DOMINATION AND THE VOTE IN A SOUTHWESTERN BORDER COMMUNITY:
THE 1950 PRIMARY CAMPAIGN IN EL PASO, TEXAS

DISSertation

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Preface

The writer began this research in El Paso in early June of 1950, without preconceptions. He knew that, politically speaking, the southwest border country - even the southwest in general - had never received more than the briefest passing mention; that it is predominantly Spanish-American; and that out of research in such an area should emerge some understanding of the particular political problems of a large and largely neglected sector of the American population.

It was not the writer's hypothesis that lessons from such an understanding are necessarily applicable to other geographical areas. The two or three million Spanish-Americans of the United States southwest are numerically important enough to be deserving of some study in their own right. If readers here find generalizations of broader applicability the writer will feel gratified but will confess that more has been derived than was promised.

This research is directly applicable, first of all, to El Paso; almost as directly to the whole southwest border area; and more remotely to the American southwest. The writer hopes that others will interest themselves in this region, first so that political lessons from the border may be more accurately tested; and secondly, so that the whole southwest may become an area for the derivation of significant political conclusions. Such investigations may be useful to political science and essential to the political advance of the Spanish-American people.

During the summer of 1950, December of 1950 and March of 1951, the writer gathered materials in El Paso and environs, and during intervening
months read whatever he could on the southwest, and especially on the southwest border country. Sociological and economic background material, though of a secondary and rather generalized sort, was available in abundance. Almost all of the data on politics and on the economic and social problems of El Paso had to be gathered at first hand. Attention was centered on the 1950 primary campaign as an index to political characteristics in the peculiar one-party—almost no-party—political habits of the area. It was then that political forces came to life and took on meaning.

El Paso newspapers, Spanish and English, were read and items having political significance were preserved. Political rallies were attended. Leading figures and men-on-the-street were interviewed. Rules, ordinances, and organizational statements were gathered. The writer attended the twenty-first annual convention of the League of United Latin American Citizens, and subsequent local meetings of the same organization. He gathered letters and reports from the files of the League in an effort at securing an understanding of the social and economic problems of El Paso's Hispanic majority. To determine as accurately as possible the ethnic composition of voting precincts, the writer blocked off the city directory by precincts and counted the Spanish and Anglo names of householders. He counted Spanish and Anglo names in poll tax lists, so that comparisons might be made with ethnic composition of the population and with voting behavior.

As a means of testing some of the hypotheses thus developed, San Miguel County, in north-central New Mexico, a comparable area of Hispanic population majority, was visited in September, 1951, and
studies were made there of registration books and voting behavior.

Out of all this arose the realization that Spanish-Americans, at least along the southwest border, are faced by particularly urgent social and economic problems which, from their own point of view, are crying for solution. Political action is one channel of approach in seeking solutions. It became the task of this report to evaluate the political means available, and the relationship of those political means to other possible avenues toward alleviation of pressing Hispanic problems.

The writer wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Professors E. Allen Helms, David Spitz, Harvey Mansfield, and John Davis, without whose suggestions and help this work would not have been possible. He also wishes to express his most sincere thanks to the innumerable people in El Paso who made it possible for him to secure some first-hand understanding of the problems faced by the community. The hospitality, kindness, and cooperation of all of them was a constant feature of the writer's period in El Paso. Their names appear in the content and appendix of this report, and it is primarily to many of them that the writer directs whatever message may be found within these pages.

The writer accepts full responsibility for all opinions and conclusions expressed and for any errors which may be contained herein.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface .................................................. 2

**Part One: The Southwest Border Country**

Chapter 1. LESSONS FROM THE BORDER .............. 8

Chapter 2. EL PASO AND THE BORDER ................. 13

**Part Two: Majority Problems and Minority Dominance**

Chapter 3. PEOPLE AND PROBLEMS ..................... 20
- Spanish-American Problems ......................... 20
- The Negro ............................................ 59
- Summary ............................................. 62

Chapter 4. CENTERS OF ECONOMIC INFLUENCE .......... 64
- Business ............................................. 64
- Labor ............................................... 67

Chapter 5. PRESS AND RADIO .......................... 71
- The Press ........................................... 71
- Radio ............................................... 76
- Summary ............................................ 77

Chapter 6. SOCIAL AND CIVIC LEADERSHIP ............ 79
- Spanish-American Organizations .................... 80
- Summary ............................................. 88

Chapter 7. CENTERS OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE ......... 91
- Organizations ....................................... 91
- The Offices of County Government .................. 101
- Office-Holders and Office-Seekers ................... 104

Chapter 8. THE CAMPAIGN: DISCUSSION OF PROBLEMS .... 108
- Candidates .......................................... 109
- The Congressional Campaign ......................... 113
- The Local Campaign .................................. 143

Chapter 9. THE CAMPAIGN: PERSONALITIES, CHARGES, AND COUNTER-CHARGES ......................... 150
- The Congressional Campaign ......................... 151
- The Local Campaign .................................. 170
- Summary ............................................. 189
Chapter 10. THE CAMPAIGN: APPEAL TO THE HISPANIC VOTE .................................................. 191
Spanish-American Problems ........................................... 192
Use of the Spanish Language ......................................... 196
Expressions of Favor and Friendship ............................... 200
Appeals on Election Day .............................................. 204

Chapter 11. THE CAMPAIGN: RADIO AND PRESS .................. 215
El Continental .................................................................. 217
The English-Language Press ......................................... 218
Summary ........................................................................ 226

Part Three: Conclusions

Chapter 12. THE WELLS OF HISPANIC POWER ..................... 228
Chapter 13. THE SPANISH-AMERICAN VOTE ......................... 238
Present Power .................................................................. 238
Response to the Campaign ........................................... 242
Potential Power ............................................................. 256
Obstacles ....................................................................... 264
Character of the Hispanic Vote ..................................... 273

Chapter 14. DOMINATION AND THE VOTE ............................. 277

Appendix

Appendix A. Ethnic Composition of Precincts .......................... 283
Appendix B. Interviews ...................................................... 284
Appendix C. Labor Organizations ........................................ 313
Appendix D. Letters ............................................................ 315
Appendix E. Mayor of El Paso, address before the national assembly of the League of United Latin American Citizens . 324
Appendix F. Officials, City and County of El Paso, June 1950 .... 325
Appendix G. Political Campaign Expenditure Form .......... 327
Appendix H. Political Literature .......................................... 329
Appendix I. Political Rallies ............................................... 356
Appendix J. Poll Tax Payers, Anglo and Hispanic, by Precincts ........ 372
Appendix K. Primary Results .................. 374
Appendix L. Program, League of United Latin American Citizens, Twenty-first Annual Assembly ............ 387
Appendix M. Rules and Ordinances ............. 389
Appendix N. San Miguel County, New Mexico: Political Statistics .......... 395

Bibliography

Books .......................................... 404
Documents ...................................... 407
Interviews ...................................... 408
Letters ......................................... 410
Periodical Items .............................. 411
Political Campaign Literature ............... 423
Reports on Political Rallies ............... 424

Autobiography

................................................. 426
The one principal social feature which distinguishes the southwest border country from most of the rest of the United States is the presence at almost all points of a population majority of Hispanic language and culture. This is a characteristic which the area shares only with parts of western and northern New Mexico, and with a few counties of Arizona and Texas away from the border. It becomes significant to determine whether in such an area politics evolves any lessons of a distinguishing sort.

Northern politics will commonly have to consider questions of manipulation and participation of Anglicized Negro or other non-Anglo minority groups - sometimes several such in a single city. Southern politics is faced with problems involving the presence of Anglicized Negro minority or majority groups. Southwestern border politics, however, is in a different and peculiar category. There an American culture of politics is operating in the presence of an articulate, conscious, Hispanic popular majority which is approaching the status of a voting majority.

Such a situation is not to be compared with those which involve submerged Negro majorities, or conscious Italian, Negro, or Jewish minorities. Nor is it to be compared with those situations which
involve assimilated Irish, Scandinavian, or German majorities. There is little in the southwestern border situation which could serve as illustration of this statement by Fisher and Bishop:

Party machine workers have an easier task when voters are apathetic, uninformed, and easily influenced or intimidated. The heterogeneous racial and nationality groups in some of our large cities have furnished many voters of this type. Unaccustomed to self-government and ignorant of the workings of democracy, they have been ready grist for the mills of the political machines.

As will be demonstrated, the Spanish-Americans of El Paso, for example, are equipped with organizations, and it would be inaccurate to describe them as apathetic, uninformed, easily influenced, or intimidated. They are certainly not heterogeneous. Whatever may have been the case in the past, or whatever might still be the case


2 Marguerite J. Fisher and Donald G. Bishop, Municipal and Other Local Governments, p. 97.

3 For discussion of social and civic organizations and leadership, see Chapter 6.
in some rural areas, the Hispanic majority along the border is not "ready grist for the mills of the political machines."

This phenomenon raises a significant question for the operation of border politics: Is it possible for the Hispanic majority of the region to cut through other limitations and, through use of the vote, to emerge dominant in the political scene? The purpose of the succeeding chapters will consequently be twofold: (1) To evaluate, in terms of need and in terms of power, the present and potential Hispanic vote, and (2) to provide descriptive data and incidental hypotheses useful for further study of political patterns affecting the Hispanics of the southwestern border country.

That the study involves concurrent political lessons for other groups is not to be denied. However, it will not be the contention of succeeding chapters that any complete proof respecting the power of the vote is afforded other ethnic or economic groups. Analysis of the peculiar factors affecting each group must be made before such lessons can be specifically applied.

El Paso has been chosen as exemplary of principal phenomena in border politics. Before proceeding with the examination, it may be useful to mention some special peculiarities of the area.

In the first place, no comprehensive study of the politics of the southwest border country, or of the southwest in general, has been done. A full comparative testing of conclusions drawn from this
region must therefore await analyses from other communities of the region. 4

Secondly, El Paso is not within the social or political south. As Key remarks, El Paso, even more than the rest of Texas, is more western than southern. 5 El Paso, as a part of Texas, has inherited the Texas one-party system. There the similarity between El Paso - or for that matter almost any other part of the border - and the Deep South, comes to an abrupt end. El Paso and the border are Spanish country, not Civil War country. 6

Thirdly, there is an undoubted similarity between political and ethnic features of the southwestern border and of many areas of the southwest away from the border - that is, the presence of Hispanic popular majorities in both cases. However, an important distinction must be drawn between the two types of southwest areas: The Hispanic majority of many southwest counties away from the border is descended from ancestors who were well established before arrival of the Anglos. This has had important political and economic effects. On much of

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5 Key, op. cit., p. 254.

6 For further evidence that El Paso is in the South in latitude only, see the discussion of the Negro in El Paso, Chapter 3; and see the interview with Marvin Williams, El Paso Negro leader, Appendix B-25, in which it is pointed out that no pressures against Negro voting occur in El Paso, except insofar as the Texas poll-tax may obstruct exercise of the franchise. During the 1950 primaries, two Negroes were employed as clerks at polling places, outside of Negro areas, for in El Paso there is no segregated Negro district.
the U. S. side of the border, exactly the opposite development occurred - that is, Anglos settled first, and after the establishment of Anglo-American economic and social ways, the Spanish-American people came. Where appropriate for developing the theme of this report, material from northern New Mexico will be presented for comparative purposes.

Finally, political scientists generally have devoted singularly little attention to the Spanish-Americans, whether in the southwest or elsewhere. Only Dayton David McKean includes them as a group worthy of the attention of the textbook student. Though there is a substantial literature on Hispanic social and economic problems, no mention of the Hispanic people or of southwest politics is to be found in other standard textbooks on politics.

The writer confesses that this report has assumed not only the task of providing some materials useful to political scientists, but that it has also taken on the burden of carrying a message of urgency to a large group of Americans who are significant and ignored. For attempting to convey that message, the writer offers no apology.

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8 See, for example, Charles Edward Merriam and Harold Poote Gosnell, *The American Party System*, pp. 126-134; or V. O. Key, Jr., *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups*, pp. 134-140; Peter H. Odegard and E. Allen Helms, *American Politics*, Chapter XI, pp. 323-359; Hugh A. Bone, *American Politics and the Party System*, pp. 193-197. In none of these does mention of the Spanish-Americans occur, and no textbook writer on American politics mentions the League of United Latin American Citizens. Until now practically no original research has been done on the subject; the textbook writers have had no data to which they could refer. For discussion of the League of United Latin American Citizens, see Chapter 6, below.
Chapter 2

EL PASO AND THE BORDER

The political habits of the southwestern border country show similarities in character, but variations in degree, in response to place and time. Ingredients in the El Paso political campaign of the summer of 1950 were similar to ingredients commonly found in other southwestern border politics. Difficulties of comparison arise in measurement of quantity rather than in determination of character.

Gus García, legal adviser of the League of United Latin American Citizens, stressed that though all the border communities - Laredo, Brownsville, El Paso, Nogales, and so on - display similar political characteristics, the emphasis on each characteristic may vary from place to place. The point was made that a comprehensive border study would require comparative examination of all the communities. It is to be hoped that future studies may make such a comparison possible.

Again, the politics of urban communities such as El Paso may be expected to vary in important respects from the politics of rural border areas. Concentration of population, distribution of centers of economic and social power, and so on, may inject factors into urban border politics which cause departures from rural norms of the same region.

As has been suggested in the introductory discussion, the El Paso

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1 García interview, June 9, 1950, Appendix B-6.
social-political framework is sharply at variance with any sort of United States norm. El Paso, then, provides material for examination of southwest border politics, and especially for examination of urban southwest border politics.

The city of El Paso, Texas, and Ciudad Juárez, in the state of Chihuahua, México, constitute an economic and social community. The El Paso street railway system includes service to Juárez. Legally or otherwise, great numbers of Mexican nationals work by day in El Paso and sleep by night in Juárez. Residents of El Paso and of Juárez regularly commute back and forth between the two halves of their community for recreation, business, labor, and social purposes.

Accurate count has never been made of the numbers of Spanish-Americans in El Paso. Agreement centers around a figure of from 60 to 70 per cent of the El Paso population. 2 Thousands of these are illegal entrants who have come from México. Others are the descendants of early settlers who moved across the river after the Anglo-Americans had established El Paso. Still others have come legally within recent years into the United States from México. Some are aliens and many are United States citizens. All have a common Hispanic cultural heritage, whatever infusion of Indian, Anglo, or other physical characteristics there may be. The Spanish culture pattern presents

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a common denominator which may be utilized politically.

The history of El Paso is studded with Spanish names. In fact the settlement of El Paso, Texas, was preceded at least 150 years by that of El Paso del Norte, now Ciudad Juárez, México.

The first Europeans to reach the site were the early sixteenth century survivors of the ill-fated Narváez expedition from Florida. The first European settler in the southwest, Don Juan de Oñate, passed through the El-Paso-Juárez area and some months later, in 1598, established San Juan, first Spanish settlement in what is now northern New Mexico. With the failure of San Juan, Santa Fé became in 1609 the first permanent European settlement in the southwest above the Río Grande. Early Spanish names in what is now the area of El Paso include that of Father Ramón Ortiz; and it was Father García de San Francisco y Zúñiga who established the first mission at El Paso del Norte, now Ciudad Juárez.

The first settlement in the area occurred as a movement north from Mexico City and Durango. By 1680 three missions had been established on the site south of the Río Grande, and a nucleus of Spanish settlers had established a chain of tiny communities along the river.

Heavier settlement of El Paso del Norte resulted from Indian revolts in central New Mexico in 1680. Refugees poured into the

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3 See Erna Fergusson, Our Southwest, pp. 75 and 76. Also, Mary Wilhelmine Williams, The People and Politics of Latin America, pp. 121-123.

Gateway City, so that by the end of the seventeenth century the permanence of the population center seemed assured.

1683 is cited as the date of the founding of the presidio and organization of the Spanish settlements. But north of the river, the site of El Paso, Texas, was as yet a barren waste, and was to remain so until the Anglo-Americans arrived more than 150 years later.

In July, 1806, the first Anglos arrived, as prisoners arrested for trespassing on Spanish soil. They were led by Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike of the Sixth United States Infantry. Later began the infiltration of Anglo settlers, and the creation of an Anglo-American community nucleus on the north bank of the Río Grande - to be incorporated in 1873 as the city of El Paso, Texas. These first Anglos moved down the ancient Santa Fé-Chihuahua highway, much as their Spanish predecessors had done 150 years before - but this time entirely from the north. On the north bank of the river, about 1830, El Paso took form. Anglo-American, and later Spanish-American, joined hands to create another gateway city which was in time to supersede in economic importance the old El Paso del Norte.

In contrast to the Spanish settlements at El Paso del Norte and in northern New Mexico, the city of El Paso did not become an American city on a base of longtime Spanish occupancy. Anglo-Americans had

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5 Ibid., pp. 306, 315, and 324.
6 Frank, op. cit., pp. 45 and 74.
already founded the town when people from the Spanish settlements filtered in to join them in building El Paso. Later, this feature was to promote sharp contrasts between the economic and social characteristics of El Paso and those of the longtime Spanish settlements of northern New Mexico.

During the 121 years since the founding of El Paso, the Spanish settlers have come to exceed the Anglos in total numbers, so that El Paso, in terms of the cultural features of most of its population, is now Hispanic, with varying degrees of merger with the Anglo-American minority. This is an almost invariable pattern on the border. The features of southwest border culture substantiate this fact. Religion, language, foods, architecture, all tend to verify the fact that the Spanish-American plays a significant role in the life of the area.

El Paso is situated at an altitude of 3,762 feet, and spreads out fan-like around the river lowlands and foothills. The Franklin Mountains rise immediately to the north. To the east there stretches an arid plains area, and to the south is the Río Grande and Mexico. Except where irrigated and cultivated, the entire area is dry, bare, treeless, and without vegetation except for scrub desert growth.

The city of El Paso, in El Paso County, Texas, has a population of

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9 See Fergusson, op. cit.; Pauline R. Kibbe, Latin Americans in Texas; Carey McWilliams, North From Mexico; and Writers' Project, Texas.

10 Writers' Project, op. cit., p. 243.
In 1943-1944, the enrollment of Spanish-speaking children in schools of the city was 65.5 per cent of the total white enrollment. The estimated percentage in 1948 was 70 per cent. El Paso is the principal center of population for El Paso County. The county as a whole has a sparse population, totalling 197,934, in an area of 1,054 square miles.

There are three daily newspapers - the Times, the Herald-Post, and El Continental. In El Paso are located the headquarters for the U. S. Customs Office, District of New Mexico and Western Texas. El Paso is a port of entry from Mexico, with headquarters of the U. S. Immigration and Naturalization Service for West Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. The United States Border Patrol, Public Health Service, and American section of the International Boundary Commission, have headquarters in El Paso.

In the words of Mr. Chris Fox, public relations manager, State National Bank, and one-time sheriff, councilman, and president of the Chamber of Commerce, El Paso wears "three economic hats": (1) the El Paso-Juárez trade, (2) the military activities centering around Fort Bliss, and (3) the ordinary domestic economic activities of

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14 For discussion of El Paso newspapers, see Chapter 5.
Economic life of El Paso is based primarily on cattle, climate, cotton, copper, soldiers, and miscellaneous agrarian activities. The El Paso smelter of the American Smelting and Refining Company employs 800 or more persons, and an equal number find work in the Phelps Dodge Copper Refining Corporation plant. Crude ores are brought to the smelters from New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona, and Mexico.

Crops along the Río Grande are all raised under irrigation. Cotton picking brings much illegal immigration from Mexico. Peppers, beans, onions, pears, form a large part of the remaining crops.

Light industry and small firms are numerous in El Paso economic life. There are about 200 manufacturing firms, half of them employing not over nine people each. Weaving of rugs, blankets, zarapes, is carried on with old-fashioned hand looms. Tortillas are made in scattered factories, and pottery makers carry on their trade.

In summary, then, it can be said that El Paso economic life is varied, with some injection of the border as a factor; and that El Paso is Hispanic in numerical majority, with much infusion of Hispanic culture patterns.

15 Fox interview, Appendix B-5.
16 Frank, op. cit., p. 9.
17 But though 50 per cent employ not over nine people each, the other 50 per cent employ the remaining 95 or 96 per cent of El Paso's total of 8,402 persons employed in all types of manufacturing. See Chapter 4 for analysis of economic dominance in El Paso. For summaries of data on El Paso economic activities, see, for example, El Paso Border Committee, A Study of Conditions Affecting Children of El Paso County, pp. 7, 8, and 12; and Federal Writers' Project, Texas, p. 248.
Part Two: Majority Problems and Minority Dominance

Chapter 3

PEOPLE AND PROBLEMS

To say that the Spanish-Americans of El Paso County constitute a popular majority is far from saying that their problems are given special political attention. In this chapter, Hispanic problems which might lend themselves to political action will be described. After some further light has been cast on the economic and social environment of the southwest border Spanish-Americans, this list of Hispanic problems will be compared with "problems" as seen by politicians in the 1950 primary campaign. It is hoped that out of this discussion some evaluation may be made of the total Hispanic position in the border community.

Spanish-American Problems

The term Spanish-American covers a large group of people having many diverse physical features. Other terms applied to these people are Latin American, Mexican-American, Hispanic, Spanish-speaking, and Mexican. Other characteristics may vary, but the Spanish language and Spanish culture they do have in common.

The Hispanic people vary in color from very light to very dark. As is pointed out by Lyle Saunders, some are from families who have been in the southwest country over two hundred years. Others have just arrived. Some speak no English. Many are bilingual. A few, moving out of the Spanish-American classification, have lost their
Some are political refugees from Mexico. Others are the descendents of aristocratic Spanish families. Multitudes are laboring immigrants. The Spanish-Americans descend largely from Iberian groups, with an inter-mixture of American Indian in varying proportions. In almost all cases the Spanish culture and language infusion is strong, and assimilation into the Anglo-American ways of language and life is not marked.

The census-takers of 1940 asked 5 per cent of the population about their mother tongue. The resulting figure indicated approximately 1,861,000 of Spanish tongue in the United States. Five-sixths of these were found to be living in the states of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Texas. The largest concentration was found in Texas — 738,440, or about two-fifths of the total number of Spanish-American people. In Texas, over 60 per cent of the Spanish-speaking persons of the state are to be found in seven counties: El Paso, Bexar, Dallas, Harris, Nueces, Hidalgo, and Webb.

According to Sánchez and Saunders, the bibliography on the

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4 V. O. Key, Jr., *Southern Politics in State and Nation*, p. 271; see also, Sánchez, Saunders, and others, *loc. cit.*
5 Sánchez, Saunders, and others, *op. cit.*, p. 11.
Spanish-Americans is large, but much of the material is superficial, inadequate, and narrowly focused. Analysis of available materials indicates that this criticism is well-founded. Sánchez and Saunders find that no systematic study has been done in the field of social and civil rights, and that materials on social organization in general are very inadequate. Studies on their political problems are practically non-existent.

On the social and economic status of Texas Spanish-Americans, Sánchez and Saunders write:

In Texas, as in the entire southwest, the Spanish are largely rural people, somewhat more at a disadvantage economically and socially than are rural people of the area as a whole. They are less likely to own land, to have high incomes, be well educated, have good health, hold public office, or live in comfortable homes than other rural people in general. They are more likely to have large families, to be economically insecure, to have preventable diseases such as dysentery and tuberculosis, to be illiterate, to lack occupational skills of a specialized kind than are other people among whom they live. In recent years there has been a tendency for larger proportions to live in cities, where they are, in general, subject to the same kinds of limitations and disadvantages as in rural areas. In cities they live in slums, do unskilled or low-paid work, contribute out of proportion to their numbers to morbidity, mortality, and birth rates, and provide worries for school officials concerned about number of children not enrolled or not attending schools.

The problems of the border Spanish-Americans are intensified by the fact that, as Pauline R. Kibbe points out, the vast majority of those coming from Mexico have been drawn from Mexico's most

7 Ibid.
8 Ibid., p. 12.
9 Ibid., p. 7.
impoverished classes. Since 1900 there has been a sharp increase in the numbers coming from that source. 10

Migratory life is cited as a contributing factor in educational weakness, poverty, and discrimination. 11 Much of Texas agriculture rests on migratory labor, with the inevitable features of deprivation to be associated with that type of employment.

Spanish-Americans are increasingly found in urban areas of Texas. There the Spanish social fabric undergoes disintegration. The people inhabit areas of second and third settlement, and either voluntarily or otherwise are often segregated. 12

Problems of El Paso Spanish-Americans

The title of an article in a popular magazine, which described social, economic and political disabilities suffered by Latins in Texas, refers to the Hispanics as "Texas' forgotten people." 13 In terms of social welfare, this description fits the Hispanics of El Paso.

According to the Primer Anuario de los Habitantes Hispano-Americanos de Texas, El Paso is the second city in the state in the number of Spanish-Americans in its population, the first being

10 Pauline R. Kibbe, Latin Americans in Texas, p. 82.
11 Ibid., p. 91.
12 Bogardus, op. cit., pp. 18-19; also see Kibbe, op. cit., pp. 208 and 234.
Problems of El Paso Spanish-Americans which might conceivably lend themselves to political action include the following:

1. Housing
2. Health
3. Attainment of public office
4. Economic and social discrimination
5. Education
6. Attitudes of civic leaders
7. Alien migrant labor
8. U. S.—Mexican relations

**Housing**

As is pointed out by Kibbe, substandard sections of Texas cities are the usual locales for Latin American residents. The housing, as Paul S. Taylor stresses, is in part a reflection of the adobe construction characteristics of Spanish settlement, and is in part a response to the economic position of the dwellers. Occasionally housing conditions result from occupational status, as is the case in company towns and in the migrant agricultural settlements. In El Paso, Spanish-Americans are not ordinarily segregated by restrictive covenants or by the pressure of Anglo opinion, but by economic


15 Kibbe, op. cit., p. 124.

deprivation, or by their own desire to be with harmonious neighbors.

Carey McWilliams describes the El Paso housing problem as follows: 17

That progressive political action is badly needed in El Paso was apparent at once. Many of the poorer Mexican families live in old adobe houses built around an interior court in which is a central hydrant for water.... For many years the great majority of the deaths among children, from typhoid fever, smallpox, scarlet fever, whooping cough, measles, diphtheria, enteritis, and diarrhea have been reported from South El Paso, where most of the Mexicans live.

An interview with Francisco Hernández, member of the U. S. Housing Authority Board in El Paso, suggested that El Paso housing is a potential political issue: 18

Question: Could housing be brought up as an issue by candidates for Congress?

Answer: Yes. Housing calls for bills introduced in and passed by Congress. Fred Hervey, Congressional candidate, in the Liberty Hall rally last night, did mention that he was in favor of slum clearance, but against Federal aid, which is too much like socialism, according to him. I told him he lives in a fine home, so doesn't understand the problems of those people in need of decent housing. He thinks that one can have housing by simply reducing taxes on builders, but that won't do it. Rents will be as high as ever, and the same conditions will apply.

Question: Could housing be brought up as an issue by candidates for county commissioner?

17 Carey McWilliams, "The El Paso Story," Nation, CLXVII (July 10, 1948), p. 46. Mr. McWilliams' reference to adobe is not accurate. Many Spanish-American families do live in adobe buildings - most of them within a few hundred yards of the Mexican border. However, these adobe structures are no worse than the innumerable two-story and three-story brick tenements in which most of South El Paso dwells. Adobe, per se, is not in the southwest any indication of inadequate housing.

Answer: No, I don't think so. They can concern themselves with recreation, which is a problem affecting many of the Latin people of El Paso.

Of El Paso dwelling units, 12,735, or 51.3 per cent of the total, were reported in 1940 to be in need of major repairs or without indoor flush toilet or without private bath. The total number of houses in El Paso at the time was reported to be 26,645. 19

Much of the substandard housing is found in South El Paso, an area of high Hispanic concentration. Lucano Santoscoy, a civic leader and student of the El Paso housing problem, reports as follows: 20

In the year 1947 in a slum area of 10 by 15 city blocks, known as South El Paso, we had 345 substandard dwellings, with a population of 23,000 persons or 19.7 per cent of the total city population. This slum area produces only 17 per cent of the revenue, but 71 per cent of public assistance cases, 31 per cent of the fire calls, 26 per cent of the police calls, 51 per cent of serious crimes, 88 per cent of juvenile delinquency, 53 per cent of the known venereal disease, 66.7 per cent of the infant mortality cases. In the month of June, 1948, the infant mortality cases in the slum area rose 13.7 per cent.

According to a survey of 200 school children of separate families, there are 7.06 persons per family, of which 5 per cent have shower facilities, 3 per cent have bath tubs, and 3 per cent have private toilets.


20 Letter from Luciano Santoscoy to President Truman, undated. Statistics in the Santoscoy letter were prepared by him, and were used by the El Paso Border Committee, op. cit., p. 85. His comparison between revenue collected and public welfare problems is interesting. The comparison would probably be made between percentage of total city population, 19.7, and public welfare problems. The comparison, of course, is still striking. This and other letters cited may be found in the files of the League of United Latin American Citizens, located at Sanitary Tortilla Factory, 3407 Alameda Avenue, El Paso, Texas.
Sanitary facilities in this housing area are invariably reported to be inadequate. In the typical situation there is one running water spigot for 50 people, and one bowl, often out of order, for the same number. No regular garbage disposal service is available, but such service is quite adequate in other parts of the city, as the writer found during a summer of residence in El Paso.

Other features of the housing in this area of Hispanic concentration are of the same low standards. The Veterans Unity Club, in an undated letter of 1948, writes:

The screens, doors and windows are wholly inadequate. The stairways are worn out and dilapidated. The lives of the tenants are constantly in danger in this respect. Many of the walls are cracked and where adobe is the building material the houses are eroded.

Garbage disposal presents another unspeakable aspect. There is a common container for the use of all the inhabitants of the tenement which at most lacks proper trap door and causes the refuse to be scattered over the alley facing the back of the building.

This tends to propagate innumerable germs to the detriment of the health of the people.

Unpaved sidewalks, streets and alleys add to the discomfort of the people living in this section of the city.

The El Paso Border Committee reports that in El Paso there are 1,095 white Anglo families in substandard housing, 279 Negro families, and 7,165 white Latin families in substandard housing.

According to Luciano Santoscoy, as quoted in an El Paso Times article, owners of substandard housing make a large profit on their

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21 Open letter from Veterans Unity Club, El Paso, Texas, undated 1948.

22 El Paso Border Committee, op. cit., p. 92.
Some owners of substandard dwellings in this city are making a profit annually of 30 per cent on their investments, Luciano Santoscoy, secretary of Mayor Dan Ponder's Improvement League Committee, told El Paso Lions Friday in the Hilton Hotel.

