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# Octaviano Ambrosio Larrazolo the Prophet of Transition in New Mexico: An Analysis of his Political Life

Alfred G. Cordova

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OCTAVIANO AMEROSIO LANRAZOLLO

THE PROJECT OF TRANSITION

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A Thesis

In partial fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts in Political Science

The University of New Mexico  
1950







This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
OCTAVIANO AMBROSIO LARRAZOLO  
THE PROPHET OF TRANSITION

IN NEW MEXICO

An Analysis of his Political Life

*E. Ractetter*  
2 May 27, 1950  
By

Alfred G. Cordova

OCTAVIANO AMBROSIO LARRAZOLO  
THE PROPHET OF TRANSITION  
IN NEW MEXICO  
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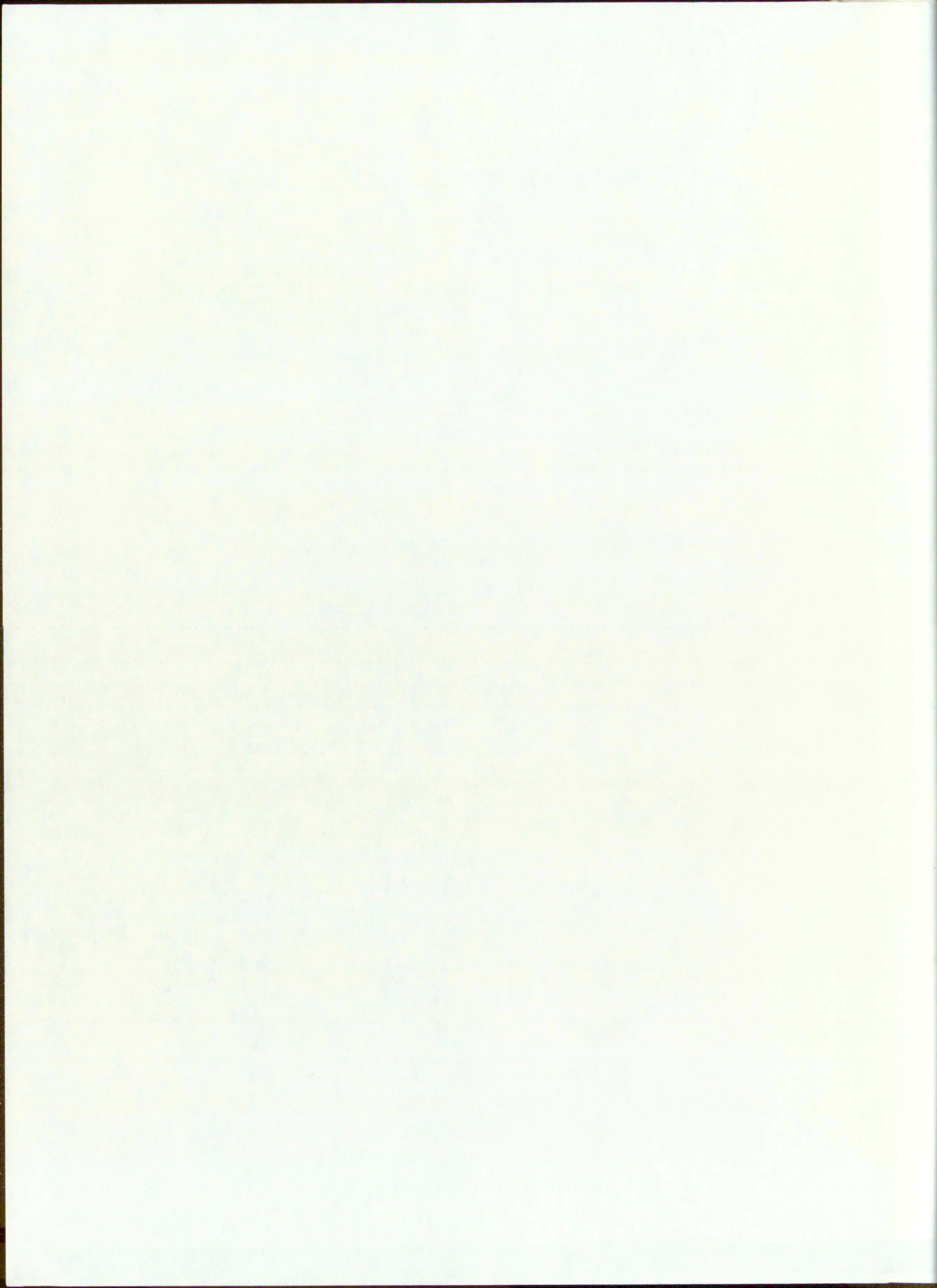
Thesis committee

*Charles J. Smith*  
A Thesis

In partial fulfillment of the  
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Master of Arts in Political Science

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1950







This thesis, directed and approved by the candidate's committee, has been accepted by the Graduate Committee of the University of New Mexico in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

*E. H. Castetter*

DEAN

*May 29, 1950*

DATE

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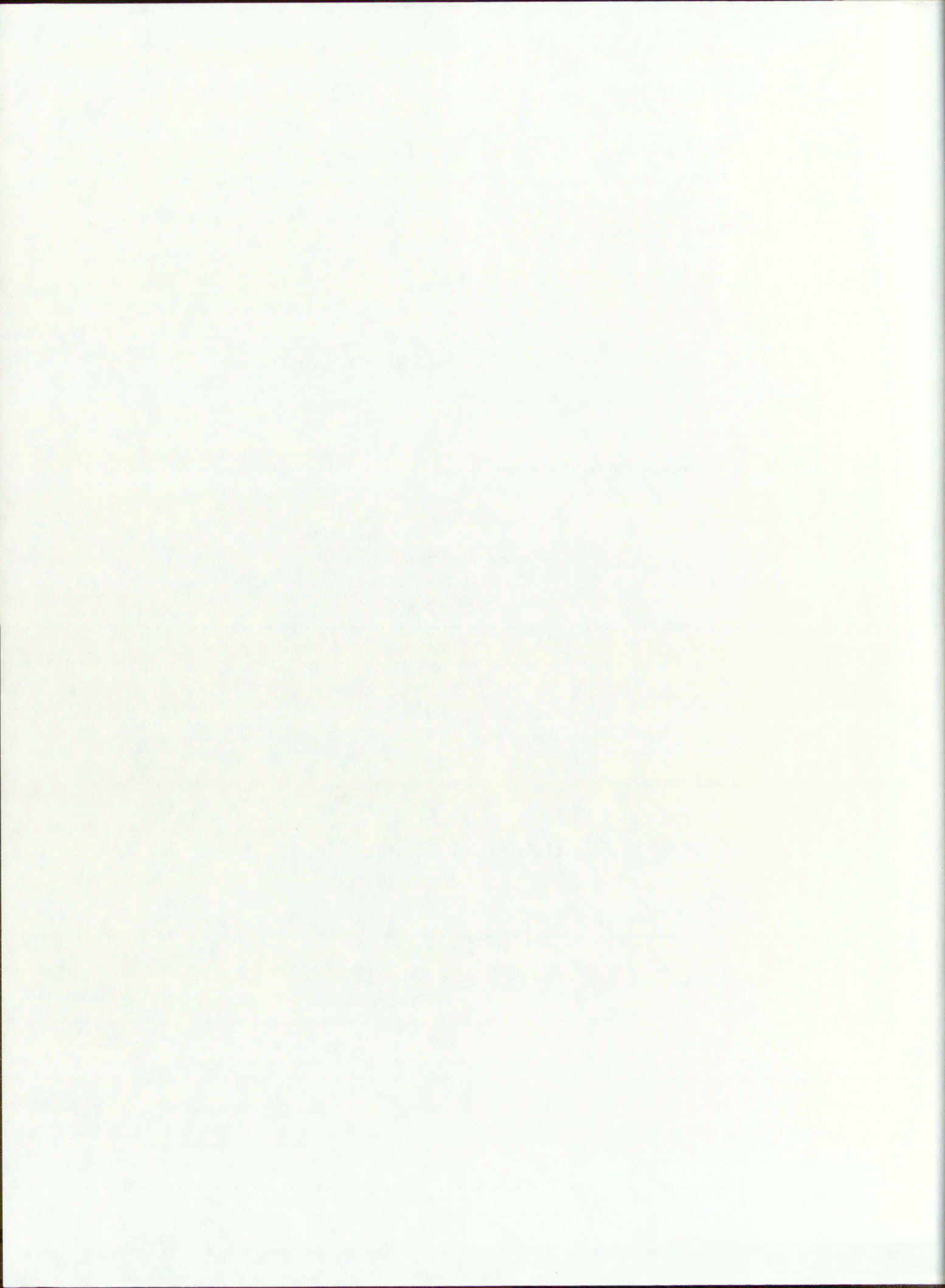
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The author is greatly indebted to Dr. Charles B. Judah for his assistance and the interest that he has shown in the supervision and direction of the thesis.

The author is also grateful to Paul Larrazolo and Octaviano Larrazolo Jr. for their contributions and their permission to examine Governor Larrazolo's personal papers.

Credit is also due to Felipe M. Garcia for his general information regarding the political background during the latter period of Larrazolo's life.

A.G.C.

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## PREFACE

The objective of this thesis is to present an analysis of the political life of Gerardo A. Barrios and to show how the various forces that were influential in the shaping of his political life. The author has sought to show Barrios's political development and his contributions to the political life of his time. Only those incidents of his life that had a bearing on his political career have been presented as this is not intended as a biographical sketch.

There has been little formal research in this period of New Mexico's political history, and aside from the excellent, but brief studies by Miss Dorothy Woodward and Mr. Paul A. F. Walter on Governor Barrios are available. The author hopes that this study will contribute in some measure to fill this gap.



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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

PREFACE

CHAPTER

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Octaviano Ambrosio Larrazolo, the "Silver Tongued" orator and devout defender of the rights and privileges of the native people of New Mexico, was born at Allende, State of Chihuahua, Mexico, December 7, 1859. He was the son of Octaviano and Donaciana C. Larrazolo.<sup>1</sup>

The fortune of Don Octaviano<sup>2</sup> was lost during the campaign of the Austrian Maximilian's forces in Allende. His ranch was taken over and converted into headquarters for French soldiers. During this struggle, Don Octaviano was visited by the Right Reverend J. B. Salpointe, Bishop of Arizona. Bishop Salpointe was an old friend of the family, who used to stop over at the Larrazolo's during his visits to that part of his archdiocese. The Right Reverend Salpointe had taken great interest in the young Octaviano, who would help him celebrate mass and perform other rites and ceremonies during his visits to Allende. Salpointe sympathizing with his friend, Don Octaviano, and recognizing

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<sup>1</sup> Woodward, Dorothy, Feth, J. H.; New Mexico, Land of Enchantment, Senate Document No. 91; 77th Congress, 1st Session, July 24, 1941; p.28.

<sup>2</sup> The Title "Don" is used to distinguish between Don Octaviano, the father and Octaviano, the son.



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Catalano Ambrosio Larrazola, the "Silver Tongued"

orator and devoted defender of the rights and privileges of the native people of New Mexico, was born at Alameda, State of Chihuahua, Mexico, December 7, 1859. He was the son of Catalano and Guadalupe C. Larrazola.

The father of Don Catalano was lost during the campaign of the Mexican Revolution's forces in Alameda. His ranch was taken over and converted into headquarters for French soldiers. During this struggle, Don Catalano was visited by the Right Reverend J. B. Salpointe, Bishop of Arizona. Bishop Salpointe was an old friend of the family, who used to stop over at the Larrazola's during his visits to that part of his archdiocese. The Right Reverend Salpointe had taken great interest in the young Catalano, who would help him celebrate mass and perform other rites and ceremonies during his visits to Alameda. Salpointe sympathized with his friend, Don Catalano, and was negotiating

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<sup>1</sup> Woodward, Dorothy, 1920, p. 11; New Mexico, Land of Enchantment, Senate Document No. 211, 75th Congress, 1st Session, July 24, 1941, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> The title "Don" is used to distinguish between Don Catalano, the father and Catalano, the son.



the possibilities of getting his young son to enter the priesthood, offered to take the boy with him to Arizona.<sup>3</sup>

Thus Octaviano "came to the United States under the protection of the Right Reverend J. B. Salpointe, Bishop of Arizona, subsequently Archbishop of Santa Fe, in November, 1870."<sup>4</sup> His grammar school education was received while under the tutelage of the Bishop, who instructed the youngster in the evenings and during his spare time. Besides the basic fundamentals of grammar school, Octaviano was taught English, Latin and French. When the Right Reverend Salpointe moved to Santa Fe he sent Octaviano to St. Michael's College.<sup>5</sup> Octaviano "attended St. Michael's College two years, from 1875 to 1876. During these years he first manifested his forensic powers in class debate and declamatory contests."<sup>6</sup> Oratory was to be among his chief assets in the latter part of his life. He not only possessed great forensic powers, but he had the ability to analyze complex problems and simplify them in his speeches. His attacks on communism, his addresses before the conventions of governors, his addresses

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<sup>3</sup> Interview with Paul Larrazolo, attorney in Valencia County, son of O. A. Larrazolo, Belen, New Mexico, December 13, 1949.

<sup>4</sup> Op. Cit. Woodward, Dorothy, Feth, J. H.; p.28.

<sup>5</sup> Interview with Paul Larrazolo, December 18, 1949.

<sup>6</sup> Walter, Paul A. F., New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. VII, No. 2, Apr. 1932; "Octaviano Ambrosio Larrazolo," p.99.



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17, 1949.

<sup>6</sup> Op. Cit., Woodbury, Dorothy, Feb. 7, 1949.  
<sup>7</sup> Interview with Paul Larrazolo, December 18, 1949.

<sup>8</sup> Op. Cit., Paul A. F., New Mexico Historical Review,  
Vol. VII, No. 2, Apr. 1935; "Cotaviano Larrazolo,"  
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to the Mexican Congress during Obregon's term of office, all were characterized by eloquence and the ability to simplify complexities.

After two years at St. Michael's College Larrazolo accepted a teaching position in Tucson, Arizona. After a year at Tucson he was appointed principal of the schools at San Elizario in El Paso County, Texas. He held this position for six years.<sup>7</sup>

During his seven years of teaching he also took great interest in the affairs of the Democratic party. Through the friends he had made in San Elizario and El Paso he was

"appointed clerk of the United States district and circuit courts for the Western District of Texas at El Paso in 1885. He was the next year elected clerk of the district court at El Paso and re-elected to that post in 1888. He ran for district court clerk of the thirty fourth Judicial District under a non-partisan ticket."<sup>8</sup>

During his term as district court clerk he read law in the office of Judge Falvy of El Paso.<sup>9</sup>

"The clerkship gave him ample opportunity for qualifying himself for admission to the Texas bar and he received his certificate for admission in 1888, at the age of 29 years. He was elected and re-elected, state attorney of the district which he had served as clerk, and it was not until after the expiration of his second term that he planned to become a citizen of New Mexico."<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Albuquerque Morning Journal, April 8, 1930.

<sup>9</sup> Op. Cit. Paul Larrazolo, December 18, 1949.

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- 2. Op. Cit. Paul Larrea, December 18, 1949.
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## CHAPTER II

### TERRITORIAL POLITICS

Larrazolo moved to New Mexico in 1895 upon the advice of a close friend, Don Felix Martinez of Las Vegas. He established his law office in Las Vegas.<sup>11</sup> He started out a stranger with all the problems confronting a young lawyer in a new community, but before he had been there a year, the circle of his acquaintances had grown by leaps and bounds. His friendly disposition, his oratorical powers and his legal background were soon recognized and he began the political career which was to lead him to the offices of Governor of New Mexico and the United States Senate.

It is interesting to observe that the political picture in New Mexico during the days of Larrazolo's activity was a pale reflection of the political scene in the United States. In general this period in the United States was marked by the activities of pressure groups (those of 'big' business in particular) and their influence in government. Labor, in turn, tried to obtain its objectives by increasing use of the strike. The government, attempting to control the resultant conflicts, passed legislation such as the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and laws regulating the activities

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18, 1940. Co. 012. Interview with Paul Larrazolo, December



of labor groups. Such action, though taken by the major parties was in fact forced upon them by rebel groups from within and without. While the activities of these latter were limited in scope and their life spans were relatively short, their shift in political support contributed to the victory of the party which appeased them. The Democrats were in the minority, but with the aid of the 'Mugwumps', the reform wing of the Republican party, they managed to twice elect Cleveland. Besides the 'Mugwumps' there were the Populists, Greenbackers, Farmers' Alliance, Knights of Labor, Free-Silverites, disciples of Edward Bellamy and followers of Henry George. These groups were not the only ones that existed, but they did constitute some of the more popular movements of the period.

The national political picture of this time <sup>now</sup> then be summed up as follows:

- A. Industrial and financial pressure groups were active and arrogant in their demands upon the government.
- B. Popular opinion reacted against the above groups by demands for reform.
- C. The major parties tended to bow to the vested interests, but spurred on by rebels within and without their ranks they made some concessions.
- D. These latter were particularly notable after 1900.



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- B. Popular opinion reacted against the above groups by demands for reform.
- C. The major parties tended to bow to the interests, but spurred on by rebels within and without, until they made some concessions.
- D. These latter were particularly notable after



E. The pressing political issue was, then, the fight for control between groups representing continued subservience to the "interests" and those that would control these latter.

F. Both Major parties kept a vigilant watch over political activities in the territories because the admission of these territories into the Union played an important part in maintaining the status quo in the balance of political power.

New Mexico reflected the national picture. The large land owners, livestock men, financiers and other representing the vested interests played an important part in the political scene in New Mexico. Their representatives, such men as Thomas B. Catron, Solomon Luna, Henry L. Waldo, H. H. Llewellyn, Charles Ilfeld and many others were very active in the political arena. By their political activities they managed to obtain some concessions from territorial and state administrations.

Harvey B. Fergusson,<sup>12</sup> a Democrat from Albuquerque, was the leader of the group that opposed the predatory activities of the vested interests in New Mexico. It was with

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<sup>12</sup> Harvey B. Fergusson, Democratic leader from Albuquerque, was elected Delegate to Congress in 1911. He was a strong proponent of progressive ideas of government, and was very active in the making of the constitution of New Mexico.



E. The pressing political issue was, therefore, for control between groups representing economic interests to the "interests" and those that would represent the latter.

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Harvey B. Ferguson, Democratic leader in Illinois, was elected Delegate to Congress in 1890. He was a strong proponent of progressive ideas of government and very active in the making of the conservation bill.



this group that Larrazolo aligned himself when he entered politics in New Mexico.

In 1896 Larrazolo supported Fergusson in his race for delegate to Congress. Larrazolo's active support was an influential factor in bringing about the election of his friend, Fergusson. The support given to Fergusson in his race for Congress, as well as the prominence that Larrazolo attained in the Democratic party during this campaign, put Larrazolo in line for the Democratic nomination for Congress four years later.<sup>13</sup>

In five years as a resident of New Mexico, Octaviano developed a profitable law practice. His outstanding cases were damage suits against the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad. Years later, he achieved such prominence and success in the handling of these cases that when Henry L. Waldo, Attorney for the A. T. and S. F. Railroad died, Larrazolo was offered \$50,000 a year and a substantial fee, if he would accept the position of attorney for this district. Larrazolo declined as he felt that he could not take a case for the railroad against a private citizen.<sup>14</sup> Larrazolo's

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<sup>13</sup> Op. Cit. Walters, Paul A. F.; p.99.

<sup>14</sup> Interview with Octoviano A. Larrazolo, Jr., Consulting Geologist and son of O. A. Larrazolo at Albuquerque on 2-25-50<sub>A</sub>



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<sup>13</sup> Cf. Cit. Winters, Paul A. F. p. 99.

<sup>14</sup> Interview with Governor A. Larrazolo, 1917, Gov. Printing Geologist and son of O. A. Larrazolo at Albuquerque on 3-25-50.



law practice in Las Vegas brought him in contact with many Democratic party leaders from the Eastside. With the aid of these friends, as well as the help that he could muster from the native counties he succeeded in winning the nomination for Congress in 1900.

Larrazolo ran against Bernard Rodey, a Republican.

The issues in the campaign were:<sup>15</sup>

1. "The currency-issue : Free-silver vs. Gold.
2. Admission to Statehood.
3. The Tariff question.
4. The Home-rule issue."

Rodey won by 3,700 votes. Larrazolo received 17,857 votes against 21,557 for his opponent. Larrazolo claimed that his defeat was caused by Democratic defection in the counties populated largely by Anglos.<sup>16</sup> Examination of the election returns as shown on the Legislative Manual indicates that this conclusion was not altogether justified. The following examples of the returns in three so-called Anglo counties and three of the native ones are a reflection of the election of 1900 in general:

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<sup>15</sup> Sluga, Mary Elizabeth, Thomas B. Catron, quotation cited from letter from Catron to Elkins dated November 21, 1896.

<sup>16</sup> Op. cit., Larrazolo, Octaviano A...



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Latter-day ran against Edmund R. Rodey. The issues in the campaign were:

1. The currency issue: Free-silver vs. gold.
2. Admission to Statehood.
3. The tariff question.
4. The Home-rule issue.

Rodey won by 5,700 votes. Latter-day received 21,527 against 21,527 for his opponent. Latter-day's defeat was caused by Democratic leaders in the territory who were largely by English. The returns as shown on the legislative records for the year 1900 this conclusion was not altogether justified. A study of examples of the returns in times so-called "free-silver" and three of the native ones are a reflection of the general of 1900 in general:

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## VOTES FOR DELEGATES TO CONGRESS

1900

Counties	Republicans	Democrats
	Bernard S. Rodey	O.A. Larrazolo
Chaves	377	628
Eddy	255	376
Otero	448	617
Rio Arriba	1,525	1,207
San Miguel	2,569	2,701
Valencia	1,785	124

Total vote in New Mexico for Rodey 21,557.

Total vote in New Mexico for Larrazolo 17,857.

Total votes cast in the election 39,414. <sup>17</sup>

In three of the Anglo-Democratic counties, Chaves, Eddy and Otero, Larrazolo received sixty per cent of the total votes cast in those counties. On the other hand, he only received thirty-seven percent of the votes cast in the Spanish-Republican counties. Another factor to be considered in regard to this election is that the Eastside, which was Democratic, was sparsely populated. The total votes that both candidates received in these Eastern counties cited above, that is, in majority, barely exceed the total votes received by Larrazolo in San Miguel County, the county where he lived and was most active. He lost Rio Arriba,

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<sup>17</sup> Report of the Secretary of the Territory, 1903-1903 and Legislative Manual, 1905, p.27.



VOTES

Councilman

Graves

Eddy

Otero

Elie Arriba

San Miguel

Valencia

Total vote in 1903

Total vote in 1904

Total vote in 1905

In three of the

Eddy and Otero, James

total votes cast in

he only received

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adhered in regard to

which was Democratic

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votes received by

where he lived and

Report of the

1903 and 1904



where he was also well known. In Valencia County Rodey defeated Larrazolo by an overwhelming majority, in spite of the fact that this county was largely populated by native New Mexicans. Thus, in his first attempt to enter a public office in this state, Larrazolo was defeated by 3,700 votes. While the margin seems small, one must remember that the total number of votes cast in the election of 1900 was only 39,414. Time has obscured many details of the election that might serve to substantiate Larrazolo's explanation of his defeat, but the evidence that is still available seems to indicate that his conjectures were not altogether justified.

The main issues in this campaign were a continuation of those of the election of 1898.<sup>18</sup>

1. The currency issue: Free-Silver vs. Gold
2. Admission to statehood.
3. The Tariff question.
4. The home-rule issue.

Larrazola next ran for office in 1906. That year the territorial Democratic Convention meeting at Santa Fe was unable to find a person willing to accept the nomination of Delegate to Congress. After two days of searching and deliberation, the nomination was tendered to Larrazolo. He accepted it and ran against William H. Andrews, Republican. The contest, a very close one, went in Andrew's favor.

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<sup>18</sup> Sluga, Mary Elizabeth, Thomas B. Catron, quotation cited from letter from Catron to Elkins dated November 21, 1896.



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In 1910, Mary Elizabeth, Thomas E. Carson, President  
 cited from letter from Carson to Ekins dated November 21, 1896.



Larrazolo claimed that he was "illegally counted out," and contested the election, but Congress did not get around to attending to this matter until it was time for the election in 1908. Larrazolo was again nominated by the Democrats to run for Delegate to Congress in 1908. The results in this election were similar to those of 1900 and 1906. These three elections were marked by a defective system of administration. The statement of the minority members of the Congressional committee on elections that heard Larrazolo's appeal of 1904 summarizes the findings as follows:<sup>19</sup>

"Without filing an assent or dissent to the above report, it is our judgment that the election system in New Mexico is radically defective; that the imperfect manner of registering voters, renders it easily possible for the most outrageous frauds to be committed thereunder.

In the case before us we have discovered many inexcusable irregularities, if not frauds, all traceable to the abortive registration and election laws, and without giving in detail our many objections thereto, we deem it sufficient to say that, to the end that every voter may have a free and fair opportunity to cast his ballot, the lawmaking power of the Territory should revise and reform the existing statutes in this regard as speedily as possible.

A. M. BOYD,  
W. E. TOU VELLE"

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<sup>19</sup> House Report No. 2246, 60th Cong., 2nd Sess., as quoted in report of Hearings Before the Committee on the Territories of the House of Representative on House Joint Resolution No. 14 Approving the Constitutions Formed by the Constitutional Conventions of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona; No. 3, April 26, 1911; Washington; p. 125.







From 1908 to 1911 Larrazolo, although he was still a member of the Democratic party, was not completely satisfied with his party's stand on certain questions. He never recovered from the way he was treated as a candidate for delegate to Congress, but he continued to maintain his affiliation with the Democrats until 1911. The party's opposition to Statehood for New Mexico resulted in his resignation from the Democratic party. This matter, together with his resignation, is discussed in the following Chapter.



From 1908 to 1911 Larracoitz, after being a member of the Democratic party, remained with his party's stand on certain questions. From the way he was treated by the Democrats, but he continued to maintain the Democrats until 1911. The party's opposition to the Democrats resulted in his nomination for New Mexico. This matter, however, is discussed in the following chapter.



### CHAPTER III

#### THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

The series of attempts to write an acceptable constitution for New Mexico go back to 1848, eleven years before the birth of Larrazolo. From 1848 to 1910 five constitutional conventions were held in a fruitless effort to write a constitution acceptable to Congress and the President. Over fifty bills were introduced in Congress between 1850 and 1910 proposing statehood for New Mexico. All bills so proposed were unsuccessful. Two things were significant in these efforts to obtain statehood. First, much credit should be given to the statesmen of this period for their persistent and untiring efforts to obtain their objectives. Second, the failures of these men to achieve their goal were the result of national policy and not local conditions.

On June 28, 1910 the enabling act was signed which provided that the Constitutional Convention for New Mexico should consist of one hundred members, distributed among the counties according to the votes cast in the election of 1908. The enabling act further provided that the election should be held not less than sixty days nor more than ninety days after passage of said act. Both parties made every effort in the campaign to elect delegates to the Constitutional Convention.







"The chief issue of the campaign were the initiative and referendum, then much favored by the progressives throughout the United States, In general the Majority of the Republican nominees for delegates opposed inclusion of these measures of direct government in the Constitution; the majority of the Democratic candidates favored them. The people seemed to like the proposals, but the business interests of the state looked askance at them, the majority of the political leaders hoped that they could be quietly sidetracked.

The result of the election, which was never in doubt, gave the Republicans seventy-one (more than two thirds) of the delegates and the Democrats twenty-nine....Approximately one third were Spanish American natives of the territory and two thirds were Anglos.<sup>20</sup>

The Democrats lead by Fergusson made thirteen objections to the constitution adopted by the Republican majority members of the convention with which Larrazolo was now aligned. The objections made by the Democrats were:

1. The constitution was too difficult to amend.
2. More judicial districts were created than was necessary, and there was no provision for a non-partisan judiciary.
3. The terms of the judges were too long for the best interests of the people.
4. The number of members of the legislature was too large.
5. The salaries of state officials in general and
6. Those of the corporation commissioners in particular were too high.
7. The expenses of government necessitated by the constitution would increase taxation.
8. The board of equalization would consist of elective officers who would use their position to pay off campaign obligations
9. The districting of the state for judicial and legislative purposes was inequitable.

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<sup>20</sup> Donnelly, Thomas C., The Government of New Mexico; p p. 37 & 38.



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tions to the constitution... members of the convention... signed. The objections...

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3. The terms of the...
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10. No limit on taxation for county, district, and municipal purposes was imposed by the constitution.
11. The constitution did not provide an initiative, referendum, direct primary, or an advisory selection.
12. No provision was made for an effective and honest election law or for a corrupt practices act.
13. The method of selecting public lands granted to the state by the national government was alleged to be not in accord with the enabling act.<sup>21</sup>

Fergusson and his group were very insistent in altering the proposed constitution to take care of these objections at the convention before submitting it to the people. Fergusson even attended the hearings held by the Committee on Territories of the House of Representatives in Washington, D. C., and reiterated his arguments against the adoption of the proposed constitution. When he saw that the die was cast and that his suggestions, although worthy of recognition, were falling on deaf ears, he changed his approach. He stated during the hearing that:

"If the constitution could be made more easy of amendment then we would be willing to take our chances because the prevailing sentiment of both of the parties in New Mexico is for statehood."<sup>22</sup>

Larrazolo and Fergusson had been very friendly and active in the Democratic party, It was the differences over the proposed constitution that broke the bond of political friend-

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<sup>21</sup> Ibid. pp. 48,49.

<sup>22</sup> Hearings Before the Committee on the Territories of the House of Representatives on House Joint Resolution No. 14 Approving the Constitutions Formed by the Constitutional Conventions of the Territories of New Mexico and Arizona: April 22, 1911, No. 2; p.17



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21 Ibid. pp. 48, 49.

22 Hearings Before

of the House of Representatives

Vol. 14 American and Canadian

Conventions of the Territories

23, July, 24, p. 17.



ship. Fergusson wanted to adopt a constitution containing many of the features of the progressive movement, such as the initiative, referendum direct primary, etc., even if it meant remaining a territory a little longer. Larrazolo believed that the constitution protected the interests of the people, the native people in particular, and he wanted the constitution adopted as proposed. This was the basic issue that separated the group lead by Ferguson and the followers of Larrazolo. In order to compare Ferguson's thirteen objections to the constitution with the stand taken by Larrazolo, we should examine the speech made by the latter on December 21, 1910 while he was still a Democrat, but commencing to lean toward the Republicans.<sup>23</sup>

My Friends--it gives me great pleasure to address such a gathering of respectable and representative citizens. We are here tonight to consider the greatest question that has confronted New Mexico. I shall not be able to take much of your time this evening for I am somewhat tired, but I want to give you at least a few reasons why I am in favor of the adoption of the constitution. You know that I am a Democrat, and I hope that I may be permitted to remain in my party. (laughter.)

I addressed the voters of this and other counties some time ago, explaining what in my humble opinion, should be written in this constitution, dwelling on such progressive measures as the initiative and the referendum. I told you then and I believe now, they are good measures. I do not believe they are Republican nor do I believe they are Democratic measures. I believe they are measures of self government, a

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<sup>23</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, December 21, 1910







government which cannot be obtained in its full sense without them if we are to have a government 'by the people, and for the people.'

But some of the people elected to the constitutional convention it appears were not in sympathy with these measures. So now we are simply confronted with the question shall we have statehood by adopting this constitution or shall we remain in slavery? In the name of God I say to you; in the name of your children and in the name of a free and independent loving people I say to you, most decidedly take this constitution which now is at stake. (Cheers and applause.)

You may ask if I am abandoning my principles? No, my friends, I am simply changing my position. I want to stand on higher ground, to be freer and a more independent man and instead of petitioning and supplicating to be masters who will have the right to command. (Applause.)

Has the constitution any defects? I am sorry that I as a Democrat should be called upon to comment unfavorably on the appeal made by my own party to fight against this very constitution for I find myself called in to criticize the reasons they give to oppose this constitution.

I desire to consider these reasons as voiced by certain resolutions passed at a convention held here Saturday. I do not know just what these resolutions were that were passed, because I was not present at the time they were passed. It is true that San Miguel County in a spirit of Irony (laughter) had tendered me the honor to be a delegate to that convention at the same time telling me to work against the constitution. (laughter.)

Now, I take this opportunity to call your attention to the principles which I advocated to you on numerous occasions for the past ten or twelve years. I have said to you that while I do believe in party loyalty I do not believe that it is the duty of a citizen to surrender his conscience to any man or any set of men. or to any party of any name. (cheers.)

I have preached that doctrine to you and now I am putting it in practice. I assure you that neither



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party could so bind me as to work against the people.

I do not know what the resolutions passed are as I refused to take a seat in that convention thus bound as I was. I shall quote however from a newspaper I have here what the resolutions are or are supposed to be. Here we have a number of reasons given by that convention as reasons opposing the constitutions. Let's read the reasons and discuss each in detail.

### "REASONS" FOR OPPOSITION

First, is "the difficulty of amendment." It is pointed out that it is so difficult to amend that it might be impossible to ever write the initiative in it. But what are the provisions regarding the amending amending of this constitution? I think I make no mistake in saying that every state constitution, except that of Oklahoma, makes provision that it cannot be amended except in a period of many years and by an overwhelming vote. Yet ours by a mere majority of the voters and within two years after its adoption and every eighth year thereafter, permits the submission of amendments as the great states of Maine, Oregon, North Dakota, Kansas and some other states, nine I think in all, were enabled to amend the constitution so as to write in the initiative and referendum. They could do so and they DID do so with a two-thirds vote of the legislature. If they could do so why do our friends on the other side say it is impossible to do it with a mere majority.

I said before and I say now, I am in favor of the initiative applying also to the constitutional amendments, but I do not mean that I would want such an easy manner of amendment that every demagogue could keep us in hot water amending the constitution.

### DON'T BE EXTREMISTS

My friends, the constitution is the basic law on which the legal structure is erected and you cannot afford to change it every other year. While it must not be made unnecessarily difficult of amendment neither must it be too easy. You must not be extremists either way. This constitution drafted for you is reasonably easy of amendment, more so than the con-



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"REASONS"

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of any other state except that of Oklahoma which is the only state that has written into its constitution this initiative and referendum. Now let us consider another objection.

We have 'too expensive a judiciary' and the power is given to the legislature to increase the number of judges. Why this objection? Is \$4,500 too much to pay a judge when we get statehood? They are getting practically \$5,000 a year now. Do you want to cut that salary of \$4,500 to \$2,000? What is the judiciary but the anchor which shall ever maintain the ship of state in its proper place, the safeguard of the liberties of a free people.

What is required of the judiciary? Why to be a good judge and profound lawyer one must almost become a hermit and live incarcerated in a student's cell. Do you believe that a man should give up practically all worldly pleasure and spend his lifetime as a recluse, a hermit in study for \$2,000 to \$2,500 only per year? You know as well as I do that a man with a family say of only five children (laughter) cannot now live in this territory on less than \$2,500 and that in a very HUMBLE way. Then reduce the salary of your judges and what kind of men are you going to get on the bench? You will either get one class of rich men who are willing to do the work for the honor and who need not the salary or you are going to get some poor men without any practice who need the money.

#### LAWYERS ARE POOR

It is true my friends, that the lawyers lot is a profession that is essentially that of poor men. When I find a lawyer with a dollar in his clothes I consider him a man above the average (laughter) for I know that lawyers as a class are always broke. (More laughter) Who then would take the job of judge on the bench for small pay? As I said, the poor young lawyer, such a lawyer would be the young man who would take anything to get three square meals a day. (cheers and much laughter.)

There is no profession that is more trying physically and mentally than the legal profession. Now let me ask you to whom would you give your case involving thousands of dollars, to the young man who



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has just come out of Ann Arbor, Michigan or to Thomas B. Catron? (Laughter) Of course you would take the old practitioner. But on the other hand if a sneak thief should break into your chicken coop and steal a few of your laying hens, you would doubtlessly take the young lawyer and pay him \$2.00 to go into court to prosecute the chicken thieves. You cannot get away from the fact that a good lawyer has to be paid in a manner that he can put away something for a rainy day. It is his duty to do so.

As regards increasing the number of judges, there is nothing hard to understand about that. In ten years from now we expect 750,000 people in this territory and it would be a nice state of affairs, would it not, if we needed new judges then and found that the constitution would not permit our having more.

