

# New Mexico Statehood and Political Inequality

The Case of Nuevomexicanos



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Prior to the late 1880s, the civic and political leaders of Nuevomexicanos generally disagreed on the question of statehood for territorial New Mexico. As one faction or another put the issue on the public agenda, those who favored it joined Euroamerican (the vernacular “Anglo”) settlers who believed that statehood would accelerate the modern development of the territory to everyone’s benefit and enable the people to enjoy the political sovereignty that regular membership among the states in the Union held out. Opponents generally believed that the territory was not yet ready for statehood, and especially that it would burden the mass of poor Spanish-speaking citizens with unaffordable taxes until the territory’s economy could develop sufficiently.<sup>1</sup>

But as David Holtby’s recent book on New Mexico’s achievement of statehood indicates, Nuevomexicano spokesmen at the turn of the twentieth century clearly, if not unequivocally, supported the statehood movement. The success of the statehood proposition rested on this support. Nuevomexicanos constituted the majority of New Mexico’s population and statehood required that the population ratify the 1910 constitution. A great deal thus rode on Nuevomexicano leaders

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making the effort to convince their ethnic brethren that they needed statehood in particular. Nuevomexicanos enthusiastically backed statehood in the hopes of receiving the essential bounties—political, economic, and cultural—that their numbers warranted. The special educational and voting provisions accorded to them by the New Mexico State Constitution lifted their hopes.<sup>2</sup>

Most directly statehood awarded full citizenship to the people of New Mexico and spelled the beginning of a robust self-government that offered citizens the right to elect individuals of their choice to serve in the state's immensely more powerful political offices. These gains came after Nuevomexicanos had enjoyed substantial political integration in the nineteenth century. Even as the United States had conquered and forcibly annexed their homeland, they had regularly been elected to serve as New Mexico's delegate to the U.S. Congress, for example, and they formed the great majority of those in the territorial legislature. Such a tradition granted a certain felt right among Nuevomexicanos to hold their fair share of offices once statehood arrived. Such sentiments contrasted with those felt in California and Texas, the two other major former Mexican territories annexed by the United States in the 1840s, which both saw their native Mexicans displaced from the political roost they had occupied as citizens of the Mexican Republic. In Texas this exclusion from statewide office at the hands of Euroamerican dominance began from the very start of statehood in 1845; in California it began by the 1880s.<sup>3</sup>

However, as the inevitability of New Mexico statehood became ever more apparent at the turn of the twentieth century, the question remained whether Nuevomexicanos would occupy their fair share of the higher political positions. This uncertainty stemmed largely from important changes in the Euroamerican sector. First, a new breed of aggressive Euroamerican politicians arrived in the 1870s, initiated by the likes of Stephen B. Elkins, Thomas Catron, and Max Frost. These politicians took hold of the newly established Republican Party and controlled it for the interests of themselves and their mostly Euroamerican allies to the point of statehood.<sup>4</sup> Second, the Euroamerican population dramatically increased once the railroad crisscrossed New Mexico in the 1880s. To illustrate, the average rate of population increase in the censuses between 1860 and 1900, when Nuevomexicanos constituted 85 percent of the territory's population, was 27.4 percent. Between 1900 and 1910, however, New Mexico's overall population increased by 67.6 percent, from 195,310 to 327,301. Moreover, a core segment of the American newcomers settled in the southeastern corner of the state where they predominated among the electorate and came to dominate the Democratic Party.<sup>5</sup>

These changes had some serious political consequences for Nuevomexicanos. Take, for example, the office of delegate to Congress. From 1853 to 1882 a

Nuevomexicano had filled thirteen of seventeen terms as congressional delegate, but from 1884 to 1908 a Nuevomexicano served only one out of thirteen terms, despite a continued Nuevomexicano population majority. Four Nuevomexicano delegate candidates ran unsuccessfully during that latter period.<sup>6</sup> The increasing representation of Euroamericans in the territorial assembly also signaled their growing power. For the three decades after 1850 when territorial citizens were granted the franchise, Nuevomexicanos comprised the clear majority of both the council and the house. That pattern started to shift in the 1880s. The signal body from the start was the twelve-member council (senate). Throughout the entire territorial period, Nuevomexicanos comprised 72 percent of all council members.<sup>7</sup> That pattern began to erode in the railroad era. The shocker came in the 1888–1889 session when only five elected members were Nuevomexicano. Nuevomexicanos narrowly regained the majority in the council for the 1890–1891 session, but constituted only half of the session in 1892–1893. After that Nuevomexicanos became the minority in the territorial council in every session until the last one in 1909. The low point came in 1907 when their representation dropped to three members. In the larger house of representatives, which had seen a similar 75 percent Nuevomexicano majority before the railroad's arrival, Nuevomexicanos held on to narrow majorities until the tail end of New Mexico's territorial period, when Euroamericans gained the majority in the council sessions of 1907 and 1909.<sup>8</sup>

The political reality of the ethnic distribution of power was quite vivid in 1910 when Euroamericans held the clear majority of the popularly elected seats (sixty-five of one hundred) in the Constitutional Convention, which drafted the organic constitution for New Mexico to become a state.<sup>9</sup> The central question, then, became whether Nuevomexicanos would be able to participate in the new state political system at all. Anticipating the first electoral season under statehood, Hispano pundits were already expressing the need for vigilance. Santa Fe correspondent Luis Tafoya editorialized that the “sons of New Mexico” needed to “prove that they were capable of defending their rights and demanding the portion of public positions that they deserved.” Otherwise, with the reality of statehood, they would face outsiders who were “ready to capture the rights of the hispano-americanos the first opportunity that presents itself.”<sup>10</sup>

Following congressional terms for admittance into the union, territorial governor William Mills scheduled an election in the fall of 1911 for county offices, the legislature, the governorship, state administrative offices, and the two seats in the U.S. House of Representatives. While conventional wisdom assured that Nuevomexicanos would dominate the legislature, the highest state offices were up for grabs. Euroamericans unequivocally sought these positions for themselves. As a result, Nuevomexicano spokesmen crystallized a public relations

phenomenon, the so-called “native-son” campaign, to pressure the political parties (Democrats and Republicans), the legislature, and the electorate into nominating and electing Hispanos for governor, U.S. congressmen, and U.S. senators.

Nuevomexicano activists throughout the new state participated in the native-son cause. The chief instigator and most famous among them was the charismatic Mexican-born, Octaviano Larrazolo. The need to stem the erosion of Nuevomexicano political power and stature appeared with some urgency and poignancy not only in the context of New Mexico’s new status as a state, but also in the larger frame, against what one sociologist has called the “political oppression” in the American South, where blacks were systematically excluded from political office and the political process through racist laws, white police enforcers, and violent public intimidation.<sup>11</sup>

In the nominating season of 1911, the native-son expression focused on the more powerful Republican Party. A great deal rode on the Republican nomination for governor. Popular opinion held that the Republican National Committeeman and famed Valencia County boss Solomon Luna could walk away with it if he chose. Luna, however, made clear before the start of the party nominating convention that he would refuse to run for any office.<sup>12</sup> San Miguel County officials pushed the candidacy of native-son Secundino Romero, the chair of the San Miguel County Republican Party and editor/owner of the Spanish-language weekly *El Independiente*. Romero arrived at the Republican nominating convention (held in his hometown of Las Vegas) backed by Republicans in Mora County and his own San Miguel County, who instructed their delegates to support his nomination.<sup>13</sup> For governor, however, the Euroamerican power brokers in the Republican Party drafted Socorro County’s Holm Bursum, the chairman of the State Republican Central Committee.

