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WASHINGTON ELLSWORTH LINDSEY

By IRA C. IHDE

(Continued)

War Governor of New Mexico

The people of New Mexico, in 1916, elected E. C. de Baca as their chief executive but he was destined never to enter the executive mansion as governor of the state. Immediately after his victorious campaign, he went to a hospital in Los Angeles for special treatment for pernicious anemia. He returned to New Mexico just before his inauguration, which took place in Saint Vincent's Sanitarium in Santa Fe. He remained in the sanitarium until his death on February 18, 1917. On the following day, Lindsey took the oath of office as governor.

Governor and Mrs. Lindsey attended the final rites for the deceased governor in the Church of Our Lady of Sorrows at Las Vegas, New Mexico. Their floral tribute was a large pillow of pink roses and carnations.

The new Governor's first major address was given before a large crowd in the house chamber before what was nominally an adjourned session of the Republican state central committee to which the general public had been invited. In a speech that was interrupted "frequently with uproarious applause," and that marked "an epoch in the political history of the state," the Republicans "heard strange doctrines."

The Governor stated that since both parties were partially successful in the last election he would urge that the legislature carry out the principles enunciated in both party platforms. He therefore urged the enactment of the Australian ballot, tax reform laws, highway legislation, and a corrupt practice law. He admonished his hearers that the time for vote buying in New Mexico was past and gone forever.

Such was the idealism of the new Governor, and such was the reception he received in the "honeymoon" period

of his political life as governor. However, fate would not grant the fulfillment of all of his wishes, and the practical school of politics soon withdrew its kind reception in the give and take of conflicting forces.

One of the first problems confronting the new Governor was the matter of appointments. In practical politics, they are considered one of the fruits of victory; however, the problem of appeasing all factions of the party is a difficult one. It was even more difficult in Lindsey's case because the appointments of his predecessor had already been made. Lindsey stated to the press that his policy in regard to appointments would be "ability to perform the duties of the position."

In his appointments Governor Lindsey stayed on middle ground. He took the position that he was governor of all the people of New Mexico. His designations included progressive Republicans, old line Republicans, and Democrats. It was his desire to promote harmony and to minimize political and factional strife.

Such a desirable objective, however, could not be accomplished in the realm of practical politics. As predicted, party friction between the two wings of the Republican party developed soon after the inception of the new administration. As the administration progressed, the cleavage between the two factions within the Republican ranks continued to grow. The Governor seems to have made a conspicuous effort to harmonize the factions—but without success. There is no evidence that he sponsored an active opposition to any element within the party. On the other hand, there is ample evidence that he took pains to extend recognition and consideration to all. Nevertheless, one is led to believe that as the administration progressed the gap grew wider—that the opposition to the Governor from the old line element grew stronger.

The intra-party strife was by no means the paramount problem of the Lindsey administration. It was overshadowed by the entry of the United States into World War I. It was in the war effort that the Governor exhibited unwavering patriotism and tireless effort. With the aid of his indefatig-

able energy, New Mexico placed high in the rank of states for war contributions. His war actions took various forms: he promoted military and civilian activities, made challenging speeches and proclamations, and promoted interstate and federal co-operation.

One of the Governor's primary war efforts was his interest and aid to the National Guard. When the National Guardsmen returned from the Mexican border, they were given an eloquent tribute by the Governor. But the new war left little time for glorifying deeds of the past; immediate action had to be taken to meet the coming emergency. The federal government called the National Guard into service again on April 21, 1917. There were eighty-eight men, under the oath of the Defense Act, from New Mexico. It hoped to bring the Guard back to war strength by a program of voluntary recruitment. This method progressed so slowly, however, that the regular army officers seriously considered abandonment of the attempt and mustering out of those already recruited. It was then that Governor Lindsey stepped into the picture by appointing Captain James Baca as adjutant general and issuing an executive order whereby the state, out of the public defense fund, would bear the cost of a state recruitment program. The recruiting progressed so rapidly that by the middle of June the New Mexico National Guard was at full war strength.

Another military activity that received more than average attention from the state executive was the organization of the home guard. While expansion of the program was yet in the embryo, Lindsey sent a request to the Secretary of War for 3,000 rifles and 60,000 rounds of ammunition for arming them. When definite federal plans were evolved, Lindsey appointed Adjutant General James Baca as the commanding officer. The Governor then urged that the organization be formed and maintained on a state-wide basis. As soon as the Portales unit was in operation, he joined it as "Buck Private" Lindsey and was measured for a uniform that was without "gold lace."