#### TAKES \$5.00 A DAY

Another objection raised was the extravagant number of legislators. Well, there are twenty-six counties in the territory today, and I think you will agree with me that every one should have a representative in the lower house and one in the upper house. If only one had been given to each county you would have twenty-six in each house, wouldn't you? But I think you will agree with me that each county should be represented by the population it has, in a representative form of government. Now is \$5.00 a day too much to pay these men? I dare say there is not a business man in New Mexico who would take the office for \$5.00 a day, I will go further. I will say that I do not believe a member of the legislature could come here and live on \$5.00 a day. It is the history of every capital city from Washington out, that the unwritten law of that capital city is that not a member of the legislature shall leave the capital with a dollar in his pocket. (Prolonged laughter and cheers.) And I want to add that Santa Fe is no exception to this rule and your legislators know it. (Laughter)

#### HOW ABOUT FRIJOLES FOR LUNCH

Now, another objection raised is that the compensation of your state officers is higher than that of the territorial officers now existing. My friends,



if there is one thing these United States are noted for it is the niggardly manner in which it pays its public servants. We contribute to the gayety of nations for this very reason. Take our governor (Mr. Mills was sitting within a dozen yards of the speaker.) He is the representative of the state, the highest in our land. It behooves him to live according to the dignity of the office. He must entertain not only visitors from his own, but from foreign lands. He must welcome foreign representatives, some of high station, ministers, diplomats. I dare say he cannot keep up this dignity of office on even \$5,000 a year. Do you want him to entertain the distinguished representatives of foreign lands or of other states with a dish of frijoles? (A burst of laughter and applause mingled with cheers compelled the speaker to stop a few seconds before proceeding.) I'd like the recall to exist for such. (More laughter.) Is \$4,000 too much to pay your attorney general? Ask Mr. Catron if he would give up his law practice for that. Why it is simply childish to say these salaries are too much.

#### LET'S BECOME INDIANS

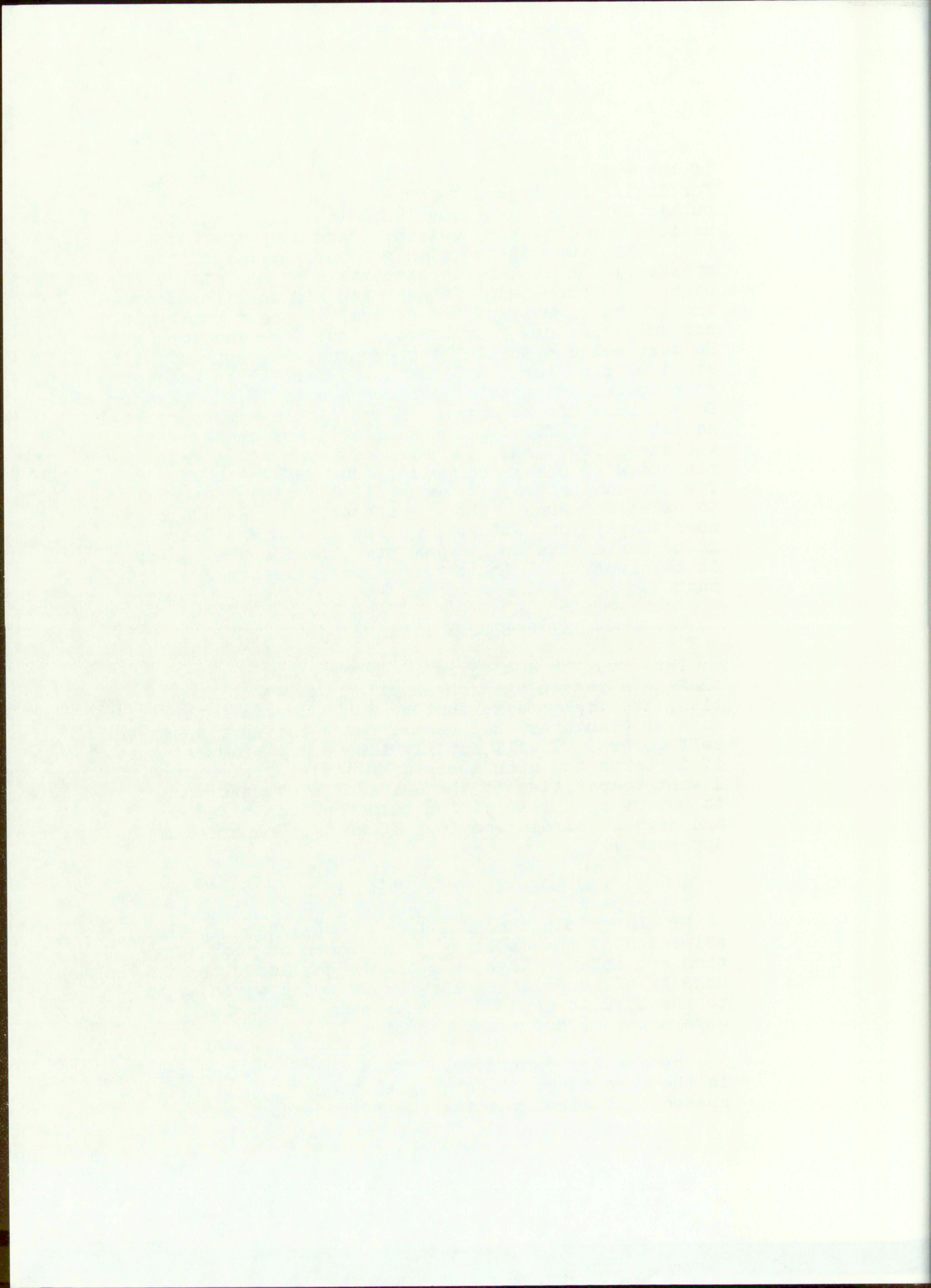
This must be a misprint. If they did assign that as a reason against adopting the constitution, it simply means that we would remain a territory forever (laughter) because it takes too much money to self govern. I will say right here, my friends, that if it takes too much money to become a free people I want to petition to the United States government to put us on a reservation like the Pueblo Indians and have a guardian to look after us. (cheers and applause.)

#### THE LORD TO SEND ANGELS?

Mr. Larrazolo then dwelt on the objection to the selection of the members of the board of equalization and asked: "Are we going to challenge the honesty of humanity at large? If so, I would appeal to the Lord to send us down an army of angels to govern us. (Cheers and laughter.)

The Speaker continued: "I see another objection is the absence of direct legislation! I have discussed that already among the reasons assigned by





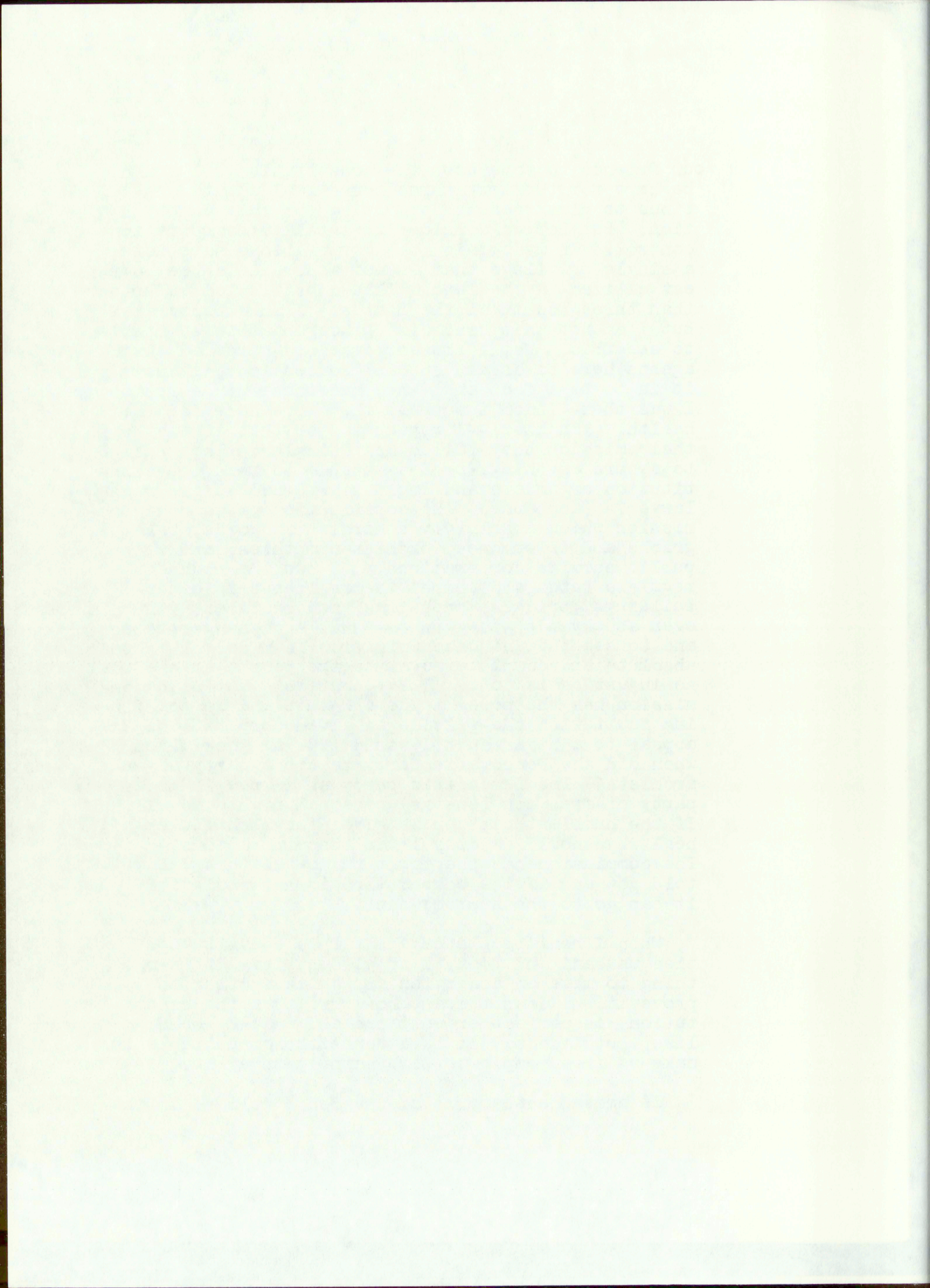


our friends to vote down the constitution. I would be here for the next three hours if I should continue to give reasons for voting for this constitution. But let us consider this talk of corporation control. In my opinion the corporations have not a single privilege that is not accorded to the poorest citizen in the land. This constitution is better than three-fourth of the States. I am a Democrat, but I am not that kind of a Democrat as to be unable to see this. While the corporations have had their agents here to obtain special concessions, I know it is to be a fact that they had these men here for I was them--I don't suppose they were here for their health. (laughter)--I repeat to you that if that was their mission they failed most singley. They failed to secure anything, or I am unable to read the constitution or understand English or I am a third rate lawyer. (applause) The constitution gives us a commission which absolutely controls railroads, telegraphs and telephones, express companies, and all public service corporations. It has the right to regulate rates and compel the railroads to erect buildings, bridges, crossings, and switches, yes, even stockyards, to give reasonable passenger rates and to see that no discrimination is made. It gives absolute and complete power to the people to see that no injustice is done. I say that this railroad commission has the power to do all that and as for finding fault with the privileges given corporations to appeal to a high court I would like to know since when did the Democratic party become a party of anarchists? The Democratic party as I know it is a party of free men (cheers) of equal rights to all. If the humblest citizen is given the right to appeal why should we deny it to the corporations? The commission has the right to do all that I have told you and if the corporation is not satisfied it can go to the supreme court.

When I hear people say that this constitution ties us hand and foot, I say I deny it. It is one thing to make an assertion and quite another to prove it. I do not mean, however, that the constitution is perfect or contains all that I would like, but I do say it is a constitution suitable to make us free people to live happily under it.

If ammendments to it are needed I believe in the







loyalty, the patriotism and the intelligence of citizens to have written these amendments whenever they say so.

Every native citizen must unite in supporting this constitution. Why? Because it secures to you people of New Mexico your rights--every one of them; the rights also of your children and in such a manner that they can never be taken away. If you want to acquire your freedom and transmit this sacred heritage in the land hallowed by the blood of your forefathers who fought to protect it. Seize your opportunity and do not let it slip through your hands to your lasting regret and that of your descendants.

#### ARIZONA IS A WARNING

This is your opportunity and God only knows when, if ever, it will come again. You have been told that a vote against the constitution is not a vote against statehood, but you were told that twenty years ago and see what it meant. It was a vote against statehood just as it will be today. Do not wait until you are put in the position of Arizona which in two years will be able to disfranchise every Spanish-speaking citizen.

As As Mr. Larrazolo concluded, there was a burst of applause and a rush toward the speaker, scores grasping him by the hand, and telling him that never had he spoken with more fervor and never in behalf of a greater cause.

The speech can be summarized thusly:

1. Larrazolo favored the initiative and referendum, but preferred to have statehood, even if in doing so these two principles were left out.
2. He believed that the constitution was reasonably easy of amendment.
3. He believed that the new pay for the judiciary would be more equitable and would attract better men.
4. With the possibilities of greater population coming to this state, it was desirable to have







judges if necessary.

5. He believed that the proposed constitution offered adequate protection of citizenship for the native New Mexican.

The main difference between those who supported Ferguson's stand on the constitution and those who supported Larrazolo was whether statehood should be postponed till New Mexico was able to incorporate all the progressive features into its constitution or to apply for immediate admission to statehood with such changes or reservations as Congress wished to make.

On January 12, 1911, the election was held and the returns showed a vote of 31,742 in favor of ratification and 13,399 against...

The only provision of the constitution that drew congressional criticism was the amending process. So before approving the constitution and sending it to President Taft for his signature on August 21, Congress in the Smith-Flood resolution, required that the people of New Mexico should be allowed to vote on a substitute.<sup>24</sup>

With the acceptance of the constitution by Congress and the signing of the statehood proclamation, New Mexico became a state on January 6, 1912. Larrazolo and the Republicans had won, but the victory was not permanent. Since the adoption of the constitution there have been many amendments to the original constitution. The changes have been so numerous that there is some agitation for a new constitution.

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<sup>24</sup>Op. cit., Donnelly p.50







History has proved that at least two of Larrazolo's arguments were in error. The difficulty of amending the constitution was realized immediately and provisions for amendment were made under the Smith-Flood resolution. Recent events have proved that the possibilities of the Corporation Commission were overestimated. The state has had great difficulty in regulating the rates of the A. T. and S. F. Railroad and the Southern Union Gas Company, as well as other corporations in New Mexico.

Larrazolo and his followers had been especially interested in the specific provisions which were made to safeguard the rights of the native Spanish-speaking citizens of this state. Section 10 of Article XII prohibits discrimination against children of Spanish descent in public educational institutions. Section I, Article XIX provides for the publication of amendments to the constitution in English and Spanish for a certain length of time. While this provision is becoming obsolete as the Spanish speaking citizens are becoming proficient in the English language, it was helpful when it was first adopted. Section 5, Article XXI provides that the state shall never enact any law restricting or abridging the right of suffrage on account of race, color, or previous conditions of servitude.

These measures were supported by the followers of Larrazolo and other Anglo and Spanish political leaders.







The laws and amendments above were not all included in the original constitution.

The speech and his work supporting the adoption of the constitution was the last notable political act that Octaviano performed as a Democrat. The three unsuccessful races for election as territorial delegate to congress, plus his dissatisfaction with the Democratic party's stand on the constitution, had led him to a momentous decision to change parties. He, himself, reviews the reasons for this move in the following letter to W. C. McDonald, Chairman of the Democratic party.

Las Vegas, N. M., Aug. 29, 1911. Hon. W. C. McDonald, Chairman, Democratic Territorial Central Committee, Carrizozo, N.M. My Dear Mr. McDonald: It becomes my painful duty to tender to you my resignation as a member at large of the Democratic Territorial Central Committee of New Mexico, and in doing so, a due regard to the place that I have occupied in the ranks of the Democratic Party in this territory, demands that I make known to the membership of the party and to the public at large, the reasons that have impelled me to take this step, and which have been directly instrumental in deciding my political course for the future. It must have been apparent to you and to the electorate of New Mexico in general, for indeed, I have made no secret of my set purpose and determination in that regard, that in the very active part that I have taken in the political struggles in this territory during the last ten or twelve years, while earnestly striving to build up and strengthen the Democratic party, I have bent all my energies and best efforts to bring together, in fraternal fellowship the various elements that make up our collective citizenship, so that, by mutually recognizing and by according the one to the other the equal rights to which we are all entitled under the law, we might all join in a combined and united effort to build up and develop the natural resources of our







beloved territory, so soon now to become a sovereign state, and feeling that we are all brothers, enjoying an equal measure of the rights and privileges in a land that is the common heritage of us and of our children.

Will the Democratic party fulfill those aspirations? Does its past history offer any assurance or guarantee that it will respect the rights of the various elements of our citizenship, should it obtain the control of our state government, and thus secure harmony and good will among us all, so essential to our happiness and prosperity? We can only foretell the future by judging from the past.

Let us briefly review that past. At the general elections of 1904 out of a total vote of 43,011 in the territory, the Republican majority over the Democratic delegate to Congress was 8,599. In view of that crushing defeat, which was but a repetition on a larger scale however, of our repeated failures in the past, when the territorial Democratic convention for delegate to Congress met, it was found that no one was willing to accept the leadership of a hopeless cause. Finally, after two days spent in fruitless efforts to find a candidate, the nomination was tendered to me; I accepted it, and the result is known to all, for I presume that no candid man, acquainted with the facts, will deny that I was legally elected. Upon being illegally counted out, a contest was instituted before the Congress of the United States for the seat of delegate from this territory. Before that contest was heard, however, the election of 1908 was held, and again was the Democratic nomination for Congress conferred on me. The result of the previous election had made it almost certain that that nomination was practically equivalent to an election if the Democrats, in the Democratic counties of New Mexico, would but do their duty at the polls, and in the many political meetings in those counties, where I addressed the voters.

I dwelt with insistence on that one condition essential to success. viz: that the voters should go to the polls and cast their ballots particularly so as it was evident that the opposition would bend every energy to retain the supremacy that was fast slipping from their hands. In this I was not mistaken; in all the strong Republican counties of the







territory, the local tickets were almost completely lost sight of in the determined and combined efforts to defeat me. The result was that I lost the counties of Union, Mora and San Miguel, that had gone for me at the previous election, but we won the counties of Colfax and Torrance, and retained Guadalupe and Rio Arriba, all of them strong Republican counties; besides, the Republican majorities in nearly all of the other Republican counties were materially reduced; as a whole, we maintained the ground that we had gained in 1906 in the Republican strongholds of the territory and the election would have been won if the Eastern Democratic counties had but given the head of the ticket the same support that they gave to the balance of the ticket. But how was it there? Eddy county gave a majority of 684 for the head of the ticket, while the average majority for all other candidates was 966. The average majority for the local ticket in Roosevelt county was 1083, while the head of the ticket carried the county by only 765. Chavez county only gave a majority of 562, as against one of 670 in the election of 1906. In consequences of this, the election was lost by a narrow margin of 388 votes and thus one more defeat was added to the many that we had sustained uninterruptedly since 1898. After this election, in January, 1909, the contest pending upon the election 1906 was heard by the proper committee of Congress.

It is needless to say that the defeat which I had just suffered in the territory, greatly weakened whatever chance I might have had of winning my fight in that contest. In this connection I wish to remark that the house committee on elections that heard my contest consisted of nine members, six Republican members and three Democrats; during the course of the hearing which lasted two days, I met all the Republican members of the committee, but only met one of the Democratic members, the Honorable William E. Tou Velle, of Ohio, the other two gentlemen never attended any of the sittings, and I never met them. The Republican majority of the committee, as was expected, made their report upholding the election of the Republican candidate, but the Democratic minority, notwithstanding the uncontradicted proof of my election, did not even file a protest against the majority report.







Following the unlooked for result of the election of 1908, the unjustifiable conduct of the Democratic minority of the Congressional committee on elections that heard my case, many of our Democrats went into the Republican ranks, others left the territory, while several prominent and active party workers declared that they would retire from active participation in politics. But let me pursue this review of events a little farther. Pursuant to the act of Congress of June 20th, 1910, providing for the admission of the territories of New Mexico and Arizona to statehood, the constitutional convention met at Santa Fe on the 3rd day of October, A. D., 1910, and what did we see there? Nine counties in New Mexico are undisputedly Democratic and had an aggregate representation of 26 members in that convention, but among them there was not one of the native element of our electorate, in spite of the fact that many thousands of them reside in those counties. What is the logical deduction to be drawn from these circumstances? and does such conduct manifest any disposition to fraternize and do equal justice to all? The facts speak for themselves and furnish the undisguised answer to the question. On the other hand the representation from the Republican counties in the constitutional convention was made up of all elements of our mixed population. The foregoing circumstances added to many other which would be exceedingly unpleasant and vexatious to enumerate, have forced me the humiliating conviction that in the Democratic party of New Mexico, there exists an element of intolerance that should not be countenanced or encouraged, because it tends directly to the destruction of that feeling of harmony and good-fellowship among us all so essential to our happiness and material prosperity. That that element is not not in the majority in the party, I sincerely believe, but I am afraid that if strong enough, even now to make me apprehensive for the future welfare of a very large number of people of New Mexico, and it has marked the end of my period of usefulness to our citizenship as a member of that party.

This had been my firm conviction for some time past, but a man does not lightly abandon the ideals of a lifetime, nor does he at my day of life easily break loose from associations in which he has grown old, without snapping many heart-strings that bind him closely to set convictions which he has honestly and sincerely nourished and sustained, the separation is bitter as the last farewell of a father to his







child, it is like the last look at a closing grave, Hence, it is that although I told my friend, the Hon. H. B. Fergusson, at Santa Fe, when the territorial Democratic Convention that met in that city on the 17th day of December, A. D., 1910, had declared against the adoption of the constitution, that my connection with the Democratic party had come to an end, upon more calm and sober reflection I withheld final action, in the hope that I might see my way clear to still remain in the party. The intervening period, however, has been one of excruciating mental suffering, for the more I reasoned with myself, the stronger grew the conviction that the moment of the final separation would inevitably come; and it has come.

Duty calls on me to devote the last weak efforts of my remaining days in the support of that party which has given proofs of its willingness and disposition to respect the rights of all alike. Nor am I unmindful of the personal disadvantages that this resolve will place me under, for I fully realize that the Democratic party today in New Mexico, is not the weak, almost impotent party that I had the honor to lead in 1906; today, that party is strong. robust and full of virile life, well able and amply equipped to sustain the struggle for party supremacy. I also feel that the services I have rendered that party in the past, would reasonably secure to me honorable recognition at its hands in the future. On the other hand, I have no right to demand, from my new political companions; but in the discharge of duty, as God has made me to understand it, I leave the honored place to which I am entitled there to join the plain ranks of the Republican party.

In conclusion, allow me to say, my dear Mr. McDonald, that in severing our political relations I carry with me no malice towards any one, I shall ever cherish with fond pride my friendship for you and for those who have honored me with their friendship.

With the assurance of my high personal regard and esteem for you, I am,

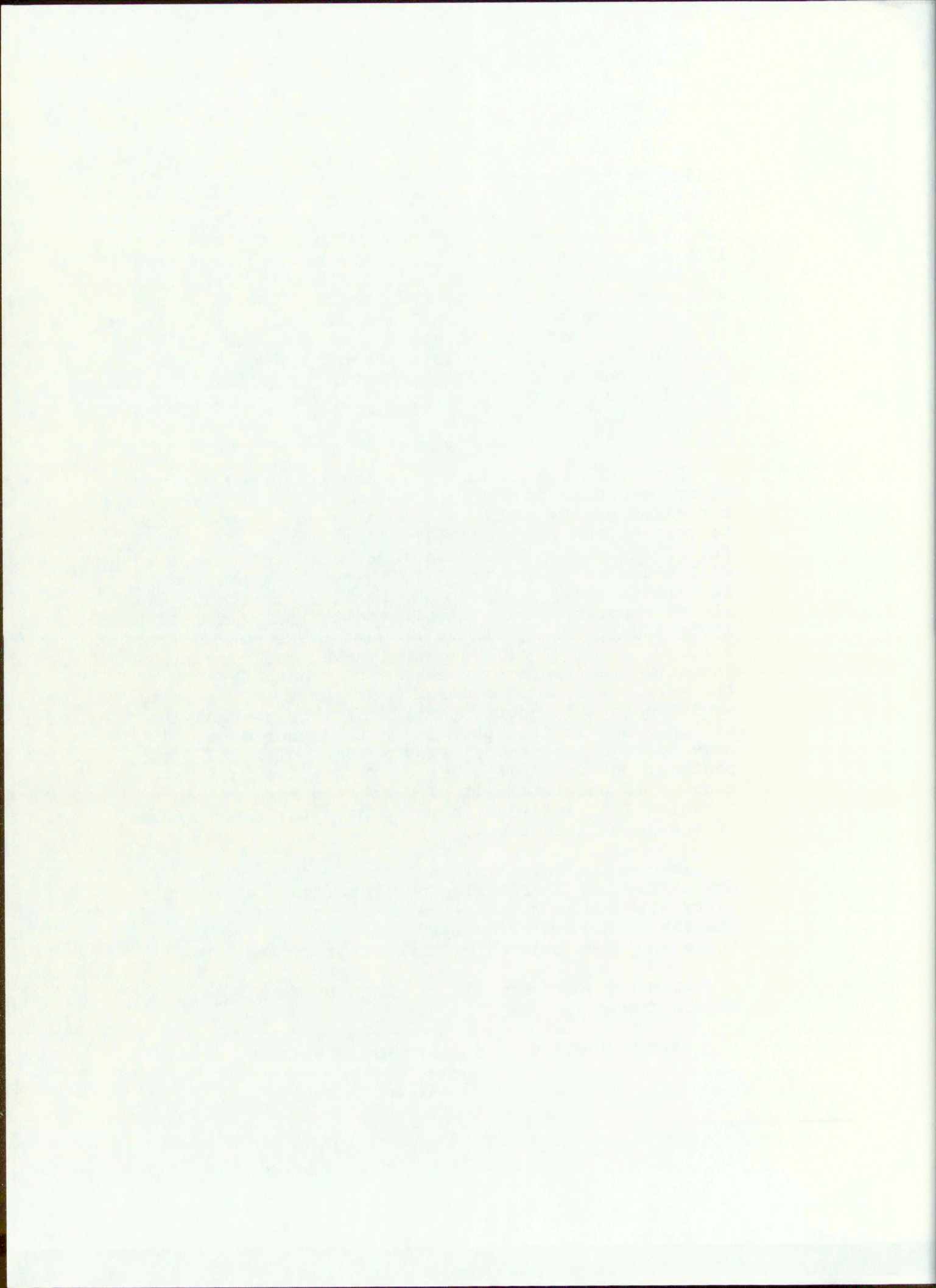
Very respectfully and sincerely yours,

O. A. Larrazolo

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<sup>25</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, August 31, 1911







Very few times in the political history of the territory and statehood of New Mexico had a person of Larrazolo's prominence made such a declaration of purpose regarding their changes in political affiliation. The basic argument underlying this declaration was one that sought to defend not his personal losses, but the treatment of his native people as members of the Democratic party. Larrazolo was always concerned with the status of the Spanish speaking people and was concerned with any changes that affected the status quo of that group. Moreover, he had become convinced during the controversy over adoption of the constitution that their interests would be best served by the Republicans.







## CHAPTER IV

### LARRAZOLO OPPOSES THE DEMOCRATS

Larrazolo's change in political parties had now been made. He had of his own accord arrived at the conclusion that the interests of the people, the state and his own would be enhanced by such a political move. He was fifty-two years old and his career as a lawyer in New Mexico was at its height. The economic handicap with which he had started at San Elizario had been overcome. His legal practice was well established.

On September 26, 1911 in the court house at Santa Fe he supported the Republican candidates. He fired volley after volley at the Democratic party and yet at no time did he apologize for having been a member of the party that he was now attacking. He displayed the same fervor and enthusiasm in support of the Republican ticket as he had when he worked for the Democrats. He did not mince any words, but put the cards on the table and explained his change of political parties. He did not underrate the strength of the party from which he had resigned, but instead warned his audience that the Democrats were gaining power and becoming stronger. He told his listeners that he would apply himself to bring about victory to the Republican party with the same interest and ambition he had devoted to the Democrats.







He asked no special favors from the Republicans; he merely wished to be admitted to the party as an equal.

The speech itself is quoted below so that one can see the reasons that Larrazolo gave for such an important political move:

After a brief welcome by Chairman Abbott who introduced him as the "silver-tongued orator" Mr. Larrazolo began his speech which was a brilliant one from start to finish. Mr. Larrazolo seemed to have a severe cold and this hindered him from appearing at his best, but he spoke with such earnestness and conviction, such sincerity and enthusiasm, that at times he was really "silver-tongued" and struck a clarion note that stirred his hearers to wild enthusiasm. The following are some of his striking sentences:

There was a time when I might have found it difficult to address a gathering of Republicans, for I have been a Democrat until my head has been whitened with age.

But greater men than I have changed their political faith and if I desire to search for a precedent, I could find many an illustrious one. But my friends I require none.

#### CREATURE OF ENVIRONMENT

Man is in a great measure the creature of environment and as we change scenes in life we are called upon to play a part to change those scenes. . . .

When I came to New Mexico I expected I could be a Democrat as I was elsewhere. But I found that my ideals could not be realized in this territory in that party.

Among the many political doctrines I have defended, this was the cornerstone of them all; 'equal rights to all' so appropriate in this country in which all nationalities have found shelter and in which all should have equal treatment and equal protection.







I felt that under such a government we could all live as brothers ~~and~~ sharing rights equally, one with the other. After sixteen years of careful study and observation to my great sorrow, I have come to realize that I have used my best efforts to build up a party whose principle of 'equal rights to all' is but a shining platitude.

I know that it has been said I have come to the Republican party to wage a war on a race issue, but the man who says that knows he willfully and maliciously utters an untruth. (cheers.)

No, I have come to you, you Republicans, to administer equal rights to all. (cheers.) I have not come to you to ask you to wage war, my friends who are descendants of the noble conquistadores, with the Anglo-Saxon race, for these Anglo-Saxons have come out to this land with their enthusiasm, to build up this great and glorious and illustrious empire. (cheers.)

Together recognizing the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, I do not wish you to treat me with indifference but as a resident of this soil and as your brother.

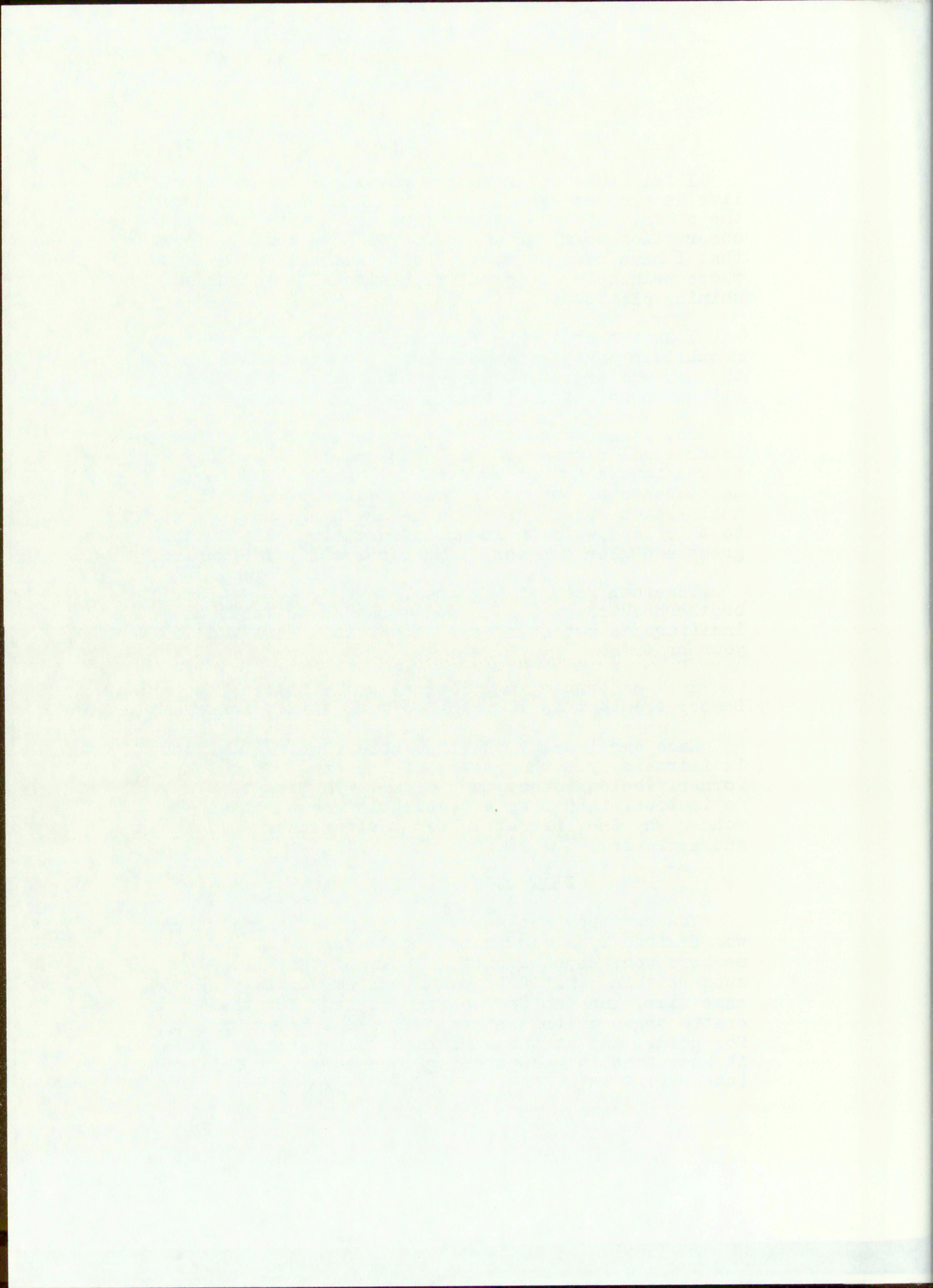
I am denouncing a political organization (the Democrats) that is TOO NARROW TO BE FAIR. (cheers.)

Race war indeed? What a subterfuge! All I ask is fairness, yet the papers of the party to which I formerly belonged say much of me. If what they say of me is true, then I am a despicable scoundrel and I wonder why they regret I left their ranks. (laughter and applause.)

#### THAT CONSTITUTION

You remember not many months ago a constitution was drafted by a convention the majority of whose members were Republican. I declared that I would support this constitution. Other Democrats took the same view, and decided to support it. Yet the Democratic organ of this state declared I had sold out for gold. And at the same time this paper so declared it knew that it was uttering a contemptible falsehood. (cheers.)







I believe that constitution to be a wise one even if it did not contain all the provisions I desired.

But that constitution was worthy of my support because it protected the 'equal rights' to every citizen; it protected the people. Yet my critics say I was false to my former party at that time.

If upholding the constitution is a foolish and unreasonable thing to do then there are 31,000 men in New Mexico who were 'darned fools' and there are 13,000 wise men. (laughter and prolonged applause.)

#### MENTIONS FERGUSSON

I wish to say to you right here that it is not true that I told anyone except Mr. Fergusson what I intended to do at that time. I told Mr. Fergusson my intentions one night in the Claire Hotel. He came to my room late and informed me that the Democratic convention had decided to oppose this constitution's adoption. And I grasped Mr. Fergusson by the hand and then and there said that we were at the parting of the ways.

#### ASKS NO FAVORS

I have asked no favors of the Republican party, nor do I ask favors.

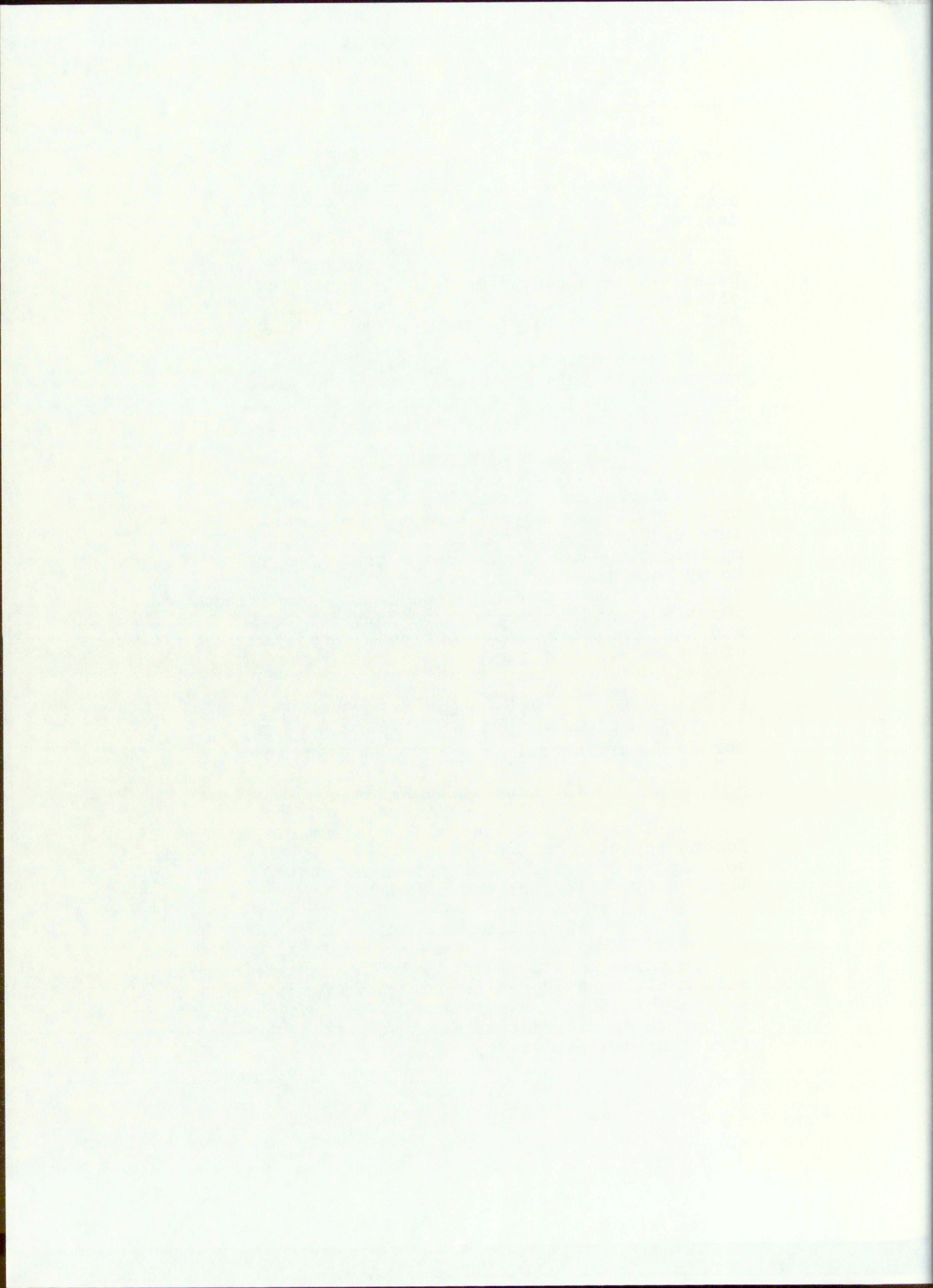
#### WILL FIGHT DEMOCRATS

But I say to you that with the same vigor that I fought to build up the Democratic party in New Mexico, so help me God will I fight to everlastingly destroy that party. (cheers and applause.)