During 1948 the campaign for better housing was at its height. A Veterans and Citizens Unity Club was formed. Letters were sent to Congress and to the newspapers, and the city council and mayor were entreated to make improvements. No substantial results were achieved. A letter of April 8, 1948, from the Unity Club to Representative Ken Regan pointed out that despite all petitions, the only result had been a general granting of rent increases, and the issuance, at the rate of about four per month, of "notices" by the city council to violators of housing ordinances.

Another sort of solution as visualized by tenement owners was described in the aforementioned Unity Club letter:

When the above-mentioned conditions are called to the attention of the owners or agents of these tenements they merely show indifference and offer as a solution the removal of the complainant to some other place of habitation, which is virtually impossible at the present. We know that there are city ordinances covering all of these aspects.

Owners kept stressing a rent increase as the solution for these housing problems. This answer was suggested in an advertisement by

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24 Letter of April 8, 1948, from Veterans and Citizens Unity Club, to Ken Regan, Representative in Congress.

the South El Paso Property Owners' Association which appeared in the
El Paso Times on July 6, 1948:

$10 a Day for a Room
$3 a Month for a Room

These are the incredibly low average rentals in South
El Paso tenements. The owners are conscious of the need
for improvements....But with such ridiculously low rentals,
the owners cannot improve the tenements. They cannot pour
money down a bottomless drain.

All costs have risen in recent years....Yet tenement
owners are receiving the same rents they received in 1941,
$10 per day per room. They are not permitted to raise rents.
They are still under OPA.

The owners want to cooperate but must have relief. The
public wants the tenement situation improved....Public opinion
can force the removal of OPA restrictions....

South El Paso Owners' Association
P.O. Box 174, El Paso

Francisco Hernández of the U. S. Housing Authority makes it clear
that housing conditions have not improved any since the 1948 campaign
for improvement. Instead, reports Mr. Hernández: 26

If anything they have gotten worse. Every year they
are worse than the year before, because new construction
is rare and owners allow their places to become dilapidated,
and make as few repairs as possible. I lived in South El
Paso during 1918 and 1919, and conditions were bad then,
but not as bad as they are now. Occasionally some tenement
is condemned, but never torn down.

Three housing projects built with federal aid are located in
El Paso - the Tays, Alamito, and Sierra Vista projects, of which the
latter is for veterans only. The Tays project, constructed in 1936,
is the latest project built for use by all. Congress has now
authorized a new housing project, to get under way soon. The feeling

26 See Hernández interview, July 13, 1950, Appendix B-8; and
interview with Mrs. Alice Barry, Executive Secretary, El Paso Council
expressed by Mr. Hernandez and by Mrs. Barry, executive secretary of the El Paso Council of Social Agencies, is that too few slum dwellers have been helped by the projects.

El Paso housing for much of its Hispanic population is far worse than that found among Spanish-Americans in most of northern New Mexico. In Santa Fe and in Las Vegas, New Mexico, while much of the Spanish-American housing is of an adobe type which may not appeal to unaccustomed Anglo eyes, it is not concentrated in slum areas, there are no areas of extensive tenements, and service is in no wise less satisfactory than that enjoyed by Anglos. Personal observation indicates a vast gulf between the kind of housing found among Spanish-Americans in much of El Paso, and that available to Spanish-Americans in much of northern New Mexico.

Housing, then, constitutes a problem suitable for political action. Federal, state, county or city housing projects, enforcement of city ordinances on housing repairs and improvement, and improvement of public services in the tenement areas, are all problems which call for political solution. Later, discussion will reveal the manner in which this housing problem was treated in the 1950 campaign.

Health

According to Sanchez and Saunders, selected mortality rates for Texas in 1946 were as follows among Anglo and Latin groups: 27

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27 George I. Sanchez and Lyle Saunders, Wetbacks, p. 31.
Deaths per 100,000 population

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Anglos</th>
<th>Spanish-speaking</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diptheria</td>
<td>1.81</td>
<td>6.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whooping cough</td>
<td>0.64</td>
<td>5.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tuberculosis</td>
<td>25.40</td>
<td>159.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The El Paso Border Committee finds that in 1944 El Paso suffered 72.2 deaths per one hundred thousand from diarrhea and enteritis, as compared with the U. S. rate of 9.9 deaths per one hundred thousand. In 1945 the figures were 52.6 for El Paso as compared with 8.7 for the United States. 28

A letter sent on August 4, 1948, by eighteen veterans to the governor of Texas expresses the concern of El Paso: 29

"El Paso is in mourning, and rightly so, for the 28 of our infants who died last June from diarrhea and enteritis alone! A 12 per cent increase over any previous record. Last year we had 66.7 per cent. The doctors say it is due to the terrible housing conditions in this, the slum area. We have pleaded and begged the mayor and city council for well over a year to enforce the sanitary conditions of the city, yet our success has been nil...."

The International Committee on Health and Welfare of the United States—Mexico Border Public Health Association, a creation of the Pan-American Sanitary Bureau, has conducted a joint border health project assisted by health and sanitary officers and doctors from Mexico and from the United States. Volunteers provide persons in El Paso and Juárez with health and sanitation instruction. Emphasis has been placed especially on venereal diseases, tuberculosis, and

28 El Paso Border Committee, op. cit., p. 74.

29 Letter to Governor Beauford H. Jester, August 4, 1948, by eighteen veterans.
other communicable diseases. Maternal and child health and welfare has been aided by the committee. Other than this, little has been done, either publicly or privately, to correct the El Paso health problem.

Attainment of Public Office

A wide disparity exists between the numbers of Spanish-Americans in the El Paso population and the numbers of Spanish-Americans holding public office. Kibbe points out that this situation is prevalent in Texas. The poll tax, she finds, is a voting barrier which denies the full support the Spanish-Americans must have to attain public office.

All Spanish-Americans interviewed agreed that there is a need for a greater number of Spanish-American people in public office. Conversations seemed to reveal a rather general impression among El Pasoans that the Spanish-American group is participating in increasing numbers in elective public office, but examination of the lists of office-holders fails to support this contention. Since 1948 two Spanish-American candidates have secured public office above that of constable or justice of the peace. They are Raymond Telles, county clerk, and Ernesto Valdez, member of the El Paso school board. With the departure of Telles for military service in May of 1951, Valdez

30 Barry interview, loc. cit.


32 See, for example, interview with Joe Rey, candidate for justice of the peace and El Paso attorney, June 29, 1950, Appendix B-16. The subject was brought incidentally into a number of interviews, and the reaction of everyone seemed to be about the same.

33 See Appendix F.
becomes the one elective official in El Paso County who is of Hispanic background.

A variety of reasons is offered for this phenomenon. Many attribute the shortage of Spanish-Americans in public office to the poll tax, which discourages their potential supporters. The point, as stressed by Mr. Tony Garibay, commander of V.F.W. Armijo post, is not so much that the Spanish-Americans will not run as that they will not get elected if they do. This point will be evaluated in terms of discussion of the 1950 primary campaign. Voting tendencies which may affect the paucity of Spanish-Americans in public office will be considered in the analysis of that contest.

The Spanish-Americans fare little better in public non-elective employment. On the city level, the Fire Department has been particularly criticized for its alleged refusal to hire Spanish-Americans. Examination of the Fire Department personnel lists supports this accusation. In other lists of city employees, Spanish names are rare. Where they do occur, they are associated in the main with menial types of work, such as street-sweeping, ditch-digging, and the like. In the county offices, some Spanish are employed in clerical positions. At present all county officers and all chief

34 Garibay interview, loc. cit.

35 See Garibay, Córdova, and Barry interviews, Appendices B-7, B-4, B-2.

36 Determined from examination of personnel lists. See Appendix F for lists covering principal officials. See also interview with Tony Garibay, loc. cit.
deputy officers - who hold the real power in county administration - are Anglos. Raymond Teller, county clerk, has been recalled into the Air Force, and has been replaced by his deputy, an Anglo.

The feeling of many Spanish-Americans interviewed seemed to be that where they are employed in public office it is because of their bilingualism.

This problem of participation in public office is perhaps one of the most susceptible to political action. The degree to which the 1950 campaign gave attention to it will be later discussed.

Economic and Social Discrimination

Kibbe finds that throughout Texas the Spanish-American has limited chances for advantageous private employment. Menial tasks with low pay and poor chances for promotion are the rule. Most complaints of discrimination in service relate to places of business and amusement.

It is difficult to determine the extent of employment discrimination in El Paso life. In sales positions Spanish-Americans are found everywhere. Bilingualism has been an aid to Spanish-Americans seeking employment in sales capacities. This is pointed out by Erna Fergusson as being an important incentive to their employment in such positions throughout Texas.

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37 Almost every Spanish-American interviewed made this point. A sample comment may be found in the Rey interview, loc. cit.

38 Kibbe, op. cit., pp. 158 and 208.

39 Erna Fergusson, Our Southwest, p. 91.
Most Anglos interviewed insisted that employment discrimination does not exist in El Paso. For example, W. J. Hooten, editor of the Times, referred to press men, mailers, and other persons employed in El Paso newspaper and publishing work, as being in many instances Hispanic. 40 Dorrance Roderick, publisher and principal stockholder in the Newspaper Printing Corporation, made the same point. 41 He added that there "has never been any problem in El Paso on discrimination, anywhere."

Union men were insistent that at least as far as their unions are concerned, discrimination is non-existent. Marvin Shady, publisher of the Labor Advocate, claimed that there is no discrimination in skilled trades unions such as the electrical, or in courses preparatory to these trades. 42

No marked distinction is apparently made in El Paso between Spanish-Americans of recent Mexican background and those of old-line Spanish origin whose ancestors early settled the American southwest. All are called Latins, or Spanish-Americans, or Spanish-speaking, without distinction as to origin. Raymond Telles, Henry Martínez, Mrs. Alice Barry and others denied that any distinction is made between those of Mexican origin and those of longtime ancestry north of the Río Grande. 43 According to Telles, only economic disabilities might

40 Hooten interview, March 27, 1951, Appendix B-11.
41 Roderick interview, March 27, 1951, Appendix B-17.
42 Shady interview, March 29, 1951, Appendix B-20.
43 Telles interview, March 24, 1951, Appendix B-22-c.
raise obstacles to advancement. He cited his wife, Mrs. Telles, as being treasurer of the Woman's Division of the Junior Chamber of Commerce and as being on the Board of Directors of the El Paso Chamber of Commerce.

But there is evidence of at least some discrimination. According to Mrs. Alice Barry, Secretary of the El Paso Council of Social Agencies, discrimination does exist with respect to important executive positions, where it is extremely difficult, according to her, but not impossible for Spanish-Americans of competence to secure employment. 44

Evidence of preference for Anglo-Americans occasionally appears in the advertisements of El Paso newspapers. For example, the Herald-Post of July 19, 1950, carried the following two classified advertisements in its help-wanted columns: 45


WILSON EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

ANGLO, general office clerk-typist for small office. No Saturday work. 5-day week. Chicago Pneumatic Tool Co., 724 E. San Antonio.

Union men did admit that some personal discrimination occurs in individual cases. George Webber, AFL representative and organizer in El Paso, described occasional discrimination as being "just a personal prejudice on the part of employers," and denied the existence of any pattern of discrimination. Mr. Webber, however, did confess that there

44 Barry interview, loc. cit.
is a tendency among many employers to expect that Hispanics will work for lower wages than will Anglos. He said, "Oftentimes I find that Spanish-Americans are key men at $1 per hour, but that the same men are 'no good' in the same job at $1.65," though Anglos may be employed at the higher rate. "We run into that sort of thing all the time," he added. If they will work for less, stated Mr. Webber, the Spanish-Americans can have any job they wish. It was the feeling of this leading labor man that there is no discrimination where the Hispanic is willing to work for less - at least no discrimination in terms of the type of job he can have. Here again, stressed Mr. Webber, attitudes of employers are dependent upon their own individual predilections, not upon any sort of common El Paso attitude. It was the feeling of Mr. Webber that where wage discriminations do occur, "it is a business psychology that has been drummed into employers." 

Lower wage standards for Spanish-Americans are a regular feature of Texas economic life. Emory S. Bogardus points out that the Spanish-Americans come in poverty and do not have the means for improving their condition. The comments of Mr. Webber, a labor authority in El Paso, would seem to substantiate Bogardus' contention as far as El Paso is concerned.

George I. Sánchez and Lyle Saunders point out that in the field of social relations, there is "if not always overt or covert animosity, at least a fairly strong in-group and out-group identification, on the

46 Webber interview, March 26, 1951, Appendix B-24.
47 Bogardus, op. cit., p. 51.
part of many individuals in both groups."\(^{48}\) The clearest evidence of this type of identification in El Paso is to be found in the refusal of membership to Hispanics in some social organizations, such as the sororities and fraternities of Texas Western College, in El Paso.\(^{49}\) The social pages of the *Times* and the *Herald-Post* are overwhelmingly Anglo in orientation.\(^{50}\) In-group and out-group identification does not, however, extend to provision of service in hotels, restaurants, theaters, or other business houses.

Minor irritations occasionally cause complaint, as in the El Paso police station, where Spanish-speaking persons have protested that during certain times of the week - as on Saturdays or Sundays - no one was to be found in the police station with whom they could speak their language.\(^{51}\)

Henry Martínez, president in 1950 of the El Paso Council of the League of United Latin American Citizens and governor of District 19, Pan-American Optimists, summed up rather accurately the picture on discrimination in El Paso: \(^{52}\)


\(^{49}\) This fact is confirmed by faculty members; also see Córdova interview, *loc. cit.*

\(^{50}\) See Chapter 5.


\(^{52}\) Martínez interview, Appendix B-13-c.
Question: Would you say, in general, that discrimination is a problem in El Paso?
Answer: Yes, it is a very definite problem. It is true that Spanish are employed widely all over town. However, there are many places, such as the county and city government, where they are employed principally at menial tasks. Also there is the wage difference. Employers are glad to get the Spanish, provided a lower wage can be paid. If it is a question of giving an Anglo or an Hispanic a job, at the same wages for either, and the language problem is not involved, you know as well as I do who will be employed - the Anglo.

Question: Are responsible executive positions denied Hispanics in El Paso?
Answer: Oh, no, you'll find them in a few such posts. For example, there is Joe Moreno, assistant cashier at the El Paso National Bank; and Manuel Escajera is one of the vice-presidents of the same bank. Also, you will find them in a few instances as department store managers. I think their bilingual abilities account for this as much as anything else.

In summary, while discrimination is not as openly galling to its victims in El Paso as it is in many northern and southern American communities, it is present and may call for political action.

Education

In reporting on educational problems faced by Spanish-Americans in Texas, Pauline R. Kibbe lists the following inequitable educational features:

1. Arbitrary segregation in schools
2. Inability of working children to attend school
3. Lack of interest of school administrators in Latin American children
4. Improperly trained teachers
5. Inferior buildings and equipment
6. Inequitable method of apportioning state school funds

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53 Kibbe, op. cit., p. 272.
Though it is clear that El Paso Spanish-American school children do experience many educational problems, the writer could find no evidence in El Paso of discriminatory practices such as those reported by Kibbe for Texas generally. 54

Spanish-American students are not subject to any form of segregation in El Paso schools. Though there is a concentration of Hispanic people in South El Paso, there are Hispanic families living in large numbers in almost all sections of the city and county. Students in all cases are sent to the nearest school, without attempt at segregation.

Problems faced by El Paso Hispanic children are of another sort. As is pointed out by V. O. Key, with respect to Texas generally, many Spanish-American adults have the most meagre sort of schooling, without any conception of American political institutions. 55 Pupils in schools of El Paso and elsewhere throughout the southwest come in large numbers from Spanish-speaking families and have little contact with English until they reach school.

Despite this, Spanish-Americans complain that there is an insufficient teaching of remedial English in the El Paso schools— an issue which could be stressed by candidates for county superintendent. Two years of foreign language are required in the secondary schools. To satisfy this requirement, the Spanish-Americans generally take Spanish from Anglo teachers. It is felt by some that they could be

54 On this point, see the letter from County Superintendent of Public Instruction to Lulacs, December 9, 1949, Appendix D-4. The letter proves nothing in itself, but happens to coincide with the facts.

55 V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation, p. 272.
better spending their time improving their command of English. \textsuperscript{56} In this particular, Hispanic educational problems of El Paso parallel those of northern New Mexico and probably of other parts of the southwest. During a part of a summer of teaching at Las Vegas, New Mexico, the writer repeatedly found that Spanish students misunderstood idiomatic words and phrases which are a common part of English speech. They explained that they had managed to slip through grade school and high school without having to answer too many questions, and that in some cases they were taught in the Spanish language through the seventh grade.

Public citizenship classes are rare. According to Mrs. Barry, only one public citizenship class is available in El Paso - a night class meeting at Aoy school. \textsuperscript{57}

The schools located in areas of Spanish-American concentration are precisely the ones in El Paso which lack any sort of lunch program, though such provision is made in other parts of the city. According to the El Paso Border Committee report, schools without such lunch service for students are Alamas, enrollment 727; Franklin, 554; San Jacinto, 725; and Winkler, 506. The explanation offered by school officials is that these schools do not have adequate lunchroom facilities. \textsuperscript{58}

El Paso education for Spanish-Americans might be improved, then, by a more careful attention to the special linguistic needs of the

\textsuperscript{56} Garibay interview, \textit{loc. cit.}

\textsuperscript{57} Córdova and Barry interviews, \textit{loc. cit.}

\textsuperscript{58} El Paso Border Committee, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 116.
Hispanic pupils; adults could benefit from citizenship classes; and physical needs of pupils might be better attended to. These are problems, again, which invite political action.

**Attitudes of Civic Leaders**

Attitudes of civic leaders may constitute a problem worthy of some political attention.

It seems not unjustified to say that the problems faced by the Spanish-American people in El Paso are aggravated by lack of social consciousness on the part of both the Anglo-American and the Spanish-American group. Mrs. Alice Barry, executive secretary, El Paso Council of Social Agencies, points out that the Hispanic upper classes seem generally to lack any incentive to aid the less fortunate members of their own ethnic group. Spanish-Americans interviewed commonly displayed a resentment against any particular designation which would place them apart as a separate group. Their usefulness to other Spanish-American people is thus limited, though their desire to be accepted as full-fledged Americans can be readily understood.

Among a few Anglo leaders an ill-suppressed sense of prejudice occasionally came to the fore. Robert L. Holliday, a potent factional leader in the Democratic Party, spoke contemptuously of "Mexicans." "Oh, he's just a Mexican," was his typical comment on Spanish-Americans running for office. Mr. Holliday explained non-participation of Spanish-Americans in public office in terms of excessive drink and

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59 Barry interview, loc. cit.
Louis LeVeaux, secretary, El Paso County Republican Executive Committee for El Paso County, was asked whether there might be any problems of concern to the Spanish of El Paso which could become subjects of discussion in a political campaign. He replied that there could be none. Later, during an audience with Mr. Holliday, Mr. LeVeaux entered the office and advised Mr. Holliday that this writer had tried to "stir up race hatred." These two political figures frankly agreed that they do "not believe in social equality," whatever they might have meant by that.

The heat generated in El Paso over "Spanish-American delinquency" reveals something of the attitudes of civic leaders toward the Hispanic group. During the summer of 1950, at the height of the primary campaign, the Herald-Post and Times ran a series of front-page articles and editorials devoted to the youth gang problem, with the clear implication that most of the gangsterism was among Spanish-American youths. Even the assistant county attorney whispered to the writer that the bulk of law-enforcement problems of El Paso were to be attributed to the "Mexicans," and estimated that 70 per cent of El Paso

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60 Holliday interview, loc. cit.

61 Ibid.

delinquencies were so caused. With up to 70 per cent of the population composed of Hispanic people, this should not be too surprising. Collins was charitable enough to admit that many Hispanic offenses were very minor, and that economic factors probably played a part.

Even El Continental, the Spanish-language newspaper which depends for its financial support upon Anglo advertising, chimed in on the theme of Hispanic delinquency. Only July 5 the following appears in this paper:

If the El Paso police doubt the state of affairs which exists in South El Paso, they might post patrols at the corner of Mesa and Fourth - a place which is the headquarters of the "Lucky 13," the names of whose members are written on the walls of the two-story building which stands at this intersection, and which during the day serves as a vegetable market. And if the police will go along Seventh Street to the intersections with Park, Hill, and Tellez, they will there find the principal female leaders of the "7-x." And so it goes.

The newspapers, however, after running a series of items denouncing delinquency in Spanish areas, did admit that there is also some hoodlumism in non-Hispanic neighborhoods. An article, which came late in the anti-gang campaign, remarked:

63 Interview with William C. Collins, June 27, 1950, Appendix B-3.
64 Thus maintaining a percentage of delinquency equal to percentage of population!
While activities of South El Paso hoodlum groups have long been known to officers, recent outbreaks of vandalism and beatings "on the other side of the tracks" - northwest - have attracted police attention and citizen concern.

Law enforcement officials in both city and county, active in trying to stamp out the situation before it becomes a greater menace, have expressed bewilderment over the fact that youth "from good homes where they are given every advantage," seek an outlet for their energies in youthful gangsterism.

That Spanish-American boys and girls do not account for an unusual amount of delinquency in El Paso is to be found in figures prepared by the El Paso Border Committee. Bearing in mind that Hispanics comprise from 60 to 70 per cent of the population, the following figures do not indicate exceptional Hispanic perversity: 67

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Boys</th>
<th>Girls</th>
<th>Per Cent of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglo-American</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latin-American</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Per Cent of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglo-American</td>
<td>411</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spanish-American</td>
<td>1,871</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When one considers the predilection which some police might have for keeping the Spanish-American group under special surveillance, and the depressed housing, health, and working conditions under which many of the Hispanic people live, one might be surprised to find that this population majority did not become responsible for more than 69 per cent of probation cases or 79 per cent of total juvenile cases.

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The Spanish-American delinquency problem is present, but the sort of interpretation it has been given would suggest a needed improvement in attitudes of some elements of public opinion. A need for exercise of sufficient Hispanic power to effect such improvement might be indicated.

**Alien Migrant Labor**

One of the significant problems of the southwest border country is the problem of the so-called "wetback", or illegal Mexican entrant employed as migrant laborer.

As is pointed out by Paul S. Taylor, a line drawn northwest from Corpus Christi to San Antonio, thence north through Austin to Dallas, marks the western terminus of the black belt and the beginning of the area of Mexican migrant labor. 68

The Mexicans - called such here because in this instance most of them are of actual or of very recent Mexican nationality - are, according to Taylor, the "most migratory of all workers." 69 T. J. Cauley suggests that the bulk of this migration goes into agriculture, where the picking of cotton, lettuce, melons and sugar beets comprise types of labor which attract these workers. 71 The Mexican migrants

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69 Ibid.
work seasonally in agriculture, and at other periods some turn to railroad labor.

George I. Sánchez and Lyle Saunders claim that many of El Paso’s most influential families secure their incomes from farms employing this type of labor. 72

Because of the domestic and international tensions which are generated, the conditions under which these migrant workers live could become significant politically. A comparison of migrant working conditions in the United States with parallel agrarian conditions in Mexico is beside the point, for it is in the impact of these conditions here that the sources of tension lie.

Sánchez and Saunders report conditions faced by the wetback workers as being "worse than slavery". According to these writers, on many of the farms there is no provision for sanitation. Shelter is poor or non-existent. Quarters are infested by flies, insects, and valley mosquitoes. The workers are fed on the farms at a large profit, where feed is sold by farm-operated commissaries. In 1948, a 16-cent loaf of bread sold in most farm commissaries for 25 cents. They pay in 1948 was $1.50 per hundred pounds of cotton, with the average picker gathering about 250 pounds of cotton, "from dawn to sunset." 73

Typical tenant farm devices for withholding earnings are common on many of the southwestern farms worked by migrant labor. An

72 George I. Sánchez and Lyle Saunders, Wetbacks, p. 23.
73 Ibid., pp. 23, 21, and 18.
Ebenezer Jones, assistant New Mexico state labor commissioner, called attention to something Friday that cannot be tolerated. In talking before the President’s Commission on Migratory Labor, which is holding sessions in El Paso, Jones said in part:

"If it is necessary to import Mexican labor then it is necessary that they be paid."

Jones then produced letters he had received from the Mexican consul asking help in collecting wages withheld from workers. He said claims totaled $200 against a single farmer.....

Mexican farm laborers brought to the United States should be paid by all means. For any farmer to try to take advantage of those people is disgusting and should not be tolerated.

The Times believes most farmers treat the so-called "wetback" fairly, but apparently there are cases where abuses are practiced.....

Expressions by farm owners indicate the attitude of some of these employers on this type of labor. A farmer is quoted by Taylor as saying: 75

I would rather have Mexican tenants than either Negro or white. You can’t tell the white so well what to do. They think they are on an equality with you and they want to live in a house about like you do. They are always wanting better clothes and more provisions. The Mexicans have bigger families and more labor to get out a big crop. If the Mexicans learn English they don’t work so well; if they get educated a little they don’t make such good farm hands.

Domestic tensions are created by the depressed conditions in which these migrants live, and by their failure to establish a firm connection with the United States. Their custom is to enter the

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75 Taylor, op. cit., p. 136.
United States in great numbers, and in the majority of cases to leave when the harvest is over. Those who do remain illegally, gravitate to the city slums already described.

Tensions over the wetback problem have been created in the ranks of employers and in the union groups. Planters are bitter over the whole controversy, and point out that they are wholly dependent upon the Mexicans and would face ruin without them.

Organized labor is distressed over the entire wetback problem, and is particularly bitter, according to Sánchez and Saunders, over the apparent understanding between immigration officials and cotton planters whereby the wetbacks are ignored during the picking season. Sánchez and Saunders quote George Webber, AFL organizer, as calling the wetback the number one enemy of organized labor at the border. 76 An interview with Mr. Webber revealed his criticism of the denial of the Commission on Migratory Labor that labor be heard. Mr. Webber felt that importation of such labor should be determined exclusively on the basis of shortage, not of low wages. He advocated that the Commission on Migratory Labor include a representative from the United States State Department, one from the Texas state labor department, and one from organized labor. According to Mr. Webber, the matter of shortage or non-shortage is the only one to be considered, and government and labor representatives are in a better position than employers to determine the answer to that question. 77  


77 Webber interview, March 26, 1951, Appendix B-24.
summarized his position by listing questions which he considers relevant:

1. Is there a shortage? Or just a desire for low-paid workers?
2. If there is a shortage, why not come to the Texas Employment Agency and to the labor people before securing laborers from Mexico?
3. For example, if 2500 workers are needed, and 2500 are available in the United States, why go across the Río Grande? Because of a shortage?
4. If Mexicans are imported to satisfy pressure for low wages, how can equalization of wages with Americans be secured?

Many Hispanic U. S. citizens have made a point of opposing the hiring of Mexican citizens at 40 cents per hour, when United States citizens are without work. Delegations of Spanish-Americans have protested to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Raoul Hernández, a member of one such delegation, reported a packing shed where out of 100 workers, only seven were United States citizens, the rest being illegal entrants from Mexico. **78** As early as 1929, T. J. Cauley was calling for restriction of immigration on the grounds of lowered wages, poor living conditions, and so on. **79**

Immigration officials have condemned the lowering of standards. Reporting to the President's Commission on Migratory Labor, G. C. Wilmoth of the Bureau of Naturalization and Immigration outlined this problem. The El Paso Times reported: **80**

He charged that Mexican labor was undercutting the domestic rate, citing conditions in Chaves County, New Mexico, where "desperate appeals for farm labor promised

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79 T. J. Cauley, loc. cit.
a minimum of $3 a hundred for cotton-picking." As soon as they got this supply during the October break-through in 1948, Wilmoth said, the price "promptly dropped to $2.50." He also cited a condition in Arizona where $3 a hundred was paid, while across the line in New Mexico's Hidalgo County Mexican labor was getting $2, "although the international agreement calls for payment of the 'prevailing wage'."

K. B. Ivey, Ysleta Farmer, in a report to the President's Commission on Migratory Labor, described the problem in the following terms:

"We don't like cheap wages," Ivey said. "It puts us too much in the peasant class, but that is what we are competing with and we have to pay low wages or get out."

The migrant problem is a source of international tensions. Since 1948, there have been no contracts between the Mexican government and Texas farmers, on grounds of discrimination practiced in Texas against the Mexicans. On November 2 of that year the Mexican government announced it would reserve the right of excluding Mexican migrants from states suspected of practicing discrimination. Texas was one of the states named. However, since that date, new agreements have been reached between Mexico and the United States, whereby farmers must put up money to liquidate damages in cases of escapees, to pay for transportation, and so on. This agreement has been denounced by Texas farmers on the grounds that they are unable

81 Ibid.
82 Sánchez and Saunders, Wetbacks, p. 13.
to meet the financial obligations incurred. 84

Legalization of Mexican entrants for migrant labor meets with intense opposition from labor groups. Refusal to admit them confronts no less opposition from growers' associations. The United States government has been unable to reach any definitive decision on the question. During the summer of 1950, it was announced that the government would refuse entry to the migrants. In response, the El Paso County Cotton Association announced that the farmers of the valley were faced with a critical shortage of agricultural laborers. The fear was expressed that the farmers would be unable to bring in the large cotton harvest expected during the fall months of 1950. 85 During the summer of 1950, despite the government announcement, the wetbacks crossed in large numbers as usual.

At the center of tension over migrant labor stands the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service. It has borne the brunt of severe criticism from both positions. It has been accused of letting down the bars to illegal migration at harvest time, and has been denounced for failure to admit the needed farm workers.

According to Sánchez and Saunders, the Immigration and Naturalization Service interferes very little with the farmers' labor supply at El Paso during chopping and picking seasons. It is their custom, say these reporters, to keep away from farms unless there is a complaint.


