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The Unpolitical German in New Mexico, 1848–1914

TOMAS JAEHN

Historians have long tried to determine the influence of ethnic groups on American national and state politics including New Mexico. Yet available studies of the state are unique because political interactions and conflicts there were almost exclusively seen in racial rather than in ethnic perspectives. Unfortunately, considering all Europeans in New Mexico as Anglo Americans results in a misleading political picture of the state. It exaggerates the cohesiveness of European groups and American Hispanics and implies a nonexistent political unity within each group. Clearly, for Germans, geography and religion rather than a shared ethnicity played a greater role in determining political alliances.¹

It is not surprising that no political study exists of ethnic Germans, as they were almost always considered synonymous with Anglos in New Mexico. In addition, unlike German experiences in midwestern states or territories or in precincts in major cities like Chicago or Milwaukee, Germans in New Mexico did not congregate in specific counties or precincts. When they did gravitate toward urban centers like Santa Fe, Albuquerque, or Las Vegas, they tended not to concentrate in neighborhoods.

A quick survey of sources indicates that research on the German political impact in New Mexico is scarce. While general studies on the West indicate that Germans tended to support the Republican Party and westward expansion policies, more specialized research of ethnic political behavior in several other western states and territories reveals that political preferences cannot be easily generalized.² Together, these ear-

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lier studies of the more densely populated and thus politically more consequential midwestern states provide a picture of shifting voting patterns and party operations during the second half of the nineteenth century. As one scholar has pointed out, "their composite picture is one of an intensely partisan and highly mobilized electorate." The same scholar shows that party voters neither split their tickets nor defected to the major opposition.³ Generally, these studies also demonstrate that political issues, region of birth, religion, geography, or occupation all weighed more than ethnic background.⁴ For example, the detailed study by Stanley B. Parsons of heavily populated German counties in Nebraska during the Populist Era shows that economic issues, religion, and the liquor question were more important than ethnicity as indicators of party alliances.⁵

Unfortunately, New Mexico does not offer a heavily German-populated county or town to determine Germans' and American Germans' political behavior and party alliances. In New Mexico between 1850 and 1920, the German population was widely dispersed.⁶ Therefore, the study of German political behavior, influence, and attitudes in New Mexico has to rely heavily on political patterns in Germany, on German ethnic groups elsewhere in the United States, and on newspapers, diaries, and other personal accounts. This task is complicated in New Mexico by a tendency to lump together all central and northern Ethno-European groups into "Anglos," meaning Germans, Gentile and Jewish alike, were not distinguished. And one must note that Jewish Germans considered themselves, at least until World War I, part of the larger German contingent who settled and developed New Mexico.⁷ During the height of German immigration to the United States, Jewish German immigrants were not singled out as a separate ethnic group.⁸

In short, the small and widely dispersed group of Germans in New Mexico and the lack of ways to determine ethnic voting turnouts provide few clues as to the political convictions of ordinary German miners, farmers, launderers, and artisans. Rather, the more vocal, successful, or infamous Germans garner notice. They received public attention, often voiced political preferences, and occasionally attempted to gain political offices. Noticeable among this group are German merchants, a few ranchers, and an occasional lawyer or artisan.

To understand Germans' roles in New Mexico politics, a look into the cultural and political history of the German states during the latter part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries helps explain the apolitical behavior of German emigrants. Generally, German history is not characterized by the political participation of its citizens. Indeed, most Germans were excluded from the political process, and only the upper classes and nobilities were in position to influence politics. One of Germany's literary greats, Thomas Mann, stressed that participation

in politics would not benefit the German people. Its tradition is one of intellect—epitomized in culture, soul, freedom, and art—not of politics.⁹ Minor changes in German political constitutions between the Napoleonic Wars at the beginning of the nineteenth century and the unification of the German states in 1871 allowed a modest increase in bourgeois participation in state parliaments, however. Not until the rise of socialism in Germany at the turn of the twentieth century was the working class able to wield influence in German politics.

These trends in German politics are not surprising, since other European countries were in similar situations. It is remarkable, though, that Germany produced a wealth of influential political thinkers and philosophers. Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), Heinrich Heine (1797–1856), Karl Marx (1818–1883), and Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche (1844–1900), to mention but a few, were highly influential in the development of world political theory. In spite of these famous and influential theoreticians, mainstream Germans did not participate in the political process.

The roots of the German political indifference, and even disgust for politics, can be traced to nineteenth-century Germany. As Fritz Stern pointed out in an intriguing essay, Germans used their greatest achievement, their *Kultur*, to excuse their greatest failure, their *Politik*.¹⁰ Despite a good educational system, Germany did not fully understand the ideas of Kant, Hegel, or Goethe. As a leading German sociologist and philosopher points out in the preface to Victor Farias's book *Heidegger et le Nazisme*, the “hidden curriculum” behind the teachings of the philosophers in German *Gymnasiums* was to promote “elitist self-understanding of academics, a fetishizing of *Geist*, [and] idolatry for the mother tongue....” The goal of higher education was personal, social, and economic advancement, not necessarily a politically aware citizen.¹¹ Mann reflected on this attitude during World War I when he detected that “intellect and power seem to miss each other consistently in Germany, [and] blossoming of the state and blossoming of culture seem to exclude each other....”¹² This trend surfaced in the 1848 uprising when many liberals demanded reforms without a revolution that would have endangered education and property.¹³ Rather than use politics to achieve the goal of political freedom, Stern maintained Germany's upper class “has often disdained the grubbiness of politics.”¹⁴ Instead, they thought about legal freedom, freedom from authoritarian powers, and liberation from economic and societal restrictions. Consequently, in pursuing cultural and individual freedom, the German middle class lost sight of the importance of political expression and participation in politics. After all, the freedoms Germans sought did not require participation in the politics of the West or New Mexico.

A typical German *Freidenker* (freethinker), who illustrates Stern's apolitical German, was Franz Huning of Albuquerque. Well educated in German public and private schools, he rebelled early on against his parents' religious beliefs, their sense of law and order, and their wish for him to become a farmer. Rather than paying attention in school, Huning claims in his memoirs, he was more interested in reading his own choice of books.¹⁵ He aborted a mercantile apprenticeship in Bremen and refused to serve in his home state's (Hannover) army. In letters to Franz in Bremen, the elder Huning often urged Franz to return to God and not to let his *Freigeist* (free spirit) dominate his ideas.¹⁶ More than once his father demanded that Franz must quit reading "trashy" novels and stay away from other *Freidenkern*.¹⁷ His parents wrote in vain, as Franz maintained friendships with artists, theater people, and other "rebellious" women and men, and he remained atheistic.¹⁸ In fact, his final will maintains his disrespect for religious beliefs: "I direct that my remains be cremated, the ashes put into an urn and deposited alongside my children, Lina and Elly. And I strictly forbid any and all religious nonsense. If any Old Timer should be handy, he may make a speech, but not mix up any cant with it."¹⁹

