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Mexican Party, American Party, Democratic Party

ESTABLISHING THE AMERICAN POLITICAL PARTY IN NEW MEXICO,
1848–1853

Phillip B. Gonzales

In mid-1849, Bvt. Lt. Col. George A. McCall returned from a brief sojourn in Washington, D.C., to New Mexico where he was stationed, and found that politics there were “the rage, engrossing the attention of all classes of people.”¹ As New Mexico was adjusting to a new national sovereign in 1848, its political arena teemed with heated election campaigns, contests over whether New Mexico should be a state or a federal territory, and citizen challenges to federal administrative authority. This article explores the early formation of political parties in New Mexico Territory prior to the Civil War.

Euroamericans who settled in the territory from the states and those native Nuevomexicanos who had welcomed the conquest strongly desired to import U.S. political institutions that were more republican than those in place when New Mexico was a federal department of Mexico.² The more liberal residents felt that Nuevomexicanos—especially since they formed the overwhelming majority of the territory’s population—should participate in American representative government.³

In the era of U.S. Manifest Destiny, many came to New Mexico convinced that Nuevomexicanos were incapable of adjusting to U.S. democracy. In 1852

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Col. Edwin Sumner, the notorious commander of the U.S. Army's Ninth Military Department (New Mexico Territory), touched off a firestorm when he reported to Sec. of War Charles M. Conrad that Nuevomexicanos were "thoroughly debased and totally incapable of self-government [with] no latent quality about them that can ever make them respectable."⁴ However, the prevailing leadership in the territory decried any attempts to exclude Nuevomexicanos from the U.S. political process. Once the letter was published and circulated throughout the territory, a group gathered in indignation and complained to Pres. Millard Fillmore that Sumner had deeply offended all New Mexicans. To recall Sumner, they believed, would be "hailed with universal joy by the inhabitants of New Mexico."⁵

Nevertheless, important questions remained about how to engage Nuevomexicanos as active, full political participants and achieve what political scientist Jack Holmes has called the "political acculturation of Hispanic New Mexico."⁶ The introduction of political parties would play a central role. During the Mexican period, Nuevomexicanos had not seen anything like the U.S. party system, with its mass-based, formal, ritualized, and enduring political parties.⁷ In Mexico a stable party system was yet to develop: sectional turmoil caused political parties to continually "re-emerge under different guises as the ideologies of liberalism and conservatism fragmented into dozens of divergent sects."⁸

Historians have not fully addressed when the first U.S. political party arrived in the territory, much less what role the political acculturation of Nuevomexicanos might have played in its arrival. Historians have instead maintained that for the first two to three decades after annexation, national political parties were nonexistent in New Mexico and the early territory was racked by extreme localized divisions. The dean of southwestern territorial history, Howard R. Lamar, instigated this steadfast view. He found New Mexico's early political scene dominated by "multitudinous factions" that hopelessly split the territorial legislative assembly. The many factions coalesced temporarily into two major "parties" only during the biennial elections for U.S. congressional delegates. "Nothing could be more incorrect," Lamar notes, "than to call the two groups [supporting the candidates] Democrats or Whigs. These names had meaning only to the Americans in New Mexico and even then the labels were often misleading." Lamar argues that when the Democrat Franklin Pierce was elected president in 1852, "many local Whigs conveniently took refuge under the rubric 'National Democrat.' Those in opposition, for want of a better name, were called 'states rights,' 'Douglas,' 'Buchanan,' or regular Democrats. Rather than parties, New Mexico had cliques, usually led by one man and generally

organized for the specific purpose of winning an election or controlling patronage.”⁹

Dutifully following Lamar’s lead, other historians have argued that traditional U.S. party organization had little importance in the territory, that national labels seldom entered New Mexico politics, and that parties represented nothing more than personalities.¹⁰ Historian Gary L. Roberts emphasizes New Mexico’s presumed isolation, which meant, among other things, that “party connections had little meaning in terms of national issues or ideology, and for most of the period prior to 1870, Hispanos regarded themselves as members of the ‘Chaves Party’ or the ‘Gallegos Party’ or the ‘Perea Party’ rather than as Democrats, Whigs or Republicans.” To Roberts, New Mexico politics in the 1850s formed a “welter of local interests without a real party system.” He adds, “Partisan advantage was the active ingredient” in these “interest politics,” which ensured “a volatile system marked by intimidation and fraud.”¹¹

The prevailing picture of New Mexico’s chaotic factionalism with no connection to national parties before and directly after the Civil War is simply incorrect. Researchers have failed to see how strongly New Mexico politicians desired to establish the U.S. party system in their territory. In 1853, for example, New Mexico residents established a Democratic Party—as bona fide as was possible in the rough-and-tumble frontier—that was revived every two years in the elections for congressional delegates. These researchers have misled themselves because the complexities of party dynamics in New Mexico’s political process are not obvious in much of the primary evidence without a comprehensive and tedious study of the territorial press (including important data appearing in the Spanish-language editions), which reveals New Mexico’s political shift toward an American party system. Spanish-speaking Nuevomexicanos steeped themselves in the movement to form an American party in their homeland. The formation of a Democratic Party signaled New Mexico’s political development and significantly advanced Nuevomexicanos’ acculturation into the overall political system of the United States.

The complicated phase of factionalism in New Mexico that immediately followed U.S. annexation was not so much an anomalous vestige of Mexican chaos as it was a necessary developmental stage toward the U.S. political party standard. Analogously, the political historian Linda Kerber credits the emergence of the American Federalist Party to a pre-party “politics of opposition.” In that period, public debate, town-square polemics, and group advocacy over the issues of concern to the citizenry engendered the formation of a party organization where it had not existed before.¹² In New Mexico, what historians have generally characterized as a wheel-spinning time of personal conflict actually provided a “partisan platform” for political party formation. If, as

Richard Hofstadter argues, factional differences laid the foundation for parties in the thirteen states and “taught Americans to argue, polemicize, legislate, and on occasion to make compromises,” then such learning experiences likewise influenced Nuevomexicanos, who used political parties to formulate their collective interests as a newly incorporated minority in the United States.¹³

The core objective of this article is to document the formation of the New Mexico territorial Democratic Party in connection with the congressional delegate race in 1853. Along the way, it shows how the organizers of the new party adopted the template of party organization that existed in the United States as a whole. A prior condition of factional division not only set the stage as a necessary element in the establishment of the Democratic Party of New Mexico but also served as its partisan backbone. It also suggests the extent to which New Mexico’s isolation broke down when leading U.S. Democrats and Congress recognized New Mexico’s new Democratic Party. Most importantly, it illustrates the critical role Nuevomexicanos played in the formation of a two-party system in New Mexico.

To examine the issue of acculturation, it is important to first see how the Spanish-surnamed citizens of New Mexico prepared themselves for entering American electoral politics. Like the United States, Mexico was a republic, and while the decision in Mexico City in 1836 to turn all federal units into departments abrogated a system of popular suffrage, at the local level citizens did have a semblance of the vote. For example, citizens elected their *alcalde* (mayor) in the *ayuntamiento* (town council).¹⁴ In addition, a *junta electoral* (a type of electoral college) selected delegates for a *diputación* (departmental assembly), whose members, like those in the typical U.S. federal territory legislature, represented the interests of district constituencies.¹⁵

In 1846 Brig. Gen. Stephen W. Kearny’s framework for a civil government, known as the Kearny Code, called for a special election to form a U.S.-style legislature and provided the first test for Nuevomexicano participation in U.S. politics. Quite remarkably, a popular Nuevomexicano electorate was generated by interim governor Donaciano Vigil, and an election was held in October 1847. That December Nuevomexicano solons assembled in the territorial legislature to pass laws under the guidance of a handful of Euroamerican settlers despite the fact that New Mexico still belonged to Mexico.¹⁶ Again in 1849, after New Mexico had become a U.S. territorial possession, a general election was held to name delegates to a convention that would petition Congress to convert New Mexico from a military command to an incorporated territory or a full-fledged state.¹⁷

The Compromise of 1850, which made New Mexico an incorporated federal territory, mandated the organization of scheduled elections. The

first U.S. governor of the territory, James S. Calhoun, came to New Mexico as its superintendent of Indian affairs in 1849. In 1851, “with the precision of a military commander,” he took the necessary steps to form a democratic government “where none had existed.” He ordered the first New Mexico census, apportioned districts for thirteen legislative senators and twenty-six representatives, called for their elections and the election of a delegate to Congress, and oversaw the first election to fill these offices. Nuevomexicanos formed the majority of those elected to the first legislature, as they would until the early twentieth century.¹⁸

As New Mexico’s electoral apparatus developed, informal but quite vocal factions did indeed dominate a field of partisan contention. Congress’s declaration of a military administration for New Mexico in October 1848 following the end of the U.S.-Mexico War had provoked considerable civilian resentment and exacerbated intensifying animosities between the Nuevomexicano populace and the U.S. soldiers occupying their homeland.¹⁹ Col. John M. Washington (the military-civil governor until 12 October 1849) and Col. John Munroe (commander from October 1849 to 3 March 1851) took the brunt of hostility from New Mexico’s citizenry. In this regard, Lamar is quite right that “resistance and debate over military rule resulted in the birth of the first political parties in American New Mexico,” by which he means pre-party factions.²⁰

The political contention over military rule evolved into the question of whether New Mexico should become a federal territory or a full-fledged state. The army-backed “territorial party,” the first to gain power during the military occupation, consisted of territorial and local officials dating to the first Kearny government in 1846. It supported a seamless transition to a federal territory. Their opposition, the “statehood party,” branded the territorialists as corrupt villains supporting the military status quo. As U.S. sectionalism intensified over the slavery question in the territories acquired from Mexico, and as Texas, a slave state, doggedly pressed its old claim to New Mexico’s land east of the Rio Grande, the statehood question grew in national concern. The trend of national leaders taking an interest in New Mexico at this time belies historians’ claims of extreme political isolation. Missouri senator Thomas Hart Benton and Whig presidents Zachary Taylor and Fillmore actively supported the statehood party in their campaign to stop the spread of southern slavery. Both Governor Calhoun and Colonel McCall played emissary roles for the administration’s efforts to “advance” statehood for the territory, showing one of the ways that New Mexico residents were tied to the agendas of national leadership.²¹ The Compromise of 1850 stifled but did not snuff out the contention over territorial or state status for New Mexico.²²