#### TRUE ROMAN SPIRIT

In three more days the Republican state convention will meet in Las Vegas to nominate a state ticket. I say to you delegates selected to that convention to go to Las Vegas with a true Roman spirit of 'my country first' my aspirations second.







## BE FAIR

In casting your votes do so with the sole purpose of selecting men who will shed luster on our state. Treat everybody with equal fairness, be he a Mexican, an Irishman, an Englishman or what; if he is a citizen of the United States be fair to him.

And if you will do this, my friends, I doubt not that God will send his blessings on the new state and that flag we love so well will shed luster on the other stars.

Prolonged applause and loud cheers greeted Mr. Larrazolo as he ended his speech and there was a rush of enthusiasts to shake him by the hand. <sup>26</sup>

It was speeches like this that earned him the title of the "silver-tongued orator." This was not just a brilliant speech, it was a sincere expression of Larrazolo's desire for an opportunity to serve his government and countrymen in an organization that would give 'equal rights and opportunity to all.'

The highlights of his address were:

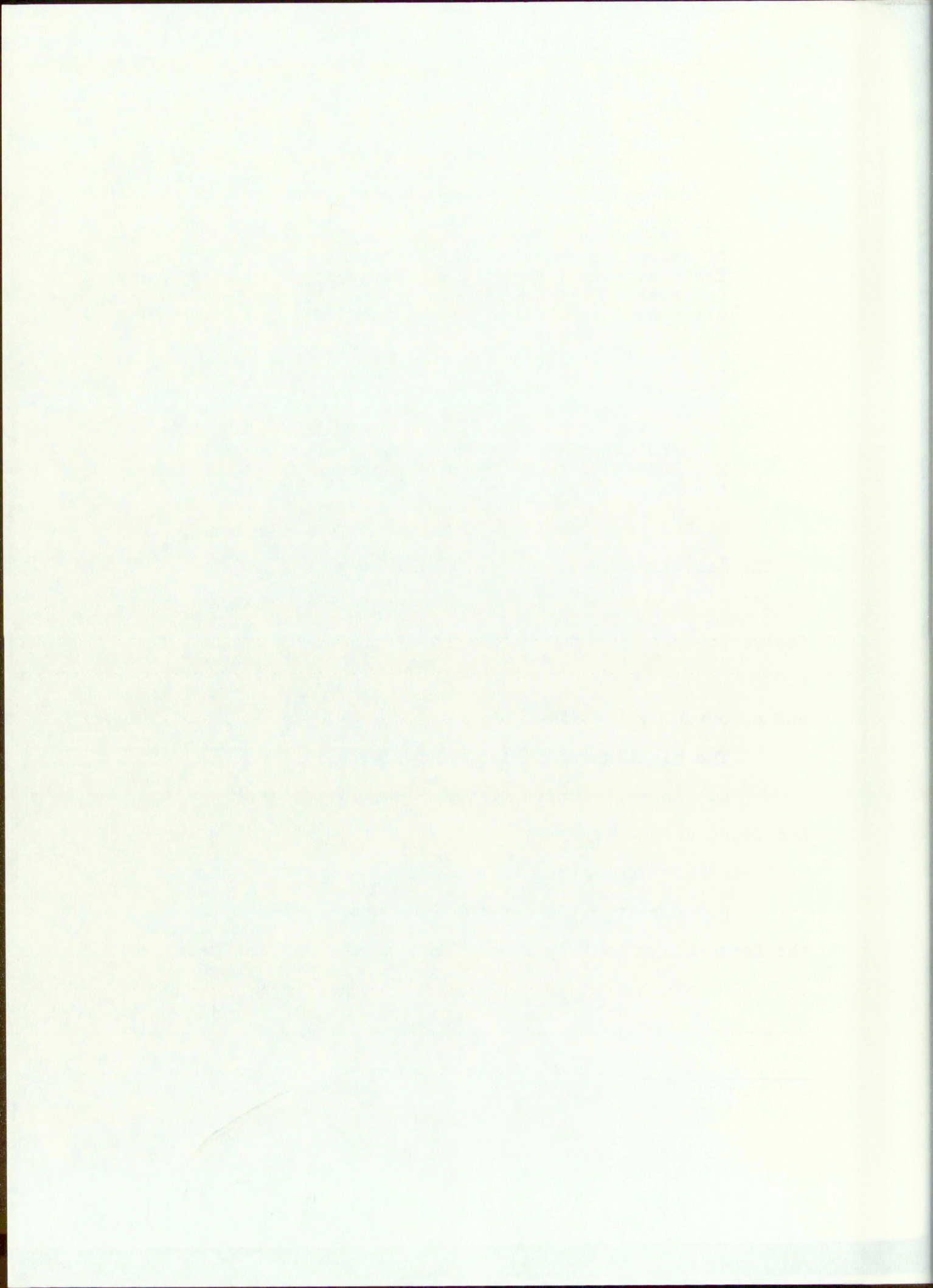
a. An explanation of the inequalities that he had found in the Democratic party. A party that he believed was "too narrow to be fair."

b. A reiteration of the fact that he had opposed the Democrats when they fought the adoption of the constitution. He not only points out that he was with the Republicans at that time, but he shows that the people of

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<sup>23</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, September 26, 1911.







New Mexico were also in agreement with the actions of the Republican party by the results of the election.

c. The emphasizing of the fact that "he had not come to the Republican ranks to wage a race war on the Anglos." In other words, in his change in political affiliation he wanted to take as many Anglo and Spanish friends with him as possible. Since he had already made his change, he did not want the adopted party associated with race mongering.







## CHAPTER V

## The Election of 1918

By 1917 Larrazolo's prestige as a Republican was widely recognized. He had been a member of that party about seven years and had demonstrated to the party leaders that he could work with the "same fervor and devotion" in behalf of his adopted party as he had for the Democrats.

The political picture in New Mexico was beginning to take shape for the coming election. The Republican party was strong and there were plenty of Republican candidates for every office, but there seemed to be a disposition to let the leaders agree on the ticket which everybody would pretend to like regardless of their true opinion.<sup>27</sup>

The Democrats, however, were not so placid. They openly discussed the merits and demerits of their candidates and the ticket in general; as a consequence their candidates were not hand picked.<sup>28</sup>

On the national scene the political situation was such that the balance of political power would swing to the party

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<sup>27</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, July 26, 1918.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.







gaining a small margin in the election of Representatives or Senators. According to the Santa Fe New Mexican, the Senate was so evenly divided that the question of whether the Republicans would control it in the next congress by a majority of one, or whether the vote would be a tie with Vice President Marshall, Democrat, casting the deciding vote, appeared to resolve itself into a question of whether New Mexico would send Albert Bacon Fall, Republican, back for another six-year term.<sup>29</sup>

Thus, New Mexico promised to be the center of a hot campaign in which the home talent would not be entirely entrusted with the responsibility of conducting the fight, but would receive the close attention of the national committee of both parties. As a matter of fact the Republican National Committee talked to Fall, who decided not to run, and begged him to change his mind because they believed that he was "2,000 votes stronger than any other Republican," and because his seniority in Congress enhanced the Republican hold on vital committees.<sup>30</sup>

To further explain the interest taken by the Republican National Committee, it is necessary to examine the political situation in New Mexico in the previous election

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<sup>29</sup>Op. cit., Santa Fe New Mexican, July 15, 1918.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.







and the composition of the United States senate. In the election held in 1916 the results in New Mexico were so close that seven Democrats and five Republicans won office. The vote was a small one and the margin between the parties was extremely close. By 1918, 12,000 voters were in the armed services and no one knew which party had lost the most. The situation in the United States senate was as follows:<sup>31</sup>

There are 60 senators exactly who will hold over. Of these 30 are Republicans and 30 are Democrats.

There are 96 senators in all. Either party to control must get 19 seats at this election.

The Democrats, because the vice president, who can vote in case of a tie is a Democrat, might hold control with 18 seats. . . .

Thirty-six senators are to be elected this year, more than ever were chosen before in a single year, since the United States was created. This is due to the unprecedented number of deaths in the senate in the past two years. Thirty seats expire regularly and additional senators to fill vacancies are to be chosen in Louisiana, Idaho, Wisconsin, and Nevada.

In the latter part of July 1918 Senator Fall returned to New Mexico from Washington, D. C., to announce that he would be a candidate for renomination for the office which he held. There had been some rumors that he was going to drop out and <sup>not</sup> seek the renomination. His announcement July 23, 1918

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<sup>31</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, July 23, 1918.



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There are 50 senators elected by the states. Of these 30 are Republicans and 20 are Democrats.

There are 10 senators in all. Either party to control must get 10 seats at this election. The Democrats, because the vice president, who can vote in case of a tie is a Democrat, might hold control with 10 seats.

Thirty-six senators are to be elected this year. More than ever were chosen before in a single year, since the United States was created. This is due to the unprecedented number of deaths in the senate in the past two years. Thirty seats expire regularly and additional senators to fill vacancies are to be chosen in Louisiana, Idaho, Wisconsin, and Nevada.

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Senators to New Mexico July 23, 1918.



that a Republican senate and Republican governor should be chosen in order to speed up the end of the war, set the political ball rolling in New Mexico. Fall held a round of conferences with Governor Lindsey and other political leaders of the state trying to size up the political situation.<sup>32</sup> His announcement concerning the necessity for electing a Republican congress became the slogan for the Republicans in this state during the campaign.

As in most elections in New Mexico, that of 1918 was marked by extensive pre-campaign speculation and unconfirmed announcements of candidates for office. The most outstanding feature of this election was the delaying tactics of both parties in holding their nominating convention to select their candidates. Another feature was that the actual campaign lasted only about fifteen days. It stands out as one of the briefest campaigns in the history of the state.<sup>33</sup>

In order to explain why both parties held their elections so late in the year and why the campaign lasted such a short time we must go back to some facts that have already been mentioned. The national balance of political power was very evenly divided and could be swayed by the party that could gain even the small representation that

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<sup>32</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, July 23, 1918.

<sup>33</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, August 29, 1918.







New Mexico had in congress. Some newspapers even put out headlines to the effect that "As New Mexico goes, so goes the U. S. Senate."

The Republicans were determined not to meet first. They recognized the difficulty of waging a campaign in a nation that was completely dedicated to the winning of the war. With a Democratic president in power, it seemed that even the argument of electing a Republican ticket to help win the war was a mighty poor one. The Republicans were therefore forced to give greater consideration to choosing their candidates than were the Democrats. The Republicans considered that such elements of personal strength as they could draft into the ticket would be required to offset the tactical advantage which the Democrats had. Under such circumstances, the Republicans decided that their convention would be held on the last legal date, as they believed that they could not afford to show their hand until they had advance notice of what the Democratic ticket was to be.<sup>34</sup>

The Democrats finally abandoned their long period of waiting and announced their convention for September 26, 1918 at Santa Fe. The Democratic platform was read to the convention by J. H. Crist of Santa Fe County. The resolutions adopted by the convention were very comprehensive,

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<sup>34</sup>Ibid.







dealing with national and state issues and "covered about everything in sight," even to the point of suggesting to the Republicans whom they should nominate for governor.

A resolution of particular interest to Larrazolo was read by Neill B. Field, temporary chairman of the Democratic State Convention. It called for the state boundary commission to show at the next session of the legislature what the state had received for the enormous expenditure of money in connection with litigation with the state of Texas concerning the disputed boundary, and especially what the state had received for \$7,500 voted to Mr. Larrazolo for his alleged services in connection with that litigation. Another feature of Field's address was his eloquent praise of Governor Lindsey's administration and his suggestion to the Republicans that they should renominate him.<sup>35</sup>

On the second day the convention got down to business. J. H. Crist nominated Felix Garcia of Rio Arriba, and John Simms nominated Robert E. Putney of Bernalillo for governor. Felix Garcia lived in Taos and was a well known business man in that community. This was his first attempt at public office. He was known as an operator of a small mercantile store who had sold ties to the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad. Bernalillo county managed to corral all



dealing with national and state issues and "covered about everything in sight," even to the point of suggesting to the Republicans when they should nominate for Governor. A resolution of particular interest to Lathrop was read by Melville A. Field, temporary chairman of the Democratic State Convention. It called for the state boundary commission to show at the next session of the legislature what the state had received for the enormous expenditure of money in connection with litigation with the state of Texas concerning the disputed boundary, and especially what the state had received for \$7,500 voted to Mr. Lathrop for his alleged services in connection with that litigation. Another feature of Field's address was his eloquent praise of Governor Lindsay's administration and his suggestion to the Republicans that they should nominate him.

On the second day the convention got down to business.

W. H. Clegg nominated Felix Garcia of Rio Arriba, and John Sims nominated Robert F. Turner of Santa Fe for Governor. Felix Garcia lived in Texas and was a well known business man in that community. This was his first entry as public official. He was known as an operator of a small mercantile store who had sold land to the Indians and his Grande Señal. Santa Fe county managed to corner all



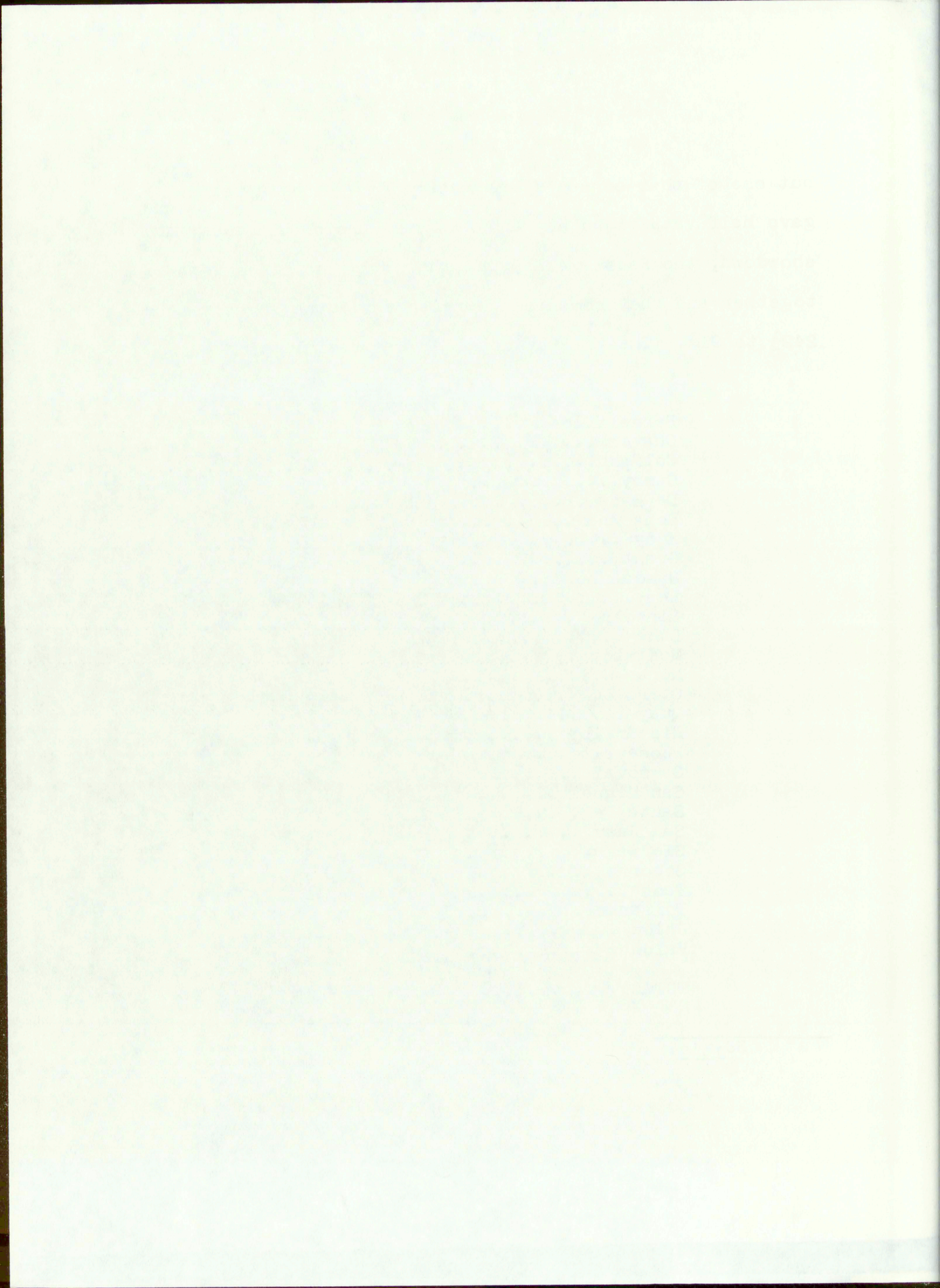
but one of that county's delegation for Putney. Heacock gave half vote to Putney and half to Garcia. In the final showdown, the Pecos valley and the native counties were together and they nominated Garcia over Putney by a vote of  $242\frac{1}{2}$  to  $91\frac{1}{2}$ . The vote by counties was as follows:<sup>36</sup>

	Putney	Garcia
Bernalillo .....	$23\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
Chaves .....		17
Colfax .....		20
Curry .....	5	5
De Baca .....	8	
Dona Ana .....		11
Eddy .....		10
Grant .....	8	12
Guadalupe .....		8
Lea .....		9
Lincoln .....		7
Luna .....	8	
McKinley .....	3	3
Mora .....		16
Otero .....		8
Quay .....	7	7
Rio Arriba .....		15
Roosevelt .....	11	
Sandoval .....	3	5
San Miguel .....		25
Santa Fe .....	1	14
San Juan .....		6
Sierra .....		4
Socorro .....	4	9
Taos .....		11
Torrance .....	4	3
Union .....	5	14
Valencia .....	1	3
TOTAL .....	$91\frac{1}{2}$	$242\frac{1}{2}$

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid.







The complete ticket nominated by the convention follows:<sup>37</sup>

Senator, Congressman W. B. Walton, Grant County. Congress, Judge Granville A. Richardson of Chaves County. Governor, Felix Garcia, of Rio Arriba County. Lieutenant Governor, Elmer E. Veeder, of San Miguel County.

Secretary of State, T. W. Medley of Socorro County. Auditor of State, Marcos C. De Baca of Sandoval County. Attorney General, T. J. Mabry of Bernalillo County. Justice of the Supreme Court, Richard H. Hanna of Santa Fe County. Commissioner of Land Office, George P. Davidson of Chavez County. Corporation Commissioner, D. J. Finnegan of Quay County. Superintendent of Schools, J. S. Long of Roosevelt County.

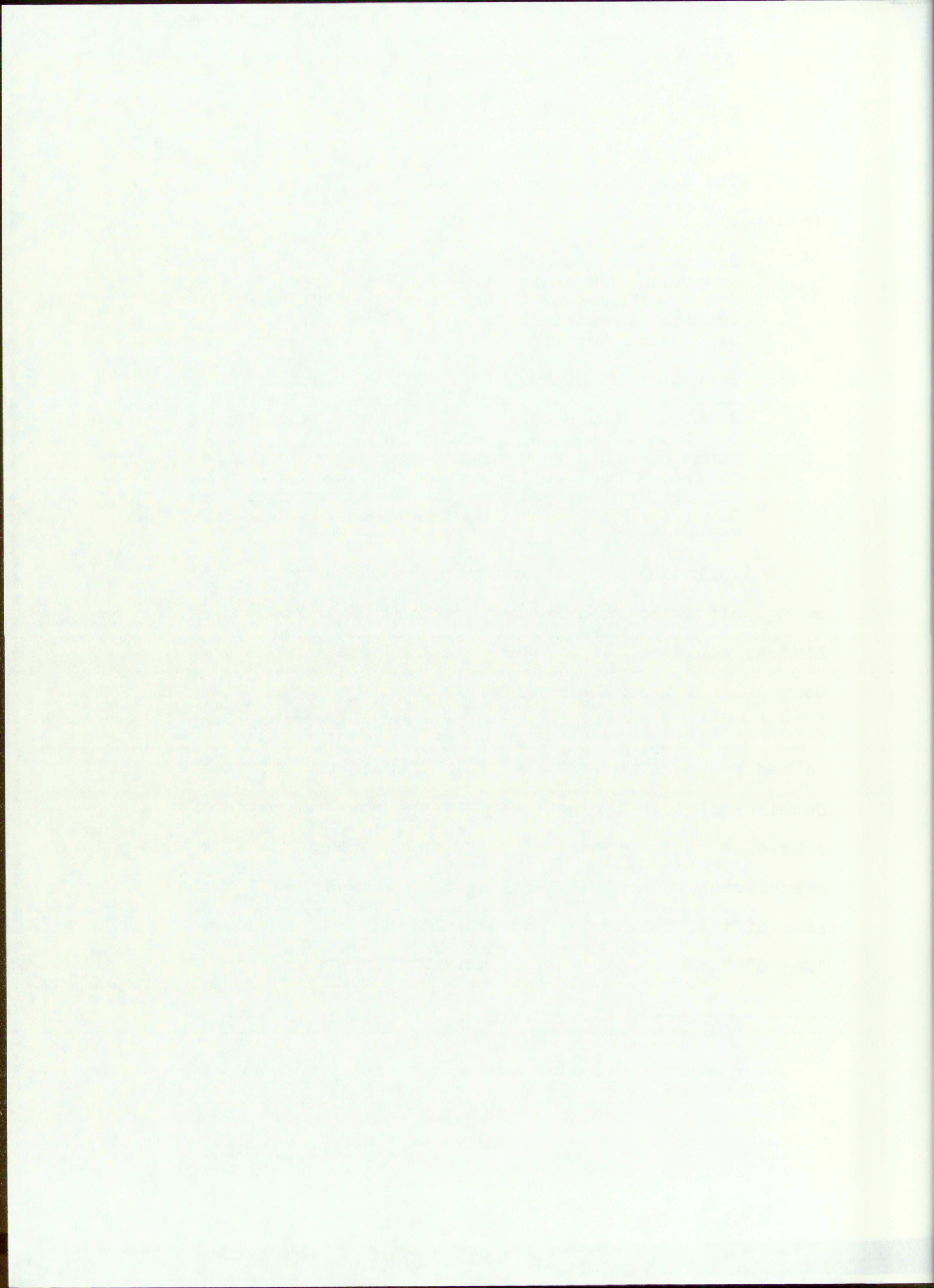
Following the Democratic State Convention, gossip among politicians had it that the name of Governor W. E. Lindsey would not be presented to the Republican State Convention for nomination, but that at the proper time the governor would announce that he was a candidate for Congress. He had frequently said that if the Democrats nominated a Spanish-American for governor, he thought perhaps for the sake of a party victory it would be the wise thing for the Republicans to nominate another Spanish-American for the same office, but that if the Republicans were to nominate an "Anglo," then he felt that he was entitled to a second term.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Albuquerque Evening Herald, September 28, 1918.

<sup>38</sup> Albuquerque Morning Journal, September 30, 1918.







For some time there had been a great deal of speculation as to whether Governor Lindsey would run or not. With the nomination of Felix Garcia by the Democrats, the issue of the Spanish-American vote was brought to a head. As the Republican leaders began to talk up Larrazolo's possibilities, Lindsey made the determined statement that "it was a fight to the finish" and that his name would be submitted to the Republican convention as candidate for nomination as governor.<sup>39</sup>

The Republicans called their state convention for October 2, 1918. After renominating Albert B. Fall as senator, they proceeded to nominate the governor before adjourning. The first speaker to take the stand was James M. Hervey of Roswell, legal adviser to the governor and former attorney general. He asked the convention to nominate Governor Lindsey for a second term on the basis of his war record, his outstanding personal qualities, his belief in woman suffrage and the fact that he had no race prejudices and could make a good race in native counties. Hervey's nomination was seconded by Jack Wilcox of Lindsey's home town of Portales. He said that Lindsey could carry the solid Democratic county of Roosevelt.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, October 3, 1918.

<sup>40</sup> Albuquerque Morning Journal, October 3, 1918.







Charles A. Spiess came to the platform after being introduced to the convention as "The Black Eagle." This was the signal for a great demonstration. Delegates yelled themselves hoarse and it became apparent why the convention had refused to stand adjourned. It was a demonstration that the nomination of O. A. Larrazolo of Las Vegas for Governor was inevitable.<sup>41</sup>

Spiess pleaded for harmony for the sake of the best ticket. He pointed out that not merely must Roosevelt county be carried, but that Santa Fe, San Miguel, Eddy, Chavez and all the rest of the counties in the state must support the candidate nominated. He claimed that O. A. Larrazolo could do it. He claimed that Larrazolo had been accused of injecting the race issue. He defied any man to show where his candidate had ever done anything more than to insist on political equality for the Spanish people. He stated that Larrazolo wanted equal justice for both races and pointed to the fact that in the election of 1904 in a county of 4,000 Spanish and 800 Anglo votes, he had forced the nomination of an Anglo for representative in the territorial legislature as an act of simple justice. He pointed out that his candidate was a great orator and

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<sup>41</sup> Ibid.



Christie A. Spence came to the platform after being introduced to the convention as "The Black Eagle." This was the signal for a great demonstration. Delegates yelled themselves hoarse and it became apparent why the convention had refused to stand adjourned. It was a demonstration that the nomination of C. A. Larrasolo of Las Vegas for Governor was inevitable.

Spence pleaded for harmony for the sake of the best interest. He pointed out that not merely must Roosevelt county be united, but that Santa Fe, San Miguel, Sandoval and all the rest of the counties in the state must support the candidate nominated. He claimed that C. A. Larrasolo could do it. He claimed that Larrasolo had been accused of injecting the race issue. He defied any man to show where his candidate had ever done anything more than to insist on political equality for the Spanish people. He stated that Larrasolo wanted equal justice for both races and pointed to the fact that in the election of 1904 in a county of 2,000 Spanish and 800 Anglo voters, he had forced the nomination of an Anglo for representative in the territorial legislature as an act of Anglo justice. He pointed out that his candidate was a great orator and



lawyer and that the demand for his nomination came from every section of the state. Mr. Spiess said that he was a friend of Governor Lindsey, but he did not believe that the governor was the strongest candidate. For ~~that~~ reason, and for that reason only, he was supporting another. He believed that Larrazolo could be elected and when he was governor of the state, the great war work of the state would be carried on ably and intelligently and there would be no race or creed or religion in the governor's office.<sup>42</sup>

The taking of the ballot resulted in a vote of 118 for Lindsey and 852 for Larrazolo. The voting was as follows:<sup>43</sup>

	Lindsey	Larrazolo
Bernalillo .....	1	83
Chaves.....	25	1
Colfax.....	6	50
Curry.....		16
De Baca.....	7	1
Dona Ana .....		47
Grant.....		67
Guadalupe.....		27
Lea.....	4	
Linclon.....	16	16
Luna.....	8	7
McKinley .....	1	20
Mora .....	1	44
Otero .....		20
Quay .....	23	
Rio Arriba .....		60

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.



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Roosevelt .....	6	1
Sandoval .....		19
San Miguel.....	1	79
Santa Fe .....	13	41
San Juan .....		15
Sierra . .....		17
Socorro .....		68
Taos . . .....	1	34
Torrance .....		29
Union . .....	5	43
Valencia .....		48
TOTAL .....	118	852

After Larrazolo had been nominated, Governor Lindsey came to the rostrum and made a speech marked by a great display of sportsmanship. He congratulated the party on the nomination of Larrazolo and offered his support to Larrazolo and the ticket in general. He moved that the nomination of Larrazolo be made unanimous by a rising vote. The delegates were surprised and as Lindsey went from one exhibition of good sportsmanship to another they warmed up to him for the first time during the day, and as he left the speaker's stand he was given a genuine rousing outburst of applause.<sup>44</sup>

Meanwhile Larrazolo came in and there was a fifth demonstration in favor of the white haired veteran politician and orator who was now to be the standard bearer of the party he had fought for many years.

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid.







He was in poor voice and manifestly not well, but the consummate mastery of all the attributes of oratory did not forsake him and he made his usual clear, logical, eloquent speech. The pith of his address, where it struck a new note from that of Senator Fall, was his apt and catchy phrase which is likely to become a slogan in this state this year that their experience in saving the Union of 18 64 has proved that 'the Republican party is the only one which knows the science of making men free. It made this union free. Why is it not the party in conjunction with the allies in these later days to be entrusted with the task of making the whole world free?' Mr. Larrazolo denied that he had ever injected the race question into New Mexican affairs. He had pleaded for equal political rights for the Spanish people and believes they should have them. 'But no more than equal rights.' We are all Americans, equal in loyalty equal in patriotism. He stood on his record as a demander of fair play. He would go into the office of governor as an American, knowing no question of national origin, but determined to serve the people of the state equally and justly. He thought politics should be adjourned by both parties until the 19th day of October. If the Democrats would agree he would consent not to lift a finger in his canvass until the greater work of carrying the Fourth Liberty Loan over the top in this state was completed.<sup>45</sup>

Fall and Larrazolo had agreed to adjourn politics during the Fourth Liberty Loan drive, provided the Democrats concurred with the idea. George R. Craig, Republican State Committee Chairman, threw the convention into a fit of laughter when he came out with an open letter to Arthur Seligman, Chairman, Democratic State Central Committee, suggesting not only that politics be adjourned during the Fourth Liberty Loan drive, but that Fall, Walton, Garcia and Larrazolo conduct a joint speaking tour in behalf of

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<sup>45</sup>

Santa Fe New Mexican, October 30, 1950.







the Liberty Bond campaign. The joke of the matter was that Larrazolo and Fall were orators of wide acclaim while Walton and Garcia were inexperienced speakers.<sup>46</sup>

The Craig letter which was unique among practical jokes in the politics of New Mexico is as follows:<sup>47</sup>

Santa Fe, New Mexico  
October 3, 1918

Hon. Arthur Seligman, Chairman  
Democratic State Central Committee,  
Santa Fe, New Mexico

My dear Mr. Seligman:

My attention has been directed to a resolution adopted by the recent Democratic State Convention, to the effect that until the conclusion of the campaign in behalf of the Fourth Liberty Bond issue every Democratic meeting shall open with an appeal for support of the Liberty Bond sale.

The Republican State Convention today was opened with a Liberty Bond address and it was made plain that it was the sense of our Convention that all political campaigning should be made secondary to the interests of the Liberty Bond Campaign, and that, in effect, politics be adjourned until the Liberty Bond campaign shall have been concluded.

In furtherance of the wishes of the Republican State Convention and its nominees, and with confident anticipation of your hearty cooperation in any effort to advance the success of the Liberty Bond subscription in New Mexico.

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<sup>46</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, October 3, 1918.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.



The Liberty Bond campaign. The tone of the matter was that

Larrasolo and Bell were creators of wide acclamations while

Walton and Garcia were inexperienced speakers.

The Great letter which was unique among practical

letters in the politics of New Mexico is as follows:

San Jose, New Mexico  
October 5, 1918

Hon. Arthur Bellman, Chairman  
Democratic State Central Committee,  
Santa Fe, New Mexico

My dear Mr. Bellman:

My attention has been directed to a resolution adopted by the recent Democratic State Convention, to the effect that until the conclusion of the campaign in behalf of the Fourth Liberty Bond issue every Democratic meeting shall open with an appeal for support of the Liberty Bond sale.

The Republican State Convention today was opened with a Liberty Bond address and it was well plain that it was the sense of our Convention that all political campaigning should be made secondary to the interests of the Liberty Bond campaign, and that, in effect, politics be adjourned until the Liberty Bond campaign shall have been concluded.

In furtherance of the wishes of the Republican State Convention and its members, and with confident anticipation of your hearty cooperation in my effort to advance the success of the Liberty Bond campaign in New Mexico.

Yours for New Mexico, October 5, 1918.

W. H. H.



I desire to invite you to unite with us in a joint speaking campaign in behalf of the Liberty Bond sales.

To this end we propose that Congressman Walton and Senator Fall, our respective nominees for the United States Senate, and Hon. Felix Garcia and Hon. O. A. Larrazolo our respective nominees for governor, immediately begin a joint speaking campaign in behalf of the Liberty Bond sales, the four nominees to travel together and speak one each day, at the same hour, from the same platform; this campaign can be completed, and to continue until the conclusion of the Liberty Bond campaign on October 19th.

Such a speaking campaign, carried out as proposed would be unique, would doubtless receive ample publicity from the patriotic newspapers of our state, and I have no doubt would be welcome by the communities which the four candidates could reach during the time at their disposal. By uniting in the campaign as proposed we will demonstrate our mutual sincerity of purpose in securing a genuine adjournment of politics for the success of our nation at war and at the same time will achieve important results in an increased sale of the Fourth issue of Liberty Bonds in our state.

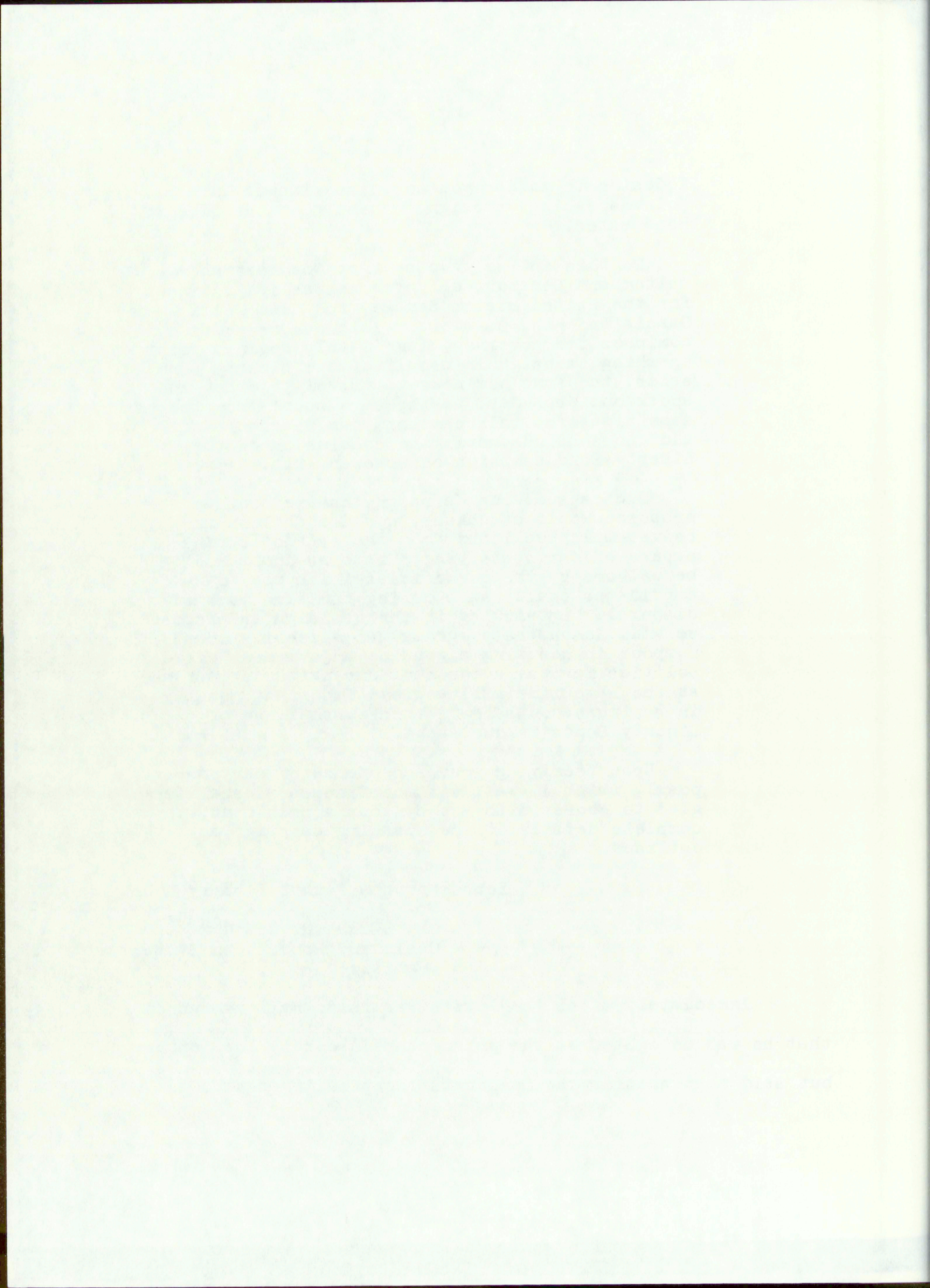
Upon receiving your acceptance of our proposal, which I await with confidence, I shall be glad to confer with you by your appointment, to complete details of the speaking campaign as outlined.

