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# The Career of Dennis Chavez as a Member of Congress, 1930-1934

Edward Lahart

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THE CAREER  
OF DENNIS  
CHAVEZ

LAHART

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THE CAREER OF DENNIS CHAVEZ  
AS A MEMBER OF CONGRESS  
1930 - 1934

By  
Edward Lahart

A Thesis  
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree of  
Master of Arts in Government and Citizenship

The University of New Mexico  
1958



THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

AND THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

OF THE COMPANY

TO

THE STOCKHOLDERS

OF THE COMPANY

AND THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS

OF THE COMPANY

OF THE COMPANY

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## I. BEFORE 1930

"One of the oldest families in the state, including a long list of landholders and patriots and men of distinguished ability, is that of Chavez, represented by a prominent attorney of Albuquerque, Dennis Chavez."<sup>1</sup> Thus wrote a noted historian about Dennis Chavez and his family. The names of the Conquistadores go back into the history of Spain. A name that is very old in that history is that of Chaves.<sup>2</sup> "The city of Chaves in Spain was in possession of the Moors in 1160 and was then captured by two young relatives of the King. The city was given to the two young conquerors who were required to add to their family name of 'Lopez' the words 'de Chaves'..."<sup>3</sup> El Palacio's writer went on to point out that Chavez was incorrectly spelled with a "z" and should end with an "s."<sup>4</sup> Several hundred years after the young conquerors undertook their new name, the Chavez family located in the village of Albuquerque in what is today New Mexico. "In 1739

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<sup>1</sup>Charles F. Coan, A History of New Mexico (Chicago and New York: The American Historical Society, Inc., 1925), I, 34.

<sup>2</sup>"New Mexico Family Names" "The Name of 'Chaves'", El Palacio, XXXI, No. 5 (January 29, 1927), p 112.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.







Nicholas Duran Chavez petitioned for a land grant." This was issued by Governor Mendoza of the province of New Mexico in June, 1739. The family gained possession of the grant on August 26, 1739. Dennis's grandfather (born many years later) was Manuel Chavez who married Isadora Armijo, sister of Manuel Armijo, the last governor of New Mexico under Mexico's rule.<sup>5</sup> Manuel Armijo was the subject of a fictional best-seller, The Time of the Gringo.<sup>6</sup> David Chavez, issue of the Chavez--Armijo union and later the father of Dennis, married Paz Sanchez, daughter of a niece of Armijo. David and Paz, in turn, became the parents of eight children, of which Dennis was the third child.<sup>7</sup> (Dionicio<sup>8</sup> Chavez was born on the eighth of April in the year 1888.)<sup>9</sup>

The year 1888, politically, was one for opinions from prominent citizens of both Republican and Democratic

---

<sup>5</sup>Coan, I, 34,35.

<sup>6</sup>See Elliott Arnold, The Time of the Gringo, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953).

<sup>7</sup>Coan, I, 34,35.

<sup>8</sup>Letter from Luis Armijo, New Mexico District Judge, Las Vegas, New Mexico, July 20, 1957. Judge Armijo stated: "I first became acquainted with him in 1908 and we all knew him by the name of Dionicio."

<sup>9</sup>John M. Moore (ed.), Who is Who in New Mexico (Albuquerque: Ward Anderson Printing Company, 1957), p.63.





parties as to how they stood on the question of statehood.<sup>10</sup> Edmund G. Ross was Governor of the territory, having taken office in 1885, and was to serve another year, being succeeded by L. Bradford Prince in 1889.<sup>11</sup> The territory's delegate to Congress was Antonio Joseph, who began his service in 1885 and continued for ten years in that office.<sup>12</sup> (The population of Valencia county, where Dennis Chavez was born at Los Chavez, was 13,095.) According to the census of 1880<sup>13</sup> Bernalillo county's population in the same year was 17,225, and San Miguel county had the largest population in the territory with 20,638 persons.<sup>14</sup>

Governor Prince noted, in 1890, that "the peculiar condition in New Mexico as to nationality and language: some communities speaking English and some Spanish, and some being divided in language, presents an unusual

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<sup>10</sup>Miguel Antonio Otero, My Life on the Frontier, 1832-1897, Chapter XX, "Politics in the Late 'Eighties'", (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1939), II, 222.

<sup>11</sup>L. Bradford Prince, A Concise History of New Mexico (Cedar Rapids: The Torch Press, 1912), p.264.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Report of the Governor of New Mexico to the Secretary of the Interior, 1889 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889), p.7.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

... as to how they spent the money. ...  
... D. Rose was ... of the ...  
... office in 1893, and was ...  
... by L. ...  
... delegate to Congress ...  
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... the population of ...  
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difficulty..."<sup>15</sup> That "peculiar condition" was to be somewhat of an important factor in the life of Dennis Chavez. In 1890, however, Dennis Chavez' father, David Chavez, was a relative peon in the army of Valencia county Republicanism which was led by Solomon Luna, a prominent political leader of that day.

(In 1890, as Frederick Jackson Turner's frontier was passing into history, the Grand Old Party was the dominant political party in the territory of New Mexico.) Yet, politically, "the territory's frontier pattern was fading, though the change was far from revolutionary. Thomas B. Catron, of Santa Fe, longtime Republican boss, was being challenged by younger men."<sup>16</sup> Much of the eventual demise of the Republican party in the territory of New Mexico would also seem to have been sown in the seeds of shift from farm to city. In all of it, David Chavez stood as a symbol. He "had three interests -- his farm, on which he struggled to produce crops in a land of little rain; his children, for whom he struggled to give an education

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<sup>15</sup>Report of Territorial Governor L. Bradford Prince to Secretary of the Interior, 1890, in Ralph Emerson Twitchell, Esq., The Leading Facts of New Mexico History (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1912), II, footnote, 515.

<sup>16</sup>Charles B. Judah, The Republican Party in New Mexico -- A Challenge to Constructive Leadership (Albuquerque: Division of Research, Department of Government, University of New Mexico, June, 1949), p.3.







and a chance for success in the world; and politics, which was a struggle to make headway for himself and others like him in the out-moded ('patron' system of the Republican party in the old New Mexico territory.)<sup>17</sup>

In 1895, David Chavez took his wife and his growing family and moved to the developing young New Mexico metropolis of Albuquerque, approximately thirty-five miles north of Los Chavez. "The history of this country shows that locations make cities, and that of Albuquerque is most fortunate,"<sup>18</sup> stated an article in the 1896 Albuquerque City Directory. It went on to point out that:

The Atlantic & Pacific shops at Albuquerque employ five hundred men.<sup>19</sup>

Albuquerque is headquarters of the Atlantic & Pacific railroad, and division headquarters of the Topeka & Santa Fe railway...<sup>20</sup>

It is the only place in New Mexico that has letter carriers and the free delivery system.<sup>21</sup>

The Sandia mountains are about twelve miles distant on the east.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>The Chavez 1952 Handbook for Speakers, p. 1. This was a manual issued, in the 1952 campaign, by Chavez headquarters for the purpose of providing Chavez supporters with background information on Dennis Chavez.

<sup>18</sup>C. O'Connor Roberts, (comp.), Albuquerque City Directory and Business Guide for 1896 (Albuquerque, New Mex.: Hughes & McCreight, the Citizen Book and Job Printing, 1896), p. 5.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.





"The mountain streams abound in trout and there is plenty of deer and bear shooting in the woods."<sup>23</sup>

"Mechanics' wages in Albuquerque range from \$2.00 to \$3.50 per day."<sup>24</sup>

"A house of four rooms, conveniently situated, rents at \$15 to \$18 a month."<sup>25</sup>

"Common labor is cheap -- about one dollar a day."<sup>26</sup>

Thus did David Chavez start the Albuquerque phase of his life. Into the section known as Barelitas, the elder Chavez took his family and there young Dennis began his attendance at the Presbyterian Mission School, located at Trumbull Avenue and Second Street, under the guidance of a Miss McCalla and, later, a Miss McMahon.<sup>27</sup> Later, in the second grade, he started a public school education in the old Third Ward school located at Fourth Street and Iron Avenue, where his teachers included a Miss Armstrong and a Miss Willey.<sup>28</sup> By 1904, young Dennis was enrolled in a parochial school, the Immaculate Conception school, at Sixth Street and Tijeras Avenue. This was the result of his father's improved economic condition. This, however,

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Interview with Dennis Chavez, United States Senator, November 3, 1957.

<sup>28</sup>Chavez interview, November 3, 1957. According to Chavez, Miss Armstrong was an aunt to Floyd Lee, prominent New Mexico sheep rancher. Also, according to Chavez, Miss Willey, together with a sister owned land on the north side of Gold Avenue between Fifth and Sixth Streets which they sold to John Milne, long-time Albuquerque Public Schools





did not prevent the boy, Dennis, from leaving school for "pecuniary circumstances" at the end of the next year, having completed the seventh grade.<sup>29</sup>

Meanwhile, the 1896 City Directory listed "Chavez, David, laborer, A & P R.R., res 1306 S. Second St."<sup>30</sup> In 1897, a David Chavez was listed as a helper with the A & P shops and was listed as residing at 1210 South River Road. Another Chavez, a Dionicio, was listed as a laborer who also resided at 1210 South River Road.<sup>31</sup> Perhaps this was a brother of David. The sameness of the residences, together with the identical surnames, would seem to indicate possible filial relationship. It could also point to the direct origin of the name given to David Chavez' third child.<sup>32</sup> It was at this time, on the twelfth of November,

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Superintendent. This land later became part of the site of the Federal Building, upon which construction began in 1958.

<sup>29</sup>Chavez interview, November 3, 1957.

<sup>30</sup>1896 City Directory, p. 97.

<sup>31</sup>Albuquerque City Directory, Business Guide for 1897 (Albuquerque, New Mex.: Hughes & McCreight, Citizen Book Print, 1897), p.33.

<sup>32</sup>It should be noted, though, that Senator Chavez stated that there were no other brothers of his father living in Albuquerque at that time. Likewise, Chavez did not mention the extensive moves listed in the City Directories of that period. He mentioned only having resided on old Barelas Road and on Stover Avenue near Third Street. Chavez interview, November 3, 1957.





1898, that David, Jr. was born.<sup>33</sup> David Chavez, Jr. aided Dennis Chavez throughout the latter's political career.

In the year 1905, Dennis Chavez began work at the Highland Grocery, a store located at 501 South Arno Street in Albuquerque, and owned by Charles Conroy.<sup>34</sup> To take this job, Chavez left school. His hours of work were from six o'clock in the morning to seven o'clock in the evening daily, and to eleven o'clock on Saturday evenings.<sup>35</sup>

Returning to the location of addresses for Chavez in this period, the 1901 City Directory listed a David Chavez living at 1511 North First Street who was employed at the Santa Fe shops. Another David Chavez, probably the father of Dennis, was residing in Barelvas at 1329 South Second Street.<sup>36</sup> It is probable that Dennis Chavez lived at the latter address<sup>37</sup> because the same directory listed his

<sup>33</sup>Arthur David Ellis (ed.), The Historical Encyclopedia of New Mexico (Albuquerque, New Mex: New Mexico Historical Association, 1935), p.1992

<sup>34</sup>Chavez interview, November 3, 1957.

<sup>35</sup>The Chavez 1952 Campaign Handbook for Speakers, p.2

<sup>36</sup>The Albuquerque City Directory and Business Guide for 1901 (Albuquerque, New Mex.: Hughes & McCreight, Press of the Daily Citizen, 1901), p.71.

<sup>37</sup>This address might have been on South First Street. In such case, it could be the Barelvas Road Address to which Senator Chavez referred (see footnote 34 above) since there was no South First Street, as of 1957, in that area. The Senator stated that the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fe Railroad bought the land on which his home stood. Chavez interview, November 3, 1957.



1992, that David, Jr. was born. <sup>32</sup> David Graves, Jr. was born

Dennis Graves throughout the latter's political career.

In the year 1992, Dennis Graves began work at the

Highland Grocery, a store located at 501 South First Street

in Albuquerque, and owned by Charles Conroy. <sup>33</sup> To date, the

job, Graves left school. His hours of work were from six

o'clock in the morning to seven o'clock in the evening.

daily, and so eleven o'clock on Saturday evenings. <sup>34</sup>

Returning to the location of addresses for Graves in

this period, the 1991 City Directory listed a David Graves

living at 1511 North First Street who was employed at the

Santa Fe shops. Another David Graves, probably the father

of Dennis, was residing in Kansas at 1223 Santa Fe Road

Street. <sup>35</sup> It is probable that Dennis Graves lived at the

latter address <sup>36</sup> because the same directory listed the

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<sup>33</sup> Arthur David Ellis (ed.), *The Historical New Mexico*,  
of New Mexico (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Historical  
Association, 1992), 1199.

<sup>34</sup> Graves interview, November 3, 1997.

<sup>35</sup> The Graves 1992 *Albuquerque Handbook for Residents*, p. 2.

<sup>36</sup> The Albuquerque City Directory and Business Guide  
for 1991 (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Historical New Mexico  
of the City of Albuquerque, 1991), 11.

<sup>37</sup> This address might have been an 1800s Santa Fe street.  
In such case, it could be the same as the address for which  
Graves Graves referred (see footnote 34 above) since there  
was no South First Street, as of 1991, in that area. The  
Graves stated that the address, 1511 North First Street, Santa Fe, New  
Mexico, was the address at which his son, David, Jr., was born.  
view, November 3, 1997.



employer, Charles Conroy, as having resided at 1500 South Second Street and further listed Conroy as a partner with an A. Simpler in notions and groceries at 1496 South Second Street.<sup>38</sup> This would help to explain the relationship of young Dennis to Conroy. He lived in the near neighborhood and thus had known Conroy, then had followed the latter to Conroy's new business location, following a dissolution in the Conroy-Simpler partnership.<sup>39</sup>

Meanwhile, in the year of 1901, the city directory boasted of Albuquerque's role as a metropolis.

This city is the metropolis and trade center of New Mexico (sic). During the past twenty years, since its settlement by Americans, it has made study (sic) growth and progress. The year 1901 is destined to be the best in it (sic) history. Business blocks and residences are in construction in every part of the city. The Santa Fe Railway Company this year will complete one of the largest hotels along its entire line, and new machine shops and depot buildings are in the course of erection. At least one new railroad from the east is confidently expected to be built this year. There are two towns of Albuquerque -- the old and the new -- but this work is of the new city only. Both places are situated in the Rio Grande valley, and were originally about two miles apart, but the growth of the new town has filled nearly all of the intervening distance, and soon there will be but one town, with old and new districts, or wards.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>Albuquerque City Directory, 1901, p. 72.

<sup>39</sup>Chavez interview, November 3, 1957.

<sup>40</sup>City Directory, 1901, p. 3.







The problem of the two David Chavezes arose again in the 1904 Directory. Both were listed at 1511 First Street. The one difference was that one was listed at 1511 South First Street, while the other was listed at 1511 North First Street.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps two David Chavezes existed at these like addresses or, perhaps a mistake had been made in the city directory. However, noting the 1901 directory listings, it might seem that there were two David Chavezes and that, by coincidence, through the movings of Dennis's father, they both occupied the same numbered address on the same street.

In the 1904 directory, another name appeared for the first time: that of a university professor, A. M. Espinosa, whose family would one day figure prominently in the life of the then sixteen-year-old Dennis Chavez.<sup>42</sup>

(At about this time, young Dennis developed somewhat of a philosophy that would guide him through his later life.

He rebelled against the patron system, which vested power in the hands of the county political leaders who usually were great landowners and controlled the political and economic life of their districts with an iron hand (sic). Young

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<sup>41</sup>Grant & Stortz (comps.), The Albuquerque City Directory and Business Guide, 1904 (Albuquerque, New Mex.: Hughes & McCreight, Daily Citizen Print, 1904), p. 74.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 90

The problem of the two David Grayson Street  
in the 1900 directory. Both were listed at 1511 First  
Street. The one difference was that one was listed as  
1511 South First Street, while the other was listed as  
1511 North First Street.<sup>14</sup> Perhaps the David Grayson  
existed at these two addresses at different times  
had been made in the city directory. However, looking  
the 1901 directory listings, it might seem that there  
were two David Grayson and that, by coincidence, through  
the workings of Pecunia's father, they both occupied the  
same numbered address on the same street.

In the 1900 directory, another name appeared for the  
first time; that of a university professor, A. D.  
Hopkins, whose family with the boy lived previously  
in the life of the other student-teacher David Grayson.  
As about this time, young David developed a knowledge  
of a philosophy that would guide him through his later  
life.

He rebelled against the narrow sphere, which  
was set in the hands of the authorities,  
and he was usually very quiet, but when he  
confronted the political and economic life of  
their country with a new kind of ideal, young

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<sup>14</sup> Grant & Spencer (comp.), The American City  
Directory and Business Guide, 1900, 1901, New York.  
Hogues & Houghton, Early American Cities, 1901, p. 74.

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Dennis saw in the Democratic party a political philosophy that placed human rights above property rights.<sup>43</sup>

The position of the working man as a weak prey to inconsiderate policies of a powerful employer was a vivid and undesirable reality which he saw all around him. And so one day in 1906, when the proprietor told young Dennis to deliver some groceries to some men hired to break a strike, the boy refused. He lost his job.<sup>44</sup>

In 1907, Dennis Chavez was listed as a rodman with the City Engineer's Office while David, his father, was listed as a laborer. A. M. Espinosa, the professor of Romance languages, was listed at the then fashionable address of "608 West Silver Avenue."<sup>45</sup> Soon their paths would cross as an ambitious country-born, city-bred young man would begin courting the professor's sister. But, in those lean years, the small-framed nineteen-year-old was lugging a chain and performing menial chores in the role of apprentice.<sup>46</sup> Nevertheless, a new world was opening for the eager youth as he began to meet the men of the City Hall. Shortly thereafter, he was in his first political fray. In 1908, the territory of New Mexico was anticipating statehood. New Mexico's status as a territory had, for years offered political opportunities for the leaders of Eastern Republicanism. (In 1908, a

<sup>43</sup>The Chavez 1952 Handbook for Speakers, p.2.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., pp. 2,3.

<sup>45</sup>The Albuquerque City Directory and Business Guide, 1907 (Albuquerque, New Mex.: Citizen Publishing Company, 1907), p. 53.

<sup>46</sup>Chavez interview, November 3, 1957.





young man named Octaviano Larrazolo campaigned and called for a change in the order. W. A. Andrews, "the first carpetbagger" young Dennis knew<sup>47</sup> was running for Congress on the Republican ticket and Larrazolo was his Democratic opponent. The twenty-year-old Albuquerque engineer's helper participated in his first election fight as part of the contest. He traveled to Gallup and spoke there in behalf of Larrazolo, a man whom he later resembled in political makeup.<sup>48</sup> To that western New Mexico city Chavez would return, twenty-two years later, to speak for another candidate for Congress: himself.<sup>49</sup> But, in 1908, that was still a distant day.

In 1908, David Chavez was working as a plasterer<sup>50</sup> and young Dennis was still lugging a chain, making levels and grades. The father of his future wife was residing

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<sup>47</sup>Chavez interview, November 3, 1957.

<sup>48</sup>Both based much of their claim to popular favor on appeal to the Native masses; both seemed to pride themselves on their forensic abilities; both, at some time or other in their respective careers, considered their nominations as political obligations to the Spanish-Americans of New Mexico. For a comprehensive study of Larrazolo's career, see Alfred G. Cordova, "Octaviano Ambrosio Larrazolo, the Prophet of Transition in New Mexico" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Government, University of New Mexico, 1950). See also Paul A. F. Walter, "Octaviano Ambrosio Larrazolo," The New Mexico Historical Review, VI (April, 1932), pp. 97-105.

<sup>49</sup>Albuquerque Journal, October 21, 1930.

<sup>50</sup>Worley's Directory of Albuquerque, New Mexico - 1908-1909 (John F. Worley Directory Co., 1908), p. 98.



young man named Johnnie Lawrence was charged with being  
for a change in the order. U. A. Lawrence, who was  
an experienced young man, was charged with being  
on the Lawrence side and Lawrence was the opponent  
opponent. The twenty-year-old Lawrence was  
helped participated in his first election fight as part  
of the contest. He traveled to Gallup and spent some  
in detail of Lawrence, a man whom he later described  
in political terms. He had a certain way of thinking  
Glover would return, twenty-two years later, to work  
for another candidate for Governor, Russell. In  
1908, that was still a distant day.

In 1900, David Glover was working as a physician  
and young Dennis was still living a quiet, solitary life  
and father. The father of his future wife was living

Chavez interview, November 3, 1937

Both based much of their story on what Lawrence  
appeal to the Native women with regard to Johnnie Lawrence  
on their Lawrence side. Lawrence was a man of law in  
their respect, a man who was not a man of law in  
political opposition to the Lawrence side of the Lawrence  
for a comprehensive study of Lawrence's career, and a man  
D. Lawrence, Lawrence Lawrence, Lawrence Lawrence, Lawrence  
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Department of Lawrence, Lawrence Lawrence Lawrence Lawrence  
see also Lawrence Lawrence Lawrence Lawrence Lawrence Lawrence  
The Lawrence Lawrence Lawrence Lawrence Lawrence Lawrence

Lawrence interview, November 3, 1937

Lawrence's interview of Lawrence Lawrence Lawrence Lawrence  
1937 (John W. Lawrence, Lawrence Lawrence Lawrence Lawrence)



with his large family at 711 West Marquette Avenue and was employed as a gatetender for the American Lumber Company.<sup>51</sup> The future, on the surface, was not auspicious in outlook for these two families. But the years were to unfold.

In the following year or two, Celso Espinosa, Chavez' future father-in-law, became a watchman at the lumber company and David Chavez went to work as a laborer for the National Foundry Company. The Chavez family moved "uptown" to 303 West Hazeldine Avenue.<sup>52</sup> (Dennis Chavez continued his city work and when New Mexico went to the polls, in 1911, to elect its first state officers, he acted also as an interpreter for the Democratic candidate for governor, William C. McDonald.<sup>53</sup> The election was successful, McDonald was elected, and Dennis Chavez gained another political experience.) Immediately after the election, he married Ymelda Espinosa, sister of the university professor, daughter of the lumber company watchman. Despite the father's difficult economic position, the Espinosa family had solid roots in the community. In addition to the brother at the fledgling university on the

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<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 119.

<sup>52</sup>Worley's Directory of Albuquerque, New Mexico - 1909-1910 (John F. Worley Directory Co., 1909), pp. 126,127.

<sup>53</sup>Chavez interview, November 3, 1957.





hill in Bernalillo county, another relative was an attorney, still another was a surgeon with the United States Navy, and a sister was a schoolteacher.<sup>54</sup> The Albuquerque Journal on Friday, November 10, 1911 ran the following, under the headline "Dennis Chavez Weds Miss Imelda Espinosa":

Dennis Chavez ... a prominent democratic politician, surprised his friends yesterday morning by celebrating the victory of the democratic ticket in New Mexico by getting married. He chose as his mate Miss Imelda Espinosa, the charming sister of Dr. Aurelio M. Espinosa ... "<sup>55</sup>

At about the same time, David Chavez listed himself as a rancher.<sup>56</sup> In the same year, young Dennis Chavez listed himself as an inspector with the Engineer's office,<sup>57</sup> and, by 1912 he called himself an instrument man,<sup>58</sup> and resided at 502 South Broadway with his new wife.

In the year of 1913, David Chavez was listed as a laborer with the Albuquerque Foundry and Machine Works and resided at 514 West Lead Avenue.<sup>60</sup> Perhaps Dennis Chavez

<sup>54</sup>See 1908-1909 City Directory, p.119; 1909-1910 City Directory, p. 125-27.

<sup>55</sup>Albuquerque Morning Journal, November 10, 1911.

<sup>56</sup>Worley's Directory of Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1910-1911 (John F. Worley Directory Co., 1910), p. 134.

<sup>57</sup>1910-1911 City Directory, p. 134.

<sup>58</sup>Worley's Directory of Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1912 (John F. Worley Directory Co., 1912), p. 113.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

<sup>60</sup>Worley's Directory of Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1913 (Dallas: John F. Worley Directory Co., 1913), p. 122.





secured this employment for his father. The president of the Machine Works was Thomas Isherwood, a City Councilman, who was also an uncle of James N. Gladding, who was, at that time, the City Engineer.<sup>61</sup> Meanwhile, Celso Espinosa worked as a custodian with the American Lumber Company.<sup>62</sup> Soon Dennis Chavez became Assistant Engineer with the City of Albuquerque.<sup>63</sup> The period of apprenticeship in the Engineer's office then came to a close. The period of political apprenticeship also drew to an end. Soon Dennis Chavez left the City Hall. During that time, however, he had been associated with Albuquerque's progress. He had participated in the planning and construction of a sewage system, of a new city hall, and of a street lighting system; all significant and highly tangible products.<sup>64</sup> By early 1916, Albuquerque's business began to boom and the time for departure was signalled.

Early in the year some important business deals were recorded, the first fifteen days of 1916 witnessing transactions totaling a quarter of a million dollars.<sup>65</sup> One of these deals involved valuable business property at the corner of Third and Central Avenue. The purchase was made by the First National Bank which has since

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<sup>61</sup>Chavez interview, November 3, 1957.

<sup>62</sup>1913 City Directory, p. 148.

<sup>63</sup>Worley's Directory of Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1914 (Dallas: John F. Worley Directory Co., 1914), p. 188.

<sup>64</sup>Coan, I, 35

<sup>65</sup>It is interesting to note that Chavez would be in

# ERASE

## NOTICE

remains this important to the public  
of the people who are in the  
men, who are in the  
at that time, the only one  
Epiphany was a great day for the  
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with the city of  
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however, he had been  
He had participated in the  
courage against it  
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the time for

Early in the year  
were recorded  
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made by the

Chapter 1

Chapter 2

Chapter 3

(Chapter 4)

Chapter 5

Chapter 6



announced that it will construct a modern five storey building on the location, the first floor to be for its own use. The university has plans drawn for the building of improvements to cost \$80,000.<sup>66</sup>

David Chavez was listed, in 1916, as a rancher again and had moved to 314 North 6th Street.<sup>67</sup> (It was in 1916 also that Dennis Chavez ran for his first elective office. That Autumn he received his party's nomination for the position of County Clerk. His opponent, Nestor Montoya, was the editor of the Spanish language newspaper, La Bandera Americana (The American Flag), a former state legislator,<sup>68</sup> and a prominent leader among the Spanish-American people. But the prize was a lucrative one for a young politician.) The position, in a first-class county like Bernalillo, paid \$3,000 per year and allowed for the employment of deputies as well.<sup>69</sup> However, the

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a position to be publicly accorded national recognition as he, forty-one years later, personally gave his approval to an expenditure of \$400,000 solely for the fuel used in a United States air show. See Albuquerque Journal, July 1, 1957.

<sup>66</sup> Albuquerque City Directory, 1916 (John F. Worley Directory Co., 1916), p. 3.

<sup>67</sup> The Chavez and Espinosa families were close enough that, when the Espinosas moved, their previous home was occupied by the David Chavez family. See 1916 City Directory, p. 141; Worley's Directory of Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1915 (Dallas: John F. Worley Company, 1915), p. 175.

<sup>68</sup> Albuquerque Journal, November 1, 1916, advertisement.

<sup>69</sup> The New Mexico Blue Book, 1917 (Santa Fe: issued by Antonio Lucero, Secretary of State, 1917), pp. 79, 80, 82.



announced that it will purchase a new building  
agency building in the town of ...  
be for the town ...  
The university has been ...  
of improvement to cost \$10,000.

David Green, who stated, the ...  
and had moved to the town of ...  
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American people, ...  
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United States ...  
1957.

60. Albuquerque City Directory, 1957, p. 10.  
Directory Co., 1957, p. 10.

61. The ...  
that ...  
occupied by ...  
D. H. ...  
(Dallas, Texas ...)

62. Albuquerque Journal, ...  
...  
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EX-100  
FBI  
JUL 10 1957



young Chavez, despite a strong run in the city of Albuquerque, was no match against the seasoned Montoya in the rural areas of Bernalillo county. Montoya, who had served as early as 1891 in the state legislature, and who was one of the one hundred men who authored New Mexico's state constitution, and who had been a Speaker of the New Mexico House of Representatives,<sup>70</sup> was too great a match for the fledgling "politico," Dennis Chavez. Montoya won the election with slightly more than three hundred votes in the lead.<sup>71</sup>

(Still, Chavez' loss was bearable in the face of a Republican sweep throughout the county. The Grand Old Party captured the State Senate seat, three out of three Representative positions, the District Attorney's Office, the three County Commissioner posts, the County Treasurer's position, the Surveyor's position, and the School Superintendent's office in addition to the County Clerk's office.<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, one election which was won by the Democrats was that of A. A. Jones of Las Vegas in his race for the United States Senate -- and this lonely victory would figure significantly in the life of the defeated candidate for the Bernalillo County Clerk's office.)

Furthermore, all was not gloom for the young

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<sup>70</sup> Albuquerque Morning Journal, November 1, 1916, advertisement.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid., November 12, 1916.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

young lawyer, and in 1891 he was elected to the office of  
was no record against him in the office of the  
of Hamilton's county, Kentucky, and in 1891 he was  
1891 in the same office, and in 1892 he was  
bonded with the same office, and in 1893 he was  
and who had been a member of the Hamilton County  
Representative, and had been a member of the  
"political," Hamilton County, Kentucky, and in 1894 he was  
although some other names were in the list  
[Name], Hamilton County, Kentucky, and in 1895 he was  
Republican were elected, and in 1896 he was  
party changed the Hamilton County office, and in 1897 he was  
Representative position, and in 1898 he was  
the three County Representative office, and in 1899 he was  
position, and in 1900 he was  
incident's office in relation to the County Clerk's office.  
Representative, and in 1901 he was  
was elected to the office of the Hamilton County Clerk, and in 1902  
United States House - and in 1903 he was elected to the  
significantly in the office of the Hamilton County Clerk, and in  
Hamilton County, Kentucky, and in 1904 he was  
Representative, and in 1905 he was

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Alphonse J. [Name], Hamilton County, Kentucky, 1906  
advised [Name]  
[Name], Hamilton County, Kentucky, 1907



politician. (A Democrat had again won the governorship -- although a Republican from the East Side had captured the Lieutenant Governor's position from the outgoing governor, William C. McDonald.<sup>73</sup> The new governor appointed Chavez to the position of State Game Warden and Chavez left the State Engineer's Office where he had been working following the election.<sup>74</sup> However, his new status was shortlived because Governor Ezequiel Cabeza deBaca died within two months following his oath of office. Washington Lindsay, a prominent Portales attorney, succeeded from the Lieutenant Governor's position. Chavez was subsequently replaced by Theodore Roualt of Las Cruces.<sup>75</sup> Thereafter, Chavez worked briefly as an editor of a weekly newspaper at Belen, New Mexico, and also as a court interpreter for United States District Judge Colin Neblett.<sup>76</sup> Then, in the Summer of 1917, Chavez, together with a Rafael Garcia, formed a contracting company in Albuquerque.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>73</sup>According to Chavez, McDonald was too unpopular to run for re-election for the top position and hence stood for the second position. Chavez interview, November 3, 1957.