The Whig party comprised a third political grouping in the early territory. After Democratic president James K. Polk presided over the war with Mexico and the subsequent U.S. absorption of Mexico's vast northern territory, Whig Taylor became president but died sixteen months into office. His vice president, Fillmore, finished his term. Starting in 1849, mostly Whigs—some “ardent” in their party loyalty—were appointed to federal offices in New Mexico Territory. They included Sec. of the Territory John Greiner (who had written William Henry Harrison's presidential campaign song, “Tippecanoe and Tyler Too”), governors Calhoun and William Carr Lane, and Associate Justice James S. Watts of the territorial supreme court.²³ Colonel Munroe was the first Whig military commander assigned to New Mexico.²⁴ District judges Hugh N. Smith and Merrill Ashurst were also Whigs. Prominent Whigs who were not presidential appointees included James L. Collins, Henry Connelly, and Preston Beck.²⁵

Had the Whigs united into a formal party, they might have steadied New Mexico's intense factionalism. Like true Whigs, however, they lacked the requisite organizational skills and party discipline.²⁶ Whigs tended to address factional volatility by denouncing any and all manifestations of “party,” an attitude derived from the early history of the American state that considered the organized political party as a potentially self-serving conspiracy. As a *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette* editor noted, the Whigs refused to draw party lines, were “sticklers for no party action,” and postured to select men “ostensibly according to their qualifications.”²⁷ A mistrust of political parties, along with fears of entrenched organized warfare, had prevailed among the leading statesmen of the United States in the early years of the republic.²⁸ While the Democratic Party operated with a sharp partisan bent and a demand for party loyalty, the Whigs continued to advocate the antiparty principle. The fear that intrigue and conniving politicians lay at the heart of the political party was reinforced by the wild and woolly antagonism to the Masons. Preferring a conglomeration of conscientious and virtuous men devoted to the common weal, the Whigs opposed the selfish narrow-mindedness of a permanent party's interests.²⁹ The trend continued in attenuated form to the 1850s. Taylor, for example, proposed with great success to “stand above party.”³⁰

In New Mexico, the antiparty spirit appeared clearly in the “large and respectable” bilingual meeting at the Santa Fe Courthouse in 1851 to forward county nominations for the territorial council and the House of Representatives. Calling the first legislature “of paramount importance” for the “foundation upon which the structure of the Government is to be built,” participants pledged to support persons deemed “best fitted in ability and worthiness without regard to party politics.” Seeing no democracy in party activism, attendees resolved

that in selecting candidates, “the whole people have a right to be heard, and their feelings and interests consulted.” Opposing factionalism, they would “not tamely submit to caucus nominations and dictations made or emanating from private meetings, or from any source whatever, at which the whole people have no right to be heard.”³¹ In another instance of Nuevomexicanos sharing the Whig’s antiparty sentiment, Rep. José Serafín Ramírez y Casanoba of Bernalillo County warned the territorial legislature against a devotion to “false parties of personal views” and “private interests.” Ramírez yearned for a clear Whiggish consensus among his colleagues that would “tend to the common good.”³²

Even if the territory’s Whigs had thought to form a party organization for themselves, their national organization could not have supported it. In the election of 1852, the Whigs suffered from severe internal dissension over the New Mexico–Texas boundary dispute and the question of allowing slavery in the western territories. Their lack of unity deprived potential counterparts in New Mexico of a major organizational resource and discouraged a territorial party affiliation.³³ Nevertheless, the Whigs were useful adversaries for those intending to form a territorial Democratic Party.

The deeper and more enduring factionalism pitted the “Mexican Party” against the “American Party,” both so-called by their members at the time.³⁴ These political aggregations had arisen before the start of the U.S.-Mexico War in 1846. The American Party consisted of Nuevomexicanos and Euroamericans who wanted the political and cultural values of the United States planted and cultivated in New Mexico soil. Elite Nuevomexicano families, especially those who were linked to the Santa Fe trade with Missouri, sent their children to American colleges and considered the United States the progressive solution to New Mexico’s underdevelopment.³⁵ Mexican Party supporters, including the priest Antonio José Martínez, objected to what they considered destructive American influences, such as the purchase of large land parcels and the sale of alcohol and arms to Indians, often in collusion with some Nuevomexicanos.

The American Party–Mexican Party split was present throughout the U.S. Army occupation of New Mexico from 1846 to 1848. Mexican Party agents, such as Miguel Chávez and Diego Archuleta, resisted the occupation. Violent action included the Taos Revolt in 1847, which took the life of Charles Bent, the American governor appointed by Kearny to administer the civil government of the occupation. Nuevomexicanos in the American Party, such as Vigil and Antonio José Otero, however, collaborated with the U.S. occupiers. Attempting to cultivate acceptance of the occupation among the Nuevomexicanos, they assisted Kearny in forming a civil government for

New Mexico in the late summer and fall of 1846 and, before the war's end, joined the call for annexation.³⁶

After the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, the Mexican and American parties crystallized in the territorial political process and formed the most enduring political division in the territory. Those in the Mexican Party came to recognize and legitimize the conquest of New Mexico, but they insisted on placing the interests and rights of the majority Nuevomexicano populace front and center in the development of public policy and on protecting the Spanish-speaking natives from the unreasonable cultural and racist demands of their Euroamerican conquerors. The American Party, in contrast, emphasized individualism, cultural Americanization, citizenship in the American state, and market enterprise founded on the classic liberal interpretation of the U.S. Constitution. Its members opposed explicit references to race in political affairs and called for the civic and cultural assimilation of Nuevomexicanos. Their assimilationism contrasted sharply with the protopluralism advanced by the Mexican Party.

Significantly, Nuevomexicanos and Euroamericans enlisted on both sides. The first and third appointed territorial governors, Calhoun and David Meriwether, and the first New Mexico delegate to Congress, Richard Weightman, promoted Nuevomexicanos as an ethnic interest group. These politicians sided with Facundo Pino, Hilario Gonzales, Fr. José Manuel Gallegos, Archuleta, Tomás Cabeza de Baca, and Miguel Sena y Romero, all Nuevomexicanos who served in the territorial legislative assembly.³⁷ In the American Party, Joab Houghton, Judge Smith, Judge Ashurst, the *Gazette* editors Collins and W. G. Kephart, and Governor Lane forged alliances with the likes of Vigil, Antonio José Otero, Leandro Perea, and Ambrosio Armijo, all well-to-do and powerful figures in their agrarian bailiwicks.³⁸

After the military occupation ended in mid- to late 1850, the contention between the Mexican and American parties rapidly escalated into a bitter rivalry. The acrimony began when the Mexican Party took up the statehood cause to foment a politics of ethnic "home rule," in which Nuevomexicanos would run New Mexico as its majority.³⁹ In the territorial legislature of 1852–1853, Mexican Party members objected to the prejudiced and incompetent Euroamerican judicial appointees in their homeland to the extent that they passed a bill to exclude all Euroamericans and anyone not of Mexican descent from occupying any public office of the territory. The measure would not have survived the governor's veto or U.S. congressional scrutiny, but the point was for the Mexican Party to air the issues that most affected the welfare of Nuevomexicanos. American Party activists opposed this tactic. The liberal sensibilities of *Gazette* editor Kephart were set aflame by the exclusion bill.

Its advocates in the House, he wrote, sought to “trample underfoot all the rules of legislative decorum, the principles of law and justice, the Constitution and Organic Law.”⁴⁰

Mexican Party identity proved a critical factor in the formation and organization of the Democratic Party in New Mexico. Sociologist Michael T. Hannan offers a compelling argument for why ethnic mobilization arises in peripheral areas undergoing modernization. He notes that in the “pre-modern” setting, native loyalties and spheres of action operate within the bounds of village or micro-ecological communities. As the forces of modernization penetrate the periphery, they “undermine the salience of small-scale identities,” rendering them ineffectual for participation in the newly arriving institutions. Modernization imposes arenas of economic, political, and cultural participation that are larger in scale than the traditional village. For natives to compete, they need to adjust their identities accordingly. Hannan writes, “Successful penetration by the center alters the condition of competition among the various bases of collective action in a direction that favors large-scale identities.”⁴¹

The characterization of Nuevomexicanos following their local strong men in a factional New Mexico corresponds to Hannan’s traditional small-scale identification. As the modern statehood movement and Democratic Party penetrated New Mexico, local affiliations gave way to awareness of the greater territory and a corresponding ethnic identity. Nuevomexicanos also associated with the territory’s land itself, a relationship acknowledged by American settlers. By espousing the issue of land ownership, the Mexican Party was able to compete for dominance in the statehood movement and within the Democratic Party.

As the Whig Party declined nationally, the Democratic Party expanded its reach into New Mexico, where American Party supporters first vied for affiliation. Capt. William Angeny and other American Party supporters reportedly wanted to create an organized Democratic Party for New Mexico.⁴² According to Lamar, Nuevomexicanos had no interest in an organized party and confusedly “took refuge” under a plethora of factional names when Democrat Pierce was elected president in 1852. The evidence, however, shows that the Pierce election inspired Nuevomexicanos to organize their own Democratic Party. The Pierce administration took an interest in New Mexico. When the administration conveyed that it would no longer tolerate New Mexico politicians endlessly filing complaints about one another—their habit since the end of the U.S.-Mexico War—it sought to dampen the territory’s factional warfare. Historian Loomis Ganaway claims that Collins, owner of the *Gazette* and a Whig, saw in this injunction an opportunity for

a federal appointment. He fired Kephart and proceeded to convert his paper into an unabashed Democratic tool. He kept readers abreast of Democratic electoral victories in the states.⁴³

In doing so, Collins sustained the weekly press's important service of reducing New Mexico's isolation by making citizens aware of national and international developments. Collins remained an important member of the American Party, though he diverged from the party on the issue of slavery. Whereas the American Party stood decidedly against slavery in the state constitutional conventions of 1848 and 1850, he repudiated abolitionism much like President Pierce, who was a "doughface," or a northern Democrat who defended southern slavery.⁴⁴ Many Nuevomexicanos and Euroamerican politicians saw their future in the Democratic organization, especially after the Whig Party imploded in the election of 1852.

