanish Tinge" to describe what he claimed was the essential ingredient that differentiated early jazz from ragtime in New Orleans.[880] Morton went on to describe the way he used popular Mexican versions of songs like "La Paloma" and modified the tempo to transform them into a distinct style. Mexican danzas that had been popularized by the Eighth Cavalry Band resonated with the city's African American populations because it had derived from the Afro-Cuban danzón, which had influenced local black music for decades through the circulation of people within the Gulf region. For Morton, the "Spanish tinge" was the incorporation of Spanish or Latin melodies made into a New Orleans style by changing the syncopation and giving it "the right seasoning" for jazz."[881] However, the term "Spanish Tinge," or what scholars have also called the "Latin Tinge," does not fully illustrate the extent to which Mexican musicians, such as those of the Eighth Cavalry Band, contributed to the development of the city's music culture.[882] This brings us to two important and distinct ways in which the Eighth Cavalry band and its musicians contributed to the New Orleans sound – they helped popularize a foreign but culturally white Mexican danza despite its Afro-Cuban origins, which inspired the syncopation found in ragtime and later in jazz; and they combined pro-composed music with improvisation through incorporating solos, which would play a large role in the development of jazz musical style. In other words, they helped provide "the right seasoning" to which Jelly Roll Morton was referring. Indeed, although the Eighth Cavalry Band had a diverse repertoire and popularized a variety of Mexican and Latin American musical styles in New Orleans, they primarily inspired a "local mania for Mexican danza" which became wildly popular with white audiences who wanted to experience a foreign culture while simultaneously distancing themselves from blackness and appealed to the local African American population who heard familiar rhythms deriving from the Afro- Cuban danzón."[883]

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[879] "La música del 8o. regimiento," *El Siglo Diez y Nueve,* October 9, 1885, 3.

[880] He coined the term in his Library of Congress interviews with Alan Lomax in 1938. See: Bruce Raeburn, "Beyond the 'Spanish Tinge': Hispanics and Latinos in Early New Orleans Jazz," in *Eurojazzland*, ed. Luca Cerchiari, Laurent Cugny, and Frank Kerschbaumer (Lebanon, NH: Northeastern University Press, 2012), 21; Roberts, *Latin Tinge,* 39.

[881] Morton and other jazz musicians changed the syncopation of Spanish or Latin melodies by "leaving the left hand the same, and changing the right hand." See: Raeburn, "Beyond the 'Spanish Tinge,'" 21; Roberts, *Latin Tinge,* 39.

The band had great success in other U.S. cities over the years, but the fervor they inspired in New Orleans went unmatched. New Orleans offered a most enthusiastic and receptive audience of all races and classes, shaped in part by the fair's rhetoric of friendship and desire to reconcile past hostilities and establish friendly commercial relations with Mexico. The band's willingness to play at diverse venues throughout the city had also allowed them to reach New Orleanians of all backgrounds, and Mexican music appealed to them for different reasons. For white New Orleanians, Mexican music fulfilled a desire to experience a foreign culture while simultaneously distancing themselves from blackness as racial tensions were on the rise in the city. By presenting Mexican music as modern and combining European and Afro-Caribbean influences in Mexican danzas, the Eighth Cavalry Band had whitened the sound enough to make it simultaneously comfortably familiar and curiously foreign to white New Orleanians. For the city's African American population, Mexican danzas that had derived from the Afro-Cuban danzón offered familiar rhythms and new opportunities for performing popular music.

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[882] Ethnomusicologists and jazz historians alike have used concepts such as the "Spanish Tinge" or "Latin Tinge" to describe the Spanish and Latin American influences on the development of jazz, but they have largely overlooked the contributions of Mexican musicians. Nevertheless, they remain important concepts in understanding the multifaceted influence these musicians had on the city's music.

[883] Madrid and Moore, *Danzón*, 120 – 121.

Although people throughout the United States had developed a curiosity about the foreign Eighth Cavalry Band that had played to thousands of people in various cities, the same vogue for Mexican music did not develop in quite the same way as it had in New Orleans. Nowhere did the band contribute to the development of a "taste" or "preference" for Mexican music that extended well beyond their visit as they had in New Orleans. William T. Francis, who had later moved to New York City and established himself as a Tin Pan Alley composer, argued that "inexpressibly beautiful" Mexican songs, which combined "tendencies of the Spanish race…and of the Aztec and Tolteca," had become household standards in New Orleans.[884] According to Francis, the popularity of Mexican music in New Orleans, which he had helped facilitate with sheet music, had created a local preference for songs marked by melody, making the musical culture of the city distinct from other parts of the United States. He further claimed "the love of melody decreases as you come north from the Gulf of Mexico, and reaches its smallest development when it encounters the northern tier of the states of the union."[885] Jazz historians such as Jack Stewart have similarly argued that the Eighth Cavalry Band's harmonies as well as their tonal characteristics “directly contributed to the establishment of the unorthodox characteristics of the New Orleans sound.”[886]

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[884] *Daily Picayune*, January 2, 1890, 3. See also: Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend – Part II," 9.

[885] *Daily Picayune*, January 2, 1890, 3.

Due to the Eighth Cavalry Band’s wide-ranging repertoire, it has at times been difficult for jazz historians to discern which of these unorthodox characteristics can specifically be attributed to Mexican music, and what the exact musical influence the band and its musicians had on ragtime and jazz. Mid to late nineteenth-century music in Mexico was largely influenced by both European music and the Cuban danzón, and this unique combination helped create Mexico’s sound. In its quest for modernity, the Mexican government modeled the National Conservatory of Music after European music schools, where students learned to play a variety of instruments and a range of musical styles.[887] As a result, the Eighth Cavalry Band had a broad repertoire that included overtures, waltzes, mazurkas, polkas, danzas, danzones, and of course, military marches. The band’s mastery of such a variety of styles made them appealing to diverse audiences in New Orleans, including people of different social, economic, and racial backgrounds. The musicians who settled in the city after the fair similarly included these diverse musical styles in their own repertoires. This has led one jazz historian to claim that even Junius Hart’s “Mexican series” of sheet music that had been so popular in New Orleans was no more “Mexican” than other Latin pieces published in the city at the time.[888] However, what differentiated the Mexican series and made it an important landmark in New Orleans, was the way Mexican musicians infused local content into the European styles of the operatic period. For example, the 1885 song "El Nopal (The Cactus)"[889] composed by Narciso Martinez and arranged by William T. Francis in New Orleans as part of the "Mexican Series," had a "ragtime treble and a Spanish bass."[890] It was more "popular" and less classical or romantic, making it an obvious "parlor music forerunner of ragtime."[891] Indeed, this ability to fuse pro-composed European derived melodies with local styles and content not only made this music distinctly Mexican, but it also became one of the ways Mexican musicians contributed to ragtime, and later, jazz music.

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[886] Stewart, “The Mexican Band Legend: Part III,” 4.

[887] “Proyecto de Oranizacion del Conservatorio Nacional de Musica,” Colección Secretaria de Justicia é Instruccion Pública, AGN.

[888] Boudreaux, “Music Publishing in New Orleans in the Nineteenth Century,” 93 – 94.

The Eighth Cavalry Band contributed to New Orleans music's "Latin tinge" by popularizing music that created "dialogues between score-based band arrangements and improvised traditional music" from which jazz eventually emerged, and yet their contributions to jazz have often been overlooked because of the strong external influences in late nineteenth-century Mexican music.[892] John Storm Roberts has argued that Mexican music's "relatively familiar rhythms and strong external influences" may be why it melted into a U.S. popularized style such as jazz as a seemingly unidentifiable seasoning.[893] Given that late nineteenth-century Mexican music was largely influenced by both European music and Cuban danzón, this seems like a plausible reason for the historical amnesia regarding Mexican contributions to New Orleans' distinct sound. Many of the Mexican songs that became major successes in New Orleans and the United States do not seem particularly Mexican in style to today's average listener, but they were heard as distinctly Mexican in the late nineteenth century. For example, Juventino Rosas's nineteenth-century waltz, "Sobre las Olas / Over the Waves," was so

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[889] N. Martinez and W.T. Francis, "El Nopal (The Cactus)," New Orleans: Junius Hart Publishing Company, 1885. Library of Congress, Music Division. <http://www.loc.gov/item/sm1885.23950/#about-this-item>

[890] Pianist and composer Roy Carew described "El Nopal" this way. See: George W. Kay, "Remembering Tony Jackson, Part 1," *Second Line*, volume 15, no 11 – 12 (November – December 1964), 6 – 7.

[891] Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend – Part III," 3.

[892] Madrid and Moore, *Danzón*, 120 – 121.

[893] Roberts, *Latin Tinge,* 21.

"Viennese in spirit" that many people today do not realize it was written by a Mexican composer.[894] However, New Orleanians in the late nineteenth century immediately recognized it as a Mexican song due to its sentimental melody, its musical composition, and its promotion as part of Junius Hart's Mexican Series. Though it remains unclear if the sheet music for the song was first published in New Orleans or in Mexico, Junius Hart published one of the earliest copies in the United States as part of his growing collection of sheet music, which became locally known as the Mexican Series.[895] The song was played throughout the city and instantly became a classic in the New Orleans jazz repertoire, recorded by the likes of Sharkey Bonano, Pete Fountain, and many other New Orleans jazz musicians, both black and white, each time with a unique spin on the original.[896] Indeed, Mexican musicians contributed songs and sounds that became standards in New Orleans popular music, but their Mexican origins were obscured over time as the jazz renditions became increasingly popular.

But the Latin, or Mexican, tinge went further than that. Mexican music, particularly that popularized by the Eighth Cavalry Band and its musicians, represented a watershed in New Orleans band music because of the lasting impact it had on local bandsmen. Indeed, both black and white musicians in New Orleans began to incorporate not only the Mexican musicians' technical excellence and commanding performance style, but also their novel repertoire. Within a decade after the fair, even local musicians who were not directly connected with Mexican musicians began writing songs inspired by the Eighth Cavalry Band's repertoire. A clear example of this influence can be found in "Pasquila," written by William J. Voges and published by Louis Grunewald of New Orleans in 1895.[897] This medley is a grand march done in a style very similar to Mexican marches of the time, such as “Zacatecas” (1891), which is often referred to as Mexico’s second national anthem, and “Aires Nacionales Mexicanos” (1893), a medley of popular Mexican pieces compiled by Miguel Rio Toledano.[898] Similarly, “Aires Nacionales,” published with the support of Mexican president Porfirio Díaz as a representation of Mexico’s modern culture, invoked similar feelings as parts of “Tiger Rag,” one of the most recorded jazz songs of all time.[899] By the mid-1890s, Mexican music had influenced New Orleans’ sounds as local musicians of all races and classes began developing their own new repertoire and styles of playing, modeled after music popularized by the Eighth Cavalry Band and its musicians. Indeed, Mexican musicians had helped provide the “right seasoning” or the “Latin tinge” that ultimately helped give jazz its form.

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[894] Roberts, *Latin Tinge,* 20.

[895] Juventino Rosas, "Over the Waves! / Sobre Las Olas!," (New Orleans: Junius Hart Publishing Company, 1889), Louisiana State University, Special Collections; Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend – Part II," 5.

[896] "West End Concerts," *Daily Picayune*, July 13, 1890, 7.

Developing a New Sound in the Crescent City

Payen’s band would not return to New Orleans until 1888, but the Mexican musicians who had stayed in New Orleans and made it their home began to form and join local bands that played throughout the city and they continued to draw on their history with the illustrious Eighth Cavalry Band to appeal to white New Orleanian exoticist desires to experience a foreign culture. The bands they joined also used the reputations and talents of these Mexican musicians to draw larger audiences. For example, *The Daily Picayune* advertised The Spanish Fort Band that formed in the summer of 1886 as one that was “composed of new material,” and featured both

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[897] W.G. Voges, “Pasquila,” (New Orleans: Louis Grunewald, 1895), Maxwell Sheet Music Collection, Box 408, Folder 29, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University; Stewart, “The Mexican Band Legend: Part III,” 4.

[898] Stewart, “The Mexican Band Legend: Part III,” 4.

[899] Stewart, “The Mexican Band Legend: Part III,” 4; Jack Stewart, “The Original Dixieland Jazz Band’s Place in the Development of Jazz,” *New Orleans International Music Colloquium*, 2005.

"young soloists" and "members of the famous Mexican Band."[900] They assured audiences that the new band was "not made up of the same old musicians one had become tired of seeing and weary of hearing."[901] They became the headlining band of Spanish Fort, the "Coney Island of the South," and a site important to the city's emerging jazz sound.[902] Like the West End, this famous amusement park on the shore of Lake Pontchartrain had become a site of cultural exchange, where musicians of different ethnicities and races continued to share ideas and techniques, and Mexican musicians helped nurture and develop the emerging genre of music that came to be known as jazz.[903] As historian Jerah Johnson has demonstrated, it was this "assimilative tradition of easy interaction of peoples" that prevailed in New Orleans' West End and Spanish Fort well into the early twentieth-century from which jazz eventually emerged.[904] Indeed, it was especially in these spaces defined more by recreation and performance than by color or class where Mexican musicians were able to make important contributions to the New Orleans sound. They shared their skills and technical excellence with their colleagues of different races and classes, and showcased their abilities to a broad and diverse public during their highlighted solos. Nearly two years after arriving in the city, Mexican musicians continued to contribute to the local music culture and to carve out spaces for themselves in the cultural milieu of New Orleans.

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[900] "Beautiful Spanish Fort," *Daily Picayune,* June 17, 1886, 4.
[901] "Beautiful Spanish Fort," *Daily Picayune,* June 17, 1886, 4.
[902] Bill Russell, *New Orleans Style* (New Orleans: Jazzology Press, 1994), 173; Lake Douglas, "Pleasure Gardens in Nineteenth-Century New Orleans: 'Useful for All Classes of Society,'" in *The Pleasure Garden: From Vauxhall to Coney Island*, ed. Jonathan Conlin, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 150 – 176.
[903] By the time racial segregation restricted African Americans from public places such as the West End and Spanish Fort during World War 1, jazz music had already emerged in New Orleans. The interracial and cultural exchanges that predated this racial segregation was critical to the development of jazz as it brought together a variety of musical styles. See: Jerah Johnson, "Jim Crow laws of the 1890s and the origins of New Orleans jazz: correction of an error," *Popular Music* 19.2 (April 2000), 243 – 251; Russell, *New Orleans Style,* 175; Karl Koenig, *Jazz Map of New Orleans* (Covington: Basin Street Press, 1991), 8; Douglas, "Pleasure Gardens in Nineteenth-Century New Orleans," 171.
[904] Johnson, "Jim Crow laws of the 1890s and the origins of New Orleans jazz," 249.

Although multi-racial and multi-ethnic bands were becoming more common in New Orleans, Mexican music remained wildly popular and continued to draw large audiences. Beginning in May of 1890, a band calling itself the West End Military Orchestra began its two-year stay as the West End's house concert band.[905] By that time, the West End was competing with Spanish Fort for the title of "the Coney Island of the South" and managers hired the West End Military Band to draw larger crowds.[906] While the band was composed of international musicians – "fifty artists from Paris, Brussels and Mexico" led by "Maestro H. Lenfant of Paris" – early jazz musicians would later remember it as a "Mexican Band" because its two most noteworthy musicians, Leonardo Vizcarra and Florencio Ramos, were formerly of the Eighth Cavalry Band and were often featured as soloists.[907] It was one of many cases in which the presence of Mexican musicians was enough to quantify a musical unit as a "Mexican Band" for advertising purposes. Ramos and Vizcarra were a particular draw for audiences because they had established the saxophone's permanent presence in the city through their "displays of the wonderful capacity of that instrument to make sweet sounds."[908] The two musicians were the highlight of The West End Military Band, establishing a repertoire that included many Mexican songs made popular by the Eighth Cavalry Band and performing featured solos at each show.[909]

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[905] The summer concerts were sponsored by the New Orleans City and Lake Railroad Company were generally performed by a large concert band. Bands were typically hired for two consecutive concert seasons and then replaced by a different group. Touring bands and virtuosi also performed during these summer series'. See: Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend – Part 2," 4; *Daily Picayune,* May 18, 1890, 6; *Daily Picayune,* July 13, 1890, 5.

[906] Newspaper ads for the West End Military Band regularly referred to the West End as "the Coney Island of the South." See: *Daily Picayune,* May 18, 1890, 6; *Daily Picayune*, June 8, 1890, 8; *Daily Picayune,* June 13, 1890, 7.

[907] Many jazz musicians in New Orleans who did not speak Spanish often referred to Vizcarra as Vascaro, but it was Leonardo Rojas Vizcarra originally from Guadalajara. *Daily Picayune,* May 18, 1890, 6; *Daily Picayune,* July 13, 1890, 7; *Daily Picayune*, June 8, 1890, 8; *Daily Picayune,* May 18, 1890, 6; *Daily Picayune,* July 13, 1890, 7

[908] The saxophone, a mid-nineteenth-century invention by Adolph Sax, had been played in New Orleans prior to the 1884 exposition, but the Eighth Cavalry Band and musicians like Ramos and Vizcarra helped make it a permanent part of the city's music culture. *Daily Picayune,* December 10, 1884, 2; Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend – Part III," 4.