<sup>74</sup>Chavez interview, November 3, 1957.

<sup>75</sup>Ira C. Ihde, "Washington Ellsworth Lindsay" (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History, University of New Mexico, 1950), pp. 260-61.

<sup>76</sup>The Chavez 1952 Handbook for Speakers, pp. 3,4. ✓

<sup>77</sup>Chavez interview, November 3, 1957.





That summer he built his personal savings to a total of almost seven hundred dollars while paving an alley in the business district of Albuquerque.<sup>78</sup> Then, in September, 1917, the young politician accepted a promise made to him a year earlier. (Having worked for the election of A. A. Jones to the United States Senate while carrying on his own campaign for Bernalillo County Clerk, Chavez had received a promise of Washington employment should he ever desire it. Chavez accepted the Senator's promise and took his wife and two small children to Washington, D. C., where he received a \$125 per month political appointment. After six months, Jones secured for Chavez the position of Assistant Executive Clerk for the United States Senate. That position had become open when Chavez' fellow Albuquerquean, Frank Butt, desired to return to Albuquerque.<sup>79</sup> Chavez studied law at Georgetown University while he worked each day in the United States Senate. He was able to complete his law studies by 1920 and he returned to New Mexico in June of that year.<sup>80</sup> In

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<sup>78</sup>The alley ran behind the Federal Building located on the northeast corner of Fifth Street and Gold Avenue where Chavez, as United States Senator, had, at one time, his New Mexico offices. In 1917, that building had not yet been built. Chavez interview, November 3, 1957.

<sup>79</sup>Chavez interview, November 3, 1957.

<sup>80</sup>Chavez listed among his fellow Georgetown graduates of 1920: United States Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming and Leonard Hall, later National Chairman of the Republican Party in the early 1950's. Chavez interview, November 3, 1957.







1920, Chavez' father, David, was a ranchman and resided in the rear of 1613 South Third Street. Young David followed in Dennis's footsteps and was a clerk in the City Engineer's office.<sup>81</sup>

Returning to Albuquerque, Chavez set up offices in the Whiting Building and moved his family in with the Espinosas at 325 North Eighth Street.<sup>82</sup> Likewise, he resumed his contracting affiliations with Rafael Garcia,<sup>83</sup> although his name was not listed in the firm name.<sup>84</sup> By the year 1922, Chavez was residing in a modern brownstone house at 407 North Seventh Street.<sup>85</sup> At the same time he began to earn an average of \$15,000 (net) per year.<sup>86</sup> In 1922, he defended the striking workers of the Santa Fe Railroad in court action.<sup>87</sup> At the same time he began to

<sup>81</sup>Albuquerque City Directory, 1919 (El Paso: Hudspeth Directory Company, (Incorporated), 1919), p. 184.

<sup>82</sup>Albuquerque City Directory, 1920 (El Paso: Hudspeth Directory Company, (Incorporated), 1920), pp. 244, 281.

<sup>83</sup>Albuquerque City Directory, 1921 (El Paso: Hudspeth Directory Company, (Incorporated), 1921), p. 279.

<sup>84</sup>"Rafael Garcia" is still found in the cement of many of Albuquerque's pavements, testifying to a rather large business. No mention has ever been made of Dennis Chavez' connections with the firm, although the city directories of the 1920's regularly list him as a partner of Garcia.

Coan also listed Chavez as a stockholder in the Southwestern Construction Company, "Albuquerque Home Builders." See Coan, I, 35.

<sup>85</sup>1921 Directory, p. 279.

<sup>86</sup>Interview with Dennis Chavez, United States Senator, November 4, 1957.

<sup>87</sup>The Chavez 1952 Handbook for Speakers, p. 5.







be prominent as a defense counsel in murder cases.<sup>88</sup> (In 1922 Chavez was also a candidate for the New Mexico House of Representatives, to which he was elected by a large majority.<sup>89</sup> All of this happened to a young man in a city of 28,000 persons<sup>90</sup> where all of the leaders knew each other on a first-name basis.)

(Significantly, Chavez' victory to the State House of Representatives came in a year when the party makeup of that house was shifting from 34 Republicans and 15 Democrats to 17 Republicans and 32 Democrats.<sup>91</sup> The Democrats captured the governorship for the first time in six years. Chavez was on the crest of the wave as his electoral majority was the largest in Albuquerque.<sup>92</sup> In the Legislature Chavez co-sponsored a free text book bill and a bill limiting the number of railroad cars allowed to be pulled by one

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<sup>88</sup>Interview with Dan Burrows, Editor, Albuquerque Tribune, December 27, 1956. Chavez stated that he handled, in the period 1920-1930, twenty-seven defenses of persons charged with murder. Chavez interview, November 4, 1957.

<sup>89</sup>Coan, I, 35.

<sup>90</sup>1920 City Directory, p. 76.

<sup>91</sup>Coan, I, 255. However, another source stated the makeup of the 1923 House to be 26 Democrats and 23 Republicans. See The New Mexico Blue Book (Santa Fe: issued by the Secretary of State, 1923).

<sup>92</sup>The New Mexico Blue Book, 1923-24 (Santa Fe: issued by Mrs. Soledad Chacon, Secretary of State), p. 43.

be prominent as a defense witness, in order to show that  
1932 Chavez was not a witness for the defense. Chavez  
testified that he was not called as a defense witness.  
All of this happened on a date that is a matter of record.  
Persons<sup>20</sup> there all of the persons have been in a trial  
name basis.

Significantly, Chavez agreed to give House of  
Representatives some as a fact when the party came to  
that house was nothing from the House and it was  
to it being taken and it was taken. The House  
the Government for the first time in the year. Chavez  
was on the court of the state and he was a witness. Chavez  
the House in a statement. In the House Chavez  
was named a free and good man and a man of honor and  
number of witnesses were allowed to be called by me.

Chavez was also in the House, Chavez, a witness  
Tolson, December 2, 1932. Chavez stated that he was  
in the House 1932-1933. Chavez was a witness in the  
charged with murder. Chavez was a witness in the

down, I am.  
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locomotive.<sup>93</sup>

(Charges arose, at that time, against the Democratic Governor James F. Hinkle's handling of patronage to the Spanish-Americans of New Mexico.<sup>94</sup> This, in turn, led to Hinkle's downfall. Hinkle assisted Gallup's Mayor Arthur T. Hannett to secure the Democratic nomination for governor. Hannett's nomination in the 1924 Democratic state convention was seconded by Chavez.<sup>95</sup> During that same year, 1924, Chavez was a New Mexico delegate to the Democratic National Convention in New York City.)<sup>96</sup>

During the 1926 election campaign, Chavez spoke throughout New Mexico<sup>97</sup> in behalf of Arthur T. Hannett, who was being attacked for his election code.<sup>98</sup> By that

<sup>93</sup>Chavez interview, November 4, 1957.

<sup>94</sup>Robert Thompson and Charles Judah, Arthur T. Hannett, Governor of New Mexico (Albuquerque, New Mex.: Division of Research, Department of Government, No. 26, University of New Mexico, November, 1950), p. 5.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>96</sup>Coan, I, 35. Coan stated that Chavez was, "on several occasions", a member of the County and State Central committees of the Democratic party.

<sup>97</sup>Chavez interview, November 4, 1957.

<sup>98</sup>Thompson and Judah, p. iii. Chavez, in 1957, did not recall having upheld the Code. Rather, he considered his support of Hannett, in spite of the Code, as a matter of party loyalty. This conflicts with Thompson's and Judah's assertion that Chavez defended the Code. See also Robert G. Thompson, The Administration of Governor Arthur T. Hannett, A Study in New Mexico Politics, 1925-1927 (Unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Government, University of New Mexico, 1949) for more detailed background on this period of New Mexico political history.







time, (both Dennis and his brother David were becoming widely known throughout the northern, Spanish-American, counties. However, Bronson Cutting, a leading New Mexico politician as well as newspaper publisher, and his Santa Fe New Mexican, together with his El Nuevo Mexicano, were too much for Hannett. Cutting swung the Spanish-Americans of those same northern counties behind him and Cutting-supported Richard C. Dillon of Estancia became governor.)<sup>99</sup>

In 1927 Dennis Chavez became a statutory agent for the Gibson Oil Corporation and practised law in the Rosenwald Building,<sup>100</sup> a leading Albuquerque office building of that day. Likewise, he held memberships in the Benevolent Order of the Elks and in the Knights of Columbus.<sup>101</sup>

Meanwhile, from 1927 to 1930, the Republican party in New Mexico began to lose strength. Although victorious in 1926, G. O. P. Governor Dillon carried with him the seeds of eventual defeat in the person of Bronson M. Cutting, publisher and political leader. Cutting wanted, among other things, the establishment of a state Veterans Bureau

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<sup>99</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, October 30, 1926, mentions the Cutting support.

<sup>100</sup>Albuquerque City Directory, 1927 (El Paso: Hudspeth Directory Company (Incorporated), 1927), p. 167.

<sup>101</sup>Coan, I, 35.

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and the appointment of a state Labor Commissioner. Because of Hannett's refusal to bring such about, Cutting had backed Dillon against Hannett,<sup>102</sup> whom he had earlier supported.

By 1929, Cutting was United States Senator and was personally leading the state legislative fight for enactment of his Labor Commissioner bill.<sup>103</sup> The battle damaged the Republican party as Cutting, refuted by the state G.O.P. leadership, led his Spanish-American followers out of the ranks of Republican voters in 1930.<sup>104</sup> Another factor also arose. That was the stockmarket crash of October, 1929, and the beginning of what Judah called "a national trend".<sup>105</sup>

As the year 1930 began, the Republican party in New Mexico was split; a national depression harrassed a national Republican administration; and a belligerent Bronson Cutting, United States Senator, led thousands of his followers into the Democratic party ranks.

<sup>102</sup>Interview with Arthur T. Hannett, former Governor of New Mexico, October 27, 1957.

<sup>103</sup>Vorley Michael Rexroad, "The Two Administrations of Governor Richard C. Dillon" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Government, University of New Mexico, 1947), p. 21.

<sup>104</sup>See the Rexroad and Thompson theses for detailed accounts of this battle of the late 1920's.

<sup>105</sup>Judah, The Republican Party in New Mexico, p. 8.

and the appointment of a State Labor Commissioner. The  
of Hancock's refusal to bring such a bill, which was  
Ellen Keeler Hancock, who had been elected in 1902.  
By 1902, Hancock was in the House, and was  
leading his state committee to the House.  
Labor Council for the State. The state committee  
party of Hancock, who was elected in 1902.  
his special committee to the House of Representatives.  
voted in 1902. Another factor in the  
recommended cases of Hancock, 1902, and the House  
what John called a "national" road.  
As the year 1902 passed, the House  
Mexico and against a set of laws proposed in Mexico.  
Republican administration and a bill to the House.  
United States Republic, and a bill to the House.  
the Democratic party.

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100. Interview with Arthur E. Hancock, 1902.  
of New Mexico, October 2, 1902.  
101. Victor, Mexico, 1902. The House  
Governor Richard C. D. Hancock, 1902.  
Department of Government, Hancock, 1902.  
D. 21.  
102. The House and the Senate, 1902.  
account of this case of the House.  
103. Journal, The House, 1902.



## II. 1930

The first six months of 1930 were politically quiet in New Mexico. Dennis Chavez continued to act as a statutory agent for the Gibson Oil Corporation<sup>1</sup> but did not figure in the news politically. It is possible, though, that he may have been considering his forthcoming candidacy.<sup>2</sup> In July, Albert Simms, the incumbent Congressman,<sup>3</sup> declared his candidacy for the Republican party's nomination. The Socorro Chieftain stated:

Congressman Simms has announced himself as a candidate for re-election and expects to start an active campaign in the next week after congress adjourns. Mr. Simms has devoted all his time and energy to the office and has been exceptionally thoughtful in the care and attention he has given to the requests of his constituents and will be a hard man to beat in the election.<sup>4</sup>

The Republicans nominated Simms for a second term.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Albuquerque City Directory, 1930 (El Paso: Hudspeth Directory Company (Incorporated), 1930), p. 238.

<sup>2</sup>Chavez stated that his life ambition was to go to Congress. Interview with Dennis Chavez, United States Senator, November 4, 1957.

<sup>3</sup>Prior to 1942, New Mexico had only one member in the United States House of Representatives.

<sup>4</sup>Socorro Chieftain, July 5, 1930. p?

<sup>5</sup>See New Mexico State Tribune, September 24, 1930 for an account of his nomination.

11. 1950

The first six months of 1950 were really quiet in New Mexico. I recall that as a statutory agent for the United States but did not figure in the case of the possible, though, that we may have been looking for something entirely. In fact, I recall the Independent Government, but I recall the Republican party's position. The Independent Government.

Government that has been in power for some time for the election and I recall an active campaign in the state of New Mexico. I recall that the state and federal government were in the state of New Mexico and I recall that the state and federal government were in the state of New Mexico and I recall that the state and federal government were in the state of New Mexico.

1. I recall that the state and federal government were in the state of New Mexico. 2. I recall that the state and federal government were in the state of New Mexico. 3. I recall that the state and federal government were in the state of New Mexico. 4. I recall that the state and federal government were in the state of New Mexico. 5. I recall that the state and federal government were in the state of New Mexico. 6. I recall that the state and federal government were in the state of New Mexico. 7. I recall that the state and federal government were in the state of New Mexico. 8. I recall that the state and federal government were in the state of New Mexico. 9. I recall that the state and federal government were in the state of New Mexico. 10. I recall that the state and federal government were in the state of New Mexico.



By 1930, however, political fortunes in New Mexico were changing. Some changes, of various kinds, were reflected in the census figures of that year. The population was 423,317 of which 108,816 were urban dwellers and another 158,595 were rural non-farm dwellers.<sup>6</sup> The total population of the state had increased 62,967 persons or 17.5 per cent. It should be noted that in 1890, the first census after Chavez' birth, the population of the territory had been 160,282.<sup>7</sup> It may be observed, thereby, that Chavez was in the midst of a growing area while not being an immigrant himself. Meanwhile, Albuquerque had been growing at a greater rate. In 1920, the city totals were 15,157. By 1930, the city's population was 26,570 for an increase of 75.3 per cent.<sup>8</sup> Santa Fe, the home of David Chavez, Jr., had a population of 11,176 in 1930 for an increase of 54.4 per cent over its 1920 population figure.<sup>9</sup>

In 1930, urban areas constituted approximately twenty-six per cent of New Mexico's population.<sup>10</sup> The

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<sup>6</sup>U. S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930, Population, III, Pt. 2, 227.

<sup>7</sup>The New Mexico Blue Book, 1931-1932 (Santa Fe: issued by Mrs. Marguerite P. Baca, Secretary of State), p. 77.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>U. S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census ... Population, III, Pt. 2, 227.

In 1930, however, the population of the United States was 122,550,000. This was an increase of 17.5 per cent. over the population of 1920. The population of 1920 was 104,233,000. The population of 1930 was 122,550,000. The population of 1940 was 136,623,000. The population of 1950 was 150,697,000. The population of 1960 was 179,323,000. The population of 1970 was 203,211,000. The population of 1980 was 226,545,000. The population of 1990 was 248,699,000. The population of 2000 was 281,421,000. The population of 2010 was 307,621,000. The population of 2020 was 333,284,000. The population of 2030 was 358,947,000. The population of 2040 was 384,610,000. The population of 2050 was 410,273,000. The population of 2060 was 435,936,000. The population of 2070 was 461,599,000. The population of 2080 was 487,262,000. The population of 2090 was 512,925,000. The population of 2100 was 538,588,000. The population of 2110 was 564,251,000. The population of 2120 was 589,914,000. The population of 2130 was 615,577,000. The population of 2140 was 641,240,000. The population of 2150 was 666,903,000. The population of 2160 was 692,566,000. The population of 2170 was 718,229,000. The population of 2180 was 743,892,000. The population of 2190 was 769,555,000. The population of 2200 was 795,218,000. The population of 2210 was 820,881,000. The population of 2220 was 846,544,000. The population of 2230 was 872,207,000. The population of 2240 was 897,870,000. The population of 2250 was 923,533,000. The population of 2260 was 949,196,000. The population of 2270 was 974,859,000. The population of 2280 was 1,000,522,000. The population of 2290 was 1,026,185,000. The population of 2300 was 1,051,848,000. The population of 2310 was 1,077,511,000. The population of 2320 was 1,103,174,000. The population of 2330 was 1,128,837,000. The population of 2340 was 1,154,500,000. The population of 2350 was 1,180,163,000. The population of 2360 was 1,205,826,000. The population of 2370 was 1,231,489,000. The population of 2380 was 1,257,152,000. The population of 2390 was 1,282,815,000. The population of 2400 was 1,308,478,000. The population of 2410 was 1,334,141,000. The population of 2420 was 1,359,804,000. The population of 2430 was 1,385,467,000. The population of 2440 was 1,411,130,000. The population of 2450 was 1,436,793,000. The population of 2460 was 1,462,456,000. The population of 2470 was 1,488,119,000. The population of 2480 was 1,513,782,000. The population of 2490 was 1,539,445,000. The population of 2500 was 1,565,108,000. The population of 2510 was 1,590,771,000. The population of 2520 was 1,616,434,000. The population of 2530 was 1,642,097,000. The population of 2540 was 1,667,760,000. The population of 2550 was 1,693,423,000. The population of 2560 was 1,719,086,000. The population of 2570 was 1,744,749,000. The population of 2580 was 1,770,412,000. The population of 2590 was 1,796,075,000. The population of 2600 was 1,821,738,000. The population of 2610 was 1,847,401,000. The population of 2620 was 1,873,064,000. The population of 2630 was 1,898,727,000. The population of 2640 was 1,924,390,000. The population of 2650 was 1,950,053,000. The population of 2660 was 1,975,716,000. The population of 2670 was 2,001,379,000. The population of 2680 was 2,027,042,000. The population of 2690 was 2,052,705,000. The population of 2700 was 2,078,368,000. The population of 2710 was 2,104,031,000. The population of 2720 was 2,129,694,000. The population of 2730 was 2,155,357,000. The population of 2740 was 2,181,020,000. The population of 2750 was 2,206,683,000. The population of 2760 was 2,232,346,000. The population of 2770 was 2,258,009,000. The population of 2780 was 2,283,672,000. The population of 2790 was 2,309,335,000. The population of 2800 was 2,334,998,000. The population of 2810 was 2,360,661,000. The population of 2820 was 2,386,324,000. The population of 2830 was 2,411,987,000. The population of 2840 was 2,437,650,000. The population of 2850 was 2,463,313,000. The population of 2860 was 2,488,976,000. The population of 2870 was 2,514,639,000. The population of 2880 was 2,540,302,000. The population of 2890 was 2,565,965,000. The population of 2900 was 2,591,628,000. The population of 2910 was 2,617,291,000. The population of 2920 was 2,642,954,000. The population of 2930 was 2,668,617,000. The population of 2940 was 2,694,280,000. The population of 2950 was 2,719,943,000. The population of 2960 was 2,745,606,000. The population of 2970 was 2,771,269,000. The population of 2980 was 2,796,932,000. The population of 2990 was 2,822,595,000. The population of 3000 was 2,848,258,000. The population of 3010 was 2,873,921,000. The population of 3020 was 2,899,584,000. The population of 3030 was 2,925,247,000. The population of 3040 was 2,950,910,000. The population of 3050 was 2,976,573,000. The population of 3060 was 3,002,236,000. The population of 3070 was 3,027,899,000. The population of 3080 was 3,053,562,000. The population of 3090 was 3,079,225,000. The population of 3100 was 3,104,888,000. The population of 3110 was 3,130,551,000. The population of 3120 was 3,156,214,000. The population of 3130 was 3,181,877,000. The population of 3140 was 3,207,540,000. The population of 3150 was 3,233,203,000. The population of 3160 was 3,258,866,000. The population of 3170 was 3,284,529,000. The population of 3180 was 3,310,192,000. The population of 3190 was 3,335,855,000. The population of 3200 was 3,361,518,000. The population of 3210 was 3,387,181,000. The population of 3220 was 3,412,844,000. The population of 3230 was 3,438,507,000. The population of 3240 was 3,464,170,000. The population of 3250 was 3,489,833,000. The population of 3260 was 3,515,496,000. The population of 3270 was 3,541,159,000. The population of 3280 was 3,566,822,000. The population of 3290 was 3,592,485,000. The population of 3300 was 3,618,148,000. The population of 3310 was 3,643,811,000. The population of 3320 was 3,669,474,000. The population of 3330 was 3,695,137,000. The population of 3340 was 3,720,800,000. The population of 3350 was 3,746,463,000. The population of 3360 was 3,772,126,000. The population of 3370 was 3,797,789,000. The population of 3380 was 3,823,452,000. The population of 3390 was 3,849,115,000. The population of 3400 was 3,874,778,000. The population of 3410 was 3,900,441,000. The population of 3420 was 3,926,104,000. The population of 3430 was 3,951,767,000. The population of 3440 was 3,977,430,000. The population of 3450 was 4,003,093,000. The population of 3460 was 4,028,756,000. The population of 3470 was 4,054,419,000. The population of 3480 was 4,080,082,000. The population of 3490 was 4,105,745,000. The population of 3500 was 4,131,408,000. The population of 3510 was 4,157,071,000. The population of 3520 was 4,182,734,000. The population of 3530 was 4,208,397,000. The population of 3540 was 4,234,060,000. The population of 3550 was 4,259,723,000. The population of 3560 was 4,285,386,000. The population of 3570 was 4,311,049,000. The population of 3580 was 4,336,712,000. The population of 3590 was 4,362,375,000. The population of 3600 was 4,388,038,000. The population of 3610 was 4,413,701,000. The population of 3620 was 4,439,364,000. The population of 3630 was 4,465,027,000. The population of 3640 was 4,490,690,000. The population of 3650 was 4,516,353,000. The population of 3660 was 4,542,016,000. The population of 3670 was 4,567,679,000. The population of 3680 was 4,593,342,000. The population of 3690 was 4,619,005,000. The population of 3700 was 4,644,668,000. The population of 3710 was 4,670,331,000. The population of 3720 was 4,695,994,000. The population of 3730 was 4,721,657,000. The population of 3740 was 4,747,320,000. The population of 3750 was 4,772,983,000. The population of 3760 was 4,798,646,000. The population of 3770 was 4,824,309,000. The population of 3780 was 4,849,972,000. The population of 3790 was 4,875,635,000. The population of 3800 was 4,901,298,000. The population of 3810 was 4,926,961,000. The population of 3820 was 4,952,624,000. The population of 3830 was 4,978,287,000. The population of 3840 was 5,003,950,000. The population of 3850 was 5,029,613,000. The population of 3860 was 5,055,276,000. The population of 3870 was 5,080,939,000. The population of 3880 was 5,106,602,000. The population of 3890 was 5,132,265,000. The population of 3900 was 5,157,928,000. The population of 3910 was 5,183,591,000. The population of 3920 was 5,209,254,000. The population of 3930 was 5,234,917,000. The population of 3940 was 5,260,580,000. The population of 3950 was 5,286,243,000. The population of 3960 was 5,311,906,000. The population of 3970 was 5,337,569,000. The population of 3980 was 5,363,232,000. The population of 3990 was 5,388,895,000. The population of 4000 was 5,414,558,000. The population of 4010 was 5,440,221,000. The population of 4020 was 5,465,884,000. The population of 4030 was 5,491,547,000. The population of 4040 was 5,517,210,000. The population of 4050 was 5,542,873,000. The population of 4060 was 5,568,536,000. The population of 4070 was 5,594,199,000. The population of 4080 was 5,619,862,000. The population of 4090 was 5,645,525,000. The population of 4100 was 5,671,188,000. The population of 4110 was 5,696,851,000. The population of 4120 was 5,722,514,000. The population of 4130 was 5,748,177,000. The population of 4140 was 5,773,840,000. The population of 4150 was 5,799,503,000. The population of 4160 was 5,825,166,000. The population of 4170 was 5,850,829,000. The population of 4180 was 5,876,492,000. The population of 4190 was 5,902,155,000. The population of 4200 was 5,927,818,000. The population of 4210 was 5,953,481,000. The population of 4220 was 5,979,144,000. The population of 4230 was 6,004,807,000. The population of 4240 was 6,030,470,000. The population of 4250 was 6,056,133,000. The population of 4260 was 6,081,796,000. The population of 4270 was 6,107,459,000. The population of 4280 was 6,133,122,000. The population of 4290 was 6,158,785,000. The population of 4300 was 6,184,448,000. The population of 4310 was 6,210,111,000. The population of 4320 was 6,235,774,000. The population of 4330 was 6,261,437,000. The population of 4340 was 6,287,100,000. The population of 4350 was 6,312,763,000. The population of 4360 was 6,338,426,000. The population of 4370 was 6,364,089,000. The population of 4380 was 6,389,752,000. The population of 4390 was 6,415,415,000. The population of 4400 was 6,441,078,000. The population of 4410 was 6,466,741,000. The population of 4420 was 6,492,404,000. The population of 4430 was 6,518,067,000. The population of 4440 was 6,543,730,000. The population of 4450 was 6,569,393,000. The population of 4460 was 6,595,056,000. The population of 4470 was 6,620,719,000. The population of 4480 was 6,646,382,000. The population of 4490 was 6,672,045,000. The population of 4500 was 6,697,708,000. The population of 4510 was 6,723,371,000. The population of 4520 was 6,749,034,000. The population of 4530 was 6,774,697,000. The population of 4540 was 6,800,360,000. The population of 4550 was 6,826,023,000. The population of 4560 was 6,851,686,000. The population of 4570 was 6,877,349,000. The population of 4580 was 6,903,012,000. The population of 4590 was 6,928,675,000. The population of 4600 was 6,954,338,000. The population of 4610 was 6,979,901,000. The population of 4620 was 7,005,564,000. The population of 4630 was 7,031,227,000. The population of 4640 was 7,056,890,000. The population of 4650 was 7,082,553,000. The population of 4660 was 7,108,216,000. The population of 4670 was 7,133,879,000. The population of 4680 was 7,159,542,000. The population of 4690 was 7,185,205,000. The population of 4700 was 7,210,868,000. The population of 4710 was 7,236,531,000. The population of 4720 was 7,262,194,000. The population of 4730 was 7,287,857,000. The population of 4740 was 7,313,520,000. The population of 4750 was 7,339,183,000. The population of 4760 was 7,364,846,000. The population of 4770 was 7,390,509,000. The population of 4780 was 7,416,172,000. The population of 4790 was 7,441,835,000. The population of 4800 was 7,467,498,000. The population of 4810 was 7,493,161,000. The population of 4820 was 7,518,824,000. The population of 4830 was 7,544,487,000. The population of 4840 was 7,570,150,000. The population of 4850 was 7,595,813,000. The population of 4860 was 7,621,476,000. The population of 4870 was 7,647,139,000. The population of 4880 was 7,672,802,000. The population of 4890 was 7,698,465,000. The population of 4900 was 7,724,128,000. The population of 4910 was 7,749,791,000. The population of 4920 was 7,775,454,000. The population of 4930 was 7,801,117,000. The population of 4940 was 7,826,780,000. The population of 4950 was 7,852,443,000. The population of 4960 was 7,878,106,000. The population of 4970 was 7,903,769,000. The population of 4980 was 7,929,432,000. The population of 4990 was 7,955,095,000. The population of 5000 was 7,980,758,000. The population of 5010 was 8,006,421,000. The population of 5020 was 8,032,084,000. The population of 5030 was 8,057,747,000. The population of 5040 was 8,083,410,000. The population of 5050 was 8,109,073,000. The population of 5060 was 8,134,736,000. The population of 5070 was 8,160,399,000. The population of 5080 was 8,186,062,000. The population of 5090 was 8,211,725,000. The population of 5100 was 8,237,388,000. The population of 5110 was 8,263,051,000. The population of 5120 was 8,288,714,000. The population of 5130 was 8,314,377,000. The population of 5140 was 8,340,040,000. The population of 5150 was 8,365,703,000. The population of 5160 was 8,391,366,000. The population of 5170 was 8,417,029,000. The population of 5180 was 8,442,692,000. The population of 5190 was 8,468,355,000. The population of 5200 was 8,494,018,000. The population of 5210 was 8,519,681,000. The population of 5220 was 8,545,344,000. The population of 5230 was 8,571,007,000. The population of 5240 was 8,596,670,000. The population of 5250 was 8,622,333,000. The population of 5260 was 8,647,996,000. The population of 5270 was 8,673,659,000. The population of 5280 was 8,699,322,000. The population of 5290 was 8,724,985,000. The population of 5300 was 8,750,648,000. The population of 5310 was 8,776,311,000. The population of 5320 was 8,801,974,000. The population of 5330 was 8,827,637,000. The population of 5340 was 8,853,300,000. The population of 5350 was 8,878,963,000. The population of 5360 was 8,904,626,000. The population of 5370 was 8,930,289,000. The population of 5380 was 8,955,952,000. The population of 5390 was 8,981,615,000. The population of 5400 was 9,007,278,000. The population of 5410 was 9,032,941,000. The population of 5420 was 9,058,604,000. The population of 5430 was 9,084,267,000. The population of 5440 was 9,109,930,000. The population of 5450 was 9,135,593,000. The population of 5460 was 9,161,256,000. The population of 5470 was 9,186,919,000. The population of 5480 was 9,212,582,000. The population of 5490 was 9,238,245,000. The population of 5500 was 9,263,908,000. The population of 5510 was 9,289,571,000. The population of 5520 was 9,315,234,000. The population of 5530 was 9,340,897,000. The population of 5540 was 9,366,560,000. The population of 5550 was 9,392,223,000. The population of 5560 was 9,417,886,000. The population of 5570 was 9,443,549,000. The population of 5580 was 9,469,212,000. The population of 5590 was 9,494,875,000. The population of 5600 was 9,520,538,000. The population of 5610 was 9,546,201,000. The population of 5620 was 9,571,864,000. The population of 5630 was 9,597,527,000. The population of 5640 was 9,623,190,000. The population of 5650 was 9,648,853,000. The population of 5660 was 9,674,516,000. The population of 5670 was 9,700,179,000. The population of 5680 was 9,725,842,000. The population of 5690 was 9,751,505,000. The population of 5700 was 9,777,168,000. The population of 5710 was 9,802,831,000. The population of 5720 was 9,828,494,000. The population of 5730 was 9,854,157,000. The population of 5740 was 9,879,820,000. The population of 5750 was 9,905,483,000. The population of 5760 was 9,931,146,000. The population of 5770 was 9,956,809,000. The population of 5780 was 9,982,472,000. The population of 5790 was 10,008,135,000. The population of 5800 was 10,033,798,000. The population of 5810 was 10,059,461,000. The population of 5820 was 10,085,124,000. The population of 5830 was 10,110,787,000. The population of 5840 was 10,136,450,000. The population of 5850 was 10,162,113,000. The population of 5860 was 10,187,776,000. The population of 5870 was 10,213,439,000. The population of 5880 was 10,239,102,000. The population of 5890 was 10,264,765,000. The population of 5900 was 10,290,428,000. The population of 5910 was 10,316,091,000. The population of 5920 was 10,341,754,000. The population of 5930 was 10,367,417,000. The population of 5940 was 10,393,080,000. The population of 5950 was 10,418,743,000. The population of 5960 was 10,444,406,000. The population of 5970 was 10,470,069,000. The population of 5980 was 10,495,732,000. The population of 5990 was 10,521,395,000. The population of 6000 was 10,547,058,000. The population of 6010 was 10,572,721,000. The population of 6020 was 10,598,384,000. The population of 6030 was 10,624,047,000. The population of 6040 was 10,649,710,000. The population of 6050 was 10,675,373,000. The population of 6060 was 10,701,036,000. The population of 6070 was 10,726,699,000. The population of 6080 was 10,752,362,000. The population of 6090 was 10,778,025,000. The population of 6100 was 10,803,688,000. The population of 6110 was 10,829,351,000. The population of 6120 was 10,855,014,000. The population of 6130 was 10,880,677,000. The population of 6140 was 10,906,340,000. The population of 6150 was 10,932,003,000. The population of 6160 was 10,957,666,000. The population of 6170 was 10,983,329,000. The population of 6180 was 11,008,992,000. The population of 6190 was 11,034,655,000. The population of 6200 was 11,060,318,000. The population of 6210 was 11,085,981,000. The population of 6220 was 11,111,644,000. The population of 6230 was 11,137,307,000. The population of 6240 was 11,162,970,000. The population of 6250 was 11,188,633,000. The population of 6260 was 11,214,296,000. The population of 6270 was 11,239,959,000. The population of 6280 was 11,265,622,000. The population of 6290 was 11,291,285,000. The population of 6300 was 11,316,948,000. The population of 6310 was 11,342,611,000. The population of 6320 was 11,368,274,000. The population of 6330 was 11,393,937,000. The population of 6340 was 11,419,600,000. The population of 6350 was 11,445,263,000. The population of 6360 was 11,470,926,000. The population of 6370 was 11,496,589,000. The population of 6380 was 11,522,252,000. The population of 6390 was 11,547,915,000. The population of 6400 was 11,573,578,000. The population of 6410 was 11,599,241,000. The population of 6420 was 11,624,904,000. The population of 6430 was 11,650,567,000. The population of 6440 was 11,676,230,000. The population of 6450 was 11,701,893,000. The population of 6460 was 11,727,556,000. The population of 6470 was 11,753,219,000. The population of 6480 was 11,778,882,000. The population of 6490 was 11,804,545,000. The population of 6500 was 11,830,208,000. The population of 6510 was 11,855,871,000. The population of 6520 was 11,881,534,000. The population of 6530 was 11,907,197,000. The population of 6540 was 11,932,860,000. The population of 6550 was 11,958,523,000. The population of 6560 was 11,984,186,000. The population of 6570 was 12,009,849,000. The population of 6580 was 12,035,512,000. The population of 6590 was 12,061,175,000. The population of 6600 was 12,086,838,000. The population of 6610 was 12,112,501,000. The population of 6620 was 12,138,164,000. The population of 6630 was 12,163,827,000. The population of 6640 was 12,189,490,000. The population of 6650 was 12,215,153,000. The population of 6660 was 12,240,816,000. The population of 6670 was 12,266,479,000. The population of 6680 was 12,292,142,000. The population of 6690 was 12,317,805,000. The population of 6700 was 12,343,468,000. The population of 6710 was 12,369,131,000. The population of 6720 was 12,394,794,000. The population of 6730 was 12,420,457,000. The population of 6740 was 12,446,120,000. The population of 6750 was 12,471,783,000. The population of 6760 was 12,497,446,000. The population of 6770 was 12,523,109,000. The population of 6780 was 12,548,772,000. The population of 6790 was 12,574,435,000. The population of 6800 was 12,600,098,000. The population of 6810 was 12,625,761,000. The population of 6820 was 12,651,424,000. The population of 6830 was 12,677,087,000. The population of 6840 was 12,702,750,000. The population of 6850 was 12,728,413,000. The population of 6860 was 12,754,076,000. The population of 6870 was 12,779,739,000. The population of 6880 was 12,805,402,000. The population of 6890 was 12,831,065,000. The population of 6900 was 12,856,728,000. The population of 6910 was 12,882,391,000. The population of 6920 was 12,908,054,000. The population of 6930 was 12,933,717,000. The population of 6940 was 12,959,380,000. The population of 6950 was 12,985,043,000. The population of 6960 was 13,010,706,000. The population of 6970 was 13,036,369,000. The population of 6980 was 13,062,032,000. The population of 6990 was 13,087,695,000. The population of 7000 was 13,113,358,000. The population of 7010 was 13,139,021,000. The population of 7020 was