Democratic Party hopefuls needed a clear partisan enemy, and options abounded. First were the Whigs. The *Gazette* complained that New Mexico had been "singularly unfortunate," because only Whig administrations had governed affairs in Washington since Polk left office in early 1849. Whig neglect stemmed from incompetent and dishonest appointees, the paper contended, and Whigs had forgotten the responsibility to promote republicanism in all of America's territorial possessions.⁴⁵ Collins argued that a Democratic administration would provide the "parental attention and liberality, which so many States have needed and received during their territorial, or infant state."⁴⁶

The Democrats identified two other, nearly inextricable bugbears: congressional delegate Weightman and the Mexican Party. Weightman, a lawyer from Texas who came to New Mexico as a major in Kearny's volunteer army and stayed after the war, was already a Democrat.⁴⁷ However, those American settlers who initiated the idea of a Democratic Party objected to his ethno-racial politics. Weightman's political views aligned with a minority pluralistic wing of the Democratic Party that sought inclusion of immigrants and other foreign elements into the American body politic.⁴⁸ With this general approach, he became a leading Mexican Party figure. For example, he staunchly defended the integrity of the Nuevomexicano priests against Jean-Baptiste Lamy, the new Catholic bishop of Santa Fe. As Lamy's reforms displaced practically all the Nuevomexicano clergymen from their parishes, Weightman advocated for their right to their traditional religious roles in their communities. The American Party, however, supported Lamy's church modernization and openly accused the native priests of exploiting their flocks and exhibiting loose morals.⁴⁹

Collins attacked Weightman's specific focus on Nuevomexicano interests and called him a "disturber of the peace, slanderously laboring to create

division and dissension between the Mexican and American races, a crime against which there should be a heavy statutory penalty." Weightman's speeches in the U.S. Congress were filled with "matter intended alone, hypocritically, to ingratiate himself with the Mexican people, and to advance his own personal ambition."⁵⁰ His ability to draw Nuevomexicano support attracted Collins's wrath. Were the Nuevomexicanos "so ignorant that they cannot see the extent of the injury his treachery would inflict upon them?" Did Weightman "suppose that he has them so entirely in his power that they will not complain of his shameful and unworthy conduct?"⁵¹ With the Democratic Party in power in Washington, D.C., the renegade Weightman, who wore "his own [D]emocracy as a Mexican wears his *serape*, ready to be laid off or resumed, as the occasion may require," would get his due at the polls.⁵² Historian Robert Larson finds no proof that Weightman was the unscrupulous opportunist Collins portrayed.⁵³ The overheated rhetoric thus met the need of aspirants to project a partisan other to stimulate the formation of a U.S.-style political party.

American Party Democrats perceived President Pierce's appointment of Meriwether to replace Whig governor Lane as another positive sign. Meriwether, a former merchant, had been imprisoned in Santa Fe on charges of being a U.S. spy prior to the U.S. annexation of New Mexico. A former member of the Kentucky General Assembly and an appointed U.S. senator from that state, his main Democratic credential was that he was an "anti-Emancipationist."⁵⁴ Assuming the New Mexico governorship in August 1853, Meriwether found, to his surprise, "a great deal of hostile feeling existing between a portion of the American population and a part of the Mexicans."⁵⁵

According to a retrospective essay published four years later in the *Gazette*, Francis J. Thomas, a lieutenant in Colonel Sumner's Ninth Military Department, and Henry C. "Spectacle" Johnson called a meeting in Santa Fe in the first week of June 1853 to initiate the organization of a territorial Democratic Party. Thomas and Johnson were known as "sound Democrats." These recent transplants signaled the diffusion of the idea of the modern American political party westward to the territories. In particular, they were friends to American Party stalwarts. Persevering, they called several meetings at the homes of interested parties, including that of Collins. The "principal ground" taken was that "unless the Mexicans would unite in forming the party the action of the Americans would be of no avail." Nuevomexicanos were invited to the gatherings, but few attended and those who did "seemed to take no interest in the matter." This concern reflected the desire to integrate Nuevomexicanos into a party organization and the fact that there were not enough Euroamerican settlers to run a mass-based political party. In late June, a flier asked Democrats to hold county conventions to elect delegates

to a central nominating convention. Democrats named a committee (which included the Prussian immigrant and long-time Weightman enemy, Charles P. Clever) to call a convention-planning meeting with the emphatic aim “especially to invite the Mexicans to attend . . . and to participate in the organization of the party.”⁵⁶

The two hundred people who gathered in Santa Fe the third week of June testifies to the awareness of and interest in a national political party for the territory. The *Gazette* described the crowd as an “enthusiastic” gathering of “Whigs and Democrats,” “Mexicans and Americans.” However, the proceedings failed. Trouble arose amid confusion over whether the majority vote in officer elections was either for or against the nominees. Dissidents prevented Lieutenant Thomas from reading a report on the committee’s actions and the meeting’s rationale. A motion to adjourn was voted down. As the editorial commented, “Here was a sad fix, and the movers of the meeting seemed sorely troubled; they could neither move back nor forward.” The majority finally “took compassion” by adjourning. The breakdown was not for lack of Democratic Party “feelings,” according to the observer (Collins probably), but from fear of a domineering faction, bent on elevating particular individuals who had “no claims to the confidence of the voters of the Territory, nor the Democratic party.” Critics charged that by railroading the convention the organizers arrogated to themselves the exclusion of Democrats who did not want to formally nominate a Democratic congressional candidate. A question arose around the Democratic credentials of some candidates, among them former Whig Collins. Thomas later composed a protest petition against the dissenting “mob force” that had sabotaged an intended open meeting “*with the preconcerted intention of preventing any citizen from expressing his views on public matters.*” “Blackguards” had stopped the people from “exercising the very right for which our fathers risked and pledged their lives.” Thomas upheld, in the name of “personal sovereignty,” the people’s “sacred honor, the right to be heard on any subject of a public nature in which [they] may be personally interested.”⁵⁷

The *Gazette* retrospective hinted that Mexican Party elements were the culprits.⁵⁸ If so, the reasons may have appeared in *El Amigo del Pais* (Friend of the [New Mexican] Country), the weekly that Weightman had established to counter the editorial policies of the *Gazette*.⁵⁹ In any event, Mexican Party hands, in the shadow of the June organizing debacle, seized the day.

On 5 August 1853, delegations from the counties of Bernalillo, Rio Arriba, Santa Ana, Santa Fe, San Miguel, and Taos convened in Algodones, north of Albuquerque.⁶⁰ They aimed to organize the Democratic Party of New Mexico and nominate a delegate to the U.S. Congress. Pino, a die-hard Mexican Party

leader in the territorial House from Santa Fe, was elected president. José Gutiérrez, another strong Mexican Party member, was tabbed as secretary. The “old revolutionary,” Archuleta, his reputation as a Kearny foe still fresh in New Mexico’s collective memory, appeared at the convention, as did Albuquerque merchant Juan Cristóval Armijo and Fr. José Manuel Gallegos, a bitter enemy of Bishop Lamy. Nuevomexicanos began to acculturate their own people to the practice of U.S. political parties. Pino exhorted the participants to adopt the principles of the Democratic Party of the United States.⁶¹ Pino avoided the party’s proslavery, white-supremacy leanings and instead emphasized its call for so-called “alien suffrage”: the vote for immigrants, non-English speakers, non-Protestants, and noncitizens.⁶² The Democratic Party, he noted in a jab at both the American Party and Whig remnants, offered the means of destroying “all of those parties founded on perniciousness and racial distinctions, so odious to the progress of this province.”⁶³

Thirty-seven men attended the Algodones convention.⁶⁴ That the proceedings were published in the *Gazette* in Spanish confirms the importance of Nuevomexicano involvement in the movement.⁶⁵ The report describes not only competent Nuevomexicano conventioners but also a definite step toward the modern party machinery—the nominating convention, party platforms, functional committees, and the partisan newspaper—that New York (under the clear-eyed guidance of Martin Van Buren) and other eastern states had standardized in the 1820s before the party-building of Stephen A. Douglas brought it to Illinois and other western states and territories.⁶⁶

In Algodones official county delegations reported to the credentials committee. They passed Gallegos’s call for a committee of six to prepare parliamentary rules. Euroamericans formed a small minority, but they provided key lessons in the art of party formation and mobilization, and organizational maintenance. They mentored Nuevomexicanos on convention procedure through motions that included the naming of a committee to prepare the convention’s platform. A key figure in the process was Spruce M. Baird, friend and ally of congressional delegate Weightman and one of the Southwest’s federal Indian agents. Baird had arrived in Santa Fe in 1848 as a representative of the commission pressing Texas’s claim to New Mexico’s territory east of the Rio Grande and had hoped to serve as a county judge in the new Texas jurisdiction. Pino had organized a mass meeting in 1848 to oppose the Texas movements. Now, however, the two appeared as friends at the convention, raising suspicions among American assimilationists. As historian Larson notes, such seemingly strange alliances were not uncommon: “Many early adventurers coming to New Mexico stayed in the territory as permanent residents to befriend former enemies.”⁶⁷ In allying with Weightman, Baird

nonetheless burned bridges with the old American Party, even though it too had opposed Texas's attempts to annex New Mexico between 1848 and 1850.