After the formal declaration of war, the Governor gave even more freely of his time and energy to improve morale

and to strengthen the fighting qualities of the state. One of his first actions was to recommend to all municipal and county officers that they prepare a list of the names of all males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five, in the area of their jurisdiction, so that they might be used in event of a selective draft. He also called a conference of the legislative leaders of the state to discuss the steps that might be taken to insure full co-operation in the war effort.

After the passage of the selective service act and the designation of June 5 as registration day, the Governor did all in his power to assure full co-operation. In a release to the press, he urged all counties to make "Draft Day" a holiday, to be celebrated in "a serious spirit of consecration." He suggested that local welcoming and reception committees greet the registrants and create an atmosphere of reverence and respect for them. He asked the committees to pin badges on those registering with the words, "The Colors Call: I Have Answered." He also recommended special patriotic services in the churches on Sunday, June 3, emphasizing the slogan, "The world must be made safe for democracy." Fearing that not enough New Mexico soldiers were taking the optional federal insurance, the Governor wrote to the commanding officers of the camps in which there were New Mexico men, asking their aid in inducing them to do so. He also issued a proclamation in which he asked the relatives and friends of the New Mexico servicemen to write and wire urging them to accept the federal insurance option. That his efforts were successful can be gathered from a telegram he received from General F. S. Strong a few days later informing him that practically all of the New Mexico soldiers in Camp Kearny had taken out insurance, and that with the continued influence from home all might be insured before February 12, the deadline.

The Governor's military interest included the personal welfare of all soldiers stationed in New Mexico. The federal government set up a great cantonment near Deming which it named Camp Cody. It was large enough to accommodate 30,000 soldiers at a time. Lindsey made several visits to this camp; and on one occasion he presented \$1,000 worth of

athletic goods to the soldiers as a gift from the citizens of New Mexico. He talked personally to many of the men; and on his return to Santa Fe stated that their health was excellent and that their morale was splendid.

As the war and the period of military training progressed, several New Mexico men contracted tuberculosis and were discharged. The federal government at that stage of the war was discharging them without care and without a pension. Governor Lindsey called it "an improper and unfortunate situation"; and he insisted that the state must assist them until federal aid was granted. Seventy of the patients were admitted to the Miner's Hospital in Raton, while the others were sent to Fort Wingate or given subsistence in their own homes.

The war ended, but the Governor's interest in the soldiers continued. Again working with the Defense Council, county organizations were set up for the purpose of assisting the returned veteran to find employment and to rehabilitate himself to civilian life.

New Mexico's military war record, under the leadership of Governor Lindsey, is one of which the state may well be proud. New Mexico responded to the imperative call for men with her full quota and more. Out of the total number of men who served, 501 "were given up in the service of the country." The total number of New Mexicans in all branches of military service was 17,251. The state "stood well above the average" among her sister states in the number of men contributed.

The civilian war record of the state was no less impressive. Here again, with devotion to the duties of his office and for the cause, the Governor led the way. Immediately following the declaration of war, he summoned a group of leading citizens to Santa Fe to discuss the problem of immediate preparedness for the state. The group called to perfect a system of preparedness represented the state's leading industries. The individuals and the industry they represented follow: A. D. Crile, President, State College, farming; John M. Sully, Santa Rita, metal mining; L. A.

Hughes, Santa Fe, banking; Dr. James A. Massie, Santa Fe, medicine; W. A. Hawkins, El Paso, railroads; E. C. Crampton, Raton, law; Charles Springer, Cimarron, roads; James A. French, Santa Fe, engineering; E. C. Abbott, Santa Fe, military; G. A. Kaseman, Albuquerque, coal mining; B. M. Cutting, Santa Fe, home guards; R. C. Reid, Roswell, taxation and revenue; R. H. Hanna, Santa Fe, Red Cross; Mrs. R. F. Asplund, Santa Fe, federated woman's clubs; R. E. Putney, Albuquerque, mercantile; S. B. Davis, Las Vegas, public utilities; H. B. Karr, Albuquerque, labor; D. A. McPherson, Albuquerque, publishers.

The program formulated and projected by these leaders formed the basis of the activities carried on by the subsequent Defense Council which was created by the special session of the legislature.

The Governor personally worked on many other projects to aid the cause of food production and conservation of resources for the war effort. He held a conference with officials of the Forest Service, and they offered "potato land" in the forest for those who wished to aid in food production. He made arrangements with the State Land Commissioner and with the State Prison Warden whereby sixty convicts cultivated 1,200 acres of state land in order to produce food for the inmates of the state penitentiary. In a letter to hotel proprietors, he urged them to boost the pinto bean, serving it rather than imported beans. On every occasion possible, he urged the planting of home and school gardens. Again leading the way, he rented a vacant lot in Santa Fe on which he and his family cultivated a garden that produced a bountiful harvest.