rate of persons in New Mexico who were unable to read and write was also high, at 13.3 per cent.<sup>11</sup> More than twenty per cent of the people in San Juan, McKinley, Valencia, and Sandoval counties were unable to read and write.<sup>12</sup> Between 1920 and 1930, such illiteracy increased in San Juan, Mora, Otero, DeBaca, Luna, Chaves, and Roosevelt counties.<sup>13</sup> It was found that the most serious problem of illiteracy -- inability to read and write -- was in the age group over twenty-one years of age.<sup>14</sup>

In 1930, only Louisiana and South Carolina, of that day's forty-eight states, had a greater degree of illiteracy than New Mexico.<sup>15</sup>

In other matters of population makeup, it was found that there were 216,956 persons over twenty-one years of age<sup>16</sup> of whom 115,667 were men.<sup>17</sup> Approximately forty-two

<sup>11</sup>J. E. Seyfried, "Illiteracy Trends in New Mexico," University of New Mexico Bulletin, No. 240 (Albuquerque, New Mex.: University of New Mexico, 1934), p. 7.

<sup>12</sup>U. S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census... Population, III, Pt. 2, 239-240.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 232

<sup>15</sup>U. S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census ... Population, III, Pt. 1, 51.

<sup>16</sup>U. S. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census ... Population, III, Pt. 2, 230.

<sup>17</sup>The New Mexico Blue Book, 1931-1932, p. 80.

rate of persons in the United States who are under 15 years of age was also high in 1930, but it was lower than the rate of persons in the United States who are under 15 years of age in 1920 and 1930, and it was lower than the rate of persons in the United States who are under 15 years of age in 1940 and 1950. The rate of persons in the United States who are under 15 years of age in 1930 was 22.1 per cent, in 1920 it was 23.1 per cent, in 1940 it was 21.1 per cent, and in 1950 it was 20.1 per cent. The rate of persons in the United States who are under 15 years of age in 1930 was 22.1 per cent, in 1920 it was 23.1 per cent, in 1940 it was 21.1 per cent, and in 1950 it was 20.1 per cent.

In 1930, only 10.1 per cent of the population of the United States was under 15 years of age, and only 10.1 per cent of the population of the United States was under 15 years of age in 1920 and 1930, and only 10.1 per cent of the population of the United States was under 15 years of age in 1940 and 1950.

In other countries, the rate of persons under 15 years of age was higher than in the United States. In 1930, the rate of persons under 15 years of age in the United States was 22.1 per cent, in 1920 it was 23.1 per cent, in 1940 it was 21.1 per cent, and in 1950 it was 20.1 per cent.

U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1930, Table 1, Population of the United States, 1920-1930, p. 10.

U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1930, Table 1, Population of the United States, 1920-1930, p. 10.

U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1930, Table 1, Population of the United States, 1920-1930, p. 10.

U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1930, Table 1, Population of the United States, 1920-1930, p. 10.



per cent of the population was of Spanish origin.<sup>18</sup> In Bernalillo county, there was a predominance of Spanish-Americans,<sup>19</sup> although in the city of Albuquerque the ratio was about sixty per cent to forty per cent in favor of the Anglo-Americans.<sup>20</sup>

Albuquerque's principal industries, in 1930, included sawmills, a tie heating plant, sash and door factories, a furniture factory, railroad shops, an oil refinery, a casket factory, a brick plant, a machine and iron works, an ornamental light fixture factory and other small manufacturing plants.<sup>21</sup> There was a federal payroll of \$1,250,000 per year and the industrial payrolls totalled \$14,000,000 per year.<sup>22</sup>

Meanwhile, a change was overtaking the United States for "the heart of America in the nineteen-twenties was obviously the enormous economic and political transformation which took place..."<sup>23</sup> It would seem obvious, from the

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<sup>18</sup>Jonathan R. Cunningham, "Bronson Cutting, A Political Biography" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Government, University of New Mexico, 1940), p. 3.

<sup>19</sup>Interview with H. Charles Roehl, longtime Albuquerque politician, December 29, 1956.

<sup>20</sup>Interview with Clyde Tingley, former Governor of New Mexico, October 26, 1957.

<sup>21</sup>Albuquerque City Directory, 1930 (El Paso: Hudspeth Directory Company (Incorporated), 1930), p. 12, in an article by Edgar Knight, Secretary, Albuquerque Chamber of Commerce.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Frederick Lewis Allen, Since Yesterday, The Nineteen-

per cent of the population were of Spanish descent.  
Bermuda's young people are a mixture of the English  
Americans,<sup>10</sup> although in the city of Hamilton, the English  
are about sixty per cent of the population.

Albuquerque is a city of about 10,000 people.  
Included within its limits are the ruins of the  
Anasazi, a famous prehistoric city, which was  
founded, it is believed, about 900 A.D. and  
from which, as originally named, it derived its name.  
Small manufacturing plants, such as the one at  
of \$1,250,000 per year and the industrial plants which  
\$14,000,000 per year.<sup>12</sup>

Albuquerque, a large manufacturing city, is  
one of the most important in the Southwest and  
evidently the city has a large and important  
which took place.

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<sup>10</sup> Benjamin L. Swann, "The Spanish Element in the  
History of the Southwest," *Annals of the  
Government, Bureau of the Census*, 1907.

<sup>11</sup> Information given by the Bureau of the Census,  
Washington, D.C., 1907.

<sup>12</sup> Information given by the Bureau of the Census,  
New Mexico, October 20, 1907.

<sup>13</sup> Information given by the Bureau of the Census,  
Director General, Bureau of the Census, 1907.  
by Edgar A. Mearns, Bureau of the Census, 1907.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>15</sup> Information given by the Bureau of the Census,  
New Mexico, October 20, 1907.



vantage point of a generation in time, that the United States was embarking on a new political course and that traditional Republicanism would no longer be the way of the majority of the people. After 1928, the Republican party only controlled the Congress twice in thirty years. After 1928, the Republican party only controlled the governorship of New Mexico three times in thirty years. After 1928, the Republican party never controlled both houses of the New Mexico Legislature, carrying the state House of Representatives but once in thirty years. After 1928, the Republican party never won a New Mexico state office, other than that of governor, in thirty years. After 1928, the Republican party never won a seat in Congress, except one Senate seat, in as many years. Of course, in 1930, no one foresaw all of these things.)

At the same time, Dennis Chavez was a popular political leader. It was a commonplace to see Chavez speaking with almost every person he passed on Albuquerque's Central Avenue.<sup>24</sup> Chavez was well-respected, but no one

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Thirties in America, September 3, 1929 - September 3, 1939  
(New York & London; Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1940), p. xiv.

<sup>24</sup> Roehl interview. Michael Lucey, onetime political reporter with the Albuquerque Tribune, mentioned that the same thing had been told to him by Chavez. Chavez, one evening, happened to notice Lucey sitting alone in the Bluebird Cafe near Eighth Street on Central Avenue. Rapping on the window, he caught Lucey's attention, and then, with Mrs. Chavez, he walked in and joined Lucey. In the progress of a conversation, Chavez mentioned the fact of his earlier wide acquaintanceship throughout Albuquerque. Conversation with Michael Lucey, November 5, 1956.



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...34  
...reporter with the...  
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...1930



foresaw the long career that followed.<sup>25</sup> Nor did Chavez.<sup>26</sup>

In the year 1930, the Democratic Central Committee of Bernalillo county was lead by Ed Ross,<sup>27</sup> son of Territorial Governor Edmund G. Ross and, himself, a former Albuquerque City Commissioner.<sup>28</sup> However, there were actually two factions among the Bernalillo county Democrats. (One was led by Ed Swope, the other by Albuquerque's Mayor, Clyde Tingley.<sup>29</sup> Chavez was identified with Tingley's group,<sup>30</sup> although the official leadership, under Ross, was affiliated with Swope.)

In the Summer of 1930, however, there were other important matters. (The Club Independiente Politico de Nuevo Mexico passed a resolution asking for the following positions for Spanish-Americans on both major party tickets: Congressman, one Supreme Court Justice, Lieutenant Governor, Superintendent of Public Instruction, Auditor, Corporation Commissioner. The Club also gave implied criticism of

<sup>25</sup>Roehl interview.

<sup>26</sup>Chavez stated, years later: "If anyone had told me or Mrs. Chavez that we would be in Washington twenty-seven years, we would have said they were crazy." Chavez interview, November 4, 1957.

<sup>27</sup>The New Mexico Blue Book, 1931-1932, p. 58.

<sup>28</sup>Dorothy I. Cline, Albuquerque and the City Manager Plan 1917-1948 (Albuquerque, New Mex: Division of Research, Department of Government, No. 28, University of New Mexico, 1948).

<sup>29</sup>Roehl interview.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.





the defeat of the Labor Commissioner bill.<sup>31</sup> The Club was composed of Spanish-Americans and probably consisted of many Cutting followers.<sup>32</sup> It may have aided Chavez because his announcement as candidate for Congress came less than three weeks later.)

"The people of New Mexico," he said in his statement of candidacy,<sup>33</sup> "regardless of politics, are entitled to know who the candidates are, and what to expect from candidates if nominated and elected." He continued:

I was born and reared in New Mexico. I attended the Albuquerque public schools. For good and sufficient reasons, I left school and went to work at the age of 13 years. I have been a grocery clerk, an assistant surveyor, and assistant city engineer of the city of Albuquerque. I was married, and did not go to law school until we had two small children, working, caring for a family, and studying at the same time, graduating from Georgetown law school with the class of 1920. I have been practising law in Albuquerque ever since. I have built up a substantial practice, and have tried to live up to the ideals and traditions of the profession; and believe I have the confidence of the state.

While going to law school, through the kindness of the late Senator A.A. Jones, I was employed as assistant chief executive clerk of the United States Senate, a position most delicate, and of a confidential nature. I

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<sup>31</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, July 30, 1930.

<sup>32</sup>This is a fairly acceptable assumption in view of circumstances that will be explained in the course of this thesis.

<sup>33</sup>Albuquerque Journal, Evening Edition, August 16, 1930.







am familiar with the 'workings' of congress, and feel competent and able to fulfill the duties of congressman. Knowing New Mexico, its people, and its needs, I feel justified in seeking this nomination. If nominated and elected, you may rest assured of honest, energetic, conscientious, and intelligent public service in the congress of our country.

The domestic ills of the country cannot be relieved overnight, and, not being given to false promises, the best I will do shall be to co-operate sincerely with fellow congressmen in honest efforts to do that which would be best for the people and the state of the union.

Any legislation which will be beneficial to New Mexico will have my active support. Chances for tariff legislation in the near future are remote, but if some comes up, I will be in favor of as high a tariff for the protection of New Mexico products and industries as is possible to get. Tariff matters, in my opinion, should not be political, hence I am a protectionist of New Mexico industries.

I am, also, heartily in favor of protection of American labor, as against foreign labor. My record, as a member of the New Mexico state legislature, shows how I stand in this respect. I am neither a labor agitator, nor am I against legitimate business and industry. The best for both is close co-operation and understanding, as what is best for one, is best for the other.

During the late war, citizens were asked to give 'till it hurts' -- soldiers did -- hence I am in favor of legislation that will give needy ex-servicemen compensation 'till it hurts.' Laws affecting ex-servicemen should be made flexible, so as to do away with the 'red-tape' that prevails at present in giving relief.

I favor continued federal aid to our highways and the ceding of the public domain to the states.

I am for the constitution in its entirety. I love it all, and any changes, if desired, may be brought about by orderly process under the same constitution. My political philosophy in this respect is that the will of the people as a whole must be carried out, irrespective of the personal feelings of the representatives.







To my democratic friends: Aspiring to be a congressman is a laudable ambition. Several candidates have already announced, all of whom are worthy of your consideration, and if nominated and elected, would ably represent the state; but without detracting anything from their ability or qualifications, I believe I am entitled to serious consideration by the democrats of New Mexico.

I do not believe that our congressional timber is composed of one man only. There are thousands throughout the state who could and would be able to represent the state.

For twenty-two years I have faithfully and loyally supported all democratic nominees from the senators, congressmen, governors, and down to the county surveyors. At no time has the party found me wanting when it called. On foot, on wagon, horseback, or automobile, be it raining or snowing, day or night, it made no difference. I was always willing to do my utmost for the nominees. I have taken part in democratic caucuses and conventions, and as is desired I have used my best judgement in favoring candidates, but, after the convention had acted, whether the nominees were my choice or not, they were my nominees; and if they were not elected, it was no fault of mine, as they had my active support.

I have never asked for any favors from the party. My kind and kin have sacrificed at the altar of democratic politics in districts where it is a foregone conclusion that a democrat could not be elected, and this was done so others throughout the state could gain. Now, I want something. Yes, I am really from Albuquerque and Bernalillo county, but I am also from New Mexico, and the democratic party does nominate New Mexicans for positions, other than those my friend, Will Robinson, would call 'the leavings.'

I feel that I can get the thousands of votes that no other candidate could get, for the simple reason that I am personally acquainted with, and have the confidence of, as many people as anyone in the state, and they feel that I can fulfill the duties of this office with honor to myself, respect for the office, and give the right kind of service to New Mexico.







We learn from experience. If you can recall the elections of McDonald, Baca, Hinkle, and Hannett, all were brought about because some candidate on the democratic ticket was able to make strong inroads in republican strongholds, and, if you will excuse my lack of modesty, I can do it!

Will I get the nomination? I will, if the democrats are desirous of getting an additional congressman; if faithfulness, loyalty, and service are to be rewarded. I firmly believe that I will get serious and impartial consideration at the hands of my fellow democrats.

The speech possibly appealed to every major New Mexico voter group of the year 1930. In addition, it paid tribute to a prominent East side newspaper editor, Will Robinson, editor of the Roswell Record from 1900 through 1947.<sup>34</sup> (It stressed the requisite fact that Chavez was Spanish-American and that a Spanish-American was needed to win that election. Perhaps Chavez hoped to demonstrate that he could carry both the East Side and the northern counties. This latter fact would have been important in view of the fact that the Spanish-American people were held to be traditionally Republican.<sup>35</sup> "When the fact is recalled that state candidates seldom receive a plurality of more than 10,000 votes, and often a plurality of only a few hundred, the

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<sup>34</sup>Robert G. Thompson, "The Administration of Governor Arthur T. Hannett, A Study in New Mexico Politics 1925-1927" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Government, University of New Mexico, 1949), p. 141.

<sup>35</sup>Dwight M. Ramsay, Jr., "A Statistical Survey of Voting Behavior in New Mexico" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Government, University of New Mexico, 1951), p. 36.





tremendous importance of the Spanish-American vote is evident."36

(Were the Spanish-Americans scattered equally among the various counties of the state, they would long ago have ceased to be of the importance that they are today. However, since they are settled in a compact region -- the Rio Grande valley -- they either dominate the counties therein, or are of sufficient importance numerically to be a bloc with which to reckon.)37

("They are race conscious and possess a distinctive historical and traditional background."38 Nationality-origin discrimination had been an old political charge in New Mexico and Chavez' offer of assistance helped to relieve that situation.)

By mid-September, 1930, just days before the state Democratic convention, Chavez' candidacy was reported "on a high wave."39 However, a possible competitor for the nomination was John Morrow of Raton. Morrow had served in the United States House of Representatives for three terms, having first been elected in 1922. He had been defeated by Albert Simms in 1928.40 Morrow wanted the nomination

36Cunningham, p. 113.

37Thomas C. Donnelly (ed.) Rocky Mountain Politics (Albuquerque, New Mex.: The University of New Mexico Press, 1940), p. 232.

38John C. Russell, "State Regionalism in New Mexico," Social Forces, XVI (December, 1937), 268-72. Russell, when speaking of "race" probably means "nationality-origin."

39New Mexico State Tribune, September 18, 1930.

40Chavez interview, November 4, 1957.



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but could not make up his mind to run for it. He was undecided as to whether he should run again for Congress or become a candidate for the governorship. Both were possibly within his reach, but he vacillated and lost both positions.<sup>41</sup> At the same time, Chavez supporters predicted a Chavez nomination and claimed possession of the 285 votes needed for the nomination.<sup>42</sup>

Chavez' name was placed in nomination by George Armijo of Bernalillo county. Albuquerquean J.R. O'Connor nominated Albuquerque attorney Robert LaFollette. J. D. Lamb of Tucumcari nominated Taylor Julian. John Morrow was nominated by F.S. Mireau. Everett Grantham, then of Clovis, put the name of Harry T. Herring in nomination.<sup>43</sup> Only Chavez and Morrow were strong contenders and the latter's decision to run had come too late. Chavez' nomination was seconded by a member of the Lea county delegation.<sup>44</sup>

The first ballot found Chavez very close to victory.

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<sup>41</sup>Interview with Arthur T. Hannett, former Governor of New Mexico, October 27, 1957.

<sup>42</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, September 18, 1930.

<sup>43</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, September 19, 1930.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

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undecided as to whether he should run again for Congress  
or become a candidate for the governorship. Both were  
possibly within his reach, but he vacillated and lost  
both positions.<sup>41</sup> At the same time, Chavez supporters  
predicted a Chavez nomination and claimed possession of  
the 265 votes needed for the nomination.<sup>42</sup>  
Chavez's name was placed in nomination by George  
Amato of Bernalillo county. Alburquerque's J. H. O'Connor  
nominated Alburquerque attorney Robert LaBelle. J. D.  
Lamb of Thousandburg nominated Taylor Julian. John Morrow  
was nominated by F. S. Wilson. Ernest Gannett, then of  
Clovis, put the name of Harry T. Hovington in nomination.<sup>43</sup>  
Only Chavez and Morrow were strong contenders and the  
latter's decision to run had come too late. Chavez's  
nomination was seconded by a member of the Las Alamos  
delegation.<sup>44</sup>  
The first ballot found Chavez very close to victory.

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<sup>41</sup> Interview with Arthur T. Bennett, former Governor  
of New Mexico, October 27, 1937.  
<sup>42</sup> New Mexico State Tribune, September 18, 1930.  
<sup>43</sup> New Mexico State Tribune, September 19, 1930.  
<sup>44</sup> Ibid.



He held 267 1/7 votes. He needed 268 votes.<sup>45</sup> A recess was called. During that period, Chavez spoke to Albuquerque's Mayor Clyde Tingley who subsequently conferred with the Bernalillo county delegation and developed votes for Chavez.<sup>46</sup> Actually, as the vote was being completed on the first rolleall, LaFollette had sought recognition of the chair for the purpose of throwing his support to Chavez. The chairman ruled, however, that a second ballot was in order and that only then could any changes be made.<sup>47</sup> The convention reconvened and Chavez was nominated.<sup>48</sup>

The Silver City Independent called the choice of Chavez "a logical solution." It pointed to Chavez' "exceptional forensic ability."<sup>49</sup>

When the campaign began, members of the state Democratic ticket divided into two groups for campaign travel purposes. Chavez was scheduled to travel the state

<sup>45</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, Extra Edition, September 19, 1930. Chavez stated, in interview, that he had actually won on the first ballot but there had been a mistake in the tabulation and, officially, he had to stand for a second ballot. Chavez interview, November 4, 1957.

<sup>46</sup>Tingley interview.

<sup>47</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, Extra Edition, September 19, 1930.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>Chavez Scrapbook #1, W. B. Walton, in "State Press Comment," in a New Mexico State Tribune clipping.

He held 237 V. votes. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1930. He was re-elected in 1932, 1934, 1936, 1938, 1940, 1942, 1944, 1946, 1948, 1950, 1952, 1954, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1972, 1974, 1976, 1978, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, 2020.

The House of Representatives is the lower house of the United States Congress. It is composed of members from each state and the District of Columbia. The House has the power to initiate and pass legislation, to impeach and remove federal officials, and to elect the President and Vice President.

1930. On the 11th ballot, Mr. [Name] was elected to the House of Representatives. He was re-elected in 1932, 1934, 1936, 1938, 1940, 1942, 1944, 1946, 1948, 1950, 1952, 1954, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1972, 1974, 1976, 1978, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, 2020.

1930. On the 11th ballot, Mr. [Name] was elected to the House of Representatives. He was re-elected in 1932, 1934, 1936, 1938, 1940, 1942, 1944, 1946, 1948, 1950, 1952, 1954, 1956, 1958, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966, 1968, 1970, 1972, 1974, 1976, 1978, 1980, 1982, 1984, 1986, 1988, 1990, 1992, 1994, 1996, 1998, 2000, 2002, 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, 2020.



with former Governor James F. Hinkle, candidate for the position of Land Commissioner; E. K. Neumann, candidate for the Attorney General's office; Warren Graham, candidate for the Treasurer's position; and Georgia Lusk, candidate for the position of Superintendent of Public Instruction.<sup>50</sup>

On October 4, 1930, with the campaign underway, Chavez spoke at Roswell where he told his audience that he favored an oil tariff as a safeguard against South American imports.<sup>51</sup> Earlier, in Carlsbad, he had told a native audience that he was in favor of "large immigration bars."<sup>52</sup> Meanwhile, the Cutting faction of the Republican party joined the Democrats.<sup>53</sup> Others were doing the same, though not for public consumption.<sup>54</sup> However, the Republicans were still in the campaign, and efforts were made to capture the farm vote. The Republican State Central Committee ran articles, in many rural newspapers, praising the Smoot-Hawley tariff, a national issue at the time, as a

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<sup>50</sup> Albuquerque Journal, October 9, 1930. Other sources also listed A. W. Hockenull, candidate for the position of Lieutenant Governor, as a member of the group.

<sup>51</sup> New Mexico State Tribune, October 4, 1930.

<sup>52</sup> Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping. This would have protected native labor against wage-cutting, cheap Mexican labor.

<sup>53</sup> Vorley Michael Rexroad, "The Two Administrations of Governor Richard C. Dillon" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Government, University of New Mexico, 1947), p. 149.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid.

with former Governor James K. Hinkle, who had been  
position of late Commissioner, E. K. Hinkle, who had  
for the Attorney General, who had been Attorney General  
for the Progressive Party, and who had been Attorney General  
for the President of the United States.

On October 1, 1930, when the election was held,  
Chavez spoke at Hotwell where he told the audience that he  
favored an anti tariff as a safeguard against the  
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protectionist device for American farmers.<sup>55</sup> At the same time, the Democrats appeared to be emphasizing their unity. Chavez, visiting former Congressman John Morrow's hometown of Raton, told his audience that he hoped to use "the old shoes of Uncle John Morrow" in Washington.<sup>56</sup>

In Raton, Chavez also condemned the tariff as an instrument of the few rather than of the many.<sup>57</sup> Three days later, in Las Vegas, he pointed out the natural tendencies of markets to stabilize themselves. At the same time, he told his audience of the value of proper management of those markets.<sup>58</sup> He also spoke out again against the tariff<sup>59</sup> and did so two days later in Santa Fe.<sup>60</sup>

At Santa Fe, Chavez also attacked the lack of loyalty shown by the Republicans to the Spanish-Americans.

Don't let the Republicans come around and tell you they are your friends because you are Spanish-Americans. It is you who have kept that party in power for 65 years and they have failed in their duty to provide you with educational facilities.

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<sup>55</sup> See Mosquero Developer, issues of Autumn, 1930, among others.

<sup>56</sup> Albuquerque Journal, October 10, 1930.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid.

<sup>58</sup> Albuquerque Journal, October 13, 1930.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

<sup>60</sup> New Mexico State Tribune, October 15, 1930.





I blame the Republicans for negligence in educating the native people. What have they done for you in an educational way? Nothing. Yet they say, 'I love you.'"<sup>61</sup>

In the same speech, Chavez presented a bit of theoretical criticism as well. He said that the Democrats opposed the G.O.P. system of government because it was autocratic, based on the Hamiltonian theory of a strong centralized government belonging to the few.<sup>62</sup>

Following the Santa Fe speech, Chavez headed his caravan northward into the traditional Republican strongholds of Rio Arriba and Taos counties. The caravan traveled into Madera, El Rito, Abiqui, Tierra Amarilla, and Questa.<sup>63</sup>

Meanwhile, Chavez gained from another source. In the labor newspaper, Labor Record, Chavez was endorsed by that group.<sup>64</sup> The paper pointed to the Chavez labor record, and recalled that he had fought labor's battle in the 1922 A.T. & S.F. strike as its attorney.<sup>65</sup>

At the same time, Chavez spoke to a native group at Gallup where he stressed the Republican failure to provide them with recompense, and he dwelled on the failure

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

<sup>63</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, October 17, 1930.

<sup>64</sup>Chavez Scrapbook #1, Labor Record clipping.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid.

I think the Commission for...  
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Yes they say I am...

In the same report, the Commission...  
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of the Dillon administration to keep its promise of free text books.<sup>66</sup> At Gallup, Chavez also called again for a tariff to protect against South American imports.<sup>67</sup> Chavez paid tribute, at the same time, to the veterans of the state.

I am happy with the moral support that has been given me by the ex-servicemen, who are not satisfied with the representatives in congress working to their detriment in order to be politically 'regular.' If I am elected these ex-servicemen may rest assured that when it comes to their interests, party 'regularity' will, in no way, interfere with my doing all I can 'till it hurts' for the ex-servicemen.<sup>68</sup>

The several organizations of veterans, when aroused to political action, are unusually effective, it seems, in getting what they want.<sup>69</sup>

Support for Chavez came also from another source.

On October 21, 1930, the New Mexico State Tribune announced, editorially, for Chavez.<sup>70</sup> The newspaper broke with Albert Simms's theories and his support of the Smoot-Hawley tariff.<sup>71</sup>

On the twenty-third of the month, Chavez told Fort Stanton ex-servicemen that he would rather be right than regular. "The boys," he said, "did not go as Republicans

<sup>66</sup>Albuquerque Journal, October 21, 1930.

<sup>67</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, October 21, 1930.

<sup>68</sup>Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping.

<sup>69</sup>Donnelly, p. 242.

<sup>70</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, October 21, 1930, Editorial.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

of the Dillon administration to keep its promise of free  
text books.<sup>66</sup> At Salina, Chavez also called again for a  
tariff to protect against South American imports.<sup>67</sup> Chavez  
held tribute, at the same time, to the veterans of the state.

I am happy with the moral support that has been  
given me by the ex-servicemen, who are not  
satisfied with the representative in congress  
working to their detriment in order to be  
politically 'regain'. If I am elected there  
ex-servicemen may not demand that I  
come to their aid, but I will, in no way, interfere with my duty. I  
can 'fill it in' for the ex-servicemen.

The several organizations of veterans, when  
promoted to political action, are usually  
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On the twenty-third of the month, Chavez told Fort  
Stanton ex-servicemen that he would rather be right than  
regain. "The boys," he said, "did not go as Republicans."

<sup>66</sup> Albuquerque Journal, October 21, 1930.

<sup>67</sup> New Mexico State Tribune, October 21, 1930.

<sup>68</sup> Chavez Speeches, p. 1, newspaper clipping.