A list of the books Huning owned in Albuquerque indicates that he never abandoned an interest in the kind of books about which his parents warned him. Among others, Huning read Goethe, Schiller, Adalbert Stifter, and Charles Darwin. He also read Gotthold Lessing, one of the great critics of the time, who questioned the authority of dogmatism and instead advocated reason. In his most noted work, *Nathan der Weise*, Lessing encouraged tolerance and the teaching of humanitarian goals. Yet, as Stern noted, Germans, despite their excellent education, did not quite understand the ideas of Kant, Hegel, or Goethe. Instead of following the activism these thinkers promoted, Huning, similar to many other Germans, pursued a vague but important *Lebensgefühl* (life style). Clearly, Huning's book list underscores Stern's point: *Kultur* was often a substitute for *Politik*.²⁰ Or, as Mann interpreted the German character at the turn of the century, men and women raised in the German tradition sought to expand their intellect rather than to realize ideas politically.²¹ In Albuquerque, even though Huning attended weekly performances of Goethe, Krug, and Kleist and concerts of Wagner, Beethoven, and Verdi, and in spite of his social and economic status in New Mexico, he remained essentially apolitical.²² Rather than using his status for political advancement of New Mexico and its peoples, he invested his spare time in educational and social activities.

Huning's apolitical style is characteristic of many other Germans and American Germans who settled in New Mexico. Charles Ilfeld, Jacob Korber, and Flora Spiegelberg, to name a few, were well educated and socially and economically successful but did not transform their suc-

cess into political ventures. Consider, for example, Korber, educated in German public schools and briefly in a Lutheran seminary, who abandoned organized religion, evaded the Prussian military, and chose immigration to the American West, drifting from Colorado to New Mexico.²³ Making Albuquerque his new home, Korber set up a blacksmith shop that developed into a major venture. Yet despite his success, Korber also limited his spare time activities to ward politics, immigrant activities, and the local Lutheran church.²⁴

Jewish Germans appear to have taken similar paths. Usually well educated in German or eastern schools, they achieved social and economic success in New Mexico but generally stayed out of politics. When involved politically, they usually did so in local and civic issues. Many, like Albert Grunsfeld and Lehman Spiegelberg, accepted appointments to school boards, and a few such as Spiegelberg and Abraham Staab were elected to county offices.²⁵

In general, with only a small group of Germans scattered across New Mexico, German participation was negligible and political influence difficult to obtain. Unlike its neighbor Texas, no town in New Mexico was founded by Germans.²⁶ In addition, New Mexico's Germans lacked leaders like Texas had in Prince Carl von Solms-Braunfels and later Baron von Meusebach, or Butte, Montana had in the ambitious Irishman Thomas Francis Meagher.²⁷ In both these instances, settlements were new, and, as one writer has noted, social, economic, and political institutions developed with the respective ethnic group—Butte belonged to the Irish in almost the same way New Braunfels belonged to the Germans.²⁸

New Mexico, on the other hand, consisted of some of the oldest population centers in North America.²⁹ Communal and political functions had been in place for centuries. Unlike those in most frontier areas, the institutions of New Mexico at the American takeover in the 1840s were feudal in character, with *ricos* running the towns. The political situation in New Mexico was not unlike that in small German towns headed by a secular or religious nobility. Despite recent studies that try to attribute the *patron* system to American occupation and capitalistic activities, the system was already in place, and Germans and other ambitious immigrants, rather than fighting the system, used, even improved, the Spanish system.³⁰

Obviously, then, Germans who arrived in New Mexico found a place different from any other in the United States. The early German immigrants immediately realized that Hispanics shared political power. If they were to succeed in the newly adopted home, Germans had to accommodate their behavior to Anglo American and Hispanic patterns.³¹ They did not establish ethnic organizations such as immigrant societies to

safeguard their political and economic success.³² In fact, the small number of German newcomers discouraged ethnic isolation and favored good relations with the local populations and with the other immigrants in New Mexico.

When Germans did participate in politics, they usually did so on a small scale, and even then they rarely concerned themselves with ethnic German issues. Several reasons account for this absence of ethnic concern. For one, as has been pointed out, unlike in midwestern states, where political issues were highly partisan, in western states ticket splitting was common. For the most part this ticket splitting exemplified a more pronounced tendency toward short-term forces and issues.³³ Second, although voting and political behavior elsewhere in the West was often tied to religious issues, Catholics were so dominant in New Mexico that it was often wiser to avoid religious issues in elections. Clearly, anybody who ran for any office needed Hispanic votes to succeed. Therefore, political clashes over religion were less significant compared to land grant issues, questions about statehood, or Spanish-English language controversies. Third, with very few exceptions, elections and political matters in New Mexico included few ethnic debates that would have mobilized Germans.³⁴

Since political-religious tensions were lacking and ethnically relevant issues absent, Germans usually voted their economic desires and personal convictions. Even in locations of German concentration, as in Albuquerque and Santa Fe, their numerical strength was too small to achieve any political control through ethnic power. Instead, they supported Hispanic or other American political agendas or candidates.

Still, the political situation in New Mexico was far from orderly. The factional and constitutional chaos during the first two decades following the United States takeover was a roadblock for any ethnic group to succeed politically. To Germans and other ethnic newcomers the political environment in New Mexico must have appeared confusing: New Mexico's well-established Hispanic political structure was challenged by the American political system, making it difficult for persons unfamiliar with either system to participate in the process.³⁵ For instance, as historian Howard Lamar has noted, the territory "fitted none of the assumptions of the Ordinance of 1787." A large white population was already present, little public land available, and no land suitable for an American farming population.³⁶ Because Hispanic political traditions and American political modernism created a vacuum, people with different political, social, and economic outlooks wanted to fill this gap. Obviously, political intentions ranged from one extreme to the other: from Hispanics who endeavored to preserve their culture and influence on one side to American Anglos on the other who wanted the territory Americanized as quickly as possible. In short, the situation was one of

discord, fractionalization, and confusion. Political leaders, slogans, and institutions that Germans may have learned about on their way to the United States did not mean much once they arrived in New Mexico. As Lamar points out, "American party names were used, and each faction had its defenders in Congress, but Republican and Democrat, pro slave and abolitionist, conservative and liberal, were phrases which had no real meaning here [in the Southwest]".³⁷

Even though political confusion in New Mexico was sufficient reason for many Germans to remain politically uninvolved and to attend instead to their occupations and economic aspirations, it still allowed for opportunity. That is, weak party regimentation provided easier access for newcomers, even though few Germans accepted the challenge.³⁸

Regardless of political agendas, Hispanics held nearly all elective offices. Their ethnic bonds were particularly strong at the county and precinct level and offered only a minute chance for politically ambitious newcomers to get involved. Few Americans appeared on the territorial legislative roster, with the first elected German not listed until 1880—Bernhard Seligman of Santa Fe County. More than thirty years elapsed before the first German was elected to the legislature.

On the territorial level, however, politically ambitious Anglo Americans like Thomas Catron and Stephen Elkins found opportunities for political leadership, with political positions for such persons coming via federal government appointment. Among the few Germans who accepted territorial appointments in the early years of the territory were Charles Blumner, Charles Clever, and William Osterton. But their positions were minor, more civic oriented. All of these men held positions as treasurer (but there was no money in the territory!), sheriff, and auditor. The only two Germans prior to 1880 to appear on the territorial assembly roster in nonelective positions were Louis Felsenthal and Clever. Both were listed as clerks of the House (1859) and the Council (1847) respectively.