Correlating with the Governor's food production program, was his effort at food conservation. Fundamentally a prohibitionist, the war gave him added incentive to sponsor its cause. His connection with state-wide prohibition gives him a claim to a place in the history of the state. Although it had been customary to serve liquors at state dinners, it was not permitted while he was the chief executive. He made many speeches for the cause of prohibition. During

his administration, New Mexico became the twenty-seventh "dry" state in the Union following the adoption of the constitutional amendment making prohibition nation-wide.

The civilian war effort of New Mexico included the support of the various war drives and the purchase of government bonds. The Governor took a very active part in assisting all organizations. For the purpose of raising money for purchasing "Smileage" books for the soldiers at Camp Cody, he participated in a benefit basketball game. During the contest, which was between the Fats and the Leans, "Lindsey made a remarkable throw into the basket from a stepladder for the Fats." The Leans won the game, but the Governor had made his contribution.

After many individual drives, a combined United War Fund drive was suggested. Accordingly, two hundred workers gathered in Albuquerque at a state convention to plan the campaign. Lindsey presided and aided in the organization of the new plan. This fund-raising campaign was also successful.

In its support of Liberty Bond purchases, New Mexico made a unique record. Under the direction of Governor Lindsey the State of New Mexico, in October 1917, invested the sum of \$381,300 in Liberty Bonds. This was the first action of the kind undertaken by any state in the Union. When the drive opened to the public, the Governor spoke at a patriotic rally and touched off the Liberty Loan fire in front of the Old Palace in Santa Fe. His interest and enthusiasm persisted throughout all of the drives, whether for individual organizations or for the state. By the end of the war, the state of New Mexico had \$750,000 worth of its funds invested in Liberty Bonds.

The Governor became greatly concerned when he learned that some of the bonds owned by individuals were being used for speculative purposes. In order to counteract this practice, he issued a press release in which he called upon the people of the state "to repudiate the sharks" who were endeavoring to swindle the public out of Liberty Bonds by making them the objects of speculation. He warned the citizens not to have any trade dealings with Liberty Bonds

as the basis. In vigorous language he declared that stock-jobbing in the bonds of the nation was "pro-German."

In all drives for contributions and loans pertaining to the war, New Mexico made a splendid record. The records show that the people over-subscribed every Liberty Loan quota and that the quotas for Red Cross, Salvation Army, Knights of Columbus, Y. M. C. A. and other accredited war relief organizations also received large over-subscriptions.

During the Lindsey administration and the war, there were naturally some federal-state relationships and some out-of-state contacts. When the United States entered the European conflict, fear was current in the southwest that we might also become involved in a war with Mexico. Prompted by that possibility, the Governor urged the federal government to build a modern highway between Amarillo and El Paso. This road, he maintained, was necessary because of the inadequate transportation lines extending south and southwest reaching the Mexican border from the central United States, and the liability of their congestion in event of a demand for the rapid transfer of troops and munitions of war to the border. He pledged his co-operation in the project if the authorities deemed it wise to carry out the plan.

Similarly, when the food crisis seemed to be severe, Lindsey urged the federal transportation authorities to build a railroad from Farmington to Gallup for an outlet of the food products of northwestern New Mexico and southwestern Colorado. He pointed out that much food was going to waste in the San Juan Valley because of lack of marketing facilities. When no federal action was taken on this matter, he urged federal assistance for a highway from the San Juan Valley through Cuba to Santa Fe. But here again federal aid was not forthcoming.

In the fuel crisis during the war, the request for aid came from the federal authorities to the states rather than from the states to the federal authorities. In this matter the Governor of New Mexico assisted the federal government to the fullest extent. He issued a special proclamation on the subject; and he visited the coal mining districts at Raton, Dawson, Cerrillos, Gallup, and Carthage in order to

talk personally to the miners about the importance of boosting production.

Concern for the New Mexico soldiers by Governor Lindsey also brought contacts with federal authorities. He was proud of his state; and he wished for her soldiers to serve in a unit to be known as the New Mexico regiment. Seeing that the men were being distributed among the regiments of other states and fearing that they would lose their identity, he wired Secretary of War Baker suggesting a New Mexico regiment. His request received careful consideration, but could not be granted in its entirety.

Another contact was made with federal authorities by the Governor when it was reported that New Mexico soldiers were being discriminated against because they could not speak the English language. On one of his visits to Camp Kearny, he requested that the men should receive proper treatment and advancement regardless of their racial backgrounds. One result of this request was that schools of instruction in the English language were formed for those who could not speak the language.