But wetbacks found off the farms are subject to arrest and deportation, with additional punishment for second offenders. This system, according to Sánchez and Saunders, has been made into a racket by the growers. Inspectors have found that employers have worked their Mexican labor until picking time was over, then called up the Service to remove "troublesome" workers to the county jail - before pay was collected. This practice was ended when inspectors began returning to the farms to pick up deportees' payrolls. Statistics provided by these writers would seem to indicate some collusion between the Service and the growers. The following deportation figures suggest an increase in activity of the Service at the end of the seasonal need for Mexican migrant labor:

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Further evidence on the sympathies of the Service appeared during harvest time, 1948. At the height of the harvest period, thousands of Mexicans appeared in Juárez, intent upon entering the United States. Mexican troops arrived to prevent them from crossing the river to

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86 Sánchez and Saunders, Wetbacks, p. 17.
87 Ibid., p. 21.
88 Ibid., p. 29.
El Paso, but were unable to check the men. On the United States side, the men were "arrested" en masse, then paroled to work in the fields. Within about 48 hours some 7500 aliens had been thus turned over to the Texas farmers. In explanation of this action, Watson B. Miller, Commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service in Washington, explained: 89

Eventually the situation became so critical from the standpoint of both the need of the employers and the need of the workers, that it was decided, strictly as a temporary emergency measure, to parole the arrested aliens and defer their removal to Mexico until the crops in question had been harvested.

Sánchez and Saunders point out that farmers' trucks were waiting a few hundred yards from the river, and that a special train had been backed into the El Paso depot yard by a representative of the Great Western Sugar Company. Recruiting agents were busy passing out "certificates of need" which had been supplied them by the U. S. Employment Service. 90 These writers add that this 1948 removal of the bars followed upon the heels of a visit by President Truman, during which time the needs of the cotton growers were laid before him. Though Sánchez and Saunders clearly imply a causal relationship between the visit of the President and removal of the bars, their analysis cannot be fully accepted without further evidence, which is lacking.

89 Letter from Watson B. Miller, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, to R. A. Cortez, of the League of United Latin American Citizens, October 26, 1948. For complete text, see Appendix D-5.

According to George Webber, AFL organizer for El Paso, the workers who had congregated in Juárez were starving, and a solution had to be found. Fault, feels Mr. Webber, lay in allowing them to get together in Juárez in the hopes of coming into the United States. Another failure, in the view of this labor leader, lies in the fact that official boards which enter Mexico to recruit laborers are not accompanied by labor representatives who would push for equalization of wages - thus making the question of recruitment one of shortage, not of cheap wages as the chief incentive for hiring the Mexican workers.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service has not been satisfied with its position in the struggle over the wetbacks. On August 5, 1950, G. C. Wilmoth, spokesman in El Paso for the Service, reported that:

"farmers were once ashamed of using the wetbacks. Now they have come to the point where they believe they have a vested right to these illegal workers. They go to their senators, their congressmen, the attorney general or the President to complain. They have even brought the same spirit to the workers themselves. Some have complained that our system of spotting them from planes and reporting them to patrol cars who pick them up was "unethical."

In 1951 no solution was in sight, either on the domestic or international scale, for the alien worker problem. The migrant labor problem becomes significant for Spanish-Americans north of the

91 Webber interview, March 26, 1951, Appendix B-24.
border. Many of them are dependent upon the same sort of work that is sought by the Mexican nationals, and wage scales and working conditions affecting U. S. Hispanics are influenced by the type of solution that may be found for the wetback problem.

While from an international point of view a broader vision is undoubtedly to be desired, the U. S. Hispanics which make up the ranks of laborers along the border are personally affected by the immigration of illegal, low-wage Mexican labor. The point made by labor leaders that the migrant workers are brought in to maintain low wages, not to fill a worker shortage, is worthy of exploration and is of concern to the large numbers of Spanish-Americans who are dependent for a part of their incomes upon migrant work.

In the broad sense, the bread and butter of U. S. Latins may be no more important than the bread and butter of Mexican Latins. But U. S. Hispanics will not see the problem that way. In terms of what they want, the possibility of political action on the subject becomes significant.

U. S. - Mexican Relations

A subject which might be expected to be of interest to many of the Spanish-Americans, and of political concern to the large numbers who have either come recently from Mexico or who have relatives in Mexico, is the problem of U. S. - Mexican relations. A political campaign along the Mexican border would possibly take up this question. Later consideration of the manner in which candidates handled the issues will suggest the degree to which this matter came into the
1950 campaign.

Political geographers stress that a river is a joining rather than a separating physical feature. The same type of economy is likely to prevail on both sides. As Ellen Churchill Semple points out, "The political frontier line which is run along a river is an artificial one, for every drainage system forms an unbroken whole." 93

The Río Grande shares these weak features of the typical river-type boundary. Carey McWilliams speaks of its "unreality." 94 The economies, the lives and the fortunes of the people of both sides are inextricably intertwined. The geographic features tend to overcome the political restrictions.

A controversy never settled involves the Chamizal zone of South El Paso—claimed by Mexico, under de facto United States control, and in the very heart of the city. Here the changing course of the river left Mexican territory on the U. S. side, and Americans proceeded to occupy it as their own. Again, a protrusion of agricultural land on the north side of the river is Córdova Island, still under Mexican jurisdiction. Here the border of Mexico brushes with Paisano Drive, a principal El Paso thoroughfare.

Along the border small matters are occasionally the sources of minor irritations. In the recent legislation providing for return to Mexico of flags taken by U. S. forces in the Mexican war, Representative

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94 Carey McWilliams, North From Mexico, p. 61.
Regan of the Texas Sixteenth Congressional District had hoped to require Mexico to reciprocate by returning United States flags captured in the same war. He said: 95

We down on the border have a somewhat different attitude toward this question - we feel that when we are required to make a gesture of good-will, that Mexico should be required to do so also.

Visa regulations, constantly in a state of flux, have been a source of tension. An attempt has been made by the State Department and the Mexican government to institute a consistent system of visa regulations. Border people insist that trade and movement of people near their homes be kept free. Attempts at setting up any sort of visa regulations or other border-crossing fee system have met with immediate protest. 96

Attempts at restricting or enlarging Mexican trade are occasionally sources of friction. During the summer of 1950, lumbermen were reported to have gotten the county commissioners' court to hire a deputy sheriff whose task it was to stop trucks coming in from Mexico, and to arrest drivers for traffic violations. On this point, the El Paso Herald-Post commented: 97

Can it be possible that under any interpretation of American law a group of private citizens, engaged in the same business, can go to Commissioners' Court, have that body permit them to hire a deputy sheriff to patrol the United States border for their private benefit?

96 For example, see "Texas Solon Protests New Visa Regulations," El Paso Herald-Post, LXX, 139 (June 13, 1950), p. 2.
97 "Can This Be Legal?" editorial, El Paso Herald-Post, LXX, 146 (June 21, 1950), p. 10.
A group of lumbermen have done just that. With the okay of Commissioners' Court, which met in special session, they have hired a man and the court has clothed him with all the authority of a deputy sheriff.

He is an agent of the State and County - and the people - but he is paid $250 a month by the lumbermen with donations to the County General Fund.

His sole task is to stop lumber trucks from crossing into the United States from Mexico and to find some violation of traffic laws.

The idea, of course, is to prevent the importation of Mexican lumber by truck.....

.....If the private deputy business is to continue, we would like to have one to keep all newspapers out of El Paso except those that arrive by freight. And we feel sure the Commissioners' Court can find a number of stores, banks, or bars that would be willing to hire one to keep customers out of their competitors' places of business.

The Negro

Though problems of El Paso Negroes are not-in themselves relevant to the peculiar position of El Paso as a border community inhabited by a Spanish-American majority, they do throw an interesting light on the rather unusual character of the place.

An excellent and authoritative source on El Paso Negroes is Mr. Marvin Williams, real estate and insurance agent, publisher and editor of the monthly Southwest Trade Guide, and well-known El Paso Negro leader. The Southwest Trade Guide, despite its unimpressive name, is an effective publication devoted to the interests of southwest Negro people.

In an interview with Mr. Williams, in which Mr. Dion Muse, another Negro leader, contributed some comments, it was stated that the Negroes constitute a small El Paso ethnic minority. According to Messrs.

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98 Williams and Muse interview, March 24, 1951, Appendix B-25.
Williams and Muse, the situation in El Paso is from the Negro point of view somewhat better than the situation in most northern cities. Though education is segregated in accordance with Texas law, there is no marked segregation with respect to housing. Negroes live in clusters in various parts of El Paso; and a number of predominantly white areas contain a few scattered Negro families. Nor are Negro concentrations found necessarily in the less desirable parts of El Paso, but in areas of varying economic character.

El Paso Negroes are segregated with respect to most restaurants and places of lodging. However, despite Texas law on the matter, there is no effective segregation on busses or in railroad and bus terminals.

El Paso busses, in compliance with the law of the state, do provide sections for Negroes, with the word "colored" appearing to designate the parts thus set aside. However, neither whites nor colored regard this seriously, and all passengers sit in all parts of busses without hindrance. Much the same disregard of the law applies to bus and railroad terminals, where waiting and rest rooms are set aside for "colored." Comment of Messrs. Williams and Muse, and observations by the writer, confirm that whites and Negroes utilize facilities interchangeably without reference to the officially designated segregation.

Mr. Williams illustrated his point with a narrative from personal experience. Bus drivers, he explained, will occasionally come to their work from other parts of Texas, unacquainted with the rather unusual El Paso attitude on segregation - unusual, that is, in terms of
disregard of the law. These new bus drivers will at first insist upon segregation. In one instance, according to Mr. Williams, he was asked to move to the back of a crowded bus. Before moving, Mr. Williams insisted that about a dozen whites in the back of the bus get out of the colored section. With the aid of a policeman, Mr. Williams was able to compel the bus driver to accede to this request - leaving Mr. Williams alone among empty seats in the rear, and several whites standing.

According to both Mr. Williams and Mr. Muse, and as indicated by observation of the El Paso scene, no employment pattern can be determined, though many positions are not open to Negroes. Negroes are widely employed in skilled jobs, particularly on the railroads, where they serve as brakemen, shopmen, and mechanics. A number are employed at the Phelps-Dodge Refinery, and at other industrial plants, in various skilled and unskilled types of work. According to Mr. Williams, three Negro policemen are employed, and they patrol Negro, non-Negro, and mixed neighborhoods, and on the date of the interview with Mr. Williams, he stated that one man had been promised a position in the sheriff's department.

The point is that El Paso does not follow any conventional pattern. Though economic and social disabilities are suffered by various groups, there is no widespread insistence upon any particular form of segregation or discrimination.

Segregation of Spanish-Americans of all types is unknown, except perhaps in one or two social organizations or in fraternal groups of
Texas Western College. The Hispanics enjoy full employment rights as far as character of the positions is concerned, but are likely to receive lower wages in some cases than are received by Anglos on similar jobs. Their organizations are respected. Their physical needs are not well attended, and they do not receive their share of public positions.

As compared with many United States cities, the position of non-Anglo groups in El Paso is somewhat advantageous. The fact that El Paso has a non-Anglo majority, and that it is located on the border, may be contributing factors.

**Summary**

The preceding discussion has pointed to eight problems which are of undoubted concern to El Paso's Spanish-American majority.

Housing, health, and attainment of public office have been shown to be particularly pressing problems in terms of Hispanic interest. Economic and social discrimination and education, while possibly not charged with the urgency that attends other questions, may still be seen to involve potential reform by political action. Attitudes of civic leaders may in some cases be subject to improvement through suitable Spanish-American pressure; and the wetback and farm labor problem in general is perennially calling for solution. U. S.-Mexican relations do in some cases suggest political action for their solution.

Thus it is indicated that El Paso's Hispanic majority faces serious problems calling for some sort of remedial attention. Proper
analysis of the forms this attention might take must await further examination of the place of the Spanish-American majority in El Paso life. It will be the task of the next few chapters to indicate the position of these people in terms of economic, public opinion, social and political influence. A further development of this theme will occur later in the discussion of the 1950 primary campaign.
Chapter 4

CENTERS OF ECONOMIC INFLUENCE

It becomes clear that El Paso Spanish-Americans face a variety of problems which call for remedial action. The economic and social environment of the Spanish is a phase of their problems, and in some aspects may be subject to political action. More significantly, however, analysis of the El Paso economic and social environment of the Spanish-Americans will suggest the aids and obstacles which are available in business, labor, the press, radio, and social and political organization, toward amelioration of difficulties faced by the Hispanic population. With this environment made clear, the scope of possible Hispanic political activity will be brought more sharply into focus.

The majority of the population of El Paso is Hispanic. Business leadership, however, is predominantly Anglo. Labor leadership is more evenly distributed between the Anglo and the Hispanic sectors, with, however, a noticeable number of key labor positions in the hands of Anglo union men.

Business

Almost without exception, El Paso manufacturing is guided by Anglo businessmen.
Of 25 manufacturing establishments named by Chris Fox as most prominent in El Paso economic life, only one, the Montes Packing Company, employing 40 persons, is managed by a person of Spanish name. The remaining 24 industries named by Mr. Fox employ a total of 4,730 persons and are managed in all cases by non-Hispanic directors.

The Roster of Manufacturing Industries of El Paso, Texas, prepared by the Industrial Department, El Paso Chamber of Commerce, for November, 1950, lists a total of 191 manufacturing establishments, large and small, in El Paso County. Of these, tabulation reveals that 34 are guided by Hispanic individuals, and that the remaining 157 are under guidance of non-Hispanics. The 34 Hispanic-operated manufacturing plants employ a total of 413 persons. The remaining 157 manufacturing plants employ 7,989 persons. Thus, of the 8,402 persons tabulated in the Roster as employed in all types of manufacturing in El Paso, 4.9 per cent are employed by Spanish-Americans and 95.1 per cent are employed by others. These figures also reveal that the 34 Hispanic-operated plants employ an average of 12.1 persons each, and the non-Hispanic-operated plants employ an average of 50.9 persons each. It is clear, then, that major guidance of El Paso manufacturing is in the hands of the non-Hispanic minority.

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1 Interview with Mr. Chris Fox, public relations manager, State National Bank, and onetime city councilman and sheriff—March 26, 1951, Appendix B-5.

2 These figures were tabulated from the Roster of Manufacturing Industries of El Paso, Texas (Prepared by: Industrial Department, El Paso, Texas, Chamber of Commerce, November 1950).
Chris Fox and leaders of the El Paso Chamber of Commerce agree that Hispanic business men are to be found in some numbers in the retailing field, though even here as small operators. A survey of Hudspeth's El Paso City Directory, 1950-1951 seems to confirm this. It reveals that in the business world, almost the only places where Spanish names occur are in the retail field; and that even here they are limited to small stores and shops. Exceptions are few. One of the more important exceptions is Meza's Lumber Depot, lumber brokers and wholesalers representing some of the largest mills of northern Mexico.

In rare instances administrative positions are occupied by Hispanic individuals. For example, Manuel Escajera is one of the vice-presidents of the El Paso National Bank; and José Moreno is assistant cashier in the same bank.

A survey of leadership in the El Paso Chamber of Commerce reveals a solid Anglo-American pattern. All of the six officers of the Chamber of Commerce - president, two vice-presidents, treasurer, immediate past-president, and executive vice-president and general manager - were Anglo-Americans in March of 1951. No Hispanic names appeared at that time among the twenty members of the board of directors of the Chamber.

3 See, for example, the Fox interview, loc. cit.; and interview with Ed. Holden, executive vice-president and general manager, El Paso Chamber of Commerce, March 26, 1951, Appendix B-9.


of Commerce. Finally, the two honorary directors - the mayor and county judge - were both Anglos. 6

All businessmen who were questioned with regard to El Paso civic and business leadership, replied by furnishing long lists of Anglo-American names. 7 Whether or not such interviews provided accurate information, they did indicate a general unconsciousness among Anglos of any Spanish-American economic leadership.

The pattern of El Paso business influence is clear: It is Anglo-dominated.

Labor

According to George F. Webber, one of El Paso's outstanding labor leaders, union membership in El Paso County is about 60 per cent Hispanic, 40 per cent Anglo. 8 According to Webber, official positions in the various trade unions become naturally distributed roughly in proportion to ethnic composition of membership.

It would appear that Webber's statement is essentially correct, insofar as officialdom on the grade union level as distinguished from central leadership, is concerned.

For example, W. R. Enriquez is president of the El Paso Allied


7 See, for example, the Holden interview, loc. cit.

8 George Webber is AFL representative and organizer in El Paso, vice-president of the 4th district, Texas State Federation of Labor, vice-president, National Farm Laborers’ Union, and chairman, El Paso Housing Authority Board. See interview with Webber, March 26, 1951, Appendix B-24.
Printing Trades Council. Samuel Díaz is business agent for the truck drivers. Ramón Román is business executive for the United Garment Workers, and international representative for the United Cement, Lime, and Gypsum Workers International Union; and Emanuel Arranda is president and business manager of the Lumber and Sawmill Workers Union of El Paso.

According to Webber, a number of unions which are overwhelmingly Hispanic in membership are also overwhelmingly Hispanic in officer personnel. These would include, for example, the weavers', moulders' and printers' unions.

Though leadership in individual unions may be distributed more or less according to ethnic composition of membership, the same cannot be said of central labor leadership. Here is to be found a pattern of Anglo domination not markedly different from that in business and industry. Of the ten officers of the A.F. of L. Central Labor Union, only one, Ramón Román, recording secretary, is of Hispanic origin. Of the eight officers of the Building Trades Council, only one, Samuel Díaz, sergeant-at-arms, is of Hispanic origin. Some of these officers, furthermore, represent trade unions overwhelmingly Hispanic in membership. Such would be Frank Booth, trustee of the Central Labor Union and of the Building Trades Council, and chosen from the hod carriers and common laborers. Another would be George W. Austin, president of the Building Trades Council, and trustee of the Central Labor Union, who is chosen from the bricklayers.

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The El Paso Labor Advocate is published by Marvin L. Shady and edited by Charles W. Leverett. A series of Labor Advocate articles supposedly covering the men influential in El Paso labor included such names as Thomas A. Forbes of the plasterers, Ernie Miller of the plumbers, and George F. Webber. Items related to trips and other activities of El Paso labor representatives list such names as George F. Webber, AFL representative; Carl Knight, president of the Central Labor Union; Homer Minton, business representative, sheet metal workers; and Ernie Miller, business representative of the plumbers. No similar items including Spanish names could be found.

As occurred in interviews with businessmen, requests for lists of outstanding labor leaders invariably brought forth only Anglo names, unless Hispanic names were particularly requested. For example, a Labor Advocate printer was chosen at random and he furnished six Anglo names as being at the top of labor leadership in El Paso. The accuracy of his list is not the point. What is to the point is that Anglo labor union men, whether leaders or not, seemed generally unconscious of Spanish-American leadership.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations is represented in El Paso by the Newspaper Guild, Brewery Workers, and by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. A role has been played in El Paso by the International

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10 See articles on p. 3 of the following issues of the Labor Advocate: XLIII, 50 (March 2, 1951); XLII, 51 (March 9, 1951); and XLII, 52 (March 16, 1951).

Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, now expelled from the C.I.O. for alleged Communist sympathies on the part of the union. Examination of these workers' organizations reveals a pattern similar to that found in the A.F.L. — that is, some local Hispanic leadership, but overwhelmingly Anglo leadership at the top policy-making levels.  

The pattern of El Paso labor leadership is perhaps less clear than is the pattern of El Paso business leadership. There seems to be no doubt, however, that at the top echelons El Paso labor is mainly officered by Anglos. The point emerges, then, that the composition of centers of labor and business control do not reflect accurately the numbers of persons within the two ethnic groups in the population. The suggestion therefore is that business and labor organizations within El Paso do not at the moment offer reliable vehicles for solution of outstanding Hispanic problems.

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12 See complete list of El Paso unions in interview with Marvin Shady, publisher, Labor Advocate, July 25, 1950, Appendix C.
Chapter 5
PRESS AND RADIO

It has been suggested in the previous chapter that business and labor organizations are markedly under the domination of Anglos. We will now examine the vehicles of expression of opinion, to determine whether or not a similar situation prevails among them.

The Press

There are three daily newspapers in El Paso: The El Paso Times, the El Paso Herald-Post, and El Continental. Of the three, only El Continental, a Spanish-language daily, is Hispanic-owned.

El Continental, one of the publications of the chain of José García Valesca, publisher of papers in Mexico, is a small paper, generally with six pages. Much of its space is devoted to sports, comics, advertising, and scattered minor items. It seldom expresses itself editorially and only rarely must one read beyond the first page to cover the events of importance mentioned in the paper. Even El Continental reflects the economic life of El Paso, in that most of its advertising comes from Anglo-operated businesses.

The Herald-Post and Times are standard English-language dailies. The Herald-Post is a Scripps-Howard publication, with 51 per cent of its stock held by the Scripps Company, and the remainder owned locally by El Paso business people. According to Edward M. Pooley, Herald-Post
editor, no Spanish-Americans participate in Herald-Post ownership. 1
The editorship of the Herald-Post is likewise in Anglo hands. The
editorial staff of the paper includes seven members, none of whom are
Hispanic. 2

The Times is published by an Anglo, Dorrance D. Roderick, El Paso
resident, who according to his own statement owns 80 per cent of the
stock in the paper, 3 the remainder being held by members of his
family and by business executives of the Times. No owner of the paper
is Hispanic. W. J. Hooten, editor of the Times, listed stock-holding
Roderick family members as Dorrance D. Roderick, Dorrance D. Roderick,
Jr., and Dorrance D. Roderick III, then five months old. 4 The
editorial staff of the Times consists of eleven persons, none of whom
are Hispanic. 5

Both the Times and the Herald-Post are printed by the Newspaper

1 Pooley interview, March 26, 1951, Appendix B-15.
2 Herald-Post editorial staff, March 1951: Edward M. Pooley, editor
and president; Chester L. Chope, managing editor; H. A. Michael, city
editor; Bob Ingram, sports editor; Marty C. McKenney, office manager;
Robert C. Jameson, telegraph editor; and Kay Bowers, society editor.
See The Story of El Paso's Newspapers, booklet published by the Newspaper
Publishing Corporation, El Paso, Texas, undated.
3 Roderick interview, March 27, 1951, Appendix B-17.
4 Hooten interview, editor, El Paso Times, March 27, 1951, Appendix
B-11.
5 Times editorial staff, March 1951: M. J. Hooten, editor and vice-
president of El Paso Times, Inc.; Bill Latham, managing editor; Jim
Halloran, city editor; Jim Glasscock, Sunday editor; Mrs. Ollie P.
Landsen, society editor; Dale Cockerill, state editor; and Chuck
Printing Corporation, owned by Mr. Roderick. The corporation is managed by eight officers, of whom none are Hispanic. 6

The newspapers share the same building at 401 Mills Street; the same telephone number, 2-1662. One staff handles advertising, circulation, and other business matters related to both papers, and only the editorial staffs are housed in separate offices, in the same building and on the same third floor.

Each paper announces at its masthead its own subscription rates and the rates in combination with the other. The same equipment is used for each, and until a renovation of the building during the summer of 1950, the bound files of the two newspapers were kept in common storage. Until that time, no separation was made between the Herald-Post files and the Times files. The Times is a morning paper, the Herald-Post an evening publication. As will be shown in discussion of the 1950 campaign, there are differences in editorial policy, with the Times seeming generally to take a position that is somewhat more conservative than that of the Herald-Post.

Roderick, Pooley and Hooten all claimed that Hispanic people are employed in composing, and, according to Mr. Hooten, one Spanish-American woman is employed in reporting and writing, in addition to others employed in business and other miscellaneous capacities.

6 Officers of the Newspaper Printing Corporation: Edward T. Lewis, business manager; Mayo C. Seamon, advertising director; Kelton B. Clark, office manager; Jack Hall, manager, general advertising; William S. Cooke, manager, local advertising; Jerry H. Woodard, manager, classified advertising; F. Judd Brennand, circulation manager; Jack C. Smith, assistant circulation manager. See Story......, loc. cit.
Press and Spanish-Americans

There is a difference of opinion among El Paso Spanish-Americans as to adequacy of press coverage of event concerning them. A general feeling evident in South El Paso, the area of principal Hispanic concentration, was expressed by Tony Garibay, commander of V.F.W. Armijo Post, when he said that the press does not give South El Paso a "square deal," especially on society pages. Mr. Garibay found that the newspapers gave little attention to sports events among the Hispanic people, but gave much space to such Anglo events as a corkscrew derby. Raymond Telles, county clerk, expressed a different view when he stated that at least one newspaper, the Herald-Post, was "quite fair and impartial." It was the feeling of this Spanish-American observer that Mr. Pooley, editor of the Herald-Post, gave adequate coverage to the Spanish-American group.

A survey of the files of the Times and Herald-Post from January through June of 1950 revealed the following characteristic approaches of the English-language press to the Spanish-American people of El Paso:

1. Some Spanish names appeared in sports columns, where the Hispanics were given space equal to that enjoyed by Anglos.

2. Though Anglo names were common on society pages, Spanish-Americans were only occasionally mentioned in these sections. Such mention was rare and often obscure.

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7 Garibay interview, July 3, 1950, Appendix B-7.
8 Telles interview, June 29, 1950, Appendix B-22-a.
3. In contrast to the infrequent mention of Hispanic names in other than the sports sections of the papers, many items involving persons with Spanish names appeared on robberies, car stealings, and other offenses, and there were many articles on gang warfare in South El Paso, area of maximum Spanish-American concentration.

4. There would occasionally appear a ridiculous item about a thief or other petty criminal with a Spanish name, as on February 1, 1950, when a boxed item in the Times told of one Daniel Esponoza who had rifled the St. Patrick Cathedral collection box of five dollars. 9 Such items were again in contrast to the rare appearance of Hispanic names elsewhere; and similar items describing peculiarities of Anglo-Americans were not to be found.

5. Except for a series of Spanish lessons in the Times, no items related to the prevailing Hispanic environment of El Paso appeared in either paper. No items concerning Spanish-Americans as individuals or groups in business or professional life could be found.

A reading of either of the El Paso English-language newspapers, therefore, would reveal little about the composition of the city. In terms of people who get into the news, there was small difference between the papers of El Paso, Texas, and those of any predominantly Anglo-American United States city. In coverage of Hispanic activities, the papers of El Paso, Texas, contrast with those of Las Vegas and Santa Fe, New Mexico, where mention of Spanish names, favorable or unfavorable, occurs with greater frequency in all pages than does

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9 Item, El Paso Times, LXX, 32 (February 1, 1950), p. 2.
mention of Anglo names. In Santa Fé, publication of a Spanish-language paper, El Nuevo Mexicano, does not prevent repeated appearance of Spanish names in the English-language daily. The approach of El Paso newspapers to the Spanish-Americans would therefore not be due to some peculiar characteristics of the Hispanics which call for the kind of newspaper attention they get.

Guidance of leading El Paso papers, then, is Anglo-dominated. It is a reflection of the centers of El Paso economic and social control rather than a reflection of population numbers. Only El Continental, a small, ineffectual, Spanish-language newspaper, is published and edited by Hispanic people. However, the dependence of El Continental upon Anglo advertising is such that little distinction can be found between editorial policy, if any, of El Continental and that of either the Times or the Herald-Post. El Continental avoids trouble with advertisers by printing editorials only rarely. Finally, Spanish-Americans of El Paso are generally bilingual and are not dependent upon El Continental as their only news or editorial source.

Radio

El Paso radio station ownership is likewise in the hands of Anglos. There are four El Paso stations, all owned by non-Hispanics. KROD is owned by Dorrance Roderick. KSET is owned by Fred Hervey, a wealthy owner of El Paso restaurants, drive-ins, and miscellaneous other businesses, who during the 1950 primary campaign ran for the Congressional

See any copy of the Santa Fé New Mexican or of the Las Vegas Optic.
nomination. KTSM is operated by Karl Wyler, a former El Paso city councilman, and KELP by outside, non-Hispanic interests. 11

Radio expression reflects the Anglo domination which prevails. Musical and other programs are typically Anglo-American. During the summer of 1950 radio programs were followed by the writer. In only one case did any Hispanic flavor appear - that is, when one station gave nightly 15-minute news broadcasts in Spanish.

**Summary**

In Juárez there are two leading Mexican-owned, Spanish-language newspapers, *El Mexicano* and *El Fronterizo*, and a number of Mexican-operated radio stations. They do not participate in the formation of opinion relative to the El Paso scene.

*El Continental*, on the El Paso side, rarely expresses an opinion, its news coverage is inadequate, and it is financially supported, in the main, by Anglo advertising. The *Times* and the *Herald-Post* are dominated by Anglo publishers and editors and staffs, and their news expression reflects that fact. As in the realm of economic influence, it may be seen that El Paso opinion expression, at least in the newspapers, is not dominated by members of the Hispanic population majority but by members of the Anglo population minority. As with business and labor organizations, therefore, the suggestion is that El Paso newspapers, and perhaps El Paso radio facilities, do not at

11 Interview with Raymond Telles, county clerk, March 24, 1951, Appendix B-22-c; and also see Pooley interview, March 26, 1951, Appendix B-15.
the moment offer reliable vehicles for solution of outstanding Hispanic problems.
Chapter 6
SOCIAL AND CIVIC LEADERSHIP

Except for a few organizations especially directed to Spanish-American interests, social and civic leadership in El Paso is again dominated by Anglo-Americans.

According to Mrs. Alice Barry, executive secretary, El Paso Council of Social Agencies, some neighborhood garden clubs and civic clubs of wide membership, such as the Parent-Teachers Association, do have a large number of Hispanic members and officers. According to Mrs. Barry, however, this is not the usual El Paso pattern among social and civic agencies. Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, and similar lodges do have a few Hispanic members, and occasionally an Hispanic officer, according to Mrs. Barry. The Pan-American Round Table is a social group, principally devoted to reception of Latin American dignitaries, and does include some Hispanic members.

In general, stated Mrs. Barry, of 28 clubs conducting welfare projects in El Paso, only five include Spanish-American participants in any numbers, and these five are precisely the organizations which stress such membership. They are Lulac (League of United Latin American Citizens) No. 9, Lulac No. 132, Junior Lulac Council, Pan-American Optimists and Pan-American Opti-Mrs.

Women's clubs, Mrs. Barry stated, generally contain few if any

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1 Barry interview, Appendix B-2.
Hispanic members and no Hispanic officers. For example, Altrusa, the Business and Professional Women's Club, and the Pilot Club, include neither Hispanic members nor Hispanic officers. The Junior League of El Paso, described by Mrs. Barry as a "very smart" social group of young women, includes one or two part-Hispanic members of the "old families."

Mrs. Barry stated that the Woman's Club of El Paso and the Young Matrons' Auxiliary include no Hispanic officers and a very few Hispanic members. "It is not that they are barred," explained Mrs. Barry, "but that they either don't join or are not encouraged to join."

The same pattern prevails, Mrs. Barry explained, in the Junior Woman's Club, an autonomous group, not auxiliary to the Woman's Club of El Paso. The situation in the El Paso Woman's City Garden Club is the same - that is, some Hispanic members, but no Hispanic officers. In summary of the situation described, Mrs. Barry explained that there is little consciousness of a need for the groups to get together, and consequently little attempt to do so.