Like other Mexican musicians in New Orleans, both Ramos and Vizcarra performed with other multi-racial bands throughout the city – the forerunners of the early jazz groups – while playing with the West End Military Orchestra, further popularizing Mexican music and contributing to the earliest jazz bands.[910] These musicians established careers for themselves by playing in diverse venues around the city, often playing multiple shows per night. As a result, they were widely known throughout New Orleans, by fellow musicians and lovers of music of all races and classes, and opportunities to play with different bands continued to arise. After the West End Military Orchestra disbanded, drummer and native white New Orleanian, "Papa" Jack Laine, hired Vizcarra to play saxophone in one of his earliest bands, which went on to become the Reliance Brass Band, a band known for playing ragtime and marching music.[911] Incidentally, Laine himself got his start in music at the age of eleven after his father purchased his first field drum for him when the Eighth Cavalry Band sold their surplus musical instruments at the end of the 1884 fair.[912] In hiring Vizcarra, Laine became the first to use the saxophone in a proto-jazz band.[913] Indeed, Laine and the Reliance Brass Band have often been credited as being instrumental in the development of jazz music because they were the first to fuse European, African, and Latin music together.[914] As one of the earliest members of the band, Vizcarra brought the Latin influence to the band's repertoire and style and he continued to play with Laine for over twenty years, playing alongside other early jazz musicians, both black and white, including Alcide "Yellow" Nuñez, and Louis Tio.[915] Undoubtedly, while the Eighth Cavalry Band had popularized Mexican music in New Orleans, the musicians who stayed in the city, such as Vizcarra, helped sustain the music's popularity by playing in New Orleans bands that ultimately were the forerunners of early jazz groups. They did this by appealing to white New Orleanian exoticist desires to experience a foreign culture by continuously emphasizing their Mexicanness and connections to the Eighth Cavalry Band.

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[909] Some of the songs include, Mexican Mazurkas such as "Virgin of My Dream," and Mexican Waltzes such as "We Meet Again" and "Sobre las Olas / Over the Waves." "The West End Opening," *Daily Picayune,* May 18, 1890, 4; "Amusements – West End," *Daily Picayune,* May 25, 1890, 7; *Daily Picayune*, July 13, 1890, 7.

[910] "Lafayette Square Concerts," *Daily Picayune* May 31, 1887, 4.

[911] Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend – Part III," 8; Roberts, *Latin Tinge,* 36; "Jack Laine Interview," May 23, 1960, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University; Jack Laine and Jake Sciambra interview, January 25, 1959, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

[912] There is a local myth in New Orleans about the mass sale of the Eighth Cavalry Band's instruments at the end of the exposition. However, this myth has been exaggerated. There were a few instruments left behind by the band that were sold with other memorabilia from the exposition. The sale of the items remaining from the band and the exposition were part of management's efforts to recoup some of their overwhelming financial loss. However, Jack Laine told the story of acquiring his first drum through this sale on numerous occasions throughout his life, including this one: "Jack Laine Interview," May 23, 1960, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

[913] Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend – Part 2, 5.

Both Vizcarra and his fellow saxophonist from the Eighth Cavalry Band, Florencio Ramos, as well as other Mexican musicians in New Orleans further contributed to the city's distinct musical culture in their role as music teachers, training some of the earliest jazz musicians how to read, write, and play music.[916] The musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band, many who had been students at Mexico's National Music Conservatory, had all been trained to read and write music in addition to playing a wide range of instruments.[917] They often made a living not only through their performances but also by offering music lessons to black and white students in their own homes. Indeed, Ramos had developed a reputation as a notable music teacher and had a music room and studio in his residence.[918] Ramos was also part of the faculty for the Orphéon Français, a local musical society with an educational component, which was the most significant competitor to New Orleans' Pilcher Conservatory.[919] In this capacity, he helped train numerous local musicians of different racial backgrounds who would go on to contribute to the city's distinct sound. Historians such as Burton W. Peretti have commonly argued that New Orleans was a likely place for the birth of jazz given its rich musical history and the education levels of black Creoles.[920] Indeed, jazz scholars have shown that black Creole musicians believed that both notation literacy and technique was important for a successful music career. Violinist and jazz bandleader Charles Elgar famously stated "until you know your instrument…you can't be successful in that Dixieland music…because it calls for a lot of technique."[921]

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[914] Raeburn, "Beyond the 'Spanish Tinge,'" 21 – 46.

[915] As jazz historian Jack Stewart has shown, Vizcarra was likely one of the musicians to have played with Laine in the legendary stag party of 1892 that jazz historian Al Rose has argued was the first performance of a jazz band. The show was played on a barge behind a showboat on the Mississippi River. Nuñez went on to play with a band that eventually became The Original Dixieland Jazz Band, known for making the first jazz recordings in 1917. Their song "Livery Stable Blues" was the first jazz single ever issued. Louis "Papa" Tio" was of both black Creole and Mexican descent. His black Creole family moved from New Orleans to Tampico, Mexico in the increasingly violent years leading to the Civil War. As a result, Louis was born in Mexico but later moved back to New Orleans with his family. He spoke English and Spanish and was a renowned clarinetist. His family is known for popularizing the clarinet in the New Orleans music scene. The Tio family knew how to read and write music, and often supplemented their income as music teachers in New Orleans. They were directly responsible for training a sizable number of early jazz clarinetists. See: Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend – Part III," 8. See also: Henry Martin and Keith Waters, *Jazz: The First 100 Years* (Belmont: Thomas Wadsworth Publishers, 2005), 55; Jack Laine interview, May 23, 1960, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University. For more on the Tio family and their legacy, see: Charles E. Kinzer, "The Tio Family: Four Generations of New Orleans Musicians, 1814 – 1933" (PhD dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1993).

[916] Both Ramos and Vizcarra had multiple listings in the directories, listed as both "musician" and "music teacher." *New Orleans City Directory*, 1885 – 1931, *passim*; Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend: Part III," 4.

While Peretti and others have emphasized the availability of formal musical instruction for black Creoles at various institutions in the New Orleans area, Mexican musicians offered an additional avenue for music instruction. While some of the institutions that had trained Afro-Creole musicians served the educated and upper classes, Mexican musicians trained students of different racial and class backgrounds. For example, Bunk Johnson an African American with an upbringing of limited means, became one of the city's prominent jazz trumpeters and famously credited a Mexican music teacher by the name of Wallace Cutchey as having taught him how to read, write, and play music.[922] Johnson took this musical education and training seriously and developed a reputation in New Orleans for his knowledge of music and was a source of admiration for other local musicians.[923] Similarly, many believe that jazz pioneer Buddy Bolden learned to play the cornet from his mother's boyfriend, but it is also highly possible that he learned to read and write music from Vizcarra since they were both playing in Jack Laine's band during the early part of Bolden's career and lived in the same neighborhood for some time.[924] Bolden went on to establish a career for himself as a noted jazz musician and every member of his band was recognized for their notation literacy. Although there are no records documenting all of the jazz musicians who were students of Mexican musicians, oral histories make it evident that Mexican musicians played a significant role in the training of many early white and African American jazz musicians.[925]

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[917] "Conservatorio – Programa de Exámenes, 1878," Colección Secretaria de Justicia é Instruccion Pública, Caja 58, Expediente 58, AGN; "Conservatorio – Programa de Exámenes, 1882," Colección Secretaria de Justicia é Instruccion Pública, Caja 59, Expediente 23, AGN "Conservatorio – Programa de Exámenes, 1884," Colección Secretaria de Justicia é Instruccion Pública, Caja 60, Expediente 3, AGN.

[918] Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend," 8.

[919] *L'Abeille,* Mar 28, 1890, p 4, col 1; March 30, 1890, p 4, col 1. See also: Baron, *Concert Life in Nineteenth-Century New Orleans*, 114 – 115.

[920] Peretti shows that New Orleans had the best facilities in the South for the education of black Creoles, with over twenty-eight primary schools and three secondary schools by 1877. Burton W. Peretti, *The Creation of Jazz: Music, Race, and Culture in Urban America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 103.

[921] Peretti, *The Creation of Jazz*, 103.

The Return of Payen and the Eighth Cavalry Band

The Eighth Cavalry Band finally returned to New Orleans for extended periods in 1888, 1891, 1897, and 1898, and they continued to contribute to the local popularity of Mexican music.

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[922] Johnson repeated this story in a number of interviews, but no records of a man by the name of Wallace Cutchey exist in New Orleans suggesting that it may have been a nickname. It is possible that it was in fact a nickname, but Johnson was adamant about Cutchey being a Mexican musician that taught at a University and speculated that he had come to New Orleans with the original Eighth Cavalry Band. See: Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend," 2; Peretti, *The Creation of Jazz*, 103; Frederic Ramsey, Jr. and Charles Edward Smith, *Jazzmen* (London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1939), 24; Russell, *New Orleans Style*, 132.

[923] Peretti, *The Creation of Jazz*, 103.

[924] Bolden learned to play the cornet from Manuel Hall, his neighbor and mother's boyfriend. Hall had no formal musical training so he was unable to teach Bolden how to read and write music. In fact, Hall worked as a cook at Nelson Quirk's Café on Royal Street in the French Quarter. Peretti, *The Creation of Jazz*, 24; Donald Marquis, *In Search of Buddy Bolden* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1978), 30, 78.

[925] See: Hogan Jazz Archive Oral Histories Collection, 1943 – 2002, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University

New Orleans' white business leaders continued to offer Mexican musicians work performing at the city's popular venues and enthusiastic audiences of all races and backgrounds attended these concerts in large numbers, even as those spaces increasingly became segregated by race. As they had during the fair, the Eighth Cavalry Band played at some of the most prestigious social events and continued to deploy the fair's rhetoric of friendship during each of their visits to the city. In addition, Captain Encarnación Payen had not only established a reputation for himself but also lasting friendships with the city's white leaders that prompted him to visit the city not only for work, but also on leisure and business trips with regularity. He often traveled with his daughter, Victorina Payen, and local leaders received them as "distinguished guests" during their personal visits to the city.[926] Indeed, Payen often spoke to New Orleans newspapers about his many cherished memories of the hospitality of New Orleans people and called the city his second home.[927] Each time he visited the United States, with or without the band, he made a point of stopping in New Orleans en route to or from Mexico. During most of his visits, he stayed at the St. Charles Hotel, which was for many years considered the center of white southern social and political life,[928] as it was the gathering place for politicians, celebrities, royalty, and movers and shakers in the business world."[929] Payen had become a celebrity and honored guest in New Orleans, particularly within the local music world, and musicians of different races and ethnicities often dedicated some of their work to him or wrote pieces inspired by him and the Eighth Cavalry Band. For example, Carlos Maduell, a Spanish born musician who spent most of his career in New Orleans, dedicated a danzón entitled "Encarnación" to the celebrated conductor.[930] Each of Payen's visits not only gained him "a fuller measure of appreciation and friendly regard," among the city's white leaders, but it also kept the memory of the Eighth Cavalry Band and their triumph at the 1884 fair alive throughout the city for many years.[931]

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[926] "Personal and General Notes," *Daily Picayune,* January 2, 1886, 6; "Dining Capt. Payen," *Times-Democrat*, July 30, 1888, 3.

[927] "The Mexican Band to Play at the West End," *Times Democrat*, May 17, 1891, 1; "Gossip Gathered in Hotel Lobbies," *Times-Picayune*, February 12, 1899, 10.

[928] Other times he stayed at the Gondolfo Hotel on St. Louis Street. However, he always stayed at the hotels that catered to social elites during a period in which racial tensions were on the rise. *Daily Picayune,* July 22, 1888; "Hotel With a History," *New York Times,* April 30, 1894.

[929] "Gossip Gathered in Hotel Lobbies," *Times-Picayune*, February 12, 1899, p 10.

Each visit of the Eighth Cavalry Band to New Orleans was treated as a special engagement and the band was augmented from forty musicians to approximately sixty to eighty musicians when the band visited the city. With each visit, some of those musicians would decide to stay in New Orleans, drawn by the abundant social and work opportunities for Mexican musicians. As a result the city's small but culturally significant Mexican population continued to grow.[932] Aside from the musicians who had stayed in New Orleans after the fair, the band that traveled to the city during these visits was largely the same one that sojourned to the city in 1884, having retained a significant number of its principal soloists and veteran musicians over the years. However, Payen also chose some of his most talented students to join the band as they traveled to the United States as representatives of the Mexican government. Payen highlighted the veteran musicians and approximately ten to fifteen solo artists in each of these visits, often discussing their talents with local newspapers.[933] The soloists dazzled New Orleans audiences of different backgrounds with their improvisation and talent. Each of the performances of the Eighth Cavalry Band combined pre-composed works with improvised solos, which was a distinct characteristic of the band during its time. The band was further augmented as Mexican musicians who had stayed in New Orleans after the 1884 fair were asked to play with the Eighth Cavalry

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[930] C. Maduell, "Encarnación," (New Orleans: Louis Grunewald, 1885), M 3500 M2.3.U6A44, Library of Congress. Music Division; Madrid and Moore, *Danzón*, 127; "Personal and General Notes," *Daily Picayune*, May 31, 1885, 10.

[931] *Daily Picayune*, May 2, 1898, 9.

[932] *Times-Democrat*, June 30, 1885, 4.

[933] "The Famous Mexican Band Engaged for a Series of Concerts, *Daily Picayune*, July 22, 1888, 5.

Band during these visits. Ernesto Lopez, the cornet soloist who had played with the Eighth Cavalry Band at the 1884 fair and then settled in El Paso, Texas, joined the band in New Orleans as a featured artist for their return visit in 1888.[934] Payen even asked one New Orleans creole, Armand Veazey, to join the band on its tour of the United States.[935] The young cornet player completed two tours with the band where he was featured as a soloist.[936] These additions to the band amounted to approximately eighty musicians that played under Payen's direction, requiring that some platforms, such as the one at the West End, be extended to accommodate them.[937] After each visit, the Eighth Cavalry Band would leave with a few less musicians than it had arrived with, as some musicians chose to remain in New Orleans as others had after the 1884 fair. Consequently, the local Mexican population grew in number just slightly with each visit further infusing the city with Mexican musical talent.[938]

With each visit, the Eighth Cavalry Band brought new music to New Orleans' eager and diverse audiences and further galvanized a local curiosity for Mexican music. New Orleanians of all backgrounds never tired of Mexican music because the Eighth Cavalry Band continued to broaden the local repertoire with each visit, renewing opportunities to experience the foreign culture of a far away and modern world. As they had during the fair, the Eighth Cavalry Band played a combination of Mexican and European influenced music, including mazurkas, danzas, and waltzes. However, Payen advertised that only Mexican music would be played during encores, and given that New Orleans audiences demanded as much Mexican music as possible, the band often played two to three encores at each show.[939] Payen promised new arias to take the place of songs popularized during the 1884 fair, such as "Chloe," "Media Noche," and "Maria Mazurka."[940] But the new songs did not actually take the place of these local favorites, they simply added to the already expansive repertoire of popular Mexican music in the city.

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[934] "Continued Success of the Mexican Band," *Daily Picayune*, July 18, 1888, 8; July 28, 1888, 8.
[935] "A Change of Bands at the West End," *Times Democrat*, August 3, 1891, 3.
[936] "Toured Country Twice with Noted Mexican Band," *Times-Picayune*, June 14, 1925, 64).
[937] "The Mexican Band," *Daily Picayune*, May 31, 1891, 3.
[938] "Great Success of the Mexican Band Festival," *Daily Picayune*, July 24, 1888, 4.

New Orleans audiences of all backgrounds remained most interested in hearing Mexican music, largely driven by their exoticist desire to experience a foreign culture. During the band's 1891 concert season in the city, local white business leaders and music enthusiasts had written to the *Daily Picayune* and to Colonel Joseph Walker, president of the New Orleans City and Lake Railroad sponsoring the concerts at the West End, requesting that Payen and his band play even more Mexican music.[941] The numerous encores of Mexican songs weren't sufficient and only left them desiring more of the charmingly foreign and "peculiar music."[942] They respectfully stated that while they were "pleased with their rendition of operatic music and concert pieces," they were also "warm admirers of Mexican national music, the charm of which becomes almost irresistible under the super phrasing of him who leads them."[943] In other words, they enjoyed all of the band's music, but were most interested in hearing the peculiar music of Mexico. Payen was eager to please his fans and agreed to bring out "some choice Mexican national music."[944] The band worked to increase their already vast repertoire by carefully practicing at least two hours per day at their downtown headquarters, which was often followed by evening concerts that lasted for several hours.[945] They demonstrated the same work ethic and commitment to their art that they had at the 1884 fair as the esteemed bandleader promised that he would not deprive the lovers of Mexican music of hearing the sounds of his native country.[946]

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[939] "The Mexican Band," *Times-Democrat*, May 23, 1891, 1; "The Mexican Band," *Daily Picayune*, May 26, 1891, 2; Lemmon, "New Orleans Sheet Music," 45.

[940] "The Famous Mexican Band Engaged for a Series of Concerts," *Daily Picayune*, July 22, 1888, 5.

[941] These local leaders included prominent citizens such as W.N. Grunewald, Isidore Newman, Louis V. Eckert, Marguerite Samuel, and Mark Kaiser. See: *L'Abeille*, June 9, 1891, 4; Baron, *Concert Life*, 511.