An important figure on the New Mexico scene, Bursum had developed the skill of cultivating Nuevomexicano support for his particular interests. The Bursum campaign thus boasted the support not only of top leaders in the state Republican organization but also the likes of Solomon Luna. Moreover, Bursum had established close relationships with the Nuevomexicano rank and file in the Republican Party, to the point that Romero failed to keep control over his own San Miguel County delegation, which ended up splitting its vote.<sup>14</sup> On a vote of 228 to 75, Bursum came away the clear victor. Romero moved that Bursum’s nomination be accepted by acclamation. However, his less obliging native-son supporters accused the Santa Fe County delegation of betraying its promised support for their candidate. Romero followers retaliated by sabotaging the nomination of Santa Fe candidate George Washington Armijo for secretary of state, no matter that Armijo was himself a Nuevomexicano. To mollify the Las Vegas delegation, the convention offered Romero the nomination for

secretary of state. He declined it, declaring that he wanted no gifts, but the convention refused to hear him and he gave in to the friendly pressure.<sup>15</sup>

In the end, Republicans nominated four Nuevomexicanos out of the sixteen slots on the ticket: Romero for secretary of state, Silvestre Mirabal for state treasurer, George Armijo for corporation commissioner, and Elfecho Baca for one of the two U.S. congressional seats. Not least for the pressure applied by Larrazolo and Baca, Nuevomexicano opinion-makers loyal to the Republican organization portrayed their party as their true protector, and its leaders the “paladins” and “brave soldiers” of Hispano rights.<sup>16</sup>

In comparison the Democratic nominating convention presented an air of harmony focused on challenging Republican domination of New Mexico politics. In the absence of any native-son pressure to nominate a Nuevomexicano, the Lincoln County progressive William C. McDonald was easily nominated for governor. At least the Democrats put on their ticket the two long-time native-son editors of *La Voz del Pueblo*, Ezequiel C. de Baca for lieutenant governor and Antonio Lucero for secretary of state. Additionally, the progressive Democratic native-son Paz Velarde received one of the nominations for Congress (the former territorial delegate to Congress Harvey Fergusson received the other). Félix Martínez, the owner of *La Voz del Pueblo*, gave what his own paper called an eloquent discourse on the “healthy” principles of the Democratic Party.<sup>17</sup>

The first election campaign for the new state opened in the fall of 1911 with enthusiastic mass meetings throughout the state. Republican Larrazolo personally stumped the communities of Mora, Taos, and Las Cruces. He accused the Democratic Party of racial discrimination, and especially blamed former Texans in the southeastern portion of the state for his defeat in the congressional delegate race in 1908.<sup>18</sup> The Democratic campaign accused Euroamericans of continually squelching native-son proclivities in the Republican Party.<sup>19</sup>

As the campaign ensued, many Republican progressives defected from the regular Republican Party and launched an all-out assault on the Republican old guard and Bursum in particular. The break led to independent Republican-Democratic fusion tickets in key counties.<sup>20</sup> In a significant reflection of Euroamerican attention to the election, voters turned out in high numbers in the predominantly and wholly Euroamerican counties even though the Nuevomexicano-majority counties had larger numbers of eligible voters.<sup>21</sup> In the end, New Mexico’s first heady election for state offices gave the Democrats most of the higher offices including governor, lieutenant governor, secretary of state, and one of two congressional seats. The chief Nuevomexicano Democratic newspaper stated that the “reign of despotism of the [Republican] bosses had come to an end.”<sup>22</sup>

However, the results indicated weak Nuevomexicano representation. C. de Baca would be lieutenant governor and Lucero secretary of state. Democrats

pointed to these results as indicators of their party's service to Hispanos, but critics emphasized that each of them had won in races against other Nuevomexicanos.<sup>23</sup> In fact, "where there was a choice between Spanish-Americans and Anglos in the election," one historian notes, "Anglos were elected, irrespective of party affiliation."<sup>24</sup> As a result, only two of sixteen state offices went to Nuevomexicanos.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, a striking sign appeared in the results of the two statewide congressional races. Democrat Harvey Fergusson defeated Republican Elfego Baca. Fergusson's victory was consistent with the greater trend that Euroamerican Democrats turned out in higher number to vote in the general election than their Nuevomexicano counterparts. At the same time, however, the Euroamerican Republican, George Curry, defeated the Hispano Democrat Paz Velarde.<sup>26</sup>

The ethnic distribution in the election returns bitterly disappointed native-son partisans. *Revista de Taos*, for example, said that Hispano participation in the state government "was a lie and a chimera" and that the government had "frozen into a ridiculous and laughable farce."<sup>27</sup> One skeptic claimed that the Republican strategists placed most of their effort into electing Curry and the other Euroamericans on the ticket while sacrificing the Nuevomexicanos, a point underscored by the lower-majority margins that went to Elfego Baca in Hispano strongholds.<sup>28</sup> "Obviously stung" by his defeat for Congress, Baca bitterly accused the Republican bosses of a "double cross" and of not doing enough to support his candidacy. Baca also accused Curry of "raising the race issue" by making anti-Mexican statements in predominantly Euroamerican districts, and of supporting Democrat Fergusson in order to prevent a Nuevomexicano from going to Congress.<sup>29</sup>

Native-son disappointment declined for a time as a federal reapportionment nullified the congressional races of 1911 and determined that New Mexico was eligible for only one seat in the U.S. House. New Mexicans would have to fill the position through a special election, but only after the general election of November 1912.