<sup>69</sup> Donnelly, p. 202.

<sup>70</sup> New Mexico State Tribune, October 21, 1930, editorial.

<sup>71</sup> Ibid.



or Democrats, but as Americans, pure and simple." He favored veterans' legislation "as a matter of gratitude."<sup>72</sup> Meanwhile, the Railway Brotherhoods announced their support for him.<sup>73</sup> His support, while a state legislator, of the train limit bill and the bill providing for free text books was cited.<sup>74</sup>

(Chavez was also gaining strength among individuals.

Dennis Chavez made a decided hit in his appearance last night. The young Albuquerque attorney thoroughly and completely sold himself to the women and men who filled the courtroom to overflowing.

Chavez is assured more votes today than could have been guaranteed him last night before he spoke. His sincerity, his clear, logical, sensible grasp of state and national issues and situations won his hearers.<sup>75</sup>)

(At the same time, impetus also gained for Chavez throughout the northern counties. "Fusion Tickets and Signs of Unrest in Spanish-American Counties Are Disheartening to G.O.P.," stated a sub-headline in the Albuquerque Journal.<sup>76</sup> Simultaneously, the Club Independiente threw its weight behind Chavez' candidacy and promised him

<sup>72</sup>Albuquerque Journal, October 23, 1930.

<sup>73</sup>Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid.

<sup>76</sup>Albuquerque Journal, October 11, 1930.





three thousand votes.)<sup>77</sup>

Chavez spoke to the farmers on an issue of concern to them: irrigation.<sup>78</sup> Then the Democrats' two caravans merged for the last rally in New Mexico's largest city, Albuquerque. Clinton P. Anderson, then a young insurance broker and an Albuquerque Democratic leader, introduced Chavez to the rally which filled the city's Armory.<sup>79</sup>

Throughout the campaign, the Republicans tried to focus the struggle on the issues of tariff and Prohibition. The Democrats ran the gamut, stressing heavily their candidates on the basis of personality, meanwhile attacking the faults of four years of Opposition administration. One student of that campaign has stated that "... probably more real issues were given attention than in any other campaign in the state up to that time."<sup>80</sup> Dennis Chavez used issues as political ammunition throughout the campaign. He dwelt often on matters theoretical, treating his audiences as groups of informed, mature persons interested in causal affairs. Over and over again he met his public and came away successfully. Simms tried hard. He talked in

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<sup>77</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, October 4, 1930.

<sup>78</sup>The Chavez 1952 Campaign Handbook for Speakers, p. 83.

<sup>79</sup>Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping.

<sup>80</sup>Cunningham, p. 196.





Spanish when he spoke to native groups and he spoke the language well. But he was no match for Chavez' forensic ability. As one eye witness expressed it, "He didn't have the drive that Chavez had."<sup>81</sup>

(Despite Republican predictions of victory, November 3, 1930 belonged to the Democrats in New Mexico. Chavez swept the race for Congress by nearly eighteen thousand votes. He carried Bernalillo county with a plurality of almost 2,400 votes out of a total of slightly more than fourteen thousand votes cast. He lost only Lincoln, Luna, San Juan, San Miguel, Santa Fe, Torrance and Valencia counties.<sup>82</sup> He carried over three-fourths of the voting boxes of Bernalillo county.<sup>83</sup> This was the high-water mark in Chavez' forty-two years. This was the day he had waited for throughout a lifetime. All his life he had wanted to be a member of the United States Congress,<sup>84</sup>

Representative-elect Dennis Chavez was humble and grateful. "Please allow me," he wrote in a letter to the Editor of the New Mexico State Tribune, "to thank you for

<sup>81</sup>Interview with Alonzo B. Gonzales, aide to Senator Dennis Chavez, August 17, 1957.

<sup>82</sup>The New Mexico Blue Book, 1931-1932, Insert (foldout) p. 97.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid.

<sup>84</sup>Chavez interview, November 4, 1957.





your kind co-operation and support during the last campaign."

He continued:

I want to assure you that I shall try to have my future private and public actions be such that you shall never regret the confidence that your honorable newspaper placed in me. As a member of Congress, I shall try to serve the people of the State and Nation honestly and impartially.

As stated in my speeches, any legislation that will be beneficial to the country will have my active support irrespective of 'party regularity.' If the President of the country is right, I shall be with him; if he is wrong, I intend to be against him.

I want to thank, through this medium, the thousands of citizens throughout the State who believed in me. I shall not disappoint them.

Sincerely,  
Dennis Chavez.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>85</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, November 5, 1930. ✓





## III. 1931-1932

"'Politician' is a term of reproach, not merely among the 'superfine philosophers' of New England colleges, but among the better sort of citizens over the whole Union."<sup>1</sup> Thus wrote Lord Bryce many years ago as he explained the pattern of politics in American society. The term "politician" was still one of reproach in the second half of the twentieth century. Yet, in those years, Dennis Chavez had been one, officially, for almost half a lifetime. For Bryce also considered the members of the United States Congress as among those "who make political work the chief business of life..."<sup>2</sup> And, it was, officially, the victorious campaign of 1930 that commenced that career. Whatever it is that causes a man to become a politician is not fully known. Perhaps it is a lust for power, or for adventure. Maybe it is a gambling spirit that lures men to the roulette wheel of politics, of fame and fortune and disaster and despair. Yet there is some compensating factor which hurls a man upon the breakers, on to the reefs, into the myriad bursts of spume and spray that is politics. Anyone who has been to the fountain can tell you of its acid taste

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<sup>1</sup>James Bryce, The American Commonwealth (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917), II, 67.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., II, 62.

# WILBERS VALLEY

1891-1892

## WILBERS VALLEY

...in a ... of ...  
 among the ... of ...  
 but among the ... of ...  
 Thus when Lord Byron ... as ...  
 pattern of politics in ...  
 was still one of ...  
 century. Yet, in ...  
 officially, ...  
 considered the ... of ...  
 among those who ...  
 of life... And, in ...  
 campaign of ...  
 it is ...  
 known. ...  
 Mayo is ...  
 wheel of politics ...  
 despair. Yet ...  
 built a man ...  
 varied ...  
 who has ...

<sup>1</sup>James Byron, The ...  
 ...

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., ...



and also of its thirst-provoking nature. It is a strange phenomenon -- this that can force, can drive a man to risk his whole future on one, then another, then still another turn of the wheel.

...let it suffice to remark that to rely on public duty as the main motive power in politics is to assume a commonwealth of angels. Men such as we know them must have some other inducement. Even in the Christian Church there are other than spiritual motives to lead its pastors to spiritual work; nor do all the poets write because they seek to express the passion of their souls.<sup>3</sup>

The career of Dennis Chavez as a member of the United States House of Representatives is a study, in microcosm, of the life of the American politician. It is the study of the earliest signs of the traits that have caused him, and every other successful American politician, to survive. For instance, among other things, it is a common phenomenon for the politician to have fights on his hands.<sup>4</sup> He must not only survive in the world of the two parties. He must also survive in the world of multiple factions within his own party. At the exact same moment he is struggling to save himself from the many groups that plague him for their own various ends. Thus, even if he were already an astute

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid., II, 60.

<sup>4</sup>Bernard M. Gross, The Legislative Struggle, A Study in Social Combat (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1953), p. 95.





politician prior to election, he soon becomes a consummate practitioner of the political art.

Most [Congressmen], of necessity, acquire an intensive interest in learning the other man's viewpoint and develop thereby high proficiency in bargaining, yielding, and working out compromises. For self-protection practically every member learns how to evade decisions, to blur issues, and to crawl back after being pushed out on a limb. At times, all members act as the direct agents of powerful groups without bothering to exercise personal discretion; a line of action which has the merit -- not to be scorned in a hectic world -- of ease and simplicity.<sup>5</sup>

Chavez, in one of his first acts after being elected, spoke at the Armistice Day program of Carlsbad's Bryan-Mudgett post of the American Legion.<sup>6</sup> The new Congressman-elect also maintained a scrapbook. In addition to purposes of historical record of one's actions, the book recorded other important matters. Among other clippings, there was one which listed the new officers of the Royal Arch Masons of Carlsbad,<sup>7</sup> a group of prominent individuals. Possible evidence that Chavez pursued a definite philosophy -- or method -- in political matters was found in a pro-Chavez editorial in the Gallup Independent. "Dennis on the

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>6</sup>Albuquerque Journal, November 10, 1930.

<sup>7</sup>Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping.

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...

# ARTICLE CONTENT

...the ... of the ...

...the ... of the ...



Job" stated the headline. The story stated:

The Washington office of New Mexico's representative in Congress is now open and ready for business. Congressman Chavez states in a letter to a constituent that he recently heard Congressman Huddleston of Alabama say that the perfect congressman and the one who usually comes back, is he who becomes a good errand boy for his constituents. Congressman Chavez will be that and more and will take care of the legislation at the proper time.<sup>8</sup>

Chavez also maintained information on current political topics. One clipping in his scrapbook read: "Alcoholism Death Rate in State is Below Average." Another stated: "Wet Democrat Wins," a reference to Robert J. Buckley's Ohio Senate election.<sup>9</sup> One of the topics of that day was Prohibition.

When an invitation came to speak to the San Jose Training School at a Lincoln Birthday ceremony, Chavez responded with a timely discussion of the Great Emancipator's life.<sup>10</sup> Two evenings later, Mr. and Mrs. Chavez were members of the reception committee at a Knights of Columbus Valentine card party and dance in Albuquerque.<sup>11</sup>

Meanwhile, on another side, David Chavez, Jr., brother to Dennis Chavez, had been narrowly beaten by Senator Bronson Cutting's New Mexican employee, J. C. McConvery, in

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<sup>8</sup>Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping, marked Gallup Independent, Editorial.

<sup>9</sup>Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid.

# EZEASE

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the 1930 Santa Fe mayoralty race,<sup>12</sup> though thereby definitely establishing the Chavez name as a force in capital city affairs.

Another political incident of some importance occurred on February 23, 1931 when Governor Arthur Seligman saw his efforts push the Labor Commissioner bill through New Mexico's Legislature.<sup>13</sup> That bill had been thwarted, years earlier, as an idea, by then Governor Arthur T. Hannett on the grounds that it represented a forthright attempt by Cutting and Seligman to control the Labor vote of New Mexico.<sup>14</sup>

On March 4, 1931, Dennis Chavez became, in effect, New Mexico's Congressman, succeeding Albert G. Simms, and, immediately, he established his Washington office. At the same time, he established a law partnership with Gilberto Espinosa.<sup>15</sup> Espinosa was a brother to Mrs. Chavez.

Most of the lawyers, businessmen, bankers, and farmers in Congress ... maintain their occupational pursuits. If some withdraw from an active role, others, particularly lawyers and insurance men, expand their activities as a result of the contacts made through their official positions. Many members of Congress serve as officials of trade associations, farm

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid.

<sup>13</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, February 23, 1931.

<sup>14</sup>Interview with Arthur T. Hannett, former Governor of New Mexico, October 27, 1957.

<sup>15</sup>Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping.





groups, and organizations set up to obtain some specific kind of legislative measure. Many more obtain a substantial remuneration from speeches and lecture tours arranged by friendly outside groups. The basic bonds, of course, are the political relationships between the individual member and his constituency. This means close ties not only with a party machine but also with the more important private organizations in the state...<sup>16</sup>

Immediately after succeeding to his new position, Chavez sent his secretary, Miss Anna M. Lausen, to the regional Veterans' Administration offices in Albuquerque for several days' briefing on the details involved in disabled veterans' cases because "work in their behalf must be cared for in Washington by the state's congressman."<sup>17</sup> Chavez also sent a telegram -- simultaneously with Senators Sam G. Bratton and Bronson M. Cutting -- to Valencia county's agent, informing him of that county's designation as a drouth, storm relief area.<sup>18</sup> On March 17th, headlines told of Chavez' stand for a tariff on imported oil together with legislation for state ownership of federal lands, protective laws for New Mexico's wheat and cotton farmers, federal aid for the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District, enlargement of Albuquerque's Veterans' Hospital facilities, extension

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<sup>16</sup>Gross, p. 93.

<sup>17</sup>Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping.

<sup>18</sup>Albuquerque Journal, March 7, 1931.

groups, and organizations, not only for the purpose of specific kind of legislative action, but also for the purpose of general legislative action. They were organized and operated in a very effective manner, and it is not surprising that they were able to secure the passage of many important laws. The fact that they were able to do this is a credit to their organization and to the leadership of the individuals who were in charge of them.

Immediately after the passage of the act...

Chavez sent his secretary, Mrs. Chavez, to the National Veterans' Administration office in Washington for several days' training in the duties involved in disabled veterans' cases because work in these cases must be done for in Washington by the state's representative. Chavez also sent a telegram -- simultaneously to the National Veterans' Administration and to the National Veterans' Association, informing him of the act's passage as a matter of fact. On March 15, 1934, Chavez told the National Veterans' Association for a list of persons who were eligible for legislation for state ownership of federal lands, and for the National Veterans' Association, for the purpose of securing the act's passage. Chavez also sent a telegram to the National Veterans' Association, for the purpose of securing the act's passage.

16. Chavez, p. 13.

17. Chavez, p. 13.

18. National Veterans' Association, March 7, 1934.



of New Mexico's National Park system, and protection of both Indian and white settlers on disputed lands.<sup>19</sup>

Meanwhile, another figure continued to exert strength. The town of Clayton, in Union county, read of Senator Bronson Cutting's work in a reprinted story from New York's World-Telegram. The feature article told its readers that Cutting was "The Senate's Most Astonishing Man." "He is the most liberal man in the Senate," it went on to state.<sup>20</sup> Shortly thereafter, Cutting follower R. L. Rapkoch replaced old Cutting enemy Republican Charles Springer as New Mexico Highway Commission Chairman.<sup>21</sup> At the same time, there was speculation about the possible opposition between Albert Simms' new wife, Ruth Hanna McCormick, and Senator Cutting.<sup>22</sup>

In April, 1931, Chavez led a House of Representatives committee visit to New Mexico. Chavez provided the itinerary of the House sub-committee on Interior Department appropriations.<sup>23</sup> Chavez told the press that the committee would be asked "to give audience" to leaders of the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy District so that committee members

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<sup>19</sup>Las Cruces Citizen, March 17, 1931.

<sup>20</sup>The Clayton News, March 25, 1931.

<sup>21</sup>Albuquerque Journal, March 28, 1931.

<sup>22</sup>Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.





would become familiar with such conservation work.<sup>24</sup>

Chavez also invited his fellow Congressmen to an American Legion banquet in Albuquerque, where the Legion's National Commander was to speak.<sup>25</sup>

The Legion banquet was one engagement on the Congressman's schedule. Included, too, were commencement addresses such as the one Chavez delivered at El Rito Normal School.<sup>26</sup> At the same time, Chavez informed the press that he intended to seek aid for a Bernalillo widow named Martínez whose husband died at the hands of a Prohibition control agent who was later convicted of second degree murder in the shooting.<sup>27</sup>

In May, 1931, Chavez made his first major speech concerning the problem of war. He justified his high place in national affairs when he said: "As to my official stand as congressman from New Mexico, I must add that I am not in favor of peace at any price, nor peace without honor."<sup>28</sup> By June, 1931, his views were being polled on important national issues. On the first birthday of the Smoot-Hawley tariff, Chavez, recently returned from the East, commented "that the tariff bill has produced not prosperity, but

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, April 22, 1931.

<sup>28</sup>Chavez Scrapbook, newspaper clipping.

would become familiar with such a situation soon.  
There also exists in the United States a feeling  
of loyalty to the flag, which the nation's history  
has shown to be true.  
The nation's history has shown that the nation's  
men are patriotic. Indeed, the nation's history  
shows that the men of the United States are  
patriotic. Indeed, the nation's history shows that  
the men of the United States are patriotic. Indeed,  
the nation's history shows that the men of the  
United States are patriotic. Indeed, the nation's  
history shows that the men of the United States  
are patriotic. Indeed, the nation's history shows  
that the men of the United States are patriotic.  
In 1911, the United States was the first to  
earn the position of war. It has since then  
national affairs have been held in the national  
congressmen from New Mexico, I have not seen them in  
favor of peace at any time, and have without reason.  
By June, 1911, the United States was being called on to  
national issues. On the first day of the war, the  
United States, recently returned from the war, a  
"that the United States has the right to be respected."

24-1044  
25-1044  
26-1044  
27-1044  
28-1044

MILLERS FALLS  
RELEASE



closed factories, unemployment, bank failures, apple vendors."<sup>29</sup> He stated that the tariff hurt New Mexico's oil and copper industries. He said the tariff had raised these resources' prices and consequently world buyers were going to foreign markets where prices were lower.<sup>30</sup>

In August of that same year, Chavez was occupied, together with his predecessor, Albert Simms, with the dedication of a new Conservancy District along the Rio Grande at Albuquerque.<sup>31</sup> The next month, Chavez, together with Senator Sam Bratton, attended Roosevelt county's agricultural and livestock fair at which the new Congressman delivered a speech.<sup>32</sup> Late in the month, the American Legion, in its national convention, called for a referendum vote on the Volstead law governing Prohibition. Chavez was asked for his opinion on the Legion action. He replied that "it's all right with me." He stated: "The Legion is composed of men above the average in intelligence, serious minded and apparently able to decide on different questions for themselves. If that is the way they feel about it, it is all right with me."<sup>33</sup> The next month, the Legion in New Mexico feted New Mexico Legionaire Roy Cook, newly elected National

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<sup>29</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, June 17, 1931.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, August 8, 1931.

<sup>32</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, September 21, 1931.

<sup>33</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, September 28, 1931.

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 vendors." <sup>29</sup> He stated that the tariff hurt New Mexico's  
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 elected New Mexico Representative Roy Cook, newly elected National

<sup>29</sup> New Mexico State Tribune, June 17, 1931.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

<sup>31</sup> New Mexico State Tribune, August 6, 1931.

<sup>32</sup> New Mexico State Tribune, September 21, 1931.

<sup>33</sup> New Mexico State Tribune, September 26, 1931.



Vice-Commander, with Chavez, Bratton, and Cutting invited to attend. (The new Congressman spoke to the group.<sup>34</sup> Shortly thereafter, also, Chavez was considered the favorite of Spanish-Americans in a poll of choices for governor.<sup>35</sup>

Thinking of his constituents in still other matters, Chavez secured a number of additional copies of the Department of Agriculture Yearbook. He notified the press which, in turn, made the announcement that interested persons could secure copies by writing to Chavez at his Washington office.<sup>36</sup>

On December 7, 1931, the first session of the seventy-second Congress convened. It consisted of 220 Democrats together with 214 Republicans and one member of the Farmer-Labor party, a Minnesota political group.<sup>37</sup> On that first day, John Nance Garner of Uvalde, Texas, was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives by a vote of 218 to 207.<sup>38</sup> "The 72nd Congress, most momentous legislative session since the war, came to order at noon today with democrats in control of the house for the first time in 13 years."<sup>39</sup> Chavez wired his aged mother of his most recent experience. "Have

<sup>34</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, October 9, 1931.

<sup>35</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, October 11, 1931. The poll was conducted by Bronson Cutting's El Nuevo Mexicano.

<sup>36</sup>Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping.

<sup>37</sup>U.S., Congressional Directory, January 1932, 72nd Congress, 1st session, p. 142.

<sup>38</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, 72nd Congress, 1st Session, 1931, LXXIV, Part 1, 8.

<sup>39</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, December 7, 1931.





just been sworn in," he told her in a telegram, "as a member of the greatest, deliberating, legislative body in the world. Your love, prayers and blessings brought results. Love." <sup>40</sup>

The Congress which Dennis Chavez entered as a freshman Representative boasted of some outstanding men from whom a young man, intelligent, ambitious, and industrious, could learn much. There was William B. Bankhead from Alabama; Lewis W. Douglas of Arizona; Georgia's E.E. Cox; Adolph J. Sabath, Illinois; Kentucky's Fred M. Vinson; John W. McCormack of Massachusetts; Missouri's Clarence Cannon; John Rankin of Mississippi; New York's members: Samuel Dickstein, Emanuel Celler, So. Bloom, Fiorello H. LaGuardia, Hamilton Fish, Jr., John Taber, and Daniel A. Reed; Texas' Sam Rayburn and John Nance Garner. <sup>41</sup>

Across the way, in the Senate, men were answering that first rollcall to names like Barkley, Black, Connally, Cutting, George, Hayden, LaFollette, McKellar, Nye, Pittman, Reed, Smoot, Tydings, Vandenberg, Wagner, Walsh (of Massachusetts), and Wheeler. <sup>42</sup>

By the time the House organization was completed, Chavez was a member of five committees, all of them important

<sup>40</sup>Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping.

<sup>41</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, 72nd Congress, 1st Sess., 1931, LXXV, Part 1, 6,7.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 3.





to New Mexico: War Claims, Public Buildings and Grounds, Indian Affairs, and World War Legislation, in addition to Irrigation and Reclamation.<sup>43</sup> Chavez immediately joined with El Paso Representative Ewing Thompson to oppose the Interior Department's plan to allow its Secretary to decide the Lower Rio Grande relief problem on an "individual needs" basis. Chavez planned to urge a three-year readjustment period for farmers' conservancy district payments by which farmers would have three years free on acreage payments and would make such payments ten years later. Thus, he planned postponement of the debt payment. The proposed legislation would provide, however, for the farmers' payment of interest to the government. Blanket bills to cover these features were expected to be introduced by Cutting and Chavez and they were to affect forty thousand persons in New Mexico and Texas. L. E. Freudenthal, President of the New Mexico Farm Bureau Federation was in Washington and aided Chavez on the latter's plan.<sup>44</sup>

In other Congressional business, Chavez voted with the majority to authorize postponement of amounts payable to the United States from abroad during the Fiscal Year 1932. The bill was also to extend their repayment over a ten-year

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 553.

<sup>44</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, December 16, 1931.

to New York for the purpose of the  
Indian Affairs, and to the  
Investigation and Statistics  
with the Department of the Interior  
Investigation Department's plan to  
decide the issue of the  
needs of the  
most period of the  
which I have not seen  
and would have been  
distinctly recognized in the  
legislation which would  
ment of interest in the  
cover these features  
and I have not seen  
the Indian and the  
New York State  
Change in the  
In the Congressional  
the subject of  
to the United States  
The bill was also

Bill, S. 511  
The Indian Affairs  
January 1, 1911



period to begin July 1, 1933.<sup>45</sup> The following day, he voted with the minority in an unsuccessful attempt to defeat a motion to recommit a bill, favorably reported, which would have amended the federal farm loan act and which provided for additional capital for federal land banks and for other purposes.<sup>46</sup>

In the tradition of all Representatives, Chavez submitted a number of bills, for private individuals, seeking redress or compensation from the United States government. Upon the reconvening of Congress, following the Christmas holidays, on January 4, 1932, Chavez submitted twelve such bills. Two other bills, similar in nature, proposed the reimbursement of money to a private person and the State Investment Company for the loss of certain land in the Mora Grant in New Mexico, and proposed the authorization of the amendment of the act of February 25, 1927 "for payment of damages caused by reason of overflow of Rio Grande on August 17, 1921 for the purposes of reimbursing individuals financially injured by that flood."<sup>47</sup>

At the same time, he submitted a bill to provide for the erection and operation of public bathhouses at Hot Springs, New Mexico. Another bill provided for the issuance of patents, upon certain conditions, to "lands and accretions

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<sup>45</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, LXXV, Part 1, 866, 867.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 996.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 1279.





thereto determined to be within" New Mexico "in accordance with the decree of the Supreme Court of the United States entered April 9, 1928." Still another bill granted certain public lands to New Mexico for the use and benefit of Eastern New Mexico Normal School and "for other purposes." Another bill provided for payment to certain property owners in New Mexico for losses by floods in the Rio Grande valley in 1929.<sup>48</sup>

Regarding the tariff, upon which so much was said in the years 1930-1932, Chavez, when given an opportunity to cast a vote on that issue, voted with the majority which resolved to consider a bill seeking to amend the Smoot-Hawley law.<sup>49</sup> The next day a tariff revision was proposed and Chavez, together with the majority, voted for it.<sup>50</sup>

In the other business, Chavez planned to offer a Senator Bratton-sponsored conservancy district loan amendment into the House. That measure was to amend the two billion dollar finance relief bill which subsequently was the basis for the organization of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. At the same time, Bratton, Cutting, and Chavez met to frame their Indian Pueblo lands bill for introduction. "This measure was offered by Cutting, Bratton and Chavez, and

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 1276.

<sup>49</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, LXXV, Part 2, 1505, 1512.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 1635.

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1951... 1952... 1953... 1954... 1955...



appropriates \$779,638.45 for Indian settlers compensation, \$232,086.80 for whites." Regarding the finance relief bill amendment, Chavez' amendment was to be similar to the already defeated Bratton amendment, earlier proposed in the Senate, and was to include irrigation and reclamation district loans.<sup>51</sup> Following this, Chavez submitted a bill authorizing the federal government to pay, in part, the United States' liability to certain Indian pueblos under terms of the act of July 7, 1924, and the United States' liability to non-Indian claimants on Indian pueblo grants, "whose claims, extinguished under the act of July 7, 1924, have been found by the Pueblo Lands Board to have been claims in good faith." The bill authorized expenditures, by the Department of the Interior, of sums to be in conformity with the act of July 7, 1924.<sup>52</sup>

At the same time, Chavez spoke on the Prohibition issue, stating that he would like to have the people vote their opinion in a referendum.<sup>53</sup> In still other business, Chavez was one of fifty-six House members who voted against President Hoover's finance-aid bill.<sup>54</sup> Prior to its passage, Chavez

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<sup>51</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, January 12, 1932.

<sup>52</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, LXXV, Part 1, 854.

<sup>53</sup>Washington Herald, January 12, 1932.

<sup>54</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, LXXV, Part 2, 2081.

appropriated \$79,538.45 for Indian service compensation, \$432,000.00 for white, "regarding the Finance Relief Bill amendment, Chavez's amendment was to be similar to one already deflected by the Finance amendment, earlier proposed in the Senate, and was to include fixation and restoration of Indian lands.<sup>51</sup> Following this, Chavez submitted a bill authorizing the Federal Government to pay, in part, the United States liability to certain Indian peoples under terms of the act of July 7, 1904, and the United States liability to non-Indian claimants on Indian public grants, whose claims, extinguished under the act of July 7, 1904, have been found by the Public Lands Board to have been claims in good faith. The bill authorized expenditures by the Department of the Interior, of sums to be in conformity with the act of July 7, 1904.<sup>52</sup>

At the same time, Chavez spoke on the prohibition issue, stating that he would like to have the people vote their opinion in a referendum.<sup>53</sup> In still other business, Chavez was one of fifty-six House members who voted against President Hoover's Finance-relief bill.<sup>54</sup> Prior to its passage, Chavez

<sup>51</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, January 12, 1932.

<sup>52</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, LXV, Part 1, 824.

<sup>53</sup>Washington Herald, January 12, 1932.

<sup>54</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, LXV, Part 2, 2031.



attempted to attach the Bratton-originated amendment to the House version of the bill, but the Speaker ruled it not germane to the issue.<sup>55</sup>

In New Mexico, other events were occurring. On January 18, 1932, two men, J. W. Chapman, a Gallup Republican, and Roy Cook, an anti-Seligman Democrat of Albuquerque, together with a young Democrat, Joseph Dailey of Albuquerque, brought charges against Montoya y Montoya American Legion post of Santa Fe at a special state meeting of Legion post officers. Former Governor Arthur T. Hannett supported them. The charges concerned a Legion member who had been the state Adjutant General and the question turned on whether he had resigned or had been fired from that state position, the latter method of discharge making him ineligible for Legion membership.<sup>56</sup> The action by Chapman, Cook, and Dailey failed.

Meanwhile, in Washington, Chavez declared himself against a proposed \$400,000 expenditure for United States participation in the 1932 Geneva Disarmament talks. Chavez favored no more than half of that amount.<sup>57</sup> Concerning another

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 2061.

<sup>56</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, January 18, 1932.

<sup>57</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, LXXV, Part 2, 2197.





matter, Chavez wired the Las Cruces Citizen about the House and Senate agreement on a bill setting a moratorium on conservancy district construction charges. Chavez gave credit to New Mexico citizens who aided him with the bill's drafting.<sup>58</sup>

Yet, a political leader must also, on occasion, "suffer the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune," for some act of statemanship. Such was Chavez' fate when a church leader assailed the Congressman's Prohibition referendum suggestion. Chaplain John R. Edwards of the First Methodist Church of Albuquerque stated:

The following heroic and angelic epistle is the answer of our Congressman -- Dennis Chavez -- to a telegram sent to him by the Women's Christian Temperance Union of Albuquerque: 'It would be contrary to my theories of government and to my conscience to prevent anyone in this country -- wet or dry, republican, democrat, socialist, Catholic, Protestant or unbeliever -- from being granted the God-given right of expression at the polls.'

The Chaplain went on to criticize the Congressman's stand.<sup>59</sup>

Next Chavez submitted a bill to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue patents for lands held under color of title -- passed over without prejudice for

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<sup>58</sup>Las Cruces Citizen, January 30, 1932.

<sup>59</sup>Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping.





each of certain areas concerned. The bill asked for enforcement of a previous (1926) law charging \$1.25 per acre to claimants in view of a 1928 law, more general in nature, which stated that not less than \$1.25 per acre be paid to the claimants.<sup>60</sup> The bill was considered to be "identical with that submitted in the senate by Senator (sic) Bratton and Cutting."<sup>61</sup> One newspaper praised the Senators for the bill.<sup>62</sup>

Chavez carried on, also, the time-honored task of middleman between the people and their government. Submission of petitions is a little known chore of Congressmen. Yet innumerable petitions are sent daily to Congressmen from concerned civic groups throughout the nation. It is expected that the Representative, to whom the petitions are mailed, will submit them -- "lay them on the desk" -- in Congress. This Representative Chavez did. The particular petitions in this instance were from the various Women's Christian Temperance Unions in New Mexico.<sup>63</sup>

Shortly thereafter, [Chavez succeeded in securing approval for his bill to aid the infant Eastern New Mexico Normal School (later Eastern New Mexico University) by

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<sup>60</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, LXXV, Part 3, 3044, 3045.

<sup>61</sup>Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping.

<sup>62</sup>Washington News, February 3, 1932, Editorial.

<sup>63</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, LXXV, Part 4, 4006.





granting it 76,000 acres of federally-owned land in the state of New Mexico.<sup>64</sup> He was also at work on a similar bill for the El Rito Normal School.<sup>65</sup> ]

At the end of February, 1932, Chavez signed a House of Representatives petition to give the individual states the right to referenda on the Prohibition question. "Chavez said he had no comment to make in signing the petition." His signature was the 137th of a required total of 145. At the same time, he became the eighty-seventh Member of Congress to sign a petition to bring to the House floor a bill for lending \$100,000,000 to irrigation districts.<sup>66</sup> In another item of business, Chavez, together with Bratton and Cutting, informed the Hatch, New Mexico post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars that he favored a bill before the Congress which would provide immediate cash payments of insurance certificates held by veterans of the World War.<sup>67</sup> In the same period of time, Chavez voted with the Fiorello LaGuardia-led members of the House to insure that Treasury and Post Office employees' salaries would not be prohibited to be raised by the normal in-service increments. The measure

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<sup>64</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, February 16, 1932.