Only when one considers Germans' political associates and acquaintances can one establish their political position. A case in point is Charles Blumner. Blumner arrived in 1846 in Santa Fe, just in time to witness the 1847 revolt.³⁹ In fact, Blumner may have been the first German to reside in the New Mexico Territory. Unlike many other early arrivals, Blumner did not consider the mercantile business his only opportunity. Although having had ample economic opportunities in the mercantile business, he gravitated toward politically influential men. For instance, during the Mexican period, he worked for Manuel Alvarez collecting debts. Beyond that, as Thomas Chávez notes in a recent study of Alvarez, "Blumner essentially handled all of Alvarez's business affairs."⁴⁰ His association with Alvarez, the United States Consul in Santa Fe, indicated his desire to have the United States annex and quickly "Americanize" the Hispanic territory. Blumner also accepted Colonel Stephen W. Kearny's appoint-

ment as treasurer of the territory and was reappointed in 1851, when Alvarez and Ceran St. Vrain posted a security bond of \$20,000.⁴¹ In 1858 Levi Spiegelberg and John Mecure secured Blumner's bond as treasurer. The support of German and other well-to-do citizens in Santa Fe suggests that other Germans like Levi Spiegelberg's brothers and Louis Felsenthal may have shared his views of quick Americanization of New Mexico. Blumner's association with these men illustrates a general pattern that American business interests often served as the driving force behind political maneuvering in New Mexico.

Another German immigrant who atypically chose a political career was Charles Clever. Like Blumner, Clever gravitated toward the political scene. His studies in law, pursued in Santa Fe, benefitted his political ambitions. In 1857 he appeared as the clerk of the territorial council, and from 1862 on he was appointed and reappointed as attorney general. In many respects, Clever was a true politician and an exception to Stern's apolitical Germans. He was interested in the political system and aimed at using it. Through newspaper editorials and in speeches he clearly expressed his political views. Clever, one of the few identifiable ethnic German Democrats (Zodac Staab and Jacob Korber were others), vehemently favored Americanization and exploitation of New Mexico as quickly as possible.⁴² For instance, Clever supported the 1867 proclamation prohibiting peonage, an announcement that touched a sore spot with Hispanics and reflected on the broader issue of American-versus-Hispanic ways of life. Views clashed and eventually accelerated to a dispute between Clever and J. Francisco Chaves that is well documented in the Santa Fe newspapers.⁴³

Clever's drive for quick "Americanization" was particularly evident in his speech before the national Congress; he painted a clear picture of New Mexico's "American" future. He argued that big business, like the railroad, had to come to New Mexico to benefit American and Hispanic business elites. Clever outlined a bright, rich future for New Mexico. To give his speech an authoritative touch he frequently quoted from the *Santa Fe Gazette*, which he controlled. Clever's apocalyptic vision of "waiting for the day when the rich man with his money will come to be a partner with the poor man with his mine" was undoubtedly an ethnocentric and economically limited perspective. His viewpoint was based on an abundance of available Hispanic and Pueblo labor and the perception that "by mingling our own labor [among the native work force] under proper direction, a healthy industry will be developed, and native artisans [will be] instructed, Christianized and prepared for useful citizenship."⁴⁴ Clearly, Clever's exploitative vision was based on a wage labor system that depended on racial stratification of labor.⁴⁵

By 1869 Clever had enough political backing to believe that he could become New Mexico's delegate to Congress. Although he won the election, the powerful American Hispanic faction with its Republican candidate J. Francisco Chaves contested the election successfully, claiming vote fraud. Unfortunately, contesting elections during the 1860s was part of a growing distrust between Anglo Americans and Hispanics.⁴⁶ Thus, longstanding conflict over Hispanic values led to Chaves accusing Clever and his supporters of developing the territory for American economic interests. Although the election dispute highlighted the conflicting political factions of New Mexico, that Clever was accused of election fraud is not surprising. Buying votes was not limited to New Mexico or Hispanics, nor was it uncommon practice among Germans or American Germans. For instance, Lincoln Steffens, in a well-known study, uncovered political corruption in cities like predominantly German St. Louis.⁴⁷

Even though Blummer and Clever chose political careers with mercantile interests as a sideline, most other Germans who got involved in politics opted for indirect political participation. For instance, many Germans met their civic duty financially. In 1852 Solomon Jacob Spiegelberg advanced the chronically underfunded legislature \$4,000 to pay its members.⁴⁸ Other financially secure Germans often provided bond monies for Anglos, Germans, or Hispanics who aspired to political office. Informal politicking was also common. Possibly a casual poker game with Thomas Catron and Jesús Luna or a generous donation to Archbishop Jean Lamy's church fund proved beneficial to the person's political well-being.⁴⁹

On the whole, however, most Germans stayed away from active territorial politics. If they were interested in politics, they discussed matters concerning their businesses. If they were ranchers in northern New Mexico, they may have voted as did Frederick Gerhardt, a German rancher, who arrived in the country in 1852. His daughter Lillie Anderson noted, "politically, father was a staunch Republican, as were most of the early day ranchers, who realized the necessity of a firm tariff on wool, pelts, and hides."⁵⁰ On the other hand, Germans in southeastern New Mexico were more likely to be Democratic because of immigration from Texas and proximity to that state. Over the decades, though, southeastern counties moved from a highly Democratic region to a two-party system, Hispanic counties from Republican strongholds to Democratic affiliation and mining regions and railroad hubs toward strong trade unions and Democratic ties.⁵¹

In the 1880s the political picture changed slightly. Early settlers had established their businesses and, because of railroad activities in the territory, towns grew more rapidly. Increasingly, immigrants from other parts of the country arrived in New Mexico. By this time, settled Ger-

mans were better acquainted with the American political system. Although most of the Germans' political activities were on the local and county level, some were elected or appointed to positions of territorial significance. For instance, John A. Miller, a German merchant living in Fort Bayard, representing Doña Ana, Grant, and Lincoln counties, was elected to the Territorial Council in 1882, joining Bernhard Seligman as the second German in the New Mexico legislature. Among the influential committees in which Miller participated were Territorial Affairs, Indian Affairs, Finance, and Mines and Public Lands.⁵²

Bernhard Seligman, the first German elected to the territorial legislature, was financially established and considered a superb public speaker who steadily gained political power. Beginning in 1880 he served successfully in both state houses, chaired the Santa Fe County Commission, and was appointed territorial treasurer.⁵³ In his first year in the legislative assembly, Seligman was a member of the judiciary and educational committees.⁵⁴ Not all his elections were as easy as his first one, however. In 1888, for example, Thomas Catron contested Seligman's election to the Council Assembly, alleging that illegal votes were cast for Seligman, among others by Robert Helbig, a German alien, and that the polls in one of the Santa Fe precincts were illegally closed for an hour. The accusations were not substantiated, and Catron's attempt to block Seligman's return to the council was unsuccessful.⁵⁵