The *Gazette* published an untranslated statement of resolutions signed by twenty-eight Nuevomexicanos and four Euroamerican settlers. The Democratic Party adhered to party regularity and tight organization, but it did so in an “age of egalitarianism.”⁶⁸ Participants thus pledged to obey the party on behalf of a “free people,” and to work “in unity and concert” and “in conformity with the administration of [the Hispanicized Founding Father] Tomás Gefferson, the grand apostle of liberty, in order to produce the most good for the most number of persons.” The convention declared the organization of a permanent party for the territory “under the broad flag of the democracy.” Tilted toward national politics, it adopted the platform of the Baltimore Democratic National Convention, held 1 June 1852.⁶⁹

The Jeffersonian principle of local control, as opposed to Whig federal centralization, served the Mexican Party's native-son perspective and home-rule aspirations. Resolution 5, with Colonel Sumner's disparagements still resonating, endorsed the ability of the people of New Mexico to govern themselves. A number of citizens “of talent and integrity on the land” had the requisite “understanding” to fulfill successfully the appointed positions in the territorial government. For the sake of a national party, the delegates reproached New Mexico's factionalism, “the unfortunate and unnecessary contention,” and called for the “immediate abandonment of the parties that created it for personal reasons.” In true Mexican Party form, the platform opposed “all intent, no matter from where it comes that tries to create party distinctions based on the difference of the races.” However, it also rejected any suggestion of local *nativo*, “Anti-American” sedition. The Mexican Party platform denounced the term “American” as an ethnic distinction on par with “Native Americanism” of the Know-Nothing variety, “feared in horror by all the true [D]emocrats.”⁷⁰

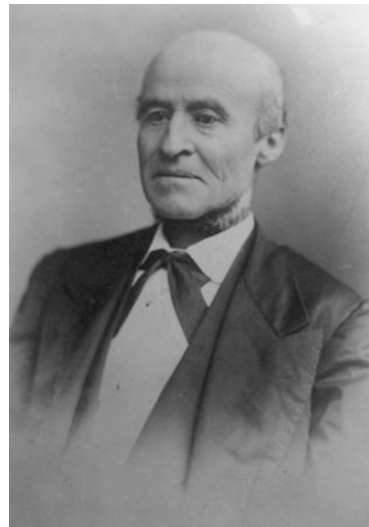
The New Mexico nominations for delegate to U.S. Congress suggest that the Euroamerican settlers committed themselves to having the Nuevomexicanos lead the movement. Weightman surely could have arranged to have himself renominated, but neither his nor any other American name appears in the proceedings. Some support went to don José E. Ortíz of Taos. But the ultimate rally went to territorial senator Gallegos of Albuquerque, one of the native priests whom Bishop Lamy had suspended because of his political activities, merchant business, and alleged concubinage.⁷¹ Gallegos had argued that the French bishop had deprived him of his living “to make way for imported French priests of his own selection.”⁷² Gallegos's turn to full-time politics followed his experience as an important member of the

New Mexico assembly in the Mexican period. In the balloting, Taos County voted for its native son Ortíz, while the other counties voted solidly for Gallegos. Fulfilling the nomination *voz viva*, the delegates rendered Gallegos the first Democratic Party candidate of New Mexico. As in any of the states, the convention presented its platform, results, and proceedings to Governor Meriwether and called for the formation of a Central Democratic Party Committee that would hold its convention in Peña Blanca in 1855.⁷³

From the American Party perspective, it was surprising that Governor Meriwether validated the Algodones Democratic Party and its Gallegos nomination. In his memoir, Meriwether wrote that Gallegos, a “shrewd, intelligent man,” asked him about the principles of the Democratic Party. Gallegos confessed to knowing nothing about them, but his inquiry indicated his interest in national politics. Meriwether explained the Democratic preference for the “strict construction” of the U.S. Constitution, whereas the Whig Party favored “a more latitudinous construction.” The Democrats would allow slave holders and those opposed to slavery to emigrate into the federal territories with their property “and leave each territory to settle the question of slavery when it becomes a state, but . . . a majority of the Whig party and a minority of the Democratic party were in favor of excluding slavery from the territories until they were admitted as states into the Union.” The governor believed that Gallegos had well understood the differences between the two parties.⁷⁴

In the campaign, Baird and Weightman followed the national party standard of using a newspaper to broadcast its propaganda. They deployed *El Amigo del Pais* in service of the new Democratic Party, adding the subtitle *y la Voz del Pueblo* (and the Voice of the People). Pino served as the paper’s Santa Fe agent.⁷⁵

The Americanists in Santa Fe, who had first moved for a Democratic Party in New Mexico, were caught off guard by the Algodones convention and its enthusiastic canvass. Eighteen Euroamerican settlers, calling themselves “true” Democrats, issued their “utter repudiation” of the Algodones



JOSE MANUEL GALLEGOS
New Mexico’s first Democratic
Party delegate to the U.S.
Congress in 1853; shown here in
the prime of his life.
(Photograph courtesy William
A. Keleher Collection, Pictorial
Collection 000-742, Center for
Southwest Research, University
Libraries, University of New Mexico,
Albuquerque)

“pseudo-convention.” Sharpening political boundaries, they argued that less than two-thirds of the territory’s counties were represented at Algodones, and that most of the delegates were “in reality, under the control, directly or indirectly” of delegate Weightman. The Santa Fe County delegation in particular was “not deputed” by a majority of the county’s Democrats but was “foisted by a discontented and ambitious few, who utterly refused to assimilate with, or admit to even the privilege of debate in their meetings,” a reference to the failed meeting in June. The dissidents would use “honorable means to defeat the election of the nominee of the so-called [D]emocratic convention.”⁷⁶

The *Gazette* took the fracas from there. Long, colorful, and emotional broadsides served as both a shaper and barometer of American Party opinion. Editor Collins boosted the “intelligent portion of Democrats,” who would have nothing to do with the “silly” Algodones gathering. Ignoring his recent past as a Whig, he challenged the party credentials of the convention’s Nuevomexicanos and their settler comrades, for they appeared “unconscious of their democracy” before the presidential election of Pierce. He hammered the idea that Gallegos lacked independence from the “self-serving agents” Baird, Weightman, and Pino. He inaccurately portrayed the convention as the work of a small faction aiming to send Baird, “the worst Indian Agent of New Mexico,” or “some other man equally unworthy and unfit,” to Congress. The “Baird faction” had not secured the nomination for its man, Collins explained, but found and nominated “an individual fully . . . unfit for so exalted an office.” The apoplectic editor cited the “deplorable fact” in New Mexico of “a feeling of dislike and distrust between the Mexican and American races,” but with the disclaimer: “We esteem all good men alike, whether Mexican or American, irrespective of nationality.” He claimed to oppose Father Gallego “for the same reason” he had opposed Weightman, “and not because he is a Mexican born citizen.” In a concession to the Mexican Party, Collins claimed that if two men were equally fit for the office, “one American and the other Mexican, we would prefer the Mexican, and would give him every aid in our power.”⁷⁷

Gallegos had been defrocked by Bishop Lamy two years before, but Collins still questioned his standing in the Catholic Church. If a “few obscure men who possessed the audacity to style themselves the ‘true democracy’ of New Mexico had determined to nominate a priest,” he proclaimed, they could have at least “had the decency to select a good one in place of a bad one.” Collins flogged old, exaggerated legends that had circulated for over a decade about New Mexico’s alleged “corrupt” priesthood.⁷⁸ The separation of church and state—what Collins called “the genius and spirit of American institutions”—would serve the Democratic Party and the people. The delegates ought to have known,

Collins argued, that “there is no connection in the United States between religion and politics. It is not possible for a clergyman of good character to get into the Congress of the United States; but if Padre Gallegos be elected, we think it will be the first instance in which a disgraced clergyman has ever been elevated to so important a position.”⁷⁹

Collins sermonized like a classic Whig objecting to the right of foreigners to engage in American elections.⁸⁰ He cast doubt on Gallegos’s eligibility to sit in Congress on the basis of the length of his citizenship (he understood the minimum to be seven years) and his inability to speak English, which would prevent him from “even the poor privilege of speaking non-sense” in Washington. Collins charged that in the territorial legislature, Gallegos abused the confidence of his constituents by staying away from Santa Fe in favor of a “trafficking expedition to Durango in search of soap and *rebosos* [shawls]” to sell in New Mexico. Therefore, Collins estimated, Gallegos could not bring home the railroad and other important measures, and would leave New Mexicans “as we now are, perhaps the most miserable and unfortunate people on the wide dominions of the United States.”⁸¹

The mudslinging reinforced oppositional lines of an emerging party structure in New Mexico. “Some Friends of Mr. Gallegos” responded to Collins’s fusillade of insults. Calling themselves “legally constituted delegates” of the Democratic convention, they could not let the attack on Gallegos go unchallenged. Their leader was “one of the first men of the territory,” “one of the most enthusiastic of citizens,” “deserving of their every confidence,” and fully eligible to serve in Congress. He “eschewed pecuniary interest in favor of the happiness of their province.” The group astutely observed that Gallegos had always lived the “views,” if not the principles, of a “loyal” Democrat.⁸² He traveled to help provision communities in need, often to his own detriment. The editor erred “enormously” in calling Gallegos’s intellect limited, for he had acquired “deep knowledge” in the sciences, a nod to Gallegos’s training at the Durango seminary. He learned by the “pain of experience,” and he knew more than anyone the “sad position of his province.” If Congress found him ineligible, based on time as an American citizen, why rush to express anxieties over his candidacy? Bishop Lamy’s hatred of New Mexico’s native clergy led to the suspension of Gallegos, who nonetheless remained loyal to his ministry. Besides, who decided that a priest could not be a statesman, and who were the “people” complaining of a priest in Congress? An educated priest like Gallegos was “always a political man,” they noted. In language reminiscent of *Diós y Libertád*—God and Liberty, the national stamp of Mexico—and Whig evangelism, they held that regardless of a few individuals complaining about priests serving in Congress, “To God is the happiness

of the territory owed, and to God also the liberal bases of the Democracy!" Collins sought to hinder the united will of the people, but their votes actually counted. The exceptions were the few "corroborators of inequity, even of Mexican origin," who cast as evil that "class" of society "that only works for the future happiness of their territory."⁸³

The charge that Lamy had unjustly suspended Gallegos reignited Collins, the first of several Catholic Irish American journalists to make New Mexico their home. He allied himself with Lamy and the bishop's project of reforming the New Mexico Church, which itself was rooted in the Spanish and Mexican Catholic Church.⁸⁴ He linked religious reform to the question of Nuevomexicano capacity for political independence. Nothing surprised him more than "intelligent Mexicans willing to sustain and uphold an immoral and probate priesthood the greatest curse with which not only New Mexico, but the whole Republic of Mexico, has had to contend." Collins rehashed the old charge of religious exploitation—of the priests living in "all the luxury of a life of wealth, obtained by grinding the poor."⁸⁵ He accused Gallegos's "Anti-Church party" of having seized the Algodones convention, itself formed by men who had no legitimate claim on the Democratic Party, and Gallegos of having conceived the "unholy idea of revenge" on the bishop.⁸⁶ Here, Collins connotes "party" with faction to disparage a political enemy, an intentional twisting of the term "party" that other researchers have not quite understood.