<sup>65</sup>Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping.

<sup>66</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, February 29, 1932.

<sup>67</sup>Hatch Reporter, March 4, 1932.

granting it \$5,000 acres of federally-owned land in the state of New Mexico. <sup>64</sup> He was also at work on a similar bill for the El Rio Normal School. <sup>65</sup>

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His signature was the 137th of a petition total of 145. At the same time, he became the eighty-seventh member of Congress to sign a petition to bring to the House floor a bill for funding \$100,000,000 for investigation districts. <sup>66</sup> In another line of business, Chavez, together with Hester and Cushing, informed the Hatch, New Mexico post of the Veterans and Foreign Wars that he favored a bill before the Congress which would provide immediate cash payments of insurance benefits to those held by veterans of the World War. <sup>67</sup> In the same period of time, Chavez voted with the Mexican Legionnaires and members of the House to leave that Treasury and Post Office employees' salaries would not be prohibited to be raised by the normal in-service increments. The measure

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<sup>64</sup> New Mexico State Tribune, February 16, 1932.  
<sup>65</sup> Chavez Biography, newspaper clipping.  
<sup>66</sup> New Mexico State Tribune, February 23, 1932.  
<sup>67</sup> Hatch Reporter, March 4, 1932.



carried by five votes.<sup>68</sup>

When a nation-wide sales tax was proposed, Chavez attacked it severely. The legislation was being sponsored by the Democratic party under the leadership of the Speaker of the House, John Nance Garner. Chavez stated his position:

[I am opposed to the sales tax. This measure to collect 2½ per cent on manufacture articles cannot be disguised as anything but a sales tax, and the consumer will pay it all. More than that, I believe, he will pay more than the tax, for the sales tax is always a temptation to profiteer and hide new profits under the cloak of the tax.

Farmers certainly cannot stand any new burdens at this time. Neither can the working men of the cities. I favor an increase in the tax on incomes, inheritances and gifts. I think we could stand excise taxes on luxuries, and, of course, I favor the import tax on gasoline and oil. Higher rates on these would, I am confident, raise the money needed. If beer could be legalized we could raise nearly the needed amount from this source.

I am particularly opposed to the 10 per cent tax on admissions to theatres and movie houses. This will work an extreme hardship to our state. Amusements are not luxuries to poor people; they are necessities, and movies are the cheapest form of relaxation. An imposition of such a tax on admissions will rest heavily on our people of New Mexico.<sup>69</sup>]

[In this same period, Chavez submitted a bill that would establish, upon payment of a certain price, legal rights of persons who occupied areas near Spanish and Mexican land grants but on public domain, to such lands as

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<sup>68</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, LXXV, Part 5, 5305.

<sup>69</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, March 12, 1932.





they occupied. This legislation interested Congressman Fiorello LaGuardia. In reply to LaGuardia's interest in the price per acre (\$1.25), Chavez stated:

Mr. Speaker, let me say to the gentleman from New York that the impelling motive for this legislation originally arose under these circumstances. These people located within old Spanish or Mexican land grants. Some of these lands have been in control and occupied by these people and their predecessors for probably a hundred years. To this day the exact boundary lines have not been fully ascertained, and many families have built their homes, and cultivated the soil. Later, when the values increased, surveys were made, and it was found that under the survey, instead of being within the land grant, they were outside on the public domain.

With that in mind, Congress, in 1926, passed a special law applicable to New Mexico and fixed the price at \$1.25 an acre. In some instances, these homes have been there for a hundred years. They do not figure on anything beyond receiving title protection.

LaGuardia then asked, "Does the gentleman contend that this is primarily to relieve individuals in maintaining what they believe was already theirs?" Chavez answered, "Yes." LaGuardia further asked, "How does the gentleman explain the proviso in the bill, which says that the term 'citizen' as used herein shall be held to include a corporation organized under the laws of the United States, or any State or Territory thereof?" Chavez said:

For the reason that the legislation will apply as a matter of fact to very few individuals. There is a particular instance where this is a mercantile establishment organized as a

they occupied. This legislation interested Congressman  
 Florentino Llanusa. In reply to Llanusa's interest in  
 the price per acre (\$1.25). Graves stated:

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 'citizen' as used herein shall be held to include a  
 corporation organized under the laws of the United States,  
 or any State or Territory thereof?" Graves said:

For the reason that the legislation will apply  
 as a matter of fact to very few individuals.  
 There is a particular instance where this is  
 a mercantile establishment organized as a



corporation, north of Albuquerque, and that corporation owns the land that the legislation will protect. Title was obtained from citizens who had possession for many years. The directors and stockholders are the same people who originally owned the land. It does not apply to any utility proposition. To no one except local corporations.

Chavez then answered, when asked as to the possibility of centralization of location, that they were "practically centralized" and that there were no more, he believed, than twelve or thirteen pieces in all.<sup>70</sup>

On another occasion, when asked about proposed legislation to have federally-owned land in New Mexico ceded to Eastern New Mexico Normal School, Chavez pointed out "that out of the trusts created by those grants (previously made for school purposes) New Mexico gets something like \$1,500,000 a year for school purposes." A fellow Congressman then asked by what means the amount was raised. Chavez stated that it was through the leasing of those lands. Asked if the leasing was for grazing, Chavez replied, "Mainly for grazing purposes. I should say that 98 per cent is leased for grazing purposes alone." Republican leader Bertrand Snell of New York wondered how \$1,500,000 could be realized when land was leased for grazing at three cents an acre.

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<sup>70</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, Part 3, 3044, 3045.





Snell estimated the income for the land to be ceded to be about \$900 or \$1,000 a year." Chavez replied that the "amount would be small. But to us it means as much as a million or two to somebody else." He went on to point out that some land was being leased for other than grazing purposes. He was asked if that was all non-mineral land. He replied, "Yes; it is." The bill was passed.<sup>71</sup>

On March 27, 1932, Senator Bronson Cutting gained some control in the Republican party of New Mexico. Cutting was elected to the Republican National Committeeman's position, sometimes a weathercock as to who, or what faction, controls a particular state's party at a specific time. At that time also, Cutting spoke in opposition to the re-election of President Hoover.<sup>72</sup> [Soon thereafter, Dennis Chavez was given an important position in his own party's state organization, being named a member of the 1932 state Democratic convention's resolutions committee.] Chavez urged, in a letter to state party chairman William J. Barker, the following planks:

1. Fair reciprocal tariff arrangements with foreign governments.
2. A firm stand not to cancel or readjust foreign debts, except upon conditions of interest to our own people.
3. Strict enforcement of laws for prevention

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<sup>71</sup>U.S., Congressional Record, LXXV, Part 6, 6747.

<sup>72</sup>Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping.

Shall establish the income for the land to be added to  
 be about \$500 or \$1,000 a year. Current report that  
 the amount would be small. This is as it would be when  
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 purposes. It was asked if there was any non-grazing land.  
 He replied, "Yes, 15,000." The bill was passed.

On March 27, 1932, Senator Edmund C. Brundage  
 came forward in the Republican party of New Mexico. Brundage  
 was elected to the Republican National Convention's position  
 something a week or so before the election, and  
 a particularly able party as a specific time. It was  
 him also, feeling again in opposition to the re-election  
 of President Hoover. Soon thereafter, Senator Charles McNary was  
 given an important position in his own party's state organi-  
 zation, being named a member of the 1932 state Democratic  
 convention's executive committee. Charles McNary, in a  
 letter to state party chairman William J. Barker, the  
 following plan:

1. With reciprocal tariff arrangements with  
 foreign governments.
2. A plan aimed not to control or restrict  
 foreign trade, except upon condition of  
 interest to our own people.
3. Strict enforcement of laws for protection

U.S., Congressional Record, LXIV, Part 2, 2747.  
 Charles McNary, Jr., newspaper clipping.



- and regulation of monopolies.
4. Reduction of cost of government by abolishment (after a complete survey) of departments, bureaus, boards, commissions, etc., to discontinue duplications which can be dispensed with.
  5. Against general sales tax.
  6. In favor of federal building and construction program on buildings and highways to relieve unemployment.
  7. Against salary reduction of government employees up to \$2,500 a year.

Applicable to New Mexico:

1. Against salary reductions for school teachers, unless same rate of reduction is applied to all municipal, county, and state employees, whether appointive or elective.
2. For a reasonable excise tax on imported oil, coal, and copper.
3. For the ceding of the public domain to the states, including all mineral and other rights that go with fee simple title.
4. Against additions of lands to the forest service.
5. For speedy national legislative action to settle for all time the controversy of the settlers and Indians concerning titles within Pueblo Indian land grants.<sup>73</sup>

In Congressional business, Chavez notified the Albuquerque chapter of the Disabled American Veterans, upon the instance of veterans' concern with the proposed Smoot bill to cut veterans' compensation benefits fifty per cent in the cases of veterans who were in Veterans Administration hospitals, that he was opposed to reduction of compensation. Chavez wired: "Every benefit received by veterans meritorious

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<sup>73</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, April 29, 1932.

- and regulation of monopolies.
  - 4. Reduction of cost of government by abolishment (after a reasonable survey) of departments, bureaus, boards, commissions, etc., to eliminate duplication, and which can be dispensed with.
  - 5. Against general sales tax.
  - 6. In favor of federal building and construction program on buildings and highways to relieve unemployment.
  - 7. Against salary reduction of government employees up to \$1500 a year.
- Applicable to New Mexico

- 1. Against salary increase for school teachers, unless such salary increase is applied to all elementary, secondary, and senior employees, whether employed or effective.
- 2. For a reasonable excise tax on tobacco, oil, coal, and sugar.
- 3. For the codification of the state's domain and the status, including all mineral and other rights that go with the above title.
- 4. Against addition of lands to the Forest Service.
- 5. For speedy national legislative action to provide for all time the conservation of the nation and Indian ownership rights within Public Indian land grants.

In Congressional business, Gurnea notified the Albuquerque chapter of the Disabled American Veterans, upon the instance of veterans' concern with the proposed 500% bill to cut veterans' compensation benefits fifty per cent in the case of veterans who were in fact the Administrators hospital, that he was opposed to reduction of compensation. Gurnea wired: "Every benefit received by veteran war veterans"



and earned at great sacrifice. Opposed to all economy bill. Inconsistent that government who sent boys out to be killed it necessary should now complain of cost."<sup>74</sup>

In New Mexico, during the month of May, 1932, the state's Democrats elected Governor Arthur Seligman as the Democratic National Committeeman from New Mexico.<sup>75</sup>

Congressman Chavez, in the role of Washington host to hometown people visiting the national capital, introduced two representatives of the Jicarilla Apaches to United States Indian Bureau leaders in Washington so that they might speak in behalf of their tribe's claims for \$75,000 relief due to a recent winter disaster.<sup>76</sup> Chavez also wired President Hoover when the latter proposed a moratorium on debts owed the United States by European nations:

Your statement and suggestion pertaining inter-governmental debt highly constructive. Congratulations. Rest assured my cooperation as Congressman to general proposition subject to further study of details to be solved at proper time.<sup>77</sup>

[Another side of Chavez was revealed in a speech delivered before the First Annual Pan-American conference. Chavez warned against the teaching of Spanish at the expense

<sup>74</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, May 3, 1932.

<sup>75</sup>Clayton News, May 18, 1932.

<sup>76</sup>Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping.

<sup>77</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, June 24, 1930.





of English. "Teach Spanish," Chavez told the conference members, "but only after high English requirements have been met." ]

English is the language the Native must employ in getting a job and in keeping it. I love Spanish traditions, I love the people and the ancestors I hail from, and no one is prouder of his background, but I am prouder still of the ideals and traditions symbolized by the Stars and Stripes, so, without apologizing for the past, I insist that in New Mexico the teaching of English should be stressed.<sup>78</sup>

In Socorro, the next day, Chavez touched on local interests when he announced his favor of use of New Mexico labor to build El Valde dam rather than the letting of a contract for such construction.<sup>79</sup> Soon thereafter he denied being a candidate for governor of New Mexico and El Democrata headlined: "Dennis Chavez No Es Candidato a Gobernador."<sup>80</sup> Back in Albuquerque, Chavez posed with Democratic Presidential candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt's youngest son, John, who sat atop a "cowpony" presented him by New Mexico Democrats. Chavez served as Master of Ceremonies for the occasion which took place at Conservancy Beach on the Rio Grande.<sup>81</sup>

Chavez then moved northward where, in September, 1932, he was keynote speaker at the Union county Democratic convention.<sup>82</sup> There he told the delegates that he was trying to be the

<sup>78</sup> Hatch Reporter, July 29, 1932.

<sup>79</sup> Socorro Chieftain, July 30, 1932.

<sup>80</sup> El Democrata, August 4, 1932, Editorial.

<sup>81</sup> Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping and photograph.

<sup>82</sup> Clayton News, September 21, 1932.

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Representative of all of the people and not just of the party. He blamed President Hoover for the Depression and went on to say that the newly-created Reconstruction Finance Corporation should have worked upwards from the little man and not downwards to him.<sup>83</sup>

Meanwhile, political events were happening in Albuquerque where Bronson Cutting led his followers out of Albuquerque's Armory, scene of the New Mexico Republican convention, and over to the Franciscan hotel. "Men," he said, upon arriving there, "we have been put out of the Republican party. We will form our own party."<sup>84</sup> There the Progressive party was born. A. C. Torres, President of the Club Independente immediately pledged his group's support. The walkout had been precipitated by failure of the convention's credentials committee to seat Maurice Miera Cutting-dominated Socorro delegation and was heralded by Cutting's resignation as New Mexico's Republican National Committeeman.<sup>85</sup>

Four days later, Cutting took his followers to Lamy, New Mexico to gather among Democrats who met Presidential candidate Franklin Roosevelt's campaign train.<sup>86</sup> There,

<sup>83</sup>Clayton News, September 28, 1932.

<sup>84</sup>Interview with Alonzo B. Gonzales, aide to Senator Dennis Chavez, November 7, 1957.

<sup>85</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, September 23, 1932.

<sup>86</sup>Gonzales interview, November 7, 1957.





Roosevelt, upon learning of Cutting's presence, introduced him to the crowd. The crowd cheered. Cutting joined the New York governor on the rear car platform. "The crowd cheered again, shouting for a speech."<sup>87</sup> All this occurred in the midst of Democrats who had just taken the morning off -- for the Lamy trip -- from their own state convention.<sup>88</sup> That convention, following a nominating speech by Senator Sam Bratton, renominated Chavez, by acclamation, for the position of Representative to Congress from New Mexico.<sup>89</sup> Meanwhile, Senator Cutting's own convention found the Progressive party with representation in fourteen counties.<sup>90</sup> Mainly because of Cutting's Spanish-American following, those counties were northern, Spanish-American dominated counties. For the position of Representative to Congress from New Mexico, the Progressive party nominated Herman Baca, of Belen, a close associate of Bronson Cutting, a New Mexico National Guard officer, and a prominent member of the American Legion.<sup>91</sup>

Nevertheless, Chavez went into those very northern counties where, at Mora, he pledged his aid for a twenty-five

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<sup>87</sup>Hatch Reporter, September 30, 1932.

<sup>88</sup>The Deming Graphic, September 29, 1932.

<sup>89</sup>Farmington Times-Hustler, September 30, 1932.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid.

<sup>91</sup>Hatch Reporter, September 30, 1932.

# THE LEE CASE

## CONTENTS

However, even in the case of Lee, the evidence is not  
him to be a criminal. The evidence is not  
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conviction were, and the evidence is not

81	Index, General
82	Index, Specific
83	Index, Special
84	Index, Special
85	Index, Special



per cent reduction of federal government expenses.<sup>92</sup>

The National legislative board of the so-called "Big Four" of railroad brotherhoods backed Chavez' candidacy. "He voted for the (Norris-LaGuardia) Anti-Injunction Act and supported labor during his incumbency....," a letter from the chairman of the state legislative board of the brotherhoods to J. W. Tackett, State Senator from Albuquerque, stated.<sup>93</sup> A political advertisement enlarged upon Chavez' attributes:

Active in Protection of Oil, Copper, Lumber,  
Coal and all New Mexico industries.  
Favorable to War Veterans Legislation.  
At all times Protecting Interests of Home  
Owners and Farmers in Reclamation Districts.  
Labor Record One Hundred Per Cent.<sup>94</sup>

In the town of Encino, Chavez' photograph appeared in three weekly issues of the town newspaper, prior to Election Day, on the front page.<sup>95</sup> In a newspaper editorial, Chavez was boosted. The headline read: "Elect Chavez." Seniority was stressed by pointing out that Chavez had moved from seventh ranking member to third ranking member on the House of Representatives Irrigation and Reclamation committee.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>92</sup> Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping.

<sup>93</sup> Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping.

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Encino Enterprise, October 10, 17, 31, 1932.

<sup>96</sup> Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping.

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On October 19, 1932, Maurice Miera, Progressive party leader, announced that the Progressives were withdrawing their ticket and would support the Democratic party on the state level.<sup>97</sup> The alliance earned Santa Fe county Progressives a total of six places on that county's Democratic ticket.<sup>98</sup> Then, Cutting announced that he would also support Franklin D. Roosevelt against Republican President Herbert Hoover.<sup>99</sup>

Meanwhile, Chavez continued his statewide campaign. In Hatch, he spoke "quite feelingly" of the bonus marchers who had recently been removed from the Capitol steps in Washington.<sup>100</sup> Prior to his arrival in Farmington, the newspaper there stated that "Congressman Chavez is a fluent speaker and a logical reasoner, and should draw a large audience."<sup>101</sup> In that speech, Chavez drew upon humor as a resource. He began his address in what he termed "the modern manner." Greeting his audience, he said: "Mr. Chairman, Ladies, and Unemployed." The newspaper reported that Chavez "had the crowd with him" from the first word.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>97</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, October 19, 1932.

<sup>98</sup>Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping.

<sup>99</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, October 21, 1932.

<sup>100</sup>Hatch Reporter, October 28, 1932.

<sup>101</sup>Farmington Times-Hustler, October 28, 1932.

<sup>102</sup>Farmington Times-Hustler, November 4, 1932.

On October 19, 1952, Senator Hubert H. Hoover, Progressive Party leader, announced that the Progressives were withdrawing their ticket and would support the Democratic Party in the state level.<sup>97</sup> The alliance between them was not a formal one. Progressives a total of six places on that county's ballot ticket.<sup>98</sup> Then, Castro announced that he would also support Franklin D. Roosevelt against Republican President Herbert Hoover.<sup>99</sup>

Meanwhile, Chavez continued his statewide campaign. In Union, he spoke "quite intelligently" of the work of the who had recently been removed from the United States in Washington.<sup>100</sup> Prior to his arrival in Washington, the newspaper there stated that "Chavez was known as a friend, speaker and a logical opponent, but now he is a man audience."<sup>101</sup> In this speech, Chavez told the audience a resource. He began his address by saying "I am not a modern man." Heeding the audience, he said, "I am Chairman, Ladies, and Gentlemen." The audience reported that Chavez "had the crowd with him" from the first word.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>97</sup>San Francisco News-Herald, October 19, 1952.  
<sup>98</sup>Chavez Report, October 21, 1952.  
<sup>99</sup>San Francisco News-Herald, October 21, 1952.  
<sup>100</sup>Chavez Report, October 21, 1952.  
<sup>101</sup>San Francisco News-Herald, October 21, 1952.  
<sup>102</sup>San Francisco News-Herald, October 21, 1952.



Chavez attacked the Hoover Administration, saying it had skyrocketed expenses while preaching economy, and he called attention to "the clarity and brevity of the Democratic platform, one provision of which calls for a twenty-five per cent reduction in Governmental expenses."<sup>103</sup> He told his Farmington audience that he was a Democrat because he believed in the Jeffersonian theory of government with its belief in the right of the people to govern themselves.<sup>104</sup>

[On November 8, 1932 -- Election Day -- Chavez swept New Mexico. He amassed a total of 94,764 votes to his opponent's 52,905 votes -- a plurality of 41,159 votes. He totalled 64.2 per cent of the popular vote.] Franklin Roosevelt was second high man in New Mexico, his electors securing 63.7 per cent of the total vote. Governor Arthur Seligman received 55.4 per cent. Chavez carried twenty-nine of New Mexico's thirty-one counties. He lost only San Miguel county, home of his opponent, Jose Armijo, and Valencia county.<sup>105</sup> Chavez' election victory firmly established him as the outstanding Democrat in the state of New Mexico.]

Later, Stephen B. Roehl, elected Bernalillo county Assessor and also that county's Democratic chairman, attributed

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<sup>103</sup>Ibid.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid.

<sup>105</sup>Dwight M. Ramsay, Jr., "A Statistical Survey of Voting Behavior in New Mexico" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Government, University of New Mexico, 1951), p. 9.

Graver attacked the Hoover Administration, saying it had  
 exaggerated expenses while passing economy, and he called  
 attention to "the dignity and gravity of the Department  
 platform, one provision of which calls for a twenty-five per  
 cent reduction in Governmental expenses." 103 He told his  
 Washington audience that he was a Democrat because he believed  
 in the Jeffersonian theory of government with its belief in  
 the right of the people to govern themselves. 104

On November 8, 1932 -- Election Day -- Graver swept  
 New Mexico. He amassed a total of 34,704 votes to his  
 opponent's 22,908 votes -- a plurality of 11,796 votes. He  
 received 54.2 per cent of the popular vote. Franklin  
 Roosevelt was second high man in New Mexico, his electors  
 securing 33.7 per cent of the total vote. Governor Arthur  
 Seligman received 12.1 per cent. Graver carried twenty-  
 nine of New Mexico's thirty-one counties. He lost only  
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Later, Stephen B. Reed, elected Bernalillo county  
 assessor and also that county's Democratic chairman, addressed

103 Ibid.

104 Ibid.

105 Dwight M. Hansen, Jr., "A Statistical Survey of Voting  
 Behavior in New Mexico," unpublished master's thesis, Department  
 of Government, University of New Mexico, 1951, p. 3.

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the sweeping Democratic victory in his county to (1) party harmony (2) fusion with the Progressives (3) equal campaign funds as those of the Republicans.<sup>106</sup> Possibly the same things were true on the state level. In addition, it was, as political historians might agree, a "Democratic year" throughout the nation. The Depression was eating its way across a stricken nation and New Mexico was no exception.

Chavez did not cease his regular political itinerary. Instead, he continued to speak wherever the opportunity arose. On November 11, 1932, just three days after the election, he was the guest speaker at an Armistice Day program sponsored by the American Legion, Disabled American Veterans, and the Veterans of Foreign Wars and held in Las Vegas. "Monday he will attend a meeting of the Elephant Butte irrigation district directors. The district has been having difficulties making its maintenance payments to the government, and the congressman has been asked to confer with the board."<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> New Mexico State Tribune, November 9, 1932.

<sup>107</sup> New Mexico State Tribune, November 12, 1932.





## IV. 1933-1934

On November 26, 1932, the Progressive Party of New Mexico, following the lead of its benefactor and chief idealist -- Bronson Cutting -- dictated its principles. It came out for primary elections -- rather than convention -- to be initiated on the county level. Such primaries would include the selection of party delegates to the state conventions. This was one example of the type of legislation which Cutting proposed. As he said, the party should fight for principle since such, as he put it, was more important than holding office for two years.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, in Washington, the new session of Congress was soon under way. As others left the House Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, Chavez rose in committee rank.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, he submitted a bill for the financing of crops for farmers in federal irrigation districts.<sup>3</sup> It was "the Farm Credit Administration, a favorite of Senator Chavez, which really put many New Mexico farmers and ranchers on their feet during the early 1930's..."<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, November 26, 1932.

<sup>2</sup>Chavez Scrapbook # 1, newspaper clipping.

<sup>3</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, November 30, 1932.

<sup>4</sup>The Chavez 1952 Handbook for Speakers, pp. 99-100.

On November 20, 1952, the following report was received:

New Mexico, following the receipt of information from the

identical -- Bureau of the -- Bureau of the -- Bureau of the

It came out the following information -- Bureau of the -- Bureau of the

to be included in the report -- Bureau of the -- Bureau of the

include the following information -- Bureau of the -- Bureau of the

This was an attempt to obtain information from the Bureau of the

proposed. At the time, the report was received from the Bureau of the

since such as he had been in the Bureau of the -- Bureau of the

office for two years.

Meanwhile, the Bureau of the -- Bureau of the -- Bureau of the

was soon seen. At the time, the report was received from the Bureau of the

Investigation and the Bureau of the -- Bureau of the -- Bureau of the

At the time, the report was received from the Bureau of the -- Bureau of the

Group for the Bureau of the -- Bureau of the -- Bureau of the

"The Bureau of the -- Bureau of the -- Bureau of the

which were not only the Bureau of the -- Bureau of the -- Bureau of the

which were not only the Bureau of the -- Bureau of the -- Bureau of the

The Bureau of the -- Bureau of the -- Bureau of the

The Bureau of the -- Bureau of the -- Bureau of the

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The Bureau of the -- Bureau of the -- Bureau of the



Then, on December 7, 1932, Senator Cutting made an announcement, calling for a five billion dollar bond issue for public works across the nation with three billion dollars of the issue going for road construction. "Public works," he said, "will not solve unemployment, but they will start things going by increasing buying power among the masses."<sup>5</sup> By early 1933, Cutting was considered by President-elect Franklin Roosevelt for the position of Secretary of the Interior. One New Mexico newspaper leadlined an editorial, "The Senate Needs Him," and stressed Cutting's value as a Senator.<sup>6</sup>

Meanwhile, Chavez became chairman of the House Irrigation and Reclamation committee and retained membership on the New Mexico-vital committees of Indian Affairs and Public Lands.<sup>7</sup> At the same time, he was a member of a party which controlled the House of Representatives again, this time with 310 Democrats comprising the majority. The Senate was also controlled by his party with sixty Democrats against thirty-six Republicans. A Democrat was in the White House as well.

Early in 1933, Bronson Cutting made a tour of New

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<sup>5</sup>New Mexico State Tribune, December 7, 1932.

<sup>6</sup>Chavez Scrapbook #1, newspaper clipping, Editorial.

<sup>7</sup>U.S., Congressional Directory, June 1933, 73rd Cong., 1st Sess., p. 207.





Mexico's American Legion posts, attacking the "old guard" Republicans.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, Chavez' political strength in New Mexico could be measured in the state legislature where Coe Howard of Portales, a staunch Chavez supporter, was a key Democratic leader.<sup>9</sup> Mrs. Coe Howard was later to become Democratic National Committeewoman.<sup>10</sup>

Chavez announced to the press, on March 14, 1933, that, as Chairman of the House committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, he would entertain no new proposals for projects in the areas of irrigation and reclamation but, rather, would press for the completion of those already under way.<sup>11</sup> On March 22nd, following the lead of Senator Sam Bratton, who had submitted a bill proposing the deferment of payment to the Indians under the proposed Pueblo Lands adjustment measure,<sup>12</sup> Chavez dropped a similar bill into the House hopper.<sup>13</sup> The bill proposed the deferment of money to Indians and provided for the immediate payment for white settlers as originally proposed.<sup>14</sup>

Shortly thereafter, Chavez encountered his first press

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<sup>8</sup>Jonathan R. Cunningham, "Bronson Cutting: A Political Biography" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Government, University of New Mexico, 1940), p. 121.

<sup>9</sup>Hatch Reporter, February 10, 1933.

<sup>10</sup>Chavez subsequently recommended Mrs. Howard for the postmistress position in Portales.

<sup>11</sup>Albuquerque Journal, March 14, 1933.

<sup>12</sup>Albuquerque Journal, March 22, 1933.

<sup>13</sup>Albuquerque Journal, March 23, 1933.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.





difficulty as a by-product of the economy drive. The press of the nation called for support of the Economy Bill then before Congress. Long a Chavez supporter, the New Mexico State Tribune, soon renamed the Albuquerque Tribune, attacked Chavez for voting against the Economy Bill. Chavez did not reply to the newspaper attack. However, a letter to the Editor appeared in the columns of the paper. It was signed "A Subscriber" and criticized the newspaper for its attack on Chavez.<sup>15</sup> It stated:

A considerable number of folks are becoming tired of your criticism of Dennis Chavez for having honestly and fearlessly taken the side of fairness and justice instead of playing to the grandstand. Dennis Chavez doesn't believe in cutting incomes of poor people in large numbers nor that curtailment or loss of buying-power, incidentally taking a large amount of money out of circulation will restore prosperity. Just a few days ago your paper ran an able editorial setting forth the plea that nothing would restore prosperity except high wages and now you inconsistently censure Mr. Chavez for taking the same stand. A balanced budget will not create prosperity; neither will it relieve unemployment. On the contrary, wagecutting will prolong the depression and nothing under the prevailing system except shorter hours will relieve unemployment.

Meanwhile, Chavez had other matters to consider, and one of them was the investigation, together with Senator Cutting, of an RFC loan to a natural gas company for the construction of a gas pipe line across New Mexico to

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<sup>15</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, March 23, 1933.

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Mexican State Tribune, soon renamed the Albuquerque Tribune,  
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 lined of your criticism of Senator Chaver for  
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 of fairness and justice instead of playing to  
 the prejudice.  
 Dennis Chavez doesn't believe in passing laws  
 of poor people in large numbers nor that  
 essential to loss of buying power. He honestly  
 taking a large amount of money out of circulation  
 will restore prosperity.  
 Just a few days ago your paper ran an article  
 editorial stating that the New Deal was  
 would restore prosperity except with wages and  
 how you honestly criticize Mr. Chaver for  
 taking the same stand.  
 A balanced budget will not create prosperity;  
 neither will it relieve unemployment. On the  
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 construction of a gas pipe line across New Mexico to

<sup>12</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, March 23, 1933.



Phoenix and Tucson, Arizona, a move which New Mexico coal producers considered detrimental to their industry.<sup>16</sup> Then, Chavez defended his state's interests further by opposing Roosevelt's move to siphon public works money from highway construction to reforestation.<sup>17</sup>

On April 1st, the Albuquerque Tribune again criticized the Chavez vote against Roosevelt's Economy Bill, this time on the grounds that New Mexico might suffer loss of patronage, a possible act of retribution by an irate President. Ten days later, under a Washington, Associated Press dateline, a news story pointed out that Chavez had been given all patronage dealing with New Mexico postmasterships.<sup>18</sup> The Gallup Independent explained that the postmaster appointments went, by tradition, to New Mexico's Representative.<sup>19</sup>

The month of May, 1933 saw two distinct moments in the life of Congressman Dennis Chavez. One was the final passage of the Pueblo Lands Bill.<sup>20</sup> This culminated in Chavez being photographed witnessing President Roosevelt's

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<sup>16</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, April 1, 1933.

<sup>17</sup> Chavez Scrapbook # 1, newspaper clipping.

<sup>18</sup> Albuquerque Journal, April 11, 1933.

<sup>19</sup> Gallup Independent, April 12, 1933.

<sup>20</sup> Chavez Scrapbook # 1, newspaper clipping.