Spanish-American Organizations

The League of United Latin American Citizens

The League of United Latin American Citizens, founded at Corpus Christi February 17, 1929, is the largest of the various groups concerned primarily with problems of the Spanish-Americans. It contains a wide membership from Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California, with

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smaller representation from other states.

The organization has exerted an influence in reducing anti-Hispanic discrimination and in increasing the participation of Spanish-Americans in political, economic, and social life. According to Mrs. Alice Barry, Lulac, as the organization is called, is accepted fully by the community as an equal participant in civic life. 3 W. J. Hooten, editor of the TIMES, agreed that Lulac is fully accepted in the community. 4 This was confirmed by Henry Martínez, president of the El Paso Council No. 9 of Lulac during 1950. He claimed that full opportunity is given throughout El Paso to Lulac meetings and social events, and that Anglo sectors of the community do respond to complaints made by Lulac respecting economic, social, or other problems faced by Spanish-Americans. 5 Professor Edgar T. Ruff, head of the foreign language department of Texas Western College, and long active in Hispanic affairs in El Paso, stated that there is no opposition to, prejudice against, or unfavorable attitude toward, the Lulac organization in El Paso. 6

The League of United Latin American Citizens proposes to: 7

3 Barry interview, loc. cit.
4 Hooten interview, March 27, 1951, Appendix B-11.
5 Martínez interview, March 29, 1951, Appendix B-13-c.
6 Ruff interview, March 26, 1951, Appendix B-18.
7 Condensed from the leaflet, "What Lulac Stands For," issued at the Twenty-first National Convention of Lulac, June 8-10, 1950, Appendix M-1.
1. Eradicate tendencies toward discrimination on account of race, religion, or social position.

2. Use all legal means to the end that all may enjoy equal rights, equal protection of the laws, and equal opportunities and privileges.

3. Encourage the use of the English language among its members and in the families of members.

4. Stress its loyalty to the United States.

5. Promote education and guidance of all citizens, and oppose any tendency toward school segregation.

6. Create a fund for mutual protection and defense of those unjustly prosecuted, and for education and culture.

7. Participate as citizens in all political campaigns, with the understanding that Lulac is not a political club.

8. Endeavor to place in public office men who show respect and consideration for all citizens.


10. Oppose any radical and violent demonstration.

11. Secure equal representation on juries and in administration of governmental affairs.

12. Denounce every act of peonage and mistreatment as well as employment of minor children of scholastic age.

On June 8, 9, and 10, 1950, the Lulac held its twenty-first annual national assembly at the Hotel Cortez in El Paso. Political candidates in the current primary campaign made a point of advertising in the Lulac assembly booklet. The convention took the four freedoms as its
theme, and stressed the application of these freedoms to all citizens.

In the opening meeting on June 8, Mayor Dan Duke of El Paso hit a sour note when he told the delegates that there was no need for an El Paso committee of the Texas Good Neighbor Commission. The convention was weakened by emphasis on details of business organization, and by lack of committees or other groups which could have discussed the many problems related to the Spanish-American population. Committee meetings were confined to matters dealing with rules, credentials, resolutions, auditing, and so on.

The monotony of business was lightened by a succession of dinners and other social entertainments, including a trip by delegates and visitors to the Tiradores del Norte Club, in Ciudad Juárez.

The membership of Lulac is overwhelmingly middle-class and professional. Contact with all of the officers and leading members reveals that almost without exception they are in business, or in the legal or medical professions. Great numbers were real estate operators, insurance salesmen, and lawyers. During the three-day convention, the writer met no Lulac member from the working-class group, though it was reported by Lulac officers that Mr. Raoul Cortez, outgoing national president, and some others, had in earlier years worked at manual labor.

More than one thousand delegates, with their families, attended the twenty-first convention. 8 Mr. Raoul Cortez emphasized the expansion which has taken place in Lulac membership and activities, and the

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improvement which has occurred in the condition of Spanish-Americans since Lulac was organized. His implication, offered without proof, was that Lulac was primarily responsible for such improvement. He stressed that Lulac is continuing to fight against discrimination where it exists, and that Lulac has been aiding the Hispanics in raising their standards of living. He pointed out that Lulac is working to eliminate slums and to prevent importation of Mexican nationals who might further depress the low wage scales already prevalent in the southwest. He listed the college scholarships and classes in citizenship and the encouragement to vote, which have been promoted by the organization.

During the convention, activities of the League were broadened. Measures were adopted to bring a larger number of young people into the Junior Lulacs, and to strengthen the position of local organizations in their relations with the national structure. The convention took specific steps to promote legislation to correct problems facing Latin Americans in Texas, and recommended that the national executive board keep in continuous contact with cases of segregation in public schools.

The League of United Latin American Citizens has not been free from disruptive internal strife. Comments of delegates indicated that most differences were of a quasi-personal character, without important ideological cleavages. For example, a sharp cleavage over candidacy

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for president of the organization developed during the convention, between followers of George J. Garza and supporters of John Herrera. Garza was finally selected as president, and Herrera as first vice-president. No differences in principle between the two candidates could be detected.  

Attendance by the writer at the national convention, and later attendance at local El Paso meetings of Lulac, reveals that the organization is not actively working to realize its stated objectives. Local meetings, like those of the national convention, were characterized by speech-making, discussion of business, and preparation for social events. In actual practice - whatever might be its statement of aims - Lulac did not seem to be primarily concerned with solution of Hispanic problems.

In terms of total Hispanic needs, Lulacs perhaps suffers from its preponderance of middle class and upper middle class membership. Lulac had all the appearance of being a much watered down Hispanic version of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People - of great potential power, but not at present making efficient use of that power. The only visible instrument, other than the vote, whereby the Hispanic people might exercise influence on public affairs, was not being effectively used for that purpose.

Pan-American Optimists

In El Paso, the Pan-American Optimists are affiliated with the

Optimists International. The organization has sponsored recreational, social and philanthropic activities of interest to the Spanish-American group of El Paso. The Pan-American Optimists were originally organized as a separate chapter of the Optimists to care for the special problem of South El Paso children. The group has not arisen out of segregation within the Optimist International, as some Hispanic people are to be found in all Optimists chapters in and near El Paso. The Pan-American chapter thus becomes one of six chapters in the area. The women's auxiliary is called the Pan-American Opti-Mrs. The Pan-American Optimists have provided a social and civic outlet for Spanish-American people, but have not played a significant role in determination of public affairs.

Small Social Groups

Smaller social and civic groups which stress Hispanic membership would include the Casino Mexicano, the Anahuac Club, and the Mexican-American Chamber of Commerce. Political interests do not play a role in these groups, and they are generally small and ineffectual in terms of formulation of public opinion or of other matters of social significance.

At Texas Western College, Sigma Iota Pi acts as a social fraternity

12 Interview with Henry Martínez, governor of district 19, Pan-American Optimists, and president, Lulac Council, March 29, 1951, Appendix B-13-c.
for Hispanic students. Its creation was prompted in part by exclusion of these students from the regular campus fraternal organizations.\(^{15}\)

Public and Quasi-Public Welfare Organizations

The following organizations play a role in the life of El Paso Spanish-Americans:

1. The Texas Good Neighbor Commission

The commission is an advisory body appointed by the governor and concerned with improvement of conditions affecting the Hispanic people of Texas, and with enhancement of Mexican-U. S. good will. It has been accused of ineffectiveness.\(^{16}\)

Recognizing the need for local follow-up of the state commission's program, Governor Shivers in 1950 suggested to Mayor D. L. P. Duke of El Paso, that a 17-man El Paso committee be selected to supplement the work of the Good Neighbor Commission. This suggestion did not sit well with the mayor, who commented:\(^{17}\)

In my reply I told him, 'You may be aware that more than half of the population of El Paso is composed of Latin Americans but we do not feel that a need exists for the appointment of a local committee to supplement the program of the Good Neighbor Commission. Rather we feel that the formation of such a committee would serve only to place emphasis upon a condition that does not exist except in a minor way. We prefer, as

\(^{15}\) Córdova interview, July 10, 1950, Appendix B-4; and Garibay, loc. cit. Point confirmed by faculty members.

\(^{16}\) Carey Mc Williams, North From Mexico, p. 271.

\(^{17}\) Address by Mayor D. L. P. Duke, June 9, 1950, at the twenty-first annual convention of the League of United Latin American Citizens, Appendix E. Grammatical errors are Mayor Duke's own.
stated above, not to acknowledge a need for such a committee. And we don't acknowledge a need for a committee in El Paso to keep down the things that we are struggling against and that we are all in favor of keeping down. We in El Paso know how to take care of that person, whoever he may be, that feels that they are justified in practicing discrimination and I hope that that condition will always exist. It has been my effort and my purpose to try to cultivate the fine spirit of cooperation and the fine spirit of good citizenship that exists in El Paso, and as long as I have anything to do with the city government it is going to be my purpose to refuse to recognize that there is any grounds for any other type of citizenship.

2. International Mexico-United States Health and Welfare Committee (Comité Internacional Mexicano-Estadounidense de Salubridad y Asistencia).

This semi-official committee was formed in Nogales in April, 1949, at a conference of the U. S. - Mexico Public Health Association. It is composed of lay and professional workers of El Paso and Ciudad Juárez, selected by the Department of Public Welfare of Texas and Ministry of Health and Welfare of Mexico. It has planned a program for a study and attempted solution of the problems of health and welfare affecting the population of Ciudad Juárez and of El Paso.

Summary

In summary, it would seem correct to state that social and civic groups of broad city and county interest are in El Paso dominated by members of the Anglo-American sector of the community. Private,

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19 See Estatuto del Comité Internacional Mexicano-Estadounidense de Salubridad y Asistencia, Capítulo II; and Reglamentos, Primer Comité Internacional Mexicano-Estadounidense de Salubridad y Asistencia, Artículo 1° y Artículo 2°, Appendix M-4.
public, and semi-public groups in which Hispanic people regularly participate are precisely those organizations which confine their attention to Hispanic problems and interests. General social leadership, therefore, follows the pattern found in economic and opinion phases of El Paso life. It is dominated by the Anglo individuals who are members of the ethnic minority of the community. Even those organizations which are primarily Spanish-American in membership and guidance would seem to be somewhat less effective in public affairs than their size would indicate.

We have now seen that the Spanish-American majority of El Paso is faced with urgent problems. Some of these have been listed, as for example housing, health, attainment of public office. Others, perhaps less urgent but none the less quite real to many of the Spanish-Americans, would be economic and social discrimination, education, attitudes of civic leaders. Wet-back and farm labor poses a problem of urgency to the entire community, but more particularly to the many Spanish-Americans who must depend upon migrant labor for a part or all of their incomes.

It has been indicated that economic organizations do not provide reliable media for the solution of pressing Hispanic problems, and that organs of public opinion cannot be depended upon for the expression of Spanish-American needs. The Spanish-Americans are not so situated in social or civic organizations that they can use these effectively to come to grips with their problems. Their own organizations, such as Lulac, are themselves controlled by an economic minority within the
Hispanic group, and for this and perhaps other reasons are not pushing forward in terms of amelioration of Spanish-American problems.

At the moment, therefore, it would probably not be incorrect to say that outstanding problems faced by almost all of the people within the El Paso Hispanic majority continue unabated because of the present helplessness of the victims. However, it is possible that, because of their numbers, potential influence, or vote, some political attention may be expected. The discussion will now turn to that question.
Chapter 7
CENTERS OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE

On the subject of community controls, it remains to examine the character of the centers of political influence. This examination will continue the task set for the preceding discussion - that is, to examine the channels open for amelioration of Spanish-American problems. This chapter will first try to discover the points of political influence, and will then take up the role played by the Spanish-Americans at those points.

In succeeding chapters the recent 1950 El Paso primary campaign will be examined as a further means for determining the influence of Spanish-American interests in the political scene.

Organizations

The Democratic Party

In political organization, Texas is a one-party state. The unity and centralized effectiveness of the Texas Democratic Party, however, are so dubious, that the state could be almost called a no-party area.

The places of significant Hispanic population concentration along the border are almost entirely confined to the state of Texas, and therefore operate, in the main, in a Texas party framework. The statement that "The parties help formulate the issues, choose the candidates, and conduct the campaigns that are indispensable parts of
the democratic process," loses much of its meaning in this border area.

Another result of the one-party - or no-party - Texas political structure, is that, as is the case in such communities generally, the primary has a far greater political significance than does the general election. As Key points out, "Commentators on the direct primary often generalize broadly for the entire country, forgetting that in a great many jurisdictions the primary is really the election....Probably over one-third of the counties are one-party counties locally." In such a situation, factions or even individual candidates take the place of parties. A substitution of terms - faction for party, primary for election - is thus involved in a study of the political problems faced by a particular group in such an area.

So far as state and local campaigns are concerned, Democratic Party machinery exists in Texas, in the words of McCorkle and Smith, to nominate candidates and to govern the party, not to guide its candidates to victory. Squire A. Sharpe, who during the 1950 summer campaign was chairman of the Democratic county committee, emphasized the same point. William C. Collins, assistant county attorney for El Paso County, stressed that the task of the party is to provide the machinery for the primary elections.

1 Christensen and Kirkpatrick, The People, Politics, and the Politician, p. 293.
2 V. O. Key, Jr., Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups, p. 361.
3 Stuart A. McCorkle and Dick Smith, Texas Government, p. 20.
In the state primaries, the Democratic Party takes no interest in favor of or against individual candidates. As explained by Mr. Sharpe, a principal task of the party is to obstruct party movements in favor of or against individual candidates. Thus Spanish-American candidates, whatever other obstacles they might encounter, do not face any difficulties as far as the party is concerned.

The same point was made by Raymond Telles, Hispanic county clerk. Mr. Telles explained that the party is non-existent except during primary campaign periods. The county chairman has nothing to do except during primary campaigns, when he must accept applications to run in the primary, handle primary expenses, and collect revenue from the candidates. As pointed out by Telles, no one controls the party, nor would any individual or faction have any reason for doing so. No cliques exist within the party except during the primary campaign season, and at that time it is expected and anticipated that there will be such cliques; their differences are settled at the polls. The Democratic Party in El Paso County therefore becomes an administrative device for the operation of primary machinery, and remains dormant the rest of the time.

The Democratic Party is not tied in with any sector of the social fabric, nor is it controlled by any candidate or office-holder. Except during campaign periods, the party as such is non-existent, its machinery ephemeral, and control over it meaningless.

4 See the following interviews: Collins, June 27, 1951, Appendix B-3; Sharpe, June 27, 1950, Appendix B-21; and Telles, March 24, 1951, Appendix B-22-c.
The county chairman in El Paso County serves primarily in an administrative capacity, and then only during primary campaign periods. Insistence upon impartiality of this county officer is so great that his actions are closely watched by all factions of the party. The county chairman is not concerned about party victory, for that is assured. For the same reason, the various factional leaders are not concerned with the victory or policies of the Democratic Party as such. Policies become factional rather than party questions, and politicians are concerned with the victory and policies of particular factions they happen individually to support.

In common with party organizations throughout Texas, the Democratic Party in El Paso operates through a series of committees and conventions. Again, these organs are not concerned with support of or opposition to local or state candidacies, but primarily with the administration of primary machinery. Only the state convention has the task of drafting a state party platform, in which it attempts to reflect the varying wishes of candidates who have emerged victorious in the nomination process.

The county executive committee is considered as having far greater influence over local political administration than has the state executive committee.  

5 McCorkle and Smith, op. cit., p. 25. During the 1950 primary campaign season, Mr. Sharpe stated that one of his principal "headaches" was the prevention of expressions of partiality by precinct judges and committeemen. While the writer was in his office, he wrote a note discharging a precinct judge for expressions of factional favoritism.

6 McCorkle and Smith, op. cit., p. 25.
The county executive committee is composed of the various precinct chairmen. A county committee chairman is selected from the county at large. All are elected at the primary.

According to Patterson, McAlister and Hester, the county executive committee receives and passes on applications or petitions for positions on the primary ballot. It arranges names on the ballot, and levies assessments on the candidates to defray costs of holding the primary election. The committee makes arrangements for holding the primary election and after each primary, canvasses the returns. The chairman of the committee certifies to the county clerk the results of the election, and certifies to the chairman of the state executive committee the results for district and state officers. 7

Each even-numbered year conventions are held on the precinct, county, and state levels. The usual purpose of the precinct convention is simply to elect delegates to the county convention, at the rate of one delegate for each twenty-five votes cast for the party's gubernatorial candidate at the last general election. 8 Occasionally the precinct convention may take some interest in party pronouncements to be made by the state convention. The precinct convention occurs on the fourth Saturday in July - the day set for the first primary.

The county convention, which meets on the first Saturday after the first primary, has duties corresponding to those of the precinct

7 Caleb Perry Patterson, Sam B. McAlister and George C. Hester, State and Local Government in Texas, p. 114.
8 McCorkle and Smith, op. cit., pp. 22-23.
convention. It selects delegates for the state convention at the rate of one delegate for each three hundred gubernatorial votes cast for the party's candidate in the last general election. It may occasionally work over policy suggestions made by precinct conventions.

In the precinct and county conventions, controversies between various party factions respecting drafting of a party platform may be aired, to be brought eventually before the state party convention which drafts the state party platform. The meeting time for the state convention is set as the first Tuesday after the third Monday after the fourth Saturday in August — that is, in September some three weeks after the second primary and after it is known which candidates will secure public office.

In presidential years, special presidential conventions are held in May on the precinct, county, and state levels. In these conventions, significant controversy may occur respecting national party policy and candidacies. Delegates are chosen in the same manner and in the same ratio as is the case with the regular party conventions. By this process, delegates to the national convention are selected.

The caucus plays an important role in whatever policies the Democratic Party may adopt. Such caucuses are commonly held on the precinct level a day or two before the precinct convention, for the purpose of establishing a line of action for the official meeting.

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9 Patterson et al., op. cit., p. 116.
11 Ibid., p. 24.
12 Patterson et al., op. cit., p. 115.
The point must be stressed that such policy-determination is finally made on the state level after, not before, the primaries, and therefore subsequent to conclusion of the only significant campaign period. Neither caucus nor convention, therefore, is concerned with candidacies, but rather with the drafting of a policy which is essentially meaningless in terms of anticipated contest.

It is more significant for our purposes to determine who the candidates are and who supports them than to determine who supports the party. The party, which must pay for ballots and for other primary expenses, is financially supported during campaigns by candidates of all factions, and it needs no support at other times, nor would anyone have any reason to support it.

As far as support of candidacies is concerned, no significant information can be secured from expense statements, which are essentially meaningless. Expense statements simply list amounts reported for "travel," "printing and stationery," "political rallies," and so forth. A section headed "Money received from what source" usually is answered "None" or "friends," or may rarely include one or two names. 13

As explained by Mr. Telles, the county clerk, the filling in of these forms becomes a mere technicality. According to Mr. Telles, it is common knowledge that actual expenditures of candidates will invariably exceed the amounts stated in the forms, and the sources from which moneys are received are only reported in the vaguest terms, 13

13 See sample expense statement, Appendix G.
and in amounts which have no bearing on actual receipts.

To secure information from candidates respecting actual expenditures or receipts is an impossible task, primarily because of the refusal of candidates to give out information which in so many cases would indicate a violation of the law.

Leading figures in Democratic Party factions are almost invariably Anglo-American. Such, for example, would be Ernest Guinn, county attorney for the past sixteen years, and widely credited by supporters and detractors alike as wielding marked political influence. ^14 Another example would be Robert L. Holliday, who has for years been a respected voice in political affairs. He has practiced law in El Paso since moving there in 1916, and has served on the Board of Regents of the University of Texas. ^15 Since his election to the post of county clerk in 1948, Raymond Telles, county clerk, has provided the one exception - a Spanish-American who exerts a marked influence in the areas of Hispanic concentration.

Squire A. Sharpe served as chairman of the county committee during the summer of 1950. C. A. Longuemare is now county chairman, having been chosen for that post in the first primary of 1950. Both were Anglo-American, but Mr. Sharpe was the husband of a Spanish-American woman.

14 See Collins interview, loc. cit.; and Rey interview.

15 Interview with Robert L. Holliday, July 6, 1950, Appendix B-10. The point that Mr. Holliday is a leading political figure was not derived from the interview with him, but from the repeated advice given the writer on all sides that Mr. Holliday should be interviewed because he was "so important in political affairs."
The Democratic Party, then, is not a center of political power which might be utilized as an instrument of influence by anyone, Anglo or Hispanic. It has been suggested that Party factions are generally Anglo-centered, and this point will be further underlined when candidates in 1950 are listed and their ethnic backgrounds shown.

The Republican Party

If the Democratic Party cannot be readily utilized as a center for effective political influence, the Republican Party is even less suitable for such purposes.

It is pointed out by one text that: 16

Under ordinary circumstances the Republican Party lacks even a fighting chance and its organization in Texas is used essentially to carry on the perfunctory duties necessary to party existence.

Operations of the Republican Party in El Paso County are in keeping with the above quotation. According to Louis LeVeaux, Secretary of the El Paso County Republican Executive Committee, the Republicans managed about forty years ago to send one man to the legislature because a "Mexican" was running on the Democratic ticket. 17 V. O. Key names R. B. Creager as Republican boss in Texas, and suggests that Creager's main task seems to be to keep the Republicans from being elected to office 18 - though this shouldn't be hard.

17 LeVeaux interview, June 27, 1950, Appendix B-12.
In early post-reconstruction days the El Paso area, according to Robert L. Holliday, Democratic factional leader, was Republican in politics. A number of businessmen, according to Mr. Holliday, are still Republican in political persuasion. According to Mr. LeVeaux, the main support of the party in El Paso comes from lawyers, big businessmen, and bankers. A. J. W. Schmid and Louis Le Veaux are chairman and secretary respectively of the county organization. An important Republican leader is H. D. McCune, Jr., prominent lawyer of the community.

The party is organized much like the Democratic, with chairmen and committees on the precinct, county, and state levels. Precinct chairmen are selected by "neighbors in the precinct," according to Mr. LeVeaux. Conventions are held if a ticket is planned. It is at the county convention that the chairman and secretary of the county committee are selected.

During 1950 the Republican Party held precinct and county conventions. Precinct conventions were held on July 22, the same day as the Democratic primary, and a county convention was held on July 29.

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19 Holliday interview, July 6, 1950, Appendix B-10.
20 LeVeaux interview, loc. cit.
21 Collins interview, loc. cit.
22 LeVeaux interview, loc. cit.
According to Mr. LeVeaux, the Republican Party has not made a practice of bringing up issues related to the Spanish-American group in El Paso. The feeling of the Republicans, according to the county secretary, is that there are no problems of concern to the Spanish-Americans which would be worthy of attention in a campaign.  

Interests of candidates, not of parties, thus emerge as the political question of significance to El Paso Spanish-Americans. It is in those terms that the El Paso political picture will therefore be discussed.

**The Offices of County Government**

During the 1950 summer campaign, county, state, and federal nominations were at stake. City offices were not involved. The structure of county government of El Paso determined the offices sought in the campaign.

The lack of home rule provisions in Texas leaves county government to be conducted with little freedom of action. However, the counties of Texas are allowed certain important functions. Most of them are administrative in character, and characteristic of functions assigned counties elsewhere.

The leading legislative and administrative organ of the county in Texas is the commissioners' court, composed of a county judge and four

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24 LeVeaux interview, *loc. cit.*
25 Patterson et al., *op. cit.*, p. 448.
commissioners elected for two-year terms. The commissioners' court is the policy-determining body for the county, insofar as policy is not set by the state legislature. It establishes and maintains the county courthouse and jail, appoints the county health officer, highway engineers, home demonstration agent, and agricultural agent. It lets contracts, fills numerous vacancies, builds and maintains roads and bridges, adopts a budget for the county, acts as county board of equalization, and may serve as the unit of administration for public welfare. It may divide the county into from four to eight justice of peace precincts. The commissioners' court is responsible for appointment not only of health officers, but also of health units where needed.

The county judge is charged with a variety of duties. He must preside over commissioners' court, and must perform a number of tasks connected with elections. He acts as notary public, and as judge of the county court for appeals and probate.

Other elected officers of the county include (1) the county attorney, (2) the sheriff, an officer with traditional peace duties, (3) the treasurer, (4) the tax assessor and collector, (5) clerk of the county court, who acts both as clerk of commissioners' court and as recorder and custodian of legal documents, (6) county superintendent

27 Patterson et al, op. cit., p. 452.
28 McCorkle and Smith, op. cit., p. 331; and Paul W. Wager, County Government Across the Nation, p. 564.
29 On county health functions, see Wager, op. cit., pp. 660-661.
30 McCorkle and Smith, op. cit., p. 332.
of public instruction, an officer elected for a four-year term in counties such as El Paso which have over three thousand inhabitants, and who acts as secretary and executive officer of the county board of school trustees, and also serves as an advisory official, \(^{31}\) (7) surveyor, an officer whose duties are declining in importance, (8) justices of the peace, one of whom is elected from each justice of peace precinct, and who serve as coroners and preside over the justice of peace courts, (9) constables, traditional peace officers, one of whom is elected from each justice of peace precinct, and (10) district court clerk, who performs the usual judicial functions and maintains court records for the district court.

In addition to the appointive officers selected by commissioners' court, there is the county auditor, who is appointed by the district judge - in El Paso, the judge of the 34th District Court.

The county health officer, mentioned above as appointed by the commissioners' court, has the task of giving medical aid to jail inmates, to inmates of the county poor farm, and to those on the pauper rolls. He is in charge of quarantine, inspection, disease prevention, general sanitation, and control over epidemic disease. \(^{32}\)

Finally, there are the judge and attorney of the 34th District Court, which has its seat in El Paso. The judge is elected for a term of four years, the attorney for two. \(^{33}\) In the 1950 El Paso primary

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\(^{31}\) Patterson et al, op. cit., p. 458; see also Roscoe C. Martin, Urban Local Government in Texas, pp. 45 and 53.

\(^{32}\) McCorkle and Smith, op. cit., pp. 335 and 334.

election, the district judge race provoked one of the most heated contests of the entire local campaign.

It may be seen from the above that health, general welfare activities, and education, are proper concerns of county officials, and that it is to these persons that Spanish-Americans of El Paso County might direct their pleas on these problems. The manner in which candidates for county office approached Hispanic problems will be indicated in the chapters on the 1950 primary campaign.

Office-Holders and Office-Seekers

It will not take us long to determine the ethnic backgrounds of El Paso County office-holders and office-seekers, and it is to that problem that we now turn.

In 1950 all but one of the above countywide officers were Anglo. The one exception was Raymond Telles, county clerk, elected in 1948 as the first Spanish-American to hold countywide public office. Even the eight justices of the peace were Anglos, as were all but one of the eight constables. The district judge, district attorney, and district clerk were Anglos, and all holders of appointive county or district office were Anglos.

The picture on El Paso office-seekers is almost identical with that on elective office-holders. Of twenty-two county-wide candidates, only one, Raymond Telles, who ran unopposed, was a Spanish-American. All of the ten candidates running for judicial, United States representative, and legislative offices on a district basis were Anglo, although all such districts share with El Paso a Spanish population majority. Of
the twenty-seven candidates in the precinct contests for county commissioners, justices of the peace, and constables, eight were Spanish. Thus, out of a total of fifty-nine candidates for office below the statewide level, only nine were Spanish. Eight of these were running for minor precinct posts. It needs hardly be added that none of the forty-nine candidates for Texas statewide office were Spanish-American.

We have seen that in El Paso County the Spanish-Americans are faced with pressing problems which call for the exercise of some form of action by those affected. Economic and social controls are Anglo-dominated. The Anglos came first, established their own controls, and the Hispanic migrants, generally already economically depressed, have had to adapt themselves as best they might with the meagre material resources at their command. Intelligence or talent had nothing to do with it. To emerge dominant, the Spanish would have had to learn the English language, acquire the techniques for mastery of the Anglo instrumentalities, amass the necessary wealth and overcome the impediments imposed upon them by a group already in control and not inclined to relinquish that control. It may be contended that the problem is not basically Anglo versus Hispanic, but class versus class. But as things have evolved, the Spanish migrants have almost universally lacked the material instruments needed for equality of position; and those in possession of these material instruments have been principally Anglos.

It does no good to say that many El Paso Anglos are also depressed,
as undoubtedly they are. They are not making common cause with the Spanish, and they are not depressed for all of the same reasons that account for Hispanic deprivation. There are no predominantly Anglo slums, or even mixed slums, in El Paso which can compare in deprivation with the Hispanic slums south of the tracks. The Anglos' health needs are not so uniformly neglected on a group basis as are the Hispanics' health needs. Their Anglo names, whatever may be their economic status, do not deny them access to public office. In the problem of migrant labor, the Anglos are not so concerned either for themselves or for foreign relatives as are the Spanish-Americans.

The Spanish-Americans of El Paso fit the picture provided by Snyder and Wilson in *Roots of Political Behavior*:

> People who live together under similar external conditions are more likely to develop similar needs and interests. Another way of putting this is that the degree of political homogeneity of large groups will depend on the number of common influences to which they are subject........

Individual Spanish-Americans share most of their pressing problems only with other Spanish-Americans. The Spanish-Americans can be identified in terms of language or in terms of culture patterns, but, socially speaking, more significantly in terms of the problems which they share with one another.

It has been shown that the Spanish-Americans of El Paso are not present at the points of political influence, either in appointive office-holding, in elective office-holding, in elective office-seeking,

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34 Richard Carlton Snyder and H. Hubert Wilson, *Roots of Political Behavior*, p. 163.
or in factional leadership.

Such a situation does not prove that politicians are not concerned about the interests of the El Paso Hispanic majority—although, like Thoreau's fish in the milk, their unattended problems have suggested strong circumstantial evidence. A further exploration of the question of political attention to Hispanic problems will be our purpose in the next chapters on the 1950 campaign. If it then appears that all centers of power or influence—economic, social, and political—at present turn their backs on Hispanic needs, it will remain to determine what, if any, avenues are open to solution of pressing Spanish-American problems in the El Paso area.
Chapter 8

THE CAMPAIGN: DISCUSSION OF PROBLEMS

Political campaigns commonly evade clear-cut presentation of issues. On this point, all students of politics appear agreed. 1

El Paso County contains an Hispanic popular majority. There are not numerous other ethnic groups to compete for the politicians' attention. As was pointed out in the previous chapter, in terms of economic and social problems the Spanish-American people of El Paso County come about as close to constituting a single majority group as would any other single bloc in local American politics.