The evidence fails to support the charge that Gallegos campaigned directly against Lamy. He did, though, have an ally in the former vicar general and bitter Lamy opponent, Juan Felipe Ortíz.⁸⁷ Lamy also denied any electioneering, but according to one observer, he had recommended to his particular clerics "that they work and influence the people to obtain the success of his favorites."⁸⁸ As Fray Angélico Chávez finds, Lamy's private conversations "with intimate friends . . . no doubt revealed where their sympathies lay, and in this can carry the weight of active participation."⁸⁹

The main purpose of Collins's unmitigated attacks, however, was to stir the base of the American Party to action. Its activists realized the importance of nominating a culturally relevant candidate for congressional delegate. They eyed Ambrosio Armijo, a well-to-do Bernalillo County merchant whose family sided with the Americans during the U.S. military occupation of New Mexico. His appeal lay in being a "native of New Mexico," and therefore "well-acquainted" with the "wants of the territory, and the habits and customs of her people." Bernalillo County supporters flattered Armijo. They assured him that Nuevomexicanos were confident in him, that he was invincible against the factions, and that other worthy candidates would yield to such an "able, honest, and respected" man as he. He declined the courtship, however,

citing family interests and the impatience of his nominators, who would not wait for the opinion of certain advisors. He recommended Governor Lane, the former Whig, in his stead.⁹⁰

On 17 August, American Party leaders turned to the political resources available on the national scene and launched a People's Independent Party at a meeting in Albuquerque. The first People's Party, committed to "revolutionary republicanism," had arisen among dissident elites in the New York City election of 1823, expanded to the legislative election, triumphed in the general election of 1824, and indirectly put John Quincy Adams in the White House over the Albany Regency's Van Buren that year.⁹¹ The party dissolved in late 1825, but the concept of a "People's Party" remained as an option for situational dissidence throughout the country in subsequent years.⁹²

Nuevomexicanos formed the large majority of the "highly attended and respectable" People's Convention. Key settlers served as both campaign drivers and teachers of party building. Nuevomexicanos responded to the accoutrements of an American Party. Murray F. Tuley, a former member of the New Mexico Territorial House of Representatives and staunch opponent of Pino, was elected president, serving with vice-presidents Anastasio Barela and Santiago Gonzales and secretaries Nestor Montoya and Miguel Antonio Lovato. From the floor, the proposal to establish a territorial party passed handily. Appealing to the Mexican audience, Tuley proclaimed the fundamental principles of a People's initiative based on the "equality of rights of all men without distinction and the sovereignty of the people." A rules committee comprised of a Nuevomexicano majority designated a day for the precincts to hold nominating conventions for local offices and the territorial legislature, and the president was charged with appointing a chairman of each precinct.

A nominating committee of twenty-one (all Nuevomexicanos, mostly rank-and-file) would have preferred a Spanish-surnamed nominee for congressional delegate, but none appeared suitable. Chairman Antonio Sandoval reported the recommendation of former governor "Guillermo" [William] Carr Lane, a choice unanimously adopted amid "many Vivas of acclamation." Lane spoke to the territory's needs "enthusiastically." The Whig Ramírez read Lane's speech in Spanish, again to cheers. The recommended candidates for the territorial legislature and the Bernalillo-Santa Ana district sheriff were unanimously approved. Indicative of further party building in typical U.S. political party fashion, one committee prepared an official statement of principles, while another arranged correspondence, announcements, publicity, and other organizational details. Tuley and Ramírez rallied the convention to its climax.⁹³

The *Gazette* published Lane's speech in Spanish only. Unlike many of those against the "Mexican Democratic Party," as Chávez has called it, Lane did not begin this campaign wanting a regular Democratic Party.⁹⁴ As a result, the rhetoric of the People's campaign took a distinctly Whiggish tone beginning with Lane's address. New Mexico had always found itself in the unfortunate condition of an abandoned stepchild of Spain, Lane averred, then of Mexico, now of the United States, and so obtaining its just rights and elevating its dignity were to be accomplished through strategically planned institutional development. As delegate to Congress, he would make use of all the "honorable means" to obtain free schools for both sexes, build a penitentiary, create postal roads to California, improve the public roads, run a railroad through the middle of New Mexico, and establish security for the livestock industry against Indian raiders.⁹⁵

In their antiparty, anti-faction, and humanistic outlook, the Whigs generally followed John Quincy Adams's philosophical formulations by emphasizing "society rather than the individual" and "social harmony, not conflict."⁹⁶ Lane adapted such enlightened language to the American Party view of social relations in New Mexico. He proclaimed that for "harmonious cooperation among the different races of this territory," no one who asserted hostile national feelings deserved respect or confidence. "Turn your back with indignation and scorn to all who attempt to excite national antipathies," he advised, "and may the citizens of the territory, natives or adopted, solidly unify, as members of the same grand and glorious political family, and participate equally in the well-being of the family of the province." Lane felt Nuevomexicanos should take civic pride in the "Divine Providence" that had made them citizens of the United States, just as the residents of the increasingly wealthy and powerful territories of Louisiana, Florida, Texas, California, and Oregon had begun to. In the elections of those territories, he said with a Whiggish assimilationist bent, it was not asked, "Where were you born?" The only inquiry that was made was, "is he right for the position?" The politicians who eschewed liberalism were "indiscrete" *caudillos* (bosses) preventing the people from thinking for themselves. Reject them, he pleaded, and "then we shall travel well and our *patria* will prosper."⁹⁷

Complementing Lane's refrain, Collins at the *Gazette* cast the Gallegos candidacy as a divisive ploy to foment national prejudice. The "sad truth," the editor wrote, was that "the Mexicans hate the Americans and many Americans hate the Mexicans," but "this unnatural and fatal antipathy is not indulged by the better and more intelligent classes." Relying on a Whiggish universalism familiar to him, Collins called on all Nuevomexicano and American citizens "to work harmoniously together in the same direction. If the different races

of men in New Mexico will but consent, as becomes intelligent beings, to lay aside their bitter prejudices, and consult the dictates of reason and common sense; they will soon perceive that their happiness and prosperity will be augmented, and that their country will blossom like the rose." Tapping the Whig preoccupation with the consensual "social system," he called for the "united efforts of a few good men [to] sensibly diminish the crying evil of which we are speaking, and introduce a state of social intercourse, such as becomes a respectable and well ordered community."⁹⁸

In the campaign, however, Democratic senator Benton of Missouri opposed Lane for having switched to the Whig Party while in Missouri. More importantly, Benton strengthened the territorial process of building a party system and gave New Mexico Democrats some national recognition and credibility by urging the electorate to vote for Gallegos.⁹⁹

As the campaign wore on, Weightman, Baird, and David Whiting, Chief Clerk of the territorial House of Representatives, set up a campaign weekly called *Campaña Demócrata*, copies of which have not survived. From the responses in the *Gazette*, we can infer that its editors criticized Collins for endorsing Armijo on the one hand, and on the other, criticized Gallegos for not being an American citizen long enough to qualify for the office of delegate. Collins called *Campaña Demócrata's* commentary a "mass of cunning falsehood and baseness" yet admitted that Congress would have had to determine Armijo's eligibility as well. *Campaña Demócrata* labeled the *Gazette* an "abolition sheet," an epithet that Collins took pains to deny. The previous editor, Kephart, articulated an abolitionist policy, but Collins emphatically repudiated it upon taking control of the paper. Indicating recognition of national political conflicts, *Campaña Demócrata* alleged that Collins and company had belonged to the American nativist party, the Know-Nothings. Collins found this allegation—a common one against Whig nativism—galling, and he scoffed at *Campaña Demócrata's* claim that Gallegos would deliver a "glorious future" for New Mexico.¹⁰⁰

At an important Democratic rally in Santa Fe, Gallegos expounded on the principles of the Democratic Party. Governor Meriwether recalled that he had done so "with cleverness," and that the speech had made "a very favorable impression upon the audience."¹⁰¹ The governor abstained from participating in the proceedings, but those who had wanted him to eschew a Mexican Party association interpreted his attendance at the Gallegos rally as an official endorsement of the Mexican Democratic Party. The stump crowd spilled out into the street. The *Gazette's* wildly biased account four years later portrayed "an infuriated mob of those disaffected Mexicans . . . parading the streets of our city on a Sunday night led by a drunken fiddler crying

‘death to all Americans.’”¹⁰² Incredibly, the *Gazette* claimed Meriwether and recently appointed district judge J. J. Deavenport headed the “mob.” The next day, Meriwether and Deavenport were hung in effigy on the Santa Fe plaza. Visiting the governor, Collins warned him of talk of his assassination should he attend another Democratic meeting. Meriwether recalled different reasons for the symbolic hanging. His dismissal of a Whig attorney general for corruption and the excitement Gallegos’s speech generated among the people of Santa Fe had “greatly exasperated” the Whigs. Meanwhile, Mexican Democratic Party leaders expressed gratitude for Meriwether’s support of their organization.¹⁰³



GOV. DAVID MERIWETHER
New Mexico Territory’s
appointed governor, 1853–
1856, and mentor to aspiring
Nuevomexicanos.
(Photograph courtesy William
A. Keleher Collection, Pictorial
Collection 000-742, Center for
Southwest Research, University
Libraries, University of New
Mexico, Albuquerque)

Despite the *Gazette*’s smears of Gallegos, the Democratic Party effectively mobilized the electorate. The chances of a nativo winning looked good as election day neared. Lane wrote to his wife that it appeared Nuevomexicanos were “determined to elect one of their own race—God bless them.” He was the most acceptable of the “Americans,” he was told, but “they must try a Mexican.” He could not resist adding, “If you knew how very little the very best informed know, you would be amazed at their conceitedness.”¹⁰⁴ The task of counting the vote fell to Governor Meriwether and Sec. of Territory William Messervy. The former favored Gallegos and the latter backed Lane. The Lane camp tried to stall the governor from awarding the election certificate to Gallegos because a probate judge had thrown out two hundred to three hundred votes at a Pueblo village that had gone for Lane. Messervy claimed that all votes must be counted. As Gallegos took the majority by at least three hundred, the Indian count included, Meriwether handed the certificate to him. Lane then announced his intent to contest the result on allegations that Mexican voters who were not U.S. citizens had voted for Gallegos and that there were irregularities in the ballot counting.¹⁰⁵ In Lane’s support, Collins charged the “Gallegos Anti-Church party” with having “perpetrated the most stupendous frauds.”¹⁰⁶ He charged that the “christening” of “Padre Gallegos” as a Democrat at Algodones was “a mere cover and device to enable him and his friends to succeed more effectually in the contest they were about to wage against the Americans.”¹⁰⁷