Perhaps the only political institution during the territorial period that appealed to Germans was the Bureau of Immigration. Established in 1880 by territorial act, the bureau's mission was twofold: "to prepare and disseminate accurate information" and to present opportunities for "desirable immigration and for the investment of capital." It turned out to be, however, more of a propaganda instrument to speed up Americanization in New Mexico.⁵⁶ Although a few Hispanics joined the bureau, its membership list reads like an "Anglo Who's Who" in New Mexico. Many of the members such as Governor L. Bradford Prince, rancher J.C. Lea, *Las Vegas Optic* publisher J.H. Koogler, and New Mexico Cattle Association counsel Albert J. Fountain had vested interests in business coming to New Mexico. The organization's German members consisted exclusively of merchants. Lehman and Louis Spiegelberg, William Kroenig, Samuel Eldodt, and Alex Gusdorf, who joined the board a couple of years later, promoted the bureau's agenda and tried to attract more Germans to New Mexico.⁵⁷ Obviously, the bureau fulfilled its mission to promote New Mexico's resources. The promotional literature the bureau published emphasized—and not always accurately—fertile soil, salubrious climate, abundant water, and valuable mineral resources. In its quest to "disseminate accurate information" the bureau did little to reduce cultural misconceptions about New Mexico. In none of its many promotional publications did bureau members try to rectify misconceptions

about Hispanics and Native Americans.⁵⁸ The failure to discuss Hispanic and Native American populations suggests a hidden political agenda of the bureau. Perhaps by attracting Anglo immigrants to New Mexico, the bureau could offset the predominantly Hispanic image of New Mexico that many saw as an obstacle to progressive territorial politics and, most importantly, to statehood.

On the local level, Germans in towns like Albuquerque, Santa Fe, and Roswell took active roles in their town's growth. Although their positions may have been ostensibly political, their real intent was economic. In Roswell, for example, Sydney and Will Prager, who had moved to Roswell and opened a mercantile store with Nathan Jaffa in the early 1880s, became involved in city politics to help protect their real estate and other economic interests.⁵⁹ In subsequent decades the Pragers and Jaffa invested money and held municipal offices to further their and the town's future.⁶⁰

Germans also appeared to shy away from controversial, yet powerful, political organizations and issues. For instance, few Germans were involved in New Mexico's violent Lincoln County War of 1877–78.⁶¹ In fact, none of the influential Germans in New Mexico seemed to have been directly implicated in the dispute, even though Frank W. Angel, a special investigator for the United States Justice Department sent to New Mexico to investigate disturbances in Lincoln County as well as in Colfax County, made biased assessments (he favored the Murphy faction). His investigation hinted at some indirect involvement of Germans in the political events in the two counties.

Angel indicated that Jerrie Hockraddle, a second-generation German, Charles Probst, born in Prussia, and most likely the German trader Emil Fritz were involved locally in the Lincoln County dispute. Another participant, Robert A. Widenmann, born to German parents in this country, was perhaps a small exception in that he was a close friend of John Tunstall and therefore closer to the events. A. A. McSween confirmed this friendship in a letter to J. F. Tunstall, John's father: "Now, so far as my knowledge goes, W[idenmann] was a strong friend of your son's and your son was a very strong friend of W[idenmann]'s."⁶² But in a war of "manipulation" to achieve essentially corrupt ends, as Joel K. Jacobsen found most recently, these Germans were only minor figures.⁶³ On a larger scale, Angel also warned Governor Lew Wallace that the Spiegelbergs and Staabs were unreliable. That Angel mentioned the merchants indicates that the German mercantile dealers of Santa Fe had economic interests in the outcome of the dispute. Angel's warnings also demonstrated, not surprisingly, that politics and economics were often hard to separate. In this case, Angel concluded that the mercantile busi-

nesses of the Staab Brothers and Spiegelberg Brothers were bidding for Mescalero contracts.⁶⁴ Incidentally, Widenmann, in a letter to fellow German and Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz also implicated the two merchants "of defrauding both the Government and the Indians."⁶⁵

Later, in the 1880s and 1890s, Germans remained absent from major political disputes occurring in New Mexico. That no German was directly involved in the Santa Fe Ring is in some ways surprising. As so many historians have pointed out, the ring "reflected the corporative, monopolistic, and multiple enterprise tendencies of all American business" fields of endeavor in which many of the wealthy Germans were intensively involved.⁶⁶ Two men, Charles Spiess and Abraham Staab, are occasionally referred to in discussions of the ring. The former was a well-established American with possible Germanic ties, and the latter, a German, was best known for an occasional poker game with ring members.⁶⁷

The absence of German ring members is less surprising if one considers again Stern's assessment that Germans lacked political ambitions. Undoubtedly, wealthier Germans of Santa Fe were informed of what was going on in the ring, but their primary concerns were personal and cultural freedom and the economic success that many lacked in the East or in Germany. In New Mexico they achieved these goals without political commitment.

Still, economic demands led to some political involvement and in a few instances fostered civic-minded action. Political involvement was more visible in towns and cities than in rural New Mexico. Like the Pragers of Roswell, W.F. Kuchenbecker, a hardware merchant, who became mayor of Gallup, or perhaps Mr. Timmer of Silver City, who seems to have known and hosted the elite of that town, people with economic interests accepted political posts or nominations to political and civic boards.⁶⁸ For example, Huning, who invested heavily in the future of new Albuquerque, chaired or sat on various political committees. In 1878, he was a member of the Board of County Commissioners, when relocation of the county seat from Albuquerque to Bernalillo was under consideration. Realizing that this change would mean the loss of jobs, money, and trade, Huning allowed his store to be used for a petition drive to oppose the move of the county seat.⁶⁹ During the 1890s, despite a recession, railroad activities and business in new Albuquerque prospered, and Huning became a member of the Board of Trade that was influential in municipal politics of the new town, as did Henry N. Jaffa and Melchior Werner.⁷⁰

These Germans became politically active in new town Albuquerque. A political refugee from the aborted German revolution in 1848, Werner came to New Mexico with the U.S. Army prior to 1850. He was civic oriented and became an executive member of the Republican Party in new Albuquerque but switched in 1882 to the People's Party to run for



Sidney Prager Roswell N.M. 1887
H. S. Prager Nathan Jaffa Pat Garret
Geo. M. Hassley Horace Clarkson F. P. Gayle
J. S. Theobald

Photo 1: Like Nathan Jaffa and Sidney Prager, shown here in front of their mercantile store, many German immigrants to New Mexico primarily sought economic prosperity. Photo courtesy of the Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, negative no. 990-026.