One might suppose from this that the problems of the El Paso politician are thereby simplified - that, freed from the necessity of appealing to many groups, he might apply himself specifically to the problems of the Spanish-Americans. It will be the purpose of the following discussion to determine the degree to which candidates in a recent campaign showed interest in or gave attention to the problems of the El Paso Spanish-American population. In itself,

this will point only to adequacy or inadequacy of candidates' interest in problems of the Hispanic population, and will show little about the power or weakness of the Hispanic vote. Therefore the factors involved in the attitudes of El Paso candidates will be reserved for later discussion, when the vote, in combination with other elements of influence, will be considered.

Candidates

Before proceeding to analysis of the campaign, we should familiarize ourselves with the candidates.

The campaign centered around contests for 34 offices. Of these, many played an insignificant role in the contest. None of the statewide offices received important attention. With the exception of the offices of judge of the 34th judicial district, of county judge, and of a few of the justiceships of the peace, the judicial contests attracted no more than passing public attention.

The small attention given the contest for nomination as chairman, Democratic executive committee, demonstrated the insignificance in a one-party, factional structure, of this administrative, quasi-secretarial post. No interest was engendered in this contest which could compare with the differences which would have appeared in an area where party control might mean political and patronage control.

In each of nine of the remaining contests, but one candidate appeared.

Omitting, then, the contests which evoked little or no campaign interest, and the no-contest nominations, the following may be listed
as controversial races:

1. United States Representative, 16th district of Texas
2. State Representative, 89th district, place number 2
3. State Representative, 90th district
4. Judge, 34th judicial district
5. County judge
6. County attorney
7. Sheriff
8. County superintendent of public instruction
9. Some of the county commissioner contests
10. At least one of the justice of peace contests

The constable contests were on too minor a scale to evoke any marked or widespread discussion, and so can be omitted from this immediate consideration of problems raised in the campaign.

Congressman Regan was fighting to retain his seat in the House of Representatives. He was an oil man with a record as mayor of Pecos, Texas, and as state senator. He had first gained his seat after a seven-man contest in a special 1947 election to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of R. E. Thomas. 2

The business interests of Paul Moss, a second contender for the Congressional nomination, included ranching and oil. Moss was from Odessa in Ector County, and could point to no previous legislative experience, though he had been recently serving as a district court

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Fred Hervey, the third candidate for the Congressional nomination, was an El Paso County drive-in tycoon who appealed for nomination as a young businessman of 40.

A contest occurred for nomination for state representative, 89th legislative district, place number 2. Here John Eugene Puckett and Ray L. Elliott contended for the nomination.

John Eugene Puckett was a lifetime El Paso resident of 25, a law student at the University of Texas, and a member of the Masonic Lodge. Ray Elliott had been an El Paso resident for six years, and a partner in the Elliott Insurance Agency of El Paso.

A contest occurred between Anita Blair and Frank Owen III for nomination to the representative seat, 90th legislative district. Miss Blair, a newcomer to politics, had lost her sight in an automobile accident, and had spent much time travelling about the East and Midwest as a lecturer on safety. Her seeing-eye dog, Fawn, attracted widespread attention during the campaign. Frank Owen III was a University of Texas law student who had served during World War II in the Air Force.

One of the most heated contests of the campaign centered around Roy D. Jackson and E. B. Elfers, who ran for judge of the 34th District Court. Jackson, the incumbent, could point to a long prosecuting and judicial record. Elfers, an attorney, set the stage by placing the

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3 "Voters Prepare ....." loc. cit.
struggle on the basis of the personal competence of Jackson.

Victor B. Gilbert, incumbent, and Woodrow Wilson Bean, contended for nomination to the office of county judge. Bean was a state legislator at the time of the campaign; Gilbert had been a state legislator, a one-time judge of Callahan County, and representative in El Paso of the Interstate Commerce Commission. 5

Ernest Guinn, well-known political figure in El Paso County, was the incumbent county attorney, and Otho Manning a lawyer seeking the post.

The El Paso contest for the sheriff nomination was what V. O. Key might call a "free-for-all." 6 Nine candidates sought the nomination. Most stood on their records as strong-armed men, but there was a bewildering presentation of charges and counter-charges respecting the records of most of them.

The race for nomination as superintendent of public instruction pitted John T. Bean against H. C. Hinton, who had held the post since his appointment twenty-one years before. Hinton, 52 years of age, was a long-time teacher who had moved to El Paso in 1925. Bean, 32 years of age, was a life-long resident of El Paso and of West Texas. For the past fifteen years he had been a vocational agricultural teacher in Texas public schools - the past nine years in El Paso, and prior to that in Ysleta, Texas. 7

5 "Voters Prepare ...." loc. cit.
6 V. O. Key, Jr., Southern Politics in State and Nation, p. 254.
Two of the commissioner contests became significant, not so much because of questions discussed as because of the Spanish-American background of some of the candidates involved. For nomination as candidate for county commissioner, precinct number 1, José Jesús Avila ran with three other candidates, all Anglos. In precinct number 4, Ray Villescas ran against John D. Carpenter. The same is true of the Carpenter-Rey and Hill-Pedregón contests for justice of the peace, precincts 1 and 2, respectively, and the Luna-Helms-Stedham contest in precinct 2.  

The Congressional Campaign

In Chapter 3 some problems especially affecting the Hispanic ethnic majority were suggested. Those listed included:

1. Housing
2. Health
3. Attainment of public office
4. Economic and social discrimination
5. Education
6. Attitudes of civic leaders
7. Alien migrant workers
8. U. S. - Mexican relations

Labor problems, of economic significance to much of El Paso's Spanish-American population, should probably be added.

8 For data on the Rey-Crawford contest, see "Nine Enter Justice of Peace Court Races," El Paso Times, LXX, 200 (July 19, 1950), p. 1. The headline is in error. Thirteen entered the race for nine justice posts.
The questions raised in the 1950 primary campaign will now be presented in rough proportion to the amount of time and energy devoted to each of them, so that the reader may see how the problems of the Hispanic majority fared in relation to other questions. Out of this will perhaps emerge some understanding of the amount of political attention given in El Paso County to the interests of the Spanish-American majority.

In the Congressional campaign, only two of the above problems were given noticeable attention. These two were: (1) Housing and (2) labor. Except for one short statement each by Regan and Moss, the problem of alien migrant workers did not come in for discussion. U. S.-Mexican relations were remembered briefly by Paul Moss. Health problems were given some small attention in isolated remarks on the merits and demerits of socialized medicine, and discrimination was once mentioned by the candidates in a discussion of FEPC, though the problem came up indirectly in general appeals to the Spanish vote. Special problems of Spanish-Americans related to attainment of public office or to education were not mentioned at all, and it would probably be too much to expect the campaign to have touched on attitudes of civic leaders.

We will first outline the consideration given housing and labor. Next we will consider the brief attention given to alien migrant workers, U. S.-Mexican relations, and health and discrimination. Finally, we will discover what other matters, not listed above as pressing El Paso problems, were given weighty consideration in the

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9 See Chapter 10, below.
campaign.

Housing

All three candidates for the Congressional nomination talked about housing. It became clear that Ken Regan and Fred Hervey were opposed to federal housing, and that Paul Moss was probably in favor of some sort of public housing, but there was no way of knowing just what form he supported.

Ken Regan was not afraid to admit that his sympathies were with the real estate interests. In a statement he said: 10

We tried hard to get the real estate credit controls knocked out of the Spance bill, but we failed by two votes. I believe in the final draft of the bill, however, after the Senate has worked on it and it has been to conference with House and Senate members that we will get this provision eliminated.....

.....I opposed the real estate credit provisions as they would give the President controls over part of our economy over which he never had control in World War II and over a section of which he does not need controls.

Fred Hervey agreed that both he and Regan were opposed to federal housing or federal slum clearance. At a political rally Hervey, after mentioning that Regan was opposed to federal aid to housing, confessed that he was of the same opinion. 11 Asked whether there was any difference between candidates Regan and Hervey respecting methods of slum clearance, Francisco Hernández, member, U. S. Housing Authority

Board, replied, "No. They both say they are for it, but against federal aid. They don't disagree on this because they see eye to eye on it." 12

At the Liberty Hall political rally on July 12, Hervey tried to make clear his stand on housing: 13

If the government is going to be landlords, then I am against it. I have never seen a problem yet, that if you don't put incentive to it, it can't be done. I am for tax reductions to builders to build houses. I am going to ask Ken Regan, what is he going to do about the desire of the government to build houses, because of the slums.

Despite the expressed opposition of Hervey to federal housing, he did advise the El Paso Builders' Association that the slums must disappear: 14

You have the chance to bring about this indispensable work with your own resources and without federal or municipal control. But if this is not achieved, the only means available will be absolute control by the government. In Washington you need people who know something about business: Businessmen, not politicians.

Paul Moss stated, "I will support public housing projects in underprivileged areas where private contractors cannot afford to build decent homes and apartment buildings. 15

A platform booklet threw somewhat less light on his position:

12 Interview with Francisco Hernández, July 13, 1950, Appendix B-8.
13 Liberty Hall rally, loc. cit.
15 See platform leaflet of Paul Moss, Appendix H-3.
"We can properly house our underprivileged and balance the national budget at the same time."

At a political rally Judge Moss again mentioned housing when he called for better housing for all sections of the district because "we must adjust ourselves to a fast-moving world, in the home, school, and church."

Moss made much of Regan's voting record on the housing issue. In an advertisement, friends of Paul Moss (Robert L. Holliday, chairman) mentioned as one of the reasons for opposition to Regan:

2. FAILURE TO ASSIST IN SLUM CLEARANCE. Ken Regan voted consistently against legislation to help El Paso's low-income families move out of disease-ridden unsafe tenements into public housing projects. As might be expected, he has received the open support of virtually all of El Paso's tenement owners and agents. As might also be expected, El Paso's death rate from slum-bred diseases is one of the highest in the nation.

Again, in a statement to the press, Moss reported, "He (Regan) voted against providing El Paso's low-income families with decent living places when he voted consistently against federal public housing."

At no point did Judge Moss make it entirely clear that he would support federal housing, though it did appear that he would support some sort of federal action in the absence of private action.

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The candidates, as will be seen, probably came about as clear on the housing issue as they did on any other. It must be confessed, however, that something was lacking in the way of specific proposals which might be directly applicable to the El Paso housing problem.

Labor

Labor questions came up for a considerable share of attention. Paul Moss and Ken Regan became involved in disputes over the amount of labor support each was receiving - or at least Regan tried to get Moss involved in such a dispute.

Ken Regan kept this question alive by accusing Moss of being the tool of "radical labor leaders," and at the same time Regan's supporters insisted that their candidate was the true friend of the workers. 20

Later in the summer, after Hervey had been eliminated in the first primary, Regan sought the support of laborers, but not of union leaders. In a statement read by Ed Heid, El Paso feed and grain dealer, during a radio talk, the following was said: 21

I have watched the career of Ken Regan with increasing respect. I have seen the good people of West Texas - in widely scattered parts of the 16th District - give him their stamp of approval. This approval has come from farmers, ranchers, small businessmen, housewives, leaders in the community and from workers. It has come from the rank and file of unions, those who put the welfare of the nation above loyalty to the labor bosses.


In addition to stressing their acceptance or rejection of union support, Congressional candidates discussed their positions on at least two labor problems - (1) wages and hours, and (2) the Taft-Hartley Act.

Minimum wage questions, undoubtedly of interest to Spanish-Americans, were brought into the campaign in a complexity of charges and counter-charges that did little to clarify anything. Moss repeatedly emphasized his sympathy with the 75-cents minimum hourly wage already adopted by Congress, and tried to imply that Regan was opposed to it. In a press interview, Moss charged, "He voted against the workingman's high standard of living when he opposed a fair wage-hour act." In an Upper Valley political rally on June 28, Moss charged that Regan had supported a 50-cent minimum wage as against the 75-cent figure favored by Moss.

On July 5 a Times editorial insisted that Regan had never supported anything except a 75-cent hourly wage minimum:

He (Moss) charged that Ken Regan, U. S. Representative from the 16th Congressional District, who is opposed by

22 "Lawyers Hear ...." loc. cit., p. 2; and see Moss, Let's Work Together, campaign booklet, p. 5, Appendix H-11; and see campaign platform of Paul Moss, leaflet, Appendix H-3.

23 "Says Regan Voted ....." loc. cit.


Judge Moss, had favored a 50-cent minimum wage. That statement is not true. Somebody inside the Moss organization must have slipped the candidate a fast one.

The House adopted the 75-cent minimum in 1949. Ken Regan voted for the bill. At no time, during consideration of the measure, was a 50-cent minimum proposed. At no time did Ken Regan urge or support a 50-cent minimum for workers covered by the bill.

The Times editorial failed to mention the real issue, later brought to light in a pro-Moss list of Regan's "failures," in which it was contended that Regan had supported a "Republican-sponsored compromise proposal that removed from the protection of the wage-hour law more than one million Americans, principally retail store clerks, garage workers, and the like . . . ."

Nor did the Times clarify that Regan had supported the Republican measure for lower coverage as one of two alternatives to continued wage supports, the other having been a lower-minimum measure also proposed by Republicans.

Judge Moss led off discussion of the Taft-Hartley law when he wrote in his nineteen-point campaign leaflet: "I will work for a fair balance between labor and management. I believe the Taft-Hartley law should be amended to protect the public and serve as such a balance." 27

In a Times editorial, and in statements by Fred Hervey, Moss was

26 "Is This a Record to Be Proud Of?" advertisement, El Paso Herald-Post, LXX, 197 (August 19, 1950), p. 16.

called to task for a stand on the Taft-Hartley Act which was termed uncertain. 28

Regan was not at all vague on this, and made it clear that he favored the Taft-Hartley Act: 29

I have been accused of my stand for the Taft-Hartley Bill. What has the Taft-Hartley Bill done? Where is that slavery that the racketeers have tried to sell to organized labor? Never before in history has labor enjoyed a greater membership, better conditions and fewer paralyzing strikes than now....But labor tyranny, with some notable exceptions such as John L. Lewis, is on the decline.

In summary, on the wage-hour question, Judge Moss suggested that he was generally in favor of higher wages; and while Regan denied he had supported a 50-cent minimum wage, he did not make positive suggestions. Hervey never did take a definite position on the wage-hour question. On the Taft-Hartley law, Moss indicated a need for amendment, without ever describing the type of amendment he had in mind. Without himself taking a definite stand on the question, Hervey criticized Moss for the latter's indefinite statements. Regan openly supported the Taft-Hartley law.

Alien Migrant Labor

Only two very brief references were made to the wetback problem. In a political advertisement favoring Regan, the following appeared in


a list of pro-Regan points: "He worked hard in obtaining an adequate supply of labor for our farms and ranches." After making this direct appeal to ranching interests, the Regan forces lapsed into silence on the subject.

In his campaign booklet Moss took a position which was a watered-down version of the views of George Webber and of El Paso labor generally. He wrote:

I see no reason why laborers from Mexico should not be permitted to work on West Texas farms at times when there is a shortage of workers here. I think, though, that we should at all times see that they are treated fairly and provided with decent accommodations.

The Moss statement neglected mention of wages, but came close enough to the labor position to meet with union approval.

No other direct mention of the alien migrant worker problem occurred in the Congressional campaign. Thus was a constantly burning border question relegated into the murk by Congressional candidates.

U. S.-Mexican Relations

Judge Moss was the only Congressional candidate who gave any attention to the question of U. S.-Mexican relations. In his campaign booklet he promised that, "I will work to improve our trade relations with Mexico - one of our foremost potential markets for goods from the United States." 

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32 Ibid., p. 7.
Mention of U. S.-Mexican relations was not made in any of the political rallies or in any campaign statement by the other candidates.

On May 25, El Continental, a Spanish-language newspaper, took Congressman Regan to task for his position on this question. Regan had proposed that one José Villalobos, a Mexican national wanted in the United States for the murder of a sheriff, be extradited from Mexico. El Continental editorialized:

Regan knows (or ought to know, since he belongs to the legislative body charged with approving and studying the law) that Mexico cannot and would not, concede the extradition of Villalobos, because this man was born in Mexico and is a Mexican, protected by the Mexican Constitution....With a candor worthy of a better cause Regan has protested: 'I am tired of Mexico's abuse of us in so many circumstances.' He then invoked International Law to obtain the extradition of Villalobos and to obligate Mexico, in the future, to betray her own citizens and deliver them graciously to whomsoever solicit them....Now that Regan is turning to international law, why doesn't he make immediate representation which will bring about the return to Mexico by the United States of the Chamizal Zone, in accordance with the dictum rendered years ago by a venerated and impartial professor of jurisprudence?

Other than this analysis of a question of international law which has never been entirely resolved, and the campaign statement of Judge Moss, few if any comments on U. S.-Mexican relations came to the surface during the 1950 campaign.

Health

No mention was made in the Congressional campaign of the health

33 "Las Puntadas del Señor Regan," El Continental, XXV, 105 (May 25, 1950), p. 1. Also used as a handbill by anonymous anti-Regan forces. See Appendix H-1 for reproduction.
problems directly facing El Paso. However, the current controversy over national health insurance drew some stereotyped comments. For example, in a talk before the El Paso Bar Association, Regan announced his opposition to socialized medicine. Hervey criticized Moss for inability to "make up his mind whether he was for or against socialized medicine." In a political advertisement, Regan was described as "opposed to socialized medicine." These few remarks include about all that was said on this subject. The Congressional candidates did not consider this urgent Spanish-American problem as being worthy of further consideration.

**Discrimination**

Some general references to discrimination were injected into the campaign, in that candidates proclaimed the Hispanics to be their "friends." These will be taken up later in discussion of appeals to the Spanish-American vote. At only one point did a candidate mention a specific discrimination issue. This was the FEPC question, which was not directly related to the Hispanic El Paso majority.

On Monday, July 17, the three Congressional candidates appeared at a Negro rally. Hervey and Moss were present, and Dick Langford,

34 "Lawyers Hear ....." loc. cit.
35 "Hervey Terms ....." loc. cit.
36 Advertisement, El Paso Herald-Post, loc. cit.
37 See Chapter 10, below.
Regan's campaign manager, spoke for Regan.

Hervey had told the crowd that, "Fred Hervey has never yet dodged an issue." Langford, after explaining that Regan had voted for the voluntary measure which leaves enforcement up to the states, asked Hervey about his position on FEPC. Hervey replied that on "most of the issues" he would have "voted similar to Ken Regan."

At the same rally, Moss failed to mention FEPC in his talk. Called back to make a statement on that question, he replied:

That is a difficult question, but to be perfectly frank, we are in a large district and I am supposed to represent the majority. The colored people are making wonderful progress. This is a serious matter, but I regret to say that if the FEPC came up to a vote in Congress I would in all probability have to vote against it.

Moss was booed loudly as he returned to his seat.

Moss' reference to his representation of the "majority" cast some light on attitudes of El Paso politicians respecting the Hispanic majority. As a majority group in the El Paso population, and as individuals who are frequently expected to work for lower wages than are paid to the members of the population minority, it might be expected that the Spanish-Americans would have some interest in some phases of fair employment legislation. However, rather than alienate the large non-Negro vote, Judge Moss was not afraid to stand up before a Negro rally and tell them of his opposition to FEPC legislation. In his reply, his thoughts were not primarily directed to the Spanish-American majority, and they were certainly not concerned with the very

small El Paso Negro minority. The comments by Moss, the support given by Regan to "voluntary" FEPC, and the evasiveness of Hervey, were all intended for members of the Anglo-American minority who would read about the rally in the next morning's paper.

It may be seen from the above that problems involving housing and labor were given some consideration by Congressional candidates. The attention given alien migrant labor, U. S. - Mexican relations, health, and discrimination, may be regarded as so slight as to be without importance in the campaign. Attainment of public office, education, and attitudes of civic leaders, were entirely omitted.

It would not be going too far to say that all but two typically Spanish-American problems were uniformly neglected by the Congressional candidates. One of these two Hispanic problems, labor, would undoubtedly have been brought up whether or not a Spanish-American majority were present in the city.

It should be added that there are undoubtedly many other Spanish-American problems of pressing importance. None of these, however, made an appearance in the campaign, and problems which have been listed stick out like sore thumbs in any examination of questions currently discussed by the Spanish-American majority.

To think, however, that the candidates did not find other questions worthy of debate and discussion would be to miss the entire point. When compared with the attention given some of the highly rarified "problems" which were taken up by the candidates, even housing and health recede into a nebulous background, and other problems facing
Spanish-Americans simply drop out of sight.

The candidates became quite heated over their respective ideological positions - that is, whether left, right, or center. Each tried to make clear that he was for business, but the degree of support of each was brought into question. Each stressed that he was in favor of, not against, the farmers. In a manner which could hardly have been very clear to the average voter, the position of each candidate on price regulation was discussed - or at least orated and advertised. Some minor problems, injected just in case someone had been forgotten, included air service, assistance to veterans, oil, and water. Foreign relations, sufficiently distant for extended discussion, were probably given more attention than any other one matter.

In view of the inattention shown problems which are of concern to the Hispanic majority, it will be illuminating to briefly examine the manner in which Congressional candidates approached a series of questions more or less irrelevant to pressing Spanish-American problems.

Left, Right, or Center?

Regan and Moss devoted much time and space to voicing their opposition to socialism and communism. In some of his comments on international relations, which will be described later, Hervey made it clear that he was no radical.

Regan stressed that he was a southern conservative Democrat. In an advertisement, it was announced that, among other points: 39

1. He is an old line Southern Democrat, not a radical.
2. He consistently voted with the Southern Democrats and with a majority of the Congressmen from Texas.

Along with his insistence on being labeled a conservative, Regan underlined his opposition to any form of socialism or New Dealism, which he lumped indiscriminately together. Finally, however, he wanted it understood that he was no reactionary. 40

The oft-repeated conservatism of Regan did not prevent supporters of Paul Moss from attempting to associate the Congressman with the Communists. The following is an excerpt from an advertisement: 41

KEN REGAN VOTED AGAINST ECONOMIC AID TO KOREA

AND SO DID VITO MARCANTONIO, THE NEW YORK CONGRESSMAN WHO follows THE FOREIGN POLICY LINE OF RUSSIA ON EVERY VOTE!

Judge Moss preferred to take the middle-of-the-road position. He wrote, "I think the safest route is neither to the left nor to the right, but down the middle of the road." 42

Moss was reputed to receive some support from labor. He did not allow any leftist stigma to attach to him on that account: "Communism from without and within is the greatest menace today to a free America. If there are any Communists in this district I want them to know their

42 Moss, op. cit., p. 2.
philosophy is not mine. I don't want their vote." In various political rallies he urged laws which would combat socialism and communism in America. Friends of Moss were responsible for the advertisements associating Regan with Vito Marcantonio.

Business and Government

Probably Fred Hervey devoted most of his campaign energies to discussing relationships of business and government, and to stressing his own business experience. Typical of his approach was his statement before the El Paso Bar Association urging election of a businessman who "can read a balance sheet, because the Government has a balance sheet." In the same remarks he answered criticism of his inexperience in government by reminding his listeners that the government is the "biggest business in the world today." He added, "You don't need degrees in Washington, but horse sense."

A full-page advertisement which Hervey supporters placed in El Paso newspapers was headed in 72-point type in the following manner:

WHICH MAN WOULD YOU HIRE
TO RUN YOUR BUSINESS?

(Your biggest business today is Government)

YOU'RE THE BOSS!

43 "Bean Charges...." loc. cit.
44 See, for example, "Las Promesas, Orden del Día," El Continental, XXV, 151 (July 6, 1950), p. 2.
45 "Lawyers Hear...." loc. cit.
46 "Which Man Would Your Hire?" advertisement, El Paso Times, LXX, 190 (June 9, 1950), p. 44.
At political rallies Hervey repeatedly emphasized the importance of business experience in government. 47

Neither Regan nor Moss devoted so much of their campaigning as did Hervey to the question of business affiliation or support. However, Regan did associate his point of view with the interests of business. 48

Paul Moss was more reticent about his stand vis à vis business. Reduction of taxes, which formed a question of discussion in the campaign, was taken up briefly by Moss when he wrote, "I will vote to reduce taxes wherever possible." 49 A Spanish-language leaflet did point out that Moss was "amigo del comerciante," in addition to being "amigo" of the poor, of the worker, and of the veteran. The leaflet revealed that Moss "favors reducing the national debt as soon as possible, and at the same time reducing taxes." 50

Agriculture

Though Regan and Moss indicated in a general way that they were in favor of farmers and farmers' interests, they actually spent but little effort in El Paso County on any specific farm question, or on any particular class of farmers. Probably Regan made it most clear

47 See, for example, "Bean Charges......" loc. cit., a report on the Ascarate Park rally of July 13, 1950.


49 Campaign platform of Paul Moss, leaflet, Appendix H-3.

50 Campaign leaflet for Paul Moss, Appendix H-4.
that his sympathies lay with the interests of the employing farmers and ranchers of his district.

Leo F. Miles, businessman, speaking over radio station KEPO on July 17, quoted letters to Regan from R. L. Skov, president of the El Paso Valley Cotton Association, and Louis J. Ivey, executive general manager of the association, expressing their appreciation for the able representation Regan had obtained for farmers and ranchers in the district. The Times, referring to the support Regan had received from cotton growers, editorialized, "Surely we can take the word of our cotton men about Regan. They are for him. That's enough for us insofar as the prosperity of the valley is concerned." 51

Ken Regan, then, accepted the support of large cotton growers in the district, and made no attempt at placating labor complaints about importation of migratory workers. Moss, while criticizing the position of Regan on the Pace Bill, took no clearly defined stand on agricultural problems. 53 He came about as close as ever to a clear position when, in presenting his own nineteen-point agrarian program, Moss listed as

51 "Lawyer, Businessman..." loc. cit. The support given by Regan to importation of migratory labor has already been mentioned. See p. 122.
53 The Pace Bill would have cut down acreage devoted to long-staple Egyptian cotton in West Texas as well as in other areas. See "Regan Votes to Keep Alive Cotton Bill Which Hurts Valley," El Paso Herald-Post, LXX, 188 (August 9, 1950), p. 1; and "Regan and Our Cotton," editorial, El Paso Herald-Post, LXX, 189 (August 10, 1950), p. 10; and point 4 of "Is This a Record to Be Proud Of?" advertisement, El Paso Herald-Post, LXX, 197 (August 19, 1950), p. 16.
point six, "I will vote to broaden and expand our national soil conservation program," and again expressed the same general idea in his campaign booklet. 54

Some attention was given to Regan's alleged failure to vote on the measure repealing the oleomargarine tax. Fred Hervey brought the matter to the fore at a political rally but Regan replied that he didn't vote on the oleo bill because he had been "busy trying to get some beds for veterans" at a local government hospital. 55

Prices

The question of consumer prices, like many others, was brought into campaign discussion by attacks on Regan's record on the question. As in so many other instances, criticism of action on national matters displayed marked concern. The criticism of Regan's price policies was confined to ten days in August preceding the second, or run-off, primary. The question was raised in a Herald-Post editorial which denounced Regan's support of the Kerr Bill, whose intent had been to eliminate the Federal Power Commission's control over natural gas rates. 56

54 Campaign platform of Paul Moss, leaflet, Appendix H-3; and Paul Moss, Let's Work Together, p. 4 and p. 5, Appendix H-11.


Regan's vote against regulation of commodity exchanges was also the object of attack by Moss supporters. 57

High prices were held to be the result of excessive freight rates, for which it was contended Regan was responsible. An August 18 editorial in the Herald-Post attacked Regan for supporting the Bulwinkle Bill, which "allows them to set their own freight rates with merely a formal okay from the Interstate Commerce Commission." 58

On the question of prices, Regan made little attempt at self-defense. However, on August 24, two days before the final run-off, and at the height of the anti-high price campaign, Regan announced that he would, if it became necessary, "not hesitate to fix and stabilize prices and wages, and it now looks as if action of this kind will have to be taken in the near future. It will certainly have to be done if the Korean war spreads to other areas." 59

The attacks by Moss and his supporters on Regan's price policies thus dominated the discussion of this matter and were confined to a short period of the campaign.


Air Service

During the campaign Judge Moss made passing mention of a subject which, in this case at least, got about all the attention it probably deserved. In his nineteen-point campaign leaflet he wrote, "I will do everything in my power to see that the cities of the 16th Congressional District get and keep commercial air service." He also expressed the same idea in his booklet, Let's Work Together. At no point did any candidate indicate just what was about to happen to El Paso's commercial air service, or wherein the alleged deficiency lay or was about to lie.

Veterans

Some attention was given to the aid-to-veterans question when Moss said he would try to get adequate hospital facilities for veterans, and attacked Regan for having allegedly failed to do so. A Spanish-language leaflet announced that Moss was "amigo de los veteranos de la guerra," and that he favored veterans' benefits for hospitalization, education, and business aid.

Fred Hervey charged Regan with having given the "brush-off" to Warren Hoyt, veterans' representative, when Hoyt went to Washington.

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60 Campaign leaflet of Paul Moss, point 12, Appendix H-3.
62 "Is This ......?" loc. cit.
63 "Los que suscribimos la presente ......" campaign leaflet, Appendix H-4; on the same subject, see Moss, loc. cit.; and campaign platform of Paul Moss, leaflet, point 8, Appendix H-3.
to talk to the Congressman about a veterans' hospital.\(^{64}\) On July 15 Warren Hoyt was called before a political rally to make his charges.

While admitting that he had arrived in Washington "a day ahead of time," he contended that,\(^{65}\)

Regan told me we couldn't see a veterans' official named Leonard Johnson because Johnson was sick. But he couldn't have been very sick because we met him while we were walking across the capitol. . . . Regan said he was busy making a speech - what it was I don't know. I wasn't introduced to anyone else.

A series of statements later appeared in the *Times*, in which Regan claimed to have given Hoyt more than adequate attention.\(^{66}\)

Oil

It was Paul Moss who expressed an interest in West Texas oil production. In his campaign leaflet, he promised, "I will vote at all times to protect our small independent oil producers against the threat of foreign oil imports."\(^{67}\) In his booklet, he again expressed concern for local oil producers,\(^{68}\) but at no time did he define the threat they were facing or the measures he would take to meet that threat.

Fred Hervey made no mention of the alleged threat from foreign oil.