[942] "Amusements," *Daily Picayune*, May 19, 1897, 6. The music of the Eighth Cavalry Band, and Mexican music more broadly, were often described as "peculiar" and "strange" in local Newspapers.

[943] "Mexican Band at West End," *Daily Picayune*, June 7, 1891, 8; "Amusements," *Daily Picayune*, June 17, 1891, 8; *L'Abeille*, June 9, 1891, 4; *L'Abeille*, July 9, 1891, 4.

[944] "The Mexican Band," *New Orleans Item*, June 8, 1891, 2.

Much to the local public's delight, the band's repertoire changed significantly not only to include more Mexican music, but they also incorporated Mexican renditions of music popular in the United States, fusing Mexican musical styles with U.S. American songs. Newspapers enthusiastically reported that the Mexican band was "not digging up Beethoven or Mozart nor making attempts on the life of Wagner's creations."[947] Instead, they played "popular music that move[d] the crowds in unison, and that all people [could] understand."[948] The band often opened their shows with "Old Folks at Home" (1851), a popular minstrel song written by songwriter Stephen Foster, played as a Mexican danza.[949] They also did this with other popular U.S. based songs such as the minstrel classics, "Dixie" (1850s), and the applause of the audience to these new welcome renditions was "deafening."[950] While the Eighth Cavalry Band often played to diverse audiences, their selections of popular songs suggest that they were specifically catering to the requests of white New Orleanians who often felt nostalgic at hearing these classic minstrel songs but still felt a desire to experience a foreign culture that provided a safe distance from blackness as racial tensions were on the rise in the city. Nevertheless, these Mexican versions became wildly popular and also became a part of the local repertoire. The band's ability to blend Mexican styles with local, popular content not only demonstrates the Mexican influence on U.S. American music, but it also shows how their ability to move and translate between cultures continued to contribute to their success in New Orleans.

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[945] "The Mexican Band," *Daily Picayune*, June 14, 1891, 3.

[946] "Amusements," *Daily Picayune*, May 19, 1897, 6.

[947] "West End and the Mexian Band," *Daily Picayune*, May 17, 1891, 7.

[948] "West End and the Mexian Band," *Daily Picayune*, May 17, 1891, 7.

[949] Unfortunately no sheet music of these improvised songs exist so we don't know exactly what they sounded like. However, newspapers described them as danzas. See: "Continued Success of the Mexican Band," *Daily Picayune*, July 18, 1888, 8; July 28, 1888, 8.

[950] "Continued Success of the Mexican Band," *Daily Picayune*, July 18, 1888, 8., July 28, 1888, 8;"The Mexican Band – A Grand Concert Enjoyed by Thousands at West End," *Daily Picayune*, July 23, 1888, 8; "Mexican Band at West End," *Daily Picayune*, June 4, 1891, 3; "The Mexican Band–A Grand Concert Enjoyed by Thousands at West End," *Daily Picayune*, July 23, 1888, 8.

The Eighth Cavalry Band played to such acclaim and was so popular, that their stays in the city were regularly extended and the band's talent won them "a place in music-loving New Orleans."[951] The band often started their U.S. tours with a visit to New Orleans where they opened concert seasons and were scheduled to play anywhere from two days to several weeks. For two concert seasons, 1888 and 1891, the New Orleans City and Lake Railroad Company sponsored the band's concerts at the West End and offered complimentary admission to all New Orleanians, which meant that people of all classes and races were able to hear the band's Mexican music. Originally, the band was scheduled to perform for two weeks at the start of the 1888 season, giving two concerts per night – one of their own, and one with the accompaniment of the West End Band.[952] However, long, crowded trains ran every ten minutes from downtown New Orleans to the West End, transporting thousands of New Orleanians of all backgrounds who were eager to hear the Eighth Cavalry Band. After the first five days of these crowded conditions and at the request of thousands, the New Orleans City and Lake Railroad Company re-engaged the band for several more weeks.[953] Their engagement was similarly extended when they returned in 1891 where over twenty thousand people attended their opening concert.[954] It far exceeded anything in the history of the lakeside resort.[955] Colonel Joseph Walker had to request permission from the Mexican government for the band to stay and Captain Payen had to cancel some of the band's scheduled engagements in other cities, but the city's enthusiastic and diverse audiences had given the band a warm welcome and were eager to hear more Mexican music.[956]

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[951] "The Mexican Band to Play at West End," *Times Democrat*, May 17, 1891, 3.

[952] "The Famous Mexican Band Engaged for a Series of Concerts," *Daily Picayune*, July 22, 1888, 5; *Times-Picayune*, August 3, 1891, 3.

[953] "West End Amusements," *Daily Picayune*, July 25, 1888, p 3; "West End," *Daily Picayune*, July 26, 1888, 5. See also: Baron, *Concert Life*, 511.

Although the Eighth Cavalry Band constantly traveled to other parts of the United States and to Spain as representatives of a modern Mexico, they continued to foster distinct connections with New Orleans as both the city's white and African American populations gave them the warmest of welcomes each time they visited.[957] New Orleans leaders and businessmen continued to draw on the fair's rhetoric of friendship and regularly referred to the Eighth Cavalry Band as friends who could never be forgotten, even when musician's unions had begun preventing the band from fulfilling contracts in other cities such as St. Louis.[958] Indeed, musicians in St. Louis were some of the first to use the Alien Labor Law to prevent visiting Mexican musicians from being hired in their city. Despite being prevented from performing at a St. Louis fair, the Eighth Cavalry Band continued to perform in various cities throughout the U.S. and in other parts of the world. Payen and his men traveled to Madrid and performed for the Columbus 400th anniversary celebration in 1892 where the queen regent of Spain conferred upon Payen the order of Isabel the Catholic.[959] They also represented Mexico at the World's Exposition held in Chicago in 1893 where they again dazzled audiences for several months.[960] Despite their extensive travels and the impression they left on people in cities everywhere, they never achieved the acclaim that they did in New Orleans. The 1884 fair's rhetoric of friendship, the city's deep appreciation for Mexican music, and the band's incredible talent had indeed won them a place in "a city where music had become a necessity."[961] Indeed, Payen and the Eighth Cavalry Band had become household names in New Orleans. One *Daily Picayune* writer speculated that it was a Southern affinity that made New Orleans' musical ear especially attuned to Mexican music in ways that wasn't seen in other parts of the United States.[962] Whatever the case, it is clear that the Eighth Cavalry Band had found a place in New Orleans diverse music scene and its white social world.

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[954] "Captain E. Payen's Great Mexican Band! An Unprecedented Success!," *Daily Picayune,* July 5, 1891, 6; "Captain E. Payen's Great Mexican Band! An Unprecedented Success!," *New Orleans Item*, July 6, 1891, 2; "The Mexican Band," *Star Tribune*, September 29, 1891, 5.

[955] *New Orleans Item,* May 25, 1891, 2; "The Mexican Band," *Daily Picayune*, May 31, 1891, 3.

[956] "The Mexican Band," *Daily Picayune*, May 31, 1891, 3; "Captain E. Payen's Great Mexican Band! An Unprecedented Success!," *Daily Picayune,* July 5, 1891, 6; "Captain E. Payen's Great Mexican Band! An Unprecedented Success!," *New Orleans Item*, July 6, 1891, 2.

[957] The Eighth Cavalry Band traveled to Madrid for the Columbus 400th Anniversary Celebration in 1892 where they were well received. See: Geronimo Basquiero Foster, *Historia de la Musica en Mexico III, La Musica en el Periodo Independiente*, Mexico: S.E.P., 1964.

[958] The musicians union in St. Louis argued that by hiring the Eighth Cavalry Band for a set amount of money, the city was in violation of the United States law prohibiting the importation of alien labor under contract. As a result, the contract was never finalized. See: "Fighting Imported Melody – St. Louis Musicians will Try to Prevent the Mexican band from Playing at the Fair," *Daily Inter Ocean*, September 24, 1890, 6; "The Mexican Band to Play at West End," *Times Democrat*, May 17, 1891, 3.

The 1884 fair's rhetoric continued to create distinct opportunities for the Eighth Cavalry Band in New Orleans during their visits. New Orleans leaders supported the band's projects and the band reciprocated. For example, when floods plagued Leon and Silao and caused serious damage to the Mexican towns, the Mexican consul in New Orleans, Mr. Manuel G. Zamora, organized a benefit concert with the Eighth Cavalry Band. White, wealthy New Orleanians turned out in large numbers, raising thousands of dollars for those affected by the floods in

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[959] "This Band is a Wonder," *Dallas Morning News*, July 8, 1897, 2; "Wife of President Diaz Present," *The Inter* Ocean, October 5, 1893, 7; Foster, *Historia de la Musica en Mexico III*.

[960] The band once again represented Mexico at the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago, where an African American newspaper reported that they "aroused the patriotic enthusiasm" of 25,000 people on Chicago Day. See: "Chicago's Busy Day – The Magnificent Celebration of Chicago Day at the Fair," *Huntsville* Gazette, October 14, 1893. See also: *Times Picayune*, March 28, 1893, 3. The band was also scheduled to represent Mexico at the World's Fair held in Paris in 1892, but that engagement was canceled as the Mexican government had spent its budget producing their exhibits. See: Foster, *Historia de la Musica en Mexico III*; and Torres, "Historia de las Bandas Militares de Música en México," 200 – 206.

[961] "The Mexican Band to Play at West End," *Times Democrat*, May 17, 1891, 3.

[962] "Mexican Music," *Times-Picayune*, June 2, 1925, 8.

Mexico.[963] Similarly, the Eighth Cavalry Band assisted the New Orleans based Patriotic Sons of America (P.O.S.A.) to create a most successful and glorious Fourth of July celebration. Members of the P.O.S.A. showed their appreciation for the band by presenting Payen with a medal that he sent to Mexico "to be preserved as a souvenir of good feelings towards his glorious mother country."[964] The band responded by playing "Hail, Colombia" and the exchange resembled many of the presentations that had been part of the 1884 fair. Business opportunities were also extended to the Eighth Cavalry Band. Mr. Lee Robert Sellers of the Louisiana Phonograph Company recorded the band for the first time during one of their visits to New Orleans. The Mexican musicians were delighted with the experience and the perfection with which the phonograph captured their music.[965] The record was to be sold locally with a significant portion of the profits to go to the band.

New Orleans remained ripe with opportunity for the Eighth Cavalry Band and the city continued to welcome the band for many years. During the band's later visits, the New Orleans social world had begun to change. More amusements were available and over time the band found themselves playing alongside cakewalks, acrobatic performers, and novelty water slide attractions.[966] Nevertheless, they continued to draw large audiences with each of their visits, even if the audiences became increasingly segregated, and at times played shows to crowds of more than ten thousand.[967] Furthermore, they played at venues across the city, ranging from the opera house, the West End, Athletic Park, and many others.[968] Some of those venues remained open to white audiences only while others were open to African Americans and white New Orleanians, with separate areas assigned to each. Although racial lines were becoming increasingly rigid in New Orleans with the eventual passage of Jim Crow laws, all doors continued to remain open to the Eighth Cavalry Band and Mexican musicians in the city. Indeed, as more concert venues throughout the city became white only, Mexican musicians found themselves playing in both black and white venues alongside musicians from varying ethnic and racial backgrounds. They were able to continue using their skills at moving between different cultures to also navigate urban spaces that were increasingly becoming segregated along racial lines.

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[963] "Adios, Banda Querida," *Daily Picayune*, July 31, 1888, 4; *Times-Democrat*, July 28, 1888, 5.

[964] "Capt. Payen's Popularity," *New Orleans Item – The Daily City Item*, July 18, 1891, 2; "Testimonial to Leader Payen," *Daily Picayune*, July 18, 1891, 3.

[965] The recording was completed at Tulane University, but there are no remaining copies of this recording. Most of the Louisiana Phonograph Company's recordings were lost to weather damage. See: "Captain Payen and His Band Introduced to the Phonograph," *Daily Picayune*, July 9, 1891, 3.

[966] "Amusements: Mexican Band and 'Shoot the Chutes,'"*Daily Picayune*, May 23, 1897, 12; May 25, 1897, 14; May 27, 1897, 5 – 7; "Flag Raisings: The Claiborne market," *Daily Picayune,* July 27, 1898, 8.

[967] "10, 713 People Went to Athletic Park," *Times-Picayune*, June 14, 1898, 2.

It was ultimately the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution and the subsequent years of turmoil that saw the end of Payen's and the Eighth Cavalry Band's visits to New Orleans, but Mexico would continue to use music as a means of building diplomatic relations with the Crescent City once the violence had subsided. During the war years, Payen passed away in his home in Morelia on November 25, 1919. New Orleans leaders grieved the passing of a friend of the city and Payen's legacy prevailed.[969] In 1920, the Mexican consul in New Orleans, José G. Zertuche, enlisted the services of the Mexican National Band led by Professor Malquiades Campos, for an eight-day concert series "designed to cement the ties of good fellowship between Mexico and New Orleans."[970] The band was modeled after the Eighth Cavalry Band and a number of veterans from Payen’s band joined the new Mexican National Band.[971] Once again, the Republic of Mexico had chosen music as the symbol through which to “demonstrate the affection and sympathy of the Mexican people for the public authorities, businessmen, and the New Orleans people more generally.”[972] The new band, made up of over one-hundred Mexican musicians, played at the Shriners Mosque in honor of Armistice Day, played at events honoring the Mexican consul, and at private functions honoring local officials, consuls, and members of the local Association of Commerce.[973] Similar to Payen’s band, the musicians of the Mexican National Band worked as cultural translators, serving as a metaphoric bridge between New Orleans leaders and Mexican diplomats.[974] The band, enlisted by the Mexican consul in New Orleans – José G. Zertuche – and local representative of the National Railways of Mexico – Andres Horcasitas – again returned to New Orleans once more in 1925 “as a gesture of friendship from the administration of General Plutarco Calles.”[975] Again, they played several shows throughout the city to enthusiastic crowds numbering in the thousands.[976] Nevertheless, the Mexican National Band did not have the same degree of success as Payen’s Eighth Cavalry Band, but it was nonetheless shaped by the band’s legacy. It had the same mission of communicating “the fraternal feeling of the Mexican people for those of New Orleans” and left behind a record of popular favor “not often accorded to visiting bands” in the city that had by then claimed itself as the birthplace of jazz.[977] But Payen's band had impressed New Orleanians of all backgrounds and shone through as one the most pleasant musical remembrances of all the acts that visited the Crescent City.[978] In the eyes of New Orleanian leaders, the Eighth Cavalry Band represented attempts at reconciliation and the period "during which relations between the two republics were most friendly," the period of the Porfiriato, a period ripe with opportunity for the commercial and cultural exchange that both New Orleans and Mexico longed for.

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[968] Athletic Park was at the corner of Tulane and Carrollton Avenues, and was subsequently known as White City, Heineman Park, Pelican Stadium, Fountainbleu Hotel, Bayou Plaza Hotel, and is now the site of a self-storage facility and residential apartments. See: Madrid and Moore, *Danzón*, 120.

[969] Torres, "Historia de las Bandas Militares de Música en México," 204.

[970] "Big Crowd Listens to Mexican Band," *Times-Picayune*, November 11, 1920, 12; "Band Leader Sick; Many Disappointed," *Times-Picayune*, November 12, 1920, 3.

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[971] “Big Crowd Listens to Mexican Band,” *Times-Picayune*, November 11, 1920, 12; “Crowds of Orleanians Enjoy the Playing of Famous Mexican National Band at Armistice Day,” *Times-Picayune*, November 11, 1920, 21.

[972] “Orleans to Hear Big Mexican Band,” *Times-Picayune*, November 9, 1920, 9.

[973] “All New Orleans Celebrates Armistice Day,” *Times-Picayune*, November 12, 1920, 1; “Veterans to Hear Mexican Band,” *Times-Picayune*, November 17, 1920, 18.

[974] Piñón, “Latina/o Producers as Cultural Translators,” 394.

[975] “Mexican Musicians to Serenade Mayor,” *Times-Picayune*, June 1, 1925, 1; “Neighbor Republic’s Noted Musicians Sent by Calles to Honor Mayor and City,” *Times-Picayune*, June 2, 1925, 1; “Mexican Band to Give Concerts in New Orleans,” *Times-Picayune*, June 2, 1925, 3; “Mexican Music,” *Times-Picayune*, June 2, 1925, 8; “Thousands Hear Mexican Band Conjure Up Romance of Latins in Whispering Bars of Melody,” *Times-Picayune*, June 3, 1925, 3.

[976] “Thousands Hear Mexican Band Conjure Up Romance of Latins in Whispering Bars of Melody,” *Times-Picayune*, June 3, 1925, 3.