Probate Clerk.⁷¹ In 1885 Jaffa, who eventually became Albuquerque's first mayor, was president of the Board of Trade and also a major member of the People's Party.⁷² Even though Korber was twice elected alderman for the second ward in Albuquerque (1893–1895), once with Herman Brockmeyer, a second-generation German plumber, on the Democratic ticket, Korber's activities largely centered around German immigrants and their children.⁷³

Although much of this political involvement was economically motivated, civic reasoning cannot be discounted. Huning, for example, combined economic and urban political interests. Described as having "a predominating interest in matters of personal business, a dislike of controversy, particularly in a political nature," he offered free land in new Albuquerque to build hotels, churches, and other enterprises to develop the town.⁷⁴ Visionary in promoting greater Albuquerque and the coexistence of American Hispanics and other American ethnic groups, he worked toward the judicial and political unity of the two towns through economic and political projects. He also encouraged the construction of bridges and tramway lines between the two towns and suggested the county court be built in Old Town to unify the Hispanic town and the new area. Probably he purposefully situated his famed "Huning Castle" half in Old Town and half in New Town of Albuquerque.⁷⁵

A few Germans were concerned with more than just local issues in New Mexico. Statehood, for instance, was a matter that dominated territorial and even national politics for more than half a century. Although delays over statehood had many causes, a focus on the German view of statehood sheds further light on their and American Germans' political activities in New Mexico. Here again Germans with strong economic interests loudly voiced their opinions and tried to influence the outcome of statehood. The controversy over statehood began instantly in 1850 after New Mexico became a United States territory and throughout the decades became a multifaceted controversy. The most popular arguments against statehood were twofold: that the territory had a small population and that the majority of its residents were Spanish speaking. These arguments surfaced within and outside New Mexico.⁷⁶ Like many others in New Mexico, Germans were divided on the issues surrounding statehood.

Early German opinions on the issue are rare, with Blumner the first German indicating his stand on the issue. As seen, he closely associated himself with Alvarez, the American Consul in Santa Fe, who favored statehood immediately after New Mexico became a part of the United States. In the 1860s Clever's speeches also suggest that he favored statehood, a rare political issue on which he agreed with the *Santa Fe New Mexican*, an ardent supporter of statehood.

German opinions are more readily available after 1880. Generally, Republicans pushed for statehood based on the assumption that statehood would bring more immigrants and capital from the East to the territory. Werner, for instance, represented these ideas in the county Republican party in Albuquerque.⁷⁷ Democrats, on the other side, feared that the legislation for statehood would benefit the special interest groups such as large land owners and mine owners with patents.⁷⁸ In Albuquerque, younger German and American German artisans and merchants met at Democratic party meetings. Jacob Schwarz, L.P. Krawinkle, Jacob Toepfer, Ernest Kreigelsteiner, H. Hahn, Otto Mann, and Sam Neustadt joined the Young Democrats.⁷⁹ Although some Germans and American Germans voted according to party line, the available opinions of Germans suggest that they were divided by personal interest rather than by party affiliation, religion, or ethnicity.

Ethnic Germans of new Albuquerque seemed more reluctant than their fellow Germans in Santa Fe to favor statehood. In a petition to the U.S. Congress in 1890, Ernest Meyers, Simon Neustadt, Jacob Weinmann, Solomon Weiler, F. Lowenthal, and members of the Mandell family, all German and American German merchants and artisans, gave reasons for their indignation. They resisted higher taxes and were angry about the power Santa Fe continued to exert over new commercial centers like Albuquerque. The emphasis on "Americanization" and "English Language Only" in the petition to Congress revealed the signators' vision of the future New Mexico. Obviously they were fearful that a small group of politicians in Santa Fe could dominate a differently educated Hispanic population and take over the new state government.⁸⁰ Although one must be careful about suggesting that many of the signers were Germans of *Jewish* faith and that their opposition might have signaled a fear of higher taxes, as an older 1939 study suggested, it is noteworthy that all those German and other signators were residing in New Town, a community with few Hispanics and Catholics.⁸¹

Over the years a hostility developed between Santa Fe and Albuquerque. Part of this competition arose from demographic changes altering economic and political activities in New Mexico. On the one side, the railroad passed by Santa Fe to go directly to Albuquerque. This action brought more new immigrants from European and Asian countries and eastern regions, Germans and American Germans among them, to Albuquerque and lured German merchants like Benjamin Schuster, Edward Spitz, and Charles Ilfeld from Santa Fe and Las Vegas to Albuquerque. On the other hand, a conservative establishment of the pre-railroad days still controlled Santa Fe. The growing rivalry between the two towns sparked disputes over political power, the location of the territorial government, and several other issues. As a part of these changes, the German merchants in Santa Fe, considered part of the older immigration,



Photo 2: Nathan Jaffa, businessman and merchant, showed little interest in holding public office. In 1910 he declined the Republican nomination for governor of New Mexico. Photo courtesy of the Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico, negative no. 990-026-0002.

lost economic leadership to business interests in Albuquerque, Belen, Las Cruces, and other booming towns. At the same time, the Santa Fe Trail lost its transportation dominance to the railroad, and Santa Feans noticed an increasing challenge for the capital seat. Santa Fe's citizens had to be reminded "that carrying Santa Fe is not carrying the Territory."⁸² Huning's perception on the statehood issue seems to confirm that perception, when he scribbled down on a handwritten, undated note that a statehood movement was once again under way, but a majority of New Mexicans was against it.⁸³

Not surprisingly the statehood issue not only divided Anglo Americans from Hispanics but Germans from one another as well. By the end of the century, when the statehood issue polarized Republicans Miguel A. Otero and Catron, established German Santa Feans like Staab and Frederick Muller sided with Catron.⁸⁴ Staab even travelled as far as Socorro to solicit funds for Catron's statehood agenda.⁸⁵ Catron and his ring members still represented special interest groups. Besides mining and land interests, Catron, Mariano S. Otero (cousin of Miguel A. Otero), Staab, and others held military warrants that, it was alleged, would be paid once New Mexico gained statehood.⁸⁶

Miguel A. Otero, Hispanic on his father's side and Anglo American from his mother's family, tried to combine American and Hispanic business interests with Hispanic traditional values; but his authoritarian leadership and the persistent rumors about graft, made many strong enemies. Those who did not want to be associated with the infamous Santa Fe Ring thought of Otero as the one who could bridge the American-Hispanic gap and help to achieve statehood. Among the Otero proponents were Jaffa, a supporter of former Governor Edmund Ross, Max Frost, with his influential *Santa Fe New Mexican*, and many others. The Spiegelbergs, often in conflict with Catron over banking ventures, and other German merchants in Santa Fe and Albuquerque, also championed Otero.⁸⁷

The struggle for statehood finally paid off, and in 1910 an assembly convened and adopted a conservative constitution devoid of progressive ideas such as initiative and referendum.⁸⁸ Not surprisingly, few Germans were present at the convention. Of the one hundred members present, only four Germans, no second-generation Germans, and no prominent third-generation Germans participated in the convention. Moses L. Stern for Bernalillo, Charles E. Miller for Doña Ana, Charles H. Kohn for Quay, and John Becker for Valencia, more or less political novices, voted for the constitution. Conversely, Jaffa, who as secretary of the territory organized the ceremony, was experienced in public service and was even considered by some Republicans as their nominee for governor for the state. Typically for many Germans, however, Nathan A.