Yours for the Fourth Liberty Loan

GEORGE R. CRAIG  
Chairman, Republican State  
Committee.

Immediately after the letter was read, Fall announced that he was delighted at the prospect held out by the letter, but said that whether the Democrats accepted it or not, so







far as he was concerned when that convention was closed, he would adjourn politics until the 19th day of October and would make nothing but speeches for the Liberty Loan.<sup>48</sup>

From October 3rd till October 19th the Republicans kept their convention promise, the candidates for office did not make any political speeches. From time to time they spoke on behalf of the Fourth Liberty Loan drive.

The leaders of the Republican party had taken great political pains in their selection of their ticket. When the slates of both parties were compared, the Republicans' ticket seemed very strong. George R. Craig summarizes the work of the Republican convention thusly:

One thing which aids us materially is the fact that the Republican convention this year with slow and calm deliberation selected the best ticket the Republican party has had in this state for many years, both from the standpoint of the tried-and-found-true men, who made up the ticket, and the fact the ticket is evenly balanced from a geographical angle.<sup>49</sup>

At midnight, October 19th, the Fourth Liberty Loan drive was ended. The Republican party of New Mexico prepared to put on the fastest and most vigorous campaign in the history of the state. Religiously all the Republican candidates had refrained from electioneering during the Loan drive. The Republicans charged that four of the

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<sup>48</sup>Albuquerque Morning Journal, October 3, 1918.

<sup>49</sup>Albuquerque Morning Journal, October 21, 1918.







Democratic candidates had broken faith by delivering political addresses and campaigning despite the fact that they had agreed to devote their energies to putting over the Loan drive. The candidates who were accused of breaking their word were: William R. Walton, Democratic candidate for U. S. senator, Elmer E. Veeder, Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor, Juan J. Duran, Democratic candidate for Secretary of State and Granville A. Richardson, Democratic candidate for Congressman.<sup>50</sup>

Senator Fall's health had been poor for some time and his condition had become worse so that he was prevented from campaigning in any way whatsoever. Moreover, because of the epidemic of influenza the public meetings and speaking tours of all the candidates were cut short. Larrazolo attended county conventions at Willard on October 18th and Socorro on the 19th. He also addressed the convention at Valencia county on the 20th. All speeches dealt with war topics and requests to support the Liberty Loan drive. Larrazolo reported that he had found perfect harmony existing in all parts of the state that he had visited.<sup>51</sup>

The Democrats had been sniping at Larrazolo with the insinuations that he had received \$7,500 for a boundary

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<sup>50</sup> Albuquerque Morning Journal, October 20, 1918.

<sup>51</sup> Albuquerque Morning Journal, October 23, 1918.



Democratic candidates had broken faith by delivering political addresses and campaigning despite the fact that they

had agreed to devote their energies to passing over the loan drive. The candidates who were accused of breaking their word were: William H. Wilson, Democratic candidate for U. S. Senator, Elmer E. Weaver, Democratic candidate for Lieutenant Governor, John J. Brown, Democratic candidate for Secretary of State and Granville A. Richardson, Democratic candidate for Governor.

Senator Hall's health had been poor for some time and

his condition had become worse so that he was prevented from campaigning in any way whatsoever. Moreover, because of the epidemic of influenza the public meetings and speaking tours of all the candidates were cut short. Democratic

attended county conventions at Willard on October 18th and 19th. He also addressed the convention at Willard on the 19th. All speeches dealt with war topics and requests to support the Liberty Loan drive.

Barrows reported that he had found perfect harmony existing in all parts of the state that he had visited.

The Democrats had been helping at Barrows with the instructions that he had received \$5,000 for a journey

Albuquerque Morning Journal, October 20, 1918.

Albuquerque Morning Journal, October 25, 1918.



dispute case and they wanted to know what New Mexico had received in return for this fee. Larrazolo replied as follows:<sup>52</sup>

I understand that the Democratic platform of the Bernalillo county convention had a section which inquired what I had done to receive the \$7,500 fee in the state boundary action involving the boundaries of Colorado, Texas and New Mexico. It seems to me that the whole Democratic campaign is based on misstatements and misrepresentations. I never was paid the amount of \$7,500. I was paid a retainer of \$2,500 to deliver an opinion on the advisability of bringing a suit against Colorado in this connection and earned the retainer by delivering the opinion requested.

The other charges made by the Democrats during the campaign were that, upon entry into office, Larrazolo would "Mexicanize" the state by extending the state patronage to the natives of New Mexico only. They also pointed to his ingratitude and how he had proved it by abandoning the Democratic party, which had so generously extended him the nomination for the highest office in the state.<sup>53</sup>

Larrazolo made one more trip before the election. He covered Grant, Luna, Doña Ana counties and spent one day in Bernalillo county addressing three political meetings.

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid.

<sup>53</sup> Op. Cit. Albuquerque Morning Journal, October 29, 1918.







Owing to the epidemic of influenza, public meetings were not allowed, except in a few places and then only in the open air. Larazolo stated that in his addresses at the aforementioned counties he had mentioned the fact that his opponent, Felix Garcia, was sick and unable to campaign. Larrazolo said: "I have been greatly pleased to speak a good word for Mr. Garcia, whom I personally know and who is a good friend of mine."<sup>54</sup>

The Albuquerque Morning Journal and the Santa Fe New Mexican were strong supporters of Larrazolo and the Republican ticket. They charged that "if Garcia was elected Crist would be the real governor of New Mexico." They also stated that if the Democratic nominee for governor were elected the state institutions of higher learning would be returned to politics.<sup>55</sup> The Albuquerque Evening Herald supported the Republican ticket also, but devoted most of its energy to plugging Albert B. Fall for the senate.

On October 30th Larrazolo issued an open letter to the voters in which he told where he stood on the issues of the day and why he thought the needs of the nation demand a Republican victory. The letter reads as follows:<sup>56</sup>

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Albuquerque Morning Journal, November 4, 1918.

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Albuquerque Morning Journal, October 26, 1918.

<sup>56</sup>

Santa Fe New Mexican, October 30, 1918.







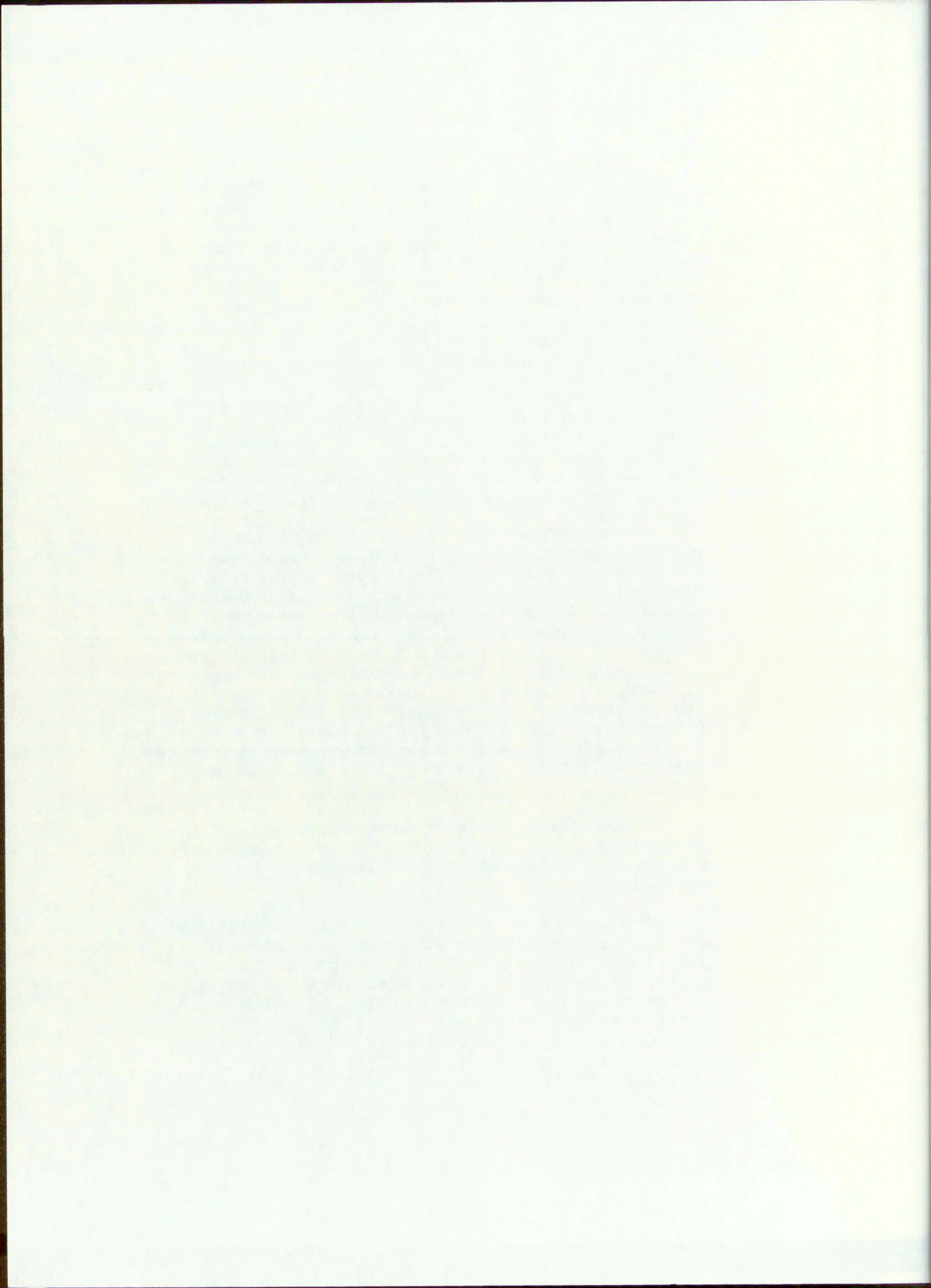
In view of the impossibility of being able to address the voters of New Mexico personally on account of the short time which we have between now and the day on which the election is to be held in this state, and also on account of the influenza epidemic which has spread over New Mexico, which makes it impossible and dangerous to have public gatherings of large numbers of people, I have deemed it proper to address myself to the voters of the state by means of the press and this circular letter, in order to clarify certain points of great national importance and also of great local interest in our state, so that the people may be enabled to form an intelligent opinion as to the manner in which they should exercise the electoral privilege which is granted to us by the laws of our country.

On account of the war in which we are engaged, together with our European allies against the German empire and the Central Powers, and due to the fact that the national administration at present is in the hands of the Democratic party, the Democrats of New Mexico and of other states of the union intend to mislead the people in the exercise of their electoral privilege, claiming that as a duty to the country the people should renounce their political creed, forget their honest party convictions and vote in favor of the Democratic party so as to support the President in the struggle in which we are engaged.

In appealing in this manner in favor of the Democratic party the leaders of that party make a premeditated omission, and purposely forget two things:

First, they forget that the war in which we are engaged is not the war of the Democratic party, nor of the Republican party, or of any political party, in particular, but the struggle of the people of American nation in which all parties unite--lose their political identity and form a single unit- a unit which is the whole nation, and each and every citizen in particular feeling the same duty and obligation of supporting to the utmost the administration





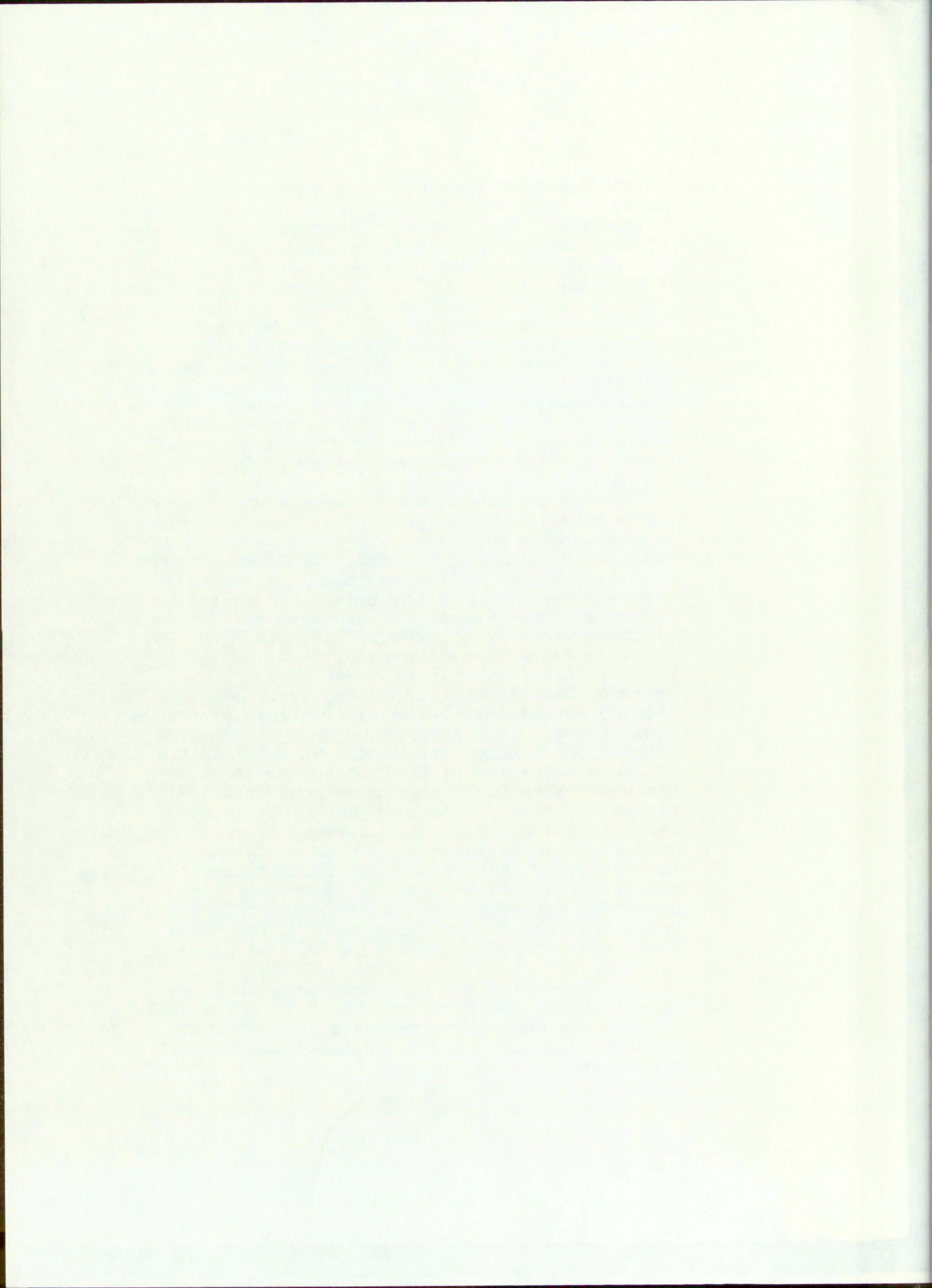


whether he be a Democrat or a Republican who is actually in charge of conducting the operations of the war. The statement that it is necessary to vote the Democratic ticket in order to carry on the war to a victorious end, amounts to the same thing as saying that in the Republican party does not exist enough intellectuality, nor enough patriotism, nor enough love of country to conduct the war operations with success and honor. This not only is an unjustifiable slander against a majority of the American people, but also proves the ingratitude towards one million young Americans--Republicans by conviction--who are right now risking their lives, shedding their blood, in the defense of the country and of human rights.

In the second place, the Democratic leaders intentionally forget the history that the Democratic leaders of that party in Congress have written in regard to the war, for it is a fact that even after the German submarine sank the Lusitania--sending to the bottom of the ocean hundreds of men, women and children all American citizens who were rightfully upon the high seas and were going across to other lands, and due to this infamous act, President Wilson himself appeared before congress asking that body to declare war against Germany. The speaker of the house, Champ Clark and the majority leader, Mr. Kitchin, both Democrats, and a majority of the Democratic leaders of different committees of the house strenuously opposed making such declaration of war. Not only that, but in many measures and bills which had been presented to congress with the object of placing the nation in a state of preparedness in order to conduct the war more efficiently, not only have the Democrats failed to give their support to the President, but 80 or 90 per cent of them have voted against such measures.

On the other hand, in everything that the President has asked in order to more efficiently conduct the war he has received the loyal and patriotic support of the Republican members of congress.







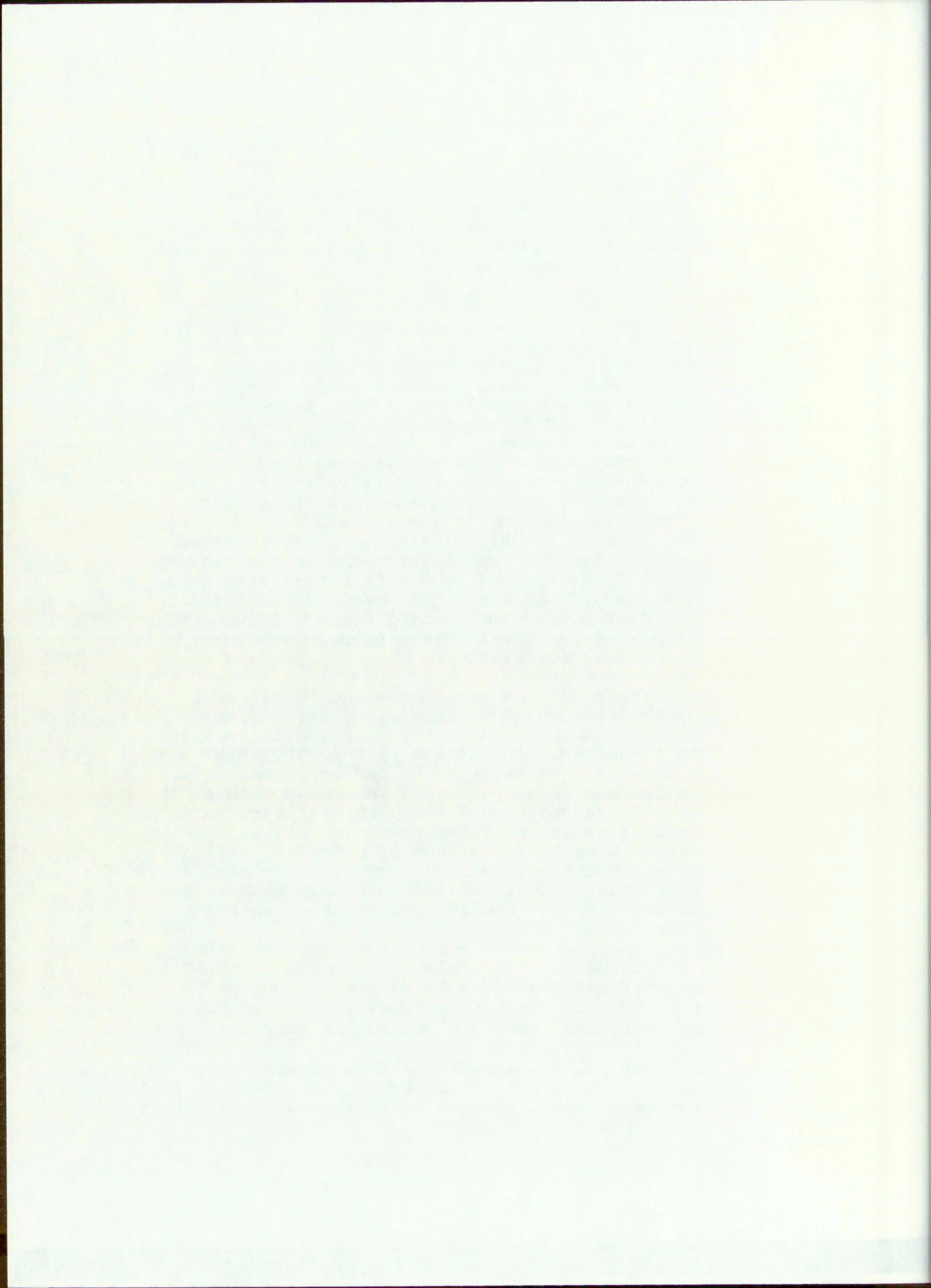
Therefore, in view of these facts I feel that I am justified in making the statement that the success of the war has received the loyal and patriotic support of the Republican members of congress.

If it is true that the proper conduct of the war demands and justifies the election of Republicans to congress, then, for the same reason it is logical to believe that this same circumstance justifies and demands the election of the entire Republican ticket in the state. I don't pretend to say by this that the Democrats have no patriotism, for in this sense I believe that with very few exceptions American citizens are equally patriotic. The idea which I desire to convey is that the history of the present congress justifies me in stating and what I do say is, that if the Republican party has given more liberal support to the President in the management of the war, as in the fact they have done, that party, therefore has the right to claim, and does claim, the support and confidence of the people in the great crisis through which our country is now passing.

Regarding the personnel of both tickets, Republicans and Democrats, I do not try to claim that one candidate is personally superior to the other. In justice to the candidates on both sides, as well as the parties themselves, it is fair to suppose that the Democratic party as well as the Republican party selected as their candidates men of clean character and capable to perform the duties of their respective offices to which they aspire. If any of those candidates have some serious defects which may render them unworthy of the public confidence, I am not aware of it.

The merit that I claim as a whole for the Republican candidates is that of belonging to a party which in the past, as well as at the present, has proved to be, and is today the champion of liberty and human rights. The history of this political party in this regard to the splendid heritage of all those who belong to it in the same manner that it is the heritage of Washington and Lincoln.







In view of the fact that the governor of the state is the executive of the state and one whose duty it is to see that the laws are enforced, I wish to be allowed a word of explanation as to the policies that I shall have as executive of New Mexico in case the ballots of my fellow citizens place me in that exalted position. Many people in New Mexico have asked and are yet asking: 'Why did Larrazolo change politics.' I gave my answer to this question in my letter to the late Hon. William C. McDonald, at the time chairman of the Democratic state committee. I shall repeat this answer here and thus I will explain the policies that I shall observe if elected governor of New Mexico: I was at that time, and I say it again that I left the Democratic party because I found in that party a large element, almost sufficient to dominate the party, that had different elements which constitute our electorate by giving impartially to each one what he was entitled to. Seeing in that element a hostile and unfriendly disposition to a great part of our people, I left the party because my sense of justice would not allow me to remain longer in it. The people of New Mexico who have known me for almost a quarter of a century know positively that it is an undeniable fact that in leaving the Democratic party I renounced the highest honors that a people can confer upon one of its citizens which the Democratic party had bestowed upon me.

If I am elected to the office of governor I shall put into practice the principles that I have defended and on account of which undoubtedly I have made many enemies. Those principles are: Equal rights and privileges for all the citizens of New Mexico without regard to ancestry.

On November 5th, the voters went to the polls and elected Octaviano A. Larrazolo the fourth Governor of the state of New Mexico by a majority of 1,319 votes. He furnished the surprise of the race, as the expected scratching did not develop and he had a larger majority than that of



In view of the fact that the Governor of the State is the executive of the State and one whose duty it is to see that the laws are enforced, I wish to be allowed a word of explanation as to the position that I shall have as executive of New Mexico in case the people of my fellow citizens place me in that position. Many people in New Mexico have asked me the following question: "Why did Lawrence change his position?" I gave my answer to this question in my letter to the late Hon. William O. McDonald, at the time chairman of the Democratic State Committee. I shall repeat this answer here and there I will explain the position that I shall occupy if elected Governor of New Mexico. I was at that time, and I say it again that I left the Democratic party because I found in that party a large element, almost sufficient to nominate the party, that had different elements which could not be reconciled by giving impartially to each one what he was entitled to. Being in that element a hostile and unfriendly disposition to a great part of our people, I left the party because my sense of justice would not allow me to remain longer in it. The people of New Mexico who have known me for almost a quarter of a century know positively that it is an undeniable fact that in leaving the Democratic party I renounced the highest honors that a people can confer upon one of its citizens which the Democratic party had bestowed upon me.

If I am elected to the office of Governor I shall put into practice the principles that I have defended and on account of which undoubtedly I have made many enemies. Those principles are: equal rights and privileges for all the citizens of New Mexico without regard to ancestry.

On November 3rd, the voters went to the polls and elected Coleman A. Larwood as the fourth Governor of the State of New Mexico by a majority of 1,519 votes. He furnished the surprise of the race, as the expected winning did not develop and he led a larger majority than that of



Senator Fall. He ran well up with his ticket all over the state and got a smashing majority in his home county of San Miguel.<sup>57</sup> McKinley county majorities were cut in half because of the flu epidemic, but did better than the 100 vote majority promised the Republicans in the first estimates. Torrance county fell short compared with the Republican majorities two years before. This was accounted for by the large number of young men who had been taken in the draft and by the fact that the flu had kept many voters away from the polls. In Chaves county the Republican cut heavily into the old time Democratic majorities.<sup>58</sup>

The total votes cast for the three candidates for Governor were O. A. Larrazolo, Republican, 23,752; Felix Garcia, Democrat, 22,433; A. H. Moulton, Socialist, 847. The Socialist candidate drew the largest vote in mining areas in the state. The totals by county contained in the compilations of election returns of 1918 in the New Mexico Blue Book or State Official Register of 1919 are listed as follows:<sup>59</sup>

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Santa Fe New Mexican, November 8, 1918.

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Santa Fe New Mexican, November 6, 1918.

<sup>59</sup>

New Mexico Blue Book of 1919, p. 72.







## COMPILATION OF 1918 ELECTION IN TWENTY-TWO COUNTIES

## GOVERNOR

COUNTIES	O.A.LARRAZOLO	FELIX GARCIA	A.H.MOULTON
	REPUBLICAN	DEMOCRAT	SOCIALIST
1. Bernalillo	2,096	1,650	38
2. Chavez	459	1,022	33
3. Colfax	1,405	1,150	78
4. Curry	280	906	61
5. De Baca	151	404	24
6. Dona Ana	1,153	722	9
7. Eddy	255	648	15
8. Grant	1,173	1,639	119
9. Lea	30	348	2
10. Luna	366	685	41
11. McKinley	568	439	12
12. Mora	1,202	1,098	27
13. Quay	382	879	79
14. Rio Arriba	1,487	1,216	1
15. Roosevelt	112	607	30
16. San Miguel	2,591	1,305	18
17. Santa Fe	1,447	925	11
18. Socorro	1,542	896	14
19. Taos	858	541	3
20. Torrance	796	614	34
21. Union	1,082	1,394	103
22. Valencia	1,267	298	5
TOTAL FOR STATE	23,752	22,433	847







The compilation above shows that the traditional Republican counties supported Larrazolo and the Democratic counties voted for Garcia. The results of this election again indicated that New Mexico was still Republican in the politics. In the counties that were cited when Larrazolo ran against Rodey for Delegate to Congress the results were approximately the same, only this time Larrazolo was a Republican. Since Larrazolo and Garcia were both Spanish-speaking citizens, the theory that Larrazolo was defeated in his three attempts at entry into public office because of his racial origin was partially disproved.

Having reached the climax of his political career, Larrazolo stated his policy as Chief Executive of the State of New Mexico:

I will say that it shall be my purpose and earnest endeavor to give equal protection and recognition to the various sections of our state, without partiality or discrimination, ~~always~~ endeavoring to accomplish the greatest good possible for the greatest number; and no people or section of our state need fear any unjust discrimination at my hands.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican Daily, November 11, 1918.







## CHAPTER VI

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF GOVERNOR LARRAZOLO

After the election of Larrazolo, the Republicans set in motion the plans for the ceremonies in connection with the inauguration. On December 3, 1918 Justice C. J. Roberts was made ex-officio chairman of the executive committee in charge of the inauguration. The other Republican members named were Governor W. E. Lindsey, Jose D. Sena and E. P. Davis of Santa Fe. The Democratic members were Arthur Seligman and Antonio Lucero.<sup>61</sup>

The committee made elaborate arrangement for the inaugural ceremonies. The Governor was sworn in by Chief Justice Parker before one of the largest crowds ever to attend the inauguration of a Governor of New Mexico. Larrazolo, who had long been noted for his oratory, gave his inaugural address in English and Spanish. The Newspapers throughout the state complimented the Governor on the delivery of the address as well as the objectives set up for his administration.<sup>62</sup>

In the first part of the speech, Larrazolo accepted

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<sup>61</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, December 14, 1918

<sup>62</sup> Las Vegas Optic, January 2, 1919



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<sup>61</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, December 14, 1913.

<sup>62</sup> Las Vegas Optic, January 3, 1914.



the responsibilities of the office and requested the "good wishes and the cheerful and whole-hearted cooperation" of all the citizens of the state regardless of their political affiliation. He set up the following program for his administration:

1. To cooperate with the federal government for the welfare and employment of the returning veterans.
2. To assist the farmer and livestockmen in the state who had suffered from the severe drought.
3. To administer the institutions of learning, penal institutions and other establishments in such a manner as to serve the purpose of their creation and not to use them merely as a political asset.
4. To build good roads in order to invite the tourist and sight-seer and bring immigrants and capital to the state. To provide better farm to market roads.
5. To institute a program of reclamation and conservation of valuable lands.
6. Recommended to the legislature such tax legislation as would be "best calculated to accomplish the desired results."<sup>63</sup>

When Larrazolo went into office the Legislature's composition was as follows:

The senate had a membership of twenty-four and of those fourteen were Republicans. The house was made up of thirty members and twenty of them were Republicans. Lieutenant Governor B. F. Pankey served as president of the upper house and A. A. Sedillo of Bernalillo county was speaker of the house. In the Isaac Barth, who was later succeeded by Dr. M. F. Skien of Eddy county, led the minority. The house had Judge R. P. Barnes of Bernalillo as floor leader on the

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<sup>63</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, November 11, 1918.







Republican side and Frank Vesely of Grant for the Democrats.<sup>64</sup>

The Republicans thus had control of both the house and senate, and some of the legislative leaders were Larrazolo's close friends. This accounts for the favorable action that was given to Larrazolo's legislative program.

Shortly after his inauguration, Governor Larrazolo had to go to Las Vegas to attend the funeral of his son, Luis, who died on January 30, 1919 from pneumonia following an attack of Spanish influenza. Upon his return to the Capitol, the Governor resumed budget hearings. The budget recommendations were accepted by the fourth legislature, with few and minor exceptions.

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84 Tucson Reporter, January 24, 1919

85 Santa Fe New Mexican, November 11, 1918



mendations and added his own. He met with the bankers, miners, lawyers, road boosters, labor leaders and scores of private individuals whose opinions and ideas he valued and requested the suggestions.<sup>66</sup>

The regular session of the legislature worked in harmonious accord with the Chief Executive of the State. This is shown by the fact that up to March 19, 1919 the Governor had vetoed only one resolution. This was a "house resolution going on record in general terms against a League of Nations. The Governor in his message of veto stated that he believed in the principles of a league."<sup>67</sup>

U. S. Senator Albert B. Fall had spoken before the house recommending the adoption of this resolution because he disapproved a League "as at present outlined." Larrazolo on the other hand strongly favored our entry in the League of Nations. It is to be remembered that the Republican National Committee had selected Larrazolo and Fall as their standard bearers in New Mexico in order to gain control of the senate, as well as the influence of the governor, in their fight against the League.<sup>68</sup>

On the whole, the Fourth Legislature was very respon-

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<sup>66</sup> Raton Reporter, op. cit., January 24, 1919

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Albuquerque Morning Journal, March 19, 1919







sive to the recommendations made by the Governor as is shown in the following article summing up its work.

The most important work of the Fourth Legislative session was to

- .. Create income tax for New Mexico for incomes over \$5,000.
2. Plans for building roads and equaling government appropriations were made and were subject to confirmation by a special legislative session.
3. Five constitutional amendments were recommended, subject to popular approval in the fall election. They were to
  - a. ratify national prohibition.
  - b. grant New Mexico soldiers absent from the state on duty, the right to vote in state elections wherever they are stationed.
  - c. create a board of three members to supervise all state institutions instead of twenty boards then officiating
  - d. ratify a bond issue of \$2,000,000 on the part of the state, the proceeds to be used at once for roads.
  - e. ratify the Barnes amendment to the state constitution allowing future bond issues up to \$2,000,000 without holding special elections, provided that the state does not pledge more than one per cent of its taxable valuations.
4. An advanced child labor law was passed restricting the kinds of employment children up to certain ages could undertake and prohibited children of school age working when school was in session.
5. Teachers pay was raised and the use of bilingual methods was established. Compulsory school attendance for children between six and sixteen was made law. The teacher's salary bill raised holders of third grade certificates from \$50 to \$72 a month; second grade from \$75 to \$100



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and first grade teachers to \$100 and over.

6. Hidalgo county was created making it the twenty ninth county.<sup>69</sup>

#### THE LEAGUE OF THE PUBLIC LAND STATES

On August 16, 1919 through Larrazolo's efforts and suggestions, the Governors, or their representatives of twenty-five western states met in Salt Lake City to discuss the question of federally held land. Because of his interest in the matter and the part that he had taken in bringing the group together, Larrazolo was named the the first president of the League of Public Land States.

Larrazolo had given much thought to the matter of the public domain. He was well prepared and led the discussion on the subject. He advocated the return of public lands to the states. Larrazolo believed that "after the states had come together under the original pact of federation, every inch of land within their respective boundaries became theirs absolutely."<sup>70</sup>

Governor Larrazolo held that in order for the states to be able to maintain their systems of public schools, institutions of higher learning, charitable and eleemosynary

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid.

<sup>70</sup> Transcript of Proceedings at the Meeting of the Meeting of the Governors of the League of Public Land States held in Salt Lake City, Utah; August 18, 1919, p.5.



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Transcript of Proceedings at the Meeting of the  
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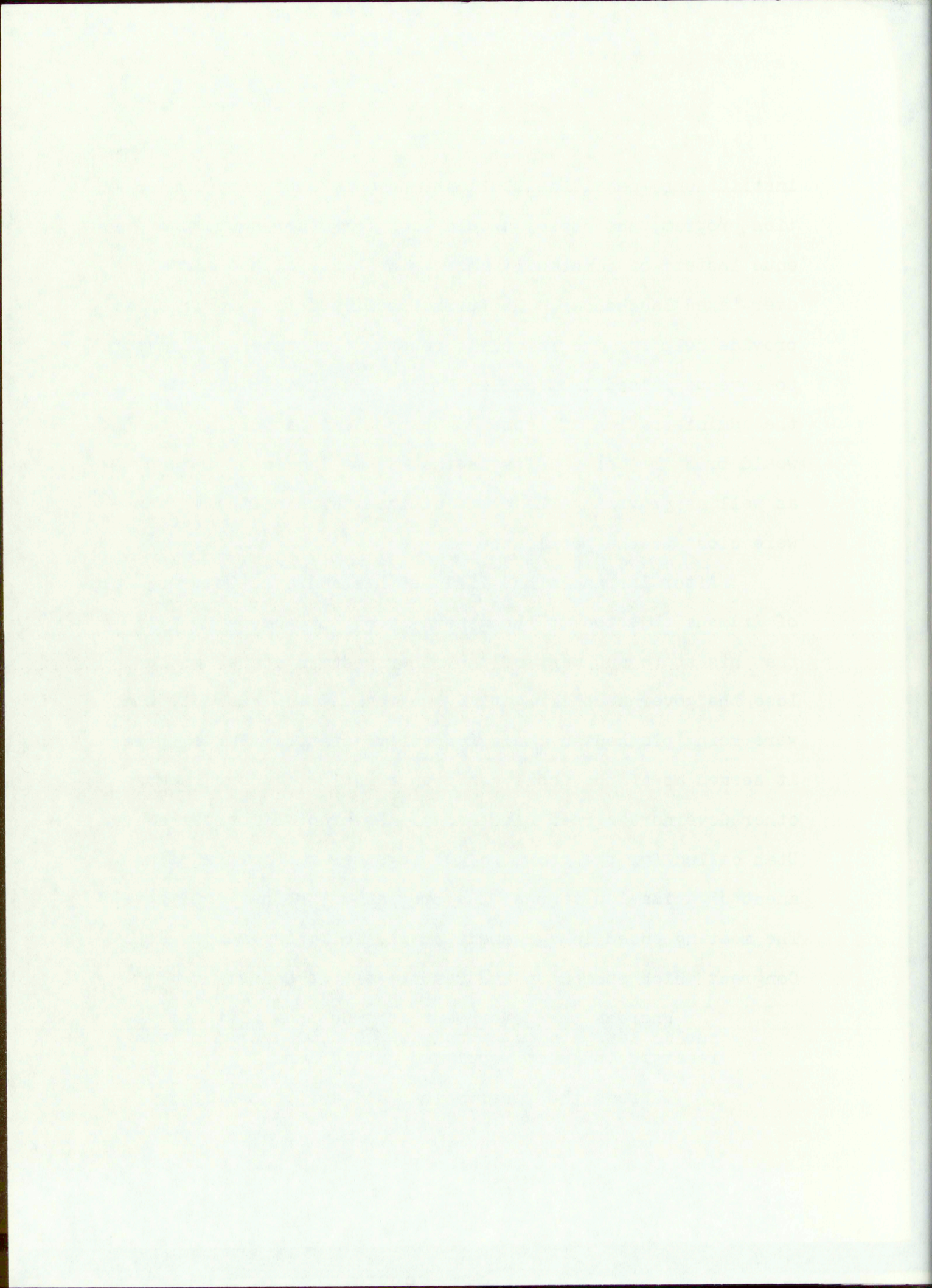
institutions, penal institutions and modern highway construction program, the states should look for other sources of revenue instead of constantly increasing taxes of the already over-taxed landholder. He further believed that in order to provide help for the returning veteran the states should turn to revenue raised from public lands. He further claimed that the administration of those lands by the individual states would bring better results in the way of increased revenue as well as providing the state citizens with officials who were close to the people they served.