Creating a Small, but Culturally Significant Mexican Community

The Mexican musicians who settled in New Orleans, both after the fair and after the Eighth Cavalry Band's subsequent visits, developed a small, but culturally significant Mexican community in the city, or as newspapers referred to it – a "Mexican colony." Given the Social Darwinist racial ideologies and emerging anti-immigrant ethnocentrism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century United States, the degree to which Mexican musicians interacted across racial and ethnic spectrums in New Orleans demonstrates that they were able to benefit from some of the privileges of whiteness despite the city's increasingly rigid racial line. New Orleans' distinct history had created a broad racial spectrum where social status was not only based on race but also on class, cultural allegiance, education, property, and ancestry, but that slowly began to change after the 1884 fair.[979] Indeed, although these changes happened gradually in public spaces, the city's neighborhoods were not, and Mexican musicians lived in racially and ethnically diverse neighborhoods throughout New Orleans, both before and after the fair.[980] As geographer Michael Crutcher has demonstrated, the highly racialized society of early twentieth-century New Orleans failed to produce an explicitly racialized landscape, and a very intimate social geography existed within the city's walls.[981] As a result, Mexican musicians in New Orleans lived in racially and ethnically diverse neighborhoods across the city, rather than being restricted to certain areas as were their counterparts in other parts of the United States. While there were certainly neighborhoods in New Orleans with greater concentrations of Spanish speakers, such as the northeastern section of the French Quarter, Mexican musicians moved to different parts of the city based on proximity to work opportunities and were just as likely to live next to a European immigrant or an Afro-Creole as they were to a native, white New Orleanian.[982]

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[977] "Orleans to Hear Big Mexican Band," *Times-Picayune*, November 9, 1920, p 9; "Popular Mexican Band Ends Visit," *Times-Picayune*, November 19, 1920, 32.

[978] "Mexican Music," *Times-Picayune*, June 2, 1925, 8; "Toured Country Twice with Noted Mexican Band," *Times-Picayune*, June 14, 1925, 64.

[979] See: Dominguez, *White by Definition*; Hirsch and Logsdon, *Creole New Orleans*.

Rather than racial restrictions, it was job opportunities and the rich music scene that shaped the residential patterns of Mexican musicians in the city. The lower French Quarter, Tremé, Tango Belt, Lafayette Square, the Central Business District, and Seventh Ward areas had the largest Mexican and Latino populations interspersed with Sicilians, Afro-French Creoles, and African Americans, which is not surprising given that these are considered to be some of the "cultural estuaries" that produced a large majority of New Orleans jazz musicians in the early twentieth-century.[983] Based on city directory records, musician and music teacher Leonardo Vizcarra moved at least ten different times during his thirty-nine years living in the city.[984] In his first twenty years as a New Orleans resident, Vizcarra lived in the French Quarter and Tremé neighborhoods, which were good locations for a musician given their proximity to theaters and clubs.[985] He later moved to the Lafayette Square district for six years where outdoor festivals and concerts, including those played by the Eighth Cavalry Band during their later visits, had become more popular. When he finally retired as a musician and focused his efforts solely on teaching music lessons from his home, he moved to the Garden District and remained close to public transportation lines and the Irish Channel neighborhood, which also produced a significant number of jazz musicians.[986] In other words, Mexican musicians such as Vizcarra chose their residences for practical reasons such as proximity to work or business, rather than because of any racial restrictions. As a result, the city lacked a centralized Mexican "neighborhood" like those that are visible in other U.S. cities with notable Mexican immigrant populations.

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[980] New Orleans' history as a cosmopolitan urban center and of a free black Creole population led to racially and ethnically diverse neighborhoods. In fact, the city's red-light district, Storyville, remained one of the most racially integrated places in the South until a 1917 court case segregated the neighborhood. Technological advancements that led to new housing, electricity, and plumbing projects ultimately lead to greater racial segregation of the city's landscape. On New Orleans' distinct racial history, see: Blassingame, *Black New Orleans*. On Storyville and the city's racial flexibility in the postbellum period, see: Alecia P. Long, *The Great Southern Babylon: Sex, Race, and Respectability in New Orleans 1865-1920* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004). On the changing racial landscape of the city, see: Richard Campanella, "An Ethnic Geography of New Orleans," *Journal of American History* 94 (December 2007), 704 – 715.

[981] Cultural Geographer, Michael E. Crutcher, Jr. does an excellent job of examining the relationship between race and space in New Orleans. See: Crutcher, Jr., *Tremé: Race and Place in a New Orleans Neighborhood*.

[982] Lima, "Louisiana," 352 – 353.

Similarly, saxophonist and music teacher Florencio Ramos moved to at least eight different addresses during his forty-five years living in New Orleans. His first two residences were in a part of the French quarter that was known to be the home of many Mexican and Latino musicians given its proximity to music venues.[987] However, all of his addresses after 1895 were located in the central business district, which at the time had become New Orleans' popular music center with abundant work opportunities for musicians.[988] Indeed, by the turn of the twentieth century, the central business district had become home to theaters, music companies, and publishing houses, including the expanded piano house of Junius Hart, publisher of the "Mexican Series" of sheet music. These settlement patterns suggest that Mexican musicians lived in areas with rich music cultures where they could find employment, and census records confirm that the neighborhoods they lived in were indeed racially and ethnically diverse.[989]

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[983] Raeburn, "Beyond the 'Spanish Tinge,'" 23; *New Orleans Jazz History Walking Tours: Lafayette Square District and Business District* (New Orleans: New Orleans Jazz Commission, 2010), 2.
[984] *New Orleans City Directory*, 1885 – 1923, *passim.*
[985] Koenig, *Jazz Map of New Orleans.*
[986] Raeburn, "Beyond the 'Spanish Tinge,'" 23.
[987] Early New Orleanian jazz musician, Abraham "Chink" Martin recalls the northeastern part of the French Quarter, particularly the stretch of Royal Street between Dumaine and Espalanade, as having the largest population of Spaniard, Mexican, and Puerto Rican musicians in the late nineteenth-century. See: "Interview with Chink Martin," October 19, 1966, Box 22, Hogan Jazz Archive Oral Histories Collection, 1943 – 2002, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University; Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend," 2, 8; Roberts, *Latin Tinge*, 37 – 38.

The "mark" these Mexican musicians left on their diverse neighborhoods was one that was heard more so than seen, ultimately limiting their visibility and physical longevity. Jazz historian Bruce Raeburn has described these neighborhoods as ones where music pervaded the streets via serenading, brass bands, spasm bands, and "cutting contests." [990] Early jazz musician, Abraham Martin, has recalled his early experiences as a musician where he accompanied Mexican serenade bands in different parts of the city during his early years.[991] The pervasiveness of these sounds meant that everyone within earshot was exposed to a variety of musical styles that coexisted in these neighborhoods. While Mexican musicians chose these neighborhoods due to their proximity to music clubs and other musicians, these neighborhoods served as "cultural wetlands" where musical cross-fertilization occurred with great ease given their ethnic and cultural diversity.[992] However, when Mexican musicians moved away from these neighborhoods or passed away, their influence was often absorbed into varying musical styles without leaving any visible signs of their presence or cultural contributions.

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[988] *New Orleans City Directory*, 1885 – 1931, *passim;* Koenig, *Jazz Map of New Orleans.*

[989] Census data for both Vizcarra and Ramos show that they lived in multiracial and multiethnic neighborhoods with Italians, Germans, Irish, Spaniards, and Mexicans. Although Vizcarra, Ramos, and other Eighth Cavalry Band musicians would have first shown up on the 1890 census, the U.S. census records from 1890 were destroyed in a 1921 fire in the Commerce Department Building. See: 1900 Manuscript Census, Orleans Parish, Ward 2, Louisiana; 1900 Manuscript Census, Orleans Parish, Ward 5, Louisiana; 1920 Manuscript Census, Orleans Parish, Ward 13, Louisiana; 1930 Manuscript Census, Orleans Parish, District 218, Louisiana, all accessed via Ancestry.com Library Edition.

[990] "Cutting contests" were popular in early twentieth-century New Orleans as musicians tried to outplay each other to declare their technical superiority through fierce public competitions. The name comes from the expression to "cut" someone or replace them from their job by outperforming them.

[991] Roberts, *Latin Tinge,* 37 – 38; "Interview with Chink Martin," October 19, 1966, Box 22, Hogan Jazz Archive Oral Histories Collection, 1943 – 2002, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

Since Mexican musicians were living in different parts of the city and in ethnically and racially diverse neighborhoods, they created a sense of community with other Mexicans in the city through cultural events and celebrations rather than through shared neighborhood spaces. Consequently, a visible Mexican neighborhood did not emerge as it did in many other U.S. cities. Lacking demographic concentration, the Mexican community they created was less tied to claiming space in the city (as it was in the U.S. Southwest) and instead drew on tools from a collectively imagined Mexico through social events and cultural practices. These events not only helped create a sense of community among Mexicans living throughout New Orleans, but it kept them connected to Mexico. They remained part of a transnational network, constantly using their ability to move across borders, both cultural and social to their benefit. The first of these successful gatherings was in September 1893, when Francisco Vargas, a locally renown Mexican artist, and approximately fifty other Mexicans residing in New Orleans organized a two-day festival in honor of Mexican Independence Day. With the support of local Mexican consul, Manuel Zamora, Vargas and his comrades, hosted dinners and talks on Mexican politics under the banners and flags of both Mexico and the United States, symbolically intertwining the two nations and their struggle for independence, largely echoing the rhetoric of friendship popularized at the 1884 fair.[993] In New Orleans style, the festivities included a parade that took the Mexican crowd through the French Quarter and ended with a banquet where Mexican musicians played lively Mexican music. Attempts at hosting similar events had failed twice before, but by 1893 the community had grown and the festivities were considered a success. The event was attended by Mexican political figures and white New Orleanian businessmen who were "friends of the great republic."[994] Furthermore, the event signaled a "union of the Mexicans of the town, and the establishment among them of a more cordial intent."[995] It was the first of many successful projects attempting to foster a sense of community among Mexicans who often came from different regions and backgrounds, and might have seen themselves as being more dissimilar than similar in Mexico given regional and cultural differences.

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[992] Raeburn, "Beyond the 'Spanish Tinge,'" 23.

[993] "Mexicans to Observe Their Liberty Day," *Daily Picayune*, September 11, 1893, 6; "The Cry of Dolores Finds an Echo," *Daily Picayune*, September 16, 1893, 7; "Mexicans Meet to Celebrate," *Daily Picayune*, September 17, 1893, 3.

This first successful celebration led to the development of the city's Junta Patriótica, a Mexican cultural group that was also intended to function as a benevolent society.[996] The New Orleans junta was modeled after an organization by the same name that had been functioning intermittently in Mexico City since 1825. The original junta was open to all Mexican citizens and its focus was to create public celebrations of political Mexican holidays. Like the original Junta, the New Orleans group was comprised of local Mexican government employees such as those who worked in the consulate office, and people in commerce.[997] However, the New Orleans group differed in that the city's Mexican artists and musicians comprised a significant portion of the membership, including leadership positions. The junta helped organize annual celebrations in honor of Mexican Independence Day and other events celebrating Mexican culture and history.[998] Mexican musicians played a particularly important role in the organization, as their musical contributions were a big draw to these events. The local Mexican consulate officially supported the events as they were intended to instill a sense of cultural pride in the local "Mexican colony."[999] However, these events were also a space to continue the work started at the 1884 fair – that of strengthening ties between Mexican diplomats and local businessmen with the goal of promoting economic development both locally and transnationally. The Mexican consul, Manuel Zamora, gave speeches at these events simultaneously commenting on the importance of keeping Mexico's freedom "untarnished" and the importance of commerce with New Orleans. Mexican diplomats who participated in these events were eager to further commercial relations with New Orleans, but they also sought to demonstrate Mexico's strength as a modern and independent nation that was not vulnerable to foreign invasion, suggesting that they remained skeptical of the ambitions and motives of white New Orleanian businessmen. Nevertheless, the events remained consistently successful through the 1890s, but afterwards their festivals happened with irregularity, for reasons that are not entirely clear.

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[994] "Mexicans Meet to Celebrate," *Daily Picayune*, September 17, 1893, 3.

[995] "Mexicans to Observe Their Liberty Day," *Daily Picayune*, September 11, 1893, 6; "The Cry of Dolores Finds an Echo," *Daily Picayune*, September 16, 1893, 7; "Mexicans Meet to Celebrate," *Daily Picayune*, September 17, 1893, 3.

[996] "A Mexican Memorial," *Daily Picayune*, September 16, 1894, 11.

[997] Isabel Fernández Tejedo and Carmen Nava Nava, "The Junta Patriótica and the celebration of independence in Mexico City, 1825-1855," in *Viva Mexico! Viva la independencia! : celebrations of September 16*, ed. William H. Beezley and David E. Lorey (Delaware: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 2001); 42 – 75.

Blurred Lines – Mexicanness as Cultural Capital

Mexican musicians had helped establish a sense of community amongst the local Mexican population, but they continued to use the prestige of the Eighth Cavalry Band and the popularity of Mexican music to claim a place in New Orleans' broader social world. As racial lines became increasingly rigid in the late nineteenth-century with the passage of *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896 and the Jim Crow laws that followed, Mexican musicians continued to incorporate Mexican cultural elements in their music and emphasized their foreignness to improve their social status. The Porfiriato's project of representing the nation's modernity had served to culturally whiten the nation by emphasizing its historical European connections. To emphasize one's Mexicanness was a means to gaining access to the privileges of whiteness in a city where race was increasingly beginning to limit access to public spaces.[1000] Mexican musicians in New Orleans drew on their previous affiliation with the Eighth Cavalry Band because it offered them a degree of status, especially given the local respect for Payen and his band. The Eighth Cavalry Band's popularity had helped bolster an intense curiosity about Mexico and its people, albeit one rooted in white New Orleanians' exoticist desires, and the musicians were not only accepted as a novelty during the fair, but New Orleanians of all backgrounds, and the white business community in particular, had embraced the band and its musicians as fitting representatives of the sister republic. Affiliation with the Eighth Cavalry Band, then, offered musicians a degree of cultural capital. Men like Leonardo Vizcarra and Florencio Ramos gained credibility in the city as former members of the Eighth Cavalry Band. They appealed to the local public's interest in a charmingly foreign Mexican music and established their careers in New Orleans by emphasizing their own Mexicanness. The musicians' ability to move between cultures, their affiliation with the Eighth Cavalry Band, and the continued rhetoric of friendship between New Orleans and Mexico created opportunities for their own social advancement at a time when the city was becoming increasingly segregated.

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[998] "Personal and General Notes," *Daily Picayune*, September 16, 1894, 4.

[999] "The Cry of Dolores Finds an Echo," *Daily Picayune*, September 16, 1893, 7; "Mexicans Meet to Celebrate," *Daily Picayune*, September 17, 1893, 3; "A Mexican Memorial," *Daily Picayune*, September 16, 1894, 4, 11.

As racial lines were being drawn in New Orleans, the city's African American and Afro-Creole population began finding new ways to thwart them, often strategically claiming a Mexican or Spanish background and consequently convoluting ethnic representations in the city.

[1000] Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms, Southern Racisms," 749 – 752.

This has made it difficult to discern the specific backgrounds of some of the local Latin American musicians.[1001] Jazz historian Bruce Raeburn has estimated that approximately twenty-four percent of first generation jazz performers born before 1900 were of Hispanic or Latin American heritage.[1002] However, this figure includes all ties to the Spanish-speaking Americas and Spain and does not give a clear figure indicating how many of these musicians had specific connections to Mexico. Some of these musicians were immigrants from Spain, some were of Mexican descent, and others were Cuban born. What does become clear is that Latin American performers, including those from Mexico, became a prominent part of musical circles in New Orleans, often playing a variety of styles that were influenced by a wide-range of musical forms and playing with musicians of all races and ethnicities.

By the turn of the twentieth century, Mexicans and Latin Americans in New Orleans who had "inhabited the penumbra between white and black racial stereotypes" in earlier decades had gained the privileges of social and cultural whiteness. Being "Mexican" had become such a marker of status and their "whiteness" had become so accepted in the city, that some lighter skinned Afro-Creole musicians who were seeking to escape racialization as "black" as the color line intensified claimed to be Mexican in order to "pass" as white and further their own professional and musical interests.[1003] While Creoles of color were officially classified as "black" under the law, Mexicans escaped this racialization. Mexican musicians' foreignness in particular served as an advantage, particularly because they represented the "sister republic" with which white New Orleanian business leaders were still working to develop friendly commercial relations. As such, black musicians sometimes attempted to pass as Mexican to escape racialization and gain access to white social spaces and further their own opportunities in the music scene. For example, Afro-Creole and renowned early jazz pianist Jelly Roll Morton was known to claim a Spanish or Mexican heritage when harassed by police authorities.[1004] Indeed, those African Americans and Creoles who were lighter skinned could often pass as Mexican to work in spaces deemed "whites only."

[1001] I use the word Hispanic here because the statistics cited refer to them as such. In this particular case it includes people of Spanish and Latin American descent.
[1002] Raeburn, "Beyond the 'Spanish tinge,'" 30 – 31; Madrid and Moore, *Danzón*, 118.
[1003] Raeburn, "Beyond the 'Spanish tinge,'" 21.