In the meantime, and following the standard national procedure at the time, the first state legislature received the responsibility of determining who would become New Mexico's first U.S. senators. Of course Nuevomexicano politicians and newspapermen called on the Nuevomexicano majority in the legislature to select one of their people for at least one of the two senatorial posts.<sup>30</sup> Their determination grew red hot when the Santa Rosa *New Star* remarked that there were no Hispanos qualified to be a U.S. senator. *La Bandera Americana*, based in Albuquerque, indignantly shot back with a list of distinguished individuals who would make fine senators: Rafael Romero of Mora County; Benjamin Read of Santa Fe; José Chaves and Solomon Luna of Valencia County; Jesús Casaus,

Manuel Vigil, Antonio Sedillo, Elfego Baca, and Nestor Montoya of Bernalillo County; and Antonio Lucero and Ezequiel C. de Baca of San Miguel County.<sup>31</sup> The paper then laid a moral obligation on all Nuevomexicano legislators to advance the candidacy of an Hispano, “or be hung with the label of coward.”<sup>32</sup>

In the actual legislative deliberations, three major factors undercut the naming of a Nuevomexicano senator. First, Euroamerican Republicans accused four Nuevomexicano members of the House of putting their votes up for sale. With charges formally made and a trial pending, their suspension from the legislature reduced the number of Nuevomexicanos deciding the senatorial appointments and debilitated the attempt for unity behind a Nuevomexicano. Second, Nuevomexicano legislators were themselves divided along party lines. The majority were Republicans, and Republican leaders both in the legislature and outside it insisted on party loyalty above all other considerations. Their position narrowed the number of potential candidates and also factionalized the issue of Hispanic candidates within the Republican Party itself. The strong ambition of Euroamericans to become a U.S. senator also proved formidable. The roster of aspirants included territorial delegate William “Bull” Andrews, former territorial governor William J. Mills, Supreme Court Justice Albert Fall, former territorial delegate to Congress Thomas Catron, former territorial governor L. Bradford Prince, former territorial governor Herbert J. Hagerman, and the progressives W. H. Gillenwater and William Springer. Long-term and sophisticated politicians in the territory and well-to-do citizens, these men had cultivated relationships with Nuevomexicanos that helped divide the Spanish-speaking legislators.<sup>33</sup>

In the come-one-come-all competition, the legislature took several ballots to winnow down a realistic list of finalists for the senatorial seats. In the early going, a number of Nuevomexicanos received nomination, including Venceslao Jaramillo, José D. Sena, Eugenio Romero, Secundino Romero, Octaviano Larrazolo, R. L. Baca, Félix Martínez, and Miguel Otero.<sup>34</sup> However, these individuals tended to receive only a handful of divided votes and by the sixth ballot only Martínez appeared to have a ghost of a chance. His deficit was that he was a staunch Democrat paddling in a sea of Republicans whose leaders strictly enforced party loyalty. Euroamericans battled each other for the favor of Nuevomexicano votes. Until the last ballot, clusters of Hispano legislators stayed loyal to the Euroamerican leaders Fall, Mills, and Andrews, the rest splitting among Catron and Prince.

In the balloting on the final day, Fall appeared to have sufficient votes to get one of the appointments. Catron, who came in second, fell four votes short late into the balloting. The report in the *Santa Fe New Mexican* explained: “Solomon Luna pleaded with Speaker [R. L.] Baca to cast his vote for Thomas B. Catron,





Albert Bacon Fall, c. 1912. Photograph courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Digital Collection, digital image no. 3c37609.



Thomas Benton Catron, 1911. Photograph courtesy Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Digital Collection, digital image no. 00737.

but fruitlessly up to the last moment. [Democrat] Félix Martínez exhorted the Spanish Americans not to vote for [the Republicans] Catron and Fall; up to the last moment, Thomas B. Catron and his son, Republican Charles Catron, sought to persuade the four votes lacking to fall into line; and others, Republicans, Progressives, Democrats, [and] Spanish Americans, were frantically making a last appeal.”<sup>35</sup>

Formerly recalcitrant Nuevomexicanos settled the matter. According to an eyewitness, “A number of native New Mexicans changed their minds at this critical moment in the career of the Republican Methuselah.”<sup>36</sup> In the end, Catron received fourteen Hispano votes, eight more than he had gotten in the seventh round.<sup>37</sup> According to one historian, Catron broke the deadlock by making “special appeals”—a promise of patronage most likely—to the Nuevomexicano representatives.<sup>38</sup> Thwarting native-son desires, Fall and Catron became New Mexico’s first U.S. senators.

In the congressional election of November 1912, the Nuevomexicano press called on Republicans again to nominate Elfego Baca, although he had lost to the Democrat Fergusson in 1911, and for the Democrats to go with Paz Velarde, although he had lost to a Euroamerican as well. Neither party adopted the suggestion. Fergusson received the Democratic nomination once again virtually without opposition. On the Republican side, Baca threw his hat in, but the party went



strongly with the Roswell businessman Nathan Jaffa. The Republican hierarchy considered Jaffa, a candidate of economic progress, the strongest challenger it could put up against Fergusson.<sup>39</sup>

A ray of native-son hope broke through when the New Mexico Progressive Party nominated Marcos C. de Baca. The Progressive Party was a Bull Moose organization and many of its members, including former territorial governor Miguel A. Otero, had defected from the regular Republican Party after the disappointing nominating experience the year before. C. de Baca, who served on the Bernalillo County Commission and in the territorial legislature, was a Nuevomexicano founder of the New Mexico Progressive League, which established the Progressive Party for the election.<sup>40</sup> Other Nuevomexicanos contributed to the Progressive cause. In Santa Fe County, the delegates to the Progressive Party state convention included George Washington Armijo, Gregorio Herrera, Felipe Valdez, James Baca, Jesús Ortiz y Tafoya, David Gonzales, and Nick Montoya.<sup>41</sup> Similar support came in from Bernalillo, Rio Arriba, Socorro, and Taos Counties.<sup>42</sup>

With the native-son C. de Baca at its head, the Progressive Party agenda specifically advocated Nuevomexicano issues, such as defense of the Spanish and Mexican land grants against Euroamerican speculators (many of them Republicans). It also defended the four Nuevomexicano legislators indicted for bribery on the claim that they were framed because the Republicans could not control them.<sup>43</sup>

Old guard Republicans, fearing the rise in progressive activity in the state, called the fall election a straight-out battle. Nestor Montoya, editor of Albuquerque's *La Bandera Americana*, warned the Nuevomexicano electorate not to be seduced by the flattering but altogether false hopes of the empty, powerless Progressive Party. Doing so, he argued, would only sidetrack the Nuevomexicanos from gains they were steadily making under the solid, and to his mind, effective, Republican Party doctrine and agenda.<sup>44</sup> With three distinct parties vying for power in the state, regular Nuevomexicano Republicans went into the election confident of victory, particularly since the Taft administration had done Nuevomexicanos well with patronage appointments.<sup>45</sup>

In the same election that elevated the progressive Democrat Woodrow Wilson to the presidency, C. de Baca came in third in his congressional race. It satisfied the Progressive Party, however, that C. de Baca's 12 percent cut of the vote prevented the Republican Jaffa from being elected. With a 46 percent plurality, compared to Jaffa's 37 percent, Nuevomexicanos were once again shut out and Harvey Fergusson became New Mexico's first U.S. congressman.<sup>46</sup>

Motivated by the deflating results in the first battery of New Mexico elections, Larrazolo and colleagues in the first decade of statehood elevated the native-son expressions, aspirations, and rhetoric into a virtual political move-

ment with its own organization, La Sociedad Benéfica Hispano Americana. The group pressured the Republican and Democratic parties to institute policies of Nuevomexicano inclusion, such as nominees for high office, and even demanded that they give half of their state ballot nominations to Hispanos.<sup>47</sup>