On his arrival to the nation's capital in December 1853, Gallegos was introduced—through Meriwether's letters—to the national Democratic Party leadership.¹⁰⁸ Implying formal recognition of a Democratic Party in New Mexico, the House of Representatives affiliated Gallegos with the “Old Line Democrats,” the central faction of the Democratic Party that was distinct from the officially designated Independent Democrats and Whigs.¹⁰⁹

Gallegos's letter to the governor from Washington was published in the *Gazette*. The new editor, William W. H. Davis, who also served as New Mexico's new U.S. attorney and Meriwether's volunteer private secretary, recommended that “all Mexicans” read it. Gallegos recounted the success of Meriwether's introductions. The president and cabinet officers received him “with consideration and appreciation,” and he was recognized by “many friends” in the House with whom he had corresponded. Gallegos urbanely praised the eastern states' progress in the arts and sciences. In politics, he was impressed by how “providence” had blessed the country “with particular gifts.” He cited as an example a sense of mutual agreement on the country's fundamental values and ways of conducting party politics. In commenting that New Mexico would benefit from such habits and characteristics, Gallegos represented Nuevomexicanos' greater impulse to learn from and adapt U.S. political practice. Mindful of the tensions at home, he thus saw a contrast in the moral conduct and politics “that guard our compatriots in these parts compared to what some Americans observe in our territory, and I'm surprised to note an extraordinary difference, as between darkness and light. I hope that with time we can come to the enjoyment of a peaceful and intelligent society.”¹¹⁰

The House Committee on Elections found that the votes at Taos and Laguna pueblos were justly and legally rejected by the probate judge, for those Indian communities retained their autonomous tribal, community, and governing characteristics. Lane's camp never submitted proof that citizens of Mexico were allowed to vote in any precinct. Even if all contested votes had been excluded, Gallegos would still have retained a majority. The final tally had Gallegos's majority at over six hundred. The concurring House awarded Gallegos New Mexico's delegate seat in Congress.¹¹¹

A significant symbol for the cause of ethnic political integration in the nineteenth century, Gallegos was the first Nuevomexicano and second U.S. Latino to serve as a representative in the U.S. Congress. As his request for an interpreter was denied, his lack of English proved a handicap in the Capitol corridors. Nevertheless, as a retort to those with racial prejudices who considered Nuevomexicanos incapable of meeting American political standards, he used prepared statements to deliver benefits to his homeland and accom-

plished as much as any early New Mexico delegate to Congress could have hoped for.¹¹² Motivated by a love of his native land and a desire to serve his people, he was called a “man of ability” by one Washington insider.¹¹³ After Collins’s bulldog attacks in the 1853 campaign, Collins commented in the *Gazette* that “Our Delegate Sr. Gallegos evinces great activity, and a becoming zeal in everything relating to the Territory, and although he cannot speak the language of the country, he manages to bring a great deal of influence to bear upon those questions, in which his constituents have an interest.”¹¹⁴ The comment appears with some irony, but reinforces the notion that Collins’s campaign diatribes ultimately galvanized New Mexicans to form a political party with links to a national organization, the Democrats in their case.

Beyond the race for congressional delegate, the solidity of a Democratic Party organization for New Mexico was apparent in the fact that the majority in both its legislative chambers were elected as members of the Algodones convention. Accordingly, Davis saw the election results as an “overthrow” of the Whig “clique” and thus something the Democrats could be proud of.¹¹⁵

In the election of 1855, the American Party dropped the People’s Independent Party identification, and staked a claim of its own in the Democratic Party to challenge the Mexican Democratic Party. The election decided which of two powerful Nuevomexicano candidates, the culturally conservative Father Gallegos or the highly assimilated Miguel Antonio Otero, would rule over the Democratic Party of New Mexico. With Otero’s triumph in 1855, the American Party wrested only a share of the territorial Democratic Party because the Mexican Democratic Party still controlled the territorial legislature. In the campaign for delegate to Congress in 1857, Otero’s camp undertook a massive mobilization based on a new identity as the National Democratic Party. This new label was handed down by the Democratic presidential nominating convention in Cincinnati in 1856 to oppose the Independent Democrats, the name adopted by the former Mexican Democratic Party. As a result of Otero’s victory, the Americanists took complete control of the territorial Democratic Party, winning both delegates to Congress and a majority of the legislative seats. They dominated the Democratic Party until the Civil War, after which national party identities shifted once again.

This article has shown that a strong determination to establish a political party of national repute arose in New Mexico from a scene of factional strife. In fact it was precisely the factional conflict, embodied in the contest between “American” and “Mexican” parties that served as the key condition for generating the sense of a U.S.-style political party system in the territory. Previous historical literature has failed to recognize the extent to which the ideal of a U.S. type of political party had spread to and taken root in New

Mexico by its early territorial years. Contradicting the view that “apathy was the prevailing attitude toward national issues,” the politically minded in New Mexico clearly sought to exploit national political developments for themselves and their territory’s purposes.¹⁶ Their political acculturation was greatly enhanced by the movement to establish a Democratic Party in their midst even if, after the elections, territorial politics did tend to fall back on issues specific to New Mexico. As sociologists have pointed out, “parties of integration” have proven key instruments for the recruitment of previously excluded groups into the central institutional frameworks of expanding and developing regions and countries.¹⁷ The events of 1853, put the territory of New Mexico on the path to establishing political parties on the basis of the classic American standard.

Notes

1. Robert W. Larson, *New Mexico’s Quest for Statehood, 1846–1912* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968), 30 (quote); and Loomis Morton Ganaway, *New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy, 1846–1861* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1944), 46–47.
2. Recent work on the nineteenth-century Southwest adopts “Euroamerican” in lieu of the formerly dominant “Anglo” in order to categorize those who were “white Americans of European origin, both citizens and non-citizen immigrants, who were not black, Indian, Asian, or Mexican.” See Laura E. Gómez, *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 12; and David V. Holtby, *Forty-Seventh Star: New Mexico’s Struggle for Statehood* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012).
3. Edward T. Davies, “Annexation,” *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Republican*, 11 March 1848, p. 2.
4. Sumner to Conrad, 27 May 1852, *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 5 March 1853, p. 3; “Review &c.: The Capacity of the Mexican People for Self-Government,” *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 29 January 1853, p. 3; untitled editorial and “Tocante a Aquella Carta,” *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 12 March 1853, p. 2; Analogísmo to *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 23 April 1853, p. 3; Howard R. Lamar, *The Far Southwest, 1846–1912: A Territorial History*, rev. ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000), 83; and Larson, *New Mexico’s Quest*, 78. On the prejudiced military men who came to New Mexico, see Larson, *New Mexico’s Quest*, 72–73.
5. Joseph Nangle and Charles Spencer, untitled report of mass meeting, *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 9 April 1853, p. 2. For Sumner’s inability to work cooperatively with New Mexico’s leadership, see Calvin Horn, *New Mexico’s Troubled Years: The Story of the Early Territorial Governors* (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Horn and Wallace, 1963), 29–30.
6. Jack E. Holmes, *Politics in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1967), 17.
7. Ronald P. Formisano, *The Birth of Mass Political Parties: Michigan, 1827–1861* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1971), 4.

8. Michael P. Costeloe, *The Central Republic in Mexico, 1835–1846* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 2. In congratulating José Joaquín de Herrera on being elected president in 1844, Gen. Anastasio Bustamante, the exiled former revolutionary, opined unrealistically that the time was “ripe to compose party differences.” See Thomas Ewing Cotner, *The Military and Political Career of José Joaquín de Herrera, 1792–1854* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1949), 120. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the United States was immersed in the Second Party System: the two major parties were the Democratic Party and the Whig Party.
9. Lamar, *The Far Southwest*, 88.
10. Deren Earl Kellogg, “Lincoln’s New Mexico Patronage: Saving the Far Southwest for the Union,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 75 (October 2000): 522; David J. Weber, “Samuel Ellison on the Election of 1857,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 44 (October 1969): 215; and Victor Westphall, *Thomas Benton Catron and His Era* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973), 24.
11. Gary L. Roberts, *Death Comes for the Chief Justice: The Slough-Rynerson Quarrel and Political Violence in New Mexico* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1990), 6–7, 9.
12. Linda Kerber, “The Federalist Party,” in *History of U.S. Political Parties, Volume I, 1789–1860, From Factions to Parties*, ed. Arthur M. Schlesinger (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1973), 6–8.
13. Richard Hofstadter, *The Idea of a Party System: The Rise of Legitimate Opposition in the United States, 1780–1840* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 47.
14. Gov. Mariano Martínez, Assembly Pres. Jesus María Gallegos, Assembly Sec. Juan Bautista Vigil y Maris, Dept. Sec. José Felix Jubia, “Division of the Department,” 17 June 1844, 30th Cong., 2d sess., Executive Document 41, published in *Report of Lieut. J. W. Abert, of his Examination of New Mexico, in the Years 1846–47* (Washington, D.C.: Wendell and Van Benthuyzen, 1848), 476–77. The translation of the decree mistakenly calls the Southwestern District the Southeastern. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530–1888* (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: Horn and Wallace, 1962), 311. See also Theodore Grivas, *Military Governments in California, 1846–1850: With a Chapter on Their Prior Use in Louisiana, Florida, and New Mexico* (Glendale, Calif.: A. H. Clark, 1963), 152–53, 158–59; and Myra Ellen Jenkins, “Comments on the Mexican Period,” in *The County Boundaries of New Mexico*, Charles F. Coan (Santa Fe: New Mexico Legislative Council Service, 1965), 26.
15. Journal of Assembly of New Mexico, “Sección del día 31 de Diciembre de 1845,” ff. 821–22, r. 42, microfilm, and “Sección del día 29 de Diciembre de 1845,” ff. 819–20, r. 42, microfilm, Mexican Archives of New Mexico, 1821–1846, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico [hereafter NMSRCA]; Benjamin M. Read, *Illustrated History of New Mexico* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, 1912), 366; and David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier, 1821–1846: The American Southwest Under Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 16–17, 19.
16. “Asamblea,” *El Republicano* (Santa Fe), 11 December 1847, p. 3; and “Legislatura,” *El Republicano* (Santa Fe), 11 December 1847, p. 3. For references to the legislative assembly in December 1847, see Larson, *New Mexico’s Quest*, 5; and Coan, *County Boundaries*, 306–7.