\(^{64}\) "Hervey and Regan .... " *loc. cit.*


\(^{67}\) Campaign platform of Paul Moss, leaflet, point 11, Appendix H-3.

importations. Nor did Ken Regan. However, Regan did at one point allude to the oil industry when he stated that he had "voted for the Kerr Bill to keep federal regulation of local oil and gas fields within proper limits ....." 69

Water

In a desert area such as that of El Paso County, the provision of water is a problem. The question appeared briefly in the campaign.

In his campaign leaflet, Judge Moss made the following promise: "I will personally assist in establishing a plan to assure West Texas of adequate water supplies." 70

The Moss approach to the water problem centered around alleged waste of water at Elephant Butte Dam on the Rio Grande in New Mexico. 71 As a solution for this problem, Judge Moss promised, "If I am elected, I shall ask for the immediate supervision of the Elephant Butte Dam by competent engineers." 72 At no point was Moss specific as to how water was being wasted, or the amounts being lost. The Herald-Post did present the question more clearly on July 5, when it mentioned seepage, needed enlargement of the dam, needed canalization, and similar problems. 73

69 "Lawyers Hear," loc. cit.
70 Paul Moss campaign leaflet, point 7, Appendix H-3.
Foreign Relations

The campaign gave much attention to foreign relations, which were debated in terms of U.S. - Russian relations, Korea, and national defense.

Little was said on U.S. - Soviet relations. Fred Hervey did bring in the question at a Liberty Hall political rally on July 12. He injected the businessman's point of view:

"...if it takes 60- or 80-ton tanks to do the job, I say build them. This cold war with Russia has been going on for twenty years. We took Russia in and appeased her and we have been appeasing her ever since. We should serve notice on Russia that we don't intend to lose our investments overseas.

In the same speech he injected remarks not reported in the press:

"We have hated Russia to death for the past twenty years or so..... If we must have war, let's have a war before things get any worse." 75

The Korean struggle, which had just broken out, was given a very large share of attention. Congressman Regan was criticized for his opposition to economic aid to Korea. Hervey and Moss initiated attacks on Regan's record respecting economic aid. On July 12, Hervey announced:

We must elect a man of maturity from this district who can intelligently consider economic and military relief to such countries as South Korea. If Ken Regan had voted differently, Korea might not be overrun today.

74 "Candidates Exchange ....." loc. cit.

75 See report, political rally, Liberty Hall, July 12, 1950, Appendix I-1. Also see "Bean Charges ....." loc. cit.

76 "Bean Charges ....." loc. cit.
Hervey attacked both his opponents on the Korean issue. In an advertisement comparing "job requirements" for the Congressional post, Hervey said that a "sensible international viewpoint" required that economic aid be backed up with military assistance. He called Moss' advocacy of economic aid "without shedding blood" a "kind of dangerous gibberish," and accused Ken Regan of having done nothing in failing to support economic aid to Korea.

Judge Moss was the principal assailant of Regan's Korean voting record. He contended that the Regan vote against economic aid accounted for Communist aggression, and he and the Herald-Post stressed the loss of young El Paso men - mostly Spanish-Americans - in the Korean struggle.

Pro-Moss advertisements carried the same theme, and as has been pointed out above, associated Regan with Vito Marcantonio. One advertisement pointed out, "The program was bitterly attacked and opposed by the Communist Party of the United States." 79

The attack on Regan's Korean record became more embittered when Moss advertisements and articles in the Herald-Post made a special issue

77 Advertisement, "Which Man Would You Hire?" El Paso Times, LXX, 190 (July 9, 1950), p. 44.


of El Pasoans lost in Korea. A full-page advertisement, carrying pictures and names of El Paso victims of the fighting, was headed in 120-point type: "WEST TEXANS ARE DYING IN KOREA." It stated that "Ken Regan voted against economic aid to Korea," and concluded that "Paul Moss is the man for Congress." 80

Regan defended himself against the Moss charges. First, it was pointed out in half-page advertisements and in editorials in the Times that Regan had voted against economic, not military, aid — that it was military aid which was needed to stem Communist aggression. 81

Next, the anger of pro-Regan forces was aroused to high pitch when Moss advertisements carried pictures of El Pasoans lost in Korea. The Times referred to the "miserable, despicable tactics employed by the forces of Paul Moss in his effort to buy his way into the Congress of the United States no matter what the price, whether it be in the blood of our valiant fighting men or in the hard cash of which he has so much," and claimed that the Moss faction had reached a "new low in local politics by injecting the private lives of those true American boys who have lost their lives or been wounded in Korea, and their families, into this Congressional race." 82


A scathing advertisement, "What Lies Behind the Smoke Screen?" appeared on August 12 in the El Paso newspapers. The advertisement pointed with shame to the tactics used by the Moss forces, and asked why Regan's opponent had to use such campaign methods. Answering its own question, the advertisement stated, "Why? Because those who are running the Moss campaign know they have nothing else to work with. They are hiding their real candidate behind a smoke screen of abuse."  

In the same advertisement a letter appeared which was calculated to settle the use by Moss supporters of soldiers' names and pictures. The letter was written by Mrs. Catalina J. Rey, who claimed to be sister of one José Dolores Jemente, killed in Korea. She complained about the use of her brother's picture in a pro-Moss advertisement and asked, "Aren't we suffering enough by losing José without humiliating us by using his picture in a political advertisement without even asking our consent?"  

Publication of Mrs. Rey's letter was followed on August 18 by a front-page statement by Carlos Jemente, who claimed to be a brother of José Jemente, in the Herald-Post. Jemente claimed that Regan campaign workers, bringing flowers and condolences to Mrs. Rey, had "produced a letter they themselves had written beforehand (I have that letter) and

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84 For photographic reproduction of Mrs. Rey's letter, see Appendix D-7.
talked her into copying it in handwriting .... They in turn used it for their own advantage and published the letter in their own advertisement." Jemente admitted that his sister had not consented to use of her brother's picture in the Moss advertisement, but claimed that ladies who had visited Mrs. Rey had claimed to be representatives of the Ladies Auxiliary of Armijo Post, but were actually pro-Regan workers. He added, "all this has caused a breakdown of my sister's health. I believe she suffers enough with her grief." 85

Thus were the Spanish-Americans brought into the controversy over Korea. Other than displaying an apparent minor cleavage in the Rey family to the public gaze, it can hardly be said that the matter promoted the interests of the Spanish-American people in any material way.

On the question of national defense, both Moss and Regan devoted some printed space to making it clear that they both favored adequate defense and aid to the allies. Problems of the Hispanic majority may have been given almost no marked attention, but neither candidate was going to get caught insufficiently opposing communism. 86 As has been shown above respecting his comments on U. S. - Russian relations, Hervey left no doubt about his anti-Russian position.

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Summary

The principal characteristics of discussion of problems in the Congressional race are by now probably clear enough. In short, some consideration was given to housing. Practically none was given to alien migrant labor, U. S.-Mexican relations, health, and discrimination problems facing the Spanish-American majority. Not a breath was expended on education, attainment of public office, or attitudes of civic leaders, insofar as such problems might have affected the Hispanic people. For all practical purposes, therefore, the only problem especially of concern to Spanish-Americans which was given any marked consideration was the problem of housing. Labor questions came up as matters of more general interest. But even these two questions were almost drowned out by a sea of debate on ideological position, business and government, agriculture, consumer prices, air service, veterans' aid, oil, water, and foreign relations and national defense. This is not to suggest that some of these problems may not have been of some interest to a number of Spanish-Americans. The point, however, is that matters of primary Hispanic interest were obviously not given more than passing, vague, indecisive, attention, or, in some cases, no attention at all, in contrast to the vast amount of consideration given questions of secondary or insignificant Hispanic interest.

In terms of the questions which were discussed, and in terms of the content of the discussion, therefore, candidates in the El Paso Congressional campaign acted no differently than candidates are generally reported to act when they must appeal to a large number of
varied ethnic groups. The fact of the presence in El Paso of a large ethnic majority, rather homogeneous, and quite conscious of common group problems, seemed to make no appreciable dent in the discussion of problems in the Congressional contest. 87

The Local Campaign

The local campaign was not different in character or in content from the Congressional race. In the 1950 El Paso primary campaign the candidates on the state, district, county and precinct levels generally presented questions as remote from the pressing problems of the El Paso Hispanic majority as did the candidates in the Congressional contest. The factors responsible for this and for the inattention to the Spanish-Americans which has been indicated in the foregoing discussion will be brought together after examination of all the data on the campaign.

Of the nine problems listed above as being of particular concern to El Paso Spanish-Americans, only three were given any mention in the local campaign. These were, (1) discrimination, (2) labor, and (3) housing. No one of these was mentioned by more than a very few candidates, and in no case did the attention given these problems compare with or equal the attention devoted to questions quite distant from immediate Hispanic interests. Nor did such problems as health, attainment of public office, education as affecting Spanish-Americans, alien migrant labor, or U. S.-Mexican relations even come into the local campaign. It would probably be unreasonable to ask the local

87 Chapters 12, 13, and 14, will analyze the bases for the inattention given in El Paso to problems of the Hispanic majority.
candidates to make comments on attitudes of local civic leaders, but as will be shown later, at least one candidate seemed to share such attitudes himself, when he picked delinquency as his main subject at a Spanish-American rally in South El Paso.

Since the state of Texas plays a role in formulation of policy on alien migrant labor, and has taken upon itself certain aspects of U.S.-Mexican relations, the legislative candidates might have been expected to make some statements of policy on these matters.

**Discrimination**

Discrimination was given some passing mention by Frank Owen III, candidate for state representative, district 90. At a rally in Smeltertown School, in a predominantly Spanish-American precinct, he said, "I don't know what this word discrimination is. If you have a problem when I'm in Austin, bring it to me and I'll see what I can do." 88

The problem was barely touched upon by Woodrow Wilson Bean and Victor Gilbert, candidates for county judge. This, however, occurred at a Negro rally, and had no direct reference to the Hispanic people. In his remarks at the rally, Woodrow Bean told of having worked in the state legislature for a bill that would bring the same pay to school teachers, "regardless of race, creed, or color." At the same rally, Victor B. Gilbert announced that "whatever question you might have for Judge Gilbert you are always welcome and will get an answer. He

may not always agree with you but you are welcome." 89

The question was implied in a fleeting sort of way by Joseph E. Rey in his slogan, "Special Privileges for None; Equal Opportunity for All." 90

Other than these passing comments on discrimination, some suggestion of the problem was hinted by a few candidates in special appeals to the Spanish vote, as will be shown in a later chapter. 91

Labor

Frank Owen III, candidate for the state legislature, made a foggy reference to labor. He said: 92

I will give deliberate, just and conscientious consideration to all its aspects, to arrive at an answer equitable to the interests of the 90th district, as well as to the whole state of Texas.

Some slight interest in labor was suggested by Joseph E. Rey, candidate for justice of the peace, when he commented that he would conduct night court so that witnesses need not miss a day at work to testify. 93

91 See Chapter 10.
93 "Nine Enter....." loc. cit.
Housing

Only in the county judge contest did a candidate show an awareness of the housing problem, and then only in reference to housing in Smeltertown, an industrial suburb outside of El Paso. At a rally in that community, Woodrow Wilson Bean charged that a housing committee for Smeltertown, appointed by Gilbert, had done nothing. He went on, "What happened to the report they were supposed to make? My opponent forgot about it and you were left in the middle of the stream." 94

Thus was the housing problem covered by candidates for local and state office.

It was indicated above how the candidates brushed aside in a brief and sketchy manner the pressing problems faced by El Paso's Spanish-American population. By far the greatest portion of the local and state campaign was devoted to other matters. For example, three of the legislative candidates - Ray Elliott, Frank Owen III, and Anita Blair - expended much energy on comments regarding the proper relationship between government and business, always with the view that business interests were worthy of support. Anita Blair added something on her opposition to socialism, when she said that, "I see so many things happening that lead down the road to socialism, and I do not believe America should become socialistic." 95


Both Mr. Elliott and Miss Blair pointed out that there were too many lawyers in the legislature, and Miss Blair, unreported in the press, said, "You don't have to be a lawyer to be a human being." 96

Water problems were made a special subject of discussion by Frank Owen III, 97 and public improvements in general, including especially parks, were discussed at great length by Victor Gilbert and Woodrow Wilson Bean, candidates for county judge, and by Ray H. Dwigans, Scott O. Skidmore, Ray Villescas, Gray Hardy, John Bland, José Avila, and Milton Trice - all candidates for county commissioner. 98

Taxes were discussed at great length by Woodrow Wilson Bean, who attacked Judge Gilbert's alleged failure to keep down taxes, and by Judge Gilbert, who pointed to his record of fulfilled promises on the matter. 99

The candidates for district judge, 34th judicial district, devoted most of their discussion to personality questions. Other than this,

96 "Woman, Four Men...." loc. cit.; and report, political rally, Ascarate Park, loc. cit.


about the only quasi-public issue which did appear involved the supposed leniency of Judge Jackson as prosecuting attorney — Elfers claiming Jackson had been too lax, and Jackson denying it. The county sheriff candidates spent most of their time — at least the time they spent on public questions and not on personalities — in comparing their respective claims to competence in enforcement of the law.

The only person to mention the word "machine" in the 1950 campaign was Joe Rey, candidate for justice of the peace. He castigated the "machine politics" of El Paso and indicated that his opponent was a part of the "machine." Pinned down in a private interview, Rey spoke of a "court-house machine" but would not be specific in providing names.

The superintendent of public instruction race brought up no questions of special significance for Spanish-American educational problems. The problem of personnel changes in the schools was mentioned by both John T. Bean and H. C. Hinton. Other miscellaneous points were raised on cooperation with trustees and teachers and on

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102 Report, political rally, Liberty Hall, Appendix I-l.
Victor Gilbert, candidate for county judge, made remarks which seemed to indicate that some candidates could stand some improvement in their attitudes. At an Armijo Park rally on July 19, he pointed out that he had taken special efforts to solve delinquency problems. Armijo Park is located in the very heart of Spanish population concentration, in South El Paso— that is, the area which was being currently publicized by the newspapers as suffering from delinquency problems. Just in case anyone had not understood, Gilbert had a speaker tell the audience the same thing over again in the Spanish language.

In the El Paso 1950 primary campaign, then, no candidate troubled himself very much about the solution of urgent problems facing the Hispanic people, and in no case did any mention of such problems reach the stature of an issue.

The discussion of personalities, which occupied much of the candidates' attention, will now be shown as it appeared in the campaign. Again, the purpose will be to place in proper perspective the attention given by candidates to Spanish-American problems.


104 Report, political rally, Armijo Park, Appendix I-3.
Chapter 9
THE CAMPAIGN: PERSONALITIES, CHARGES, AND COUNTER-CHARGES

The El Paso primary campaign provided the only significant contest in the county's 1950 election race. The general election of November, in the Texas one-party structure, was without significant meaning. The primary fitted the description offered by Odegard and Helms:

Not infrequently these primary battles are more bitterly fought, arouse more animosity, and are characterized by more acrimonious denunciation of one another by rival candidates for the same party nomination than are the contests in the final elections.

To judge from the content of the 1950 primary campaign, there was no factor which might distinguish it from campaigns elsewhere. Except for some special appeals made to the Hispanic voters, which will be described in the next chapter, there was little in the campaign to indicate the presence in El Paso County of a non-Anglo majority.

Questions, charges and counter-charges related to personalities were even more hopelessly irrelevant to pressing Spanish-American problems than were the questions on public affairs raised by the candidates.

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The impression of the writer was that as much time and vastly more enthusiasm were devoted to personalities as were directed to so-called "problems." When one considers the minor attention given to obvious Hispanic problems even in those parts of the campaign not stressing personalities, there is left, in terms of the total contest, an insignificant portion of energy directed to Spanish-American interests.

Precisely because the heat aroused by personal boasting or by acrimonious denunciation was so distant from Hispanic questions crying for notice, the presentation of the principal lines of personality discussion becomes relevant to a total view of the campaign. The subject will therefore be given some attention.

**The Congressional Campaign**

Personal issues which appeared in the Congressional contest may be classified as follows:

1. Experience and background
2. General ability
3. Application to duties
4. Private life
5. Physical vigor
6. Wealth
7. Affiliations
8. Previous popularity
9. Miscellaneous
10. Charges related to campaign methods
Experience and Background

Both Moss and Regan laid stress on their experience and backgrounds. Leaflets issued by Judge Moss went into details of his life. 2 Ken Regan described his own experience and background, and at the same time questioned the experience and backgrounds of his two opponents. 3 He was able to point particularly to the time he had spent in Congress. Speaking for Regan, R. P. Langford stated that Regan would triumph in the elections because he had acquired maturity in Congressional matters.

Regan was not hesitant about deprecating the experience of his opponents. At the Liberty Hall rally, he suggested that one doesn't "call a plumber for a surgical operation," and stressed his seniority and the committee memberships he had secured while in Congress. 4 Addressing the Valley Farm and Ranch Club, Regan said that Judge Moss had no legislative experience and was defeated the only two times he ran for election as a public official. "Then he struck oil and became a heavy campaign contributor," he continued, "with the result that he was appointed to the job the voters had denied him. He immediately began running for Congress, after handling a few routine adoption and

2 See Paul Moss is the Man for Congress, leaflet, 1950 campaign, Appendix H-10, in which the following appears: "What kind of a man is Paul Moss - inwardly? What is his basic philosophy? His spiritual side? Following are excerpts from one of his books ....." and see also campaign leaflet, Paul Moss, Appendix H-3.

3 Political rally, Liberty Hall, July 12, 1950, Appendix I-1; and "Las Promesas, Orden del Día," El Continental, XXV, 141 (July 6, 1950), p. 2.

divorce cases in his district ...." 5

General Ability

Each of the three candidates for Congress expressed conviction respecting his own ability to handle the post, and doubt respecting the ability of his opponents.

Supporters of Fred Hervey brought out the personal ability theme in a full-page advertisement, 6 and especially stressed his ability as a businessman, as for example at a Cleveland Square rally where he announced that businessmen, not professional politicians, are needed in Washington. 7

The approach of Paul Moss was not based so much on an outline of his own ability as on an attack on the abilities of Ken Regan. References to his own competence were limited to an advertisement statement that "We need a better representative in Congress," a card indicating that "Paul Moss is the Man for Congress," and a complimentary statement by an Odessa pastor, the Reverend C. A. Johnson. 8


6 "10 to 15 Years are Required to Get Ahead in Congress! Look to the Future With Fred Hervey ....." advertisement, El Paso Herald-Post, LXX, 155 (July 1, 1950), p. 18. For other material on this theme, see also "Which Man Would You Hire?" advertisement, El Paso Times, LXX, 190 (July 9, 1950), p. 44.


But Moss showed no reticence in questioning the abilities of his principal opponent. At a Fort Hancock rally he accused Regan of being "asleep at the switch" when vital issues were being considered in Congress. Moss suggested that the appointment of Regan to what Moss considered minor committee posts indicated the Congressman's lack of ability:

The Washington correspondent of the El Paso Times informed us on May 14 that Mr. Regan was occupying the esteemed position of chairman of the Public Land sub-committee on the development of peat as a source of cheap fuel in the Northwest. Besides that, the record shows, Mr. Regan also has become chairman of the House Administration subcommittee that is responsible — among other things — for the disposition of useless executive papers. That kind of seniority, it seems to me, is just about valueless to West Texas.

In the same remarks, Moss commented on Regan's alleged ignorance of affairs in Washington, and in a series of editorials the editor of the Herald-Post joined in the questioning of Regan's ability. Regan did not make important issue of his own abilities. In one talk he announced that "I believe I am better qualified by temperament and experience than Mr. Hervey. I do not believe either Mr. Hervey or Mr. Moss have heretofore taken any very active interest in civic

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In response to an anonymous card denouncing the qualifications of Regan, a pro-Regan advertisement included the following statement:

Both Judge Moss and Mr. Hervey are seeking to win on so-called demerits of Congressman Regan, rather than on their own qualifications. Huge sums have been expended in behalf of both of them. We believe that the great majority of the intelligent voters in El Paso County will vote (for Regan).

The card to which the above statement was a reply had contained the following comments:

WEST TEXAS HAS ..... 
The highest mountain and the deepest canyon. 
The largest county in size and the smallest county in population. 
The oldest city and the youngest country. 
The longest river and the least water. 
THE BEST PEOPLE and the WORST CONGRESSMAN.

Application to Duties

Fred Hervey expressed particular anxiety over the attention to duties which he felt should be given by a Congressman. With respect to himself, Hervey stressed that, "I am a hard worker." 

Hervey supporters could find no similar staying power in either Moss or Regan. In an advertisement, friends of Hervey suggested that

12 "Lawyers Hear ....." loc. cit.


Moss would stay at his Congressional post about as much as he had worked at his judgeship, from which he "has been absent ...... much of the time in his efforts to become a Congressman." 15

Hervey supporters could not see that Regan was any better on this score: 16

He has had a good time in Washington and resides at a leased English nobleman's estate named 'Journey's End' in Chevy Chase, Maryland.

Hervey described Regan as a "playboy." At a rally Hervey commented, "If we could get Regan to work all of his two years like he's working here tonight we might get somewhere ...... After hearing him tonight I think I'm going to call him 'alibi-boy' instead of 'playboy'." 17 At another rally, Hervey accused Regan of night-clubbing on taxpayers' time: "If Regan wants to night-club on his own time, that's all right. But when he does it on our time I say he is a bum employee and should be fired." 18

Though Judge Moss himself did not directly accuse Regan of failure to handle his Congressional duties, Moss supporters did repeatedly make this charge. The Herald-Post ran a series of articles on the alleged

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16 See ibid.; and also, on the same topic, "Which Man Would You Hire?" advertisement, El Paso Times, 190 (July 9, 1950), p. 44, in which "job requirements" are compared in terms of each candidate.

17 "Hervey and Regan Draw 283 People to 'Big Rally'," El Paso Herald-Post, LXX, 165 (July 13, 1950), p. 1; and see report on Liberty Hall rally, July 12, 1950, Appendix I-1.

absences of Regan from Congress. 19 A cartoon in the Herald-Post depicted Regan as a sportily dressed dandy and Moss as a rugged, hardworking cowboy, and asked, "Which for Congress - Playboy or Cowboy?" 20 The rebuttal of Regan to these charges argued that he had been unusually faithful in his duties. 21

The Times suggested an explanation, not mentioned by Regan himself, for the Congressman’s absences: 22

If Regan leaves Washington to take his ill wife home to Midland from Denver, he is criticized in the Herald-Post for not being in Washington to vote on economic controls and not being in the district campaigning.

How much is a member of Congress supposed to take?

In addition to pointing with pride to his own record of diligence, Regan, like Hervey, suggested that Moss had been neglecting his judicial duties to campaign for Congress. He charged that during the campaign Moss had been "farming out his court work to others." 23

This charge brought an irate reply from the Ector County Bar

19 See Chapter 11 on press attitudes and methods.


The charge that Judge Moss has been 'farming out' his court work is equally ridiculous. Mr. Regan — and the El Paso Times — have failed to tell you that when Judge Moss was not on his own bench, it was because he was exchanging benches with other district judges at their request to lend them assistance with their dockets.

Private Life

Only Judge Moss placed any emphasis on details of his own private life.

A campaign leaflet set the stage for this approach. A section, headed, "Family Man ....." in red, began, "Judge and Mrs. Moss, who recently celebrated their 31st wedding anniversary, reside on their ranch near the western outskirts of Odessa." The section went on to tell some details about their children and about other members of the Moss family. It continued, for example, "Their brother-in-law and life-long friend is U. S. Senator Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina. The senator married Mrs. Moss' sister." The section continued, "Their daughter-in-law also is well-known in her own right. She is the former Jane Withers, the girl screen star of a decade ago."

The Reverend C. A. Johnson, Moss' pastor in Odessa, claimed, "He is clean in his personal life, and I have never known him to resort to the little things."

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25 "Paul Moss is the Man for Congress," campaign pamphlet, Appendix H-10.
26 "His Pastor ....." loc. cit.
The climax was reached on August 13, when a full-page advertisement carried in huge type, among other comments, the following: "Your Congressman's Private Life is YOUR Business," and, "We Invite You to Investigate the Private Life of Paul Moss." 27 In smaller bold-face type the advertisement continued with a short biography of the candidate. 28

Neither Regan nor Hervey placed any stress on this private-life approach.

**Physical Vigor**

The question of physical vigor was brought to the fore. Age and health were the two points stressed. Fred Hervey was the principal proponent of the view that physical factors were important for Congressional aspirants. He opened this theme on July 12 when he announced at a political rally, "I believe Ken Regan has seen his best days. It's about time to retire him." 29

Hervey was particularly concerned about the matter of age. He made this clear in a full-page advertisement on July 1. Here he

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29 "Hervey and Regan Draw....." loc. cit.
listed among others the following points:

Fred Hervey at 40 is the only candidate with time to attain the seniority and influence that men like Ewing Thomason, John Garner and Speaker Sam Rayburn earned in Washington.

History proves that youth gets ahead in Congress. Henry Clay went to Congress at 28; Daniel Webster at 31; John Calhoun at 29; Vice-President Barkley at 31.

Fred Hervey is young enough to work up to important positions of leadership on Congressional committees.

Fred Hervey's youth gives him another asset. He has the health and vigor to work long hours at his job in Washington.

The other candidates were not averse to discussing the question of age. In a full-page advertisement comparing the merits and demerits of Regan and Moss, friends of Regan announced that whereas Regan "is 57 years old, vigorous, and a good servant of the 16th District, Moss asks you to send him to Congress as a freshman, at 64, with no earlier legislative experience." 31

Judge Moss made no attempt at answering the disparagements of his personal vigor. Instead, he commented before the Kiwanis Club in terms reported by the pro-Regan Times as follows: 32

Judge Moss said he had reached a period of life where it did not make much difference whether he was district judge (his present title) or in Congress. He said because

30 "10 to 15 Years Are Required...." advertisement, El Paso Herald-Post, LXX, 155 (July 1, 1950), p. 18. See also "Which Man Would You Hire?" advertisement, El Paso Times, LXX, 190 (July 9, 1950), p. 44; and "1,000,000 Texans Can't Be Wrong!" advertisement, El Paso Times, LXX, 197 (July 16, 1950), p. 44; also in Spanish, "1,000,000 de Tejanos no pueden equivocarse," El Continental, XXV, 150 (July 16, 1950), p. 11.

31 "Compare - Then Choose Carefully....." loc. cit.

his time was short (speaking time allotted him) he did not have time to fully discuss the Taft-Hartley Act or Kerr Bill.

Wealth

Each of the Congressional candidates was notably wealthy. Therefore the question of their respective riches was brought into the picture. The chief object of criticism on this score was Judge Moss, though the other two candidates were possessed of financial resources more than adequate for their personal needs.

Hervey attacked his opponents for the lavish expenditures of money being made by their supporters. "A tremendous amount of money is being spent by my two opponents on sign-boards, advertising, circulars, stickers and campaign personnel ...." 33

Speaking on the radio for Regan, Dick Langford said, "It is going to be up to you voters, on July 22, to decide whether $15,000,000 is the only qualification a man needs to serve you in Congress." 34

In response to criticisms of Regan's allegedly fine home in Washington, the columnist, W. J. Hooten, wrote: 35

By the way, I wonder what some of Paul Moss 'bleeding heart' supporters and campaign managers would say if they saw the palatial home on the outskirts of Odessa! It makes


Ken Regan's rented home in Washington look like servants' quarters.

And I imagine if either Judge Moss or Fred Hervey should happen to be successful in going to Congress, they would not live in hovels in the nation's capital. Neither of them is poor by any means.

At a rally where Moss supporters were much in evidence, Ken Regan began his talk as follows, "Ladies and gentlemen and paid employees of Paul Moss." 36

**Affiliations**

According to Robert L. Holliday, Regan was dominated by oil interests. 37 This theme was also expressed by Moss. In a talk at Odessa, Moss claimed that Regan represented the large oil interests and that he was supported by the so-called "Kingmakers" of El Paso. 38

Regan overtly disclaimed all such affiliation, but expressed pride in the support received from "farmers, ranchers, small businessmen, rank and file workers ....." as contrasted to Moss' support among the "Political Action Committee and the leftist fringe in El Paso County." 39

Denouncing the charges that he received support from large oil and

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37 Interview with Robert L. Holliday, July 6, 1950, Appendix B-10.


39 "Compare - Then Choose ....." loc. cit.
other interests, Regan remarked: 40

I challenge either of my two opponents to state when and how I have voted in the interests of any corporation, any group, or individual and not in the best interests of the majority of the people of this district.

Though Regan disclaimed any affiliation with special interests, he did openly welcome the support of ranching and business groups. A full-page advertisement carried letters of endorsement from R. L. Scott, president of the El Paso Valley Cotton Association, and from Louis J. Ivey, executive general manager of the El Paso Cotton Association, and from Colbert Coldwell, president of the El Paso Home and Property Owners' Association. 41

Previous Popularity

Some mention was made in the campaign of previous electoral experiences of the candidates. Since Hervey had never run for office this question did not apply to him.

In a full-page advertisement, Ken Regan demonstrated to the voters that whereas he had "never been defeated for public office over a long span of service," Paul Moss had "never been elected to public office," and "was defeated for county judge and twice for district judge." 42

However, a speaker for Regan went a bit too far when he stated that Moss had been defeated for county attorney. Moss replied, "They


42 "Compare — Then Choose Carefully ...." loc. cit.
have said I was defeated for county attorney. I never ran for the
office." 43

Miscellaneous

Portions of the campaign were devoted to personal comments of a
miscellaneous, petty sort. For instance, there was the statement by
Sam Dwyer, Jr., speaking for Moss, that "We want a man in Congress like
Paul Moss who will not engage in petty jealousies." 44 When Hervey
said that "Moss is a rubber stamp," Moss replied in the following
manner: 45

Fred has been drinking branch water and is upset. I
am not a rubber stamp, I have never been a rubber stamp.
I fight my own battle and try to do my own thinking. The
Democratic Party owes me nothing. I owe the Democratic
Party nothing. I wear no man's collar. I still know how
to fight. There is not a stiff joint in my body. When
Fred drinks that branch water you cannot tell what things
he will say.

Again, candidates tried to stir considerable heat over the
absence of Judge Moss from the Liberty Hall political rally on July
12. 46 Finally, on the night of the rally, a large sign was placed

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43 "Bean Charges Judge Gilbert Bungles Probate Court Cases," El

44 "Elfers Attacks Jackson; Congress Speakers Mild," El Paso Herald-
Post, LXX, 170 (July 19, 1950), p. 1; and for another sort of
miscellaneous comment, see "His Pastor Talks About Paul Moss," El Paso

45 "Hervey, Moss Stage Verbal Battle at Kiwanis Meeting," El Paso Times,
LXX, 187 (July 6, 1950), p. 3.