In the off-year election of 1914, La Sociedad reached out to the ranching communities of north-central New Mexico, exhorting Nuevomexicano voters to support Nuevomexicano candidates. For the congressional race in this year, it advanced the name of Rio Arriba County's Benigno C. Hernández. La Sociedad believed Hernández, who had never before sought state office, had the advantage of not being known as a professional politician.<sup>48</sup> Elfego Baca launched his own independent race for the nomination.<sup>49</sup> However, the names of prominent Euroamericans, particularly William H. Andrews and Bernard S. Rodey, loomed. The weekly *Revista de Taos* painted both as having treated the Hispanos badly during their service at the forefront of the Republican Party.<sup>50</sup> Despite the known fact that Andrews desired the nomination, Hernández headed to the Republican nominating convention as the front runner. He easily garnered the nomination, a clear effect of the native-son activism.<sup>51</sup>

Euroamerican pundits called Hernández a long shot for the election, but native-son reports of discontent in the Democratic ranks with the incumbent Fergusson, particularly his inability to secure federal patronage for New Mexicans, lifted native-son hopes.<sup>52</sup> Indeed, the renewed native-son campaign's first major victory came with Hernández's easy defeat of Fergusson and Progressive Francis Wilson.

The election of 1916 involved three native-son possibilities. Hernández ran for reelection against Democrat W. B. Walton; the nativo-identified Republican Frank Hubbell was nominated to run against the Democrat A. A. Jones for the U.S. Senate; and Democrat C. de Baca was pitted against Republican Bursum for governor. Mass defections of independent Republicans from an encrusted bossism in the higher echelons of the Republican Party affected the election. Independents fused with Democrats in the counties of the Hispano north; the Progressive Party handed its delegates over to the Democratic nominating convention; and county Democrats effectively invited unhappy Republicans into their camp.<sup>53</sup>

Also working against the Republicans, the popular Woodrow Wilson made an effective second run at the presidency. New Mexico went narrowly for Wilson, who won a second term, and its Democrats swept the higher political offices. The results for native-son candidates were therefore negative at the federal level but favorable with regard to the state offices. On the one hand, Hernández lost his seat in Congress and Hubbell lost his Senate bid by the widest of all margins. On the other hand, in a clear indication that political fusions

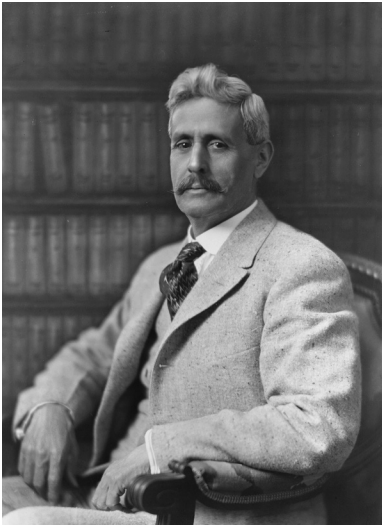
had hurt the Republican campaign, C. de Baca handily won the governor's office over Bursum.<sup>54</sup> Significantly, an ethnic leitmotif emerged in the state's political field: both parties now calculated nominations to assure Hispano representation on the state ticket. As a result, Lucero held on as secretary of state and the Progressive Bonifacio Montoya (who proved to be an effective generator of votes on the stump) won for state corporation commissioner, both running against Nuevomexicano opponents.<sup>55</sup>

As governor, C. de Baca symbolized an important native-son achievement to Larrazolo and his followers. Unfortunately, the infirmed governor served in office less than two months before passing away. A Republican Euroamerican, Washington E. Lindsey, had won as New Mexico's lieutenant governor. As one historian put it, "The Democrats won the election only to lose it. The office of lieutenant governor proved to be more important than that of governor."<sup>56</sup> The misfortune hurt the native-son movement even more than it hurt the Democratic Party.

The Republicans gained native-son ground in the election of 1918. In that year, Hernández made an attempt to win back the seat in Congress that he had lost in 1916. In the more dynamic race, Larrazolo made a bid for governor. (In 1914 a constitutional amendment made the term of New Mexico's governor two years.) Larrazolo drew opposition from Nuevomexicano Democrats who resented him for defecting from the Democratic Party in 1911 and joining the Republican Party. However, both Euroamerican and Nuevomexicano Republicans mobilized early support for Larrazolo; one native-son editor called him the Hispano "Moses."<sup>57</sup> As a result, the Democrats countered with a nomination of a Nuevomexicano of their own, the Rio Arriba County veteran politician Félix García, whom Democrats touted as a native of New Mexico while disparaging Larrazolo's Mexican roots.<sup>58</sup>

New Mexico was destined to have a second Nuevomexicano governor. In a close race caused by low voter turnout, the honorary Nuevomexicano Larrazolo beat García by a half percent margin to become the only Mexican-born person to be elected governor of a state, as well as the first Republican governor of New Mexico. As he critically needed, Larrazolo captured all the Hispano homeland counties, including García's own Rio Arriba, while two traditionally Democratic counties went Republican.<sup>59</sup> As a carry-over effect of Larrazolo's triumph, Hernández bested Democrat G. A. Richardson for Congress.

Larrazolo's term as governor in the years of World War I was tumultuous, plagued by intense labor unrest (in which he declared martial law on striking miners), his own controversial policies (including bilingual education), and opposition from Nuevomexicano county Republicans (on patronage and other issues).<sup>60</sup> In 1920 Larrazolo defied the critics within his own party by announc-



Octaviano A. Larrazolo, c. 1919.  
Photograph courtesy Library of  
Congress, Prints and Photographs Digital  
Collection, digital image no. 3a35896.



Benigno Cárdenas Hernández.  
Photograph courtesy Collection of the  
U.S. House of Representatives.

ing his intent to run for reelection.<sup>61</sup> The Republican Party, lacking faith in his electability, offered him the nomination to Congress, as Hernández had announced he would not run again. Larrazolo refused the overture and, in a hard floor fight, Bursum's old guard succeeded in drafting Merritt C. Mechem for governor. Mechem ran against another Euroamerican on the Democratic side, Richard Hanna, casting aside hopes for a Nuevomexicano governor.<sup>62</sup> At the least, a native-son was guaranteed to serve another term in Congress as the Republicans replaced Hernández on their ticket with Nestor Montoya while the Democrats put up former secretary of state Lucero to oppose him. As it developed, the Republican Party's overall strategy worked and Montoya easily came away with the office. Mechem won as well.<sup>63</sup>

Unfortunately, Montoya became an unpopular congressman. In the election of 1922, following the passage of the nineteenth amendment in August 1920, the native-daughter Adelina Otero-Warren successfully challenged his bid for a Republican Party renomination.<sup>64</sup> At the same time, the native-son efforts concentrated heavily on getting a Nuevomexicano nominated for governor. In the heavily divided party, however, the effort fell through. Once again, party regulars nominated one of their own, Charles Hill, on four ballots.<sup>65</sup> However, the post-World War I depression made 1922 a bad year for Republicans, whose president occupied the White House. Hill lost to Democrat James Hinkle, and