17. "El Gobierno de Santa Fe," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Republican*, 24 September 1848, p. 3; Mark J. Stegmaier, *Texas, New Mexico, and the Compromise of 1850: Boundary Dispute and Sectional Crisis* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1996), 33; Donaciano Vigil, "Un Proclamo [sic]," *El Republicano* (Santa Fe), p. 2; and Larson, *New Mexico's Quest*, 14.
18. Horn, *New Mexico's Troubled Years*, 25–29.
19. "Petition to General Price" and W. E. Prince to Gentlemen, *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Republican*, 16 August 1848, p. 2; and Ganaway, *New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy*, 38–39, 57.
20. Lamar, *The Far Southwest*, 61–62. See also John H. Vaughan, *History and Government of New Mexico* (Las Cruces, N.Mex.: State College, 1931), 149; and Thomas E. Chávez, *Manuel Álvarez, 1794–1856: A Southwestern Biography* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1990), 119.
21. Durwood Ball, *Army Regulars on the Western Frontier, 1848–1861* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2001), 7–8; Durwood Ball, "By Right of Conquest: Military Government in New Mexico and California, 1846–1851," *Journal of the West* 41 (summer 2001): 8–16; Westphall, *Thomas Benton Catron and His Era*, 310–12; George Archibald McCall, *New Mexico in 1850: A Military View*, ed. Robert W. Frazer (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), 65; and Chávez, *Manuel Álvarez*, 130.
22. Weymouth T. Jordan Jr., John D. Chapla, and Shan C. Sutton, "Notorious as the Noonday Sun': Alexander Welch Reynolds and the New Mexico Territory, 1849–1859," *New Mexico Historical Review* 75 (October 2000): 462–64; Larson, *New Mexico's Quest*, 20, 44; Chávez, *Manuel Álvarez*, 119–20; Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The History of the Military Occupation of New Mexico from 1846 to 1851 by the Government of the United States* (1909; repr., Chicago: Rio Grande Press, 1963), 165; Stegmaier, *Texas*, 51, 66; and Ganaway, *New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy*, 41–42.
23. Larson, *New Mexico's Quest*, 76; Horn, *New Mexico's Troubled Years*, 22, 39; and Deren Earl Kellogg, "Lincoln's New Mexico Patronage: Saving the Far Southwest for the Union," *New Mexico Historical Review* 75 (October 2000): 523.
24. "History of New Mexico by Samuel Ellison, Santa Fe, 1884," in J. Manuel Espinosa, "Memoir of a Kentuckian in New Mexico, 1848–1884," *New Mexico Historical Review* 13 (January 1938): 7.
25. "'El Demócrata' and National Democracy," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 22 August 1857, p. 2; and Kellogg, "Lincoln's New Mexico," 523–24.
26. Formisano, *The Birth of Mass Political Parties*, 57, 80. For a case study of antipartyism in the early nineteenth century, see Edward L. Mayo, "Republicanism, Antipartyism, and Jacksonian Party Politics: A View from the Nation's Capital," *American Quarterly* 31 (spring 1979): 3–20.
27. "The approaching Election.—The Necessity of Organizing the Democratic Party," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 15 July 1854, p. 2. The editor at the time was W. W. H. Davis.
28. John F. Bibby and L. Sandy Maisel, *Two Parties—Or More?* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 2003), 21; Hofstadter, *The Idea of a Party System*, viii–ix, 2–21, 49; and John Herbert Aldrich, *Why Parties?: The Origin and Transformation of Political Parties in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 68–70.
29. Formisano, *The Birth of Mass Political Parties*, 56–57, 77.

30. Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 50, 52–53, 244.
31. R. T. Brent, “Public Meeting,” untitled editorial, and editorial, p. 1, *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 26 April 1851.
32. “Discurso Pronunciado en la Camara de Representantes por el Hon. José Serafín Ramírez y Casanoba (Speech by José Serafín Ramírez y Casanoba to the House of Representatives),” 19 December 1853, *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 31 December 1853, p. 3; and Formisano, *The Birth of Mass Political Parties*, 77.
33. Stegmaier, *Texas*, 319–20.
34. For a clear identification of the conflict between the Mexican Party and the American Party, see *New Mexico Contested Election: Papers and Testimony in the Case of Miguel A. Otero, Contesting the Seat of José M. Gallegos, Delegate from the Territory of New Mexico: February 18, 1856, Referred to the Committee of Elections, February 18, 1856, Ordered to be Printed*, Comm. on Elections, 34th Cong., H.R., 1st Sess. 15 (1856).
35. Gerald Arthur Theisen, “José Manuel Gallegos (1815–75): The First Mexican American in the United States Congress” (PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 1985), 27; and Rebecca McDowell Craver, *The Impact of Intimacy: Mexican-Anglo Inter-marriage in New Mexico, 1821–1846* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1982), 20–22, 30. Information from the *Daily Missouri Republican* on 1 January 1846 comes from Ralph P. Bieber, introduction to *Journal of a Soldier under Kearny and Doniphan, 1846–1847*, by George Rutledge Gibson (1935; repr., Philadelphia, Pa.: Porcupine Press, 1974), 61–63; and Andrés Reséndez, *Changing National Identities at the Frontier: Texas and New Mexico, 1800–1850* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 103.
36. Donaciano Vigil to Fellow Citizens, 22 January 1847, in *Insurrection Against the Military Government in New Mexico and California, 1847 and 1848: Letter from the Secretary of War Transmitting, in Response to Resolution of the Senate of June 5, 1900, a Report on the Insurrection against the Military Government in New Mexico and California in the Years 1847 and 1848* (Washington, D.C.: 1900), 27–28. See also 56th Cong., 1st Sess. S. Doc. No. 442 (1900); Donaciano Vigil to Antonio José Otero, 21 January 1848, ff. 184–86, and Donaciano Vigil to [Antonio José Otero], ff. 188, microfilm, Records of the Territorial Governors, 1846–1912 [hereafter RTG], NMSRCA; W [sic] to editors, *El Republicano* (Santa Fe), 22 January 1848, p. 2; and CEMAPA [sic], “La Convención,” *El Republicano* (Santa Fe), 29 January 1848, p. 3.
37. W. G. Kephart, “Letters from the Editor,” *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 30 April 1853, p. 2; Larson, *New Mexico’s Quest*, 57–60; and Chávez, *Manuel Álvarez*, 148–52.
38. Twitchell, *Military Occupation of New Mexico*, 165–75; Chávez, *Manuel Álvarez*, 134–35; Stegmaier, *Texas*, 48–49, 64; and Brent, “Public Meeting,” untitled editorial, and editorial, p. 1, *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 26 April 1851.
39. Lamar, *The Far Southwest*, 64.
40. “The Mexican Policy, Its Effects upon the Mexican People, etc.,” *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 22 January 1853, p. 2; and “La Política del H. Facundo Pino y Otros,—Su Efecto Sobre el Pueblo Mejicano &c.,” *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 5 February 1853, p. 2. The journal of the House of Representatives for this particular session does not exist in the Territorial Archives.

41. Michael T. Hannan, "The Dynamics of Ethnic Boundaries in Modern States," in *National Development and the World System*, ed. John W. Meyer and Michael T. Hannan (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 256.
42. J. D. R., "New Mexican Appointments," *Missouri Democrat*, reprinted in *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 23 July 1853, p. 1; and Larson, *New Mexico's Quest*, 9, 20. Capt. William Angeny was the former commander of American infantry that put down the Taos uprising of 1847.
43. "Democratic Organization," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 31 December 1853, p. 1.
44. Ganaway, *New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy*, 58.
45. "New Mexico—the Past and Future—Democracy and Whiggery," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 5 February 1853, p. 2; and "New Mexico and the United States Government," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 19 February 1853, p. 2.
46. "Our Territory," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 12 February 1853, p. 2.
47. Twitchell, *Military Occupation of New Mexico*, 175–80.
48. On the inclusive wing of the party, see Formisano, *The Birth of Mass Political Parties*, 44–46.
49. "Para el Republicano, Al Sr. Weightman," reprinted in *El Nuevo Mejicano*, 28 November 1849, p. 1; Spruce M. Baird to W. D. Miller, 9 October 1849, in "Reports from a Texan Agent in New Mexico, 1849," ed. William Campbell Binkley, in *New Spain and the Anglo-American West*, ed. George P. Hammond, 2 vols. (Lancaster, Pa.: privately printed, 1932), 2:172–73; Antonio José Otero to Donaciano Vigil, 5 March 1848, ff. 123–24, and Antonio José Otero and Francisco Sarracino to Donaciano Vigil, 6 March 1848, ff. 127–28, microfilm, RTG, NMSCRA; Stegmaier, *Texas*, 51–52; and Angélico Chávez, *But Time and Chance: The Story of Padre Martínez of Taos, 1793–1867* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: Sunstone Press, 1981), 87, 140. On Weightman as "a great friend of the native New Mexicans," see Twitchell, *Military Occupation of New Mexico*, 386–91. Fray Angélico Chávez and Thomas E. Chávez call the charges against the priests unfair, unfounded, and malicious. See Chávez, *But Time and Chance*, 95–96; and Fray Angélico Chávez and Thomas E. Chávez, *Wake for a Fat Vicar: Father Juan Felipe Ortiz, Archbishop Lamy, and the New Mexican Catholic Church in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century* (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: LPD Press, 2004), 95.
50. "Maj. Weightman's Manifesto," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 21 May 1853, p. 2.
51. "Major Weightman Against N. Mexico," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 9 April 1853, p. 2.
52. W. G. Kephart, "Correspondence: Letters from the Editor," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 2 July 1853, p. 3.
53. Larson, *New Mexico's Quest*, 48.
54. Horn, *New Mexico's Troubled Years*, 53–54; Larson, *New Mexico's Quest*, 79–80; and David Meriwether, *My Life in the Mountains and on the Plains: The Newly Discovered Autobiography*, ed. and intro. Robert A. Griffen (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 131.
55. Meriwether, *My Life in the Mountains and on the Plains*, 65–66.
56. "The Democrat," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 18 April 1857, p. 2; and "El Demócrata," *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 25 April 1857, p. 3.
57. "The Democrat," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 2 July 1853, p. 2; "El Demócrata," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 2 July 1853, p. 3; "Democratic Meeting," *Santa Fe*