46 "Moss Refuses Hervey's Invitation," El Paso Herald-Post, LXX,
in an empty chair on the stage: 47

PAUL
MOSS
?

The absurdities to which candidates devoted some of their energies can be seen in the excitement which was generated over Hervey's rendering concern. At the Liberty Hall rally on July 12 there was circulated anonymously a news item reprint purporting to describe conditions at this plant. The article, entitled, "Dogs Picked Up in Drive Sold to Rendering Plant," and reprinted from the Herald-Post of July 16, 1949, explained that: 48

Dogs picked up in the current anti-rabies drive are sold to the All-State Products Company, rendering plant at 300 North Verde Avenue. The animals are taken there from the city pound and shot....The All-State Products Company is operated by Dr. D. L. Cady, veterinarian, and Fred Hervey....

Here the name "Fred Hervey" was encircled in dark ink so that it could not be missed. The article continued:

.....A Herald-Post reporter witnessed the execution of part of a truckload of 15 dogs and some cats. The sight was not pleasant....The dogs were removed from the truck one at a time with a dog stick. One man held the animal by using the stick. The other shot the animal in the head with a .22 caliber rifle.....The dog on the end of the stick made no sound....When the rifle went off with a flat report the animal jerked, then slumped to the floor.

The other dogs in the truck, as though stricken by knowledge of what was coming, made no sound.

The air around the plant was heavy with the thick, sickening odor of rendering.....

47 Report, Liberty Hall rally, loc. cit.
48 For reproduction of this handbill, see Appendix H-2.
The reprint went on to tell of the unpleasant deaths of a number of cats. Speaking of the dog-catcher, the item comments, "When he finished he looked almost as though he would be ill. "I don't like this,' he remarked."

During the campaign, a movement was begun to remove the rendering plant from the city. In a letter to the mayor, an attorney for the plant wrote that this was a political move on the part of opponents of Fred Hervey.49 After the conclusion of the first primary, at which Hervey was eliminated from the contest, nothing more was heard about the rendering plant.

The case of Pete Sánchez, who disclaimed all responsibility for a signature affixed to a Moss endorsement, will be described later, in connection with appeals to the Spanish-American vote.50

An incident similar to the Sánchez case occurred when Abdou Chagra, prominent Smeltertown resident, denied he had signed his name to a Regan indorsement which appeared over a signature purporting to be his. At a Smeltertown rally, supporters of Regan were charged with signing Chagra's name to the Regan petition without Chagra's permission. Speaking at the rally, Chagra denied he had ever signed such a petition, which had appeared in a full-page Herald-Post advertisement. Chagra commented: 51


50 See below, Chapter 10, and Appendix H-4.

I'm not a politician, but want to put one thing straight. I'm for Fred Hervey. I did not sign any petition for Regan. I, for one — I don't know how many on the list — am for Hervey.

The case of Catalina Rey, which probably falls in the same category, has already been described. 52

Charges Related to Campaign Methods

Most of the epithets directed against tactics of the campaign came from supporters of Ken Regan. The attack on the Moss approach became heated on August 7, when Dick Langford, speaking over the radio, denounced use of pictures of dead soldiers for political purposes. Langford called these tactics "a new low throughout the 16th Congressional District in cheap machine politics." Langford claimed that the advertisements were "aimed at the already heavy hearts of wives and mothers of men in the Korean war," and were "as vicious a political move as we have seen in El Paso." 53 Langford then swung into a full attack: "This is one more stunt borrowed from the rabble-rousers. Tell the big lie, tell it over and over and over again, until the people begin to believe it ....."

Regan himself was not hesitant about remarking on the methods used by Moss supporters. Describing the Moss approach as a "vile campaign," he commented, "It is a vicious thing these people have done, and one that will leave scars in West Texas long after this

52 See Chapter 8, above.

campaign is forgotten." 54

It was claimed by Tom Mays, Regan campaign manager, that Moss forces were utilizing the sheriff campaign for their own purposes by telling friends of Hicks that Regan was supporting Boone, and friends of Boone that Regan was supporting Hicks. After publicizing this report, Mays proceeded to vehemently deny it. 55

Attorney W. C. Snow, speaking for Regan on August 15, remarked that "we have tried to keep this campaign on a level called for by the high office of U.S. Representative." He continued: 56

But the time has come to strip away the hide and lay bare the skeleton of Paul Moss, the gentleman from Odessa, who now is being kept under cover by his advisers lest he remind the voters how little prepared he is to represent them in Washington....Those of you who attended earlier political rallies remember the pathetic appearance Paul Moss made while his hired hands tried to whoop it up for their candidate....

On August 17, Regan made a particularly embittered comment on the Moss campaign methods. He charged the opposition had "dropped over their candidate a curtain of lies, distortions, and abuse."

Little had been heard from Paul Moss himself since the July 22 primary, Regan said, and continued: 57

His campaign managers are carrying the ball for him instead of letting him face a public outraged at what has been done in his name....To those dealers in slime I say they have buried themselves in the pit they have dug themselves. If they could leave their poison pens long enough to get out into the district they would learn that the people are clean-minded and decent — that they will listen to the qualifications of their candidates and not the hysterical screaming aimed at sidetracking them from the main line.

In a concluding speech, Regan summarized his impression of the campaign: 58

This has been an unpleasant campaign. I have been a candidate on at least six previous occasions and never ran into anything as vicious as has been organized by the opposition before and after the July 22 primaries. I can only hope that the campaign will be forgotten after Saturday and we can all work together for the good of America and of West Texas. I can assure those who have been working against me that there will be no resentment after it is all over and my office will be available, as it has in the past, to all citizens of the district who have a problem that should be the business of their representative.

A pro-Regan advertisement expressed the reaction of the Congressman's supporters. It was entitled, "We Believe in Decency and Fair Play, Even in an Election!" It described various anonymous handbills and leaflets which had allegedly been used by Moss forces, and listed methods disapproved by friends of Regan. 59

The supporters of Paul Moss made no similar attack on the campaign tactics of the forces of Regan. There were newspaper comments, however,


as when the Herald-Post, on the eve of the second primary election, found that questionable campaign methods had been the responsibility not of Moss, but of Regan:

As the Congressional campaign has progressed, our admiration and respect for Judge Paul Moss have increased. He has withstood all the vile assaults of the Kingmakers' campaign in this County, the vilest we have seen in thirty years of observing Texas politics, and still stands as a man and a gentleman with a clean and honorable record. He has not gone down into the gutter to reply in kind, but has retained his dignity. The brutal assaults he has met with human decency.

There is nothing to be gained by cataloging their smears, their slurs, their sly and dishonest questions, but not the least of their sins is the whimpering hypocrisy they spout about the Moss forces stooping to their own level....They never have....We hope the people will elect Judge Moss to Congress, but win or lose we are proud to have been on his side these last few weeks. We have been in the better company.

The Local Campaign

The local campaign was perhaps more full of personal comments than was the Congressional. As a result, Hispanic problems were as much shoved into the background in the one as in the other.

The large part that personality discussion played in the campaign merits it some space, if for nothing else than to show how little significance was attached by candidates to the needs of the Hispanic majority.

The claims and charges were so varied, and so thoroughly covered the whole field from braggadocio to bitterness that they defy classification. This phase of the local campaign will therefore be

arranged by individual contests.

**State Representative Contest**

Frank Owen III, running for representative, 90th district, went into the details of his college education and family. 61 At one meeting he stated that he saw a lot of personal friends, and that after the rally he would circulate around shaking hands. "After the meeting, I'll give you a chance to meet my wife," he commented, adding that he was 24 years old. "I'm settled down, believe me," he stated, and talked of his education and law studies. "I'm proud of my profession," he revealed. 62

Gene Puckett, running for representative, 89th district, place 2, also emphasized his own personal history, and called himself "the El Paso boy." 63 He stressed his law studies, navy experience, and education in general, and remarked that his opponent, Ray L. Elliott, was an insurance and real estate man. 64 Mr. Elliott did not object to this, and in fact underlined that he was a "taxpayer and property owner." 65

Anita Blair, opponent of Frank Owen III, adhered in the main to

62 Report, Liberty Hall rally, loc. cit.
63 Ibid.
65 Report, Armijo Park rally, loc. cit.; "Highlights...." loc. cit.
public issues. It is not certain that she used her blindness as a feature to attract the sympathy of the voters. A campaign card carried her picture, with her seeing-eye dog, Fawn. Newspaper summaries made mention of her handicap and carried pictures of Miss Blair with her dog. 66

Contest for Judge, 34th Judicial District

It is not improbable that questions relating to judicial impartiality, or delinquency, or past records of the candidates on their attitudes on Spanish-American problems could have been of interest to Hispanic voters in the judicial race. However, no such discussions appeared, and the two candidates devoted themselves with singular attachment, even for a political campaign, to heated personal charges.

The Jackson-Elfers contest for judge, 34th judicial district, was without doubt the most consistently bitter of the campaign. The Herald-Post summarized the race in these terms: 67

Roy D. Jackson, long-time district attorney who was appointed judge of the 34th district court to succeed the late W. D. Howe, is opposed for the judicial post by E. B. Elfers, attorney. Judge Jackson is pointing to his record. Elfers is also pointing to the Jackson record, with special emphasis on Jackson's alleged shortcomings while district attorney.

The theme of the judicial contest was pointed up by Elfers at an Ascarate Park rally, when, commenting on Jackson, he said, "He resents

66 "Woman, Four Men...." loc. cit.

my attacks but I am not attacking him. I am pointing out his record. He made that record. I didn't." 68

Compromise with crime. Elfers' principal complaint related to Jackson's alleged laxness in handling cases while in the office of district attorney. Elfers suggested that Jackson's defects in this respect constituted "compromising with criminals and their attorneys." According to Elfers, Jackson had during his earlier years made a good record as district attorney. "It appears he decided there was no occasion to take hard cases and work full-time. It was much easier to compromise with criminals and their attorneys." 69 Unless the defendant plead guilty, argued Elfers, District Attorney Jackson would turn down a case. "It is getting so you can commit murder in El Paso and get away with it," Elfers announced. 70

Elfers held Jackson up to rebuke for the latter's alleged failure to maintain a high record of cases tried while serving as district attorney. Elfers reported that during Jackson's later period in this office, the number of cases tried by Jackson fell to an "all-time low," and that further, "the results in a number of cases reflected no credit

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68 "Bean Charges....." loc. cit.


70 "Judge Moss Charges Regan 'Asleep at the Switch,'" El Paso Herald-Post, LXX, 164 (June 12, 1950), p. 2.
Jackson denied the charges, emphasizing that in 1949, 275 indictments were returned by the county grand jury with 274 convictions obtained.

In support of his plea, Jackson turned his guns against Elfers. Commenting on the charge that as district attorney he had been lax, he stated:

Any lawyer knows about Elfer's record in criminal court. I may have to tell you myself if he does not stop his attacks. He tells you that I tried more criminal cases in my first year than at any time since. Why? Because Elfers was the first assistant district attorney when I took office and there was that much work left for me. He tells you that I tried 24 felony cases last year. He doesn't tell you that there were 275 indictments for felonies in 1949 and 274 convictions.

Elfers made few promises on this score, but at one point did state that, if elected, he would "undertake to again make the 34th district court the protector of life and property which the lawmakers who created it contemplated it should be."

Affiliations. Elfers repeatedly charged that while serving as district attorney Jackson had been accepting cases from a railroad.


72 "Elfers Attacks Jackson....." loc. cit.; and "Judge Moss Charges Regan....." loc. cit.


74 "Elfers Attacks Jackson's Record....." loc. cit.
"Was it proper for him to represent a private corporation on the side?" he asked listeners at a North Loop School rally. Elfers asked:

What do you suppose would have been Mr. Jackson's attitude had he as district attorney been asked to prosecute such a complaint against the Texas and Pacific? This private employment has greatly interfered with the proper performance of his duties as district attorney.

Elfers claimed that part of Jackson's laxness resulted from his handling on the side of forty-two cases in which he represented the Texas and Pacific Railroad. Similar charges were made by Elfers at the Ascarate Park rally and elsewhere. Elfers' conclusion was, "If Jackson wants to be a corporation lawyer, he ought to get out and be one."

Length of time in office. It was suggested by Elfers that Jackson had been too long "on the public payroll." According to a press report on a rally:

Mr. Elfers said that Judge Jackson had been in office so long he thinks he owns it. He quoted Jackson as saying in his first primary campaign that four years in office is long enough for anybody.

At the Ascarate Park rally, Elfers claimed that both Mr. and Mrs.

75 "Elfers Attacks Jackson; Congress Speakers..... " loc. cit.
76 "Says Jackson..... " loc. cit.
77 Ibid.
78 Ibid.
79 "Judge Moss Attacks Regan..... " loc. cit.
Jackson were on the public payroll - Jackson as district judge, his
wife as a high school teacher. "Of his 27 years in Texas," complained
Elfers, "he has been on the public payroll for 25." The obvious
implication was that Mr. Elfers should now be given an opportunity to
feed at the public trough.

*Family.* In a campaign booklet, Judge Jackson included a
biographical sketch of himself and of his wife and other Jackson
family members. Enraged at the tactics of Elfers, Jackson brought
Mrs. Jackson to the Armijo Park rally, and presented her to the mass
of Hispanic people, many of whom she had taught in nearby Bowie
High School.

At no point did Elfers present his own qualifications, or give
information on his personal background or experience. His entire
performance was limited to an attack on Judge Jackson.

Judge Jackson, a forceful and fluent speaker, became increasingly
angry as the contest progressed. His fury was particularly in evidence
at the Ascarate Park and Armijo Park rallies, and he spoke heatedly of
the "vilification" promoted by his opponent. At the Liberty Hall
rally, Judge Jackson, who had not reached the full pitch of oratorical

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80 Ascarate Park rally, loc. cit.
81 Roy D. Jackson for Judge of the 34th District Court, campaign
pamphlet, Appendix H-12.
82 Report, Armijo Park rally, loc. cit.
83 Report, Ascarate Park rally, loc. cit.
rage evident in later stages of the campaign, proclaimed that he was not running against anybody; that he had no "scurrilous remarks to make about anybody"; and that he wished that all could campaign like a previous speaker who had said, "They are all gentlemen." He added that it was not his intention to "call anyone dirty names."

However, at the last political rally of the first primary campaign, at Cleveland Park, July 20, Judge Jackson became so angered that his usual flowing oratory was marred, and in response to Elfers' remark about Jackson's bald head, commented on the grey hairs evident in Elfers' own head. In rebuttal, Elfers offered to go fishing or hiking with Jackson at any time.

**County Judge Contest**

In the race for county judge, as was pointed out by the Herald-Post, Judge Victor B. Gilbert was running on his record and Woodrow Wilson Bean was attacking that record. However, the incumbent never made his record clear, and Bean's attacks were hardly more specific.

**Popularity.** Gilbert advertised himself as "Your Friendly County Judge." 

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84 Report, Liberty Hall rally, loc. cit.
86 "Voters Prepare....." loc. cit.
Bean was not so certain of the popularity of his opponent. He told the voters, "I did run for Congress and so did Judge Gilbert. I polled 5000 votes in the county against his 926. It will be the same on July 22." 88

**Stability.** Gilbert charged his opponent with never sticking to a job: 89

As a young man, El Pasoans have elected him to high office again and again, but he has broken faith with his people by resigning that high office to seek other employment. He has never stuck to a job, and what assurance do you have he will stay with this job if you elect him?

On this score, Gilbert accused Bean of being "confused, unstable, and always jumping from one thing to another." Bean replied to this attack by stating that he could not afford to work for the fifty dollars a month paid the legislators in 1940, so resigned, "rather than reach behind me to accept money." He continued, "I served in the legislature in 1947-48 and did not resign." 90

**Competence.** Miscellaneous charges of incompetence were made by Bean. The exact character of these charges cannot be easily defined. At one point he revealed: 91

90 "Charges Hurled....." loc. cit.
91 "Bean Charges....." loc. cit.
I make no charge that Judge Gilbert is a dishonest man, but I do charge that he is inefficient and incompetent. Because of his indifference or incompetence, call it what you may, we had the sorry spectacle of an old soldier being deprived of his property and a lawyer friend of his being suspended. This is but part of the record and I will not go into the matter further. The judge is your servant and you are entitled to know what goes on. Does he want to tell you?

Bean did not go into details on these charges. Gilbert denied them. At a Sal Elizario meeting, Bean suggested that Gilbert's absence could be explained by the judge's reluctance to answer charges of financial dealings in the county during his administration. At no point did Bean present his listeners with any details which would clarify his elusive references.

County Attorney Contest

The campaign for county attorney, like that for the 34th district judge, was based in the main on personal questions. Ernest Guinn, the incumbent attorney, stood on his record, to which his opponent replied, "His record stinks," and promised, "I will serve as an efficient county attorney." Manning was of the opinion that Guinn was only the "so-called people's friend."
Application to duties. Manning made much point of Guinn's alleged laxness in performing his duties. At the Liberty Hall political rally on July 12, the Times reported that:

Otho Manning, opposing County Attorney Ernest Guinn, accused Guinn of not going to court for the state in the past two years, letting his assistant do the work while he cared for his private practice. He also said that ever since drunk driving has become a misdemeanor, the only convictions Guinn has obtained were in cases of guilty pleas.

In reply, Guinn stressed that he had been burdened by increased work, which he had accomplished without extra help. He contended that he had been "on the job" all the time, and pointed to some concrete accomplishments.

To Guinn's plea that he had actually been busier than ever, Manning replied that certain types of cases once tried in federal court as felonies have now been moved over to the county court, thus accounting for the burst of activity in the office of the county attorney. Manning charged that Guinn's private practice kept him from his official duties, and contended that this private practice amounted to $20,000 per year.

Affiliations. Guinn attacked Manning on the grounds that the latter was receiving important support from gambling and telephone interests. At the Liberty Hall rally, Guinn contended that Manning

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98 "Candidates Exchange....." loc. cit.

99 Liberty Hall rally, loc. cit.

100 Ibid.; and also see advertisement, "Elect Otho Manning....." El Paso Herald-Post, LXX, 202 (July 21, 1950), p. 16.
was working in collusion with an attorney for the telephone companies which Guinn had been fighting. 101 Speaking at a Lower Valley Community Center rally, Guinn alleged that Manning was being backed in the race by lawyers for Frank Bunts, pinball machine company operator. 102

Private data. In an advertisement, friends of Manning went into the details of his life, telling of his previous work, education, and Army career, and proclaiming him as a "native Texan." 103 "He and his wife expect to make their home here permanently," they announced. Manning's youth was stressed in the same advertisement. "The county attorney's office is a young man's job in most Texas counties," was the plea. "It is a stepping stone to higher political fields or to an enlarged private practice. Mr. Guinn now has that large and highly profitable private practice. So it's time for him to advance and make room for someone else." Friends of Mr. Manning thus indicated, even more clearly than had Elfers, that they were not averse to living off of public funds.

Wealth. Associated with the charge that Guinn had achieved a large private practice was the criticism of his alleged accumulated wealth. Manning made an issue of this at the Armijo Park rally, where

101 Ibid.
103 Advertisement, "Elect Otho Manning....." loc. cit.
he also criticized the comfort of Mr. Guinn's home. 104

In response to Manning's charge that he had been accumulating riches by practicing privately on county time, Guinn replied that: 105

I have never devoted any of the time of the county attorney to private practice, and, as my opposition well knows, my private practice has never interfered with my duties as county attorney...

Ability. Guinn was confident of his own ability to handle the office, and cited commendations from Attorney General Price Daniel for his work against loan sharks and in stopping the flow of racing information to "bookies" in El Paso. Guinn was not so confident of the competence of Manning to handle the office, and charged that the brother of Manning's law partner, feeling the same uncertainty respecting Manning, had given a $25,000 lawsuit to another firm. In reply to this criticism of his ability, Manning boasted that "I just won a $40,000 suit and I received a big fee for it." 106

Sheriff Contest

The personal approach in the sheriff contest comprised a number of miscellaneous appeals. The candidates urged election on the basis of experience, popularity, ability, age, and moral character.

Experience. Most of the candidates for sheriff emphasized their

104 Armijo Park rally, loc. cit.
106 "Bean Charges....." loc. cit.
experience in law-enforcement. W. O. "Jimmy" Hicks, was particularly emphatic on this point. He cited his twenty years of experience as a deputy in the sheriff's office, and announced that there is no substitute for experience. 107

After all opponents except Joe Boone had been eliminated in the first primary, Hicks stated: 108

I do not believe my opponent reached the peak in his chosen field overnight - neither should an inexperienced man be placed in charge of the Sheriff's Department.....It just doesn't make sense.....I have, until this time, failed to say that during my years of service in the Sheriff's Department I have become a competent finger-print man....

Hicks' conclusion was, "I'll make the best sheriff El Paso ever had." 109 Other candidates were equally emphatic in making the same point about themselves. 110

Popularity. At a few points the candidates for sheriff spoke in terms of their popularity. In an advertisement, friends of Joe Boone announced that "Public confidence is a step forward." 111 Ed Sims, another candidate, proclaimed that "Here is a man that is not one for some but is one for all." 112

109 "Highlights....." loc. cit.
110 Liberty Hall rally, loc. cit.; "Highlights....." loc. cit.
112 Campaign leaflet for Ed Sims, candidate for sheriff.
Ability. While the ability of the candidates was an implied phase of their emphasis on experience, some placed special stress on the question of competence. Joe H. Boone, whose experience had been limited to the El Paso Fire Department, stated, "I can handle men and know how to treat them." Alton Hollebeke said he was the man who had the qualifications for sheriff. He spoke with pride of the will power and initiative he had shown as a police officer in installing railroad crossing signs, and spoke of himself as having "the longest name, the biggest name, and the most ability." As has been mentioned, J. E. "Jimmy" North pointed to his long training in the field of scientific crime detection. "I know scientific crime detection," was his campaign summary.

Age. Joe H. Boone called his physical youth to the attention of the voters. He promised that if elected he would return his fireman's pension check, or donate the money to some worthy cause. "I am too young a man to stay retired," 54-year old Boone said.

Moral character. Alton Hollebeke stated and Joe H. Boone implied that Hicks was associated with gambling interests. At the Ascarate Park rally Hollebeke charged that gambling interests had put up $20,000 for

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113 Liberty Hall rally, loc. cit.

114 Ibid.

115 "Highlights....." loc. cit.

Hicks' election. In his campaign summary, Boone promised, "I'll guarantee a good job. I am against the gamblers." A campaign leaflet promoting Hollebeke announced that "His morals are above reproach." Denial of the charges against him was not forthcoming from Hicks.

Charges of pressure. In the sheriff race, charges were made that pressure of a political character had been brought to bear upon sheriff office employees.

At a Tigua rally, candidate Alton E. Hollebeke charged that Sheriff Joe Campbell had instructed his deputies to work for his chief deputy, Jimmie Hicks, or get out of the sheriff's department. Hollebeke also accused Hicks of bringing pressure on Sergeant Earl Hammock of the sheriff's department to remove Hollebeke signs from his car. Hollebeke brought Hammock to the microphone to "tell what he told me about his instructions to work for Hicks."

Hammock had a different story: "I'm not a politician and the only pressure I know of in this race came from Hollebeke, who said he would fire me if elected because I was for Hicks."

Sheriff Campbell was also charged by a former captain of the sheriff's department highway patrol, Howard J. Colson, with having

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117 "Bean Charges....." loc. cit.
118 "Highlights....." loc. cit.
119 Campaign leaflet for Alton Hollebeke, Appendix H-8.
120 "ChargesHurled....." loc. cit.
discharged Colson for political reasons. The claim was that Colson had not shown sufficient interest in supporting Sheriff Campbell's favorites for office. 121

After the first primary and the elimination of all but Boone and Hicks, a series of charges were made by Boone. He claimed that Sheriff Campbell had told his deputies that anyone not supporting Hicks "is going to lose his job," and that the sheriff had said he would spend up to $20,000 to elect Hicks. Boone repeated his charge that Hicks was supported by gambling interests. 122

Contest for County Superintendent of Public Instruction

John T. Bean, brother of Woodrow Wilson Bean, was able to use his wide personal following to advantage in the contest with the incumbent, H. C. Hinton. 123 At the Cleveland Park rally, Bean's 13-year-old daughter talked to the crowd, and in retaliation, Hinton, who had already spoken, brought his own daughter to the platform and introduced her to the audience. 124 The county superintendent contest was peculiar in that neither candidate discussed problems or personalities to any extent. Bean's emphasis lay in his appeal to the Spanish-American vote, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

123 "Voters Prepare....." loc. cit.
124 Cleveland Park rally, loc. cit.
County Commissioner Contest

Only Scott O. Skidmore and Raymond Dwigans, candidates for commissioner, precinct 1, engaged in personal disputes with each other. At the Liberty Hall rally Raymond Dwigans demanded of Skidmore an explanation of charges made against the latter on the commissioners' court minutes, and charged that Skidmore had been lax in performance of his duties. "Tell the people what charges were made against you and also tell them why it has never been cleared. Why did the commissioners' court remove Ascarate Park from Skidmore's jurisdiction? And why did Skidmore attend only ten of forty-two meetings of the court from October through April?" he asked. 125

During the remainder of the campaign, Dwigans continued to ask about the alleged charges brought against Skidmore. At no point did Dwigans reveal what the charges had been, nor did Skidmore help to clarify the issue. With respect to removal of Ascarate Park from county jurisdiction, Skidmore explained that he wanted the city of El Paso to take over the park. On the question of laxness in attendance, Skidmore denied the charge without amplification. 126

Justice of Peace Contests

In the discussion of personalities, as in the discussion of

125 "Harvey and Regan Draw....." loc. cit.; and "Candidates Exchange....." loc. cit.

problems, it was again the Rey-Crawford race which provided the topics for public attention within the justice of peace contests.

Joe Rey, who presented himself as the champion of the underdog, complained that his opponent, "lives in a palace." 127 He announced that he had dedicated his life to the public service. It was the feeling of Rey that voters should support him because his opponent, R. E. Crawford, had been in office for fourteen years. 128

Rey charged that his opponent had managed to get the borders of his precinct extended in a nine-mile tongue along Montana Avenue to the back yard of Carpenter's home. In an interview, Rey cited the law as permitting suit for change to be brought by any resident or voter. But, according to Mr. Rey, when he tried to bring suit to get the precinct restricted to its original borders, Ernest Guinn, county attorney and supporter of Crawford, informed him that suit could only be brought by the state. Guinn's suggestion was that Rey take up the matter with the state attorney general, who would be arriving in El Paso after the election. 129

According to Rey, Guinn and Crawford, who had been in office respectively nineteen and fourteen years, worked together in what Rey termed the "court house machine." Rey claimed that non-friends of the machine who got into the toils of the law were required to post

127 Report, Liberty Hall rally, loc. cit.
128 Report, Armijo Park rally, loc. cit.
129 Interview with Joe Rey, July 18, 1950, Appendix B-16-b.
$200 bonds, friends $50 in the same circumstances. 130

Rey relied in part on his record as a veteran, and Crawford described himself as being "Honest - Proven - Able." 131

Summary

What was said of the campaign discussion of "problems" may be repeated with even greater force of this welter of recriminations, charges and counter-charges: Namely that even for a political campaign the total El Paso 1950 primary contest revealed a singular inattention to the urgent problems confronting the majority of the population, and pointed, as has all the preceding data, to a need for some sort of action by the Spanish-Americans — an action which would effectively take care of their more urgent necessities.

That such a need exists has perhaps already been established. It has been shown that the Spanish can expect little from the economic and social centers of influence; that neither the Democratic nor the Republican Party is in El Paso the sort of organization which can control anything or help anybody; that the press is Anglo-controlled; and that, finally, the candidates for office do not at present show any marked interest in helping the Spanish-Americans with their problems.

Of course the Spanish-American majority of El Paso was not completely and utterly neglected. Some attention was especially directed to the Hispanic group by candidates in the 1950 primary

130 Ibid.
131 Statement on campaign leaflet for R. E. (Dick) Crawford.
campaign. It may already be surmised, from the discussion of "problems" in the previous chapter, that candidates did not waste breath on Hispanic necessities. Yet they did find some time to make special appeals to the Spanish-Americans themselves. As a further means of determining the forms of interest which politicians now take in the Spanish-Americans, it will be instructive to examine the appeals they made to these Hispanic people.
Chapter 10
THE CAMPAIGN: APPEAL TO THE HISPANIC VOTE

Though the Spanish-Americans comprise a majority of the El Paso population, they enjoy no proportionate share of control in economic life, in social circles, in political leadership, or in the formation of opinion. As has been seen, most of the 1950 campaign was devoted to questions largely remote from the major problems faced by the Hispanic majority of El Paso County, and the candidates stressed minor items of personality difference, and engaged in exchanges of vilification which had no reference to the pressing problems faced by the majority of the population.

Though the major emphasis of candidates reflected faithfully the interests of the centers of social and economic and opinion influence, the contestants did not entirely ignore the Spanish-American group. To attract the Hispanic vote, a number of devices were used which generally had little bearing on the major problems disturbing their listeners. Some problems were suggested in a manner not disturbing to the Anglos, though perhaps in some cases satisfying to the Spanish-Americans. For example, as has been shown, general opinions on housing were so stated that Anglo business opinion would not be alienated. No position was taken by any candidate on wage or employment discrimination; but in appeals especially directed to the Hispanic voters, as will be shown in this discussion, candidates charged each other with discriminatory practices.
Other than this, the appeals which were clearly directed to the Spanish-Americans were confined to (1) use of the Spanish language, regardless of subject-matter, (2) expressions of favor and friendship, which were lavish, and (3) marked activity on election day in precincts of Spanish-American concentration.

Spanish-American Problems

Discrimination

Though the problem of general public and private discrimination was given no emphasis in the campaign, attempts were made at attaching the discrimination label on individual candidates, particularly Ken Regan. Incidents of a discriminatory character were reported to have occurred in Midland, of which Regan had been mayor. These were associated with the Congressman. 1 Unconfirmed stories appeared in which Regan or Regan supporters were charged with personally practicing discrimination. For example, one René Apodaca, of Ysleta, claimed that when he attempted to enter Regan headquarters in Midland, he was asked by attendants, "Are you lost? Don't you know Mexicans have no place here?" 2

Regan supporters denied these charges, and insisted instead that far from promoting discrimination, Regan had strongly supported the

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rights of the Spanish-American people.