John Morrow dashed native hopes by defeating Otero-Warren for Congress.<sup>66</sup>

A decade following statehood, Nuevomexicano representation in New Mexico's major elected offices dropped to its lowest point. The native-son lobby had fought mightily to institute policies of inclusion in the political party system. Yet, as noted above, the conditions to block ethnic political equality were already in place before New Mexico transitioned to statehood. The key factor concerned the ambitions of Euroamerican men, such as Bursum and Catron, who conducted their politics at a higher, more sophisticated level than what Nuevomexicanos could collectively mount and attain. An important necessity in their projects was to befriend and strategically ally themselves with the Nuevomexicanos. This practice paid rewards to Euroamericans based in part on local patronage obligations, pressure networks, the high number of Nuevomexicanos financially indebted to Euroamerican bosses, and the hope among local Nuevomexicanos of gaining favor from a powerful political actor.<sup>67</sup> Also significant was a compelling party system. Each party had the force to trump Nuevomexicano ethnic identity and disrupt its solidarity potential.

Nuevomexicano political unity also faltered because much of the Nuevomexicano electorate labored for a living and spoke Spanish only, rendering it more difficult to mobilize than the rapidly growing Euroamerican communities. Nuevomexicano representation in the state legislature illustrates this difficulty. In the biennial sessions up to 1939, Nuevomexicanos comprised an average of 22.5 percent of the state senate. They fared better in the state house, averaging 44 percent during that period. However, the census of 1940 showed that, for the first time, Nuevomexicanos no longer constituted the ethnic majority in the state, falling to 42 percent of the population and dropping from there. Their percent of representation in the legislature accordingly declined precipitously to a low of 19 percent in the mid-1950s.<sup>68</sup>

The trend of power erosion for Nuevomexicanos following statehood for New Mexico had lasting consequences with respect to the higher positions. After Nestor Montoya's term in Congress, few Nuevomexicanos held office. Indicating Euroamerican power in the Republican Party, no Nuevomexicano served in the August body of the U.S. Senate until 1928, when Larrazolo received an honorary appointment to serve the unexpired term vacated by Bronson Cutting. The law required an election to fill out the unexpired term and Larrazolo won, serving in the Senate only until March 1929. A special circumstance yielded the second Nuevomexicano senator as well. In 1935 then-senator Bronson Cutting died in a plane crash, and Gov. Clyde Tingley, under pressure from Nuevomexicano Democrats, named to the office Cutting's opponent in the just-concluded election, U.S. congressman Dennis Chávez. Chávez went on to become a Nuevomexicano legend by serving six terms as a New Deal senator until his death in 1962.<sup>69</sup> In 1964

Joseph M. Montoya won Chávez's seat, but served only two terms.<sup>70</sup> No other Nuevomexicano, Mexican American, or Hispanic of any stripe has been elected to the Senate from New Mexico since Montoya.

Certainly, the native-son aim of having a steady stream of Nuevomexicano governors failed. Republican Manuel B. Otero lost his race for governor in 1924. After that no Nuevomexicano, or Mexican American from elsewhere for that matter, was even nominated for the office by either of the two major parties until 1974 when Jerry Apodaca got elected on the strength of a powerful northern New Mexico Democratic Party caucus. Another Nuevomexicano Democrat, the progressive Toney Anaya, won the governorship in 1982 with a clear liberal agenda. Both served one term. In the new millennium, New Mexico elected two successive Hispanic governors. Democrat Bill Richardson was elected governor in 2002, serving two terms, followed by the current governor Susana Martínez, elected as a Republican in 2010 on a clear conservative agenda. Martínez won re-election in the 2014 non-presidential election. The pre-election poll numbers showed 50 percent of the Hispanic voters in Martínez's favor, which was significant as the majority of New Mexico Hispanics are registered Democrats.<sup>71</sup>

As for the U.S. Congress, Morrow defeated Felipe Hubbell in 1924, and up to 1932 only one Nuevomexicano, Dennis Chávez, was elected to Congress. Chávez, based in part from lingering native-son sentiments, served two terms in Congress.<sup>72</sup> After that, the native-son movement that had originated in 1911 mostly ceased. A steady stream of Nuevomexicano representation in Congress did not develop for another decade. Antonio M. Fernández, first elected in 1943 (largely on the strength of the Euroamerican vote according to one analysis), served seven terms, dying in office in 1954.<sup>73</sup> Joseph M. Montoya won the special election following Fernández's death. He served three terms before defeating the incumbent Edwin L. Mechem for the U.S. Senate.<sup>74</sup> The cause for Hispanic political participation gained greater opportunity in 1968 when redistricting mandated that New Mexico be split into two congressional districts. In the third, or northern district, where both Democrats and Nuevomexicanos dominated, the Nuevomexicano Manuel Luján was elected even though he was a Republican. Luján served six terms in Congress.<sup>75</sup> The Mexican American outsider Bill Richardson was elected to Congress in 1982, again from the second district. The popular Richardson served seven two-year terms. Another gap of eight years appeared, however, before the Nuevomexicano Ben Ray Luján was elected to Congress in 2009 followed by the Nuevomexicana Michelle Luján Grisham in 2013, who won in the first district. Both are currently serving in Congress.

Equality of group participation in public institutions, what the political theorist Hanna Pitkin calls "descriptive representation" or a "proportional representation,"

is a fundamental value in American civics.<sup>76</sup> Rather than correct the trend of decreasing political participation among Nuevomexicanos in the late territorial period, statehood for their homeland sustained and even exacerbated it. The need for a strong current of inclusion in the upper political system, commensurate with New Mexico's significant Nuevomexicano, Mexican American, and Latino presence, continues. While some improvement has developed in recent times, representation still falls short. Surely, however, rapidly changing ethnic ratios will help overcome the lamentable legacy of Nuevomexicano political participation that appeared at the start of New Mexico statehood.

## Notes

1. Robert W. Larson suggests this pattern in *New Mexico's Quest for Statehood, 1846–1912* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968), although he tends to underplay the Nuevomexicano role in the intermittent movements for statehood in the nineteenth century. As Juan Gómez-Quiñones points out, “Hispanos’ pro- or anti-statehood position depended on the content of the measure, amounting to a rather judgmental approach. However, Hispanos did not hold a universal position . . . the argument that Hispanos preferred statehood because of office possibilities is a partial view, as is the contention that Anglos preferred a territory because of access to appointments.” See Juan Gómez-Quiñones, *Roots of Chicano Politics, 1600–1940* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 239. For a more systematic study, see Phillip B. Gonzales, *Política: The Forced Annexation and Political Integration of the Nuevomexicanos, 1821–1871* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, forthcoming).