After Larrazolo had finished his address, Governor Cary of Arizona objected to the general program because he felt that his state and many of the other western states would lose the government irrigation and reclamation projects that were being planned in their respective states. For a while it seemed as if the whole conference would bog down because other Governors agreed with Carey. Governor Bamberger of Utah called for the group to get together and form a permanent organization to push the program on the national level. The meeting ended in agreement on the following memorial to Congress which summed up the results of the conference:

Whereas the government records show that the public land states contain 225,000,000 acres of unreserved and unappropriated public land.

Whereas the reservations and exemptions from







taxation of such large bodies of land in the respective states by the federal government severely cripples the said states in their efforts towards such development of the natural resources and internal improvements, and

Whereas the public land states are now facing more important reconstruction and development than ever in their history and believing that individual states can more economically handle the public land within their respective boundries to the greater beneficial advantage to the people, we therefore,

Resolve that it is the sense of this convention that Congress be respectfully urged and requested to cede all unsurveyed public lands without any minerals or other reservations to the states wherein the same are respectively situated.<sup>70</sup>

This resolution proposed by Larrazolo was unanimously adopted. The League requested the federal government to appropriate \$400,000,000 for the building of roads to be expended within the states. Thus, the conference was notable, not only for the interest shown in the public domain, but but because it marked one of the first attempts on the part of the western states to secure federal aid for the interstate highways which are so essential today. Governor Larrazolo was an ardent advocate of the policies of returning public domain to the states and construction of improved roads and highways.

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<sup>70</sup> Albuquerque Morning Journal, October 26, 1919



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Resolved that it is the sense of this convention that Congress be respectfully urged and requested to sell all unreserved public lands without any mineral or other reservations to the states wherein the same are respectively situated.

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TO ALBANY, NEW YORK, OCTOBER 23, 1912



## THE MINERS STRIKE

During the latter part of October 1919 New Mexico miners began to discuss the proposed strike that was being planned in other parts of the United States. The miners in the state had been aroused by the work of Communist organizers who had come into the state.<sup>72</sup>

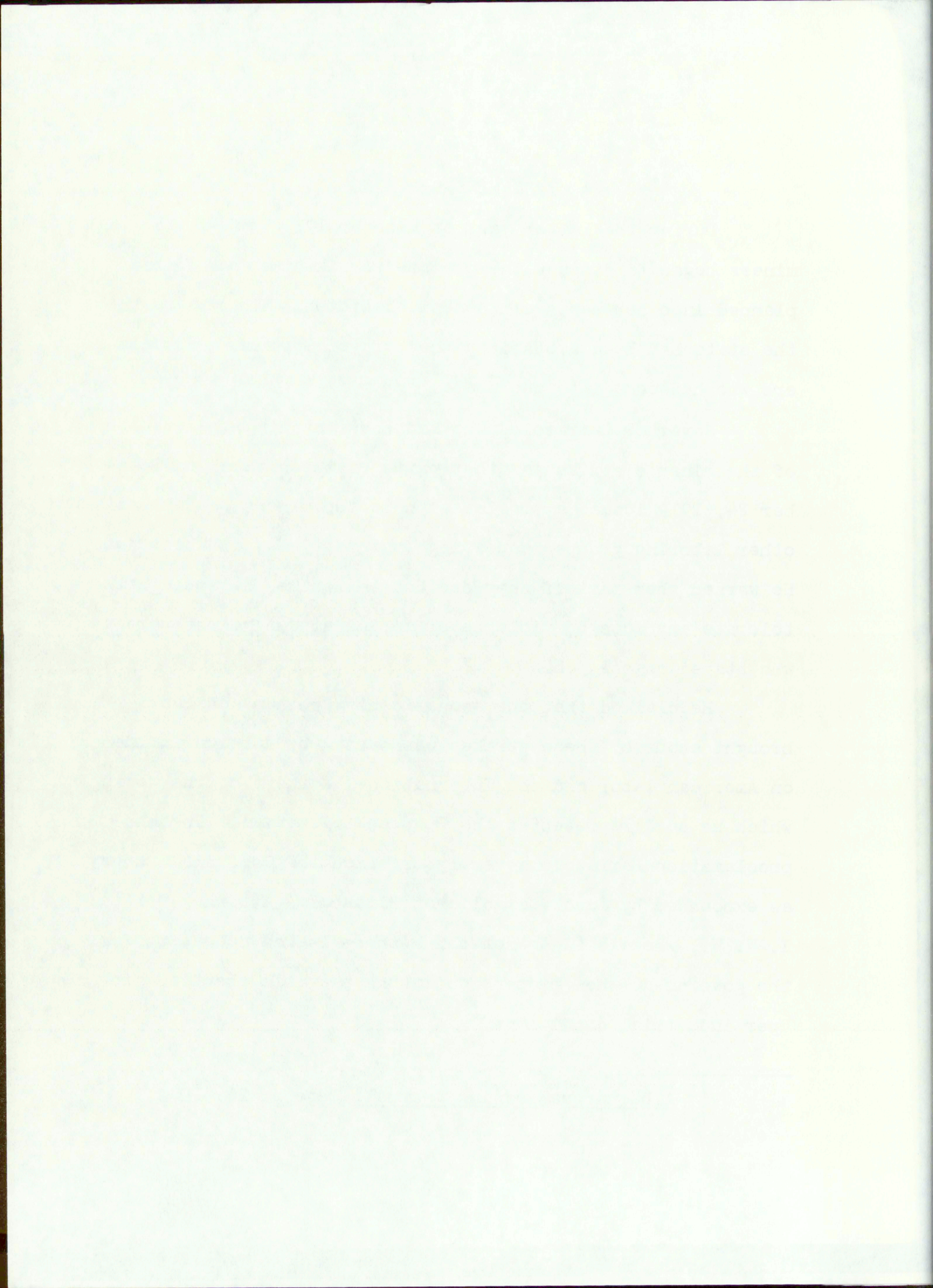
Governor Larrazolo, who had been watching the results of the miner's strike in other parts of the nation, on October 24, 1919 issued a proclamation to the miners as well as other laboring groups requesting that they stay on their jobs. He warned them that if they decided to strike, he would not tolerate any acts of violence or intimidation against persons who stayed on the job.

He claimed that the economic disturbance and chaos brought about by these strikes was caused by foreign influence on American labor and the International Workers of the World, which he said represented the Russian Bolsheviki. In this proclamation Larrazolo severely criticized the Communist theory as expounded by Jacob Margolis of Pittsburg, attorney for the I. W. W., who said "I do not think there is any necessity for the government when proper conditions prevail, that is, proper industrial conditions."

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<sup>72</sup> Albuquerque Morning Journal, October 26, 1919







Larrazolo offered the following argument against the establishment of the Communist doctrine:

Can any true American countenance such dotrines? will any true American, either native-born or naturalized, be willing to barter away this government, where the average wage earner receives compensation superior to salaries paid the high ministers of state in many European countries; where the poor and oppressed of other lands find ready asylum and welcome, and the moment they swear allegiance to its constitution and laws, are placed on an equal level with all other citizens, regardless of birth or station in life, with equal rights, equal privileges and equal opportunities in the industrial, financial, social and political activities of our country; where life and property find absolute protection; where a man, under salutary legal restraints, finds ample freedom and liberty of expression and religious worship; a country, in fine, which under such laws has become the richest and mightiest, and its people the happiest and most content in the world. Shall we barter such a government, I repeat, for one patterned after that of the present Russia under which there are no guaranties of any kind, where liberty is unknown and human life is the cheapest of all beings in existance, a government under which millions are facing starvation? More than that, are we, Americans ready and willing to exchange our form of government for any other government on the earth? I am satisfied that every true American will answer in the negative and that in the same manner and with the self-same devotion and spirit of sacrifice that our boys defended our free institutions abroad from the threatened assaults of foreign enemies, so will every American citizen defend our institutions from its enemies at home.<sup>73</sup>

In his oath of office as Governor, Larrazolo had sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States and to protect the lives and property of the people of New Mexico. He believed the time had come for him to uphold this oath. On



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Can any true American countenance such doctrine? Will any true American, either native-born or naturalized, be willing to barter away this government, where the average wage earner receives compensation superior to salaries paid the high ministers of state in many European countries; where the poor and oppressed of other lands find ready asylum and welcome, and the honest they swear allegiance to its constitution and laws, are placed on an equal level with all other citizens, regardless of birth or station in life, with equal rights, equal privileges and equal opportunities in the industrial, financial, social and political activities of our country; where life and property find absolute protection; where a man, under salary, is not restricted, like a slave, to the service of another; where the religious worship of a country, in line with its people's deepest and most sacred beliefs, and its people the happiest and most content in the world. Shall we barter such a government, I repeat, for one determined after that of the present Russia, where there are no guarantees of any kind, where liberty is unknown and human life is the cheapest of all beings in existence, a government under which millions are facing starvation? More than that, are we Americans ready and willing to exchange our form of government for any other government on the earth? I am satisfied that every true American will answer in the negative and that in the same manner and with the self-same devotion and spirit of sacrifice that our boys defended our free institutions abroad from the threatened assaults of foreign enemies, so will every American citizen defend our institutions from the enemies at home.

In the call of office as Governor, Lamarca had sworn to uphold the Constitution of the United States and to protect the lives and property of the people of New Mexico. He believed the time had come for him to uphold this oath. On



November 2, 1919 the Governor issued a proclamation declaring martial law in Colfax and McKinley counties and called for the intervention of federal troops.<sup>74</sup> Besides the support of the federal troops, which were shipped from Fort Bliss, Texas, members of the American Legion volunteered for mounted police duty to safeguard life and property in the mining districts.<sup>75</sup>

The miners' coal strike was thus kept under control. There were protests against Larrazolo for his actions, but these protests were discounted by the wide public acclaim that the Governor received for his timely action in safeguarding life and property and preventing the spread of economic chaos in New Mexico. During the miners' strike Larrazolo received the following letter from A. T. Hannett, who was then Mayor of Gallup and attorney for the miners and who later became Governor of New Mexico:

Honored Sir:

I beg leave to acknowledge receipt of your esteemed favor of the 30th inst., enclosing a proclamation lifting "martial law" in this community.

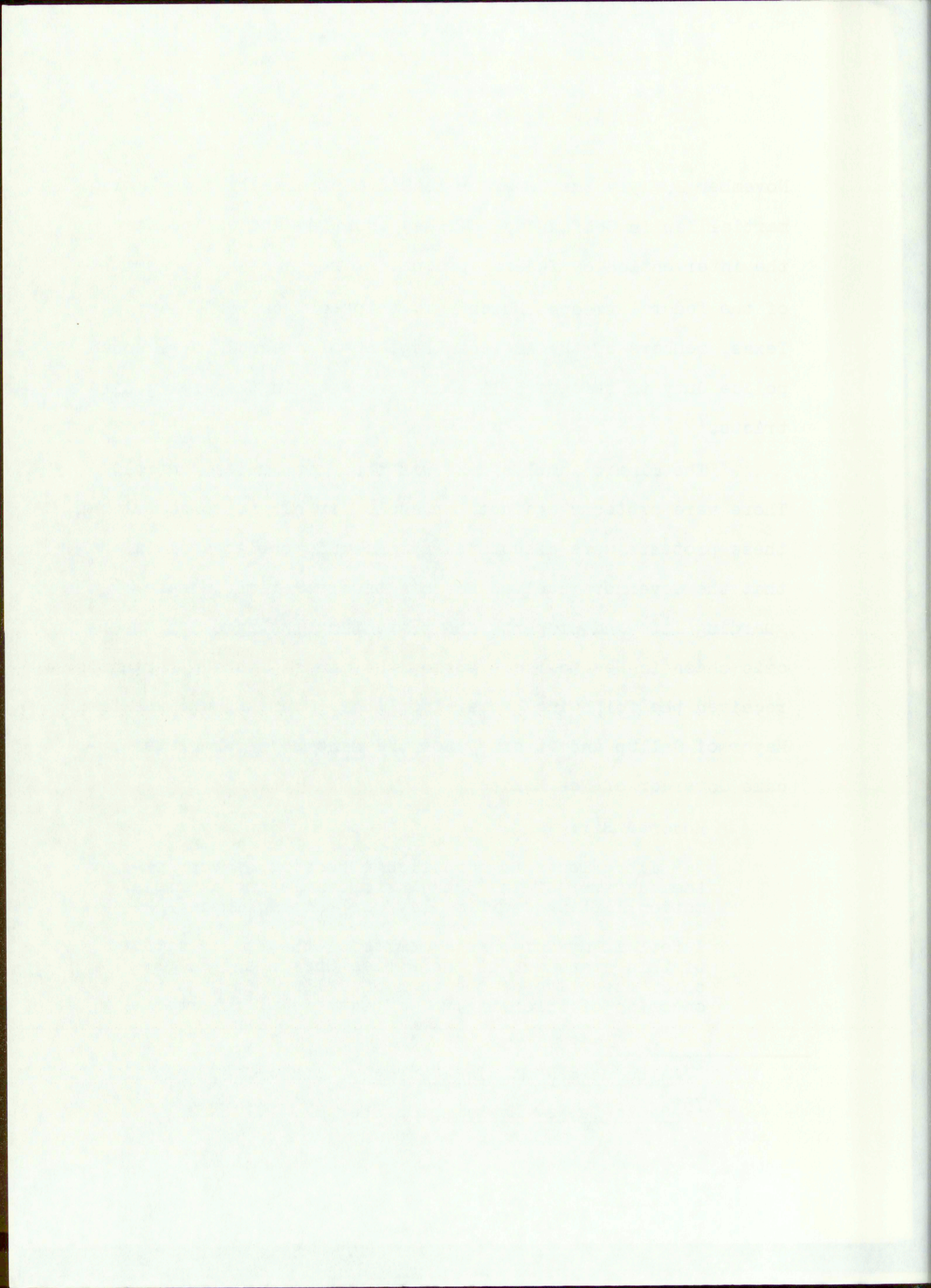
I feel it my duty, as a member of the bar, a citizen of this state and of the United States and as the chief executive of the town of Gallup, to take this occasion of informing you of matters of importance,

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<sup>74</sup> Albuquerque Morning Journal, October 24, 1919

<sup>75</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, October 31, 1919







touching the situation here during the last two months. I feel that I would be derelict and grossly shirking my duty if I failed to present to you, what is hereinafter set forth.

Prior to your issuing a proclamation for martial law in the town of Gallup and portions of McKinley county, there was neither violence threat of violence nor any situation that indicated that violence might ensue; nor was there a violation of any law of this state or nation. Since that time and up to the proclamation which you mailed me yesterday, there had been no violence or any violation of the laws of this state arising out of the strike situation, except that one deputy sheriff, who is a guard at one of the mines was fined for drunken and disorderly conduct, and you, violated the law of the state and the constitution of the United States in the following particulars:

1--Section 9, Article 11 of the constitution of New Mexico provides: "The military shall always be in strict subordination to the civil power"

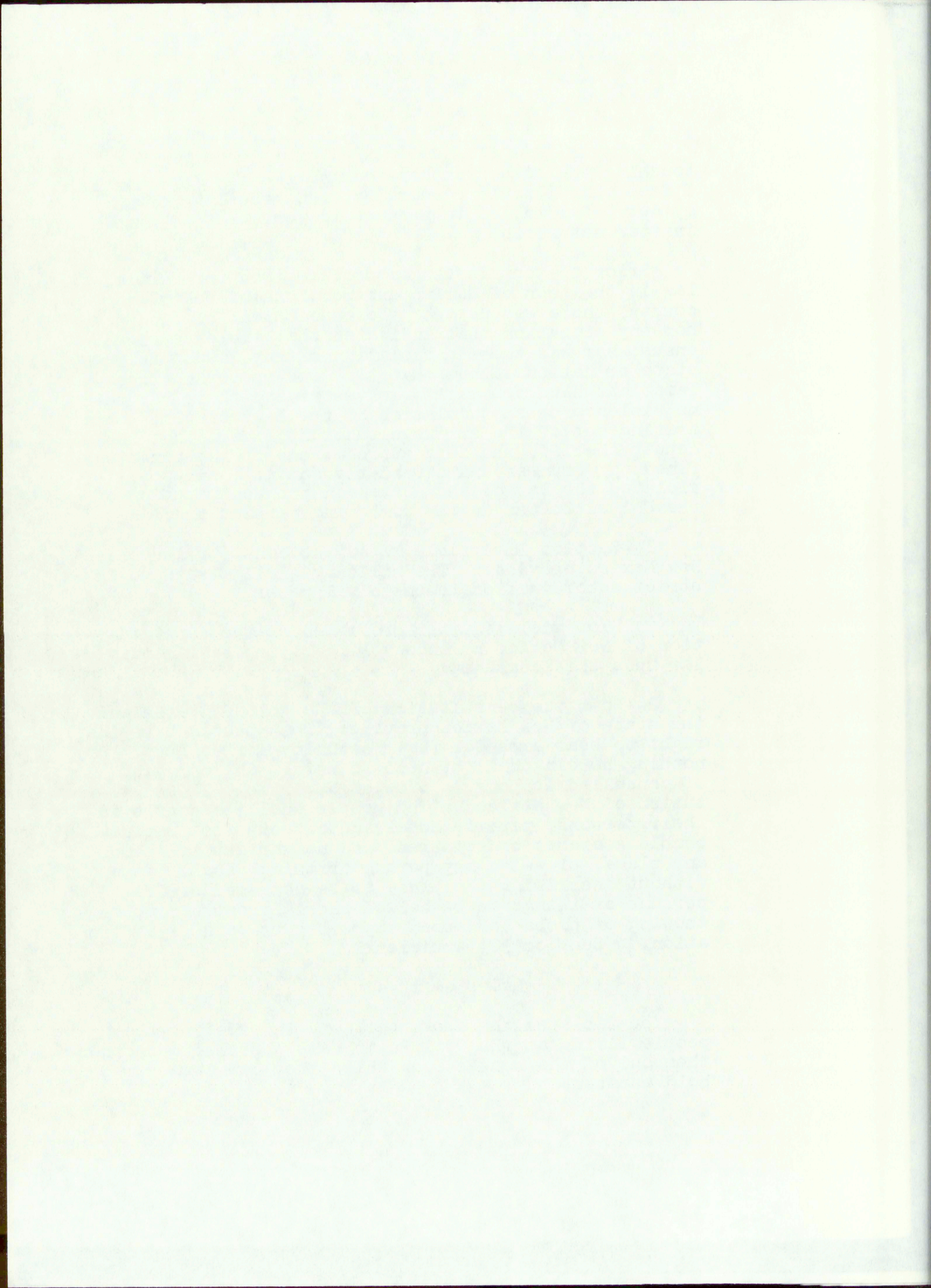
You violated this provision of the constitution of New Mexico by endeavoring to impose military law upon this community.

2--Both the constitution of the United States and the state of New Mexico provide: "That people have the right to bear arms for their security for defense, but nothing herein shall be held to permit the carrying of concealed weapons." Section 6, Article 11 Constitution of New Mexico: "The people shall be secure in their persons, papers, homes and effects from unreasonable searches or seizures, and no warrant to search any place, or seize any person or thing, shall issue without describing the place to be searched or the persons or things to be seized, nor without a written showing of probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation." Section 10, Article 11

homes searched

You violated the above sections in ordering the people living at the Coal Basin Camp searched and ordered them out of the houses upon which they had lease or hold estates.







Section 12, Article 11 of the Constitution of New Mexico and Article 12 of the Constitution of the United States, in practically the same words provide that "The right of trial by jury as it has heretofore existed shall be secured to all and remain inviolate."

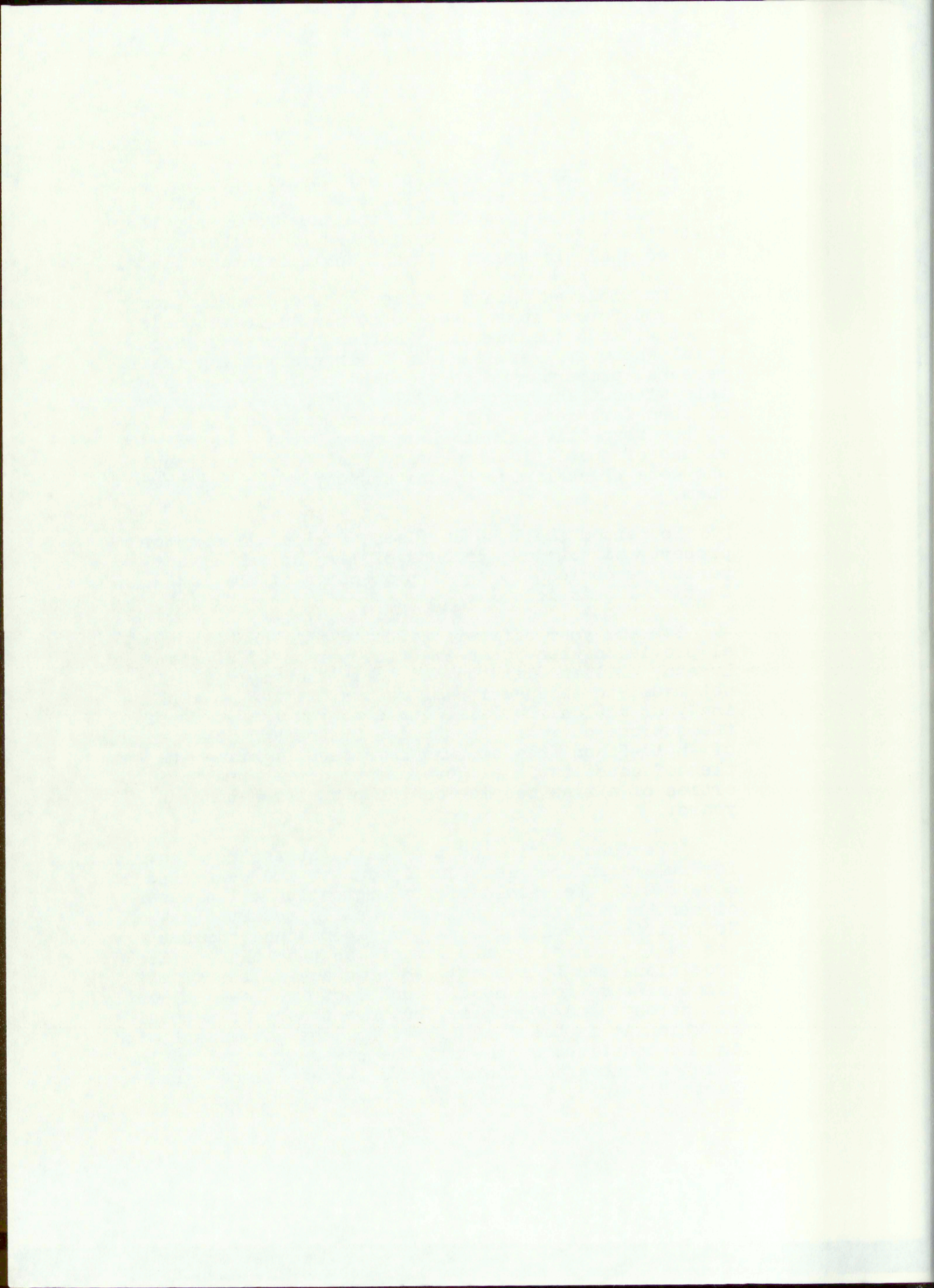
You violated this provision of the Constitution when you forced some 30 or 40 people to leave their homes without the statutory notice or without any trial whatever, resulting in their sacrificing their personal property and their right to a lease-hold estate without any process of law, when they and each of them were ready, willing and offered to dig coal at the respective mines where they lived, the only excuse of justification being that they were people who were black-listed by the company which employed them.

No person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor shall any person be denied the equal protection of the law" Section 18, Article 11.

- You and your officers violated this constitutional provision when you seized the person of Cipriano Lucero, William Clarkson and the Sasna boy. I will not trust to the paucity of my own diction in condemning your action, but will quote to you the words of the supreme court of the United States and other giants of Anglo-Saxon freedom, who have been fighting the battles of constitutional government to preserve the liberties of a free people for the past seven hundred years:

"The constitution of the United States is a law for rulers and people, equally in war and peace and covers with the shield of its protection all classes of men, at all times, and under all circumstances. No doctrine involving more pernicious consequences was ever invented by the wit of man than that of its provisions can be suspended during any of the great exigencies of government. Such doctrine leads directly to anarchy and despotism, but the theory of necessity on which it is based is false; for the government within the constitution has all the powers granted to it which are necessary to preserve its existence." Ex Parte Milligan, 4 Wall, 120, 18L. Ed. 295.





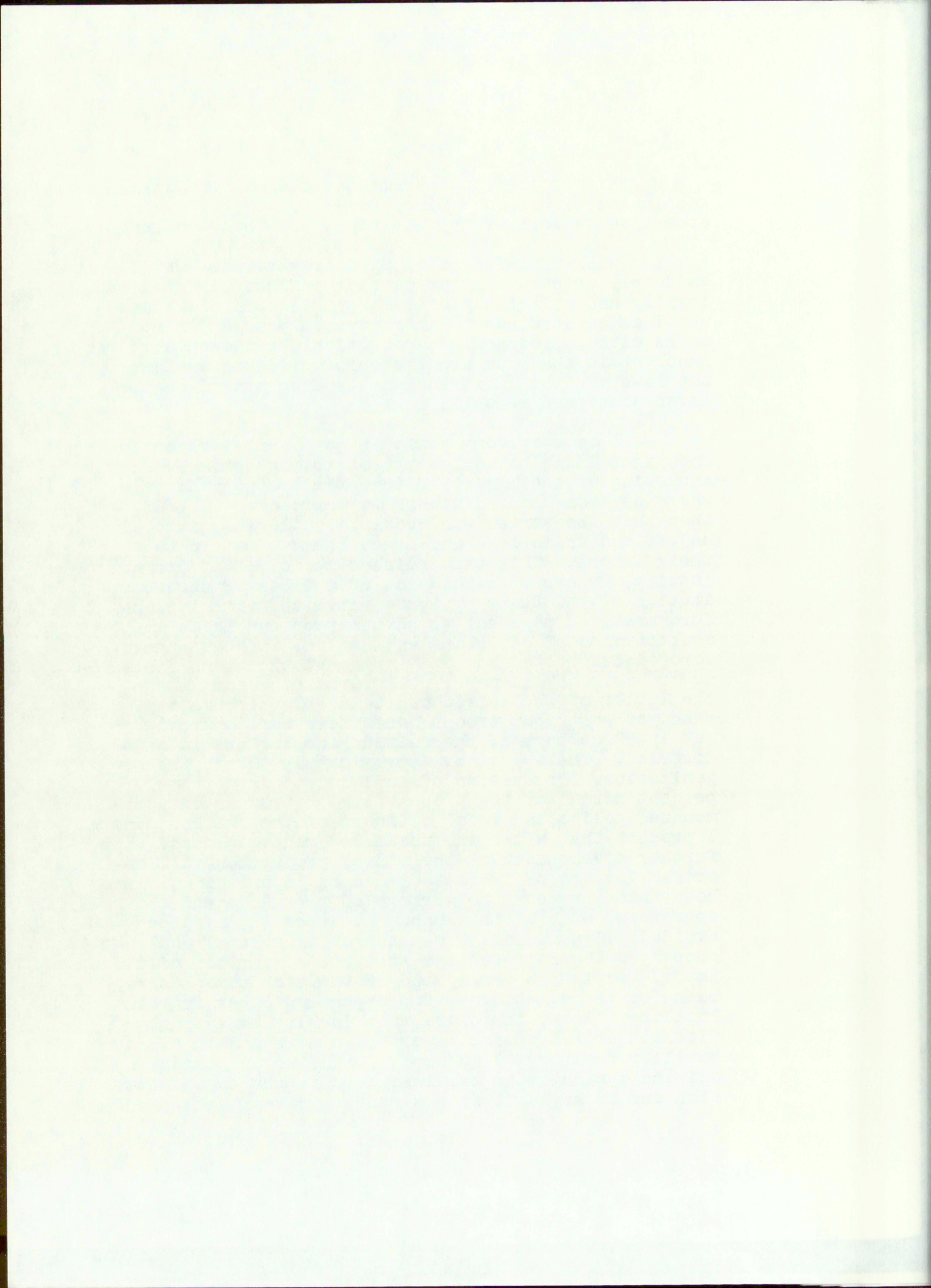


Mr. Hannet then quotes Alexander Hamilton George Washington, Prof. Valentine, David Dudley Field and others in support of the position. He then Continues:

You will therefore see, my dear governor, why I am deeply grieved at your casting reflections upon the loyalty and efficiency of local public officials and why I am constrained to characterize your appeal to me as either profoundly hypocritical or inexcusably ignorant in that you are the chief offender against the laws and the constitutional safe-guard of our beloved state and republic.

I am very very anxious, governor, for you to know that I was bitterly opposed to the strike. At a meeting of the miners, before the troops came here, where several hundred miners were present. I told them that the strike was absolutely illegal, immoral, unjust and unAmerican and urged them to return to their labors. This they refused to do. That did not justify, however, a violation of the law or the constitution of the State by those entrusted with its enforcement. I personally, have a profound faith in the constitution of our state and nation, and have therefore, a deeprooted and abiding conviction that there never has been and never will be an occasion which the letter of the spirit can be safely disregarded. When you sent your troops here there were approximately 57 members of the United Mine Workers in this district. There are now approximately 900 in the organization. Production of coal is not more than 70 percent normal at the present time by reason of your mounted police and local officers of the skilled miners. I predict that after the unskilled miners proceed with further development of the mines, production will decrease instead of increase. Had an impartial attitude been taken between the workers of the mines and the operators, much of this unhappiness could have been avoided. I personally, own shares in a local coal company which represents a substantial portion of all that I won in the world, and at the same time I have been for years, attorney for organized labor in this locality. I am, therefore, not lacking in sympathy with either the operators or the miners and in all due humility feel that I am amply justified in placing my opinion against your own in regard to the local situation and in saying that you made a grave mistake, and







there is not now, and never has been to my knowledge or the knowledge of any other person an I.E.E. or a Bolsheviki in this county.. If such a person ever appears here he will find no hand heavier than my own.

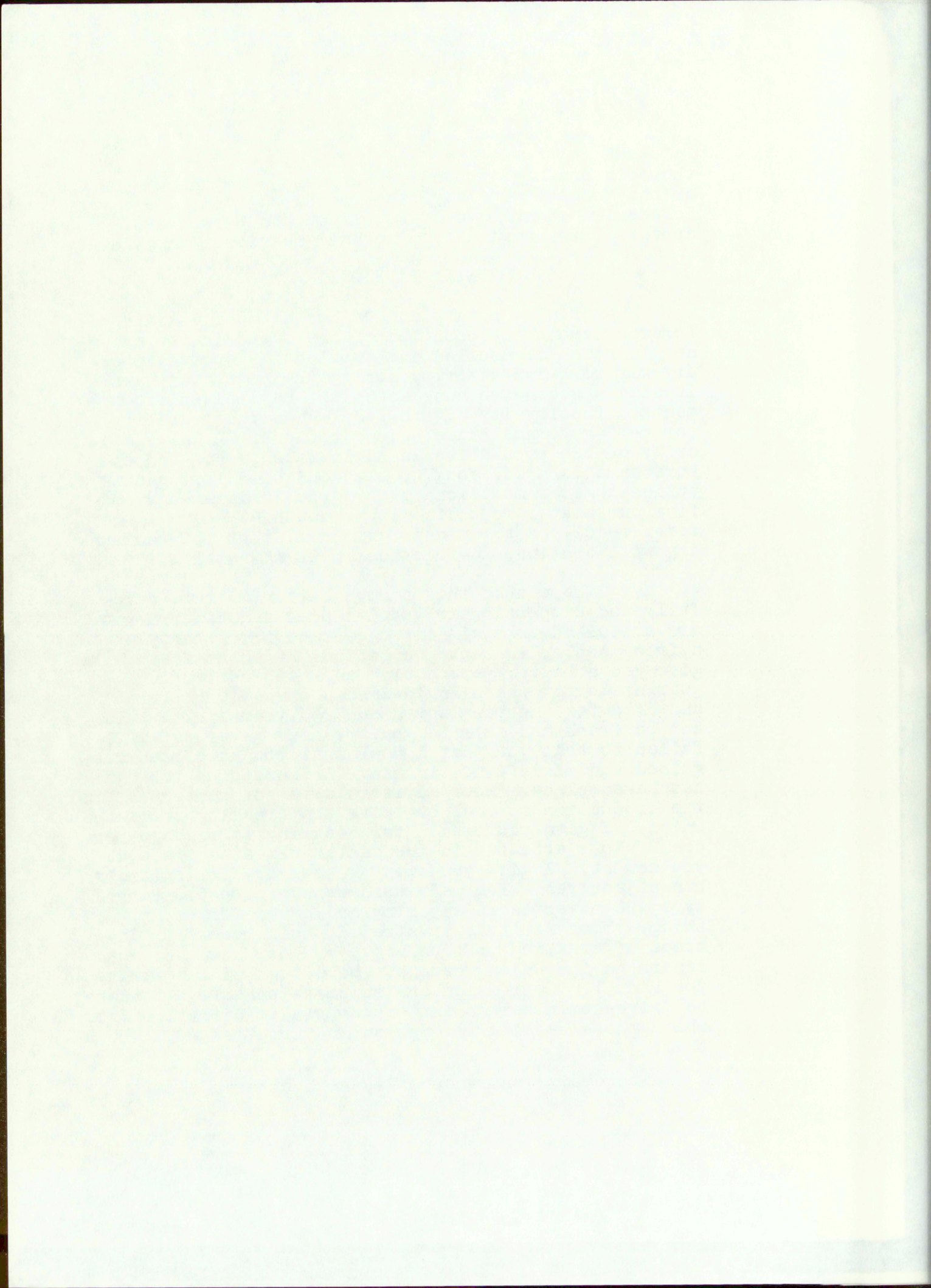
### COMMUNITY PATRIOTIC

McKinley county and Gallup stand first and foremost among the counties of the state in the manner in which it doubled and trebled its quotas in every war work and activity during the past two years. It stands second to none as to per capital enlistments. The loyalty of its people and their ability for self-government are second to none. A large majority of the population is Anglo-Saxon, whose ancestors have labored, fought, bled and died for constitutional government long before you immigrated from from our sister republic in the south. You may, therefore, readily see, my dear governor, that this community will continue to function as it always has.

May I hope that this communication will be carefully and dispassionately considered and if ever you are solicited to again infringe upon the liberty of a free people, that the quotations herenset forth will give you a better perspective on the constitutional guarantees for which Anglo-Saxons have fought, bled and died for the past seven hundred years. It would not be frank and fair to you, my dear governor, if I failed to tell you that I feel that you have been misguided and misinformed in many instances, as to what has taken place. Your advisors were not concerned with the production of coal but with the breaking up of the Union. I give you credit for desiring to produce more coal. Your attitude in the matter defeated the ends you sought. I give you credit, however, for entirely honest motives. Your advisors were of the Old Burbon type who never learn anything and never forget anything. Your attitude frustrated their hopes for instead of breaking up the Union, you now have 900 coal miners in the Union where at the outset of the strike you had 57. Oppression and suppression have a tendency to drive human beings into the opposite direction from which those seeking to oppress and suppress would herd them.