Phoenix and Tucson, Arizona, to have written the letter, said  
productive considered to be a matter of their knowledge, and  
Graves defense his state's attorney, but by opposing  
Roosvelt's move to allow a new trial, and a new  
occasionally to be heard.  
On April 1st, the Arizona Republic published  
the Graves case against the state's attorney, and the  
on the grounds that the state's attorney had been  
a possible act of judicial bias in the trial.  
days later, under a ruling by the state's attorney,  
a new story pointed out that Graves had been given all  
paragraph dealing with the state's attorney's  
Graves' independent examination and the state's attorney's  
reply by the state's attorney, to see whether the  
The month of May, 1931, saw the state's attorney in the  
life of Congressman James Graves. The state's attorney  
message of the state's attorney. This was followed by  
Graves being photographed without a passport, and his

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16. Arizona Republic, April 1, 1931.
  17. Graves' independent examination, April 1, 1931.
  18. Arizona Republic, April 1, 1931.
  19. Graves' independent examination, April 1, 1931.
  20. Graves' independent examination, April 1, 1931.



signature on the bill.<sup>21</sup> The other was the decision by Senator Sam G. Bratton that he would resign his senatorial position to accept a federal judgeship.<sup>22</sup>

Even while Chavez was still busy in Washington, New Mexico citizens were busily circulating petitions urging Chavez' appointment to Bratton's position.<sup>23</sup> Bernalillo county Democratic leader, Ed Swope, was also boosted for the Bratton vacancy by Sandoval county supporters. Swope, in turn, announced for Governor Arthur Seligman.<sup>24</sup> Seligman, it was rumored, was in an "alliance" with Senator Cutting regarding the filling of the vacancy.<sup>25</sup> The position was to be filled by the governor. The next general election was to determine the incumbency of the office until the expiration of the term. As Bratton had been elected to a six-year term in 1930, the election would be for a short term of two years. The next six-year term would be voted upon in the election of 1936.

The month of May passed, however, and no successor was named to Bratton's position. Instead, routine matters re-entered the political stream. In June, the state service

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<sup>21</sup>Gallup Independent, June 6, 1933; Albuquerque Tribune, June 7, 1933.

<sup>22</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, May 18, 1933.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Albuquerque Journal, May 25, 1933.

<sup>25</sup>Roswell Record, May 25, 1933.

signature on the bill.<sup>21</sup> The other was the date on  
 Senator Sam G. Houston that he would accept the  
 position to accept a federal judgeship.<sup>22</sup>  
 Even while Governor was still busy in Washington, New  
 Mexico citizens were daily circulating petitions  
 Governor's appointment to Houston's position.<sup>23</sup> Senator  
 county Democratic leader, Ed Neely, was also working for  
 the Houston vacancy by sending county newspapers.  
 in case, announced for Governor, Alvin Salazar.<sup>24</sup> Salazar  
 it was rumored, was in an "alliance" with Salazar's  
 regarding the filling of the vacancy.<sup>25</sup> The position  
 was to be filled by the governor. The next general election  
 was to determine the necessity of the office itself.  
 expiration of the term. Salazar had been elected in a  
 six-year term in 1930, the election would be in a short  
 term of two years. The next election would be held  
 upon to the election of 1932.  
 The month of May passed, however, and no announcement  
 was made to Houston's position. In fact, Salazar's  
 re-entered the political arena. In May, the administration

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<sup>21</sup> Gallop Independent, June 4, 1931. All copies of this  
 June 1, 1931.  
<sup>22</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, May 15, 1931.  
<sup>23</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>24</sup> Albuquerque Journal, May 15, 1931.  
<sup>25</sup> Albuquerque Journal, May 23, 1931.



officer of the Disabled American Veterans praised Chavez, Cutting, and Seligman for their aid to the veterans.<sup>26</sup> It was in that role that Cutting began his departure from the Roosevelt camp.

In 1933, amidst demands from veterans for the payment of the government's bonus obligations, Franklin Roosevelt pursued his economy drive, a move which entailed the denial of such obligations. In May, 1933, the legislative attack on Roosevelt's veterans stand began. New Mexico's Bronson Cutting led the attack.<sup>27</sup> That was the beginning of the break which later ensued, rather quietly, between Roosevelt and Cutting. Perhaps Cutting pursued his course as part of a plan to gain national veteran support.<sup>28</sup> The veterans represented a strong political force. Cutting's stand might have culminated in seeking the presidency in 1936. At least one political leader has always thought that Cutting would have done so had he lived.<sup>29</sup> Cutting was considered to have used an earlier idea of a New Mexico Veterans' Bureau for purposes of political control.<sup>30</sup> In

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<sup>26</sup>Lordsburg Liberal, June 10, 1933.

<sup>27</sup>Gallup Independent, June 12, 1933.

<sup>28</sup>Cutting, for instance, had been a founder of the American Legion.

<sup>29</sup>Conversation with Alonzo B. Gonzales, aide to Senator Dennis Chavez, November 15, 1957.

<sup>30</sup>Interview with Arthur T. Hannett, former Governor of New Mexico, October 27, 1957.

officer of the Disabled American Veterans National Council, Cutting, and Seligson for their aid to the veterans.<sup>25</sup> It was in that role that Cutting began his departure from the Roosevelt camp.

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<sup>25</sup> Independent Journal, June 10, 1931.

<sup>26</sup> Gallop Independent, June 15, 1933.

<sup>27</sup> Cutting, for instance, had been a founder of the American Legion.

<sup>28</sup> Conversation with Arthur H. Bonnell, vice to Senator Bonnell's counsel, November 15, 1937.

<sup>29</sup> Interview with Arthur T. Bonnell, former Governor of New Mexico, October 27, 1937.



any case, the break began.

By July, the tide of affairs was running in Chavez' direction. E. C. Robertson was appointed to the position of Home Owners Loan Corporation manager for New Mexico. Chavez and Bratton were credited with the appointment, having lent their support. Seligman had opposed Robertson.<sup>31</sup> Thus, Seligman, with all of the state's patronage, was not very strong in the matter of federal patronage, a matter which was gaining in importance. [ Chavez also announced that he had received assurance from the Public Works Administration that the federal public buildings for New Mexico were to be included in the emergency program. He also stated that he would remain "in Washington indefinitely until state projects were taken care of." <sup>32</sup> ]

Chavez' prestige continued to grow. In 1933 there was a definite increase in federally-sponsored, locally-managed projects. At the same time, New Mexico, with its two Senators, and one Representative, saw its one Democratic senator resign. Since the Administration which sponsored the projects was Democratic, it was somewhat natural that the state's leading Democrat would be consulted. In any state's case, its leading Democrat would probably be a Senator or its leading Representative of the party in the White House,

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<sup>31</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, July 20, 1933.

<sup>32</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, July 20, 1933.

any case, the present meeting.  
In July, the case of certain persons residing in Mexico  
direction. Mr. G. H. Robinson was appointed to the position  
of Vice President of the Commission on the part of the  
Government and Robinson was charged with the responsibility  
having been given authority. Robinson has not yet returned  
Thou, Robinson, with all of the state's resources, and the  
very strong in the matter of local government, a number  
which was examined in connection with the state's resources  
that he had received the same from the state's resources  
Administration and the federal government. Robinson has not  
Mexico were to be as high as the state's resources. The  
also stated that he was in the state's resources in 1912  
until some progress was made in the state's resources.  
The state's resources were not as high as the state's resources  
a definite increase in the state's resources. Robinson has not  
proposed. At the same time Robinson has not proposed  
Senate, and the representatives, and the representatives  
senators resign. Robinson has not proposed  
the proposed was known as the state's resources. Robinson has not  
state's resources. Robinson has not proposed  
case, the state's resources were not as high as the state's resources  
the federal government of the state's resources.

1. Robinson, July 20, 1912.  
2. Robinson, July 20, 1912.



if there was no Senator of that party. In New Mexico, the only Washington-based Democrat, following Bratton's resignation, was Dennis Chavez. Ordinarily, Bronson Cutting might have had a chance because of his personal relationship to the President, and because he had supported Roosevelt's election bid. But the veterans' fight had intervened and another strong factor had reared its head. In 1933, Roosevelt was often willing to leave party matters to others. James A. Farley, the national Democratic party chairman, was in charge of patronage -- and Farley was a party man who was determined to build the Democratic party nationally through extensive use of patronage. It was, therefore, natural for him to listen to a Democratic Representative's nominations for patronage positions rather than names proposed by a Republican -- even though Progressive -- Senator. Under such conditions, then, it would appear to have been almost inevitable that influential Democrats of New Mexico, seeking political positions in the growing federal employ, would turn to the man who could assist them.

In September of 1933, Albuquerque's postmastership became open. Clyde Tingley, Chairman of the Albuquerque City Commission, in refusing to be considered for the position, announced: "I want to be free next year to help elect Dennis Chavez to the U.S. Senate."<sup>33</sup> Tingley, himself,

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<sup>33</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, September 8, 1933.

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In September of 1933, Albuquerque's postmaster, Clyde Tingley, Chairman of the Albuquerque City Commission, in refusing to be considered for the position, announced: "I want to be five years to help elect Dennis Chavez to the U.S. Senate." Tingley himself



soon became a candidate for governor.

The postmaster's appointment again focused attention on Congressman Chavez at a time when the 1934 Senate election as well as the Bratton position replacement were very much in the area of political speculation. Typical of the newspaper comment was a Silver City Independent editorial calling for an appointment of a Senator to fill Bratton's Washington seat.<sup>34</sup> Months had passed and Governor Seligman had still not acted on the filling of the vacancy. Meanwhile, Chavez continued his Congressional work. He commented on the fact that the only complaint in New Mexico against the New Deal was the stringency of farm loan conditions.<sup>35</sup> Likewise, he hoped that New Mexico would vote for the repeal of the Eighteenth (Prohibition) Amendment by a heavy margin and thereby make the choice clearcut.<sup>36</sup>

On September 14th, Chavez endorsed, for the postmastership, Roy L. Cook, a disabled Navy veteran, former American Legion commander of Albuquerque's Hugh A. Carlisle post, former New Mexico Legion commander, former national Legion vice-commander, and, at the time of Chavez' endorsement, a member of the Legion's national executive committee. Cook was also serving as NRA campaign director. Cook, it was

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<sup>34</sup> Silver City Independent, September 8, 1933.

<sup>35</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, September 11, 1933.

<sup>36</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, September 13, 1933.

soon become a candidate for Governor.  
The position of representative in the House of Representatives  
on Congressmen chosen at a time when the 19th Amendment was  
as well as the 18th Amendment. The 18th Amendment was  
in the area of political administration. The 19th Amendment  
newspaper comment was a Salmon River Independent editorial  
calling for an appointment of a Senator for the 19th  
Washington Post. The 19th Amendment was passed and the 18th Amendment  
had still not been on the list of the 19th Amendment. The  
while, Chaves continued his congressional work. The  
commented on the fact that the 19th Amendment was not  
against the new bill was the sentiment of the 19th Amendment.  
conditions. The 19th Amendment was passed and the 18th Amendment  
vote for the repeal of the 18th Amendment (Prohibition) was  
by a heavy margin and Chaves was the 19th Amendment.  
On September 19th, Chaves withdrew from the position  
which he had held as representative for the 19th Amendment.  
Legion commander of the 19th Amendment. The 19th Amendment  
former the 19th Amendment. The 19th Amendment  
vice-commander, and at the time of Chaves' withdrawal, a  
member of the 19th Amendment. The 19th Amendment  
was also serving as the 19th Amendment.

Salmon River Independent, September 19, 1919.  
Salmon River Independent, September 19, 1919.  
Salmon River Independent, September 19, 1919.



reported, was quietly being backed by anti-Seligman forces.<sup>37</sup>

Cook's appointment was the third New Deal appointment in New Mexico resulting from Chavez' endorsements. E. C. Robertson, new HOLC manager; Steve Vidal, Bureau of Internal Revenue chief; and Cook had all been recommended by him.<sup>38</sup>

Chavez' endorsement of Cook, however, stirred a proverbial hornet's nest.<sup>39</sup> Critics pointed to Cook as a Republican. There were predictions that Chavez would be hurt by the move even to the extent of being defeated in a bid for re-election.<sup>39</sup> Ed Swope, state Democratic party chairman, led the attack on Chavez.

On September 16th, two new developments appeared. A Washington story stated that Cutting might possibly be converted to the Democrats through the influence of national Democratic leaders.<sup>40</sup> The other development was a telegram from John Michael, New Mexico president of the Young People's Roosevelt-Garner club, praising Democratic patronage boss James A. Farley for his appointment of Cook to the Albuquerque Postmastership.<sup>41</sup> Michael's wire stated that the Cook appointment was the first recognition by the New Deal of a

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<sup>37</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, September 14, 1933.

<sup>38</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, September 15, 1933.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, September 16, 1933.

<sup>41</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, September 16, 1933.

suggested, and...  
 in New...  
 Robinson...  
 Revenue...  
 Chavez...  
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 Roosevelt...  
 James A. ...  
 Postmaster...  
 appointment...

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- 37 Albuquerque, N.M., September 1, 1937
  - 38 Albuquerque, N.M., September 2, 1937
  - 39 Idaho
  - 40 Albuquerque, N.M., September 3, 1937
  - 41 Idaho to New York, September 4, 1937



Young People's Roosevelt-Garner New Mexico member for an executive position. Michael called those statements which asserted that Cook was not a Democrat untrue. He pointed out that he had appointed Cook as district chairman and declared his correspondence at the time would record such an appointment.<sup>42</sup>

On the same day, press speculation considered the Cook appointment as evidence of a Chavez break with the Cutting-Seligman "control" of patronage. The press also announced Chavez' support of Tucumcari's Sanchez y Baca for United States Marshal in opposition to the Cutting-Seligman choice of Santa Fe's Jesus Baca.<sup>43</sup>

There was intense press speculation regarding the Chavez support of Sanchez y Baca as to the aspects of such support and a possible "break" between the Congressman and the Governor.<sup>44</sup> Political speculators believed that Chavez has made a definite show of self-assertion. One editorial writer summed it up thusly:

One thing is conceded, that Dennis Chavez has earned a niche for his nomination as candidate for the long term in the United States Senate. His defiance of Seligman and Cutting means he has sufficient confidence in his own following to defy the combination when nominations for

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Farmington Times-Hustler, September 16, 1933.

<sup>44</sup>Albuquerque Journal, September 17, 1933.

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One thing is conceded, that Benito Chavez has earned a niche for his nomination as candidate for the long term in the United States Senate. His defiance of Seligman and Cutting means he has sufficient confidence in his own following to defy the campaign when nomination for

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Washington Times-Herald, September 10, 1933.

<sup>44</sup> Albuquerque Journal, September 11, 1933.



the senate are made by the Democratic party convention next fall. With the backing of the anti-Seligman Democrats plus his own group which went along with the Seligman-Cutting alliance in the last election, Congressman Chavez will be a big factor in choosing the next Democratic slate. He has chosen to issue a warning to the party that he does not intend permitting the nominating convention to put Cutting's name on the ballot as the party's candidate for the six-year term as senator. It is generally conceded that the agreement between Cutting and Seligman has been to give the long term place to Cutting and the short term nomination to Seligman. Chavez has messed up the program and the battle is on.

It further rated the Cook appointment as one that would win over veterans who resented Cutting's control in the American Legion.<sup>46</sup> Cook was an anti-Cutting Legionaire.<sup>47</sup>

On September 21st, Chavez made a public announcement in a letter to the Editor of the Albuquerque Tribune.<sup>48</sup> Chavez stated that Clinton P. Anderson, one of the two Democratic chairmen of Bernalillo county,<sup>49</sup> had recommended Cook to him. The Congressman continued, stressing that he was not "indifferent" to Cutting: "I have more respect for the Senator than those who pretend to speak for him." He further denied initiating Legion dissidence toward

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<sup>47</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, September 18, 1933, Editorial.

<sup>48</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, September 21, 1933.

<sup>49</sup> At that time, Bernalillo county's Democrats were split into two factions. Each claimed legal status. Steve Roehl, County Assessor, was chairman of one faction. Anderson headed the other. Interview with H. Charles Roehl, December 29, 1956.







Cutting, stating that he "never yet" nor "never will" interfere in the Legion's "own business." He concluded that he "tries not to represent groups or factions."<sup>50</sup>

A foreshadowing of events to come was carried in the Hatch Reporter on September 22nd when it reported that Lieutenant Governor A. W. Hockenhull was "now wholly in accord" with Governor Seligman's policies. He "represents a new element in the party," it asserted.<sup>51</sup> Three days later, Seligman died. Hockenhull was governor.<sup>52</sup>

Shortly after addressing a bankers' convention in Albuquerque's Franciscan Hotel, Seligman was stricken with a heart attack.<sup>53</sup> Clovis banker A. W. "Andy" Hockenhull succeeded Santa Fe banker Arthur Seligman as governor.<sup>54</sup> The "new element in the party" had succeeded to the power.

The sudden death of Seligman radically changed the New Mexico political picture. The crossover alliance of Progressives and Democrats was in jeopardy because it had been mainly founded and grounded on the close friendship of Santa Feans Seligman and Cutting. The Senate seat vacated by Sam Bratton and long a source of speculation was in

<sup>50</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, September 21, 1933.

<sup>51</sup>Hatch Reporter, September 22, 1933.

<sup>52</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, September 25, 1933.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

Outing, stating that he never felt any "guilt" in  
interfere in the life of a man. He stated  
that he "often got to be very angry" in the  
A forwarding of one to the other was  
the fact that on September 22nd, 1911, he was  
Lieutenant Governor A. J. Buchanan was the only  
accord" with Governor Buchanan's policies. In  
a new element in the party. It was stated  
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Shortly after Buchanan's death, a convention  
Albuquerque's Buchanan Hotel. Buchanan was  
a heavy attack. It was stated that  
succeeded in the party. Buchanan was  
The new element in the party was  
The entire work of Buchanan's party  
New Mexico political parties. The  
Progressive and Democratic was in  
been mainly founded and organized  
Santa Fe's Progress and  
by San Juan and long a number of

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70 Albuquerque Tribune, September 22, 1911.

71 Albuquerque Tribune, September 22, 1911.

72 Albuquerque Tribune, September 22, 1911.

73 Id.



utmost consideration. Seligman's hold on the party reins had muted any discussion or the voicing of any frustration regarding the delay in the interim appointment. Now a newcomer, without Seligman's long career in politics,<sup>55</sup> was assuming the position from which an appointment could be made. It was a moment when new political status arrangements could be established.

When asked about his senatorial possibilities in the light of Hockenhull's ascension to the governorship, Chavez replied: "I have sufficient confidence that he [Hockenhull] will do what he thinks is right in the situation. While we have lost a good governor we will have another in Mr. Hockenhull."<sup>56</sup>

The matter remained in a state of suspension. [Then, on September 28th, a news article appeared in the Washington News stating that Judge Carl Hatch and Dennis Chavez were both being considered for the senatorial vacancy, but that Chavez' appointment would necessitate a special election to fill Chavez' Representative seat. That, the article stated, would be a prohibitive cost to the state financially and thus,

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<sup>55</sup> Arthur Seligman was ten to fifteen years older than his political contemporaries, independently wealthy, and a long-time leader in capital city and statewide Democratic politics.

<sup>56</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, September 26, 1933.

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<sup>56</sup> Arthur Seligman was one of fifteen years after his political career, immediately leaving, and a long-time leader in capital city and national Democratic politics.



it was expected, Hatch would probably be chosen.<sup>57</sup>

At this time, however, other matters were in flux. The Democratic national committeeman's position was also open as a result of Seligman's death, and Chavez was being considered for it also. A Las Cruces citizen, in a letter to the Albuquerque Tribune called for the place to be filled by R. H. Hanna rather than Chavez because of the latter's "avowed opposition to parts of the recovery program..." If not Hanna, then J. S. Vaught was favored for the position.<sup>58</sup> At the same time, Chavez supporters were getting signatures for the Congressman's selection to Seligman's committeeman position.<sup>59</sup>

On October 2, 1933, the Albuquerque Tribune published a political prediction. It stated that, with the advent of Hockenhull to the governorship, Albuquerque Democrats foresaw a shift in the state Democratic leadership. It stated that talk centered on Chavez for the national committeeman position based on his expected ascendancy to the party leadership. Felipe Sanchez y Baca was expected to be the choice for United States Marshal. Carl Hatch was considered the Hockenhull appointee to Bratton's Senate seat and the selection was to come shortly. Chavez was to be the party choice for the

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<sup>57</sup> Washington News, September 28, 1933.

<sup>58</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, September 30, 1933.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid.





1934 long-term senatorial position. The Congressman was considered the natural choice for the Bratton seat appointment save for the financially cumbersome Representative's special election. State party chairman Ed Swope's strength was viewed as weakened by the death of Seligman.<sup>60</sup>

Meanwhile, the prepared charges of Legionaire and Albuquerque Postmaster Roy Cook against Cutting's Legion control moved closer to national Legion convention discussion. Defending the American Legion's Department of New Mexico was Brigadier General Osborne C. Wood and Cutting's political associate Major Herman Baca.<sup>61</sup> National Legion Commander Louis A. Johnson was expected to name a special court, the first in the Legion's history, to consider the charges.<sup>62</sup>

The scene shifted to Ed Swope who, as chairman of the Democratic state central committee, stated his belief that the committee should fill the New Mexico seat in the U.S. Senate.<sup>63</sup> Returning to the matter of the Senate appointment, the Albuquerque Tribune stated, editorially, that it did not believe Chavez should be selected for Bratton's position due to the costs involved in replacing Chavez, himself, in the House of Representatives.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, October 2, 1933.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Albuquerque Journal, October 3, 1933.

<sup>64</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, October 5, 1933.

1934 long-term committee passed. The Congress was  
considered the national office for the Western and  
sent here for the financially unstable Representative's  
special election. State party chairman Ed Davis's strength  
was viewed as weakened by the death of Sullivan.<sup>60</sup>  
Meanwhile, the proposed merger of legislators and  
Albuquerque Postmaster Roy Cook against Sullivan's faction  
continued up and down to national level, eventually discussed.  
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first in the Legion's history, to consider the charges.<sup>62</sup>  
The scene shifted to El Paso where, as chairman of  
the Democratic state central committee, stated his belief  
that the committee should wait till the New Mexico year in the  
U.S. Senate.<sup>63</sup> Referring to the matter of the Senate  
appointment, the Albuquerque Tribune stated, editorially,  
that it did not believe Davis should be selected for  
Huston's position due to the controversies involved in replacing  
Graves himself, in the House of Representatives.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, October 2, 1933.  
<sup>61</sup> Ibid.  
<sup>62</sup> Albuquerque Journal, October 3, 1933.  
<sup>64</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, October 5, 1933.



When asked about his feelings in the matter, Chavez replied: "That depends. It is up to the governor and I am letting him have a free hand."<sup>65</sup> Regarding his 1934 senatorial election considerations, Chavez said that it was "too far off." Then, in an interview with the Albuquerque Journal, Chavez stated: "I'll be tickled pink at whatever Governor Hockenhull does. I know he'll act for the best interests of the state as he sees them."<sup>66</sup>

New Mexico District Judge Carl Hatch was appointed by Governor A. W. Hockenhull to the New Mexico vacancy in the United States Senate on October 10, 1933.

Shortly thereafter, Bronson Cutting figured again prominently in the news. In an editorial in the Albuquerque Journal the then senior Senator from New Mexico was praised. The editorial stated:<sup>67</sup>

Mr. Phillip F. LaFollette, former governor of Wisconsin, brought home to New Mexicans in his address in Santa Fe Thursday night the fact that Senator Bronson Cutting is a national figure and is needed in the Senate in these perilous days, by the nation as well as by New Mexico.

The point he made is not news as many New Mexico citizens have been fully aware of the fact, but he did emphasize and bring out forcefully that the Senator is wanted in that greatest deliberative body by thousands in other states who have learned to admire him for his progressive and liberal policies and for the courage he has displayed in fighting for those

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<sup>66</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, October 7, 1933.

<sup>67</sup> Albuquerque Journal, October 14, 1933, Editorial.

<sup>65</sup> Albuquerque Journal, October 8, 1933.

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I know he'll not for the best interests of the state as he

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<sup>65</sup> Albuquerque Journal, October 1, 1934.

<sup>66</sup> Albuquerque Journal, October 12, 1934, Editorial.

<sup>67</sup> Albuquerque Journal, October 2, 1934.



things he deems essential to the welfare of the country.

New Mexico voters have shown in past elections an independence that is encouraging and is building a new political fibre in this state. They are learning to appraise their candidates for their courage, vision, wisdom and progressiveness. Party ties are meaning less. It is the man and the leadership he can display.

The political scene changed to the filling of the Democratic party's national committeeman position.

Opposition was supposedly growing against Chavez for the position because of patronage difficulties. Native county opposition was reported as developing due to dissatisfaction with the dispensing of patronage. Considered for the position, in addition to Chavez, were John Simms, Sr., John Morrow, Bob Isaacks, and George Cook.<sup>68</sup> Cook (not to be confused with Roy L. Cook) was a Swope-backed candidate for the position.<sup>69</sup>

Meanwhile, in Washington, Chavez informed the new governor of his (Chavez') information that the federal government's Bureau of Roads had assigned two more field men to New Mexico to quicken the state's highway inspection program, thus facilitating future construction work. Chavez stated also that secondary roads would be cleared as fast as inspections could be completed.<sup>70</sup> Immediately following

<sup>68</sup> Albuquerque Journal, October 26, 1933.

<sup>69</sup> Albuquerque Journal, October 21, 1933.

<sup>70</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, October 29, 1933.





Chavez' telegram to Hockenhull, Albuquerque's Mayor Clyde Tingley contacted Chavez asking for the Representative's support to get Bureau of Roads approval of Tingley's Central Avenue "subway" (underpass).<sup>71</sup> At the same time, Chavez was working with Colorado Representatives to get a federal loan to pinto bean growers in New Mexico and Colorado. Should that have failed, he was already seeking a federal purchase of the beans for direct relief use.<sup>72</sup>

In another part of the country, that same day, charges were brought against Bronson Cutting's followers at the national convention of the American Legion. Cutting's Legion leaders were charged, among other things, with the payment of non-existing members' dues in the Legion.<sup>73</sup>

The Democratic national committeeman position continued in political consideration as John Simms, Sr. announced that he was not a candidate for the position. There was speculation that Chavez and Socorro's George Cook were in the midst of a trade with Cook getting the United States Marshal's position, while the Congressman took the committeemanship.<sup>74</sup> On November 3rd, Chavez announced that he was a candidate for

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<sup>71</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, October 30, 1933.

<sup>72</sup>Albuquerque Journal, November 1, 1933.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>Albuquerque Journal, November 2, 1933.

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 lation that Graves and Sedgwick's George Cook were in the  
 midst of a trade with Cook getting the United States Senator's  
 position, while the Congressman took the ambassadorship.<sup>IX</sup>

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<sup>VI</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, October 30, 1933.

<sup>VII</sup> Albuquerque Journal, November 1, 1933.

<sup>VIII</sup> Ibid.

<sup>IX</sup> Albuquerque Journal, November 2, 1933.



the committeeman's position. "I am," he said, "a candidate for said position and believe that my selection will be for the best interests of the democratic party. I have been in an official capacity for the last three years and I have contacts with all necessary officials that affect the national administration..."<sup>75</sup>

Further, Chavez denied any compromise with George Cook, asserting that he still favored Sanchez y Baca for Marshal.<sup>76</sup>

Meanwhile, Chavez carried on his Congressional duties, wiring Tingley that the Bureau of Roads had approved Albuquerque's "subway" plan.<sup>77</sup>

Then he went to President Roosevelt to inform him of the importance of immediate work on New Mexico's secondary roads program. "The President," reported Chavez, "is interested in our situation."<sup>78</sup> Moving ahead with legislation, Chavez, together with Hatch, Bronson Cutting's secretary, and others, met with Reconstruction Finance Corporation officials to study possibilities of securing loans for the refinancing of irrigation districts.<sup>79</sup> On November 10th, the press stated that Chavez' work with the Colorado Representatives had resulted in "substantial aid for pinto

<sup>75</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, November 3, 1933.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> Albuquerque Journal, November 7, 1933.

<sup>79</sup> Albuquerque Journal, November 7, 1933.





bean growers of both states." The Federal Surplus Relief Corporation planned to open bids on one million pounds of "pinto or Mexican beans."<sup>80</sup>

During the same time, Bronson Cutting also was in the news. He spoke to various groups while on a tour of New Mexico, first to his veteran followers in a speech, as part of a program with the Disabled American Veterans national commander, at the D.A.V. Albuquerque post.<sup>81</sup> Later he spoke to the people of Hatch and Deming.<sup>82</sup> He met with them in public and private and "expressed a desire to meet as many as possible and asked for expressions from the people as to what they would like him to do as their senator."<sup>83</sup>

From another quarter, Chavez faced an attack on his bid for the committeemanship. Bernalillo County Assessor Stephen Roehl claimed that the party could better be served by "some oldtime, prominent Democrat who would be more interested in the general welfare of the party at large than for furtherance of the interests of some individual."<sup>84</sup> Then, a citizen of Hatch, New Mexico, in a letter to a

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<sup>80</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, November 10, 1933.

<sup>81</sup> Gallup Independent, November 15, 1933.

<sup>82</sup> Hatch Reporter, November 17, 1933.

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, November 17, 1933.

EXHIBIT A 37

CONTENTS

been guests of such persons. The following is a list of persons  
Organization planned to open office in New Mexico, New Mexico,  
"plans on Mexican coast." (80)  
During the same time, however, it was reported that  
the party. It appears to have been organized in 1937 or  
New Mexico, first to help Mexican revolutionaries in a revolution  
part of a program also was included in the New Mexico  
commander, as the U.S.A. Government had been asked to  
to the people of New Mexico. The party was a  
public and private and suggested a number of other things  
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what they would like to do as the party.  
From reports given, however, it was reported that the  
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Stephen Rossi stated that the party was to be organized  
by "some other" organization. It was reported that the party  
interested in the general well-being of the people of New Mexico  
than for the purpose of the revolution. It was reported that  
Then, a citizen of New Mexico, New Mexico, New Mexico.

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- 80 Albuquerque Tribune, November 11, 1937.  
81 Albuquerque Tribune, November 11, 1937.  
82 Albuquerque Tribune, November 11, 1937.  
83 Albuquerque Tribune, November 11, 1937.  
84 Albuquerque Tribune, November 11, 1937.



newspaper editor, told of Chavez' good work, of his self-effacement in stepping aside in the recent senatorial situation. The writer culminated on the point that Chavez deserved the national committeeman's position.<sup>85</sup> The day of the committeeman's election saw Chavez win, 103-18. George Cook was his opponent.<sup>86</sup> Chavez had won the election and was the fourth man after statehood to capture the committeemanship.<sup>87</sup> The Albuquerque Journal, in an editorial, stated that the national committeeman's position represented a "key hand in dispensing of federal patronage..." Then it took off on an attack against the number of Chavez relatives on the state and federal payrolls ("No less than a dozen... and there are reports that it is going to grow"). It ended with the statement: "But ambition never has been his failing."<sup>88</sup>

Three days after Chavez' election as national committeeman, state party chairman Ed Swope announced in favor of the Democratic-Progressive alliance being continued if Cutting's demands were not too great.<sup>89</sup> Swope also teamed with Chavez

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<sup>85</sup> Chavez Scrapbook #2, newspaper clipping.