Italian musicians thwarted anti-immigrant ethnocentrism by similarly passing as "Mexican" or by drawing on their connections to Payen and the Eighth Cavalry Band. Having played with the band or having connections to Mexico's music culture gained Italians a similar degree of cultural capital during a time when there was a strong anti-Italian sentiment in New Orleans.[1005] Italian born orchestra leader and musician Carlo Curti had moved to Mexico City in 1883 where he worked as a teacher at the National Music Conservatory and as a composer. At the request of Mexican president Porfirio Díaz, Curti went to New Orleans in 1885 as the leader of the Mexican Typical Orchestra that represented Mexico at the fair.[1006] Like other members of the orchestra, which was thought to be the predecessor to mariachi bands, Curti performed in a charro outfit during the fair and many believed him to be Mexican.[1007] Indeed, it was in New Orleans that he became Carlos Curti (not Carlo) as he represented himself as Mexican. Curti and his orchestra wore large sombreros and serapes to offer yet another version of Mexican culture and music. While in New Orleans, Curti composed and published several songs in various Mexican musical styles, and New Orleanians of all backgrounds believed him to be Mexican.[1008] Similarly, Italian born Rocco Cardona came to New Orleans with Payen's Eighth Cavalry Band during its 1893 visit and stayed in the city at the end of the concert season.[1009] He had established a career for himself based on his experience playing with Eighth Cavalry Band, and newspapers made mention of his history with Payen when speaking of Cardona as a "very fine" and "skillful musician."[1010] Further, when his two-year-old daughter suddenly died after accidentally pouring boiling water over herself, Rocco's reputation and character were defended in local newspapers by referencing his professional relationship with the Eighth Cavalry Band's captain.[1011] Payen and Cardona were reportedly good friends, making Cardona "a young man of fine traits of character and regarded as a rising musician."[1012] Indeed, the newspapers made no mention of Cardona's Italian background and Cardona himself did not join the Giovanni Bersaglieri Society, an Italian cultural group, until after 1910.[1013] It seems that Cardona, like Curti, was passing as Mexican in New Orleans during the years when Italians were the target of intense racial violence in the city, and drew on his experience with Payen's Eighth Cavalry Band to gain a degree of cultural capital. This is not surprising given the lynching of and violence against Italians that was prominent in New Orleans in the late-nineteenth-century.[1014] Passing as Mexican, especially as one who was part of the Eighth Cavalry Band, gave Cardona access to opportunities to play with reputable local bands such as the West End Band and to join the white Musicians Union.[1015] These acts of passing demonstrate how convoluted ethnic representations became in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century New Orleans and how Mexicans had gained cultural and social whiteness in the city through continuing to emphasize their foreignness and appealing to local curiosity in their strange and sweet sounds.

[1004] Richard Lee Kennedy, *Jelly Roll, Bix, and Hoagy: Gennett Studios and the Birth of Jazz* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 74; Donald M. Marquis, "Martin Abraham, Sr. 'Chink Martin,' Jazz Pioneer," *Second Line* 31 (Fall 1979), 28 – 37; Raeburn, "Beyond the 'Spanish tinge,'" 32.

[1005] Krist, *Empire of Sin*, 21 – 35; Tom Smith, *The Crescent City Lynchings: The Murder of Chief Hennessy, the New Orleans 'Mafia' Trials, and the Parish Prison Mob* (New York: Lyons Press, 2007).

[1006] Jean Dickson, "Carlos Curti: Compositor, director, rey del xilófono, camaleón? Quién fue Carlos Curti?" *Heterfonia* 140 (2009), 61 – 75.

[1007] Manuel M. Castillo Sapién, "Italian and Spanish Influence on Selected Works of Mexican Composers: María Grever, Ignacio Fernández Esperón 'Tata Nacho,' and Agustín Lara" (PhD diss., University of Kentucky, 2014), 19 – 21.

[1008] Dickson, "Carlos Curti," 70; Raeburn, "Beyond the 'Spanish tinge,'" 30; Carlos Curti, "American Ladies," (New Orleans: Philip P. Werelein, 1885), Box 10, Folder 03, William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University.

[1009] "Deaths," *Times-Picayune*, December 9, 1945, 8; December 10, 1945, 2.

[1010] "Baby Scalded to Death," *Times-Picayune*, September 2, 1907, 5.

[1011] "Little Mary Cardona Pulls Pot Boiling Water Over Her," *The New Orleans Item,* September 2, 1907, 7; "Baby Scalded to Death," *Times-Picayune*, September 2, 1907, 5.

[1012] "Baby Scalded to Death," *Times-Picayune*, September 2, 1907, 5.

[1013] "Deaths," *Times-Picayune*, December 9, 1945, 8; December 10, 1945, 2.

[1014] "Anti-Italian Mood Led to 1891 Lynchings," *Times-Picayune*, March 14, 1991, B1; "Italian Immigrants: The Times-Picayune covers 175 years of New Orleans history," *Times-Picayune,* January 29, 2012; Justin A. Nystrom,

The establishment of the New Orleans Musicians Mutual Protective Union, Local 174 of the American Federation of Musicians in January 1902 further solidified the status of Mexican musicians as socially and culturally white in the Crescent City. Florencio Ramos and seventy-five other musicians established the local chapter as a way to ensure that musicians would not continue to undercut each other in prices for musical services rendered, but membership in this branch was strictly limited to local white musicians.[1016] A separate union, Local 496, was established in the same year after African American musicians were denied membership in Local 174.[1017] Despite Ramos' mestizo appearance, he was known in New Orleans as a Mexican musician and that earned him a place in the white musicians union. Indeed, records show that a significant number of Mexican musicians joined Local 174 well into the 1930s.[1018] As a member of the Musicians Union, Ramos helped establish New Orleans' first symphony orchestra.[1019] He

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"Sicilian Lynchings in New Orleans," in *KnowLA Encyclopedia of Louisiana*, edited by David Johnson, Louisiana Endowment for the Humanities, 2010. Article published June 24, 2013. <http://www.knowla.org/entry/1064/>

[1015] "Baby Scalded to Death," *Times-Picayune*, September 2, 1907, 5.

[1016] "A Musicians' Union," *Times-Picayune*, January 8, 1902, 3; "Musicians' Union Agrees Upon a Uniform Scale of Charges," *Times-Picayune*, February 25, 1902, 12.

[1017] These two branches would not merge until 1969.

[1018] The union records from this period are incomplete. They do show a number of approved application for musicians from Mexico. Some of those musicians had lived and earned a living as a musician in Texas before making their way to New Orleans. See: American Federation of Musicians collection, William Ransom Hogan Jazz Archive, Howard-Tilton Memorial Library, Tulane University.

[1019] "Union Musicians Patriotic," *Times-Picayune*, May 22, 1910, 7.

played with the orchestra for several years and remained a member of the Musicians Union until his death. In fact, he had been such a prominent member of both the Union and the city's scene that after his death in 1931, Local 174 honored him at his funeral, and musicians of all colors came to pay their respects.[1020] By the early twentieth century, New Orleans had become a small hub for Mexican musicians in the United States as seen from the transfer applications submitted to Local 174 of the American Federation of Musicians.[1021] This confirmed their status as socially and culturally white in New Orleans.

Men like Ramos and Leonardo Vizcarra continued to emphasize their Mexicanness to live as socially and culturally white in New Orleans as evidenced by their visibility in the local newspapers' "Society" pages. The details of their personal lives, including their marriages, the births of their children, and the accomplishments of their families, were listed in the society pages, from which African Americans and non-white foreigners were largely excluded. Ramos married a white, New York born woman, Adelbertha Weiner Reagan, after living in New Orleans for ten years. Together they had two children, Robert Rudolph and Lamar Arnold, first generation Mexican Americans. Lamar became a prominent New Orleans lawyer after studying at Tulane University while Robert served in the War Department during World War I and became a leader in the New Orleans American Legion post. Florencio Ramos, himself, continued to move among various circles, including the white Musician's Union, African American bands, local business associations, as well as Mexican political and cultural circles. He continued to move between borders, cultures, and racial lines. Indeed, immigration records indicate that while Ramos spent most of his life in New Orleans, he visited Mexico numerous times. While it is still unclear what the nature of these visits may have been, he sometimes traveled alone, perhaps after traveling the Southwest with various bands as he often did. While Ramos gained access to the privileges of whiteness and was accepted in the broader white social world, he remained culturally and at times, physically connected to Mexico. However, by 1912, as Mexico was immersed in its violent revolution, Ramos completed the process to become a U.S. citizen.[1022]

[1020] "Deaths," *The Times-Picayune*, July 16, 1931, 2; "A Musicians' Union," *Times-Picayune*, January 8, 1902, 3; "Musicians' Union Agrees Upon a Uniform Scale of Charges," *Times-Picayune*, February 25, 1902, 12.

[1021] "American Federation of Musicians" collection, Hogan Jazz Archive, Tulane University.

Saxophonist Leonardo Vizcarra had similarly gained access to the privileges of whiteness in New Orleans and his Mexicanness had created numerous opportunities for economic and social advancement. Unlike Ramos, Vizcarra had married a wealthy and connected Mexican woman that he met in New Orleans. His wife, Librada Calderon, was part of a wealthy family that had connections to transportation businesses in Mexico.[1023] Given Vizcarra's humble background, this was a marriage that was not likely to have taken place in Mexico. However, Vizcarra's celebrity in New Orleans had earned him a degree of social status. Librada Calderon was active in Latin American and commercial activities in New Orleans, and as such was a prominent member of New Orleans society.[1024] Their two children, Enrique L. Vizcarra and Juan Vizcarra, were first generation Mexican Americans who Americanized their names and were known in the New Orleans social world as Henry L. Vizcarra and John J. Vizcarra. Both Henry and John served in the U.S. Army during World War I and went on to have successful careers in the New Orleans area, Henry was a banker and John worked for the railroad and often did business in Latin America.[1025] The Vizcarra family, like the Ramos family, had remained culturally connected to Mexico and had used their Mexicanness to gain a place for themselves in the social world of New Orleans.

[1022] "Petition for Naturalization," May 23, 1912, U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Louisiana, v. 6, no 629, p 29, City Archives, New Orleans Public Library.

[1023] "Mrs. Leonardo Vizcarra Dies," *Times-Picayune*, July 23, 1917, 21.

[1024] "Mrs. Leonardo Vizcarra Dies," *Times-Picayune*, July 23, 1917, 21; Stewart, "The Mexican Band Legend – Part II," 4.

[1025] "Died," *Times-Picayune*, June 3, 1923, p 2; "Bank Official's Last Rites Slates," *Times-Picayune*, August 14, 1947, p 2; *New Orleans City Directory*, 1919.

Mexican musicians were ultimately unable to help further long-term commercial relations, but they helped foster a better understanding of a modern Mexico in New Orleans that was eventually challenged by the Mexican Revolution. The onset of violent revolution in Mexico and Encarnación Payen's subsequent death brought the end of the Eighth Cavalry Band's visits to New Orleans, but the band's cultural legacy endured. Mexican diplomats and New Orleans business leaders continued using culture as a way to help foster ties of friendship and commercial relations with one another in an attempt to reconcile and move beyond past hostilities between them. However, with the exception of the two brief visits from the Mexican National Band that had replaced the Eighth Cavalry Band in representing the nation, Mexico found different cultural projects to share with the city that had given form to jazz. Nevertheless, the 1884 fair had created new opportunities for Mexican musicians in New Orleans and those who settled in the city used their music and their Mexicanness as a way to claim their place in the increasingly racialized social world of New Orleans, while helping shape the city's distinct music culture in the process. New Orleans' distinct history where social status had been shaped by more than race, the rhetoric of friendship used in the pursuit of building commercial relations between Mexico and New Orleans, the cultural whitening of Mexico's project of modernity highlighted at the 1884 fair, and the popularity of Mexican music had created distinct opportunities for Mexican musicians in the Crescent City. Contrary to the loss of privileges experienced by the Afro-Creole and African American population in the early twentieth-century, Mexican musicians like Leonardo Vizcarra and Florencio Ramos gained more privileges in New Orleans as the color line began to harden and was formally legalized, inadvertently affirming the color line and entrenching white supremacy in the process. From popularizing Mexican musical styles through published sheet music, to playing in local bands, to contributing a “Latin tinge” to the New Orleans sound, to helping establish the city’s first musicians union, Mexican musicians left an auditory rather than a visible mark on the city, and it helped shape the popular sound that the city is known for today.

“The people here are very courteous.
New Orleans seems more like my
country – not an American city.”
- Isabel Pérez[1026]

“New Orleans is very friendly.
This friendliness reminds me of my country”
- Ruben Vergara[1027]

“I like New Orleans because it has the Latin spirit.
Here I don’t miss anything.”
- Eva Marie Calix[1028]

EPILOGUE: A Waning “Friendship”

Decades after the 1884 World’s Fair, diplomats and businessmen in both New Orleans and Mexico continued to deploy the fair’s rhetoric of friendship in an attempt to establish and maintain friendly commercial relations between them. However, while relations fostered at the fair led “one of the leading eastern mills” to transfer its entire plant to Mexico, historians such as Gene Yeager have shown that a one-to-one relationship between the fair and trade between Mexico and New Orleans cannot easily be traced.[1029] The value of Mexican exports increased from 40.6 million pesos before the fair to 287.7 million pesos in the years 1910 – 1911.[1030] However, this increase cannot directly be connected to the 1884 fair as Mexico may have been riding a “rising tide of world commercial activity” during which world trade increased three-fold between 1875 and 1914.[1031] Nevertheless, the role of the fair's rhetoric and Porfirian Mexico's commercial propaganda at the fair "should not be underestimated."[1032] While Mexican diplomats such as Sebastián de Mier recognized that the causes of Mexico's material progress after the fair and during the Porfiriato were complex, he noted, "it cannot be denied that among these causes the expositions have been very important."[1033] Prior to the fair, U.S. Americans had learned how to speak of Mexico's wealth through popular travel tales, but the 1884 World's Fair gave New Orleanians and visitors of all backgrounds "'unmistakable evidence' of its "extraordinary natural resources."[1034] In other words, the fair taught New Orleanians to see Mexico's resources and modernity and helped advance foreign investment in Mexico, but as historians such as Yeager and Robert A. González have noted, the commercial relations between them did not develop on the scale that New Orleanian businessmen and Mexican diplomats had intended.[1035] Nevertheless, the Crescent City and its southern neighbor remained connected in numerous ways into the twentieth century, impacting one another's development significantly, and creating distinct opportunities for Mexicans in New Orleans in the process.

[1026] Norman Wellington Painter, “The Assimilation of Latin Americans in New Orleans, Louisiana,” (MA Thesis, Tulane University, 1949), 49; Case P-3: Isabel Pérez of Mexico, in “Norman Wellington Painter Thesis Research Material, 1948 – 1949,” Collection 52, Folder 1, Latin American Library, Tulane University, New Orleans.

[1027] Painter, “The Assimilation of Latin Americans,” 66; Case V-4: Ruben Vergara, in “Painter Thesis Research Material,” Folder 2.

[1028] Painter, “The Assimilation of Latin Americans,” 66; Case C-1: Eva Marie Calix in “Painter Thesis Research Material,” Folder 1.

[1029] Yeager, “Porfirian Commercial Propaganda,” 241 – 242; *Times Democrat*, February 16, 1885

[1030] *Estadísticas económicas del Porfiriato: Comercio exterior de México, 1877 – 1911* (México: El Colegio de Mexico, 1960), 78.

Revolution

In the second half of the nineteenth-century, Mexican liberals believed that both economic growth and political stability were fundamental to Mexico's development as a modern and independent nation-state. Indeed, Mexico's heavy involvement in the 1884 fair was part of the government's strategy to modernize the nation by fostering both economic growth and establishing a centralized Mexican state. Through these efforts, Mexico did indeed achieve a degree of internal stability, known as the *Pax Porfiriana,* and also saw the emergence of a centralized and effective Mexican state under president Porfirio Díaz in the years following the fair.[1036] However, many of these advancements were linked to the country's economic development, which was largely dependent on foreign investors. Indeed, Mexico saw a predominance of foreign ownership of its most important, non-agricultural economic sectors such as banking, mining, industry, and transportation. As a result, Mexico became what historian Friedrich Katz has called "a classic example of an underdeveloped country producing raw materials that depended on markets in the industrialized north Atlantic."[1037] While Díaz and his *científicos* had indeed helped modernize the country by building railroads and bringing electricity to Mexico's cities, what emerged in early twentieth century Mexico was a country that had become dependent on foreign investments to an unprecedented degree rather than the modern nation-state they had intended.[1038] In many ways, the years following the fair failed to prove that Mexico was indeed a viable sister republic, especially as Diaz's long presidency created tensions throughout the country.

[1031] Yeager, "Porfirian Commercial Propaganda," 242.

[1032] Yeager, "Porfirian Commercial Propaganda," 243.

[1033] de Mier, *México en la exposición*, 8.

[1034] Richard Nixon, "An Exposition of the Three Americas," *Century Magazine*, Vol. XXXI (November 1885), 152. For more on the role of travel writings in shaping U.S. American ideas about Mexico, see: Ruiz, *Americans in the Treasure House*.

[1035] Yeager, "Porfirian Commercial Propaganda," 230 – 235; Robert Alexander González, *Designing Pan-America: U.S. Architectural Visions for the Western Hemisphere* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), 22-31.

The growing tensions in Mexico came to a head in late 1910 when an armed struggle broke out that would come to radically transform Mexico's government, economy, and culture as well as its relationships with New Orleans and the United States more broadly.[1039] It was a

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[1036] *Pax Porfiriana* is Spanish for "The Porfirian Peace," and refers to Díaz's thirty-three year reign that followed years of internal fighting in Mexico. See: Katz, "The Liberal Republic and the Porfiriato, 1876 – 1910," 49 – 124.