With every assurance of my high esteem, I am,







Yours very respectfully,

A. T. HANNETT<sup>76</sup>

Hannett's letter defending the miners and criticizing Larrazolo for the use of the troops in the strike brought the following reply from the governor:

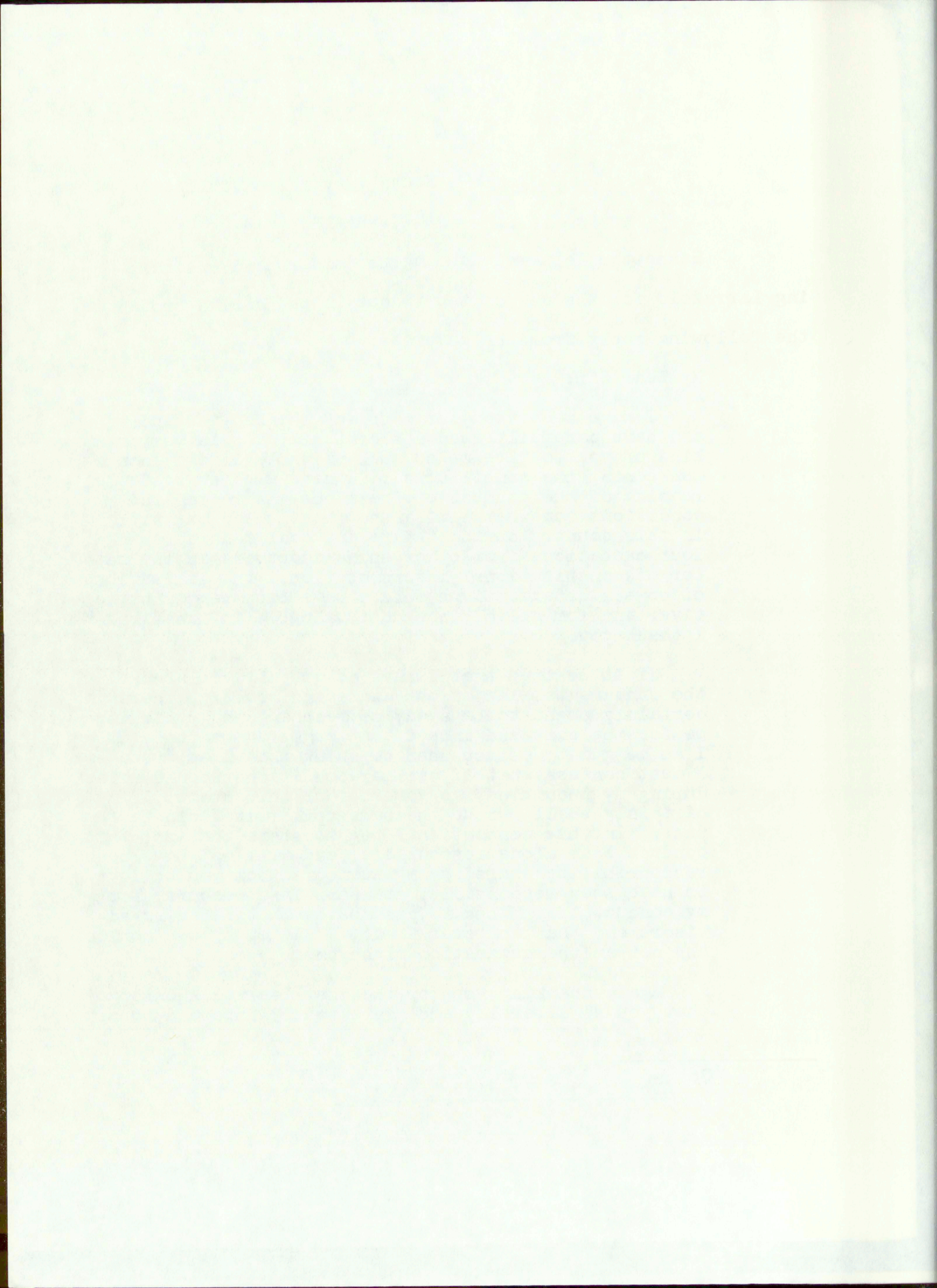
My Dear Sir:

I have received your favor of the 1st instant, and have carefully read its contents. It is very kind of you to give me so much valuable information concerning the constitution. I have also enjoyed the reading of the conduct of President Washington under conditions somewhat similar to those which existed in this country during the recent coal miners' strike. Your quotations from other eminent authors in the matter of constitutional interpretations, the limitations of powers of executives, etc., have been very instructive, and for all of this most valuable information I thank you.

If it be true that I have so grossly violated the fundamental law of our state and country, there certainly ought to be a way of reaching and punishing me for the same and indeed that ought to be done, if I am as guilty as you seem to think that I am; Because I must confess that if similar conditions should arise during my incumbency as governor of this state, I certainly shall pursue the same policy as I did in the past. In this connection I beg to state that for that conduct I am alone responsible, and will not have such responsibility shared by my advisors whom you believe to have been responsible, at least in a measure, for my conduct, for I beg to assure you that I had no advisors, and that whatever I did, I did of my own notion, and not at the suggestion of anyone.

Again thanking you for the most learned knowledge that you so liberally and gratuitously imparted to me,







and wishing you a very happy and prosperous New Year,  
I am,

Very Respectfully yours,

O. A. Larrazolo, Governor<sup>77</sup>

#### THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE LEGISLATURE

There had been some speculation as to whether and when the Governor would call a special session of the Legislature. The first definite announcement that a special session would be called was made at a Republican district committee conference that Larrazolo attended in Denver, Colorado on January 9, 1920. Speaking at the banquet, Larrazolo declared that heretofore he had opposed Woman suffrage, but he had changed his mind and was now enthusiastically in favor of it.<sup>78</sup> This conversion was in part responsible for his calling a special session of the legislature the following month.

Governor Larrazolo called the extra session to meet on February 16, 1920. In his message to the legislature he called for them to act on the following matters:<sup>79</sup>

1. "Ratify the Susan B. Anthony (woman suffrage) amendment.
2. Provide for the defense of the state against internal or external enemies.
3. Authorize counties and cities to make a special

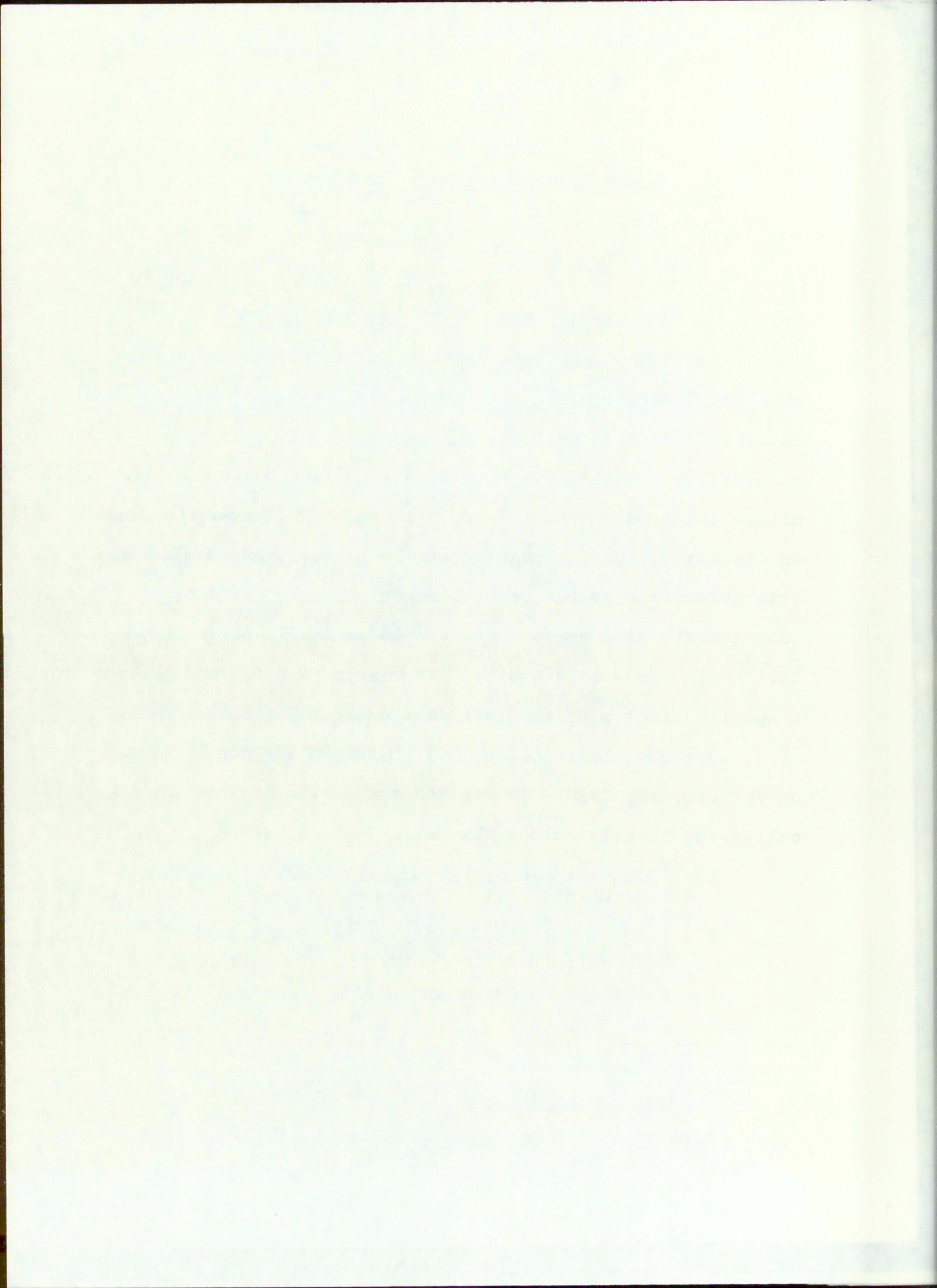
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<sup>77</sup> Gallup Herald, January 10, 1920

<sup>78</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, January 9, 1920

<sup>79</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, February 16, 1920







levy for public health purposes.

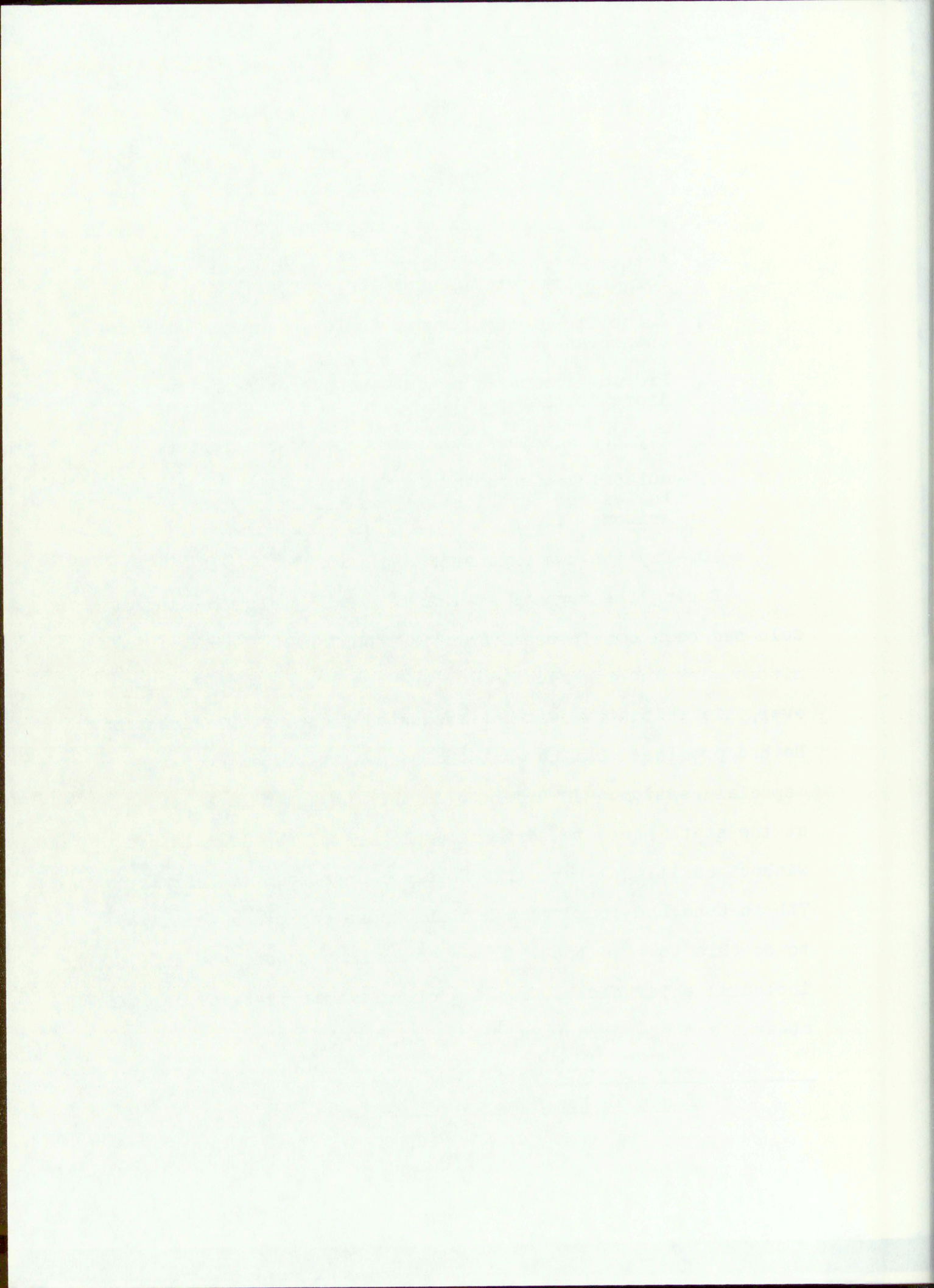
4. Make the income tax law constitutional.
5. Authorize Socorro county to levy a special tax for the transcription of its records.
6. Authorize Hidalgo county to levy a special tax for the ocean-to-ocean highway.
7. Provide for carrying out the purposes of the Soldiers Settlement bill.
8. Pay the soldiers settlement board's salaries.
9. Authorize Sierra and Grant counties to make special levies for the highway from Elephant Butte to the Arizona line.
10. Pay its own expenses.

During the regular session of the legislature, Larrazolo had been complemented for his technique in handling committee work and the adoption of the conference method. However, his initiative was not exhausted in the regular session. He had promised that he would hold down the expense of the special session. In order to do this he asked employees at the state house to serve as employees of the legislature without additional pay. The Governor announced by February 7th that he had found enough state house employees willing to do this to give both the senate and house complete staffs, including chief clerks, reading clerks, interpreters, sergeants-at-arms and stenographers.<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, February 7, 1920







The Governor's plan also had the merit of saving time for the special session, enabling it to get busy on legislation without wasting any time in making the appointment of employees. To further this time-saving plan he asked lawyers to prepare bills covering the recommendations to the legislature. They were asked to have them ready on the opening day of the special session.<sup>81</sup>

The economy-to-the-tax-payer plan was also followed up by the Legislature itself which adopted the organization of the regular session, including A. A. Sedillo of Bernalillo county as speaker and the committees of the regular session.<sup>82</sup> With all this stream-lining the special session was ready for business on the first day.

In his message calling the special session Larrazolo had urged the ratification of the "Susan B. Anthony Amendment" on the grounds that the Republican state convention of 1918 had adopted such a plank. This brought a split with the old guard as they said that the plank had not pledged them to ratification of the amendment, but merely to the submission of the question to the state at large.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Albuquerque Morning Journal, February 7, 1920.

<sup>83</sup> Albuquerque Morning Journal, February 17, 1920.



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<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Albuquerque Morning Journal, February 7, 1920.

<sup>83</sup> Albuquerque Morning Journal, February 17, 1920.



The rejection of this amendment at first appeared certain, but Governor Larrazolo and George R. Craig, Republican State Chairman, immediately called in Holm O. Bursum of Socorro, Republican National Committeeman, and Eduardo M. Otero of Los Lunas in an attempt to save the amendment from rejection. In the mean time the Governor started a series of conferences with some of the legislators regarding the matter.<sup>84</sup>

As a result the "Susan B. Anthony Amendment" was adopted by the Senate by a vote of 17 to 5. The action was greeted by an outburst of hand clapping packed largely by women. The vote on the resolution was as follows:

For: Baird, Bryant, Calisch, Chrisman, Dunlevy, Clark, Kaseman, Kerr, Lawrence, Lea, V. Lucero, McDonald, Mersfelder, Murray, Reinburg, Smith, Tully.

Against: Gallegos, Miliano Lucero, Mirabal, Salazar, Sanchez.<sup>85</sup>

It is interesting to note that all the legislators voting against the measure were natives. This reflects the attitude of the native people of the state. They were against women suffrage; Larrazolo shared this view until he attended the conference in Denver mentioned above, and heard the question of woman suffrage discussed by national Republican leaders.

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<sup>84</sup> Albuquerque Morning Journal, February 16, 1920

<sup>85</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, February 19, 1920





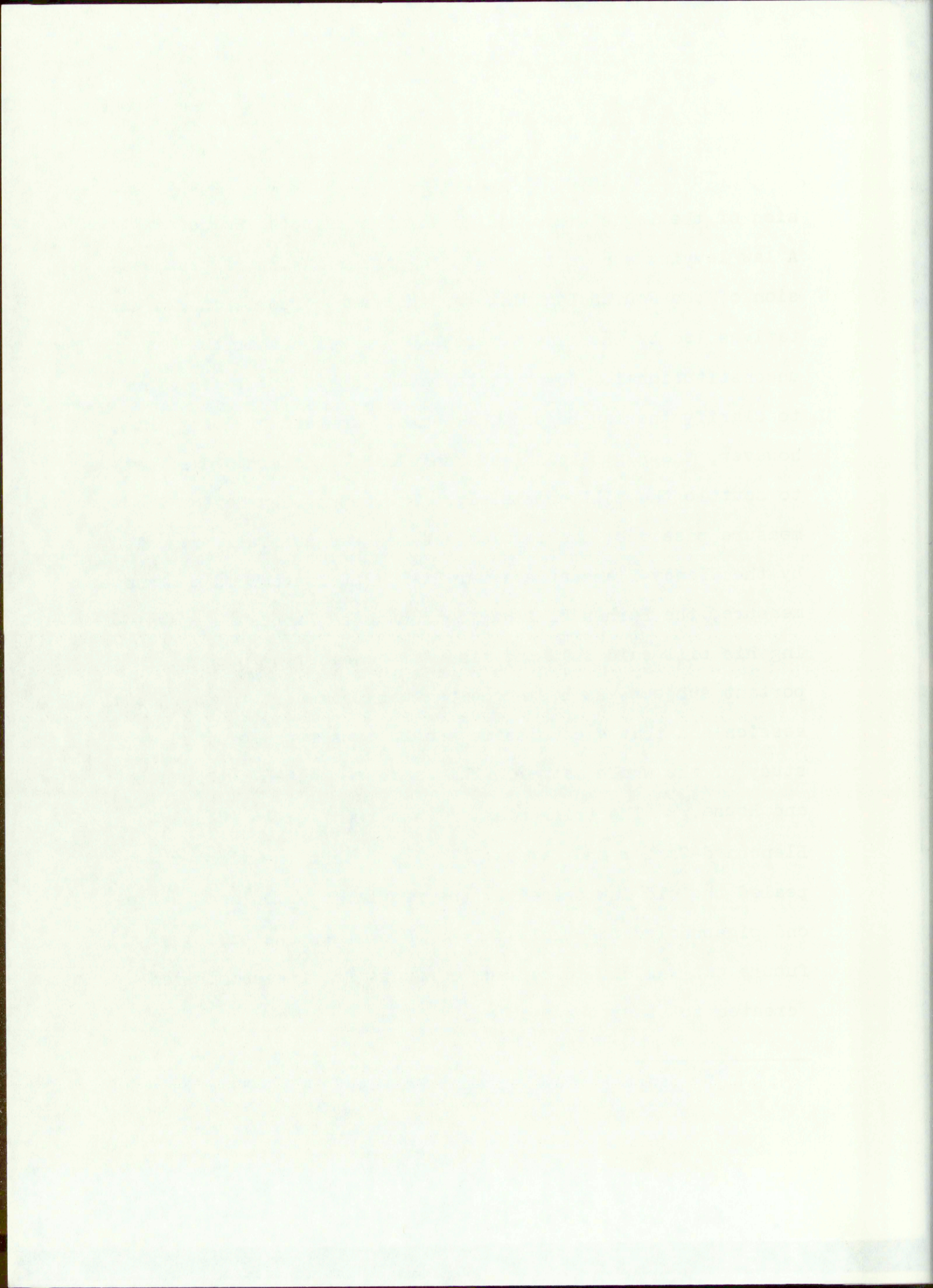


The most important matter which faced the special session of the legislature had to do with a state income tax law. A law levying such a tax had been passed in the regular session of the Fourth Legislature. However corporation representatives led by the mine owners had protested that the law was unconstitutional. Governor Larrazolo asked the legislature to clarify the law beyond challenge. Instead of doing this, however, the Republican leadership made a determined effort to scuttle the bill completely. The supposedly defective measure passed by the regular session was dutifully repealed by the Clancy-Blanchard-Carter Bill, but instead of a stronger measure, the Barnes bill was introduced. Barnes in explaining his bill said that the time for considering such an important subject as the income tax was too short for a special session, and that a commission should be set up for further study of the whole matter. This measure passed both Senate and House.<sup>86</sup> The trick play of the "twin" bills (Clancy-Blanchard-Carter and Barnes Bills) was that the first repealed the old law passed by the regular session and the second pigeonholed the whole thing. Even the possibility of a future tax was dimmed by lack of funds for the commission created to study the problem.

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<sup>86</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, February 19, 1920







The special session adjourned and the "vested interests" congratulated themselves on the maneuver. Their joy was short lived. Governor Larrazolo vetoed the Clancy-Blanchard-Carter Bill, thus leaving the income tax passed by the regular session in force. The court would have to determine its constitutionality. The political result of the whole affair was a break between the Governor and the party leaders. Larrazolo was proving too liberal for the Old Guard.<sup>87</sup>

The extra session of the Fourth New Mexico Legislature was concluded within its seven-day limit. It had taken action on every matter laid before it by the Governor in his call and had passed bills covering the majority of the subjects. Failure of the soldiers settlement bill as drawn and the income tax bill were the principal failures of a session record-breaking in its brevity.<sup>88</sup> The Republicans fell short by a hair's breadth of adopting the resolution ratifying the "Susan B. Anthony Amendment" without Democratic aid in the house. Larrazolo's action in the Gallup coal strike, holding the expense of the mobilization of the mounted police to \$1,477.77, was commended in a resolution offered by Senator Salazar.<sup>89</sup>

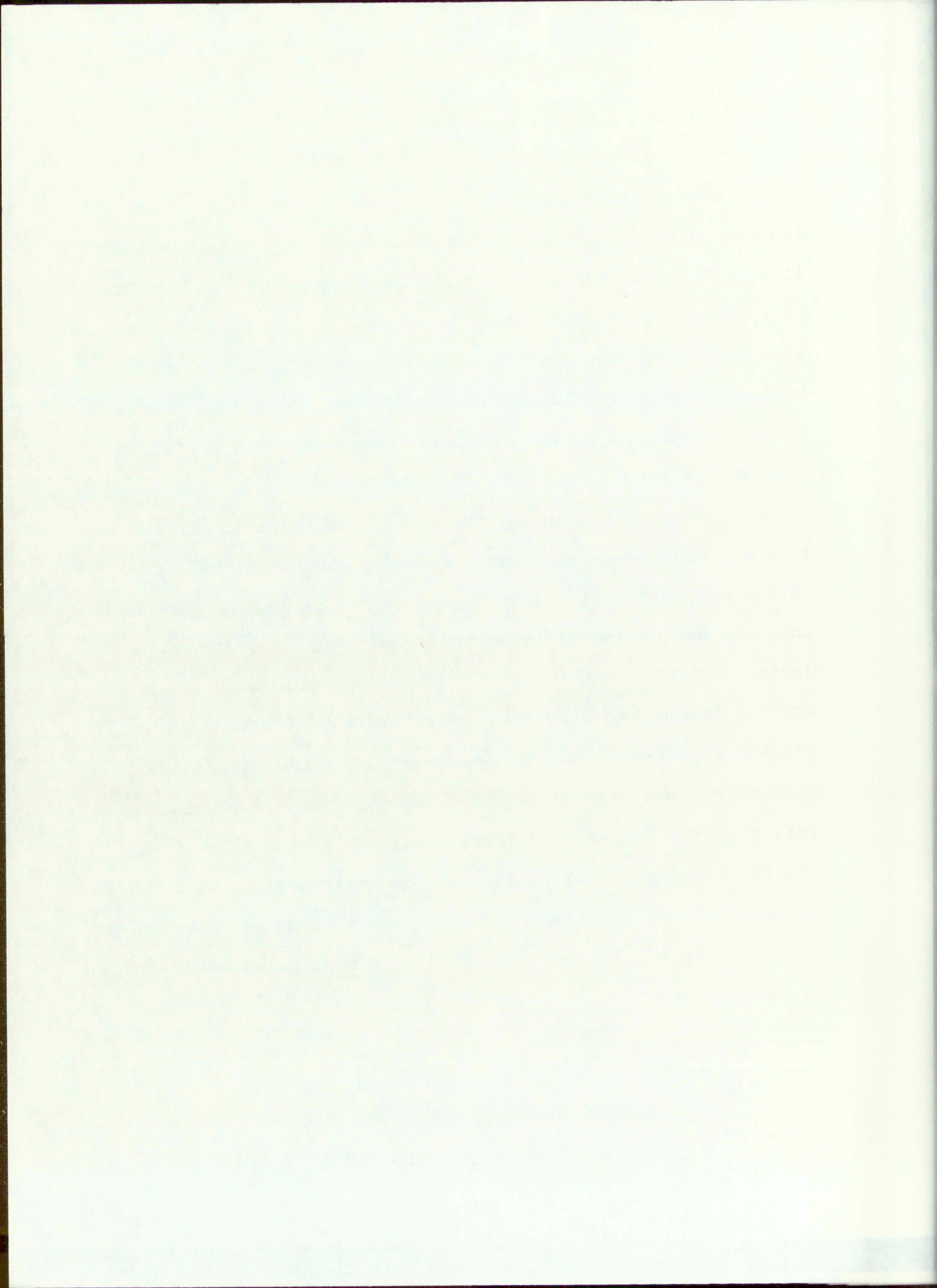
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<sup>87</sup> Ibid

<sup>88</sup> Albuquerque Evening Herald, February 23, 1920

<sup>89</sup> Albuquerque Morning Journal, February 21, 1920







## ENTERTAINS ROYALTY

During Governor Larrazolo's term of office he was host to the King and Queen of Belgium and the Crown Prince Leopold. King Albert and the royal party arrived in New Mexico October, 1919 and were greeted in a manner befitting a King. During their stay they showed great interest in the Indians of New Mexico. The Governor's committee arranged for a trip to Isleta Pueblo where the Indians performed their dances. A cowboy exhibition was also presented. Colonel Sellers, in charge of the arrangements, sent for the three best bronco busters to take part in the cowboy quadrille. The King and Queen had come to this country to thank the American people for the part their Armed Forces had played in the liberation of Belgium during World War I.<sup>90</sup>

## MAINTAINS FRIENDLINESS WITH MEXICO

Alvaro Obregon was President of Mexico during Larrazolo's administration. Personal letters, telegrams and invitations show that the personal relationship between President Obregon and Governor Larrazolo was very close. The Governor was invited to Mexico several times by the President. During the interim between these visits Governor Larrazolo was consulted by President Obregon for aid. One time he called upon the Governor to intervene in behalf of two Mexican

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<sup>90</sup> Personal telegram from President Obregon dated December 21, 1920



# MAINTAINING FRIENDSHIP WITH MEXICO

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citizens who had been sentenced to hang for the murder of an American in New York. Larrazolo did everything in his power, but was unable to intervene because the matter was not within the jurisdiction of the Governor of the State of New York.<sup>91</sup> The action taken above shows one of the many special favors he performed for the President. He also spoke at Juarez and other places in Mexico and promised Mexico that the United States would not intervene in their domestic troubles with Carranza.

Even after his tenure as Governor, Larrazolo continued to improve the relations between the United States and Mexico. He was invited to speak before the Mexican Chamber of Deputies regarding the need for the initiation of a program to develop Mexico's natural resources. His speech was well received. The Mexican press was sympathetic with his ideas and recommendations.<sup>92</sup>

#### PATRONAGE

During the early part of his administration as governor, Larrazolo was criticized by the El Paso Herald for his removal of Ted Rouault as Warden of the State penitentiary. The Governor replied as follows:

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<sup>91</sup> Albuquerque Morning Journal, October 16, 1919.

<sup>92</sup> El Hearldo De Mexico, November 27, 1921



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#### FAIRCHAMBER

During the early part of his administration as Governor, Larracoche was criticized by the El Paso Herald for his removal of the Governor as written of the State Department. The Governor replied as follows:

<sup>91</sup> Albuquerque Morning Journal, October 18, 1912.

<sup>92</sup> El Heraldo de Mexico, November 27, 1911.



I am making appointments with a view to efficiency and good service. At the same time I am working as a result of an efficient administration to keep the Republican party in power.

.....

I would like to tell the man who points to a man who does not play politics in an office like mine, that he is a-well, damned fool.

I am playing politics with the view and purpose of maintaining the Republicans in power in New Mexico. But the method I have adopted to accomplish this end is to give the state an honest and efficient administration.<sup>93</sup>

Larrazolo's answer was significant because one of the unwritten duties of the governor of the state is to be the political leader of his party, and yet give the state an honest and efficient administration.

As his term entered its second year Larrazolo could already be proud of his record. He had been the first governor of the state of New Mexico to acquire a national reputation as a leader in western development. In the various governor's conferences his initiative and leadership had done a great deal to increase the prestige of New Mexico throughout the United States. His ability to grasp large problems and personalities did much to dissipate foolish misapprehensions held in the East and other parts of the United States as to the character of the racial element in New Mexico whose ancestry he shared.

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<sup>93</sup> El Paso Herald, February 17, 1919.





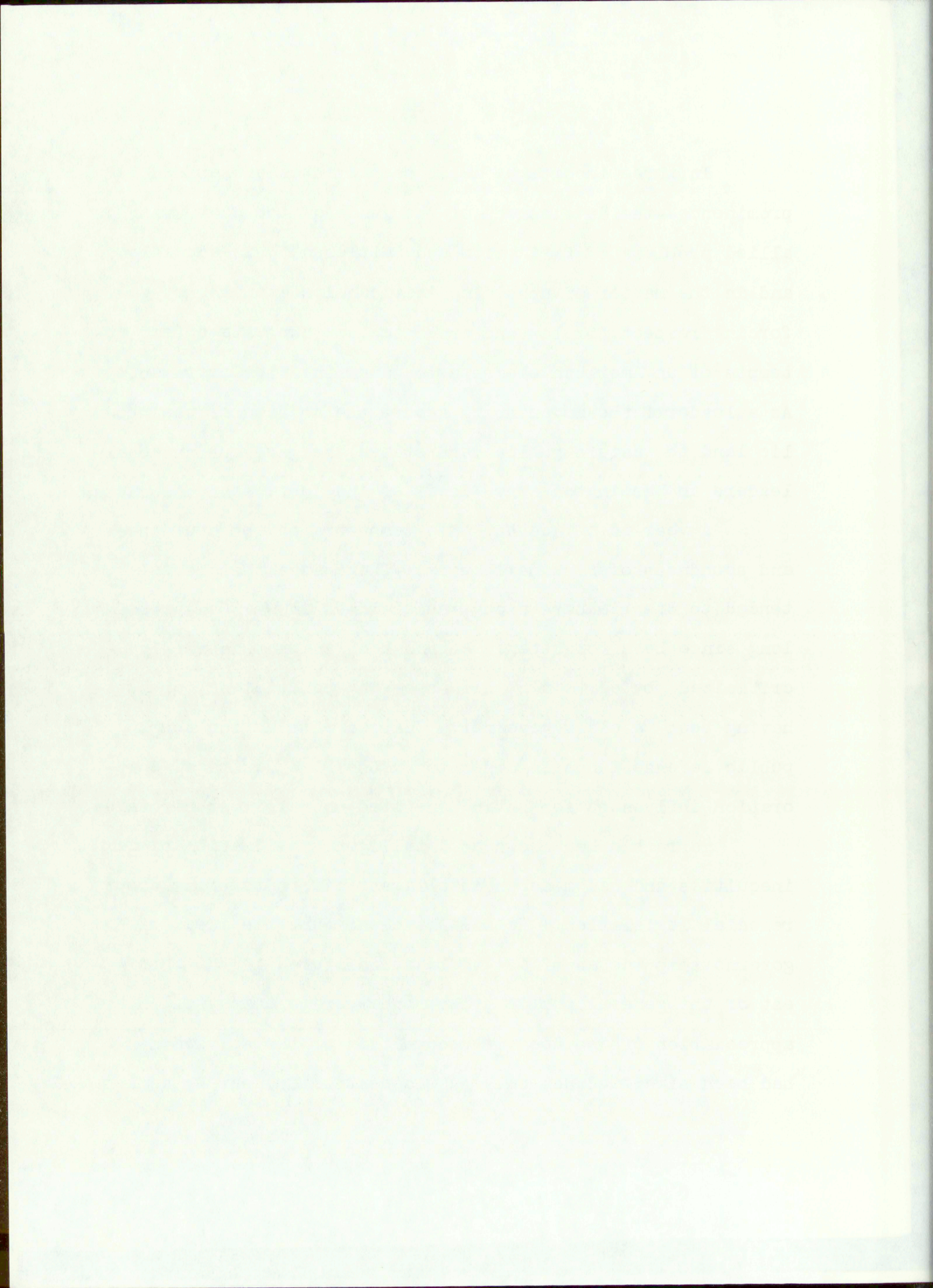


In three important fields he had attained national prominence--the development of the lands of the west, (with allied problems of irrigation and settlement), in education, and in the matter of upholding American institutions by enforcing respect for law and order against the wide-spread attempts of un-American elements to undermine the Government. As a leader of the movement to secure the session of the public land to western public land states, he gave our national leaders in Washington a new ideal of the justice of his cause.

A year in office had also demonstrated the sturdiness and soundness of his Americanism. The charge that he intended to discriminate along racial lines in New Mexico had long since been forgotten. He had been, in fact, severely criticized by certain Spanish-speaking politicians for not having been a class governor. Charged with having sought public defense funds in order to further the desire of corporation influences for having insisted on raising their taxes.

Larrazolo had shown an intelligent realization of tax inequities and had made an intelligent effort to bring about remedial legislation. He made it clear that his ideas of governorship was an office to be administered in the interest of the general public and of the average taxpayer. His appreciation of the need of recognition of the service men had been signified not only by eloquent words, but by action.







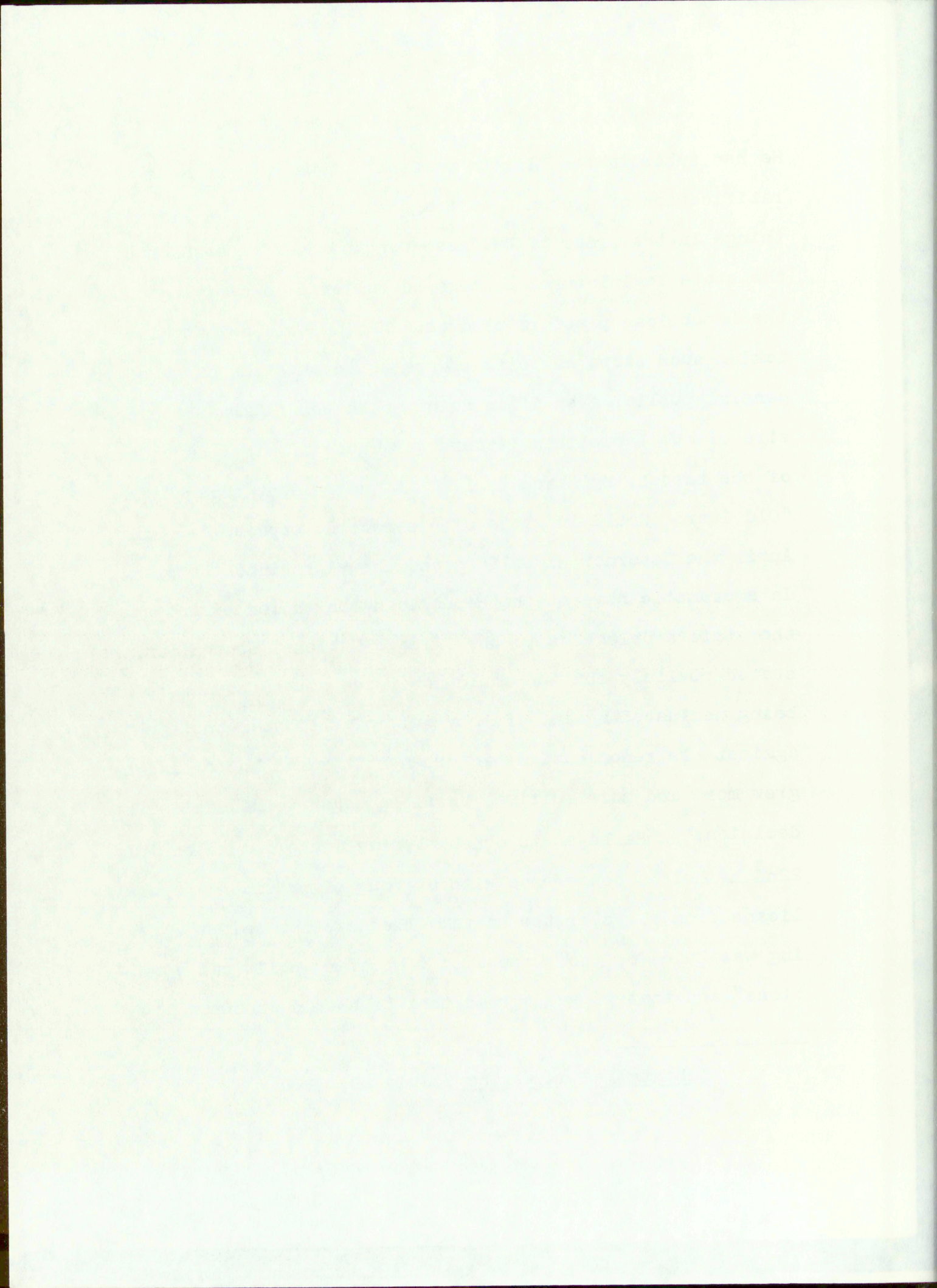
He had subordinated his own personal views when he made the ratification of woman's suffrage amendment one of the first things in the order of business for the special session of the state legislature, because he believed in carrying out the Republican platform pledges. He did not hesitate in taking such steps as he felt were to advance the cause of the general public, even if in doing so he went against the desire of the Republican leaders. Because of his independence of the bosses, by March 7, 1920 it was evident that the "Old Guard" would in spite of his record, oppose him. In April the Governor himself forced the fight into the open. In a dramatic move at the Republican convention, which named the state's delegates to the Chicago National Convention, he stated publicly that he would not raise a hand to insure his being nominated again. But by July of that year the fight against his renomination had grown hotter and hotter and he grew more and more restive, until he began to reconsider his decision.<sup>94</sup> He began to consult party leaders, and on July 22nd he held a conference with a group of prominent Republicans from all over the state. The Governor said the meeting was held for the "purpose of discussing political conditions" and that it was agreed that he should announce his

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Santa Fe New Mexican, July 20, 1920







candidacy.<sup>95</sup>

On July 24 Larrazolo announced that he would seek a second term as governor in order to carry out the following program:<sup>96</sup>

1. To recommend the enactment of a primary election law.
2. Revision of the tax laws of the state so that taxation shall be equal upon all persons and classes of property.
3. A non-partisan board of management of state lands and the funds arising therefrom.
4. Cession of public lands by the federal government to the state.
5. A complete budget system.
6. Improvements of public schools and state institutions of learning and better salaries for school teachers.
7. Adjustment of differences between capital and labor.
8. Economy and abolition of superfluous offices.
9. Assistance to ex-servicemen.