- (N.Mex.) *Weekly Gazette*, 2 July 1853, p. 2; “Junta Democrática,” *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 2 July 1853, p. 4; Francis John Thomas to editors, *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 2 July 1853, p. 2; J. L. Collins, “To the Readers of the Gazette,” *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 24 December 1853, p. 2; and “A Los Lectores de la Gaceta,” *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 31 December 1853, p. 3.
58. “The Democrat,” *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 18 April 1857, p. 2; and “El Demócrata,” *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 25 April 1857, p. 3.
59. Editions of *El Amigo del Pais* have not survived. For evidence of the existence of the Weightman-controlled *El Amigo del Pais*, see the editorial references in the *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 3 December 1853, p. 3, and 10 December 1853, p. 2; “The Democrat,” *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 18 April 1857, p. 2; “El Demócrata,” *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 25 April 1857, p. 3; and Fray Angélico Chávez, *Très Macho—He Said: Padre Gallegos of Albuquerque; New Mexico’s First Congressman* (Santa Fe, N.Mex.: William Gannon, 1985), 66.
60. At the time, the township was spelled “Alburquerque.”
61. “The Democrat,” *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 18 April 1857, p. 2; “El Demócrata,” *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 25 April 1857, p. 3; and “Procedimientos de la Co[n]vención Demócrata del Territorio de Nuevo Mexico,” *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 20 August 1853, pp. 3–4.
62. Formisano, *The Birth of Mass Political Parties*, 81–101; and John Gerring, *Party Ideologies in America, 1828–1996* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 11.
63. “Procedimientos,” *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 20 August 1853, pp. 3–4.
64. “The Democratic Convention at Algodones in 1853,” *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 11 April 1857, p. 2; and cf. Chávez, *Très Macho*, 63.
65. “Procedimientos,” *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 20 August 1853, pp. 3–4.
66. Martin B. Cole, *Martin Van Buren and the American Political System* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), 96–98; and James L. Huston, *Stephen A. Douglas and the Dilemmas of Democratic Equality* (Lanham, Mass.: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2007), 8, 10, 11, 13.
67. See the series of letters by Baird in “Reports from a Texan Agent in New Mexico, 1849,” 158–83. See also Weber, “Samuel Ellison,” 215; and Larson, *New Mexico’s Quest*, 17–18, 47–49.
68. Formisano, *The Birth of Mass Political Parties*, 60.
69. “Procedimientos,” *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 20 August 1853, p. 4.
70. “Convención Demócrata,” *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 13 August 1853, p. 3.
71. Chávez, *Très Macho*, 63–64; and Chávez, *But Time and Chance*, 114–21.
72. Theisen, “José Manuel,” 65–66, 89.
73. “Procedimientos,” *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 20 August 1853.
74. Meriwether, *My Life on the Prairie*, 166.
75. “A New Paper,” *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 20 August 1853, p. 2; and Porter Stratton, *The Territorial Press of New Mexico, 1834–1912* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969), 84.
76. J. E. Sabine, J. Nangle, E. J. Barry, J. M. Hunt, R. F. Green, J. Gilchrist, J. Kelly, J. M. Kingsbury, James Conklin, W. A. Miller, C. H. Merritt, F. J. Thomas, J. Gorman, J. L. Johnson, R. M. Stephens, J. F. Beinker, L. Bartles, C. P. Clever, “A Card,” *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 13 August 1853, p. 3.

77. "The Late Political Events—Our Course," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 20 August 1853, p. 2; and "Eventos Recientes Políticos—Nuestro Curso," *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 13 August 1853, p. 3.
78. "Padre Gallegos Nominated for Congress," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 13 August 1853, p. 2; and "Nombramiento del Padre Gallegos Para Delegado al Congreso," *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 13 August 1853, p. 3. See also Chávez, *Très Macho*, 64.
79. Formisano, *The Birth of Mass Political Parties*, 102; and "Padre Gallegos Nominated," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 13 August 1853, p. 2.
80. Formisano, *The Birth of Mass Political Parties*, 81–83.
81. "Padre Gallegos Nominated," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 13 August 1853, p. 2. See also Chávez, *Très Macho*, 64.
82. Unos Amigos del Señor Gallegos, "Respuesta al articulo numero 9 con titulo 'Nombramiento del Padre Gallegos para Delegado al Congreso,'" *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 27 August 1853, p. 3.
83. *Ibid.* See also Chávez, *Très Macho*, 64–65.
84. While Euroamerican settlers argued that New Mexico should establish secular public schools, Collins defended Lamy's parochial primary school in Santa Fe. See "A Celebration," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 25 June 1853, p. 2.
85. "The Defense of Padre Gallegos," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 27 August 1853, p. 2; and *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 27 August 1853, p. 3.
86. "The Defense of Padre Gallegos," and "The True State of the Case," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 27 August 1853, pp. 2–3.
87. Lamar, *The Far Southwest*, 89–90.
88. "Un Observador a Gazette/La Gaceta," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 14 February 1857, p. 3.
89. Chávez, *Très Macho*, 63–64. See also Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, vol. 2 (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1912), 309; and Larson, *New Mexico's Quest*, 82.
90. "J. L. Collins, J. Houghton, Simón Delgado, Feliz García, Juan Sena & others to Ambrosio Armijo," 11 April 1853, *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 14 May 1853, p. 2; untitled report of the Bernalillo County convention, *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 25 June 1853, p. 3; "The Next Delegate," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 23 April 1853, p. 2; and "A. Armijo to J. L. Collins, J. Houghton, and others," 6 May 1853, *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 14 May 1853, p. 2.
91. For the People's Party in New York and the election of 1824, see Craig Hanyan with Mary L. Hanyan, *De Witt Clinton and the Rise of the People's Men* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); and Evan Cornog, *The Birth of Empire: DeWitt Clinton and the American Experience, 1769–1828* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 149–57, 149 (quote).
92. James L. Huston, *The Panic of 1857 and the Coming of the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1987), 144–45, 147, 153, 160, 166; Formisano, *The Birth of Mass Political Parties*, 237–38, 284; and Reséndez, *Changing National Identities at the Frontier*, 165.
93. Murray F. Tuley, et. al., untitled proceedings of convention, *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 27 August 1853, p. 2.

94. Chávez, *Très Macho*, 92.
95. Guillermo [William] Carr Lane, "Conciudadanos de Nuevo Méjico," *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 20 August 1853, p. 3.
96. Formisano, *The Birth of Mass Political Parties*, 77; and Howe, *The Political Culture*, 52.
97. Lane, "Conciudadanos de Nuevo Méjico," *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 20 August 1853, p. 3.
98. "National Prejudice," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 20 August 1853, p. 2. For more on the social system, see Daniel D. Barnard, "The Social System: An Address Pronounced Before the House of Convocation of Trinity College," Hartford, Conn., 1848, in *The American Whigs: An Anthology*, ed. Daniel Walker Howe (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1973), 106–20.
99. Lamar, *The Far Southwest*, 90; and Theisen, "José Manuel Gallegos," 105–6.
100. "Campana Demócrata," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 10 September 1853, p. 2.
101. Meriwether, *My Life*, 166, 167.
102. "Chief Justice Deavenport," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 15 August 1857, p. 3; and "Judge S. M. Baird and Hon. M. A. Otero," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 9 January 1858, p. 3.
103. "New Mexico—Gov. Meriwether," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 7 January 1854, p. 1; Meriwether, *My Life*, 167–69; "Chief Justice Deavenport," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 15 August 1857, p. 3; and "Judge S. M. Baird and Hon. M. A. Otero," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 9 January 1858, p. 3. Meriwether erroneously recalled that the *Gazette* had reported on the incident shortly after it happened, when it was actually *El Amigo del Pais*. It was only later, when W. W. H. Davis took over the editorship of the *Gazette* that the paper reproduced a story in the *Washington Union* that had described the incident based on copies of the *Pais* column that Meriwether had mailed in.
104. Horn, *New Mexico's Troubled Years*, 44; and Theisen, "José Manuel Gallegos," 92.
105. Meriwether, *My Life*, 170–72; and Twitchell, *Leading Facts*, 2:309.
106. "Election Frauds," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 17 September 1853, p. 3; Editorial, *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 24 September 1853, p. 2; and Editorial, *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 24 September 1853, p. 3.
107. "Padre Gallegos' Democracy and Our Position," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 10 September 1853, p. 2.
108. Meriwether, *My Life*, 172.
109. "Legislative Acts or Legal Proceedings," Washington, D.C., *Daily National Era*, 26 January 1854, p. 6.
110. J. Manuel Gallegos to Gov. David Meriwether, 21 December 1853, published in "Carta Interesante del Sr. Gallegos," *La Gaceta Semanaria* (Santa Fe), 11 March 1854, p. 3.
111. "Contested Election—New Mexico," 33rd Cong., 1st sess., H.R. Rep. 121 (1854); Twitchell, *Leading Facts*, 2:309; Horn, *New Mexico's Troubled Years*, 48; and Larson, *New Mexico's Quest*, 82. The decision regarding Pueblo suffrage was consistent with previous and later decisions made by territorial courts and federal agencies affirming that the Pueblos were not U.S. citizens. See Deborah A. Rosen, "Pueblo Indians and Citizenship in Territorial New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* 78 (winter 2003): 6–8.

112. Gallegos received appropriations for construction on the Santa Fe Capitol and for a new penitentiary. He introduced vital legislation to have public lands surveyed, and helped establish the office of Surveyor General to begin the process of settling the disposition of the territory's immense community land grants. Larson, *New Mexico's Quest*, 82; Espinosa, "Memoir of a Kentuckian in New Mexico," 8; "The Survey of Public Lands in New Mexico—a Bill Before Congress for that Purpose," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 3 June 1854, p. 2; Meriwether, *My Life*, 172; and Theisen, "José Manuel Gallegos," 104–6.
113. Theisen, "José Manuel Gallegos," 106–7, 116.
114. Untitled, *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 3 June 1854, p. 2; and James L. Collins, "Correspondence of the Gazette," *Santa Fe (N.Mex.) Weekly Gazette*, 15 July 1854, p. 2.
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