[1037] Katz, "The Liberal Republic," 81.

[1038] Katz, "The Liberal Republic," 81.

[1039] While the impact the Mexican Revolution had on commercial and diplomatic relations with New Orleans and the United States are significant for understanding how Mexicans fit into the Crescent City in the early twentieth-century, the causes of the Mexican Revolution are beyond the scope of this dissertation. However, it is important to "genuinely national revolution" that impacted the diplomatic relations the Porfirian government had spent the previous thirty-five years working to establish with New Orleans, the United States, and other foreign nations.[1040] As it had throughout the nineteenth-century, New Orleans again served as an important vantage point from which U.S. Americans could keep an eye on how what they initially viewed as simply "riots in Mexico" developed into a nationwide war.[1041] The New Orleans press quickly began reporting on how the war was impacting U.S. Americans who were living in Mexico, often paying particular attention to the plight of those who were "Louisiana People."[1042] When the violent revolts extended to Mexico's many corners, the New Orleans press quickly recognized the events as part of a nationwide revolution and reported on what they proclaimed were "Anti-American Demonstrations" that had become a part of it.[1043]

It was during the Revolution that New Orleans saw a new wave of people coming to the city from Mexico, but they were not all Mexican natives. Many U.S. Americans who lived in and had business interests in Mexico fled the country to avoid the violence. Though a number of these businessmen had homes in other parts of the United States, many initially found refuge in New Orleans because they believed the Revolution would be short lived and that they would return to Mexico and resume with their business when the violence quieted. Some of these U.S. American visitors used their stint in New Orleans as an opportunity to improve their Mexican

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note that the tax incentives Díaz gave to foreign investors were just one of the contributing factors to the Revolution. To make up for the reduced value of taxes paid by these foreign investors, the Mexican government began raising taxes for the middle class. For more on the various economic and political factors that shaped the Mexican Revolutions, see: Friedrich Katz, *The Secret War in Mexico: Europe, the United States, and the Mexican Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981); John Coatsworth, *Growth Against Development: The Economic Impact of Railroads in Porfirian Mexico* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1981).

[1040] Alan Knight, "Mexican Revolution: Interpretations" in *Encyclopedia of Mexico: History, Society, and Culture, Volume 2* (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1997), 873.

[1041] "More Riots in Mexico," *Times Picayune*, November 13, 1910, 1.

[1042] "More Riots in Mexico," *Times Picayune*, November 13, 1910, 1.

[1043] "Revolt Extends to Many Cities," *Times Picayune*, November 23, 1910, 1.

based businesses. For example, John Copeland, the superintendent of the Romana Lumber Company, used it as an opportunity to examine factories and machinery in New Orleans and assessed how to update his own mill when he returned to Mexico.[1044] However, as the wartime violence continued, many U.S. American businessmen found their stays in New Orleans extended much longer than they had originally anticipated. New Orleans newspapers regularly reported on the many new arrivals to the city's hotels, the large majority of which were U.S. American businessmen who had left their homes and businesses in Mexico behind.[1045] With the constant flow of people coming in from Mexico, New Orleans once again served as an information hub, making it an ideal place from which U.S. American businessmen could wait out what they believed would be a short-lived war and keep informed as to how things were unfolding and impacting their business interests.

Over the course of the Revolution, New Orleans also experienced a new influx of Mexican visitors and migrants, who brought information with them about the war to the city.[1046] A small number were political exiles, including some of the Porfirian elite, who were seeking refuge as Mexican liberals had in the past.[1047] Others were Mexican businessmen or politicians who were only temporarily escaping the violence, and they too shared their perspectives on the war with the New Orleans press, even when their opinions did not necessarily favor U.S.

[1044] "Matters in Mexico," *Times Picayune*, December 20, 1910, 4.

[1045] The "Hotel Arrivals" column in the *Times Picayune* became much larger over the first years of the Mexican Revolution. Instead of simply being a list of names, it expended to several columns, sometimes spanning more than one page, that gave detailed accounts of the people who had arrived and what they had to say about how the war was unfolding in Mexico. "News and Notables at the New Orleans Hotels," *Times Picayune*, December 27, 1910.

[1046] Lima, "Louisiana," 352 – 353.

[1047] In addition to the Mexican liberals who sought refuge in New Orleans during the nineteenth-century (see chapter 1), Porfirio Díaz also lived in the Crescent City while in exile, albeit briefly, in 1857. He later returned to New Orleans with his second wife in 1883 while on their "bridal tour." There is some speculation that Díaz and his wife stopped in New Orleans en route to France after the outbreak of the Revolution, but given that they were traveling in secrecy, there is no evidence of this claim in historical records. See: "When Porfirio Díaz Visited New Orleans," *Times Picayune*, June 18, 1911.

Americans. For example, when Dr. Fortunato Hernández, a member of Mexican Congress, visited the city in 1911, he blamed the revolution "on American mine and land speculators."[1048] More specifically, he accused millionaires in New York and other northern U.S. cities of publishing unfavorable representations of Mexico and supporting the "bandits" waging the war with the goal of driving the price of mines and land down.[1049] While some Mexican visitors to New Orleans such as Hernández remained deeply suspicious of U.S. investors, they continued to feel at home in New Orleans and hoped for continued relations with the city. In the same article Hernández discussed his hope that Congress would select New Orleans as the site for the 1915 World's Panama Exposition, celebrating the completion of the Panama Canal.[1050] Indeed, the Mexican Revolution was yet another moment in a long history of relations between Mexico and New Orleans where the city's role as an overlap between two souths kept them connected – simultaneously close enough to its southern neighbor to remain closely connected and serve as an information hub while far enough away to serve as a place of refuge from war.

Like some of the Eighth Cavalry Band musicians had in the past, some of the Mexican migrants who made their way to New Orleans during the revolutionary war chose to settle in the city permanently, where they found a relatively small, but culturally rich Mexican population. Many of the migrants that went to New Orleans during the war often chose the city because they had existing personal or business connections there, stemming from a long history of cultural, political, commercial relations between the Crescent City and Mexico.[1051] Some others chose it because of the availability of jobs in the city as African Americans left the state during the Great

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[1048] "News and Notables at the New Orleans Hotels – Mexican Medical Leader and Congressman Blames Revolution on American Mine and Land Speculators," *Times Picayune*, January 9, 1911.
[1049] "News and Notables at the New Orleans Hotels," *Times Picayune*, January 9, 1911.
[1050] "News and Notables at the New Orleans Hotels," *Times Picayune*, January 9, 1911.
[1051] Painter, "The Assimilation of Latin Americans," 27 – 45.

Migration and the city experienced a growth brought on by the discovery of natural gas and petroleum in the region.[1052] Still others chose it due to the city's close geographic proximity. As such, New Orleans' Mexican migrants in the early twentieth-century were largely from Mexico's Gulf Coast and had "escaped the more sustained violence of the revolution."[1053] Often times these migrants were from urban areas, bilingual, and better educated than their counterparts who had gone to the U.S. Southwest or Midwest.[1054] Moreover, many tended to be supporters of Porfirio Díaz and his regime, as evidenced by the annual tributes that were held for him in the city after his death.[1055] In New Orleans, they encountered a small community of Mexicans, including former musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band, artists, Mexican diplomats, and others.

The success of Mexican musicians and the city's rich arts culture also attracted artists such as Enrique Alférez, who left Mexico towards the end of the war and settled in New Orleans, where he thrived as a sculptor and left his mark on the city with his distinct artistic style.[1056] Alférez was just one of the many Mexican migrants to settle in New Orleans who helped to continue cultivating ties between the Crescent City and Mexico by working with local scholars and professionals to bring Mexican culture to the city. He led the city's WPA sculpture project, which was one of many inspirations U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt's administration and New Deal borrowed from Mexico.[1057] A few years after his arrival in New Orleans, Alférez led a group of Tulane anthropologists, students, and an architect on an expedition to the Yucatán where they made molds of Mayan temples so that they could reproduce them for presentation at the 1933 World's Fair.[1058] Indeed, this new influx of Mexican migrants helped to continue cultivating the vogue for and curiosity about Mexican culture that had first captivated the city in 1884 with the World's Fair and the Eighth Cavalry Band.

[1052] Lima, "Louisiana," 352.

[1053] Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms, Southern Racisms," 754. See also: Gilbert M. Joseph, *Revolution from Without: Yucatan, Mexico, and the United States, 1880 – 1924* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

[1054] For more on Mexican migrants in Los Angeles during and after the Mexican Revolution, see: George J. Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900 – 1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). For more on Mexican migrants to the United States Midwest in the first half of the twentieth century, see: Gabriela Arredondo, *Race, Identity, and Nation, 1916 – 1939* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2008); and Zaragosa Vargas, *Proletarians of the North: Mexican Industrial Workers in Detroit and the Midwest, 1917 – 1933* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).

[1055] "Mexicans Pay Annual Tribute to Porfirio Díaz," *Times-Picayune*, July 4, 1920.

[1056] Enrique Alférez was a Mexican sculptor who learned his trade from his father. He was heavily involved in the WPA projects throughout the city and had a successful career until his death in 1999. His work can be still be seen decorating the front of Charity Hospital (although closed), New Orleans Lakefront Airport, the Times-Picayune building, Touro Infirmary, Christ Cathedral chapel on St. Charles Avenue, St. Martin's Episcopal church in Metairie, City Park, Audubon Park Zoo, Metairie Cemetery, the New Orleans Museum of Art, and the Ogden Museum of Southern Art. See: Enrique Alférez, E. John Bullard, and Sharon Litwin, *Enrique Alférez: a project of Joseph C. Canizaro* (New Orleans, 1988); Robert Jeanfreau, *Story Behind the Stone* (Gretna: Pelican Publishing, 2012); "Career Echoes Century," *Times-Picayune*, May 26, 1996; "Enrique: A Portrait of the Artist," *The Times-Picayune's Dixie*, May 3, 1981; "Sculptor Enrique Alferez Cast in His Own Mold," *Louisiana Cultural Vistas*, Spring 1999, 12 – 25; and "Fountains and the Shape of the City," *Dixie Magazine*, February 17, 1985.

By 1920, the U.S. census listed "1,242 Mexican-born whites" residing in New Orleans, and newspaper advertisements show an increase in Mexican goods being sold in the city to meet the needs of this growing population.[1059] Mexican delicacies including pastries, spices, beans, chili peppers, fabrics, and crafts were regularly available in stores throughout New Orleans.[1060] Many of the Mexican goods were targeted at the city's growing Mexican population as evidenced by their Spanish language advertisements. However, these goods were not solely being advertised for the local Mexican population, but also for New Orleanians who remained enamored with Mexican culture and wanted to familiarize themselves with it in order to attempt building stronger relations with Mexican diplomats. Indeed, although the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution had created ruptures in the development of commercial relations between New Orleans and Mexico, the city's Mexican population continued to grow and Mexican culture continued to thrive. Moreover, Mexico and New Orleans remained closely connected throughout the early twentieth century through the continued circulation of goods, culture, and people.

[1057] Historian Tore Olsson has shown how Mexico's agrarian policy influenced many of the New Deal's own policies in the United States. See: Olsson, *Agrarian Crossings*.

[1058] "Mayan Exhibit will be Erected by Frans Blom," *Times-Picayune*, January 4, 1930; "Students Chosen by Frans Blom for Uxmal Trip," *Times-Picayune*, January 9, 1930; "Blom Departs to Make Study of Ancient City," *Times-Picayune*, February 6, 1930; "Gay, Bold Sculptor, Famed for Adventures, Dead on Tulane Mission, Friends Hear," *The Item-Tribune*, March 9, 1930; "Sculptor 'Enrique' Dead, Friend Hear," *The Item-Tribune*, March 9, 1930; "Explorer's Death Report Unfounded," *Times-Picayune*, March 11, 1930; "Tulane Explorers Return Home," *Times-Picayune*, May 20, 1930.

[1059] Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms, Southern Racisms," 754. As Julie Weise has noted, this was slightly higher than the number living in Chicago at that time.

[1060] "Big Grocery Store," *Times-Picayune*, January 24, 1915; "Lace Bead Spreads," *Times-Picayune*, January 31, 1915; "Mexican Chicle," *Times-Picayune*, February 11, 1915; "Mexican Commerce Cigars," *Times-Picayune*, February 18, 1915; "Books and Pictures," *Times-Picayune*, February 26, 1915; "Señores Latino-Americanos," *Times-Picayune*, March 20, 1921; "Genuine Mexican Chili," *Times-Picayune*, July 16, 1924; "Mexican Piano Prodigy Plays at Spanish Club," *Times-Picayune*, January 29, 1928; "Mexican Troupe to Stage Bull Fights in New Orleans," *Times-Picayune,* June 10, 1923.

New Orleans – Gateway to the Americas

With the Revolution stalling the continued development of commercial relations between the Crescent City and Mexico, white New Orleanian businessmen began to focus more on fostering economic and commercial opportunities in Latin America more broadly. They eagerly embraced the growing spirit of Pan Americanism that U.S. Americans had begun spearheading in the 1880s, and invested greater efforts in cultivating the relations they had started fostering at the fair.[1061] While policy makers and business leaders in the United States and Latin American countries alike had begun placing emphasis on organizing the western hemisphere into "an international cooperative," this new Pan Americanism was "U.S. led, and directed primarily at improved and stabilized economic ties in the Americas."[1062] The 1884 fair's commissioner, Edward A. Burke, had not wasted any time in embracing this Pan Americanism and had used his new, albeit fast, friendship with Honduran president Luis Bográn to pursue mining and railroad interests in Honduras.[1063] Burke aside, most New Orleanians had primarily focused on Mexico

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[1061] David Sheinin, *Beyond the Ideal: Pan Americanism in Inter-American* Affairs (Westport: Praeger, 2000), 1.

[1062] Sheinin, *Beyond the Ideal*, 1, 2.

[1063] When Burke's successor as Louisiana State Treasurer, William Henry Pipes, discovered that Burke had embezzled money from the state estimated at up to $2 million, Burke fled to Honduras where he spent the remainder of his life. See: James F. Vivian, "Major E.A. Burke: The Honduras Exile, 1889 – 1928," *Louisiana History: The*

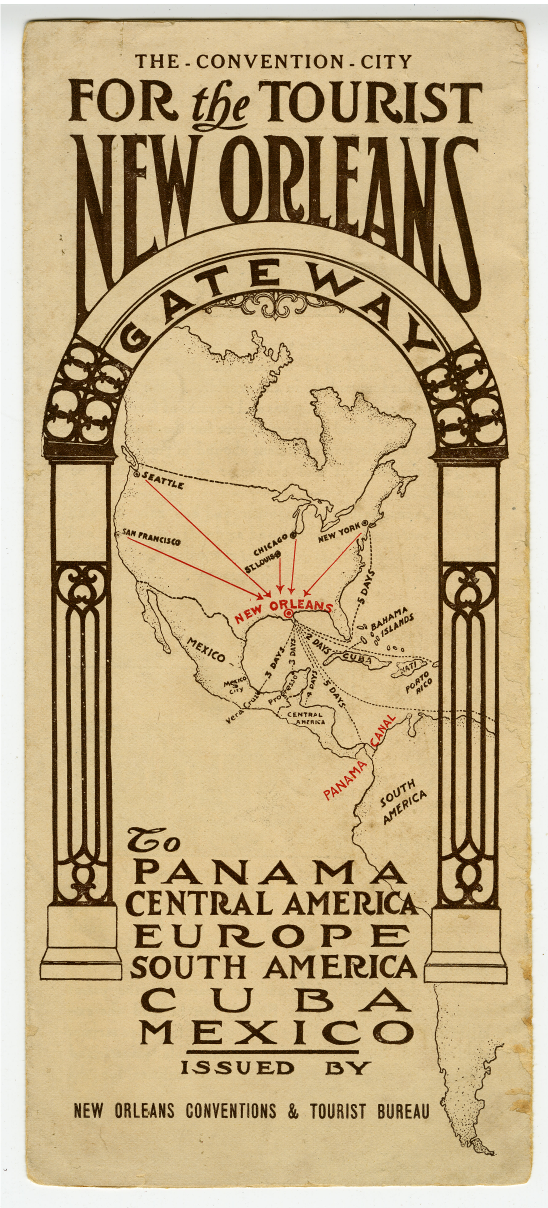
THE - CONVENTION - CITY
FOR the TOURIST
NEW ORLEANS
GATEWAY
SEATTLE
SAN FRANCISCO
CHICAGO
ST. LOUIS
NEW YORK
NEW ORLEANS
5 DAYS
BAHAMA ISLANDS
MEXICO
3 DAYS
2 DAYS
CUBA
HAITI
PORTO RICO
Mexico City
Vera Cruz
Progreso
CENTRAL AMERICA
PANAMA CANAL
SOUTH AMERICA
To
PANAMA
CENTRAL AMERICA
EUROPE
SOUTH AMERICA
CUBA
MEXICO
ISSUED BY
NEW ORLEANS CONVENTIONS & TOURIST BUREAU

Figure 8: Pamphlet distributed by the New Orleans Convention and Tourism Bureau, advertising New Orleans as a "Gateway" to the Americas after the completion of the Panama Canal, circa 1914. Image from a pamphlet titled "The Convention City of the Tourist," item F379.N53 N432 1900zx, T.P. Thompson Collection, W.S. Hoole Special Collections Library, University of Alabama. Reproduced courtesy of University Libraries, Division of Special Collections, The University of Alabama.