2. David V. Holtby, *Forty-Seventh Star: New Mexico's Struggle for Statehood* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 226–28, 250, 276–77, 281.

3. For Texas, see David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), 40–41, 95. For California, see Albert Camarillo, *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848–1930* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), 110–12; Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846–1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 273; and Gómez-Quiñones, *Roots of Chicano Politics*, 297.

4. Gómez-Quiñones, *Roots of Chicano Politics*, 241.

5. United States Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1910*, vol. 3 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), 158. According to one projection, the percentage of Euroamericans in New Mexico prior to the 1880s did not go beyond 10 percent but shot up to one-third by 1900. See Daniel Tapia Valdes, “A Sociological Analysis and Description of the Political Role, Status, and Voting Behavior of Americans with Spanish Names” (PhD diss., University of Colorado, 1964), 65.

6. For analysis of this trend, see Gonzales, *Política*.

7. For Nuevomexicano representation in the assemblies of the territorial period, see Fernando V. Padilla and Carlos B. Ramírez, “Patterns of Chicano Representation in California, Colorado and Nuevo Mexico,” *Aztlán* 5 (1974): 213.



8. *Diario del Consejo, Procedimientos del Consejo Legislativo del Territorio de Nuevo Mexico, Sesión Vigésima-Octava* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing, 1889), 3–4; *Diario del Consejo, Procedimientos del Consejo Legislativo del Territorio de Nuevo Mexico, Sesión Vigésimanona* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing, 1891), 4–5; *Diario del Consejo, Procedimientos del Consejo Legislativo del Territorio de Nuevo Mexico, Sesión Trigesima-Primera* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing, 1895), 4; *Diario del Consejo, Procedimientos del Consejo Legislativo del Territorio de Nuevo Mexico, Sesión Trigesima-Tercera* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing, 1899), 3–4; *Diario del Consejo, Procedimientos del Consejo Legislativo del Territorio de Nuevo Mexico, Sesión Trigesima-Cuarta* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing, 1901), 3–4; *Diario del Consejo, Procedimientos del Consejo Legislativo del Territorio de Nuevo Mexico, Sesión Trigesima-Quinta* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: J.S. Duncan, 1904), 3–4; *Diario del Consejo, Procedimientos del Consejo Legislativo del Territorio de Nuevo Mexico, Trigesima-Sexta Sesión* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing, 1905), 1–2; *Diario del Consejo, Procedimientos del Consejo Legislativo del Territorio de Nuevo Mexico, Sesión Trigesima-Septima* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing, 1907), 3–4; and *Diario del Consejo, Procedimientos del Consejo Legislativo del Territorio de Nuevo Mexico, Sesión Trigesima-Octava* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing, 1909), 3–4.

9. Territory of New Mexico, *Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the Proposed State of New Mexico Held at Santa Fe, New Mexico* (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Press of the Morning Journal, 1910); and Gómez-Quiñones, *Roots of Chicano Politics*, 258.

10. Luis Tafoya, “Correspondencia Noticioso de Santa Fe,” *El Corresponsal, Revista de Taos* (N.Mex.), 28 July 1911, 1.

11. Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: The Free Press, 1984), 2.

12. “On Eve of Republican State Convention,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 27 September 1911, 3; “Candidates for Governor,” *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Journal*, 5 September 1911, 4; “Romero for Governor,” *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Optic*, 7 September 1911, 4; editorial, *Wagon Mound (N.Mex.) Combate*, 8 September 1911, 2; and “Candidatos Para el Puesto de Gobernador,” *Nuevo Mexicano* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.), reprinted in *Las Cruces (N.Mex.) Labrador*, 22 September 1911, 1.

13. “Los Republicanos del Condado de San Miguel Lanzan la Candidatura del Hon. Secundino Romero como Candidato para Gobernador Ante la Convención de Estado que Tendrá Lugar en Las Vegas el día Veintiocho de Septiembre,” and “Resolutions of the Republican Central Committee of San Miguel County,” in *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Independiente*, 14 September 1911, 1; “Republicans of San Miguel County Launch Gubernatorial Boom for Secundino Romero,” and “Secundino Romero Will Be Choice of San Miguel County For Governor of New Mexico,” *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Optic*, 7 September 1911, 1; “Splendid Delegation Will Represent San Miguel County,” *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Optic*, 25 September 1911, 1; and “Supporters of Romero Are Confident That He Will Be Chosen,” *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Optic*, 27 September 1911, 1.

14. Editorial, “The Parting of the Ways,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 26 September 1911, 4; “On Eve Of Republican State Convention,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 27 September 1911, 3; “Holm O. Bursum By Acclamation,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 28 September 1911, 7; and “Crónica de la Capital,” *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Voz del Pueblo*, 18 November 1911, 1. See also Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, vol. 2 (Cedar Rap-

ids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1912), 597; and Jonathan B. Cunningham, "Bronson Cutting, a Political Biography" (master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1940), 35.

15. "Convention News in Brief By Associated Press," and "Holm O. Bursum Is Republican Nominee For First Governor," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 29 September 1911, 1, 8; "Republican Convention Adjourns After Naming Strong Ticket," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 30 September 1911, 1; "Republicans Select Bursum To Head First State Ticket," and "State Convention Adjourns After All Night Session," *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Optic*, 30 September 1911, 1; and "Bursum Para Gobernador," *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Voz del Pueblo*, 30 September 1911, 1. The fight on Armijo is reported most clearly in "Los Republicanos Concluyen La Nominacion de La Boleta De Estado," *Wagon Mound (N.Mex.) Combate*, 7 October 1911, 1. See also Vigil, *Los Patrones*, 136.

16. "Los Oficiales REPUBLICANOS de ESTADO son dignos del Soporte del Pueblo [sic]" and "A Los Republicanos del Condado," *Mora (N.Mex.) Eco del Norte*, 16 October 1911; and "Al Combate," *Mora (N.Mex.) Eco del Norte*, 30 October 1911, 1. See also, "Boleta Republicana," *Las Cruces (N.Mex.) Labrador*, 13 October 1911, 1.

17. "Crónica de la Capital" and "Nuestro Boleta de Estado," *Observador, Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Voz del Pueblo*, 7 October 1911, 1. The Republican *El Combate* (20 December 1911), portrayed Martínez has having "dominated" the Democratic convention and, together with McDonald, devising its platform. It also sarcastically posited that Martínez, who lived in El Paso, claimed a residence in Colfax County. This would explain why the Democrats wanted to defeat Bursum and elect McDonald, so that non-New Mexican ranchers could have access to land on which to graze their livestock.

18. Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, vol. 5 (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1917), 409; "El Hon. O. A. Larrazolo en Mora," *Mora (N.Mex.) Eco del Norte*, 30 October 1911; "The Republican Banner Goes Ahead," *Wagon Mound (N.Mex.) Combate*, 20 October 1911, 4; "Great Republican Tally at Taos Saturday," *Nuevo Mexicano* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.), 21 October 1911, 3; and "Junta Republicana," political advertisement, *Las Cruces (N.Mex.) Labrador*, 20 October 1911, 1.