<sup>86</sup> Gallup Independent, November 20, 1933.

<sup>87</sup> Encino Enterprise, September 26, 1933. That newspaper listed the others as: A. A. Jones, Arthur Seligman, R. H. Hanna, then Arthur Seligman again.

<sup>88</sup> Albuquerque Journal, November 21, 1933.

<sup>89</sup> Gallup Independent, November 24, 1933.





to protest imports of South American beef, a competitive item to New Mexico's cattle industry.<sup>90</sup> Then he approved the candidacy of a newcomer to the state, John J. Dempsey, in that man's bid for the state's National Recovery Administration directorship for which Chavez had recommended Dempsey.<sup>91</sup> Clyde Tingley gave Swope a vote of confidence. Swope replied that he would seek to work with Tingley.<sup>92</sup>

As the new year of 1934 was about to start, Chavez wrote to Tingley, asking Albuquerque's Mayor to keep him informed as to when the "subway" measure would be on its way to Washington so that he, Chavez, could make a "special effort" in its behalf.<sup>93</sup> He also requested the Civilian Works Administration to stagger and spread out its work. This was done in a CWA directive to the south-western states.<sup>94</sup> Together with Senators Cutting and Hatch, Chavez visited Harold Ickes, Secretary of the Interior and chief of the Public Works Administration, in an effort to secure funds for New Mexico.<sup>95</sup> He also began distribution of a

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<sup>90</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, December 20, 1933.

<sup>91</sup>Albuquerque Journal, December 23, 1933.

<sup>92</sup>Gallup Independent, November 24, 1933.

<sup>93</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, January 1, 1934.

<sup>94</sup>Albuquerque Journal, January 17, 1934.

<sup>95</sup>Tucumcari American, January 26, 1934.





newsletter for all interested constituents.<sup>96</sup>

The start of February, 1934, saw news that the Democratic national organization was reported preparing to back Progressive candidates across the nation in the 1934 Congressional elections.<sup>97</sup> This was countered by developments within the state of New Mexico. At about this time, talks, rumors, reports, and speculation concerning a rapprochement between the G.O.P. old guard and Cutting's Progressives began to develop.<sup>98</sup> The Albuquerque Tribune came forth with a set of predictions regarding the developing alignments. It stated:<sup>99</sup>

Mr. Cutting...has always been too smart to be cornered. He holds a balance of power and he knows how to use it. He is a master politician; none is smarter. For years old line politicians sniffed at his political ability. After about the fourth defeat they began to reconsider. Mr. Cutting has the gift of calculating rashness. He is ostensibly reckless but when he closes his eyes and jumps he knows exactly where he will land. He leaps with one eyelid lifted. The republican party will come to Cutting because it has decided that such is the way to win. ...He will return to the party on his own terms. The situation will be slightly complicated by prospects of an endorsement from the Roosevelt administration. Such an endorsement will depend on Cutting's steady support of the new deal. He was skeptical at first; with Hatch he bolted the Roosevelt silver policy. Mr. Farley is probably taking notes. The Roosevelt endorsement is highly tentative and may not materialize. That

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<sup>96</sup> Albuquerque Journal, January 28, 1934.

<sup>97</sup> El Paso Times, February 1, 1934.

<sup>98</sup> Chavez Scrapbook #2, newspaper clipping.

<sup>99</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, February 3, 1934, Editorial.

newspaper for all information concerning the

The state of February, 1934, was not a state of

Democratic national organization was not the organization

to back progressive candidates in the 1934 election

Congressional elections. It was not a state of

within the state of New Mexico. It was not a state of

rumors, reports, and speculation concerning a relationship

between the D.C. of old and the D.C. of new

begin to develop. The relationship between the two

a set of questions regarding the development of

It stated:

Mr. Canning... has always been too busy to be  
concerned. He has a lot of work to do and he  
knows how to do it. He is a man of action and he  
never is satisfied. He wants to see the situation  
settled at the political level. He wants to see  
the country better than it is now. He wants to see  
Mr. Canning has the right of administrative management.  
He is not a man of action but he is a man of  
eyes and hands. He knows exactly where he will  
land. He knows where he will land. He knows  
the political party will come to Canning's  
it was decided that he is the only one who  
... his will be on the party in the new  
The situation will be largely unchanged by  
progress of an organization from the Roosevelt  
administration. It is an organization that  
on Canning's steady support of the new party. He  
was elected at 1934 with a large majority. He  
Roosevelt Silver party. Mr. Canning is the  
taking power. The Roosevelt administration is  
highly sensitive and may not be satisfied.

Albuquerque Journal, January 25, 1934.

El Paso Times, February 1, 1934.

Chavez Telegraph, February 1, 1934.

Albuquerque Tribune, February 2, 1934.



means Mr. Cutting must campaign as a republican or as an independent if he desires to campaign at all.

...He has been pretty consistently liberal. his theories of government are sound... Early in his career he promised to become one of the great progressives of the nation. Of late years his energy has waned but it can flicker even more without reaching the intellectual and spiritual level of a majority of senators. In intelligence, competence and liberalism he ranks well above the national average...

...Mr. Cutting is...the unregenerate rebel who appreciates the net returns of rebellion. Senator Cutting wins political combats because he combines high intelligence with measured courage. He knows when to threaten and when to conciliate...

By the eighth of February, Democratic leader Jim Farley had gone on record as backing Progressives George Norris of Nebraska and Hiram Johnson of California in their election bids.<sup>100</sup> In the midst of these events, Felipe Sanchez y Baca, Chavez' choice, was named United States Marshal.<sup>101</sup> Meanwhile, speculation continued as a high Administration spokesman was quoted as saying that both Hatch and Cutting were favored for re-election.<sup>102</sup> A Tucumcari Daily News editorial pointed out that Albert Simms was "apparently of the opinion that the Republican party can win without Senator Cutting." The newspaper

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<sup>100</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, February 8, 1934.

<sup>101</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, February 9, 1934.

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.





strongly disagreed with that opinion.<sup>103</sup>

All the while political speculation continued. It was considered that the "reactionary" Democrats were hoping to nominate a ticket with Chavez for the long (or regular) senatorial term, Hatch for the short (or unexpired Bratton) term, and some of their following for the Chavez Congressional seat and the governorship.<sup>104</sup> Other Democrats, however, were reportedly advising Chavez to be satisfied with re-election to the House of Representatives rather than risk defeat against Cutting.<sup>105</sup>

By February 15th, a report had circulated that both Governor Hockenhull and party chairman Swope were in favor of Cutting running for re-election on the Democratic ticket.<sup>106</sup> The next day, a syndicated Washington correspondent reported that Carl Hatch, following White House orders, would endorse Cutting for re-election.<sup>107</sup> Yet, in the same breath, an editorial considered Chavez as the man who would approve all final Democratic candidates on the 1934 state ticket in New Mexico.<sup>108</sup> Within the Republican party, the

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<sup>103</sup> Tucumcari Daily News, February 6, 1934.

<sup>104</sup> Albuquerque Journal, February 10, 1934.

<sup>105</sup> Albuquerque Journal, February 13, 1934.

<sup>106</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, February 15, 1934.

<sup>107</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, February 16, 1934.

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.





foes of Cutting stood in the prospect of defeat if they did not accept the Senator. Yet, in the face of that, they prepared themselves for the battle to keep him out of the party.<sup>109</sup>

Then, Cutting's Santa Fe New Mexican supported the Republicans in the capital city elections.<sup>110</sup> Soon, also, another development became obvious. The Democrats' shift from their four-year alliance with the Progressives was recognized. Likewise, a new alliance between the Democrats and the Old Guard Republicans was sensed.<sup>111</sup> Then, Ed Swope resigned as chairman of the state Democratic organization to accept a federal appointment.<sup>112</sup> John Bingham, state Democratic Central Committee Secretary-Treasurer, became acting chairman and it was announced that the committee would not meet until Chavez and Hatch could attend a meeting.<sup>113</sup> This decision was interpreted "as an indication that there would be an effort to dispose of the Progressive element in the party..."<sup>114</sup> Succeeding Ed Swope as chairman was John

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<sup>109</sup>Gallup Independent, February 20, 1934.

<sup>110</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, March 28 to April 4, 1934.

<sup>111</sup>Farmington Times-Hustler, May 4, 1934, Editorial.

<sup>112</sup>Clayton News, June 6, 1934.

<sup>113</sup>Clayton News, June 13, 1934.

<sup>114</sup>Ibid.

loss of feeling about the progress of the work.

It did not succeed in its purpose.

and, perhaps, even from the fact that it was

of the party.

From the fact that it was not a success

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E. Miles whose election "was viewed as a Hannett victory, put through with the Chavez boys at the steering wheel."<sup>115</sup> The scene was ready for the November elections. It was complete when Cutting insisted -- in a talk with leading Republican and former Governor Richard C. Dillon, following consolidation of the Republican and Progressive parties -- on a platform similar to the 1932 Progressive platform.<sup>116</sup> Thus the G.O.P.-Cutting split was healed and Cutting was dominant in the revitalized party. The Cutting-dictated platform called for, among other things: (1) taxation on ability to pay, (2) increased educational facilities, (3) more social service work, and (4) reform of voter registration and absentee voter laws.<sup>117</sup>

"Dennis Chavez, democratic congressman, is becoming recognized as the leader of the conservatives among the democrats, who are rallying the conservatives of all parties under their banner in an effort to defeat the liberal Senator Cutting at the election this fall..." stated a New Mexico newspaper.<sup>118</sup>

Finally, in September, 1934, Chavez and Cutting became the standard-bearers of the Democratic and Republican parties

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<sup>115</sup>Clayton News, July 11, 1934.

<sup>116</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, July 21, 1934.

<sup>117</sup>Ibid.

<sup>118</sup>Farmington Times-Hustler, July 27, 1934.

E. White whose election was viewed as a landmark step  
put through with the United States of America's aid.  
The scene was ready for the dramatic entrance.  
complete when nothing happened -- a 10-minute waiting  
Hybridized and former Director of the U.S. Office of  
consolidation of the new system and program is  
on a platform similar to the 1950s. The program  
Thus the U.S. Government's role was reduced to a  
dominant in the revolution. The U.S. Government  
platform called for a new order (1) to be  
ability to pay (2) to be able to pay (3) to be able to  
more social services (4) to be able to pay (5) to be able to  
and economic order (6).

Thomas C. Jones, Director of the U.S. Office of  
recognized as the founder of the U.S. Office of  
disorder, who was not only a member of the U.S. Office of  
under their banner to be able to pay (1) to be able to  
Outing as the U.S. Office of the U.S. Office of the U.S. Office of  
newspaper, 1950.  
Finally, to be able to pay (1) to be able to pay (2) to be able to  
the standard-bearer of the U.S. Office of the U.S. Office of the U.S. Office of

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11:30 AM - 12:00 PM  
12:00 PM - 12:30 PM  
12:30 PM - 1:00 PM  
1:00 PM - 1:30 PM  
1:30 PM - 2:00 PM



respectively. Chavez was chosen by acclamation for the long-term senatorial position. Hatch was nominated for the short-term position, Tingley was named as the gubernatorial nominee, and John J. Dempsey was chosen to run for Congress. All were selected by acclamation.<sup>119</sup>

The new alignment caused certain splits in some counties. Santa Fe county was the first to experience the effect and the Republicans gained when dissident Democrats joined the G.O.P.<sup>120</sup> Democratic party factions also split away and joined the Republicans in Rio Arriba, San Juan, and Harding counties.<sup>121</sup>

The sides were chosen, the lines were drawn, and the campaign was under way. Cutting attacked Chavez in a Tucumcari speech, asserting that the Congressman had done nothing in Washington except vote. Cutting said Chavez had not spoken once on any piece of major legislation.<sup>122</sup> Chavez, the same day, challenged Mora county listeners to name "one act of progress made by the so-called progressives."<sup>123</sup> Cutting, in his Tucumcari speech, called for his audience to

<sup>119</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, September 25, 1934.

<sup>120</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, August 25, 1934.

<sup>121</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, September 14, 1934.

<sup>122</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, October 11, 1934.

<sup>123</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, October 11, 1934.





vote for the Republican gubernatorial candidate Jaffa Miller "because," he said, "I consider Mr. Tingley (the Democratic candidate for governor) far more dangerous to the welfare of the state than Mr. Chavez."<sup>124</sup> At the same time, Tingley stated that he preferred to have his name scratched rather than to have Chavez lose a vote.<sup>125</sup>

The 1934 campaign in New Mexico developed unique points of interest. The Republicans were violently opposed to the state sales tax,<sup>126</sup> then relatively new and a product of the Democrats. The G.O.P. platform stated that the Republicans were "unalterably opposed to the present sales tax which places upon those least able to bear it, the entire burden of such tax, and permits the great corporations, that are so greatly benefited by such tax limitations, to avoid payment of any part thereof."<sup>127</sup>

Chavez began his campaign in a Fort Sumner speech by calling for the election of FDR supporters.<sup>128</sup>

The Albuquerque Tribune summed up the campaign in an editorial. It stated:<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid.

<sup>126</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, October 3, 1934.

<sup>127</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, October 3, 1934, advertisement.

<sup>128</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, October 5, 1934.

<sup>129</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, October 2, 1934.

REVIEW

Miller because of the fact that the

the volume of the work is not

also included under the same

The 1938 volume is the first

points of interest. The volume

appears in the same series

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series for which there have been

entirely new of course, and

there are no really new

avoid repeat of the same

These papers are of interest

calling for the study of the

The 1938 volume is the first

editorial

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Speaking from the reportorial standpoint purely, we do not recall a New Mexico campaign more scrambled as to issues and causes than the current one.

Just now we have the republican party running on a Roosevelt platform. The democratic party, though Rooseveltian, is attracting anti-Cutting republicans. The republican national committeeman denounces the republican ticket, and announces support of the democratic candidate for governor.

Democrats are openly declaring they will not support the democratic candidate for congress. Devoted Cutting supporters are ignoring candidate Dillon for the senate. Democrats here are there are espousing the cause of Senator Cutting.

Only the election will unscramble this egg.

Chavez attacked the Progressives, in a speech at Roswell, calling them "political parasites and pie counter barnacles."<sup>130</sup> Then, in October, Cutting gained the endorsement of William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor.<sup>131</sup> The Farmers' Holiday Association also endorsed Cutting.<sup>132</sup> The New Mexico Federation of Labor, following A.F.L. instructions, likewise supported Cutting, but [Albuquerque's Central Labor Union, "the most powerful local group in the state," supported Chavez.] A similar "lack of unanimity of purpose" was found in non-A.F.L. unions.<sup>133</sup> However, Labor was, in 1934, "among the least,

<sup>130</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, October 11, 1934.

<sup>131</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, October 5, 1934.

<sup>132</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, October 14, 1934.

<sup>133</sup> E. E. Maes, "The Labor Movement in New Mexico," New Mexico Business Review, IV (April, 1935), 137-40.

Speaking from the Republican standpoint, we do not recall a day when campaign more earnestly as to the cause than the current one. Last now we have the Republican Party standing on a Republican platform, the Democratic Party, though favoring the attacking anti-Catholic Republic. The Republican National Convention denounced the Republic, stated, and announced support of the Democratic candidate for Governor. Democrats are openly declaring they will not support the Democratic candidate for Governor. However, during campaign the Republican candidate will be the one. Democrats have not shown the support of the cause of justice during the only the election will determine this.

Chavez attacked the President, in a speech in Roosevelt, calling them "political machines" and "the danger to the nation."<sup>110</sup> Then, in October, Chavez gained the endorsement of William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor.<sup>111</sup> The National Railway Association also endorsed Chavez.<sup>112</sup> The New Mexico Federation of Labor, following A.F.L. instructions, likewise supported Chavez, but Albuquerque's Central Labor Union, "the most powerful local group in the state," supported Chavez. Similar "lack of unanimity of purpose" was found in A.F.L. unions.<sup>113</sup> However, Labor was, in 1934, "near the limit."

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<sup>110</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, October 11, 1934.  
<sup>111</sup> Letter to Mr. Chavez, October 2, 1934.  
<sup>112</sup> Letter to Mr. Chavez, October 14, 1934.  
<sup>113</sup> E. E. Hale, "The Labor Movement in New Mexico," Mexico Business Review, IV (April, 1935), 27-30.



if not the least, organized in the United States."<sup>134</sup> United States Senator Frederick Steiwer of Oregon also entered the state in Cutting's behalf to attack Chavez for not supporting some legislation considered favorable to ex-servicemen.<sup>135</sup>

In Las Cruces, Cutting again attacked Tingley, stating that Tingley's "New Deal" had been expressed when, according to Cutting, the Albuquerque mayor said, "vote a democratic ticket if you want a job. Vote for me and my friends or you will not get any benefits for New Mexico. If I am elected there will not be a progressive appointed to a job in New Mexico."<sup>136</sup> At the same time, Cutting's Santa Fe New Mexican attacked Chavez. On one occasion it demanded that Chavez answer, in a capital city political rally, (1) the names and jobs of twenty-eight relatives in certain federal positions (2) the identification of any speech he made in Congress -- subject and date (3) his connection with the Hannett election code (4) how he helped cotton growers (5) if a Cutting-Steiwer campaign statement criticizing Chavez' stand on certain veterans' legislation was true...<sup>137</sup>

Chavez and Tingley, meanwhile, emphasized their

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<sup>135</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, October 14, 1934, Editorial.

<sup>136</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, October 18, 1934.

<sup>137</sup> Santa Fe New Mexican, October 20, 1934.

it not the least, organized in the United States  
United States Senator Frederick C. Ives  
entered the state in 1872, and in 1874  
for not supporting him, explained  
to ex-servicemen.

In the summer, cutting again across the  
that they were a "New Deal" had been  
to getting, the Albigenses say, and  
tion if you want a job. You don't want  
you will not get any benefits for two years.  
elected there will not be a progressive  
in New Mexico. The new law, which is  
New Mexico elected. The new law, which is  
and Chavez's answer, is a radical one  
the names and loss of money-also  
leaders' positions (2) the list of  
made in Congress -- and the date (3) the  
the Hardest election code (4) the  
(5) if a Cushing-Spencer campaign  
Chavez, stand on these: veterans, 1872  
Chavez and Tingler, meanwhile, a

137 Chavez to New Mexico, 1872  
138 Albigenses, Tingler, Chavez, 1872  
139 Chavez to New Mexico, October 2, 1872



origins in poverty.<sup>138</sup> At the same time, Cutting sent a telegram to the wheat section of the federal government's Agricultural Adjustment Administration to get delayed allotment checks for Curry and other East Side counties. He promptly labeled the delay a political trick meant to embarrass him.<sup>139</sup> In a Socorro speech, the Senator continued to focus his attack on Tingley, stating that the Democratic candidate for governor was "the Dillinger in the kidnapping game," Albuquerque's mayor supposedly having stated that he intended "kidnapping" 40,000 votes in the election.<sup>140</sup> Tingley, in turn, called Cutting "a disgrace to the state of New Mexico," because the Senator had been called a dangerous radical by ex-President Hoover. Chavez made the same charge.<sup>141</sup> At least one source saw humor in the situation. The Albuquerque Journal commented: "So far has the reactionary old guard Republican influence taken charge of candidate Tingley and his campaign that the 'builder',<sup>142</sup> has taken to quoting ex-President Hoover."<sup>143</sup> The Journal continued: "But Mr. Tingley and his old guard

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<sup>138</sup> Ibid.

<sup>139</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, October 20, 1934.

<sup>140</sup> Albuquerque Journal, October 21, 1934.

<sup>141</sup> Ibid.

<sup>142</sup> An appellation given Tingley for his municipal construction achievements in Albuquerque.

on the 10th of the month...

reference to the case...

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the following...



bosses and paving magnate friends, now insisting that Tingley must be elected in order to lend Roosevelt the aid he needs, seem to have forgotten that Mr. Roosevelt tendered a place in his cabinet to Senator Cutting."<sup>144</sup>

Many New Mexico Republican party leaders failed to support Cutting. Albert Simms, national committeeman for the party following Cutting's own resignation from that position in 1932, opposed Cutting in 1934. By late October, Republican leaders increased their opposition as they organized a Chavez-Tingley Club.<sup>145</sup> National G.O.P. Chairman, Henry P. Fletcher, repudiated the Chavez-Tingley Club.<sup>146</sup>

In the last days of October, 1934, the Republican party, under Cutting, published an advertisement. Its headline read: "Mr. Tingley, Deny This Story." It went on to point out that Tingley had entered into a written agreement with John J. Dempsey, Democratic Congressional candidate, to allow the latter, with Tingley, to appoint members of the state highway commission. It further asserted that Dempsey, in return, threw his convention support from John Simms, Sr. to Tingley in the Democratic contest for governor. The advertisement went on to state that Dempsey wanted to have a

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<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Albuquerque Journal, October 23, 1934.

<sup>146</sup> Albuquerque Journal, October 27, 1934.

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monopoly over the state asphalt paving business.<sup>147</sup>

The Albuquerque Journal critiqued the campaign at the end of October. It stated:<sup>148</sup>

The situation in New Mexico at this stage of the campaign is this: The republican candidates are making a campaign upon well-defined public policies. Their attacks upon their opponents are secondary. The heads of the democratic ticket are making a campaign of vilification and braggadocio, apparently in an effort to cover up the real inspiration of their campaign: the demands and assistance of the old guard republican remnant that has joined them in a last effort to maintain their hold on state government, and the rock asphalt paving interests generally reputed to be financing their campaign. Mr. Dempsey, "Tammany democrat," and protege of the Chavez brothers, Dennis and Dave, is in the rock asphalt paving business. Mr. Tingley was the angel who made possible the financial success of Mr. Hebenstreit's New Mexico Construction Company, now in the rock asphalt business.

Shortly before the close of the campaign, the president of the New Mexico Petroleum Association said Cutting had saved millions of dollars for the state's oil industry by his opposition to a plan by Hoover, in 1929, dealing with conservation.<sup>149</sup> At Roy, New Mexico, Cutting told his audience that Tingley's refusal to answer charges concerning the reported deal with Dempsey proved him unworthy of

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<sup>147</sup>Albuquerque Journal, October 28, 1934.

<sup>148</sup>Albuquerque Journal, October 22, 1934.

<sup>149</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, October 29, 1934.





becoming New Mexico's governor.<sup>150</sup> Then, five days before the election, state Democratic party chairman John E. Miles repeated an earlier charge that Cutting aided the Communists financially. He further charged that the state American Legion, deprived of its voting privileges in the 1934 national Legion convention because of convicted political activity in its midst, was a Cutting victim. Further, Miles pointed to the presence in New Mexico of United States Senate investigators dealing with an earlier sworn statement by him of Cutting's supposed violation of the Corrupt Practices Act.<sup>151</sup>

Senator Cutting told a Las Vegas audience that Chavez had earlier sent him a message stating that Carl Hatch was too weak to be elected and that he, Chavez, would like to run for the short term Senate seat with Cutting heading the ticket for the long term position.<sup>152</sup>

In other campaign matters, the Santa Fe Peace Council asked Cutting and Chavez for their respective views on "peace" legislation. Cutting responded: "I am opposed to the private manufacture of arms, armaments, and munitions; but am in favor of their manufacture by our government exclusively..." Chavez replied:

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<sup>150</sup> Albuquerque Journal, October 30, 1934.

<sup>151</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, November 1, 1934.

<sup>152</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, November 1, 1934.





The legislation I shall sponsor and strive to get enacted, if I am elected to the U.S. Senate, shall be the legislation the majority of the citizens want sponsored and enacted. I shall never assume the attitude that I know what is best for the people, and that I am so much wiser than they are that my opinion is unquestionable and the only correct one. I shall never strive to be or pose as a political dictator in any sense of the word. 153

In Carlsbad, Senator Cutting told his audience how he had supported President Roosevelt's election bid, how he had backed the President's New Deal program, and reminded his listeners of Roosevelt's offer of a cabinet post.<sup>154</sup> At the same time, Senator Morris Sheppard of Texas, among others, told a Tucumcari audience that a defeat for any Democratic candidate for Senator would be construed as "a blow to President Roosevelt..."<sup>155</sup> (John J. Dempsey, himself a candidate for Chavez' Congressional position, told a Hot Springs crowd that Roosevelt did not want Cutting in Washington.<sup>156</sup> Carl Hatch told the same group that the New Deal was being put to the test in the 1934 election.<sup>157</sup> Political advertising by the Democrats produced a five column, half-page advertisement which asked Senator Cutting: "Did you or did you not contribute to the

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<sup>153</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, November 2, 1934.

<sup>154</sup>Ibid.

<sup>155</sup>Ibid.

<sup>156</sup>Ibid.

<sup>157</sup>Ibid.

The legislation I shall sponsor and strive to get enacted, if I am elected to the U.S. Senate, shall be the legislation the majority of the citizens want sponsored and enacted. I shall never assume the attitude that I know what is best for the people, and that I am no much wiser than they are that my opinion is unquestionable and the only correct one. I shall never strive to be or pose as a political dictator in any sense of the word. 153

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Washington Tribune, November 2, 1934.

153 Ibid.

154 Ibid.

155 Ibid.

156 Ibid.



Communist Party during this campaign?"<sup>158</sup> The advertisement quoted a telegram by John E. Miles, state Democratic party chairman, to the Editor of the Tribune which had appeared on the previous day.<sup>159</sup> In much length, Miles' only direct reference to the Cutting-Communism tieup was a sentence in which he stated: "I have proof that Bronson M. Cutting contributed to the communist party both national and state and he has not denied these charges."<sup>160</sup> Editorially, the Albuquerque Tribune supported Senator Cutting for election.<sup>161</sup>

The Republicans gathered in Albuquerque on the Saturday prior to the election for a mass meeting in that city's Armory.<sup>162</sup> At the same time, the Democrats advertised several reasons why Cutting would be defeated, and in the same breath implored the public to "Support the President," "Vote the Roosevelt ticket." (Italics in advertisement.)<sup>163</sup>

The Literary Digest, on the eve of the election, summed the campaign up, thusly:<sup>164</sup>

In the developing of the strange political situation, the New Deal is eliminated as an issue. With Mr. Cutting capturing the Republican nomination despite his desertion of two years ago, he is making his appeal to the liberals -- "radicals," his opponents

<sup>158</sup>Ibid.

<sup>159</sup>Ibid.

<sup>160</sup>Ibid.

<sup>161</sup>Ibid.

<sup>162</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, November 3, 1934.

<sup>163</sup>Ibid.

<sup>164</sup>The Literary Digest, November 3, 1934, p. 13.





call them -- of both parties. Representative Chavez, bearing the personal endorsement of President Roosevelt, and standing squarely on the New Deal, is making his appeal to conservatives. Put to it to choose between Cutting and Chavez, the Conservative Republicans, or most of them, have gone over to the Democrat.

By November 3, 1934, the Republican state chairman was predicting a G.O.P. victory by 15,000 to 30,000 votes.<sup>165</sup> The eve of the election found the Albuquerque Democrats organizing a "Big Parade" to leave Albuquerque High School and march across town to the Armory to hear film star Douglas Fairbanks speak to a Democratic mass meeting.<sup>166</sup> The previous evening, nationally-known Republican woman leader, Ruth Hanna McCormick Simms, wife of New Mexico's G.O.P. national committeeman, pleaded, in a radio address, for the defeat of Republican candidate Senator Bronson Cutting.<sup>167</sup> She compared Cutting to Hitler and Mussolini and one could infer from her remarks that Cutting was, or would become, a dictator. She asserted that the Republican party was not represented in the election, and she also condemned Cutting for voting according to a philosophy of "individual independence of action."<sup>168</sup>

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<sup>165</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, November 3, 1934.

<sup>166</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, November 5, 1934.

<sup>167</sup>Ibid.

<sup>168</sup>Ibid.





On the morning of the election day, National Guardsmen populated polling places in the counties of San Miguel, Rio Arriba, and Valencia.<sup>169</sup> Governor Hockenbuhl was apparently surprised. "The movement of any considerable number of men," he said, "is absolutely unauthorized."<sup>170</sup> The election also found, according to one prominent Democrat of that period, a truckload of Progressives which moved through San Miguel county, voting at each polling place along the way. Dubbed the "Flying Squadron," the men are supposed to have sped swiftly through the county, leaping from the truck at each polling place, hurriedly casting illegal ballots, then just as quickly re-embarking for the next station along their path.<sup>171</sup>

In New Mexico, in 1934, getting votes totalled from all over the state was a long and slow process. By the afternoon of the day after the election, there was still 250 precincts unreported in the state-wide tabulations.<sup>172</sup> In the tentative results, at that point in the tabulations, Cutting led Chavez by a total of ten votes.<sup>173</sup> A later

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<sup>169</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, November 6, 1934.

<sup>170</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, November 6, 1934.

<sup>171</sup>Hannett interview.

<sup>172</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, November 7, 1934.

<sup>173</sup>Ibid.





count raised the Cutting margin to 521 votes.<sup>174</sup> By the afternoon of the Thursday following the election, the Cutting lead had doubled to 1100 ballots.<sup>175</sup> The northern counties of Rio Arriba, Mora, and Sandoval had still not been checked into the state totals.<sup>176</sup> The Democrats claimed the bulk of the outstanding votes.<sup>177</sup> However, the Albuquerque Tribune pointed out that it had been late returns from normally Republican areas that had pushed Cutting ahead.<sup>178</sup>

But Chavez was confident. Beaming, he was asked about his smile. He replied, "Why shouldn't I smile? the votes aren't all counted." Asked about the possibility of an election contest, Chavez declared, "There won't be any necessity of a contest."<sup>179</sup> On November 15, 1934, Chavez laid down the lines of battle. "The battle for right," he stated, "has just begun." He went on to speak of the difficulty involved in winning against "a million dollars." Categorically he asserted: "I have been elected and do not intend to have that election taken away from me." He continued: "Before this battle is over hypocrisy will

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<sup>174</sup> Ibid.

<sup>175</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, November 8, 1934.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, November 7, 1934.

<sup>179</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, November 8, 1934.





be unmasked and a fake political reputation shattered.

"I want to thank the thousands of good citizens who stood by me in the recent election. I ask them to keep the faith, and I will not disappoint them." He concluded, "I am feeling fine and not at all discouraged."<sup>180</sup>

The next day, Cutting replied that he felt it was Chavez' duty, if he knew of any vote fraud or corruption, to "take the people of New Mexico into his confidence."<sup>181</sup> Chavez replied, "The senator's getting jittery."<sup>182</sup> Cutting stated that in twenty-seven of the state's thirty-one counties the election machinery was in the hands of the Democrats. Furthermore, he asserted, in the four counties in which the Republicans were in charge, he lost the counties or ran at the bottom of his ticket.<sup>183</sup>

The final margin was 1, 284 votes.<sup>184</sup>

<sup>180</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, November 15, 1934.

<sup>181</sup> Albuquerque Tribune, November 16, 1934.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> Ibid.

<sup>184</sup> The New Mexico Blue Book, 1935-1936 (Santa Fe: Issued by Mrs. Elizabeth Gonzales, Secretary of State, pp. 81-82.