Lindsey received several national recognitions during the war. He was appointed as a member of the advisory board of the All American Association. Its objectives were to foster agricultural preparedness, increased acreage, conservation, good roads, elimination of get rich schemes, and the general promotion of economy and efficiency during the war. This appointment was due, in a large measure, to the record that New Mexico was making in its war effort.

The Governor was invited both to attend and to speak at a conference of the National Security League held in Chicago in February, 1918. The purpose of the conference was largely to stimulate and to continue to promote the program of education civic preparedness. He appeared on the speaking program along with such notables as former President Taft, Elihu Root, Frank O. Lowden, and Dr. Robert McElroy. In his talk Lindsey explained the adopted plan of New Mexico's civilian war program. While in Chicago he also gave a patriotic address to one of the Chicago high schools on Washington's birthday.

Upon his return from the conference, Lindsey offered suggestions to various state organizations from time to time. The warning that he brought back from the conference was that we must not be persuaded to accept a premature peace. He urged New Mexico organizations to be on guard for propaganda of such a nature.

The last official out-of-state contact of Governor Lindsey's, of importance, was his trip to Washington, D. C., and to Annapolis, Maryland. His purpose in visiting the former place was to secure compensation from the government for expenditures that the state had made at the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts and at the University for the training of soldiers in the Student's Army Training Corps. At the latter place, he attended the conference of governors. The efforts of the Governor were in part successful.

Governor Lindsey spent a great deal of time during his administration making promotional speeches and writing some articles. Near the close of his administration he wrote an article for the press which might well be termed a treatise on good government. The article was a resume of the work accomplished in his administration that, in his estimation, could be classified as "good government." Among these accomplishments he included: state-wide prohibition, the secret or Australian ballot, state budget, workmen's compensation, consolidated rural schools, highway construction, and a state council of defense for the promotion of war activities.

In addition to his speeches and articles, the Governor also issued many proclamations in the course of his duty as chief executive. The subjects of the proclamations covered a wide area, but the majority of them were made in an effort to promote the state's war activities. The great number of them issued, and the sincerity of their tone, indicate his loyalty and devotion to the cause of freedom and democratic government.

During the Lindsey administration, naturally, other problems arose besides those connected with the prosecution of the state's war activities. Among these problems were

two of a fiscal nature. One was the accumulation of tax arrears since statehood in the various counties. In an effort to improve this condition, the Governor appealed to all county treasurers stressing the importance of the collection of tax arrears. He also addressed a communication to all county attorneys urging more prompt collections in order to maintain the credit of the state. In this communication he pointed out to them that the average collection for all counties of the state in 1915 was only eighty-one per cent. A few days after the two communications had been sent, the Governor began to receive reports from over the state informing him that immediate action had been taken in various counties. The county officials of Curry and Roosevelt reported that their collection record had always been good and that at the present time the collections were ninety-seven and ninety-five per cent respectively.

Another fiscal problem of the Lindsey administration was the Kelly bond fraud. When Congress passed the Enabling Act for New Mexico, one of its stipulations provided that the new state should assume the debts and liabilities of the territory and of its various counties. Some of these bonds were re-negotiated and were handled by W. G. and H. B. Kelly, bond brokers, of Kansas City, Missouri. By the time of the Lindsey administration, these brokers had collected, fraudulently, approximately \$70,000 of the state's money.

On his second day in office Lindsey sensed that some of the bonds were bogus and refused to sign their interest warrants. A subsequent audit made of the issue of Series "C" bonds by H. C. Reid and A. E. James for the State Taxpayers Association disclosed the fraudulent extraction of approximately \$70,000 from the funds of the state. Thereupon, the Governor appointed James M. Hervey, Roswell attorney, as the state's special counsel to prosecute the case. The case, State of New Mexico v. William G. Kelly, dragged through the Lindsey administration; and after a conviction, appeal, and denial, it was finally settled in September of 1921. The final outcome was a recovery of the state funds and a penitentiary sentence for Kelly.

The last public utterance of Lindsey as governor of New

Mexico was given at the inauguration of his successor. In this address he pledged his support to the new governor and urged his audience to 'rededicate their lives to the task of sustaining and promoting the republican form of government.

Laws of His Administration

Lindsey's legislature, the third legislature of the State of New Mexico, had a Republican majority. The register for the session records that the Senate was composed of fourteen Republicans and ten Democrats. Each of the chairmen of the nineteen standing committees was a member of the Republican party. The *House Journal* of the session shows that of its forty-nine members, twenty-nine were registered as Republicans, nineteen as Democrats, and one as an Independent Republican. The speaker of the House of Representatives for the session was W. H. H. Llewellyn of Doña Ana County.