Jaffa, who managed the mercantile store of the Jaffa Brothers in Las Vegas and later founded the mercantile business of Jaffa-Prager Company in Roswell, was not interested in the demanding position of governor and declined to have his name go before the convention.⁸⁹

The history of the state of New Mexico did not see a change in Germans' political activism, even though Arthur Seligman, son of Bernhard, emerged in the 1920s and 1930s as a capable leader in state politics and eventually became governor. German men and increasingly more women continued to accept appointments to civic-political positions. In 1914 Governor William McDonald, for instance, appointed several German women from across the state to the Woman's Auxiliary Exposition Commission.⁹⁰ Shortly after New Mexico's statehood, however, came the clouds of war in Europe, and the outbreak of World War I diminished German participation in politics.

Except for World War I, which posed a dilemma for many ethnic Germans, New Mexico in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was rather devoid of issues that affected Germans as an ethnic group. Even with its xenophobic and anti-Semitic strains, Populism had little impact on Germans and American Germans in New Mexico. Robert Larson, who conducted an extensive study of Populism in New Mexico, could not detect any anti-German or anti-Jewish remarks directed toward Germans and American Germans.⁹¹ To be sure, occasional anti-Semitic statements occurred like those aimed at Solomon and Simon Bibo and Bernhard Seligman, but they were rare and unrelated to a Populist philosophy.⁹² Even a few Germans participated in the Populist movement, including Sigmund Lindauer, a Jewish German from Grant County, and Ben Meyer from Albuquerque. Neither the movement itself nor any German Populists in New Mexico, however, gained political prominence.⁹³

While Germanophobic expressions occurred rarely until World War I, Germanophile emotions were equally scarce. Rarely were feelings friendlier toward Germans in New Mexico than during the Franco-Prussian War of 1871 when New Mexicans and other Americans cheered the defeat of France. The *Santa Fe New Mexican* even printed special bulletins on the course of the war, with other Santa Fe newspapers and territorial politicians being outspokenly pro-German.⁹⁴ At the end of the war, Clever headed a group of grateful Germans who thanked the *New Mexican* and Governor William A. Pile for their strong support. The support Germans received during the Franco-Prussian War was not repeated. Instead, when World War I threatened, pro-German opinions turned quickly to animosity against Germans and American Germans in New Mexico.

Overall, then, Germans and American Germans in New Mexico, like their fellow Germans in other states and territories, did not act as a political bloc. For one, the prerequisites for an ethnic political behavior were not present. Too few Germans and American Germans lived in New Mexico to impact New Mexico politics, and none of the major issues from 1850 to 1920, except for World War I, heavily concerned Germans as an ethnic group. If they voted at all, they cast their votes for an agenda or a candidate that safeguarded their individual interests.

In the end, not many politicians emerged from among the ethnic German population in New Mexico. In the early stages of territorial New Mexico some Germans received federal appointments, and after 1880, some ethnic Germans were elected to territorial offices. Two of the few who stood out were Charles Clever and Bernhard Seligman. Clever's intentions were to exploit and Americanize New Mexico as quickly as possible, and Seligman's perspective was—within limits—to find common ground among Anglo American, Native American, and Hispanic ideas. In either case, they were not concerned with ethnic German issues.

German and American German New Mexicans, then, generally resembled Fritz Stern's description of the apolitical German. They concerned themselves with businesses to achieve the goal for which they left Germany—the betterment of their lives. Most of all, they promoted *Kultur* as they perceived it. If they moved into politics they did so most often as covert backers for economic gain. That politics for Germans in New Mexico was not essential to protect or promote their lifestyle is best exemplified in Nathan Jaffa who turned down a Republican nomination for governor of New Mexico and instead enhanced his position in the social and business life of New Mexico. Thomas Mann's deeply felt conviction, then, that Germans dislike "Politik" is reflected in those German immigrants to New Mexico.⁹⁵ The political influence they wielded in New Mexico was only minimal compared to their social and financial status there.

NOTES

1. A large problem in studying Germans as an ethnic group is to determine who is a German and who is not. Frederick C. Luebke discusses the difficulty of defining Germans in several of his books and essays. See, for example, Frederick C. Luebke's *Germans in the New World: Essays in the History of Immigration* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), xiii-xiv. In this article, the German ethnic group will include only persons born in and to parents of Otto Bismarck's Germany as it existed in 1871.

2. Joseph S. Rouck and Bernhard Eisenberg, eds., *America's Ethnic Politics* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1982), 7; Nathaniel Weyl, *The Jew in American Politics* (New Rochelle, New York: Arlington, 1968), 63. Among historians of German immigration, Luebke is the leading authority. His books include *Immigrants and Politics: The Germans of Nebraska, 1880-1900* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1969), *Bonds of Loyalty: German-Americans and World War I* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1974), and his recent work *Germans in the New World*. His edited book *Ethnic Voters and the Election of Lincoln* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1971) mentions the studies on Germans in Iowa, Illinois, Minnesota, and other midwestern states. Dozens of studies are available on the Germans in Texas.

3. Paul Kleppner, "Voters and Parties in the Western States, 1876-1900," *Western Historical Quarterly* 14 (January 1983), 53.

4. Luebke, *Immigrants and Politics*, 6; *Germans in the New World*, 85. In *Ethnic Voters*, Luebke, ed., Charles Wilson Emery, Joseph Schafer, Andreas Dorpalen, Hildegard Binder Johnson, Paul J. Kleppner, and others reach the same conclusions in studies of Abraham Lincoln's election in 1860.

5. Stanley B. Parsons, *The Populist Context: Rural Versus Urban Power on a Great Plains Frontier* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1973), 101-19.

6. Between 1850 and 1920 the German population represented generally a little less than 1 percent of the total New Mexican population and never more than 10 percent of New Mexico's foreign-born population. For more details about the German population in New Mexico, see Richard R. Greer, "Origins of the Foreign-Born Population of New Mexico During the Territorial Period," *New Mexico Historical Review* 17 (October 1942), 282; and Tomas Jaehn, "The German Experience in New Mexico From Its Territorial Beginnings To World War I," (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1994), 50-52.

7. Henry J. Tobias, *A History of the Jews in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 44, 88. Of course, the Jewish tendency to integrate into the culture and politics of the host society was not unique to New Mexico, where Jews were among the first German arrivals prior to and during the territorial period. As Carey McWilliams pointed out in a pioneering essay on social discrimination, "where Jews were present on the scene before the community started to grow—before the status lines were sharply drawn—they were often taken into membership with a naive unawareness of their Jewishness or a marked indifference to the fact." Carey McWilliams, "Does Social Discrimination Really Matter?" in *Sociological Analysis*, ed. Logan Wilson and William L. Kolb (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1949), 503.

8. Roger Daniels, *Coming to America: A History of Immigration and Ethnicity in American Life* (New York: HarperCollins, 1990), 156; Tobias, *A History of the Jews*, 28.

9. Thomas Mann, *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* (Berlin, Germany: S. Fischer Verlag, 1918), xxxiii.

10. Fritz Stern, "The Political Consequences of the Unpolitical German" (1960), in *The Failure of Illiberalism: Essays on the Political Culture of Modern Germany* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 6.