19. "Metiendole Miedo Al Pueblo," *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Voz del Pueblo*, 14 October 1911, 2.

20. See the analyses in "Algunos Puntos," *Revista de Taos* (N.Mex.), 5 June 1914, 1; and, "Mayoría de McDonald 1500," *Nuevo Mexicano* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.), 11 November 1911, 1. See also the figures in "La Victoria Es Nuestra," *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Voz del Pueblo*, 11 November 1911, 1. Bursum himself attributed his own loss in the gubernatorial race to "a division among Republicans in two normally Republican counties which gave a vote against me sufficient to effect [sic] my election" in "A Statement by Holm O. Bursum to the People of New Mexico," *Las Cruces (N.Mex.) Citizen*, 14 October 1916, box 2, series 408, Thomas B. Catron papers, MSS29 BC, Center For Southwest Research, University Libraries, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque [hereafter CSWR].

21. The tabulations leave out two minor candidates whose totals represented less than 3,500 votes.

22. "El Resultado De Las Elecciones," *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Voz del Pueblo*, 11 November 1911, 2.

23. "Aquí Les Hablan, Señores Republicanos De Habla Española," *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Voz del Pueblo*, 9 December 1911, 2.

24. Cunningham, "Bronson Cutting," 37.

25. Jonathan B. Cunningham makes the unlikely generalization that the Hispano losses against Anglos have been “interpreted as a reaction to the special provisions made in the Constitution for the protection of the Spanish-speaking people.” His source is “Interview with New Mexicans connected with the 1911 campaign.” See Cunningham, “Bronson Cutting,” 38.

26. *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Voz del Pueblo* first reported this pattern in “Lae [sic] Ultimas Elecciones,” 18 November 1911, 1.

27. Editorial, “Gobierno Propio Risible,” *Revista de Taos* (N.Mex.), reprinted in *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Bandera Americana*, 1 December 1911, 2.

28. Editorial from the *Lakewood (N.Mex.) Progress*, reprinted as “Aquí les Hablan, Señores Republicanos de Habla Española,” in *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Voz del Pueblo*, 9 December 1911, 2.

29. George Curry attributed his own win to having “trimmed his sails” on the Blue Ballot amendment while Republicans who strongly opposed it lost. George Curry, *George Curry, 1861–1947: An Autobiography* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 258–62.

30. See, e.g., Secundino Romero, “El Estado,” *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Independiente*, 11 January 1912, 1, press fragment, in Oversize folder, newspapers, certificates, proclamations, 1884–1922, Octaviano A. Larrazolo Papers, CSWR; Elfego Baca, “Abajo Mexicanos,” *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Opinión Pública*, reprinted in both *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Bandera Americana*, 24 November 1911, 3, and *Wagon Mound (N.Mex.) Combate*, 1 December 1911, 1; “Poniendo Los Puntos Sobre Las IES,” *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Voz del Pueblo*, 25 November 1911, 2; and Elfego Baca to Editor, *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Journal*, reprinted in *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Voz del Pueblo*, 25 November 1911, 2. Baca requested that all newspapers in the state publish his piece. For *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Voz del Pueblo*’s comment on Baca’s remarks, see “Es un Cobarde, si lo hizo,” 18 November 1911, 3.

31. “Habla la Nueva Estrella de Santa Rosa,” *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Bandera Americana*, 15 December 1911, 2.

32. “Es Cuestión Ineludible,” *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Bandera Americana*, 16 February 1912, 2; and “¡Señores Legisladores, su Atención!” *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Bandera Americana*, 26 March 1912, 2.

33. A similar pattern occurred in Texas; see Gómez-Quiñones, *Roots of Chicano Politics*, 334–35.

34. Victor Westphall, *Thomas Benton Catron and His Era* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973), 33.

35. “Fall and Catron Elected Senators After Mills and Andrews Withdraw,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 27 March 1912, 4; and “Fall y Catron Fueron Elegidos Senadores,” *Nuevo Mexicano* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.), 30 March 1912, 4.

36. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, 5:117–18.

37. State of New Mexico, *Journal of the Senate. Proceedings of the First State Legislature, Second Session*, January 14 to March 4, 1913 (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Co., 1913), 67–71.

38. Westphall, *Thomas Benton Catron and His Era*, 356.

39. “Hubbell Expected to Start Row in Republican Convention,” *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Journal*, 12 September 1912, 1; and “Nathan Jaffa, Roswell Merchant, Republican Nominee for Congress,” *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Journal*, 13 September 1912, 4.

40. For the nominee's biographical information, see "Honorable Marcos C. de Baca, Prominente Hispano-Americano Fallece en Albuquerque," *Revista de Taos* (N.Mex.), 14 October 1921, 1.

41. "Progressive County Convention Big One," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 7 September 1912, 1.

42. Holmes, *Politics in New Mexico*, 271. For Hispano participation in local progressive organizations, see "Los Progresistas Ganarán El Condado de Bernalillo," *Nuevo Mexicano* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.), 27 July 1912, 1; "The Progressives of Socorro," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 7 September 1912, 2; "Condado De Rio Arriba," *Nuevo Mexicano* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.), 12 March 1914, 4; "Llamada Para La Convención Y Primarias Progresista," *Nuevo Mexicano* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.), 19 March 1914, 4; and "Los Progresistas Del Condado De Taos," *Nuevo Mexicano* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.), 26 March 1914, 4.

43. Marcos C. de Baca to the State Progressive Central Committee, in "Marcos C. de Baca Entrega su Carta de Aceptación," *Nuevo Mexicano* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.), 28 September 1912, 2; "La Llamada Del Venado Macho Hace Juntarse A Sus Jefes En La Venidera Campaña: Marcos C. De Baca Derrotara a Culquier Parapetado Que La Guardia Veja pueda Nominar," *Nuevo Mexicano* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.), 14 September 1912, 1; "El Honorable Marcos C. De Baca Declara Que Visitara A Todos Los Condados," *Nuevo Mexicano* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.), 28 September 1912, 1; "Lo Que Significa," *Nuevo Mexicano* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.), 5 October 1912, 2; and "Los Progresistas Reunidos en Enthusiasta Convención de Estado," *Nuevo Mexicano* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.), 3 August 1912, 3.

44. "La Política de 1912," *Albuquerque* (N.Mex.) *Bandera Americana*, 26 July 1912, 3.

45. "La Liga Progresista Cesa de Existir y el Partido Formal Progresista del Estado de Nuevo México Nace en Albuquerque," *Albuquerque* (N.Mex.) *Bandera Americana*, 2 August 1912, 2; and "El Partido Republicano Reconoce al Elemento Hispano-Americano," *Albuquerque* (N.Mex.) *Bandera Americana*, 23 August 1912, 1.