The third legislature was in session from January 9, 1917, to March 10, 1917. During the early days of the session, the illness of Governor de Baca hung like a pall over the members and little was accomplished. Soon after de Baca's death the new Governor, in his "maiden" political speech, proposed to the members of the legislature a program of action for the remainder of the session. The talk outlined a progressive, non-partisan policy and indicated that the Governor would attempt to play a leading role in seeking its fulfillment. In the remaining twenty days of the regular session, he took an active part in attempting to get his program through the legislature.

The third legislature passed one hundred and fifteen laws, fourteen joint resolutions, four joint memorials, and voted to submit three proposed constitutional amendments to the people. Although not all of the party pledges or the Governor's recommendations were approved, the legislature's actions went far toward consummating the wishes of the progressive people of New Mexico.

The major laws provided for special treatment of juvenile delinquents, creation of county school boards, the setting

up of state machinery in order to receive the various federal aids, a state budget, workmen's compensations, and the creation of a board of commissioners for the promotion of uniform legislation.

The greatest disappointment of the third legislature to Lindsey was its failure to provide for an amendment for woman's suffrage. Estimates of the accomplishment of the third legislature varied. The *Portales Valley News* observed that, "The third legislature has adjourned. It can not be said that it was either better or worse than its predecessors, neither will it go down in history as having given evidence of great profundity." The *New Mexican* drew the conclusion that, "The house averaged rather more incompetent than most of its predecessors, while the senate averaged up well."

The Governor defended the record of his legislature. Speaking before a convention of the New Mexico Cattle Growers Association in Albuquerque, he stated that it had been progressive, and had to a large extent reflected the wishes of the people. He prophesied that one single act, the budget law, would be of much more value to the state than the entire cost of the legislature.

Soon after the close of the third legislature, our entry into the European war appeared imminent. Governor Lindsey kept in close touch with international developments, and stood ready to call a special session of the state legislature the moment the necessity became apparent. Immediately after our declaration of war, he called a meeting of the leaders of the legislature to discuss the advisability of a special session. The result of this meeting was a decision to delay the call of a session until the national government had organized its program on more concrete lines.

In the meantime, the Governor, on his own initiative, appointed a war committee composed of leading citizens of the state. This group was called to the state capitol to discuss and to outline a tentative program of action to get the state on an immediate war basis. The committee, recognizing the lack of laws and funds necessary for the mobilization and use of the state's resources in time of war, urged the Governor to call a special session of the legislature.

In response to this request, the Governor, on April 26, issued a proclamation calling the third legislature to meet in special session, May 1, for the purpose of enabling the state to "provide for its own defense and to assist the United States in the prosecution of the war."

The special session of the legislature convened on May 1 and remained in session until May 8, 1917. In the space of eight days, measures were passed which put the state on a war basis. The session passed seven laws, three joint memorials, and one joint resolution. Five of the measures largely shaped and guided the future war activities of the state. The actions of the legislature followed closely the pattern charted for it by the Governor and his war committee.

The law of the special session which consumed most of the Governor's time and energy after its passage was Chapter Five. This was the act which provided for the public defense and carried with it an appropriation of \$750,000 to be administered by the Governor with a State Council of Defense in an advisory capacity. As stipulated by law, the Governor appointed the following members to the Council: Charles Springer, Colfax County; Robert E. Putney, Bernalillo County; B. C. Hernandez, Rio Arriba County; C. R. Brice, Chaves County; Eduardo M. Otero, Valencia County; W. A. Hawkins, Otero County; John M. Sully, Grant County; Secundino Romero, San Miguel County; and Eufracio Gallegos, Union County.

These men were the same group that had served on Lindsey's war committee and that had aided him in drawing a legislative program for the special session. Their immediate confirmation by the Senate indicated the approval of their program.

The activities of the Council of Defense took many and various forms. One of its greatest contributions was in its promotion of war bond drives. In every Liberty Loan campaign during the war New Mexico went "over the top." In the field of agriculture and food production, the work of the council was of tremendous importance. Here, again, it was a successful story of the increase in production, due in

a large measure to the stimulation by the Council. The New Mexico wheat production in 1916 amounted to 2,104,000 bushels, while in 1918 it was 3,334,000 bushels. The total number of bushels of corn produced in 1916 was 2,625,000, while in 1918 it was 4,250,000. The production of potatoes, likewise, showed a tremendous increase. In 1916 the state produced 816,000 bushels. This number was increased by 1918 to 1,276,000. The Bureau of Crop Estimates credited this large increase in production mainly to the sale and distribution of seed, by the Council, on a credit-sales plan.