11. Jürgen Habermas, "Vorwort," in Victor Faría, *Heidegger und der Nationalsozialismus* (Frankfurt, Germany: S. Fischer, 1989), 16-17.
12. Mann, *Betrachtungen*, 238.
13. Theodore Schieder, *Vom Deutschen Bund zum Deutschen Reich, 1815-1871* (Stuttgart, Germany: Klett Verlag, 1970), 75.
14. Stern, "Political Consequences," 10.
15. Franz Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail: Memoirs of Franz Huning* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of Albuquerque Press in collaboration with Calvin Horn Publisher, 1973), 2-3.
16. Johann Friedrich Huning [father] to Franz Huning, 12. Dezember 1846, Erna Fergusson Papers, mss 45, box 3, folder 12 (hereafter Fergusson Papers), Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico (hereafter cited as CSWR).
17. Johann Friedrich Huning to Franz Huning, undated, Fergusson Papers, box 3, folder 12, CSWR.
18. Letters from Hugo Düllens, who occasionally helped Franz financially, indicate this attitude. Fergusson Papers, box 3, folder 12, CSWR.
19. Franz Huning Testament, Huning-Fergusson Papers, mss 194, box 2, folder 20, CSWR.
20. Stern, "Political Consequences," 6.
21. Mann, *Betrachtungen*, xxxvi, xl.
22. Booklists are dated 1882, 1883-1884, and "Germany." The theater and concert list is from 1880-1881, Huning-Fergusson Papers, box 2, folder 17. The list reveals that Huning had also read books by Balduin Möllhausen, one of the foremost German writers on the Southwest.
23. Royce Jane Balch, "Jacob Korber, Early Businessman of Albuquerque, New Mexico 1881-1921" (M.B.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1955), 6-7.
24. *Ibid.*, 27-29.
25. W.G. Ritch, comp., *The Legislative Blue-Book of the Territory of New Mexico* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Charles W. Greene, Public Printers, 1882), appendix, 39, 45. Also see, Henry J. Tobias and Charles E. Woodhouse, "New York Investment Bankers and New Mexico Merchants: Group Formation and Elite Status Among German Jewish Businessmen," *New Mexico Historical Review* 65 (January 1990), 38-39.
26. In the 1890s a small Swiss colony obtained 4,000 acres of land near Vaud in the Pecos Valley. The colony may have had plans for a town, but it was not successful. *Albuquerque Morning Democrat*, 17 February 1892.
27. Terry G. Jordan, *German Seed in Texas Soil: Immigrant Farmers in Nineteenth-Century Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), 43; David M. Emmons, *The Butte Irish: Class and Ethnicity in an American Mining Town, 1875-1925* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 61.
28. Emmons, *The Butte Irish*, 63.
29. F. Chris Garcia and Paul L. Hain, eds., *New Mexico Government* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1976), 7.
30. Ernest B. Fincher, "Spanish-Americans as a Political Factor in New Mexico, 1912-1950" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1950), 131. A recent study is Thomas D. Hall, *Social Change in the Southwest, 1350-1880* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 1989), 159. His findings that eastern newcomers changed the economic and political situation in New Mexico, although correct, are not new. At the turn of the century, writer Mary Austin had complained about capitalism altering the New Mexico setting. These charges do not, however, prove that the patron system did not exist prior to the American arrival.
31. Luebke, *Immigrants and Politics*, 34.
32. The role of immigrant societies in a comparative study of Irish and Germans is described in Reinhard R. Doerries, *Iren und Deutsche in der Neuen Welt: Akkulturationsprozesse in der Amerikanischen Gesellschaft im Späten Neunzehnten*

Jahrhundert (Stuttgart, Germany: Rudolf Steiner Verlag, 1986), 153–55. Also see, Kathleen Conzen, *Immigrant Milwaukee, 1836–1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976), 154–91.

33. Kleppner, "Voters and Parties," 53, 55.

34. Raymond E. Wolfinger, "The Development and Persistence of Ethnic Voting," *American Political Science Review* 59 (December 1965), 896.

35. Recent findings of two sociologists suggest that immigrants generally needed some time to become accustomed to the American political system before they participated in the political process. See Peter Tuckel and Richard Maisel, "Voter Turnout among European Immigrants to the United States," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 24 (Winter 1994), 407–30.

36. Howard R. Lamar, "Political Patterns in New Mexico and Utah Territories 1850–1900," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 28 (October 1960), 364.

37. *Ibid.*, 367.

38. Terry J. Lehmann, "Santa Fe and Albuquerque 1870–1900: Contrast and Conflict in the Development of Two Southwestern Towns" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1974), 33.

39. Charles Blumner's life in New Mexico is revealed in his letters to his relatives in Germany. Copies of the letters are in the Hiltrud von-Brandt Collection, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe. Blumner is treated in Thomas Jaehn, "Charles Blumner: Pioneer, Civil Servant, and Merchant," *New Mexico Historical Review* 61 (October 1986), 319–27.

40. Thomas E. Chávez, *Manuel Alvarez 1794–1856: A Southwestern Biography* (Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1990), 60.

41. Through the decades, Blumner served also as marshal, sheriff, and tax collector.

42. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, 25 June 1853. Initially, Charles Clever owned the *Santa Fe New Mexican* but sold it in 1863; later he acquired the *Santa Fe Gazette* to promulgate his ideas of capitalism, statehood, and Americanization.

43. *Santa Fe Gazette*, 2 February 1867; *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 26 May 1868.

44. Charles P. Clever, *New Mexico: Her Resources, Her Necessities for Railroad Communication with the Atlantic and Pacific States; Her Great Future* (Washington, D.C.: McGill and Witherow, 1868), 36, 40.

45. Richard White, "Race Relations in the American West," *American Quarterly* 38 (Bibliography 1986), 397.

46. Robert W. Larson, *New Mexico's Quest for Statehood, 1846–1912* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968), 92.

47. Lincoln Steffens, *The Shame of the Cities* (1904; New York: Hill and Wang, 1957), chapters 2 and 4.

48. Tobias, *A History of the Jews*, 46–47.

49. Floyd S. Fierman, "The Triangle and the Tetragrammaton: A Note on the Cathedral at Santa Fe," *New Mexico Historical Review* 37 (October 1962), 312–13; Jacqueline D. Meketa, *Louis Felsenthal: Citizen-Soldier of Territorial New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 81.

50. Lillie Gerhardt Anderson, "A New Mexico Pioneer of the 1880's," *New Mexico Historical Review* 29 (October 1954), 252.

51. Jack E. Holmes, *Politics in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1967), 266.

52. Ritch, *Legislative Blue-Book*, 60–62.

53. Paul A. F. Walter, "Necrology: Arthur Seligman," *New Mexico Historical Review* 8 (October 1933), 306.

54. House Journal, 24th Legislative Assembly, 1880, Territorial Archives of New Mexico (hereafter TANM), 5:689.

55. Council Journal, 28th Legislative Assembly, 1888–1889, TANM, 7:10, 7:633–34; *Report of the Secretary of the Territory, 1903–1904, and Legislative Manual, 1905* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, 1905), 162.