Journal of the Louisiana Historical Association 15.2 (Spring 1974), 175 – 194; "Staging the 'Crowning Achievement of the Age,'" 341 – 366; "Louisiana's Stolen Bonds," *New York Times*, October 27, 1889; "Major Burke Indicted," *New York Times*, November 24, 1889; "Maj. A. Burke Dies in Honduras at 89," *New York Times*, September 25, 1928.

during the fair and it was not until after the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution that many began to more aggressively pursue business opportunities in other Latin American countries. Indeed, the Mexican Revolution led many white New Orleanian businessmen to begin advancing themes of cultural and economic cooperation with Latin American more broadly, as they had done with Mexico during the fair, and those efforts were seen throughout the early twentieth century.

In many ways, New Orleans' growing Latin American population supported this developing interest in establishing cultural, diplomatic, and commercial ties between their city and Latin America. As sociologist Norman Wellington Painter showed in his 1949 study, New Orleans' Latin American population was quite heterogeneous and was comprised of people from many different countries.[1064] In the 1920s, the consuls of Latin America began holding join events in New Orleans to celebrate the anniversary of Independence of Central American countries and Mexico to demonstrate "the good will existing among the Latin American countries" and people.[1065] Mexican consul, Rafael Jiménez, described these Pan Americanist efforts as "a movement among a group of states which can be of assistance to each other in the solution of closer political, economic, juridical, and cultural understanding among nations."[1066] This, in turn, led to the establishment of various Latin American clubs and associations throughout New Orleans, many of which focused on holding cultural events and supporting commercial relations between the city and Latin America.[1067] However, as the local Latin American population continued to grow, new organizations emerged in the city to provide some representation in government for Latinxs living in New Orleans, who constituted one third of New Orleans' population by the mid twentieth-century.[1068]

[1064] Painter, "The Assimilation of Latin Americans."

[1065] "Latin Consuls at New Orleans to Join in Fete," *Times-Picayune*, September 15, 1926. As they did in other U.S. cities, the consulate of post-revolutionary Mexico did host some of these events to foster a sense of unity, promote cooperation, and keep New Orleans' Mexicans within the national fold. However, given New Orleans very heterogeneous Latin American population, the Mexican consuls sometimes combined these events with those of other Latin American consuls. Indeed, Mexican consuls managed to use such events to maintain ties between Mexicans in new Orleans and Mexico while simultaneously building alliances with other Latin Americans under a Pan Americanism that celebrated the independence of their nations from European powers. For more on the role of post-revolutionary Mexican consuls in reminding Mexican colonies (in Chicago) of their civic duties to Mexico, see: Arredondo, *Mexican Chicago,* 144 – 173.

[1066] "Mexican Consul Talks on Pan-Americanism," *New Orleans States*, April 23, 1945.

Despite New Orleans' growing Pan Americanism, efforts at developing commercial and cultural ties specifically with Mexico resumed after the fighting in the revolutionary war had largely ended in the 1920s. With the help of the consulate office, New Orleans' Mexican population established the Mexican Patriotic Committee, which held cultural events throughout the city that celebrated Mexican culture.[1069] They deployed a similar strategy to that used by the Mexican Commission at the 1884 World's Fair and used Mexican culture as a way to educate New Orleans' diverse population about Mexico, its people, and its vast resources.[1070] As with many of the events that had complemented the fair, the city's most prominent business and professional leaders attended the Mexican Patriotic Committee's events.[1071] For example, in 1924 the Mexican Patriotic Committee and the New Orleans Association of Commerce held a joint dinner where president-elect of Mexico, Plutarco Elías Calles was the guest of honor. The goal, of course, was to facilitate commercial relations between New Orleans and Mexico.[1072] Even the cultural events the Mexican Patriotic Committee hosted were aimed at developing "commercial interests and friendship" between Mexican diplomats and New Orleans leaders by promoting a "deeper understanding of each other's customs."[1073] These efforts continued for several decades and largely resembled many of the efforts made at the 1884 World's Fair in that they continued to deploy a rhetoric of friendship to advance commercial interests.[1074]

[1067] The New Orleans Latin American Club held its inaugural event, a celebration of Mexican Independence Day, on September 16, 1926. See: Painter, "The Assimilation of Latin Americans" 46 – 60; "Latin American Nations Celebrate Independence," *Times-Picayune*, September 16, 1959.

[1068] In October 1972, the Latin Advisory Committee (LAC) formed as a sub-group of the city's Human Relations Committee to provide political representation for the city's Latin American population. In the same year, a chapter of LULAC (League of United Latin American Citizens) was established in the city. See: Luis Emilio Henao, *The Hispanics in Louisiana* (New Orleans: Latin American Apostolate, 1982), 23. See also: Painter, "The Assimilation of Latin Americans in New Orleans," 1.

[1069] "Mexico Society Organized Here with 53 Members," *Times-Picayune*, February 19, 1929; "Mexicans Hail Patriotic Day," *Times-Picayune*, September 16, 1957.

[1070] Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms," 763 – 764.

[1071] "Mexico Society Organized Here with 53 Members," *Times-Picayune*, February 19, 1929; Miscellaneous Invitations, International Relations Office Collection, Louisiana Division / City Archives, NOPL.

The election of Chep Morrison as mayor of New Orleans in 1946 further advanced the city's efforts at developing commercial relations with Mexico and other Latin American countries.[1075] When he was first elected at the end of World War II, he "discovered" that New Orleans had dropped from second to seventeenth place in the United States' busiest commercial ports.[1076] New Orleans had always competed with New York for commercial importance, and later with Miami as well, but the port city had never fallen so low in importance. "With the backing and stimulation of civic leaders in New Orleans," Morrison determined to make the city's port "second again only to New York."[1077] Aware that commerce with Mexico and Latin America had been important to the local economy throughout the city's history, he launched an international-trade development program. Over the course of his fifteen years as mayor, he headed delegations of fifty to eighty local business leaders on sixty different trips to Latin

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[1072] Dinner Invitation 1924, International Relations Office Collection, Louisiana Division / City Archives, New Orleans Public Library.

[1073] "Old and Modern Books in Spanish Given to Library," *Times-Picayune*, October 29, 1930; "Mexico offers Local Port Biggest Trade Opportunity, Consul-General Maintains," *Times-Picayune*, October 12, 1930.

[1074] "Acting Mayor of Mexico D.F. Heard," *New Orleans States*, July 25, 1944.

[1075] The mayor's name was deLesseps Story Morrison, Sr., but he was widely known as Chep Morrison. See; Edward F. Haas, *DeLesseps S. Morrison and the Image of Reform: New Orleans Politics, 1946 – 60* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1974).

[1076] Morrison, deLesseps S. *Latin American Mission: An Adventure in Hemisphere Diplomacy.* Ed. Gerold Frank. New York, 1965, 34.

[1077] Morrison, *Latin American Mission*, 42.

America, the majority of which were to Mexico. He essentially "conducted a kind of private Latin American foreign service of [his] own."[1078] When the Mexican government began focusing efforts on developing its tourist trade, which was its "second ranking big business," Morrison worked to develop a non-stop airline route connecting the Crescent City to Mexico City.[1079] As a result of his tireless efforts towards advancing commercial relations between New Orleans and Mexico, the Comite Norteamericano Pro-México made Morrison an honorary member in recognition of "his untiring and unselfish devotion to the cause of developing greater understanding and friendship" between the people of the city and Mexico.[1080] Indeed, Morrison, had become one of Mexico's greatest supporters and advocates in the mid twentieth-century, and while his focus was always on developing commercial relations with the city's southern neighbor, like his predecessors, he used culture and a rhetoric of friendship to do so.

Morrison's efforts at fostering understanding between New Orleans leaders and Mexican diplomats left some visible marks on the city that can be seen to this day. In 1857, Mayor Morrison initiated the development of the city's "Garden of the Americas," which was not only part of the city-wide beautification project, but was also a symbol of the ties of friendship between New Orleans, Mexico, and the countries of Latin America. Monuments to three Latin American heroes – Simón Bolívar, Benito Juárez, and Francisco Morazán – were erected on Basin Street between Canal and St. Louis streets. The city held dedication ceremonies when each of these monuments was erected, replete with attendance by local and foreign diplomats as well as gift exchanges that symbolized friendship between New Orleans and the respective Latin

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[1078] Morrison, *Latin American Mission*, 49.

[1079] "Mexico Builds Tourist Trade – Director in N.O. to Promote Business," *Times-Picayune*, June 14, 1956.

[1080] The Mexican Patriotic Committee was renamed Comite Norteamericano Pro-Mexico, but it is unclear when that occurred. However, aside from Morrison, the organization was comprised of United States citizens living in Mexico and Mexicans living in New Orleans. See: "Friendship Work of Mayor Cited," *Times Picayune*, February 3, 1956.

American countries.[1081] These ceremonies were similar to those held at the time of the 1884 World's Fair in that they deployed a rhetoric of friendship and were rife with patriotic symbols from New Orleans, the U.S., and the Latin American countries being represented. For example, diplomats from Mexico and New Orleans attended the dedication of the Benito Júarez statue and gave speeches about the many years of friendship between them. The statue of Júarez itself was made by Mexico's renowned sculptor Juan Fernando Olaguíbel, and was a gift from the Mexican government to thank the city of New Orleans for sheltering the liberal leader during times of turmoil. Moreover, it served as "concrete proof of the ties of friendship and amity between Mexico and New Orleans."[1082] The statue, and those of Bolívar and Morazán, still stand today and serve as reminders of New Orleans' long connections to Mexico and Latin America.

The efforts to build friendships and establish commercial relations between New Orleans and Mexico in the twentieth-century peaked during Morrison's tenure as mayor, but didn't have much longevity beyond that. Morrison had been so focused on his efforts with Mexico and Latin America that he lost his run for re-election in 1961. However, in the same year, U.S. president John F. Kennedy appointed him as the U.S. Ambassador to the Organization of American States, a continental organization dedicated to regional solidarity and cooperation.[1083] Morrison's successor as mayor, Victor H. Schiro, directed his efforts towards addressing some of the city's most pressing issues such as integrating schools and expanding local infrastructure, rather than continuing to develop relations with Mexico and Latin America.[1084] At about the same time, Pan Americanism had begun to lose its appeal as it became clear that it had merely served as the

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[1081] "Simon Bolivar Anniversary is Marked Here," *New Orleans States-Item*, July 25, 1963.

[1082] Letter from Mario Bermúdez, Director of International Relations to John P. Cody, Archbishop of New Orleans," December 10, 1964, International Relations Office Collection, Louisiana Division / City Archives, NOPL.

[1083] Hass, *DeLesseps S. Morrison and the Image of Reform*, 332.

[1084] Edward F. Hass, "Victor H. Schiro, Hurricane Betsy, and the 'Forgiveness Bill,'" *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 6.1 (Fall 1990), 67 – 90.

"friendly face of U.S. dominance in the hemisphere," New Orleans included.[1085] Despite the active participation of Mexican and Latin American diplomats and business leaders, Pan Americanism, including New Orleans leaders' efforts with Mexico, had come to represent a U.S. agenda for its own political, strategic, cultural, economic, and ideological influence in the hemisphere. While the aggressive pursuit of commercial relations between New Orleans and Mexico came to an end with Morrison's departure from the mayoral office, the rhetoric of friendship continued to create opportunities for the city's Mexican population to blend into New Orleans' cultural milieu.

"Richer, Whiter, Emptier"[1086]

Just over one hundred and twenty years after Mexico's Eighth Cavalry Band had first captivated the city and a short forty years after Mayor Morrison's efforts at building commercial relations with Mexico had ended, New Orleans received a large wave of migrants from Mexico. However, the "FEMA – Find Every Mexican Available" t-shirts that flooded the city's gift shops shortly after their arrival made it clear that attitudes towards Mexicans in New Orleans had changed significantly. Indeed, seeing Mexicans as "others," outsiders, and as a new phenomenon in the city became seemingly commonplace and was sold as a commodity alongside Café du Monde coffee, beignet mix, pralines, fleur-de-lis merchandise, jazz knick knacks, Cajun spices, and hot sauce so spicy that it will make you “slap ya mama.”[1087] It was a new addition to the array of cultural and consumer products that represent New Orleans as foreign, different, and strange, along with the attendant racial representations that have defined the city in the popular imaginary for centuries.

[1085] Sheinin, *Beyond the Ideal*, 1.

[1086] This was a widely circulated headline describing New Orleans after Katrina. See: David Mildenberg, "Census Finds Hurricane Katrina Left New Orleans Richer, Whiter, Emptier," *Bloomberg*, February 4, 2011. Accessed October 15, 2017. https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2011-02-04/census-finds-post-katrina-new-orleans-richer-whiter-emptier Political scientist Michael Dawson similarly characterized New Orleans as "smaller, richer, whiter." See: Michael Dawson, *Not In Our Lifetimes: The Future of Black Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 24 – 40.

The shirt and the attitude it reflected were a response to the rapid demographic changes that the city experienced post-Katrina. As the city’s residents left, reconstruction workers arrived. New Orleans’ most marginalized communities were hit the hardest, as a large proportion of the low-income and African American populations were forced to leave the city after the storm destroyed their homes and neighborhoods. At the same time, there was a large and diverse influx of people who came to rebuild the city. Many of the newcomers who descended on the city were developers and contractors from neighboring states, foreign architects with ambitious designs for a renewed New Orleans, and others were Latinxs, primarily U.S. and foreign born Mexicans who came to work in the city’s reconstruction efforts and in its struggling tourist and service sector economy.[1088] Within a few weeks of the storm, the New Orleans metro area’s African American population had decreased by two-thirds or nearly 200,000, while the Latinx population doubled, with Mexicans accounting for a quarter of those arrivals. [1089] Indeed, Katrina had temporarily altered the city's demographics by leveling entire neighborhoods and triggering an exodus from the city. However, it was the public policies that followed that made it difficult for the poorest populations to return, limited prospects for rebuilding African American neighborhoods, and "exposed the devastating human cost of New Orleans's racialized tourism narrative on black New Orleanians."[1090]

[1087] Slap Ya Mama is a local brand that sells Cajun spices and Louisiana hot sauce. Their products are sold in nearly all souvenir shops in the French Quarter and in greater metro New Orleans.

[1088] Less than a year after Katrina, the exhibit “Newer Orleans – A Shared Space” opened at the National Building Museum in Washington, D.C. It was curated by the Netherlands Architecture Institute (NAI) and featured the designs and plans of Dutch architects and urban planners for the future development of New Orleans. They were there to “give hope” to the citizens of New Orleans and the event was an ideal opportunity for government officials and non-New Orleanian business people to make deals. However, it also ignited a fierce political battle between those who wanted to readmit to New Orleans only those who had a job, could pay rent, and contribute to the tax base, and those who believe “that the poor, black, and unemployed have the same right to the city as anyone.” See: Michelle Provoost and Wouter Vanstiphout, “Facts on the Ground: Urbanism from Midroad to Ditch,” in *Urban Design,* ed. Alex Krieger and William S. Saunders (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 186 – 200. See also: Lima, “Louisiana,” 357.

[1089] More than ten years later, there are over ninety-two thousand fewer African Americans living in New Orleans metro area than there were before the storm, while the Latina/o population has only grown by seven thousand. While

Nevertheless, in Katrina's immediate aftermath, the reaction of many in New Orleans and the media displayed an "astounding ignorance of the long, complex history of the city and the roles of Hispanics and Latinos in creating it."[1091] Many locals, jolted by the abrupt changes in the city, viewed the influx of people who came to rebuild as one of the numerous problems post-Katrina New Orleans faced, and the most vulnerable populations often became convenient scapegoats. Local politicians engaged in hyperbole, at times bemoaning that the city had been "overrun by Mexican workers," and at others, celebrating that the city could become a "future San Antonio."[1092] The media encouraged these ideas by representing Mexicans and Latinxs as

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there are still fewer African Americans in New Orleans than there were before Katrina, the population has grown each year as more residents have returned to the city. In 2016, African Americans made up thirty-five percent of the New Orleans metro area's population, down just two percent from what it was before Katrina. On the other hand, the Latina/o population only accounted for nine percent of the New Orleans metro area's population in 2016, but that is double what it was pre-Katrina. In other words, while New Orleans experienced drastic and abrupt demographic changes immediately after Katrina, it has slowly, but steadily been returning to its pre-Katrina demographic make-up. See: Amy Liu, Matt Fellowes, and Mia Mabanta, "Special Edition of the Katrina Index: A One-Year Review of Key Indicators of Recovery in Post-Storm New Orleans," (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2006); Amy Liu and Allison Plyer, "The New Orleans Index at Five," (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Metropolitan Policy Program & Greater New Orleans Community Data Center, 2010); Allison Plyer, "Facts for Features: Katrina Impact," The Data Center, accessed October 3, 2017 <https://www.datacenterresearch.org/data-resources/katrina/facts-for-impact/>; Who Lives in New Orleans and Metro Parishes Now?," June 30, 2017, The Data Center, https://www.datacenterresearch.org/data-resources/who-lives-in-new-orleans-now/; Kelsey Nowakoski, "Charts Show How Hurricane Katrina Changed New Orleans," *National Geographic,* August 29, 2015; Campbell Robertson, "Smaller New Orleans After Katrina, Census Shows," *New York Times,* February 3, 2011; Alexia Fernandez Campbell, "New Orleans' Post-Katrina Identity Crisis," *The Atlantic,* October 20, 2014; Michael Patrick Welch, "Carnaval Latino Celebrates New Orleans' Hispanic Heritage," October 7, 2015.