The publicity department of the Council was created in May, 1917, and on July 10, 1917, the *New Mexico War News* was ushered into existence. The paper was issued weekly for the purpose of keeping the public alerted and informed as to all war activities. It was designed, however, to circulate principally among county agricultural agents, county financial agents, and others identified with the agricultural campaign of the Council of Defense.

The *New Mexico Blue Book* of 1919 lists many other important activities of the Council. Some of these include the destruction of predatory animals, the conservation of gasoline, assisting miners and stockmen to get railroad cars, keeping a record of all New Mexico soldiers, aid in registering alien enemies, legal aid to soldiers, and the distribution of posters for the Federal Government.

Failure to Win Renomination

Governor Lindsey had always been identified with the progressive wing of the Republican party. His nomination for lieutenant-governor in 1916 was due primarily to the fact that the regular Republicans wished to reconcile the progressive element in the party. In a very close election he won the office over his Democratic opponent, Governor W. C. McDonald, while his running-mate, Holm O. Bursum, representing the regular faction of the party, was defeated by E. C. de Baca. Upon the latter's death on February 18, 1917, Lindsey was elevated to the governorship.

The legislature was of a Republican majority, and with the regular Republicans predominating, R. L. D. McAllister,

staff correspondent of the *Albuquerque Journal*, wrote: "That this is another 'Bursum legislature' is generally conceded. . . . Although twice defeated for governor, the Socorro County man is today the dominant force in the councils of his party."

During Governor de Baca's illness, a Las Vegas attorney, Elmer Veeder, who was a prominent Democrat, acted as his legal advisor. He was much disliked by the regular Republicans, and some of them wished to have Lindsey become acting governor. He, however, would have no part in this plan. The *Journal* gave the following comment on the incident: "In the first place, the active co-operation of Washington E. Lindsey himself would be necessary to the consummation of this plan, and everything that Mr. Lindsey has said and done since he went into office negatives the idea that he would lend himself to a scheme to deprive Governor de Baca of any of the rights or powers of his office."

When Lindsey became governor, he was exceedingly popular with the people, including the Democratic party. "But," warned the *Albuquerque Journal*, "he has always been identified with the progressive wing of his party and he was one of the Republicans who revolted in the first campaign and helped overthrow the man whose running-mate he became in the next campaign." The *Journal* then went on to predict that the new Governor was ". . . likely to run against a snag of large proportions."

In his first speech as governor, given to the Republican state central committee, Lindsey voiced anything but a machine-type political program. Among other things, he advocated: appointments on merit, woman's suffrage, a cessation of vote buying, and more popular participation in government.

Soon after this address, the *New Mexican* stated that there were rumors that the old guard was holding off on platform legislation until certain appointments had been made. It stated further that Bursum had a candidate for the superintendency of the penitentiary. This position was considered the choicest political "plum" of all appointments. The *Journal* stated that the man most frequently mentioned

for the position was Senator Aniceto Abeyta, of Socorro, a close political and personal friend of Bursum.

On March 7, 1917, Governor Lindsey appointed, and the Senate later confirmed, Thomas Hughes of Albuquerque as superintendent of the state penitentiary. Hughes was a progressive Republican who had formerly been county chairman of Bernalillo County, and who, according to the *New Mexican*, had "reflected credit upon his common sense and decency" by breaking with a number of old guard bosses in the last campaign.

Another appointment of Lindsey's that did not enhance party harmony was that of Theodore Roualt to the position of state game warden. Governor de Baca had appointed Dennis Chaves to the position, and the office had traditionally gone to a Spanish-American. The regular Republicans hoped to follow the tradition in order to appease that faction within their party. Lindsey, however, did not choose to pay any attention to such traditional distinctions in making his appointments. He withdrew de Baca's nominee, and replaced it with the appointment of Theodore Roualt, of Las Cruces.

During the third legislature several situations arose that tended to widen the cleavage between the Governor and the predominating faction of the Republicans. Lindsey urged the legislature to submit a progressive woman's suffrage amendment. He made a sincere effort to get the proposal through that body, but his efforts were in vain. Despite the fact that both parties were bound by platform pledges to submit to the voters of the state a woman's suffrage amendment, no such action was taken. Feeling against woman's suffrage was strong, especially among Spanish-American members of both parties. When the measure was brought to a vote in the House, they were practically unanimous in their opposition to it. Their opposition, no doubt, was the reason the old line Republican leadership did not choose to push the measure.