46. Dwight M. Ramsay, Jr., "A Statistical Survey of Voting Behavior in New Mexico" (master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1951), 3; Herbert Theodore Hoover, "History of the Republican Party in New Mexico, 1867-1952" (PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, 1966), 41-42; and Alfred C. Córdova and Charles B. Judah, *Octaviano Larrazolo: A Political Portrait* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, Department of Government, 1952), 4.

47. Charles Montgomery, *The Spanish Redemption: Heritage, Power, and Loss on New Mexico's Upper Rio Grande* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 84-85.

48. "El Representante Al Congreso," *Wagon Mound* (N.Mex.) *Combate*, 27 June 1914, 1. Hernández was born in Taos in 1863. In Rio Arriba County he served as court clerk (1900), sheriff (1905-1906), and treasurer (1909-1911). He also worked as a collector for the Federal Land Commission Office (1912-1914), and was a partner in the mercantile business of Amador y Cía. "Benigno Hernández," *Mora* (N.Mex.) *Eco del Norte*, 28 September 1914, 1; and "Hon. B. C. Hernández," *Tierra Amarilla* (N.Mex.) *Nuevo Estado*, 7 September 1914, 2.

49. For some accounts of the feuding, see "Junta Entusiasta de los Republicanos," *Albuquerque* (N.Mex.) *Opinión Pública*, 2 November 1907, 1; "Los Progresistas Ganarán el Condado de Bernalillo," *Nuevo Mexicano* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.), 27 July 1912, 1; "Progressive Convention is a Mighty Big One," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 10 September 1912, 1; "Nathan Jaffa, Roswell Merchant, Republican Nominee for Congress," *Albuquerque* (N.Mex.)

*Morning Journal*, 13 September 1912, 1; and “Headquarters Closed by Chairman Baca,” *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Journal*, 22 October 1912, 1.

50. “El Irrespresible Rodey,” *Revista de Taos (N.Mex.)*, 23 January 1914, 1; and “Los Amos y Dueños De Nuevo Mexico,” *Revista de Taos (N.Mex.)*, 26 June 1914, 2.

51. “Hernandez Has a Walk-Over; Andrews in the Discard,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 26 August 1914, 1; and “La Convención Republicana,” *Mora (N.Mex.) Eco del Norte*, 31 August 1914, 4.

52. Editorial, “La Lucha Por Los Destinos,” *Revista de Taos (N.Mex.)*, 14 March 1913, 2; “La Voz De La Capital: Los Nombramientos Federales,” *El Corresponsal, Revista de Taos (N.Mex.)*, 21 March 1913, 2; “La Voz De La Capital: Aplicantes Hispano-Americanos,” *Revista de Taos (N.Mex.)*, 25 April 1913; and “Premiando Al Hispano,” *Revista de Taos (N.Mex.)*, 9 May 1913, 2. Regarding Euroamericans on this issue in Little Texas, see “O. U. Harmony!” *Roswell (N.Mex.) Morning News*, reprinted in both *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 19 August 1914, 2, and, editorial, *Revista de Taos (N.Mex.)*, 3 July 1914, 2. For a consideration of the patronage issue in relation to a Democratic administration and New Mexico’s early statehood years, see Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, 5:203.

53. H. O. Bursum to A. B. Fall, 5 September 1916, in Carol N. Callary, “A Political Biography of Frank A. Hubbell, 1862–1929” (master’s thesis, University of New Mexico, 1967), 133; “Seligman and Otero Pay Political Visit to San Miguel County,” *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Journal*, 10 September 1916, 1; “Fusion Ticket to be Put Out in Santa Fe,” *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Journal*, 6 September 1916, 6; “Fusion Ticket Is to be Put out this Week in Santa Fe County,” *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Journal*, 11 September 1916, 8; “Los Republicanos Independientes del Condado de Santa Fe Se Separan Del Partido,” *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Voz del Pueblo*, 9 September 1916, 1; and “Boleta Fusionista en Santa Fe,” *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Voz del Pueblo*, 16 September 1916, 1.

54. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexico History*, 5:419–20. Ralph Emerson Twitchell observed that the results may have reflected the gradual shifting of New Mexico toward the Democratic Party. Nine years later, Holm Bursum stated his own theory. “In 1916,” he recalled, “the Socialists were organized and had a considerable vote at that time. There is little doubt but what the Democrats appropriated the Socialist vote to the extent of approximately 1200 and credited it to the Democratic candidates. It was said by men who seemed to know that this was done at that time in the counties of Roosevelt, Curry, Quay and Eddy, which included what is now Lea County, and while at the time it was hard to get the dope, some people have, as late as during the last campaign laughingly referred to the election of 1916 when the Socialists were credited to the Democratic candidates.” H. O. Bursum to A. B. Renehan, 26 December 1925, folder 1, box 16, Holm O. Bursum papers, MSS 92 BC, CSWR.

55. “Wilson Leads by 2502,” *Nara Visa (N.Mex.) News*, 14 December 1916, 2.

56. Charles F. Coan, *A History of New Mexico*, vol. 1 (Chicago: The American Historical Society, 1925), 496.

57. “Larrazolo and the Democrats,” *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Journal*, 8 October 1918, 6; Editorial, *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Voz del Pueblo*, 19 October 1918, 3; and “El Moises de la Democracia,” *Revista de Taos (N.Mex.)*, 11 October 1918, 2.

58. Editorial, *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Voz del Pueblo*, 2 November 1918, 8.

59. On the results of the election, see Cordova and Judah, *Octaviano Larrazolo*, 21; Paul F. Larrazolo, *Octaviano A. Larrazolo: A Moment in New Mexico History* (New York:

Carlton Press, 1986), 102; Cunningham, "Bronson Cutting," 72; "Victoria Republicana," *Tierra Amarilla (N.Mex.) Nuevo Estado*, 11 November 1918, 1; editorial, *Spanish American*, 23 November 1918, 1; "Republicans in New Mexico Won Every Office in Tuesday's Race," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Journal*, 8 November 1918, 1; "Official Count Made of Vote at Late Election," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Journal*, 9 November 1918, 4; and "Fall, Larrazolo and Hernandez Get Increasing Leads," *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 7 November 1918, 1.

60. Phillip B. Gonzales, "Race, Party, Class: The Contradictions of Octaviano A. Larrazolo," in *Noble Purposes: Nine Champions of the Rule of Law*, ed. Norman Gross (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007), 95–125; editorial, *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Voz del Pueblo*, 10 January 1920, 2; editorial, *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Voz del Pueblo*, 20 January 1920, 2; O. O. Askren to Octaviano Larrazolo, 5 January 1920, reprinted in "¡Donde Hablan Letras Callan . . . !," *Las Vegas (N.Mex.) Voz del Pueblo*, 21 February 1920, 1; "La Policia Montada," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Bandera Americana*, 20 February 1920, 1; and Clinton P. Anderson, "'Bosses' Try to Shelve Larrazolo for Man Who Will Do Their Bidding," *Albuquerque (N.Mex.) Morning Journal*, 17 August 1920, 1.

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