## EPILOGUE -- THE APPOINTMENT

Dennis Chavez submitted his contest for election to the New Mexico Supreme Court. In a decision on December 31, 1934, that body dismissed the litigation, ruling that the state Canvassing Board could issue election certificates as it saw fit. The Board issued a certificate to Senator Bronson Cutting.<sup>1</sup>

Chavez continued his action and carried his election contest to the United States Senate. It is not the purpose of this thesis to go into that matter. However, in May, 1935 there was a likelihood that the Senate might vote on the question of recognizing Chavez as the election victor. That did not come to pass. Senator Cutting, briefly back in New Mexico from Washington to check on charges of vote fraud, hurried on to an eastbound airplane early in May, 1935. His return mission to Washington was for the purpose of being present in the Senate for a vote on the veterans' bonus bill. The plane crashed en route. Cutting was killed. Subsequently, Governor Clyde Tingley appointed Dennis Chavez to the United States Senate.

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<sup>1</sup>Albuquerque Tribune, December 31, 1934.

WILLIAMS, H. L.  
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APPENDIX

RECEIVED

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TABLE 1  
STATE RETURNS - 1930

	Holt	Bratton	Simms	Chavez	Botts	Seligman
Bernalillo	4167	10105	5947	8317	6694	7694
Catron	575	717	555	729	648	621
Chavez	1472	3025	1782	2641	2123	2458
Colfax	2715	3561	2910	3330	3055	3125
Curry	602	2378	691	2141	791	2169
De Baca	294	838	296	785	361	767
Dona Ana	2321	2918	2312	2881	2498	2608
Eddy	461	2071	637	1836	752	1780
Grant	1148	3296	1755	2533	1584	2802
Guadalupe	1270	1776	1223	1790	1296	1727
Harding	667	1216	676	1200	756	1131
Hidalgo	332	813	434	682	416	723
Lea	195	1256	227	1186	259	1196
Lincoln	1328	1303	1362	1270	1429	1213
Luna	750	982	923	765	1087	653
McKinley	1489	1818	683	1576	1675	1609
Mora	2012	1954	1879	2066	1927	2010
Otero	950	1660	1091	1475	1130	1482
Quay	760	2276	994	1931	1073	1965
Rio Arriba	3520	3029	332	3552	3283	3263
Roosevelt	252	1608	334	1433	382	1417

TABLE 4  
STATE TREASURY - 1930

State	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933
Alabama	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Arizona	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Arkansas	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
California	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Colorado	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Connecticut	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Delaware	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
District of Columbia	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Florida	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Georgia	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Idaho	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Illinois	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Indiana	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Iowa	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Kansas	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Kentucky	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Louisiana	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Maine	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Maryland	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Massachusetts	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Michigan	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Minnesota	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Mississippi	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Missouri	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Montana	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Nebraska	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Nevada	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
New Hampshire	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
New Jersey	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
New Mexico	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
New York	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
North Carolina	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
North Dakota	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Ohio	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Oklahoma	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Oregon	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Pennsylvania	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Rhode Island	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
South Carolina	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
South Dakota	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Tennessee	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Texas	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Vermont	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Virginia	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Washington	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
West Virginia	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Wisconsin	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5
Wyoming	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5	101.5



TABLE 1 - continued

	Holt	Bratton	Simms	Chavez	Botts	Seligman
Sandoval	1444	1290	1302	1424	1398	1332
San Juan	683	1354	1013	1007	941	1120
San Miguel	5010	3560	4808	3809	4966	3619
Santa Fe	4056	3540	3974	3607	3736	3888
Sierra	652	1114	624	1136	790	980
Socorro	1715	1946	1693	1960	1826	1827
Taos	1660	1608	1830	2618	1750	1529
Torrance	1176	2023	1721	1531	1322	1869
Union			1196	1960		
Valencia	2777	2065	2751	2057	2880	1962
Total	48699	69362	47955	65228	55026	62789

Omitted: Third Party Totals.

Source: The New Mexico Blue Book, 1931-1932 (Santa Fe: Issued by Mrs. Marguerite P. Baca, Secretary of State, 1931) pp.97 ff.

TABLE I - continued

Station	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949
Sanchoval	1844	1830	1805	1800	1800	1800
San Juan	485	1374	1000	1000	1000	1000
San Miguel	5010	3500	1442	1442	1442	1442
San Pedro	1052	3500	1442	1442	1442	1442
Alamo	552	1117	1117	1117	1117	1117
Soledad	1415	1415	1415	1415	1415	1415
Boas	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500	1500
Eximio	1075	2085	1000	1000	1000	1000
Union						
Vilacola	577	577	577	577	577	577
Total	15533	15533	15533	15533	15533	15533

Source: United States Navy.

Source: The United States Navy, 1944-1949, by Mrs. Marysville P. Cook, Secretary of the Navy, 1944-1949.



TABLE 2  
BERNALILLO COUNTY RESULTS - 1930

	For Senator		For Representative		For Governor	
	Holt	Bratton	Simms	Chavez	Botts	Seligman
1 San Jose	111	222	129	211	149	186
2 Del Rio	76	83	61	102	76	85
3 Alameda	130	186	106	220	120	197
4 Ranchos	85	195	99	187	117	165
5 Barelvas	143	211	86	272	160	199
6 Los Padillas	78	119	27	170	75	122
7 San Antonio	50	64	60	54	74	42
8 Los Griegos	104	254	126	230	123	230
9 Armijo	90	187	94	180	116	159
10 Escabosa	41	83	40	84	41	83
11 Pajarito	94	85	92	90	101	80
12-A	105	407	289	220	283	229
12-B	122	356	129	354	170	308
12-C	178	263	166	177	163	185
12-D	51	212	119	146	120	150

DATE	DESCRIPTION	AMOUNT	PERCENTAGE	REMARKS
11-1-30	11-1-30	11-1-30	11-1-30	11-1-30
11-2-30	11-2-30	11-2-30	11-2-30	11-2-30
11-3-30	11-3-30	11-3-30	11-3-30	11-3-30
11-4-30	11-4-30	11-4-30	11-4-30	11-4-30
11-5-30	11-5-30	11-5-30	11-5-30	11-5-30
11-6-30	11-6-30	11-6-30	11-6-30	11-6-30
11-7-30	11-7-30	11-7-30	11-7-30	11-7-30
11-8-30	11-8-30	11-8-30	11-8-30	11-8-30
11-9-30	11-9-30	11-9-30	11-9-30	11-9-30
11-10-30	11-10-30	11-10-30	11-10-30	11-10-30
11-11-30	11-11-30	11-11-30	11-11-30	11-11-30
11-12-30	11-12-30	11-12-30	11-12-30	11-12-30
11-13-30	11-13-30	11-13-30	11-13-30	11-13-30
11-14-30	11-14-30	11-14-30	11-14-30	11-14-30
11-15-30	11-15-30	11-15-30	11-15-30	11-15-30
11-16-30	11-16-30	11-16-30	11-16-30	11-16-30
11-17-30	11-17-30	11-17-30	11-17-30	11-17-30
11-18-30	11-18-30	11-18-30	11-18-30	11-18-30
11-19-30	11-19-30	11-19-30	11-19-30	11-19-30
11-20-30	11-20-30	11-20-30	11-20-30	11-20-30
11-21-30	11-21-30	11-21-30	11-21-30	11-21-30
11-22-30	11-22-30	11-22-30	11-22-30	11-22-30
11-23-30	11-23-30	11-23-30	11-23-30	11-23-30
11-24-30	11-24-30	11-24-30	11-24-30	11-24-30
11-25-30	11-25-30	11-25-30	11-25-30	11-25-30
11-26-30	11-26-30	11-26-30	11-26-30	11-26-30
11-27-30	11-27-30	11-27-30	11-27-30	11-27-30
11-28-30	11-28-30	11-28-30	11-28-30	11-28-30
11-29-30	11-29-30	11-29-30	11-29-30	11-29-30
11-30-30	11-30-30	11-30-30	11-30-30	11-30-30

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TABLE 2 - continued

	For Senator		For Representative		For Governor	
	Holt	Bratton	Simms	Chavez	Botts	Seligman
12-E	86	287	180	184	186	186
12-F	82	347	197	233	218	215
12-G	95	276	206	163	210	159
12-H	94	272	201	168	221	157
13-A	121	215	94	250	128	214
13-B	128	143	118	154	133	138
14 San Ignacio	8	5	8	5	8	5
15 Santa Barbara	190	186	186	190	188	188
16 El Sedillo	57	45	43	60	57	45
17-A	49	327	220	151	250	133
17-B	123	481	336	253	426	187
18 Rio Grande	100	199	114	193	149	149
19-A	42	243	105	171	118	176
19-B	46	259	77	225	86	221





TABLE 2 - continued

	For Senator		For Representative		For Governor	
	Holt	Bratton	Slims	Chavez	Botts	Seligman
20 Indian School	79	219	119	175	142	151
21 Paramount	24	169	69	125	59	141
22 Tijeras	69	60	55	69	68	56
23 San Antonito	55	40	64	40	64	40
24-A	29	139	61	106	72	103
24-B	114	274	82	305	121	273
24-C	66	182	47	202	69	179
26-A	57	158	131	83	129	89
26-B	83	325	216	182	214	198
26-C	69	291	190	162	189	174
26-D	59	240	117	184	112	190
26-E	77	270	125	224	133	225
26-F	65	209	108	175	107	175
26-G	109	280	142	247	185	204





TABLE 2 - continued

For Senator		For Representative		For Governor	
Holt	Bratton	Simms	Chavez	Botts	Seligman
132	260	174	219	193	204
78	232	182	223	207	204
31	144	91	80	80	95
77	120	65	133	81	117
89	124	92	121	90	123
114	157	107	165	113	160
4167	10105	5947	8317	6694	7694

Omitted: Third Party Totals

Source: The New Mexico Blue Book, 1931-32 (Santa Fe: Issued by Mrs. Marguerite P. Baca, Secretary of State, 1931), pp. 97 ff.





TABLE 3  
STATE RETURNS - 1932

	Armijo	Chavez	Dillon	Seligman
Bernalillo	5875	12022	8223	10020
Catron	604	960	795	804
Chavez	1581	4402	2719	3540
Colfax	3120	4367	3910	3663
Curry	768	3661	1522	3302
De Baca	256	1025	373	945
Dona Ana	2560	4977	3182	4307
Eddy	715	3593	1235	3215
Grant	1194	3419	1749	3048
Guadalupe	1616	1899	1790	1740
Harding	747	1417	1141	1126
Hidalgo	251	1133	464	1004
Lea	245	2317	740	1952
Lincoln	1178	2201	1570	1839
Luna	625	1541	1069	1231
McKinley	1237	2202	1368	2104
Mora	1527	2873	1611	2798
Otero	936	2091	1214	1895
Quay	806	2911	1539	2507
Rio Arriba	3032	5148	3369	4842
Roosevelt	446	2831	1105	2442

TABLE 1  
 1917-1918

Station	1917	1918	1919	1920
Bernalillo	5815	5815	5815	5815
Cactus	5815	5815	5815	5815
Chavez	5815	5815	5815	5815
Collins	5815	5815	5815	5815
Curry	5815	5815	5815	5815
De Baca	5815	5815	5815	5815
Dona Ana	5815	5815	5815	5815
Edley	5815	5815	5815	5815
Grant	5815	5815	5815	5815
Guadalupe	5815	5815	5815	5815
Harding	5815	5815	5815	5815
Hidalgo	5815	5815	5815	5815
Lea	5815	5815	5815	5815
Lincoln	5815	5815	5815	5815
Luna	5815	5815	5815	5815
McKinley	5815	5815	5815	5815
Mora	5815	5815	5815	5815
Otero	5815	5815	5815	5815
Quay	5815	5815	5815	5815
Rio Arriba	5815	5815	5815	5815
Roosvelt	5815	5815	5815	5815



TABLE 3 - continued

	Armijo	Chavez	Dillon	Seligman
Sandoval	1541	1837	1708	1687
San Juan	813	1599	1196	1300
San Miguel	5767	4610	6068	4372
Santa Fe	3636	5710	4249	5190
Sierra	711	1441	1021	1162
Socorro	1890	2539	2113	2319
Taos	2981	3138	2822	2898
Torrance	1837	2163	2309	1709
Union	1259	2992	1858	2516
Valencia	3152	2344	3374	2135
Totals	52905	94764	67406	83612

Source: The New Mexico Blue Book, 1933-34 (Santa Fe: Issued by Mrs. Marguerite Baca, Secretary of State, 1933), pp.113-116.

Area	1961	1962	1963	1964
San Juan	1,441	1,441	1,441	1,441
San Miguel	2,787	2,787	2,787	2,787
San Pedro	3,039	3,039	3,039	3,039
St. Peter	1,117	1,117	1,117	1,117
St. Thomas	2,190	2,190	2,190	2,190
Trinidad	2,981	2,981	2,981	2,981
Tortugas	1,837	1,837	1,837	1,837
Union	1,433	1,433	1,433	1,433
Yaguajay	2,192	2,192	2,192	2,192
Total	22,222	22,222	22,222	22,222

Source: The San Juan River Basin, Vol. 1, Chapter 10, by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1964.



TABLE 4  
BERNALILLO COUNTY RETURNS - 1932

	Armijo	Chavez	Dillon	Seligman
1 San Jose	128	249	141	234
2 Del Rio	90	110	113	89
3 Alameda	174	216	206	184
4 Ranchos de Albuquerque	87	268	115	243
5 Barelaz	147	298	187	254
6 Los Padillas	59	150	129	80
7 San Antonio	54	35	61	28
8 Los Griegos	170	296	200	270
9 Armijo	138	224	177	187
10 Escabosa	39	123	39	123
11 Pajarito	97	128	112	114
12-A	239	433	400	293
12-B	158	428	228	362
13-A Old Albu- querque	120	234	172	185
13-B Old Albu- querque	146	175	176	144
14 San Ignacio	13	5	13	5
15 Santa Barbara	223	185	242	167
16 Sedillo	53	40	56	38

TABLE A-3  
GENERALIZED COUNTY RETURNS - 1942

	Almijo	Graves	Ballin	William
1 San Jose	128	247	141	234
2 Del Rio	90	110	113	91
3 Alameda	174	219	202	84
4 Rancho de Alvarado	87	288	111	701
5 Bernal	147	288	117	214
6 Los Padillas	39	154	119	83
7 San Antonio	54	33	51	83
8 Los Oteros	170	223	210	170
9 Almijo	132	234	147	187
10 Bernal	39	123	119	123
11 Bernal	87	128	113	124
12-A	239	233	100	234
12-B	128	233	233	233
13-A Old Albu- querque	120	123	113	123
13-B Old Albu- querque	243	173	113	113
14 San Ignacio	13	3	13	3
15 Santa Barbara	233	163	213	187
16 Bernal	23	43	33	33



TABLE 4 - continued

	Armijo	Chavez	Dillon	Seligman
17-A U. Heights	216	489	377	344
17-B U. Heights	260	540	421	411
18 Rio Grande	147	313	197	270
19-A Saw Mill	75	335	118	196
19-B Saw Mill	84	300	127	261
20 Indian School	131	284	157	268
21 Paramount	68	225	100	197
22 Tijeras	102	55	105	51
23 San Antonio	54	83	60	77
24-A San Jose	57	144	76	133
24-B San Jose	108	250	136	324
24-C San Jose	67	182	83	167
25-A	158	247	209	209
25-B	80	297	139	247
25-C	135	313	169	284
26-A	112	192	179	131
26-B	185	425	276	355
27-A	92	312	127	284
27-B	118	283	156	252
27-C	134	280	196	224

TABLE 1 - SUMMARY

Location	Depth (ft)	Sample No.	Moisture (%)	Organic Matter (%)
17-A U. H. H. H. H.	10	101	12.5	1.5
17-B U. H. H. H.	10	102	12.5	1.5
18 - 100 ft deep	100	103	12.5	1.5
19-A 100 ft deep	100	104	12.5	1.5
19-B 100 ft deep	100	105	12.5	1.5
20 - 100 ft deep	100	106	12.5	1.5
21 - 100 ft deep	100	107	12.5	1.5
22 - 100 ft deep	100	108	12.5	1.5
23 - 100 ft deep	100	109	12.5	1.5
24-A 100 ft deep	100	110	12.5	1.5
24-B 100 ft deep	100	111	12.5	1.5
24-C 100 ft deep	100	112	12.5	1.5
25-A	100	113	12.5	1.5
25-B	100	114	12.5	1.5
25-C	100	115	12.5	1.5
26-A	100	116	12.5	1.5
26-B	100	117	12.5	1.5
26-C	100	118	12.5	1.5
27-A	100	119	12.5	1.5
27-B	100	120	12.5	1.5
27-C	100	121	12.5	1.5

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COTTON CONTENT



TABLE 4 - continued

	Armijo	Chavez	Dillon	Seligman
28 Atrisco	142	140	168	116
29-A	152	342	249	254
29-B	56	144	95	108
30-A	126	324	189	261
30-B	80	282	148	221
30-C	126	349	219	269
31-A	137	410	257	295
31-B	156	309	256	214
31-C	176	311	250	243
34 Chilili	88	136	89	135
35 Duranes	118	229	127	223
Totals	5875	12022	8223	10020

Source: The New Mexico Blue Book, 1933-34 (Santa Fe: Issued by Mrs. Marguerite P. Baca, Secretary of State, 1933), pp. 113-116.





TABLE 5

STATE RETURNS - 1934

	Cutting	Chavez	Dillon	Hatch	Miera	Dempsey	Miller	Tingley
Bernalillo	9182	9454	7894	10488	9642	8552	8076	10599
Catron	992	1014	855	1111	862	1082	917	1057
Chavez	2618	2866	1756	3440	1530	3376	2416	3029
Colfax	3796	3575	3162	4122	3359	3898	3503	3851
Curry	1632	3189	1042	3734	1170	3309	1455	3287
De Baca	657	605	468	760	459	670	599	642
Dona Ana	3834	3617	3427	3974	3522	3823	3607	3789
Eddy	1233	2658	866	2947	863	2851	1108	2722
Grant	2156	2195	1545	2648	1454	2617	1951	2283
Guadalupe	1986	1643	1887	1736	1918	1681	1882	1742
Harding	1289	1078	1198	1159	1226	1116	1266	1093
Hidalgo	663	744	458	927	394	943	509	884
Lea	694	1652	378	1796	341	1746	520	1734
Lincoln	1819	1711	1624	1896	1598	1889	1804	1719
Luna	1265	954	1035	1158	958	1187	1061	1137





TABLE 5 - continued

	Cutting	Chavez	Dillon	Hatch	Miera	Dempsey	Miller	Tingley
McKinley	1782	1744	1466	1998	1572	1877	1572	1925
Mora	2209	2330	2276	2258	2352	2181	2294	2241
Otero	1518	1412	1237	1686	1251	1588	1385	1514
Quay	2028	2027	1490	2457	1635	2189	1779	2190
Rio Arriba	4042	4449	3921	4544	4120	4351	3991	4482
Roosevelt	971	1919	662	2189	620	2128	706	2127
Sandoval	2087	1768	1986	1846	2039	1796	1980	1872
San Juan	1460	1059	1225	1252	1257	1198	1325	1179
San Miguel	6852	4006	7006	3856	7161	3665	6994	3790
Santa Fe	5040	4988	4876	5123	4985	5004	4931	5075
Sierra	1231	980	1082	1097	1118	1036	1157	1029
Socorro	2046	2479	1967	2520	2202	2294	2060	2444
Taos	3233	2774	3329	2663	3534	2466	3338	2671
Torrance	2356	2041	2225	2156	2189	2159	2287	2119
Union	2333	1921	1792	2428	1878	2281	2045	2184





TABLE 5 - continued

	Cutting	Chavez	Dillon	Hatch	Miera	Dempsey	Miller	Tingley
Valencia	3224	2142	3442	1995	3459	1880	3381	1980
Totals	76228	74944	66956	81934	70659	76833	71899	78390

Source: The New Mexico Blue Book, 1935-36 (Santa Fe: Issued by Mrs. Elizabeth Gonzales, Secretary of State, 1935) pp. 81-82.





TABLE 6

## BERNALILLO COUNTY RETURNS - 1934

	Cutting	Chavez	Dillon	Hatch	Miera	Dempsey	Miller	Tingley
1 San Jose	173	244	151	252	189	221	164	253
2 Del Rio	88	158	105	142	117	128	82	163
3 Alameda	139	260	139	239	160	237	141	256
4 Ranchos	175	230	146	254	214	232	169	233
5 Barelvas	235	193	243	176	291	132	240	185
6 Los Padillas	80	154	104	128	129	122	121	110
7 San Antonio	69	30	56	42	64	35	64	35
8 Los Griegos	244	253	190	298	241	250	222	275
9 Armijo	192	195	170	210	234	142	205	184
10 Escabosa	67	98	62	103	59	106	68	97
11 Pajarito	106	112	111	105	121	97	114	108
12-A	321	351	240	424	323	329	213	469
12-B	253	356	239	352	299	304	255	352





TABLE 6 - continued

	Cutting	Chavez	Dillon	Hatch	Miera	Dempsey	Miller	Tingley
13-A Old Albuquerque	238	189	231	186	275	148	244	182
13-B Old Albuquerque	261	112	241	125	258	105	251	117
14 San Ignacio	12	5	14	3	14	3	11	6
15 Santa Barbara	242	193	245	193	262	165	255	181
16 El Sedillo	55	44	51	48	51	48	55	45
17-A U. Heights	423	344	305	450	411	330	296	474
17-B U. Heights	405	294	293	400	359	308	271	436
18 Rio Grande	283	180	333	225	303	157	262	201
19-A Sawmill	192	157	128	202	170	168	162	187
19-B Sawmill	203	206	155	231	191	191	177	229
20 Indian School	236	190	179	234	234	172	213	212
21 Paramount	159	183	130	201	153	171	134	209
22 Tijeras	113	58	109	62	116	54	115	56
23 San Antonio	76	63	68	76	71	67	71	69





TABLE 6 - continued

	Cutting	Chavez	Dillon	Hatch	Miera	Dempsey	Miller	Tingley
24-A San Jose	105	125	84	139	107	112	98	130
24-B San Jose	197	283	199	271	295	179	240	239
24-C San Jose	117	153	124	143	165	102	149	118
25-A	220	182	140	253	193	193	165	242
25-B	169	226	126	257	163	218	137	260
25-C	209	227	186	235	223	191	202	235
26-A	166	157	102	216	152	164	103	220
26-B	283	331	218	389	272	308	214	404
27-A	136	220	135	217	156	185	117	240
27-B	197	270	180	266	235	217	181	282
27-C	179	244	149	268	202	212	159	264
28 Atriseo	137	193	148	177	162	162	151	180
29-A	249	230	195	280	232	234	188	289
29-B	118	115	82	147	102	119	69	163
30-A	195	194	141	242	182	186	141	248





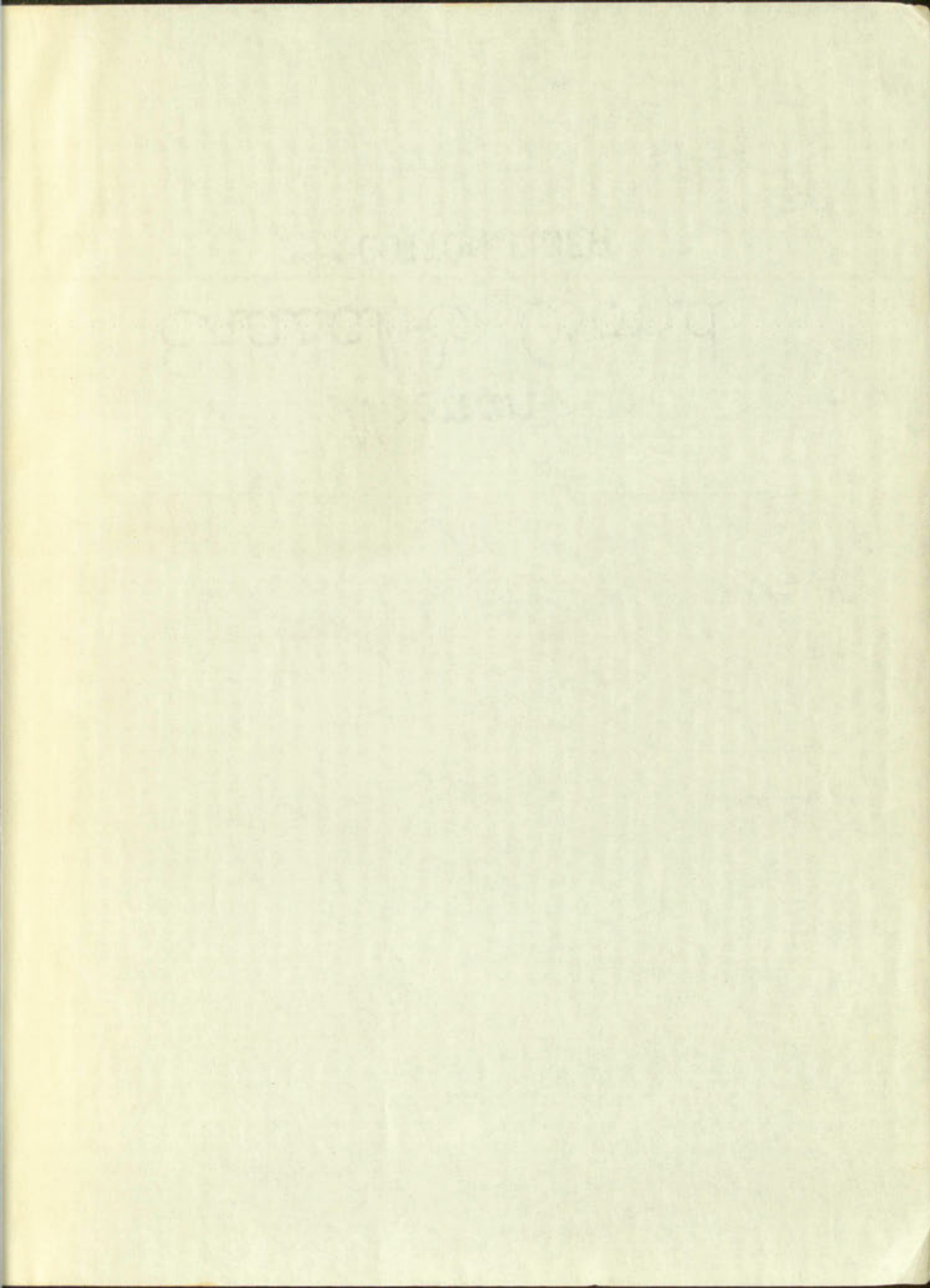
TABLE 6 - continued

	Cutting	Chavez	Dillon	Hatch	Miera	Dempsey	Miller	Tingley
30-B	135	148	108	171	136	141	103	182
30-C	226	247	185	275	215	243	174	300
31-A	215	282	179	309	242	242	161	344
31-B	203	199	154	242	213	169	163	262
31-C	217	244	185	274	222	224	149	316
34 Ch11111	157	77	155	77	158	76	158	76
35 Duranes	220	152	210	159	222	147	213	156
Absentee Ballots	92	103	73	120	86	104	68	123
Totals	9182	9454	7894	10488	9642	8552	8076	10599

Source: The New Mexico Blue Book, 1935-36 (Santa Fe: Issued by Mrs. Elizabeth Gonzales, Secretary of State, 1935), pp. 81-82.







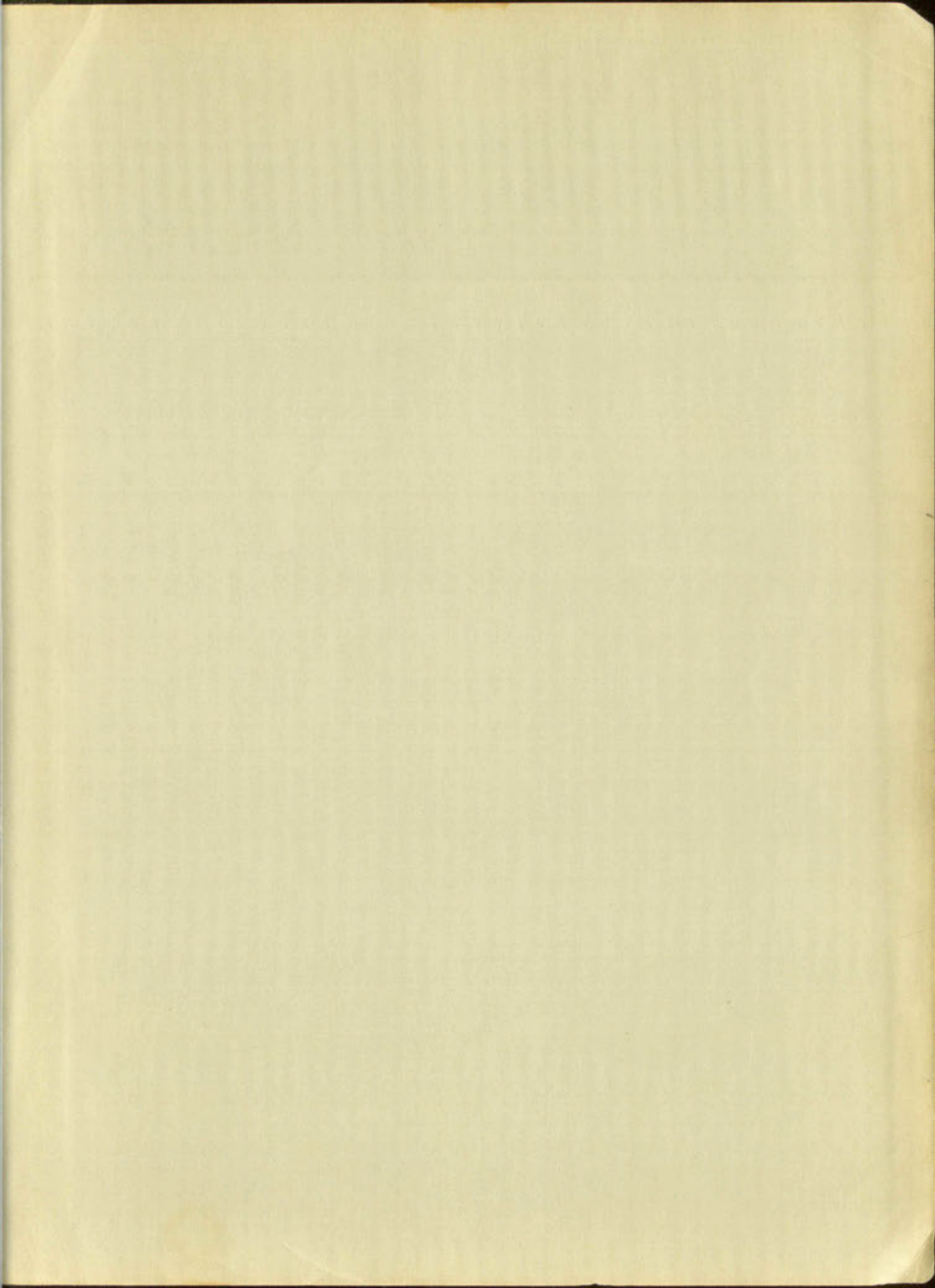












# IMPORTANT!

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