Another situation that arose during the third session that widened the cleavage was the Texas boundary suit bill. The Republican leaders had drawn a bill for an appropria-

tion of \$50,000 for the prosecution of the suit, and had designated O. A. Larrazolo as chief counsel. Larrazolo had been a leading Democrat in New Mexico politics until his withdrawal from the party in 1911. Three times before this action, he had been nominated by the Democrats as candidate for delegate to Congress. He was defeated each time by the Republican candidate. After his last defeat, he announced his withdrawal from the party, and gave as the main reason for his action the accusation that the Democratic party was discriminating against his race.

Larrazolo immediately joined the Republican party, and there he received a warm welcome. In 1916 he was a strong contender for the Republican nomination for the Supreme Court, but did not win the position. The old line Republicans were aware of his political strength and sought to pay him a "political debt" by incorporating his name in the boundary suit bill.

Governor Lindsey contacted the legislative leaders and intimated that he would withhold his signature from the bill unless the names of Larrazolo and other attorneys were eliminated from it. According to the *Albuquerque Journal*, the Democrats and the Chief Executive forced the elimination of Larrazolo's name and reduced the amount of the appropriation to \$35,000 before it became a law. This action of the Governor, no doubt, had the effect of further alienating him from the regular Republicans and from the Spanish-speaking people.

A new source of friction arose during the special session of the legislature. It occurred in the formulation of the public defense act. The *New Mexican* charged in an editorial that the Republican machine wished ". . . to establish a regiment of state cavalry at an expense of hundreds of thousands of dollars in order to provide sinecures for political lame ducks and help build up the political machine." When, after a stubborn fight, the public defense act was finally passed it carried no provision for a "useless" state cavalry.

The first important move leading toward the selection of a Republican candidate for governor in the 1918 campaign occurred when Senator Albert B. Fall visited Santa

Fe in August, 1918. This visit was the occasion for a meeting of state Republican leaders. Bursum and Springer conferred with Fall at length, and a short conference was held with Governor Lindsey. One point emphasized as a result of this conference was that if the United States was to be assured of a Republican majority in the Senate, New Mexico must re-elect Albert B. Fall.

A few days after Fall left Santa Fe, the *New Mexican* charged that the Republican state ticket had been hand-picked by the Republican leaders. It stated that there ". . . seems to be a sort of disposition to let the leaders agree on the ticket and then everybody pretend to like it regardless and claim it represents the best brew of harmony on tap in these sugarless days."

Other results of the conference of state Republican leaders came to light. On August 30, 1918, Fall's campaign plans were announced. One was that, upon Fall's insistence, Holm O. Bursum would manage his campaign.

But the ". . . recent pow-wow of Fall state-fixers failed to fix everybody," said the *Santa Fe New Mexican*. It went on to state that a movement had been started to secure the Republican state chairmanship for A. W. Pollard of Deming, and that Lindsey was expected to become a candidate to succeed himself.

The prediction was not long in forthcoming. In a press release on August 10, Lindsey formally announced his candidacy. The announcement was addressed "To The Republicans of New Mexico." In regard to the announcement, the *New Mexican* commented, "The sage at classic Three Rivers, the bucolic sheep fancier of Socorro, and other estimable 'conference moguls' have had a pretty dilemma put up to them."

In his announcement, the Governor reviewed his administration and projected a platform on which he sought the nomination. He mentioned the enactment of the prohibition amendment and pledged the enforcement of the law to the limit. He pledged faithful execution of the budget law, the workmen's compensation law, and other measures passed by the legislature. He promised support and encouragement to

the public schools, and a thorough investigation and prosecution of the Kelly bond case. He assured his party that the entire force of the administration would be put behind the war and that every effort would be made to assist the United States in securing a victorious peace. He called his record "an open book" and stated that the records of his office the past two years was the best and only criterion on which to wage the campaign.

One effect of the Governor's announcement was that it increased the activity of the regular Republicans in lining up delegates for the forthcoming convention. In order to offset some of the "behind the scene" activity, Lindsey reasserted his candidacy in a second release to the press.

The Republican state central committee held a meeting at Santa Fe during the latter part of August. Bursum presided at the sessions in which, according to the *New Mexican*, Lindsey made a plain bid for the nomination for governor. It went on to say that he was given a surprisingly liberal hand considering the general opinion that the majority of the committee was opposed to his nomination.

Two weeks later a number of Republican leaders, including state chairman George Craig, Charles Springer, and H. O. Bursum, held an important unofficial meeting in Albuquerque. They had received letters from Senator Fall during the past ten days advising them that a Spanish-American must be the nominee for governor in order to insure a Republican victory. They had also been informed that Fall had sent word more or less directly to Lindsey that if a Spanish-American did not receive the vote of the convention, he would support Lindsey; but that he felt a Spanish-American should have the nomination.