On August 2nd United States Senator A. B. Fall made a visit to New Mexico. He went to Santa Fe to conduct what he called a political reconnaissance mission. He further indicated that one of the main objectives of his investigation

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<sup>95</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, July 23, 1920

<sup>96</sup> Albuquerque Morning Journal, July 25, 1920







was a study of the fight being made against Larrazolo's renomination.<sup>97</sup> Throughout his stay in Santa Fe, Fall remained rather aloof from his political colleague, Larrazolo. When asked about his stand on the question of Larrazolo's renomination, he stated that his attitude was neutral. During Fall's stay in Santa Fe, he had a long four hour talk with the Governor. He also conducted a countless series of "pow-wows" with judges, bosses, senators, chairmen, ward heelers and corporation lawyers.<sup>98</sup>

After Fall left town several rumors were heard in political circles. One had it that Larrazolo would be asked to run for Congress or something else to avoid the fight against him inside the party. His enemies were said to be willing to nominate him for Congress and even willing not to work for the nomination of any one objectionable to the governor as gubernatorial candidate, but they were against his renomination as head of the party's state ticket.<sup>99</sup>

Several days after Fall's reconnaissance mission, Governor Larrazolo issued a statement of about a thousand words to keep the record straight and to quiet the rumors. He declared that he would continue "as a candidate for governor and nothing else." He admitted that there was some opposition

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<sup>97</sup> Santa Fe New Mexico, August 2, 1920

<sup>98</sup> Santa Fe New Mexico, August 8, 1920

<sup>99</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, August 5, 1920







"based largely upon purely personal grievances" which aroused the antagonism of certain prominent politicians."

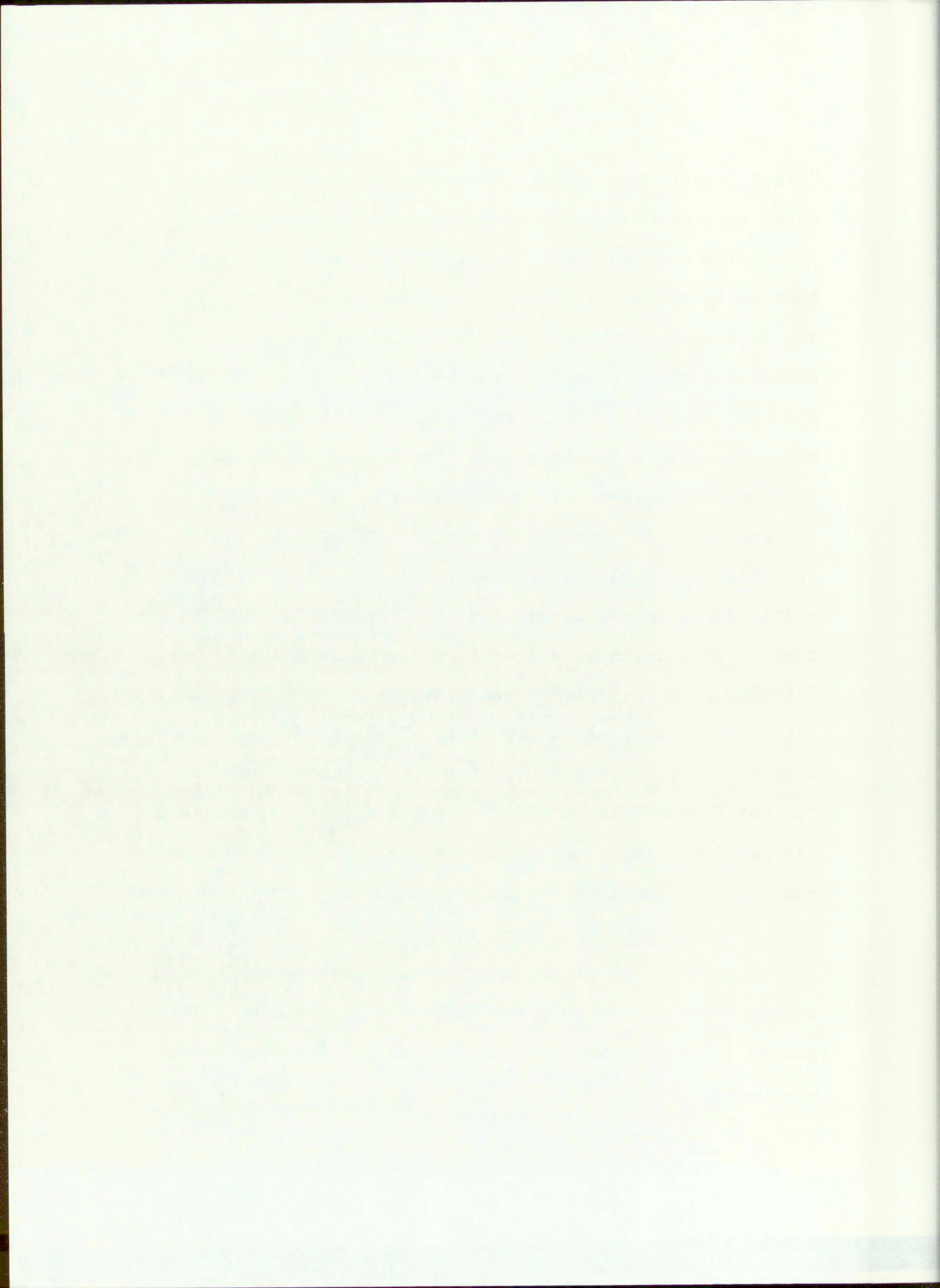
The Governor came out in the open and made it clear that he believed that the real opposition was from the mining interests in the state. He further stated that these mining interests were openly friendly to him during and after the coal miners' strike. The Governor attributed the loss of their friendship to his veto of the Clancy-Blanchard-Carter Bill which repealed the income tax law. He said that those who asked him to drop out of the race as governor had suggested that his name would be brought before the new president to appoint him as Ambassador to some Latin American country. He replied to this in an eloquent manner of speech. He said, "neither does the siren's voice or the whispering of flattery fall upon kindly ears in my case. That appeal might be well made to the ambitious youth, but not to one who has passed the meridian of his life."<sup>100</sup> Senator Fall's reconnoitering had merely served to add insult to injury. Larrazolo had now become adamant in his determination to stay in the fight for the nomination as governor.

Another one of the stories that leaked out in the strife between Larrazolo and Fall was that Senator Fall expected to get a snug berth in the Harding Cabinet-to-be.

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<sup>100</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, August 12, 1920







The rumor had it that Fall, with his usual delicate technique, gave Governor Larrazolo to understand that he would like to see W. A. Hawkin appointed to senator. The tale was that Larrazolo would not consent to this. While rumors of that type are hard to confirm; the bitter fight that Fall and Hawkins conducted against Larrazolo seemed to justify it.<sup>101</sup>

Larrazolo challenged Messrs. H. B. Hening and Tom Hughes of the Albuquerque Evening Herald, W. A. Hawking, attorney for the El Paso and Southwestern interests, Secundino Romero of Las Vegas and Eduardo Otero of Los Lunas to meet in open debate and discuss the virtues and faults of his administration, but no one accepted his challenge.<sup>102</sup>

In the closing days of the campaign and even up to the time of the convention the "Old Guard" began to come out in the open in their opposition to Larrazolo. As the various counties held their conventions to elect delegates to the state conventions, the members of the "Old Guard" would step in to try to dominate the appointment of the delegates or to influence them against Larrazolo.

H. O. Bursum, Republican political leader in Socorro county, came out in the open against Governor Larrazolo's

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<sup>101</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, August 22, 1920

<sup>102</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, August 17, 1920



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candidacy for renomination and the county convention defeated the move by Larrazolo's supporters to send a Larrazolo delegation to the state convention. The delegation on Bursum's motion went uninstructed.<sup>103</sup>

The Bernalillo county Republican convention at its session in Albuquerque repudiated the campaign of the Albuquerque Evening Herald against the progressive record and policies of Governor Larrazolo. They praised the Governor's record, but supported Tom Hughes for Governor.<sup>104</sup>

The cry that "the governor's own people are against him" was answered by Rio Arriba county in unequivocal terms. Rio Arriba, one of the predominantly Spanish-American counties, endorsed the Larrazolo administration and recommended his renomination. <sup>105</sup>

Of the three big daily newspapers in the state, two, the Albuquerque Morning Journal and the Santa Fe New Mexican, were committed to the last ditch stand for Larrazolo and his platform and the other one, the Albuquerque Evening Herald, had gone so far in its denunciation of Larrazolo as to make it impossible for it to support him if he was nominated.

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<sup>103</sup>

Albuquerque Evening Herald, August 21, 1920

<sup>104</sup>

Santa Fe New Mexican, August 27, 1920

<sup>105</sup>

Albuquerque Morning Journal, August 28, 1920



candidate for renomination and the county convention selected the move by Larrazolo's supporters to send a Larrazolo delegation to the state convention. The delegation on Bourne's motion went unopposed. 103

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103 Albuquerque Evening Herald, August 21, 1920

104 Santa Fe New Mexican, August 27, 1920

105 Albuquerque Morning Journal, August 28, 1920



This was an about-face from the stand it had taken on Larrazolo for the first term.

The Albuquerque Evening Herald had charged:

- 1..that the Governor had abused the pardoning power in releasing a Silver City man from the penitentiary.
2. that the Governor "broke his promise" to New Mexico school teachers by not including salary increase in his call for the special session.
3. that he was opposed to a direct primary until he went after the renomination.
4. that he experienced an eleventh hour conversion from utter indifference to any forward looking program in the public business to a sudden advocacy of vague and windy reforms. All these charges were answered by the New Mexican and the Journal, proving beyond a reasonable doubt that the charges had been trumped-up and were entirely baseless. 106

The Herald's rival newspapers argued that the real reason that the mine corporations and the "Old Guard politicians" were fighting Larrazolo through their Albuquerque tool, the Herald, was that Larrazolo had been too specific in his charges. They maintained that the Herald and their representatives were against Larrazolo's progressive and independent record and his progressive and popular and independent







program. They further argued that Larrazolo wouldn't take orders from the Old Guard which had been constantly and steadily wrecking the Republican party in New Mexico for years.<sup>107</sup>

The fight over the governorship threw the rest of the Republican ticket entirely into the background and virtually no suggestions whatever as to the other candidates were brought forth until the candidate for governor was nominated.<sup>108</sup>

On the day of the convention the candidate-seeking job seemed to get more and more hopeless. Larrazolo's opponents had no candidate. The position was offered to several persons, but for a while there was no one who would accept. George Craig was offered the job as governor, but he said he was happy where he was and was not interested in the governorship. Lieutenant Governor Pankey said he didn't want it and, as the last measure, would only take it if Larrazolo nominated him. Louis Armijo from Las Vegas was approached and he walked away from it. Finally the Old Guard turned to Judge Merit C. Mechem from Socorro, who was persuaded to accept.<sup>109</sup>

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Ibid.

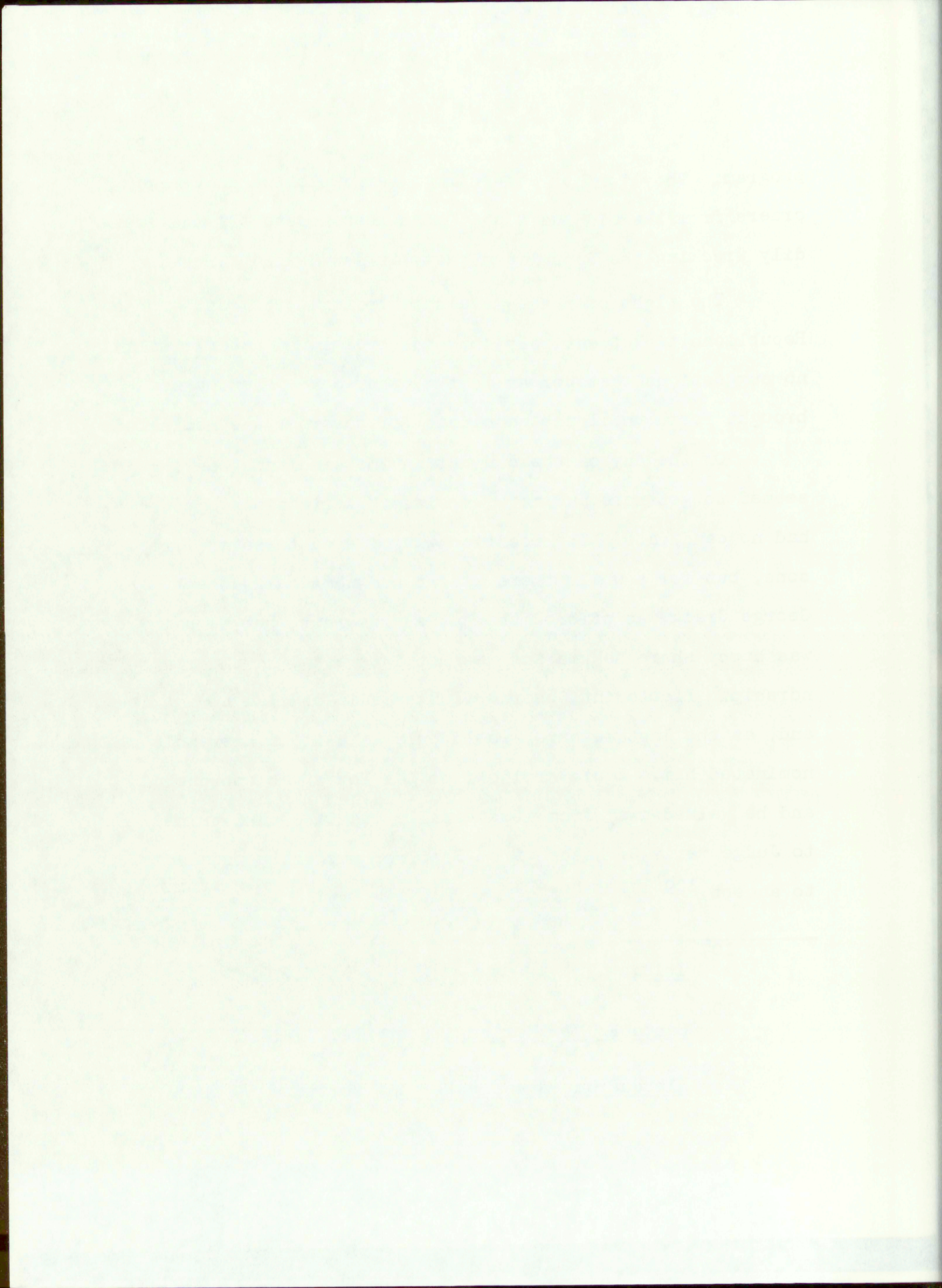
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Santa Fe New Mexican, September 7, 1920

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Albuquerque Evening Herald, September 8, 1920







Larrazolo came within twenty votes of being renominated for the second term, but lost to Judge Mechem. It took three ballots to nominate Mechem. The voting went as follows

On the first ballot Larrazolo received 559 votes, Mechem, 259, Armijo, 253, Hughes, 118, Craig, 1. On the second ballot Larrazolo received 564, Mechem, 378, Armijo 144, Hughes, 104.

Then the word to switch was given to San Miguel with its 129 and Bernalillo with its 91 manageable votes.<sup>110</sup>

Larrazolo accepted his defeat and promised to do everything in his power to help elect Merrit C. Mechem. He made a prophecy, however, which history has confirmed. He pointed out that the majority of 10,000 votes which the Republicans had once held in New Mexico was diminishing year by year. He warned that the hold that the bosses had on the Republican party was destroying the party and making New Mexico a permanent Democratic state. Larrazolo's prophecy has now gone far towards becoming a fact.<sup>111</sup>

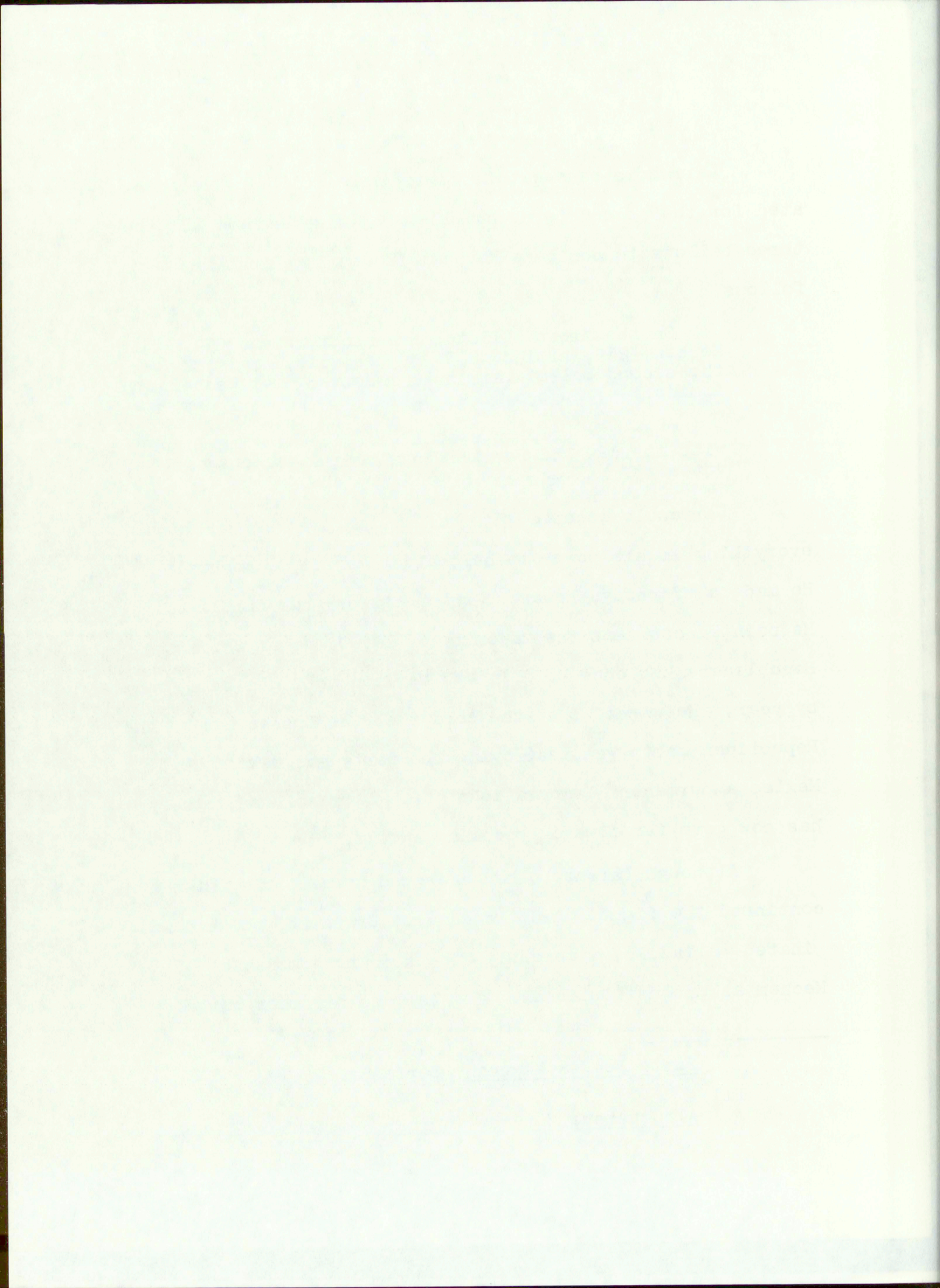
Although Larrazolo had accepted defeat, his friends continued the fight. A.G. Renehan of Santa Fe, who had nominated Larrazolo, vigorously attacked the nomination of Mechem as unconstitutional. The Larrazolo forces quoted

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<sup>110</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, September 9, 1920

<sup>111</sup> Albuquerque Morning Journal, September 20, 1920







the provision of the state constitution to the effect that no judge of the district or supreme court could be nominated or elected to any other than a judicial office in this state.<sup>112</sup>

Larrazolo's friends had remained faithful even to the last. The Santa Fe New Mexican, also a staunch supporter of Larrazolo and his principles, turned against the Republican party because it believed that the candidates to the election were hand picked by the Old Guard who sought to control the Legislature and the Governorship.<sup>113</sup>

#### THE CLOSING DAYS OF LARRAZOLO'S POLITICAL ACTIVITY

After Larrazolo's defeat by Governor Mechem, he returned to his law practice. He remained active in the Republican party and continued his fight to seek equal representation on the party's ticket for both Anglo and Native candidates.

In 1923 his name was submitted to President Warren G. Harding for consideration as Governor of Puerto Rico. The sixth legislative session passed a memorial recommending his appointment. The Chamber of Commerce, New Mexico's representatives in Congress, and many other influential persons from this state as well as other parts of the country

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<sup>112</sup>

Albuquerque Evening Herald, September 9, 1920

<sup>113</sup>

Santa Fe New Mexican, September 10, 1920



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<sup>112</sup> Albuquerque Evening Herald, September 9, 1920

<sup>113</sup> Junta de New Mexico, September 10, 1920



recommended him very highly for the position. Many of the ex-governors that had met at the Salt Lake City conference sent in endorsements for him as soon as they knew that his name had been submitted to the President for consideration as governor of Puerto Rico. However, action had been started too late to effect his appointment to this office. Horace M. Towner, Chairman, Insular Affairs Committee of the House, had already received the nomination and was shortly thereafter appointed to this office.

In 1924 Larrazolo made an unsuccessful attempt in the race for supreme court justice. The state went Democratic and he lost by over 6,000 votes.<sup>114</sup>

Larrazolo made his last appearance in the political picture in 1928 when he accepted the nomination for the short term in the United States Senate. He was now bordering seventy and suffered from a serious liver condition. Even when he accepted the nomination, he stated, "I have consistently refused for several reasons. For I feel that my period of public service has come to an end and I desire to end my years in the quiet of my home and with my family."<sup>115</sup>

He finally accepted the nomination which was ten-

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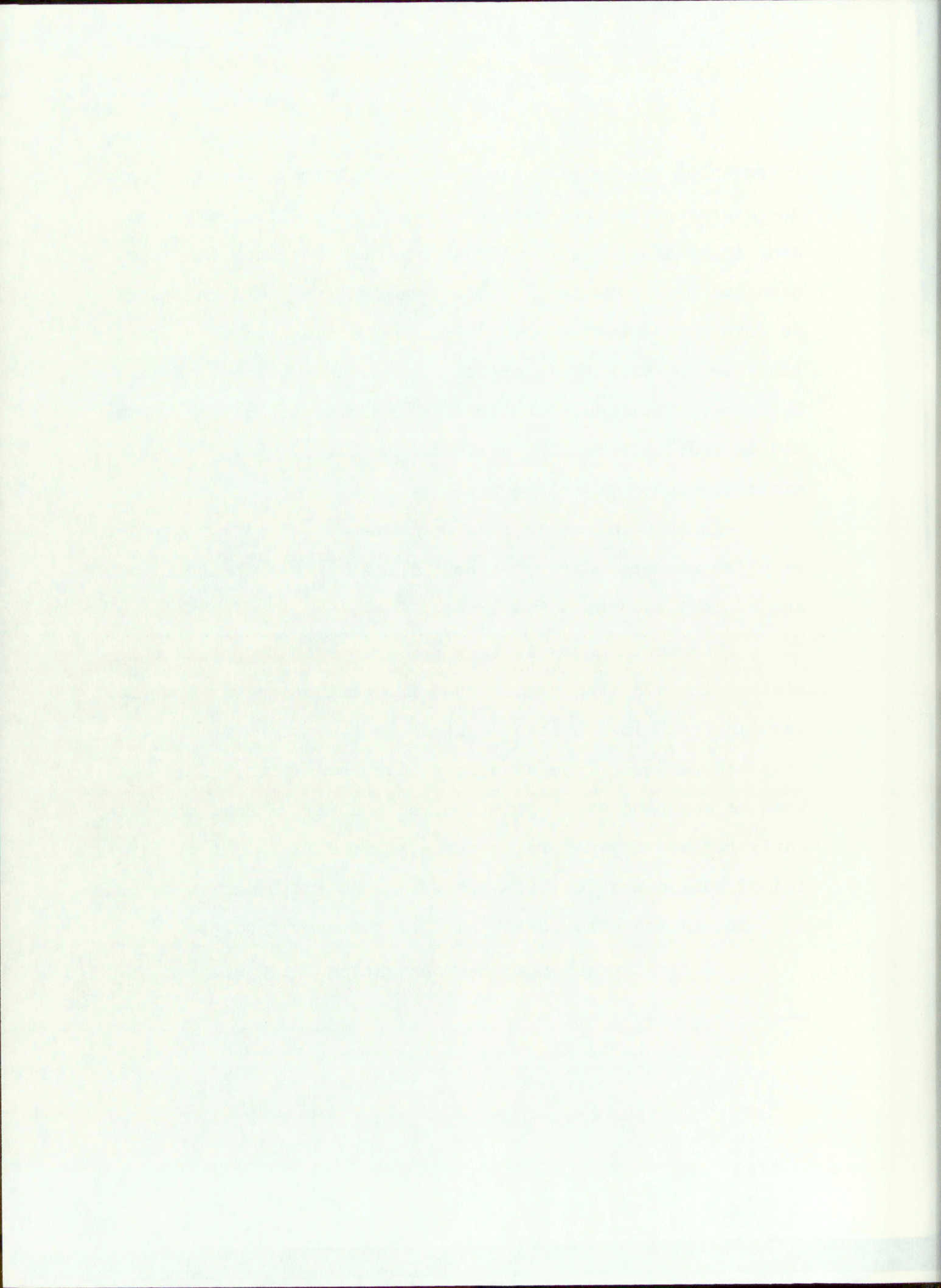
<sup>114</sup>

Santa Fe New Mexican, November 17, 1924

<sup>115</sup>

Albuquerque Morning Journal, April 8, 1950







dered him mostly through the efforts of his good friend United States Senator Bronson Cutting. Larrazolo accepted the nomination for Senator for the short term under the conditions that an equal number of Anglo citizens be nominated along with an equal number of natives.<sup>116</sup> This was a principle that he had argued since he supported Harvey B. Fergusson as delegate to congress in 1896. He demanded racial representation of both groups and he had remained faithful to that principle all these years.

Larrazolo was elected United States Senator from New Mexico. He made only one trip to the national capitol where he introduced a bill calling for the establishment of an industrial school in New Mexico for Spanish-American boys. Shortly after his bill was introduced he returned home seriously ill. He died in Albuquerque on April 8, 1930.<sup>117</sup>

Octaviano A. Larrazolo, the prophet of transition in New Mexico, had contributed his part in the admission of the territory of New Mexico into the Union as the 47th state. He had helped in bringing about the adoption of the present state constitution. Through his efforts in the road building program of the west and New Mexico in particular, he had

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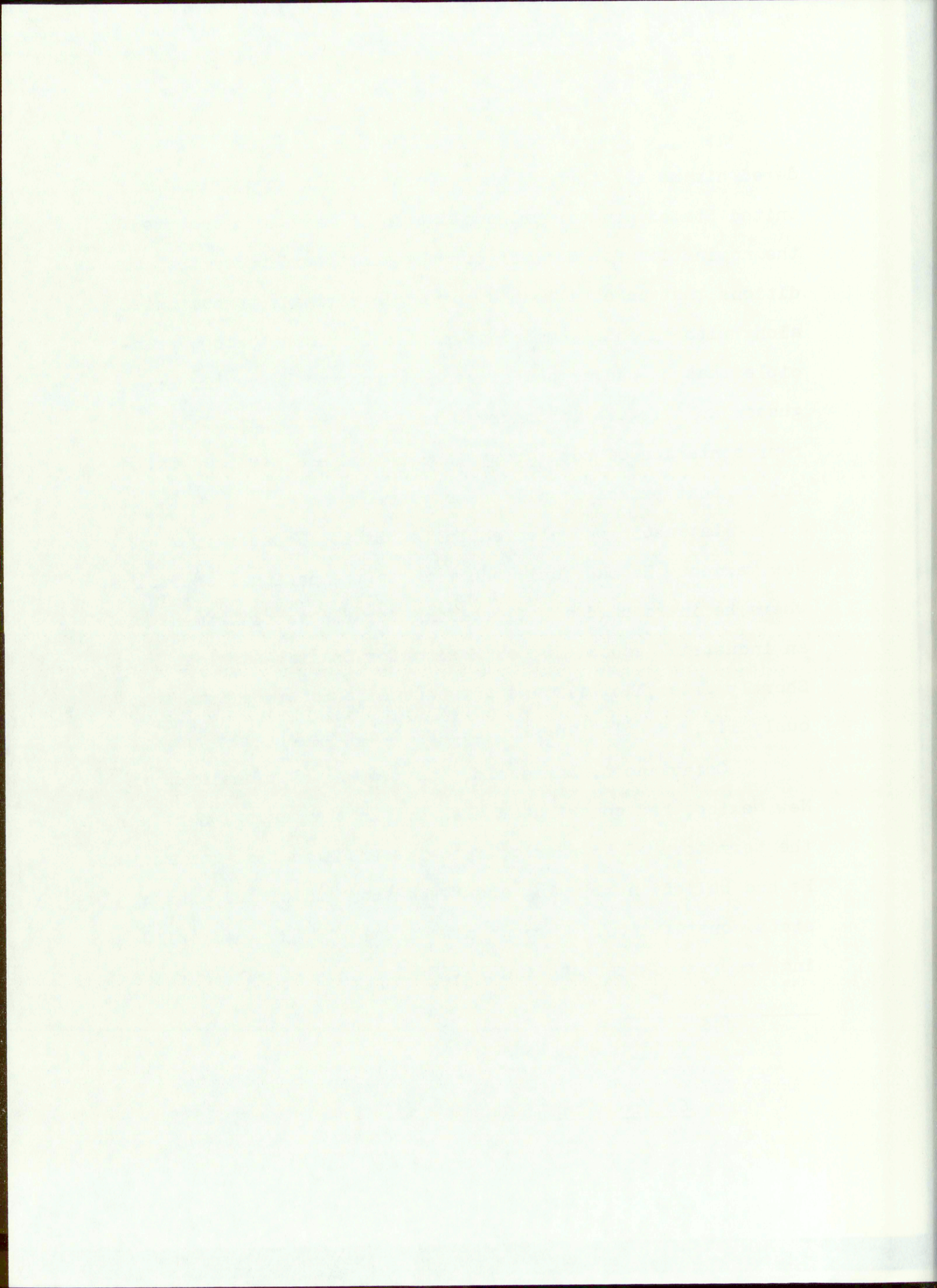
<sup>116</sup>

Ibid.

<sup>117</sup>

Congressional Record: Vol. 20, Part 2, p.1812







done his part in furthering the migration of settlers from the East to the communities in New Mexico. He not only encouraged the settlers, but he aroused the interests of industrial concerns which have made considerable investments in New Mexico. He lived in a period in which the church began to lose its political influence in the state. He had seen New Mexico, a Republican state, go Democratic--a prophecy he had made many years before.

Larrazolo was well aware of the transition that he had witnessed. To every important change he had contributed something by prophecy, comment, or participation. In each case he had played his part faithfully and well. His political career had reached its height when he had "passed the meridian of his life," but his political philosophy and his belief in the principles of fair play, even in politics, were deeply rooted and formed during his early political struggles in New Mexico. His political activities in general were characterized by a sustained desire to bring about a harmonious transition in the social, political and economic life in New Mexico.



been his part in the... of the...  
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 industrial concerns which have made...  
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 in New Mexico. His political...  
 characterized by a...  
 position in the social, political and economic life in  
 New Mexico.