[1090] Lynnell L. Thomas, *Desire and Disaster in New Orleans: Tourism, Race, and Historical Memory* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2014), 2.

[1091] Sluyter, et. al., *Hispanic and Latino New Orleans*, 2

[1092] Campo-Flores, "A New Spice in the Gumbo," 46.

newcomers to the city, undocumented, and as a threat to established social relations.[1093] For example, the *New York Times* reported on the arrival of Latina/os in post-Katrina New Orleans as a new migration route and placed it within the context of the broader U.S. South, claiming, "the arrival of hundreds of thousands of Hispanic immigrants over the past decade is quietly changing the dynamics of race relations in many Southern towns."[1094] Scholars similarly proclaimed a "Nuevo" New South, denoting a region "that is culturally hybrid, globalized and home to Latinx immigrants, in ways that mark a break from the past."[1095] However, while Latinxs are currently the largest immigrant group in the United States and the greatest rate of growth is indeed taking place in the South, politicians, journalists, and scholars alike have inaccurately assessed the city's post-Katrina demographic changes as a new development, ignoring a long history of commercial, cultural, and political connections to Mexico and Latin America.[1096]

[1093] Sluyter, et al., *Hispanic and Latino New Orleans*, 8.

[1094] There are six southern states that have had greater than two hundred percent growth rate in their Latina/o population between 1990 and 2000 – Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Moreover, between 2000 an 2010, the United States South saw a fifty-seven percent increase in its Latina/o population, which is substantially higher than the national growth rate of forty-three percent. This growth rate began before Katrina, and New Orleans did not experience growth at this level even after the storm. See: Rachel L. Swarns, "Bridging a Racial Rift That Isn't Black and White; The Latino South: A New Rivalry," *New York Times,* October 3, 2006, p. A1; Sluyter, et al., *Hispanic and Latino New Orleans*, 9. See also: Andy Grimm, "Hispanic Immigration post-Katrina finding permanent roots in metro New Orleans," *Times-Picayune*, August 27, 2015; Icess Fernandez Rojas, "10 Years After Katrina, A Defined Latino Presence in New Orleans," *NBC News*, August 29, 2015; Odeam and Lacy, eds, *Latino Immigrants and the Transformation of the U.S. South*; and Kochar, Suro, and Tafoya, *The New Latino South*, 2 – 3.

[1095] Julie M. Weise, "Dispatches from the 'Viejo' New South: Historicizing Recent Latino Migrations," *Latino Studies* 10 (April 2012), 42.

[1096] For more on Latinos in the U.S. South during the late twentieth-century, see: Odeam and Lacy, *Latino Immigrants;* José María Mantero, *Latinos and the U.S. South* (London: Praeger, 2008); Raymond Mohl, "Globalization , Latinization, and the Nuevo New South," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 22.4 (2003), 31 – 66; Leon Fink, *The Maya of Morgantown: Work and Community in the Nuevo New South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Heather A. Smith and Owen J. Furuseth, eds. *Latinos in the New South: Transformations of Place* (New York: Routledge, 2006); Jamie Winders, "Changing Politics of Race and Region: Latino Migration to the U.S. South," *Sage* 29 (December 2005), 683 – 699; Mary Odem, "Our Lady of Guadalupe in the New South: Latino Immigrants and the Politics of Integration in the Catholic Church," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 24 (Fall 2004), 29 – 60; Fran Ansley and Jon Shefner, eds., *Global Connections and Local Receptions: New Latino Immigration to the Southeastern US* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2009); Raymond Mohl, "Latinization in the Heart of Dixie: Hispanics in Late Twentieth-Century Alabama," *Alabama Review* 87.4 (2002), 243 – 274.

As the story of the Eighth Cavalry Band and the historical record demonstrate, Katrina did not usher in Mexican and Latina/o immigration to New Orleans for the first time, but instead simply prompted the newest influx in a long history of transmigrations between New Orleans and Mexico. So what's "Nuevo" about the South, and about New Orleans in particular? While these most recent migrants are delving into long contested terrain, they do represent some key changes – it was the largest inflow of Mexican immigration to New Orleans at one time, and as a result, Mexicans have again become the largest group in the city's historically heterogeneous Latinx population.[1097] Rather than coming in a large wave, previous Mexican and Latinx migration to New Orleans has been a consistent, albeit slow, trickle throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with some migrants making short-term stays, while others have made the city their home. Indeed, historians such as Julie Weise have demonstrated that Mexican migrants have trickled into New Orleans and the broader U.S. South since 1910 for a variety of reasons, including escaping wartime violence, "unique opportunities for economic mobility," and sometimes "to escape the racializations of the Southwest and grow closer to whiteness."[1098] Moreover, scholars such as sociologist Norman Wellington Painter, were studying how Latin American migrants adjusted to life in New Orleans as early as 1949, when Latinxs constituted one-third of the city's population.[1099] Painter noted that the city's Latina/o population in the mid twentieth-century came from many different towns, cities, and countries, making it a much more heterogeneous population than it is today.[1100] Given this long history of Mexican and Latinx migrations to the city, its historical connections to the Gulf region, and attempts to establish diplomatic and commercial relations between New Orleans and Mexico since the 1884 World's Fair, why have scholars, journalists, and politicians alike discussed this most recent influx of migrants as a new phenomena? Why isn't New Orleans thought of as a Mexican city?

[1097] The Data Center, "Who Lives in New Orleans and Metro Parishes Now?"

[1098] Weise, "Dispatches from the 'Viejo' New South," 44.

[1099] Painter, "The Assimilation of Latin Americans in New Orleans," 1. Painter's thesis found that Latin Americans often came to New Orleans due to proximity, New Orleans' connections to Latin America as a port city, and because Catholicism made it familiar. He did not believe it had much to do with the city's Spanish colonial history because the Spanish crown did not have much influence on the development of the city, which I disagree with as seen in chapter 1. Nevertheless, his work provides valuable insight into immigrants from Latin America to New Orleans in the first half of the twentieth century – they were often bi-lingual, largely from urban cities, many spoke or understood English, and had comparatively high occupational levels, all of which led to a very different experience in New Orleans from those of their counterparts in the southwest.

Mexican New Orleans?

While Mexico and New Orleans shared cultural, economic, and sometimes political ties during the colonial period and throughout most of the nineteenth-century, the 1884 World's Fair helped usher in a new era between them, one marked by a rhetoric of friendship and the possibility of furthering their mutual interests. As both New Orleans and Mexico sought to re-create their images on the international stage, they turned to each other for new opportunities to modernize themselves. The end of the New Orleans' slave economy followed by the end of Reconstruction, left the city's leaders eager to industrialize, modernize, and reclaim its status as the U.S. South's busiest commercial port. They turned to Mexico, their nearby southern neighbor and newly embraced "sister republic" as a potential trade partner that could boost the local economy and provide raw materials for newly developing industries. Under the renewed leadership of President Porfirio Díaz, Mexico was similarly looking to lead Latin America into the modern era. They sought to attract foreign investors who could bring new industry to Mexico and help boost the economy. The 1884 World's Fair presented the perfect opportunity to demonstrate that they had both moved beyond the trials and destruction of war, and represented economic opportunity in an expanding, world economy. However, in order to project these images of modernity, both Mexico and New Orleans needed to approach each other as partners, looking to advance their mutual interests. These needs shaped a new rhetoric of friendship, where New Orleans embraced Mexico as a sister republic and created distinct opportunities for Mexicans in the city, further connecting the two cities in the decades that followed.

[1100] Painter, "The Assimilation of Latin Americans in New Orleans," 27 – 45.

The 1884 World's Fair had brought a distinct Mexican population to New Orleans – one that was comprised of highly educated and skilled Mexican diplomats, scholars, artists, and musicians. They came to represent Mexico at the fair and for many of them, New Orleans felt simultaneously foreign and familiar while offering opportunities for social advancement. Many of these Mexican representatives established important personal, diplomatic, and/or business ties during their time in the city and became frequent visitors. Others, like some of the musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band, stayed in the city and made New Orleans their home. These Mexican musicians utilized their musical skills and their bilingualism as a way to translate cultural differences in the city during the fair, and used it to find a place for themselves in the years that followed. In fact, sociologist Norman Painter has argued that the bilingualism of New Orleans' Mexican and Latin American population was an asset that allowed them to take on important and much needed roles. For example, in the early twentieth century, New Orleans was home to international businesses such as the United Fruit Company and numerous shipping and transfer companies.[1101] These companies had a high demand for bilingual workers who could communicate with people in both New Orleans and Latin America effectively. In other words, in the early twentieth century, New Orleans' various connections to Latin America, as well as locals' interest in all things Mexican, created a demand for skilled, educated, and bilingual workers. Moreover, given the need for these distinct language skills, the Mexican and Latin

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[1101] Painter, "The Assimilation of Latin Americans in New Orleans," 50.

American migrants to the city “did not pose a threat to any portion of the native New Orleanians,” which led to greater acceptance and less conflict with native New Orleanians of all races and backgrounds.[1102] As a result, Mexicans and Latin Americans maintained a “low degree of ethnic visibility.”[1103]

New Orleans’ distinct colonial history had led to the development of residential neighborhoods that were racially and ethnically heterogeneous, which meant that Mexican visitors and migrants, lived in various neighborhoods alongside people of all races, rather than being relegated to one part of the city. Despite that the city was the home of the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case that had legalized segregation in the United States in 1896, New Orleans neighborhoods were not segregated until significantly later. New Orleanians tended to live close to where they worked, and in the case of Mexican musicians, they often moved around the city to where they could find gigs. As a result, New Orleans Mexican population was not highly visible because there was no Mexican neighborhood in the city. As we’ve seen with the musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band, Mexican migrants lived in neighborhoods throughout the city mixed among European migrants from other countries, African American, and natives, a pattern that persists today. Moreover, while the city was English dominant by the time of the 1884 World’s Fair, French and Spanish were still widely spoken throughout New Orleans, a legacy of its colonial era. In many cases, this meant that language alone could not distinguish a Mexican or Latin American migrant from the native population, and they were not often immediately identified as foreigners.[1104]

[1102] Painter, “The Assimilation of Latin Americans in New Orleans,” 46.
[1103] Painter, “The Assimilation of Latin Americans in New Orleans,” 49.
[1104] Painter, “The Assimilation of Latin Americans in New Orleans,” 49.

Mexican migrants brought their own ideas about race to New Orleans, but they also made use of city's distinct racial history to help find a place for themselves. Those who had come in the late nineteenth-century, including the musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band, had been influenced by Mexico's "positivist tradition of whitening through culture and class," which had flourished under Porfirio Díaz and the *científicos*.[1105] Drawing on this tradition and the city's tripartite racial system, Mexican musicians "whitened" themselves and gained acceptance in nineteenth-century New Orleans by transforming "racial difference into folklore" rather than making legal or biological claims to whiteness as their counterparts in the U.S. southwest often did.[1106] Indeed, as we have seen with the musicians of the Eighth Cavalry Band, Mexicans in New Orleans embraced the image of Mexico and its culture to claim their place as "European-style white immigrants and escape racialization as a distinct group."[1107] The Mexican music that had enamored the New Orleans public of all backgrounds during the 1884 World's Fair was just the beginning of the city's intense curiosity about Mexican culture, and it created unique opportunities for migrants from the sister republic. Indeed, as historian Julie Weise has shown, many of New Orleans' Mexicans had successfully engaged the idea of Mexico and "already lived as whites during the 1920s."[1108] However, in gaining acceptance as "white" and escaping racialization as an "other" they also became less visible as a distinct group in the city, concealing the long history of New Orleans' small, but culturally significant Mexican population.

While New Orleans is not often thought of as a Mexican city and the cultural contributions of the Mexican population has often been overlooked, the city continues to exist in the popular imaginary as different and strange, largely a byproduct of it being one of "the most Latin American cities in the U.S."[1109] As they did in the past, many New Orleanians embrace this difference and Latinness, but they often do so in a way that presses a comparison between their city and Paris as a way to magnify the French influence in its distinct culture. Indeed, New Orleans' Latinness is most often associated with its European colonial past, ignoring its long connections to Mexico and Latin America. Indeed, the city's "Latinness" has led some to argue that, for better or worse, the city has more in common with cities such as Cartagena, Port-Au-Prince, and Havana than with other U.S. or European cities, sharing disparities in poverty, violent crime, and struggles in public education.[1110] However, perhaps the greatest parallel between New Orleans and Latin America is that while the city "mourns with Latin America, it also rejoices like Latin America."[1111] New Orleans is a city that knows how to celebrate life, no matter how dire things are, as evidenced by celebrations such as carnival, second line traditions, and jazz funerals. It is a city of constant reinvention, a city where people from diverse backgrounds have come together to create new cultural forms, including the city's rich cuisine, music, and dance, which have come to define New Orleans and continue to draw visitors.

[1105] Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms," 763.
[1106] Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms," 763.
[1107] Weise, "Mexican Nationalisms," 749.
[1108] Weise, "Dispatches," 50.

The city's Latinness has shaped its perceived strangeness and difference, which has become the city's most marketable commodity. Indeed, the city's economy is largely dependent on the highly profitable tourism industry. The city is touted to U.S. Americans as "the most exotic place one can travel domestically without crossing an ocean or border."[1112] Moreover, New Orleans' tourism industry sells "good times (*laissez les bon temps rouler*)," nostalgia (*le Vieux Carré),* and "a temporary escape from time (one official nickname is the City That Care Forgot)."[1113] However, New Orleans' tourist image has prioritized the city's European history and obscured or distorted the presence of African Americans, Mexicans, and Latin Americans as well as their participation in the development and sustenance of the city and its rich culture. This tourist image has shaped American' view of New Orleans by defining and delimiting black and Latinx citizenship. It relegates the city's Latinness to the city's Spanish colonial past, rendering Mexican and Latin American connections to the city invisible and leaving them with no claim to the city in the present day. In prioritizing the French Quarter, this tourism image has often labeled historically or predominantly black areas of the city as dangerous and unsafe.[1114] Moreover, as the city's racial line became increasingly rigid New Orleans' "once multiracial, multiethnic, and plurilinguistic" population was increasingly erased from the historical record, particularly its Mexican and Latin American communities.[1115]

[1109] Valerie Marsman, "Nueva Orleans: The Most Latin American City in the US," *PanAmPost*, November 10, 2015, https://panampost.com/valerie-marsman/2015/11/10/nueva-orleans-the-most-latin-american-city-in-the-usa/

[1110] Unfortunately, in 2014 New Orleans ranked 28th on the list of the fifty most violent cities in the world. Forty-four of the cities on the list are Latin American and Caribbean cities. The city continues to struggle with problems of political corruption, economic disparities, and it continues to lag in education compared to other U.S. cities. Amanda Macias and Pamela Engel, "The 50 Most Violent Cities in the World," *Business Insider*, January 23, 2015. < http://www.businessinsider.com/the-50-most-violent-cities-in-the-world-2015-1/#50-cuernavaca-mexico-had-2545-homicides-per-100000-residents-1>; Marsman, "Nueva Orleans."

[1111] Marsman, "Nueva Orleans."

Not only does the inaccuracy of these representations leave us with a limited understanding of a complex and culturally rich city, but moments such as Hurricane Katrina and its aftermath demonstrate the danger of this tourism image and its attendant racial mythologizing. It leaves the city's most vulnerable populations at risk. For African Americans it meant suspending rescue efforts and leaving tens of thousands of people stranded and unprotected from rising floodwaters as journalists initially and falsely reported from the French Quarter, the icon of tourism in New Orleans, that the city had escaped major damage. For Mexicans and Latin Americans who had long ties to the city, sometimes dating back several generations, it meant being inaccurately portrayed as newcomers, foreigners, another problem for the city, and discounts local Latina/o's sense of place and those who are following transmigration routes with long and complicated histories. Indeed, the story of the Eighth Cavalry Band and New Orleans' long standing ties to Latin America encourage us to rethink not only how we understand the city, but also the myriad ways in which immigrants continue to shape the culture of the United States.

[1112] Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture,* 108 – 109.
[1113] Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture,* 108 – 109.
[1114] Thomas, *Desire and Disaster in New Orleans*, 1.
[1115] Lima, "Louisiana," 352.

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L'Abeille
La Patria
National Intelligencer
New Orleans Bee
New Orleans Item
New Orleans Mascot
New Orleans Price-Current, Commercial Bulletin and Shipping List
New Orleans States
New Orleans Times-Democrat
New Orleans Times-Picayune
New York Star
New York Times
Newsweek
Planters Journal
San Antonio Light
Shreveport Daily Times
Southern Dental Journal
St. Louis Globe-Democrat
St. Louis Post
*State Journal**
Sunday States
The Atlantic
The Black Hills Daily Times
The Courier-Journal
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* indicates African American newspaper

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