In the meantime, the Democratic party held its state convention and nominated Felix Garcia, of Rio Arriba County, as candidate for governor. "While Governor Lindsey was a candidate for the nomination to succeed himself," said the *Albuquerque Journal*, "it was known from the moment the Democrats nominated Felix Garcia that he would not receive the nomination."

The Democrats, conscious of the Republican intra-party

strife, played it for what it was worth. Seemingly sensing who would be the Republican nominee, their resolutions condemned the Texas boundary suit appropriation, especially "the gift of \$7,500 in payment of a political debt." Their temporary chairman, Neill B. Field, in his keynote speech, after praising Governor Lindsey and the Democratic minority for having kept the Republicans from dissipating a large portion of the defense appropriation for a state cavalry, said: "I wonder if they will show their gratitude by renominating him for the office—not for some other office where he will be powerless to stand between them and their schemes, but for the office of governor, which I am frank to say, I think he has executed with fidelity and with as much efficiency as was possible under the restraining hands of the leaders of the Republican organization."

The Republican state convention opened in Santa Fe on October 2. While visiting among the delegates, Lindsey told them that he had come as a delegate from his home county, and that he was "prepared to play the game according to the rules." The keynote address was given by Bursum, the temporary chairman. In his address the speaker dealt largely with national issues. He was extremely generous in his praise of the accomplishments and qualifications of Senator Albert B. Fall in fitting into the national picture. In regard to Lindsey, Bursum said: "Governor Lindsey has given to the people of New Mexico a clean, honest, and fearless administration. He is entitled to appreciation for the faithful and efficient administration of public affairs relative to the governor's office."

When the time arrived for the presentation of candidates for governor, James M. Hervey, of Roswell, presented the name of Governor Lindsey. He termed him as a "great war governor" with a record of an administration that was "honest, fearless, and fair." The presentation was seconded by delegate Jack Wilcox, of Roosevelt County, who said that Lindsey would carry that solidly Democratic county.

Charles Spiess, of San Miguel County, presented the name of O. A. Larrazolo "amid much applause." After lauding his candidate, Spiess said that he was a friend of Gover-

nor Lindsey, but did not believe that the Governor was the strongest candidate.

On the first ballot, the convention nominated Larrazolo for governor. He received 852 votes while Lindsey was given 118. Lindsey carried Chaves, De Baca, Lea, Luna, Quay, and Roosevelt Counties. The remaining votes which he received came from counties scattered throughout the state.

Lindsey's failure to get the Republican nomination for governor in 1918 was the greatest disappointment of his life. According to one of his close friends, "It grieved him to his death." He always felt that he had given an energetic, efficient, and honest administration. That it was not due to lack of merit, but because he did not cater to the bosses that they saw to it that he was not renominated. He always felt that if he could have carried his cause to the people in a primary election he would have been successful. In analyzing the reason he did not serve again, one is lead to believe that it was due to a combination of forces. In the first place, Lindsey was of the progressive wing of the Republican party. Up until the time of his nomination for the lieutenant-governorship in 1916, he had opposed Holm O. Bursum and other regular Republicans. The friction between the two elements of the party continued during his administration. Secondly, Lindsey stood for more popular participation in government, such as the direct primary, initiative, referendum, recall, and woman's suffrage. These measures were not acceptable to most of the Spanish-Americans and to the large commercial interests that were supporting the Republican party. In the third place, the Republicans felt that in order to insure a complete Republican victory in New Mexico, a Spanish-American must head the state ticket. Albert Fall wished to win re-election to the United States Senate, and he put pressure upon the state Republican leaders to give the gubernatorial position to a Spanish-American. For this position, O. A. Larrazolo was the logical man. He was a close friend of Senator Fall, a man of ability, a gifted speaker, and an outspoken champion of the Spanish-speaking people.

After his governorship, Lindsey continued to play a

minor role in New Mexico politics. He gave counsel at all times to the Roosevelt County Republican organization and attended all state Republican conventions. In 1924, he was a delegate from New Mexico to the Republican national convention in Cleveland, Ohio.

Most of Lindsey's time and energy, however, were expended along lines other than political. After the close of his administration, he maintained a law office in Albuquerque for a short time, but soon returned to Portales to his former law and real estate office.

In conclusion, while Lindsey lacked the quality of dynamic leadership and the full confidence of his party, one can hardly deny that his absolute honesty, his unwavering patriotism, his devotion to popular democratic government, and his pioneering and progressive spirit enabled him to play an important role in the development of the young state of New Mexico.

(The End)