56. *Resources of New Mexico* (1881; reprint, Santa Fe, New Mexico: William Gannon, 1973), 53. Marion Dargan, "New Mexico's Fight for Statehood, 1895–1912," *New Mexico Historical Review* 18 (January 1943), 71.

57. Ritch, *Legislative Blue-Book*, 126; Tobias, *A History of the Jews*, 118.

58. For example, see the Bureau of Immigration, *Report of San Miguel County* (Santa Fe: New Mexican Printing Company, 1882); *Report as to Socorro County* (Socorro, New Mexico: Socorro Daily News Office, 1881); *New Mexico*, Winter edition (Las Vegas, New Mexico: J.A. Carruth, 1889); and *Resources of New Mexico*.

59. Interview with Louis Prager, Sr., by an unidentified interviewer in 1978. The interview tape and additional information about the Pragers, second-generation Germans from Pennsylvania, was furnished by Louis Prager, Jr., in an interview with the author, Roswell, 29 September 1990.

60. *Ibid.*; Tobias, *A History of the Jews*, 126–27.

61. None of the available sources indicates any major German involvement in the Lincoln County dispute. See Howard R. Lamar, *The Far Southwest, 1846–1912: A Territorial History* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1966), 155–62; Robert M. Utley, *High Noon in Lincoln: Violence on the Western Frontier* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987).

62. A. A. McSween to J.F. Tunstall, 23 February 1878, folder, John H. Tunstall, Correspondence 1876–78, Robert N. Mullin Collection, Nita Stewart Haley Memorial Library, Midland, Texas (hereafter Mullin Collection).

63. Joel K. Jacobsen, "An Excess of Law in Lincoln County: Thomas Catron, Samuel Axtell, and the Lincoln County War," *New Mexico Historical Review* 68 (April 1993), 151.

64. Lee Scott Theisen, ed., "Frank Warner Angel's Notes on New Mexico Territory, 1878," *Arizona and the West* 18 (Winter 1976), 355, 361, 365–66, 368.

65. Robert A. Widenmann to Carl Schurz, 11 March 1878, folder, John H. Tunstall, Correspondence 1876–78, Mullin Collection. Robert A. Widenmann certainly was biased in his accounts of the events; nonetheless, he understood the larger scope involved. At a later date, Widenmann thought about reopening matters. Carl Schurz, with whom he spent a week discussing the events, advised him not to do so. Robert A. Widenmann to Mrs. [R. H.] Kempf, 3 February 1927, folder, John H. Tunstall, Correspondence, [no date], Mullin Collection.

66. Howard R. Lamar, "The Santa Fe Ring," in *New Mexico, Past and Present: A Historical Reader*, ed. Richard N. Ellis (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971), 156. Also see, Lamar, *The Far Southwest*, 147; Holmes, *Politics in New Mexico*, 49; Robert W. Larson, *New Mexico Populism: A Study of Radical Protest in a Western Territory* (Boulder: Colorado Associated University Press, 1974), 30.

67. Tobias, *A History of the Jews*, 84; Lehmann, "Santa Fe and Albuquerque," 45.

68. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 12 February 1892; Ida Burgess, interview by Lou Blachly, [1952–53], Tape 111, transcript, Pioneer Foundation, CSWR. Burgess indicates that Timmer was German or of German descent and belonged to the economic and social elite, yet no indication of his political life was given. No first name was mentioned, and Timmer does not appear in the New Mexico censuses.

69. *Albuquerque Republican Review*, 1 November 1875.

70. Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail*, 125.

71. *Albuquerque Democrat*, 26 October 1882, cited in Lehmann, "Santa Fe and Albuquerque," 160, 163.

72. Lehmann, "Santa Fe and Albuquerque," 176.

73. Balch, "Jacob Korber," 28–29.

74. Lehmann, "Santa Fe and Albuquerque," 149.

75. Huning, *Trader on the Santa Fe Trail*, 122; Lehmann, "Santa Fe and Albuquerque," 181.

76. Dorothy E. Thomas, "The Final Years of New Mexico's Struggle for Statehood, 1907-1912 (M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1939), 37; Larson, *New Mexico's Quest for Statehood*, 119, 124-25.

77. Lehmann, "Santa Fe and Albuquerque," 160.

78. Frank D. Reeve, *History of New Mexico*, 3 vols. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1961), 2: 325.

79. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 24 February 1892.

80. *Senate Miscellaneous Documents*, 50th Congress, 2nd sess., 1889, vol.2, doc. 52.

81. Archie Mitchell McDowell, "The Opposition to Statehood within the Albuquerque Territory of New Mexico," (M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1940), 28.

82. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 15 March 1870.

83. Undated note, Huning-Fergusson Papers, box 2, folder 17. The note, written in German, must have been composed after 1883, since he mentions the death of his daughter Elli (1881) and the completion of the "Huning Castle" (1883).

84. Larson, *New Mexico's Quest for Statehood*, 195-98. Frederick Muller played an obscure and yet significant role in Santa Fe politics. Arriving in New Mexico prior to 1850 with the United States Army, he set up residence in Santa Fe after his service and became one of Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders. Muller did not hold any office, but his name appears often in Santa Fe newspapers in conjunction with powerful politicians. He received special attention in a dispute over the New Mexico Rough Riders flag, when he claimed that the flag was given to him, but others argued that it was property of the people of New Mexico.

85. McDowell, "The Opposition to Statehood," 47-48.

86. Reeve, *History of New Mexico*, 2:326; McDowell, "The Opposition to Statehood," 68.

87. Holmes, *Politics in New Mexico*, 151; Larry Schweikart, "Early Banking in New Mexico from the Civil War to the Roaring Twenties," *New Mexico Historical Review* 63 (January 1988), 5.

88. Dorothy I. Cline, "Constitutional Politics in New Mexico: 1910-1976," in *New Mexico Government*, 221.

89. *Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the Proposed State of New Mexico Held At Santa Fe, New Mexico* (Albuquerque: Press of the Morning Journal, 1910), 4-8, 252; Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, 5 vols., (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1912), 2:567.

90. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 12 January 1914.

91. Larson, *New Mexico Populism*, 108.

92. In 1886 S.M. Ashenfelter of Las Cruces remarked to Governor Edmund Ross about his appointment of Bernhard Seligman as treasurer that too many Jews were involved in Santa Fe politics; Edmund G. Ross, 1885-1889, Letters Received, 22 December 1886, TANM, roll 101, folder 518. In a letter to Willi Spiegelberg, Simon and Solomon Bibo of Cebolleta referred to a protest note over a land claim against "un Ricco israelito" and felt that this hatred was directed toward the Jewish race. Simon Bibo to Willi Spiegelberg, 31 July 1896, Jewish Families and Congregations in New Mexico and Southern Colorado, microfilm 15, CSWR. Also see, Floyd S. Fierman, "The Impact of the Frontier on a Jewish Family: The Bibos," *American Jewish Historical Quarterly* 59 (June 1970), 496-97.

93. Tobias, *A History of the Jews*, 120; Larson, *New Mexico Populism*, 87.

94. Oliver La Farge, *Santa Fe: The Autobiography of a Southwestern Town* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), 69.

95. Mann, *Betrachtungen*, xxxii.