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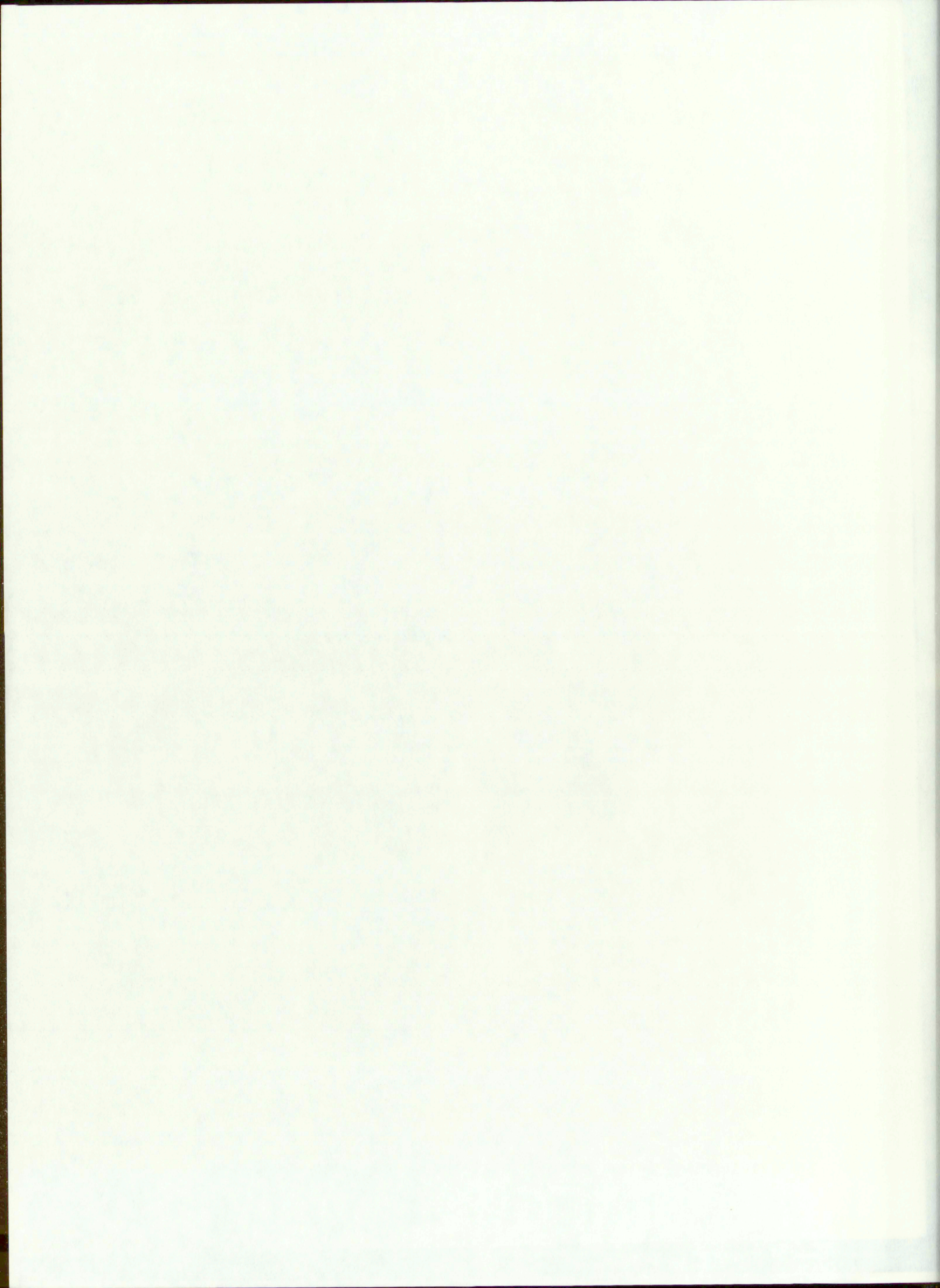
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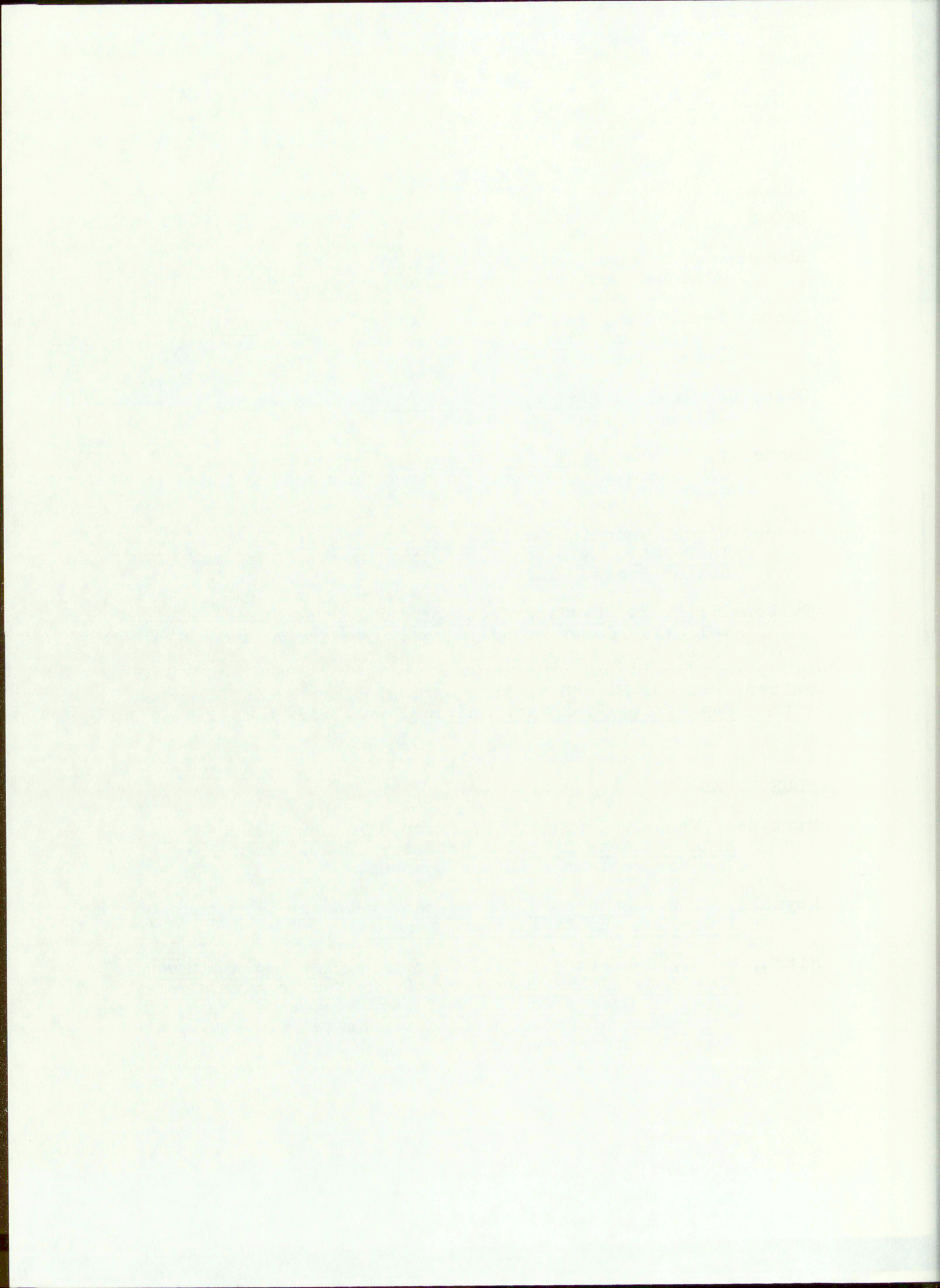
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Paul Larrazolo, Son of Governor Larrazolo. December 18, 1949.

Octaviano A. Larrazolo, Jr., Son of Governor Larrazolo,  
February 25, 1950.



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Octaviano A. Larrasolo, Jr., Son of Governor Larrasolo,  
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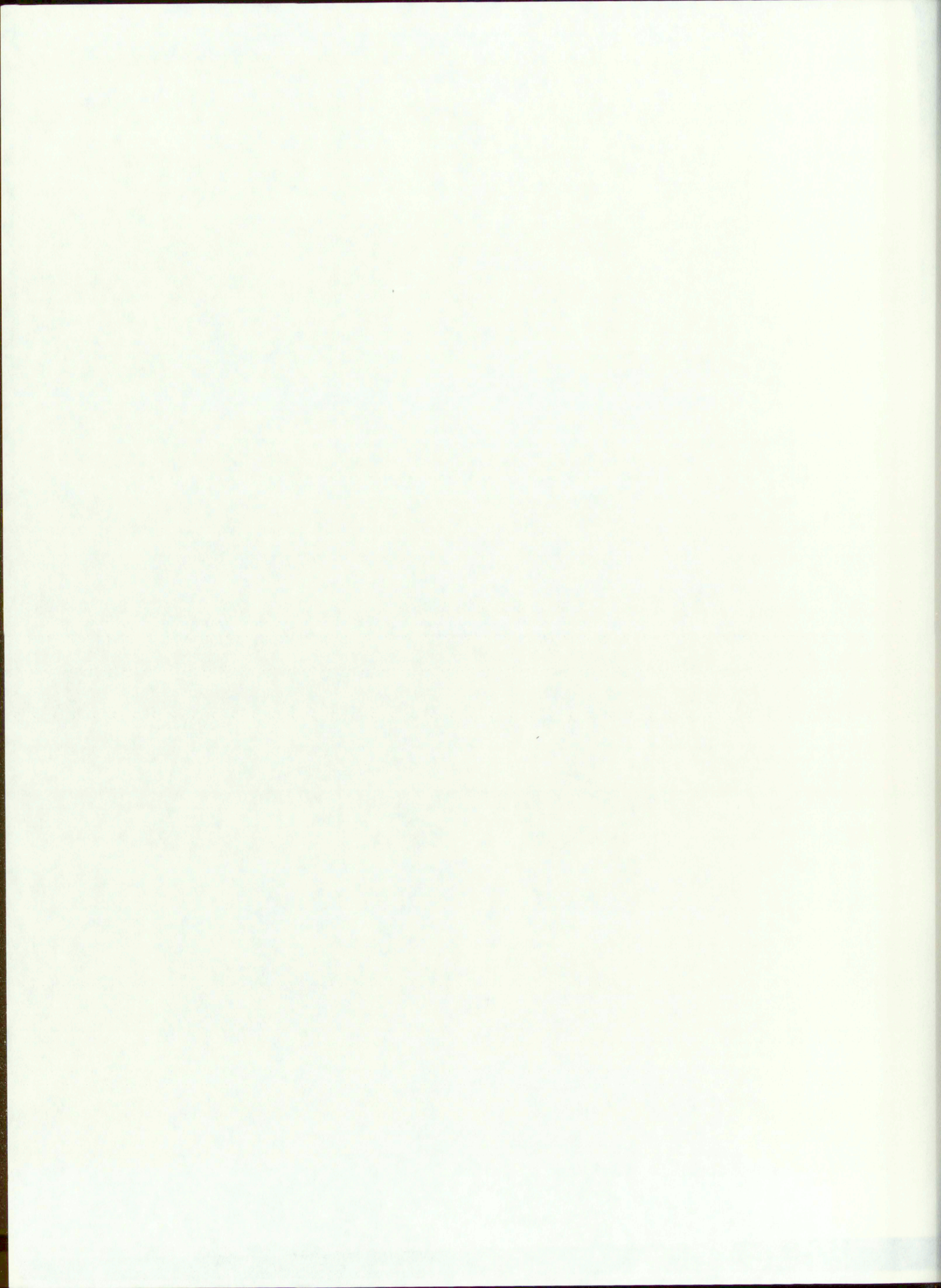
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## APPENDIX

This material  
was taken from the  
C. A. Larrasolo  
of letter and tel.







Address Official Communications to  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
Washington, D. C.

S E A L

In reply refer to  
3-2

DEPARTMENT

Washin.

The Honorable

The Governor of New Mexico,

Santa Fe

Sir:

Supplementing my telegram

date in regard to the proposed

This material contained in the appendix  
was taken from the personal papers of Governor  
O. A. Larrazolo. They are true and exact copies  
of letter and telegrams in his file.

order of their rank and with the

titles and designations.

Also enclosed is a copy

the Mayor of the cities they will

I have the honor to be,

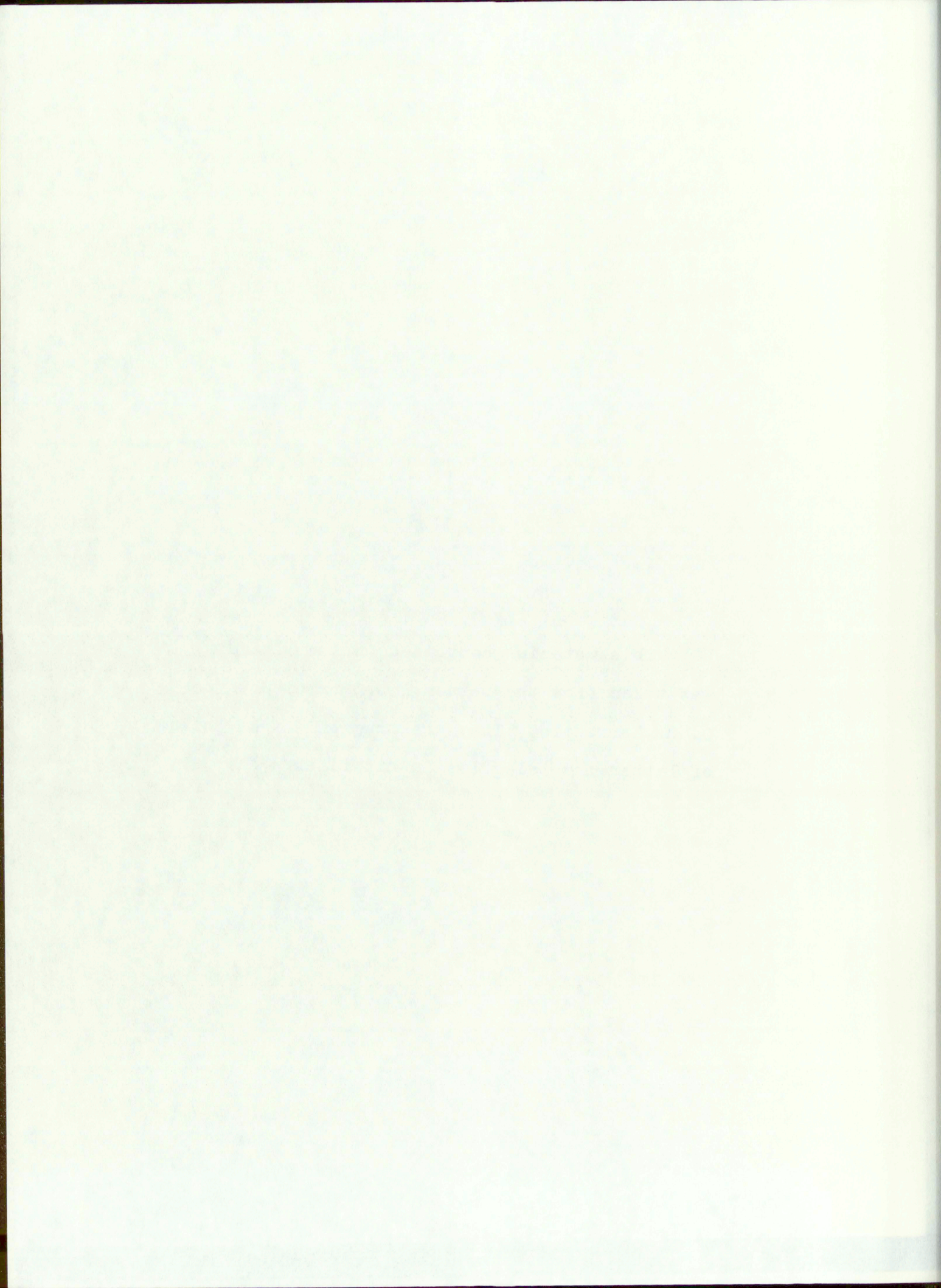
Your obedient

/s/ H. L. L.

Enclosures:

Letter to Mayor  
List







Address Official Communications to  
THE SECRETARY OF STATE  
Washington, D. C.

S E A L

In reply refer to  
3-A

DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
Washington

The Honorable

The Governor of New Mexico,

Santa Fe

Sir:

Supplementing my telegrams of recent date in regard to the proposed visit to your state by the King and Queen of the Belgians and their suits and the officials accompanying them, I have the honor to enclose herewith a list of the Royal party and their suite in the order of their rank and with their correct titles and designations.

Also enclosed is a copy of a letter to the Mayor of the cities they will visit.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

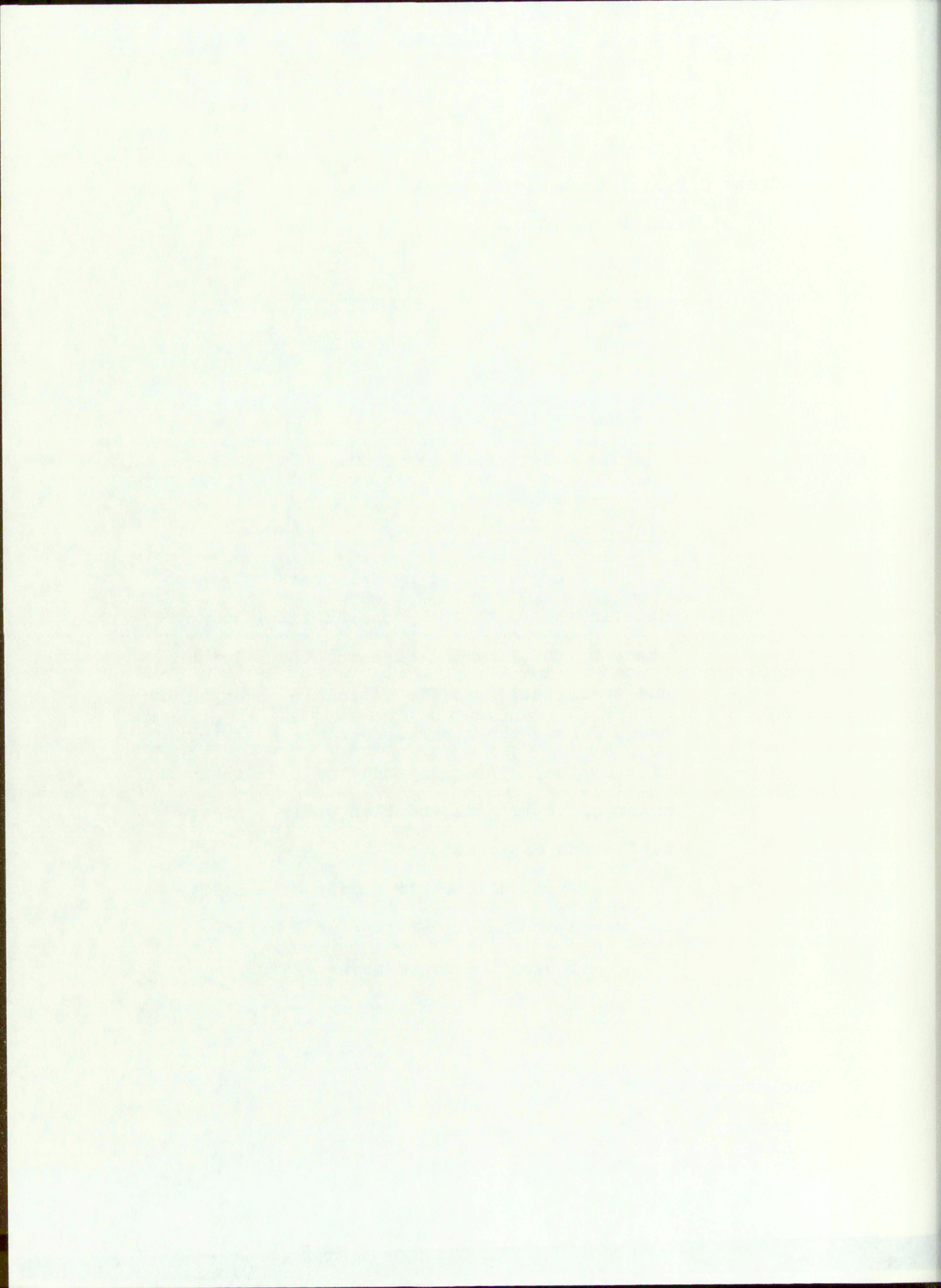
Your obedient servant,

/s/ R. Lansing

Enclosures:

Letter to Mayor  
List







STATE OF NEW YORK  
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER  
ALBANY

OWEN L. POTTER  
EXECUTIVE LEGAL ASSISTANT

December 27, 1920

The Honorable O. A. Larrazolo  
Governor of New Mexico,  
Santa Fe, New Mexico

Sir:-

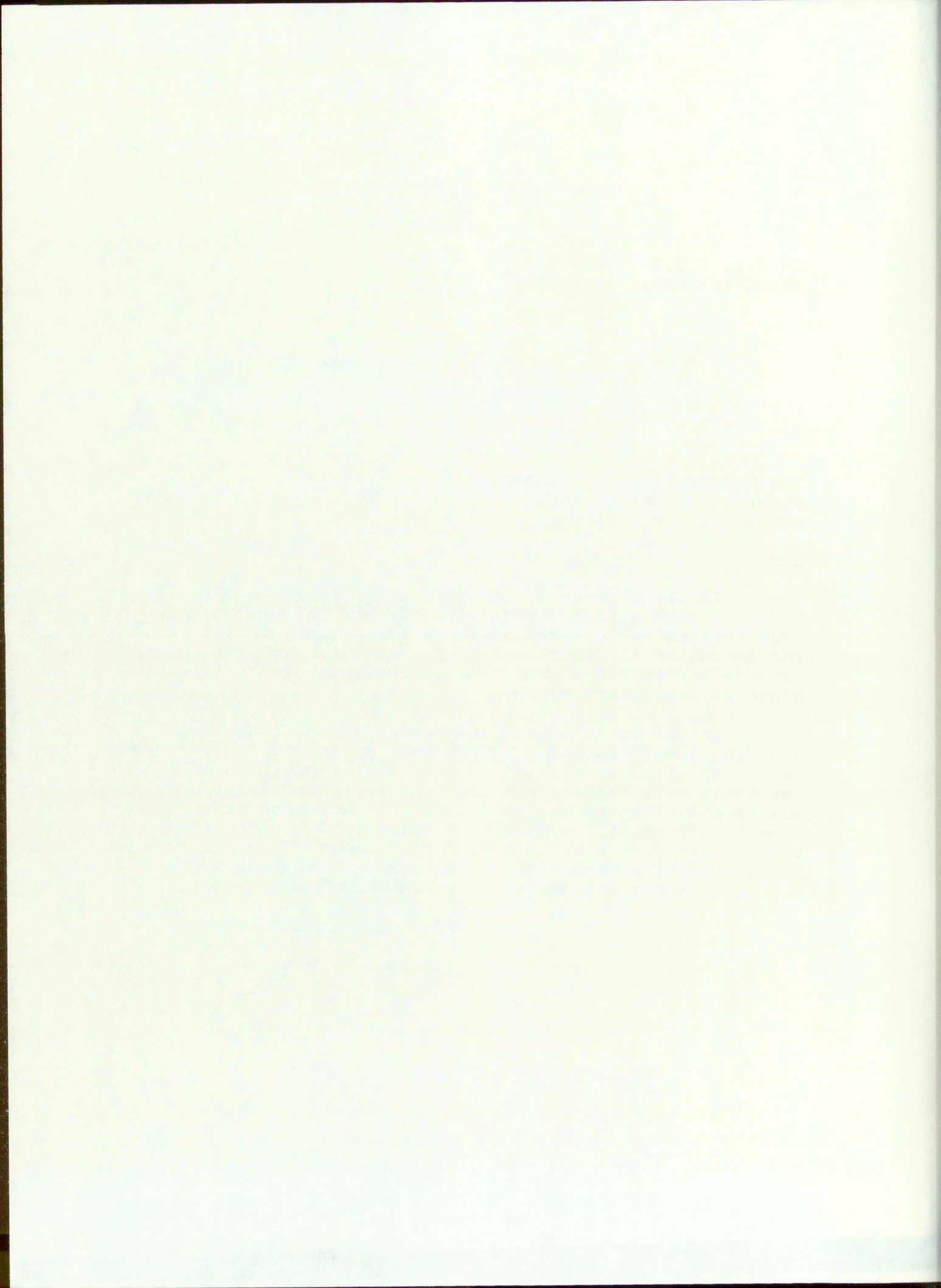
In the absence of Governor Smith from the city, I write to acknowledge the receipt of your telegram of the 23rd instant to Governor Smith in the matter of application for Executive clemency in behalf of the two Mexicans, Enrique Garcia and Augustin L. Sanchez, now in the death house at Sing Sing Prison.

Permit me to advise that owing to the fact that the date for electrocution of these two men is set for the week beginning with January 24th, 1921, the disposition of the two cases will come before the Honorable Governor-Elect sometime during the month of January. Governor Smith's term of office will expire on January 1st. In the meantime, however, I wish to assure you that every consideration will be given to these two murder cases and to the application for a commutation of sentence.

Respectfully submitted

/s/ Owen L. Potter







WESTERN UNION  
TELEGRAM

FEBRUARY 27, 1923

TO THE PRESIDENT  
WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

I AM DIRECTED BY THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE TO TRANSMIT TO YOU ITS ENDORSEMENT OF HONORABLE O. A. LARRAZOLO AS POSSESSING THE CHARACTERISTICS AND QUALIFICATIONS WHICH PECULARLY FIT HIM FOR THE POSITION OF GOVERNOR OF PORTO RICO? GOVERNOR LARRAZOLO IS A GENTLEMAN OF HIGH STANDING AS EDUCATOR, THEN AS LAWYER? THEN AS GOVERNOR OF THE STATE OF NEW MEXICO. HE IS ABLE, POLISHED IN MANNERS, SPEAKS BOTH THE ENGLISH AND THE SPANISH AS A MASTER, AND HAS BOTH EXECUTIVE AND DIPLOMATIC ABILITY.

Most Respectfully,

M. L. FOX

DIRECTOR-MANAGER



WESTERN UNION  
TELEGRAM

FEBRUARY 27, 1923

TO THE PRESIDENT  
WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

I AM DIRECTED BY THE CHIEF OF COMMERCE TO TRANSMIT TO  
YOU THE ENDORSEMENT OF HONORABLE C. A. LARABEE AS POS-  
SIBLY THE CHIEF OF COMMERCE AND QUALIFICATIONS WHICH PRO-  
BABLY FIT HIM FOR THE POSITION OF GOVERNOR OF PORTO RICO  
GOVERNOR LARABEE IS A GENTLEMAN OF HIGH STANDING AS  
EDUCATOR, THEN AS LAWYER, THEN AS GOVERNOR OF THE STATE  
OF NEW HAMPSHIRE. HE IS AGED, FOLLOWS IN MEMBERS, SPEAKS  
BOTH THE ENGLISH AND THE SPANISH AS A NATIVE, AND HAS BOTH  
EXECUTIVE AND DIPLOMATIC ABILITY.

Most respectfully,

E. L. FOX

DIRECTOR-GENERAL



WESTERN UNION  
TELEGRAM

1923 Mr 1 AM 7 25

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HON B F HERNANDEZ

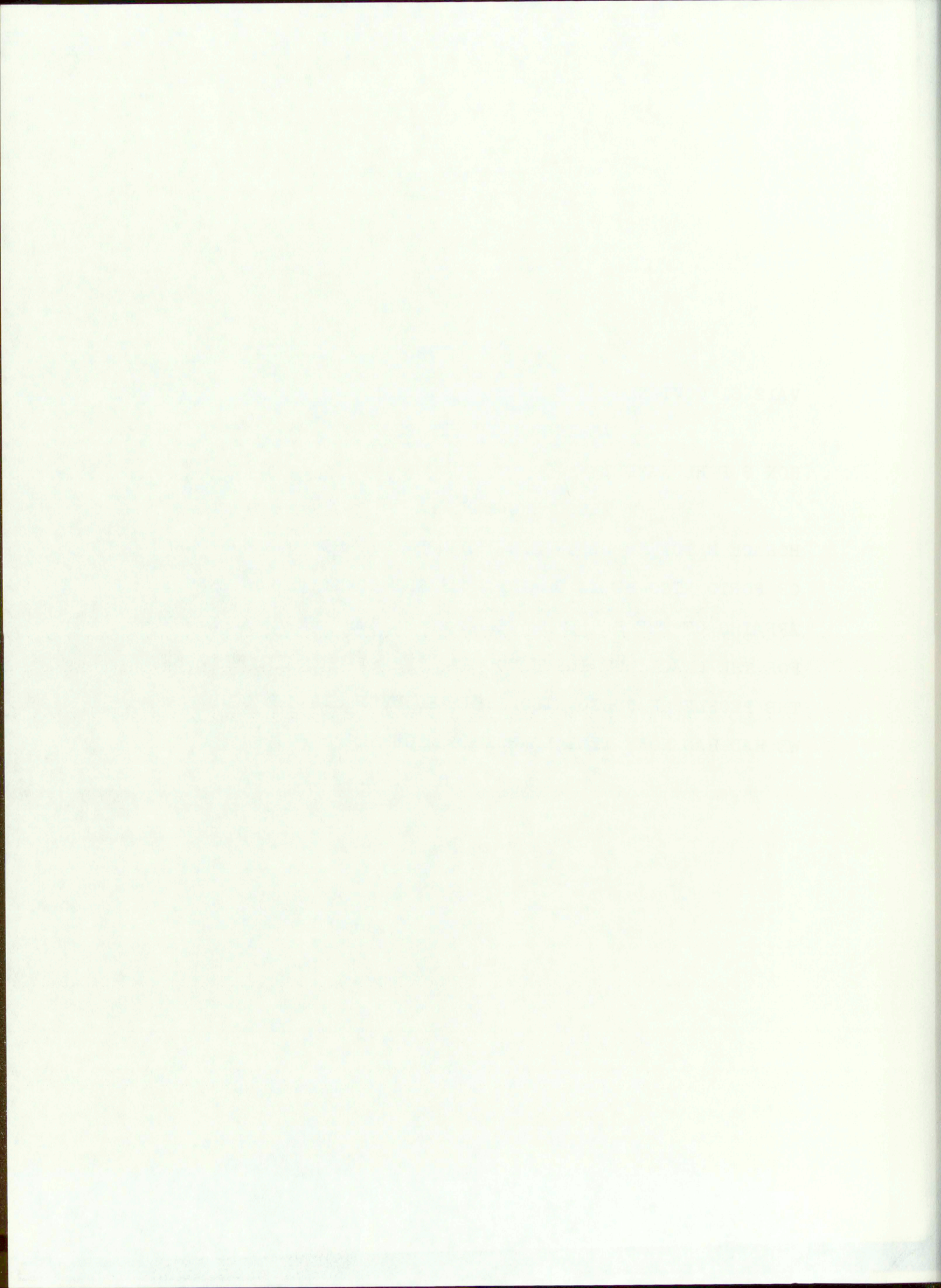
ALBUQUERQUE N MEX

HORACE M TOWNER WAS NOMINATED TODAY TO BE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF PORTO RICO HE IS CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMITTEE ON INSULAR AFFAIRS OF THE HOUSE HE TELLS ME HE WAS NOT AN APPLICANT FOR THE PLACE BUT THE HONOR WAS THRUST UPON HIM BECAUSE THE PEOPLE OF PORTO RICO INSISTED UPON HIS SELECTION IF WE HAD HAD MORE TIME LARRAZOLO MIGHT HAVE WON.

CHAS. J. THOMPSON.

Send charge  
of State Senate







WESTERN UNION  
TELEGRAM

Santa Fe, N. M.

Feb. 28, 1923

To Hon. Warren G. Harding,  
President of the United States,  
Washington, D. C.

A Joint Memorial has been passed unanimously by both Houses of the Legislature recommending the appointment of ex-governor Octaviano A. Larrazolo to the position of Governor of Porto Rico enrolled and engrossed copies will be forwarded.

J. W. Giddings,  
Chief Clerk of the Senate

Send charge  
of State Senate







WESTERN UNION  
TELEGRAM

11S BR 161 VIA GALVESTON

MEXICO NPT DEC 21, 1920

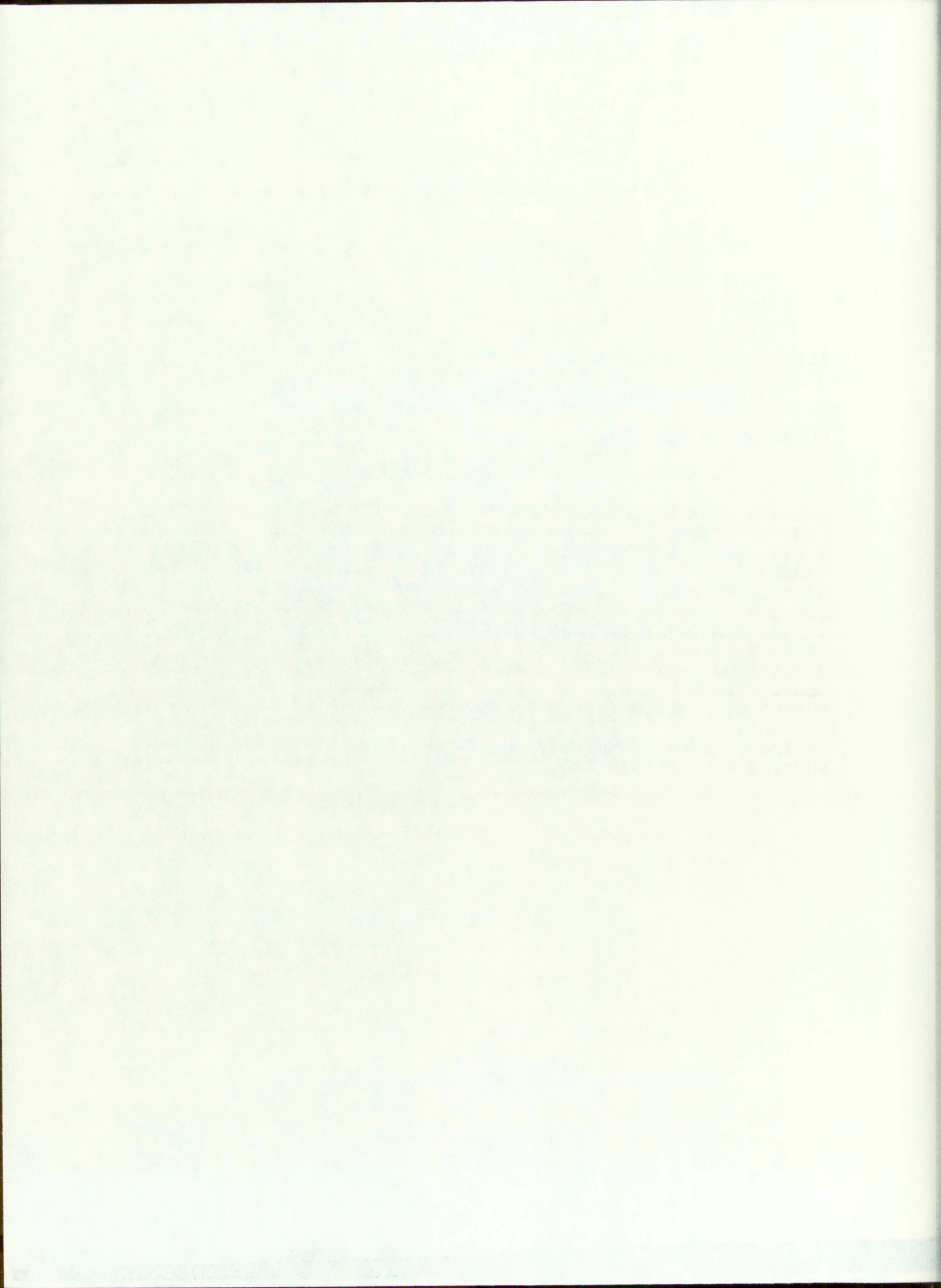
OCTAVIANO A LARRAZOLO

DEL ESTADO DE N M LAS CRUCES N MEX

ESTANDO PARA EJECUTARSE SENTENCIA DE MUERTE EN PERSONA DE LOS CIUDADANOS MEXICANOS AGUSTIN L SANCHEZ Y ENRIQUE GARCIA Y SIN QUE MI INTERVENCION PUEDA EN MANERA ALGUNA INTERPRETARSE COMO UN CENSURA A LA JUSTICIA DE ESE GRAN HAI S QUE HA PRONUNCIADO TAN TERRIBLE FALO Y MOVIDO UNICAMENTE POR LOS SENTIZENTOS DE CONFRATERNIDAD REFORZADOS CON EL HECHO DE QUE SEA CONNACIONALES LOS QUE VAN A SUFRIR ESE TERRIBLE PENA ME PERMITO DIRIGIRME A VD. DE LA MANERA MAS ATENTA SUPLICANDOLE EN NOMBRE DE NUESTRA PERSONAL AMISTAD Y DE LA CORRIENTE DE SIMPATIA QUE SE HA ESTABLECIDO YA ENTRE EL PUEBLO SI SU PAIS Y EL MIO EJERCITA QUALQUIERA ACCION QUE ESTE DENTRO DE SU INFLUENCIA CERCA DEL H GOVERNADOR DEL ESTADO DE NUEVA YORK SERA UN FACTOR MAS QUE VENGA A REFORZAR NUESTRA CORDIALIDAD SALUDOLO AFECTE EL PRESIDENTE.

ALVARO OBREGON







(Carbon Copy)  
STEWART AND BROWN  
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW  
HELENA, MONTANA

SAMUEL V. STEWART  
JOHN G. BROWN

February 26th, 1923

Re:--O. A. Larrazolo

Mr. B. C. Hernandez  
Chairman Citizens Committee,  
Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Dear Sir:-

Your telegram relative to Governor Larrazolo  
has been received. I have communicated my  
recommendation to the president of the United  
States.

Very truly yours,

/s/ S. V. Stewart.

S/H



STEWART AND BROWN  
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW  
HELENA, MONTANA

SAMUEL V. STEWART  
JOHN O. BROWN

February 26th, 1922

Mr. S. O. Retenbacher

Mr. S. O. Retenbacher  
Chairman Citizens Committee,  
Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Dear Sir:

Your telegram relative to Governor Laramie

has been received. I have communicated my

recommendation to the President of the United

States.

Very truly yours,

S. V. Stewart

ME



(Carbon Copy)

February 27, 1923

The Honorable the Speaker  
of the House of Representatives  
of the Sixth Legislature of the  
State of New Mexico.

Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Gentlemen:

The resolution passed by your Honorable body on the 27th. inst., recommending me for the appointment of Governor of Puerto Rico, has come to my knowledge.

Of course, the President who, far better than we, understands the needs of the people of that Island, and the qualifications of the person who must fill that important office, may find it necessary, in the interest of public service, to name some one else; but to me, the expression of confidence and of personal esteem which your resolution implies, coming, as it does, from the duly accredited representatives of the people, of different political creeds, among whom I have lived the larger portion of my life, is a far greater honor and satisfaction than the holding of the highest public office.

That manifestation of your personal regard, will be fondly and gratefully treasured by me, by my wife and children as a priceless heritage in our family, and on behalf of all of us I tender to your Honorable body, and to each and every one of you, the expression of our sincere and heartfelt sentiments of gratitude.

I am,

Very respectfully and  
sincerely yours

/s/ O. A. Larrazolo



(Caption)

The following table shows the results of the survey conducted in the year 1960. The data is presented in a tabular form, with the first column representing the different categories of the survey, and the subsequent columns representing the numerical values for each category. The table is organized into three main sections, each corresponding to a different aspect of the survey. The first section deals with the general characteristics of the population, the second section focuses on the economic activities, and the third section addresses the social and cultural aspects. Each section contains a series of rows, where each row represents a specific data point or category. The numerical values are presented in a clear and concise manner, allowing for easy comparison and analysis of the data. The table is a key component of the report, providing a detailed and structured overview of the survey findings.



PETER NORBECK,  
South Dakota

UNITED STATES SENATE

WASHINGTON, D. C.

February 26, 1923

B. C. Hernandez, Chairman,  
Citizens Committee,  
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Dear Sir:

I have at hand your telegram  
of February 25th and beg to advise that  
I shall be pleased to endorse my friend,  
Governor Larrazolo, for the position of  
Governor of Porto Rico.

Yours very truly,

/s/ Peter Norbeck