Pete Sánchez, former deputy clerk of the city and longtime war prisoner of the Japanese, pointed out that Regan had offered two West Point appointments to Hispanic men. "Is that the discrimination they charge in their dirty literature?" he asked. 3

According to press reports, Sánchez also read from a letter signed by a number of Midland residents denying the circulated charges that signs there exclude "Mexicans." 4 In a radio talk for Regan, Sánchez summarized the Regan position on the Spanish-Americans: 5

We know - those of us who have had any dealings with Ken Regan - that he has served all parts of our community without stirring up any racial feelings along the line.

Anonymous pamphlets and handbills were circulated, charging Regan with practicing discrimination. It was never possible to determine the origin of this material. At the Ascarate Park rally, Moss was asked whether or not he had been responsible for the pamphlets. The judge replied that he had nothing to do with them. 6

Louis Tovar, president of the Pan-American Optimist Club, denounced the use in the campaign of discrimination charges by declaring: 7


4 Ibid.


We are opposed to any racial discrimination in our community. We are just as opposed to any person who tries to stir up bad feeling among us for any purpose. There has been a dirty campaign aimed at Ken Regan. Part of that campaign concerns our people. It is trying to arouse hatreds that can be turned into votes for those who oppose Ken Regan.

I want to say to those trouble-makers that they are getting nowhere with their pamphlets scattered around the South Side. They are printed in Spanish. We are Americans and read and speak the English language. We take pride in our homes and in our city. You who come to us with your dirty scraps of paper may succeed in arousing some anger - but it will not get you any votes.

An attempt was made at attaching the discrimination charge to Moss' home town, Odessa. At a Lower Valley political rally it was charged that discrimination had been suffered by members of a baseball team visiting Odessa. Charles Amador, editor of the Labor Advocate, reports that he checked the charges personally and could find no evidence to support them.  

Other than in general expressions of friendship for the Spanish-American people, the issue of discrimination was not implied in the local contests. A campaign leaflet supporting Gilbert for county judge did include the phrase, "Equality for All Men" - and, in Spanish, "Igualidad Para Todo Hombre." A campaign leaflet supporting R. E. Crawford, candidate for justice of the peace, precinct 1, carried the slogan, "No Discrimination."  

Housing

In appeals directed especially to the Spanish-Americans, housing

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8 Interview with Charles Amador, July 7, 1950, Appendix B-1.

9 Campaign leaflet for R. E. Crawford.
was almost entirely omitted as a topic worthy of discussion. A single mention of the subject came into the picture when José Avila, candidate for commissioner, at an Armijo Park rally spoke of his opponent as a landlord "who sells houses and does not understand the problems of the people of this district." 10

It is notable that all mention of housing was omitted from rallies in areas of Spanish-American concentration. The general discussion of public housing versus private housing, which was described earlier, was strongly infused with a socialism versus anti-socialism complex, and was confined to remarks not specifically directed to the Hispanic voters. In other words, if approached in a general way in non-Hispanic areas, the housing question could be discussed without alienating Anglo votes. However, the suggestion seems to be that candidates avoided any specific mention of the subject when addressing Spanish-American precincts. Their relations with Anglo voters might thereby have become strained.

Provision of Jobs

Again, though attainment of office was never made an issue in the campaign, candidates were careful to give electioneering employment to Spanish-American workers. Pete Sánchez, a well-known El Pasoan who had at one time been deputy city clerk, criticized this practice: 11

When will Paul Moss realize that they are good citizens in South El Paso, and a proud people who do not like being set apart by politicians through their language or other barriers? They do not like the insult that their vote is more easily bought through favors and short-time jobs as political workers. They will show that resentment at the polls a week from tomorrow in a vote that will prove a big surprise to Paul Moss.

Let me say this in passing, that I realize no political candidate has done so much for the people of South El Paso as has Paul Moss. He has brought a payroll into that part of the city never before seen in any election. He has brought a short prosperity to a large number of men and women on that payroll. I am glad to see them getting the money.

The need for money, or the sense of gratitude at having achieved some temporary work, never reminded Pete Sánchez or other political workers of the desirability of making public jobs as available to Spanish-Americans as they were to Anglo-Americans.

The above-mentioned questions can hardly be dignified by calling them Spanish-American problems. However, they indicate the limits of campaign discussion of Hispanic questions in the 1950 campaign, other than the general appeals mentioned in our earlier discussion.

Use of the Spanish Language

The Spanish language was extensively used by candidates in written and spoken appeals. All three candidates for Congress placed advertisements in El Continental. Paul Moss presented his nineteen-point program in that newspaper, and in Spanish-language leaflets. One leaflet, signed by nine Spanish-Americans, listed Moss as friend

of the poor, of the worker, of the veteran, and of the businessman.  

Fred Hervey presented in El Continental a Spanish-language translation of his full-page advertisement, "Which Man Would You Hire to Run Your Business?" Except where these advertisements incidentally included problems of interest to the Spanish-Americans, especially slanted Spanish-American appeals were not generally made in them. In a July 21 full-page El Continental advertisement listing over 230 Odessa residents endorsing Paul Moss, not over a dozen Spanish-American names were included.

In a full-page advertisement, Ken Regan did directly appeal to the Hispanic vote when his friends announced that "Mr. Regan es amigo de los latino americanos," and attached the endorsements of 104 Spanish-name El Pasoans and eighty-three Spanish-name residents of "Pecos, Midland, Odessa, Fort Stockton, Alpine, Monahan y Presidio."  

A few of the local candidates utilized leaflets, cards, and other advertising in Spanish. Alton Hollebeke reproduced his campaign leaflet in Spanish. The phrase which had appeared in English as "Honest — Experienced — Unbiased," became in Spanish, "Experiencia — Honestidad — Cultura."  

13 Campaign leaflet of Paul Moss, Appendix H-4.  
14 "¿A Cuál Hombre Contrataría Usted Para Regentear Sus Negocios?" advertisement, El Continental, XXV, 144 (July 9, 1950), p. 5.  
15 "Los Suscritos, Residentes de Odessa, Texas...." advertisement, El Continental, XXV, 154 (July 21, 1950), p. 4.  
17 "Vote por Alton Hollebeke," leaflet, Appendix H-18.
judge, produced his platform and personal history leaflet in Spanish as well as in English.

The Spanish-language appeal of most of the local candidates, however, was in spoken rather than in written form. Spoken appeals in Spanish were used in political rallies held in areas of Hispanic concentration, such as San Elizario, Socorro, Smeltertown, Armijo Park, and others. A few candidates, such as John T. Bean, spoke fluently. Many spoke the language badly, and still others used Spanish-Americans to translate into Spanish for them. A number used English exclusively. 18 None of the Congressional candidates were able to speak Spanish, and at political rallies in areas of Hispanic concentration, would either speak in English or utilize Spanish-speaking supporters.

Frank Owen III, candidate for the legislature, stated that his method was to introduce himself in Spanish to let his listeners know he understood the language, then to present the remainder of his talk in English. It was his opinion that Spanish-American listeners would be offended at the suggestion they could not understand English. 19 In actual practice, however, Mr. Owen made a series of remarks in Spanish, then rendered them in English. 20 In terms of possible offense, this could presumably have been a worse blunder than adherence to either

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18 See, for example, "Candidates Start Final Week's Drive," El Paso Times, LXX, 197 (July 16, 1950), p. 5.

19 Interview with Frank Owen III, July 3, 1950, Appendix B-14.

one language or the other.

Gene Puckett, candidate for the legislature, was an example of the candidate who would deliver the major portion of his talk in English, then add a few words in Spanish to indicate some knowledge of the tongue. This technique was generally resorted to by candidates whose Spanish was poor. This was the case with Mr. Puckett and a number of candidates for the sheriff nomination. 21

Elfers, candidate for the 34th judicial district post, was an example of a candidate who could speak no Spanish and so used the aid of a supporter - in this case, Frank Galván, an El Paso lawyer. Roy Jackson, Elfers' opponent, spoke no Spanish, and addressed the Hispanic crowds in flowing English, which elicited enthusiastic response.

A few Hispanic candidates were not averse to commenting on their Anglo opponents' inability to speak Spanish. Thus Joe Rey, candidate for justice of the peace, precinct 1, informed his audience that Crawford could not speak Spanish, but had to use an interpreter. 22 It was, incidentally, the impression of the writer that the professional Mr. Rey's Spanish could stand considerable improvement, and conversations revealed that his manner of speaking the language was a subject of considerable merriment in the Hispanic community.

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21 Ibid.
22 Ibid.
Expressions of Favor and Friendship

Gestures of favor, such as service of sandwiches and beer, were reported to have been once useful in campaigns but decreasingly effective among the Hispanic voters. Public enlightenment, it is suggested, accounted for the change of attitude. The sandwich-beer approach was not in great evidence during the 1950 El Paso campaign. Milton Trice, commissioner candidate, did pass out beer, soft drinks, and picnic fare. On election day there was some provision of refreshments, particularly in areas of Spanish-American concentration.

General expressions of friendship for the Spanish-American people were much employed during the 1950 campaign.

All three of the Congressional candidates advertised in the program of the annual Lulac convention. In his advertisement, Judge Moss made reference to "our nearness to our Good Neighbor, Mexico." Regan simply welcomed the Lulacs to El Paso and wished them success in their twenty-first annual convention. Hervey implied no particular expression of friendship, but pointed to the advantage of small business and the disadvantages of a large public debt.

Representative Regan, who had been the brunt of much criticism on the grounds of alleged practice of discrimination at Midland, did make some effort at expressing friendship for the Spanish-Americans.

23 See Telles interview, loc. cit.; and Amador interview, loc. cit.; and Garibay interview, loc. cit.
24 Collins interview, loc. cit.
and describing the support he was receiving from them. A full-page advertisement in the "Herald-Post," carrying a mass of indorsements, included this phrase: 26

Approximately 130 of the above signers whose names are of Mexican origin signed the following shortened form of the above endorsement: TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN: We, the undersigned, who believe in our present form of Government and who are interested in the betterment of our communities do sincerely indorse Mr. Ken Regan, our present Congressman, for re-election to the post he has very capably and honestly held.

The more expanded statement, presumably not indorsed by the Hispanic signers, contained no phrase to which they might clearly object, and it was not explained why these individuals chose to adhere to the shortened form.

The full-page Regan advertisement in which it was announced in large type that "Mr. Regan es Amigo de los Latino Americanos" has already been mentioned. 27

Much point was made of the fact that Pete Sánchez, a well-known and popular figure who had been deputy city clerk, was a supporter of Congressman Regan. On July 10 El Continental printed a letter from Sánchez, in which the ex-clerk claimed that he favored neither Moss nor Regan, and that campaign handbills bearing the indorsement of "Pete Sánchez" did so over a signature not his own. 28 On July 11 he

27 "Reelija a Ken Regan," loc. cit.
28 See campaign leaflet for Moss, Appendix H-4.
announced that he was supporting the candidacy of Ken Regan. 29

In the state and local contests, expressions of friendship for the Spanish-Americans were common. Gene Puckett, legislative candidate, told listeners at Armijo Park that he had spent ten years in South El Paso. Speaking a poor quality of Spanish, Puckett announced three times in a loud voice, "Ustedes son mis amigos!" 30

At the same rally, Anita Blair announced that she would represent all—especially the little people who are the principal part of the country.

At the Liberty Hall rally, Roy Jackson, judicial candidate, told his listeners that his wife had taught high school in South El Paso "because she loved those Spanish-American boys and girls." He made the same point at the Ascarate Park rally; and at the Armijo Park rally, in South El Paso, brought his wife and asked his audience if she had served the people of that district. At the same meeting, he commented that Frank Galván, affiliate and sponsor of Elfers at the rally, "has been working on you, not for you!"

The reply of Elfers, at a later rally, was that Jackson had been trying to "stir up race prejudice at Armijo Park." 31 At the Armijo Park rally, at which Jackson had attacked Frank Galván, Galván had


30 Armijo Park rally, loc. cit.

spoken for Elfers. Several times during the course of his talk, Galván used the phrase "my people" and "my countrymen." Galván, referring to discrimination in the professions, mentioned the difficulties he had had in trying to enter the legal profession, and revealed that Elfers had made it possible for him to become a lawyer.

Victor B. Gilbert, candidate for county judge, confined his expressions of pro-Spanish friendship to an advertisement in the Lulac convention program bulletin, in which the "friendly judge" admonished the visiting delegates to "know our folks, and see our homes before you leave." 32

Spanish-American candidates were not averse to the use of expressions of friendship. Raymond Telles, unopposed candidate for re-election as county clerk, speaking at the Armijo rally, expressed hope that his listeners would sense a pride in having one of "you" in the office of county clerk. But he admonished them to first vote as American citizens. 33

Another Spanish-American, José Avila, candidate for commissioner, spoke to his Hispanic listeners as "conciudanos americanos" - fellow-American citizens. He promised to defend the rights of his people, spoke of understanding their problems, and pledged himself to work for them. More than once he called himself "su candidato" and promised that he would work for them. 34

33 Armijo Park rally, loc. cit.
34 Ibid.
John T. Bean, candidate for county superintendent of public instruction, called himself "frijolito," "Little Bean," to the delight of his listeners. At the Armijo Park rally, attended by a greater concentration of Spanish-Americans than were present at any other city rally, Bean mentioned the three years he had spent at Bowie High School, in South El Paso. Speaking in fluent Spanish, he told his audience, "You are going to have a friend." He mentioned his residence, along the Río Grande, and informed his listeners that he had many times swum in the river - a standard recreational activity for the Hispanic youth of the district. "This is the last night I am going to speak with you," he told an applauding audience. "Vote for Juan Tortilla Frijol! There is nothing we like better than frijoles!"

No other candidate devoted so much attention to the friends-and-neighbors type of appeal to the Spanish-Americans. At the Liberty Hall rally, W. A. (Cap) Simpson, candidate for sheriff, told his audience that he could speak Spanish fluently, and knew the people along the border. The implication was either that he was fond of the Spanish-Americans or that he knew how to handle them.

Appeals on Election Day

It would appear from the above that candidates were anxious to garner Spanish-American votes, and did so by accusing each other of discriminatory practices, by demonstrating knowledge of Spanish, or by expressing fulsome friendship for the Hispanic people. Their

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35 Report, Collins interview, loc. cit.
anxiety to secure Hispanic support, however, was not sufficient to make any of them promise anything respecting housing, health, attainment of public office, discrimination, education, or migrant labor. Their denunciations of each other on grounds of discrimination suggested some attack on the attitudes of civic leaders, though no corrective measures were suggested. No mention of U. S.-Mexican relations ever reached the stature of an issue.

The attitudes of political figures toward the Spanish-American vote were demonstrated on election day. Campaign methods on July 22, date of the first primary, followed an irregular but discernable pattern. Intensity of electioneering at the polls corresponded in a rather marked degree to the proportion of Hispanic people in the population of each precinct. In those areas whose populations are about half or less than half Spanish-American in composition, electioneering was generally either quiet or non-existent. In those areas where Hispanic inhabitants comprise well over half the population, electioneering at the polls was generally markedly active.

Areas overwhelmingly Hispanic in composition are in El Paso also overwhelmingly lower class in economic status. It could not therefore be exactly determined whether intensity of electioneering activity in these areas occurred in response to the Hispanic population or in response to the lower class character of the precincts visited. However, predominantly Anglo-American districts characterized by economic deprivation did not display any corresponding intensity of electioneering.

That the Hispanic composition of certain precincts probably affected in
some manner the approach to the voters on election day, might therefore not be an unwarranted conclusion.

Discussion of the last-minute campaign methods in the various precincts will be arranged in terms of ethnic composition of each. It must be borne in mind, however, that effects of ethnic composition of precincts did not generally appear until precincts having an overwhelming Hispanic composition were reached. As will be shown later, various voting impediments will in most cases reduce the percentage of Hispanic voters as compared with the percentage of Hispanic residents in any given precinct.

The following is a survey made on July 22, first primary election day, of about half the polling places of the city of El Paso. In each case, the immediately surrounding area was visited, to determine at least roughly the general economic characteristics of the precinct.

Precinct 43. 3 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, Mesita School, 500 Althea Park Road. Here there was no electioneering of any kind. No posters could be found. It was very quiet.

Precinct 28. 4 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, Crockett School, 3200 Aurora Avenue. There were two posters— one for Rey, and one for Hinton— in the vicinity of the polling place. One girl was passing out cards for Hinton. There was no other sort of electioneering.

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36 Estimated from the number of householders. Spanish-American and Anglo-American names were found in Hudspeth's El Paso City Directory, 1949, and were counted for each precinct. See Appendix A.
Precinct 26. 5 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, Coldwell School, Dover and Bowie Streets. One girl was passing out cards. No posters could be found. No other sort of electioneering was taking place. The area was very quiet.

Precinct 42. 6 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, Dudley School, 411 Boston. One Moss poster had been placed in a bush, and one car bearing a Moss poster was parked near Dudley School. Otherwise no electioneering was taking place.

Precinct 49. 8 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, Canters Flower Shop, 2310 North Piedras. A large number of posters were in the vicinity. Each telephone pole had a "Gene Puckett" sign pasted on it. One man was handing out cards. No other electioneering was taking place.

Precinct 34. 7 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, Highland Park Methodist Church, Federal and Dakota Streets. One Moss poster was attached to a stick. No other electioneering was taking place.

Precinct 5. 7 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, Fire Station Number 8, Robinson Boulevard and North Stanton Street. There were no posters, and there was no other sort of electioneering occurring. The area was very quiet.

Precinct 9. 11 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, Vocational School, West Rio Grande and North Oregon Streets. One parked car bore Regan advertising. There were no posters, nor any other kind of
electioneering devices.

**Precinct 32.** 13 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, Rusk School, McKinley and Henderson Streets. One stick bore a Moss poster. No other signs of electioneering were to be found.

**Precinct 33.** 13 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, 2201 North Piedras. One stick bore a Moss poster. It was very quiet, without other signs of electioneering activity.

**Precinct 6.** 15 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, 1309 North Stanton Street. One stick bore a Moss poster. It was extremely quiet, with no other signs of electioneering activity.

**Precinct 36.** 20 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, 2723 Wyoming Street. One parked car was covered with Hervey posters, and one stick bore a Moss poster. There were no other signs of electioneering.

**Precinct 48.** 20 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, 6731 Alameda. A number of parked cars were covered with campaign advertising. Three women were handing out cards. There was no other electioneering taking place.

**Precinct 41.** 27 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, Morehead School, Arizona and Kansas Streets. Three boys were passing out cards. Otherwise there were no signs of electioneering. There were no posters.

**Precinct 20.** 34 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, Fire Station Number 7, 3200 Pershing Drive. No electioneering of any sort could be
found. There were no posters or any other sign of campaign activity.

Precinct 40. 37 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, Ariel Triumph Sales and Service Company, Campbell and Montana Streets. Neither posters nor cards were in evidence. No electioneering activity of any kind could be found.

Precinct 14. 52 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, San Jacinto School, 1216 Olive Street. Three Moss posters had been placed in the neighborhood. About a half a dozen people were passing out campaign cards. No other electioneering activities were taking place.

Precinct 10. 53 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, Franklin School, 215 Leon Street. One man carried a sandwich board with campaign advertising. No other electioneering could be found. There were no posters, and no cards.

Precinct 19. 58 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, Jarvis Grocery, 3301 White Oaks Street. No electioneering of any kind could be found. It was very quiet.

Precinct 18. 86 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, Lincoln School, 300 North Martínez Street. A number of people were passing out cards and literature. The school fence bore a number of posters. A truck with loudspeaker was driving around the school building, broadcasting the admonition, "Hurry! Hurry! Vote for Hervey!"

Precinct 11. 92 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, Fire Station
Number 11, Second and Santa Fe Streets. About eight adults, in addition to a few children, were passing out sample ballots, leaflets, cards and stamps for Hervey, Crawford, and Hicks. Pedestrians were advised by party workers, "Vote for Crawford! He is winning!" One man gave the writer matches, put his hand on the writer's shoulder, and urged him to vote for Hicks. There was a great deal of activity, stopping of pedestrians, and loud admonishing. It was at this point that a passerby, unable to get into a locked bar, remarked, "I can't see the point of having a _______ election on a Saturday!"

Precinct 13. 94 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, Alamo School, 4th and Hill Streets, in the heart of South El Paso. Electioneering here was more active than at any other place visited. Twenty-five or more people were passing out cards, sample ballots, matches, and leaflets. A truck, from which refreshments had apparently been served, was heavily laden with Regan advertising. A headliner, "Ken Regan Party," was draped across the top of the truck. Boys rode about on bicycles bearing Moss and Hervey posters. The polling area was teeming with campaign activity. According to newspaper reports, a black pickup truck bearing Moss posters was observed parked just outside the one hundred foot distance-marker signs, distributing popsicles, cakes and sandwiches to a large crowd of children. 37

Precinct 12. 95 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, Bowie High

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School, 900 South Cotton Avenue. Two youths were passing out sample ballots and cards. No other sort of electioneering activity was taking place. The area was quiet.

Precinct 4. 95 per cent Hispanic. Polling place, Jones School, Smeltertown. Industrial area. A very large number of children and six or more adults were passing out leaflets, cards, and sample ballots. Balloons had been distributed. Parked cars bore Sims and Moss posters. A few girls bearing sandwich signs were standing about. While the polling area was being visited by the writer, a well-dressed man arrived in a fine car and appeared to being paying the children.

As may be seen from the above, the areas not overwhelmingly Hispanic were generally quiet, with few or no signs of electioneering activity. Of the five overwhelmingly Hispanic precincts which were visited, in only one, precinct 12, was electioneering activity little in evidence. In the other four, campaign activity was noisy and intense. Except for precinct 4, the overwhelmingly Hispanic areas were in South El Paso, characterized in the main by tenements and by general economic hardship and dilapidation. However, precinct 13, 94 per cent Hispanic, contains a large federal housing project, in which homes and yards are neat and well-kept, and in which there is every evidence of relative economic well-being. It was in this precinct that some of the most active electioneering was found. Again, precinct 4, 95 per cent Hispanic, is located in an industrial area. Though characterized by generally poor housing conditions, the area is
inhabited by employees of the American Smelting and Refining Company, who are therefore not entirely without some economic substance.

Precinct 4 was an area of intense electioneering activity. Precincts 14 and 10, 52 and 53 per cent Hispanic respectively, were, judging from appearance of housing, yards, streets, and so on, areas of general economic hardship. Electioneering was nevertheless quiet, possibly indicating that where electioneering was intense it represented to some degree a response to overwhelming Hispanic population. A number of precincts, though not marked by obvious signs of economic deprivation, appeared to lack any evidence of economic well-being. These precincts were at the same time areas of Anglo-American majority, and little or no evidence of electioneering activity was to be found in any of them.

In these observations, the time of day was not involved. Precincts were not visited in accordance with arrangement of population, but rather by convenience. Some Hispanic precincts were visited in the morning, some in the afternoon - and the conditions described were found regardless of time of day. Conversely, Anglo precincts were visited at all times of day. The first one visited, early in the morning, was predominantly Anglo, and some of those visited late in the day were also of heavy Anglo ethnic composition. All were equally quiet.

In summary, then, it may be said that precincts of intense electioneering activity were invariably precincts of overwhelming

38 Precincts 28, 34, 5, 9, 32, 6, 36, 48, 41, 20, and 40.
Hispanic majority, and that no certain correlation could be found between degree of electioneering activity and degree of well-being of the precincts.

The enthusiasm which candidates showed in expressing friendship or favor for the Spanish-American people, and in intense electioneering activity in Hispanic precincts on election day, stands in sharp contrast to the almost utter disregard they showed for Spanish-American problems which invited political attention.

Candidates were not averse to discussing problems which they conceived to be of interest to Anglos, or perhaps to El Pasoans in general - business and government, prices, air service, aid to veterans, oil, water, and foreign relations - but when it came to making specific suggestions on problems which were typically of concern to the Spanish-American majority, the reticence of the candidates was marked. They preferred to adhere to innocuous proclamations of friendship and last-minute electioneering at the polls.

It may be mentioned, in passing, that this pattern revealed something about the weakness of Hispanic influence, but may also incidentally have revealed something about the attitudes of candidates toward Spanish-Americans in general. It is to be noted that none of the Hispanic candidates, nor John T. Bean, a man obviously acquainted with the Hispanic people, displayed any marked intensity of electioneering activity in the Spanish-American areas. That these candidates were already assured of a sweeping approval in the Hispanic precincts may be assumed, but they did not make any special
electioneering appeal in Anglo precincts on election day. The incidental conclusion, therefore, may not be altogether unwarranted that Anglo-American candidates, or at least candidates unfamiliar with the Hispanic people, shared rather uncomplimentary views respecting the formulation of Hispanic political opinion.

However that may be, the support of the Spanish-Americans was felt to be desirable. In the 1950 campaign nothing occurred which resembled the approach made by a candidate for county clerk in the 1948 contest. *El Continental* reported this race as follows:

> Telles, quite in contrast to making an issue of his race, rejected the issue in his propaganda and the words which were most heard throughout the campaign were these: "From soldier to major," "native of Texas, native of El Paso." Telles never once mentioned the question of race.

> The first to violate this political wisdom of the Mexican was Lowry, who, disturbed by the force of his opponent, cried over the radio, on the eve of the election, "My opponent is a Mexican, whereas I am of Scotch-Irish descent." Without knowing it, with these words Lowry sealed his fate.

It now emerges, in short, that though no one dares alienate the Spanish vote, the Hispanics are not in a position sufficiently influential to aid in the solution of important problems, and the tactics of politicians reflect that fact. If further evidence is needed of the weak position of the Spanish-Americans in this southwest border community, it may be found in the newspaper response to the campaign. After a short discussion of this point, we shall proceed to analyze the courses of action open to the Spanish-Americans whereby more concrete action on their problems may be achieved.

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Chapter 11
THE CAMPAIGN: RADIO AND PRESS

It has been shown that business, labor, and social and political life of El Paso are Anglo-dominated. Politicians do not take seriously the pressing problems of the Spanish-American popular majority.

Though the press is controlled by persons whose interests are not identical with those of the Spanish-Americans, the possibility of editorial assistance to the Hispanic people is not thereby ruled out. To determine what if any help can be expected from that source, it will be helpful to examine press reactions to the campaign. The degree of concern, if any, shown by the newspapers regarding Hispanic problems in the campaign may provide some index of their interest in Spanish-American needs.

El Continental, the only Spanish-language paper in the community, is but a weak voice in the wilderness, if indeed it is any voice at all. Its appeal and the pressure it can bring are not directed to the centers of power. Like the community where everyone secures his income by taking in everyone else's laundry, the members of the Spanish community and its press can address one another but are not exerting influence elsewhere.

Possibly this results in part from the fact that El Continental is a fringe operation of a great Mexican chain. More significantly, there is an obvious lack of force in editorial policy, which might itself result from the fact that in an Anglo-dominated community even
the Spanish press rests for its financial support upon Anglo advertising, and cannot afford to raise issues antagonistic to Anglo realtors, Anglo politicians, and Anglo businessmen.

The English-language press remains as the principal focus of public opinion which might conceivably be directed to the centers of power. But the Anglo press, even more surely than the Spanish, is subject to the opinions of Anglo editorial staffs and Anglo advertisers. It is entirely owned, managed, and edited by Anglos who must have few interests in common with their Spanish-American tenants and laborers.

That the English-language press is no champion of the Hispanic cause was made clear during the 1950 primary campaign. What was true of the press was also true of the radio, though here it must be remembered that radio stations would not be so fully controlled by editorial policy, and would have put anyone on the air who could pay for the time.

Though the press displayed active partiality in the campaign, and though the radio was utilized by candidates and their supporters, neither press writer nor radio speaker demanded or encouraged discussion of housing, health, attainment of public office, discrimination, Hispanic educational problems, wet-back and farm labor, or U. S.-Mexican relations, or of any other problem especially confronting the Spanish-Americans. Except for the rare editorial comments of El Continental, no written opinions were produced by any Hispanic
contributors to editorial columns. The writer closely followed radio programs, and as far as he knows all commentators were Anglo-Americans, and none applied himself to Hispanic problems.

Press comments followed faithfully the subject-matter raised by the candidates themselves. No radio commentator suggested that there could be any problems other than those suggested by the candidates.

El Continental

El Continental took practically no editorial part in the campaign. On the eve of the election the newspaper printed a front-page editorial supporting Fred Hervey for Congress. In this eleventh-hour display of political interest, the newspaper advocated support of Hervey on the grounds that the man was not a politician, would, as a resident of El Paso, better represent the county, and that he would be expected to fulfill his promise to work long hours at the Congressional job. 1

Another of El Continental's infrequent editorials appeared on May 25, when the newspaper denounced Regan's position on U. S.-Mexican relations. 2 Occasional newspaper items displayed some pro-Hervey orientation. At no point did even this Spanish-language newspaper suggest the discussion in the campaign of any of the problems which have been indicated as especially bearing on the Spanish-Americans.

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2 For discussion of this editorial, see above, Chapter 8; and for reproduction of anonymously reprinted handbill bearing the editorial, see Appendix H-4.
The English-Language Press

The English-language press displayed no lack of interest in the campaign. The Herald-Post and the Times left no doubt about their respective sympathies. They made their positions known through articles, editorials, and emphasis in news coverage, but no press discussion made issue of any pressing Hispanic problem.

The Herald-Post gave prominence to a series of articles by Marshall M'Neil, Herald-Post Washington correspondent, in which Regan was scathingly denounced for his position on various issues, and for alleged absences from the House of Representatives. 3

The Herald-Post was more reticent about including articles expressing high praise for Judge Paul Moss. On August 22, the eve of the election, however, it did include an article by the Reverend C. A. Johnson of Odessa, in which the judge was extolled. 4 During August, while pro-Moss forces were running full-page advertisements denouncing Regan for his refusal of economic aid to Korea and associating his name


with deaths of El Pasoans in that struggle, the Herald-Post adopted the policy of running prominently displayed news items, with pictures, telling of El Pasoan casualties. Stories of casualties were generally at or near the top of the first page, and in at least one case a casualty story appeared immediately beside one of Marshall M'Neil's articles in which Regan was denounced for his position on items of legislation. In all but a few cases the casualties mentioned had Spanish names, either a reflection of the predominantly Spanish-American character of the El Paso population, or of the press' conception of Spanish-American problems.

Herald-Post editorials, even when their titles indicated praiseworthy comment on Judge Moss, were in content denunciatory of Regan, though never in terms of Hispanic problems. At no point did the Herald-Post specifically summarize the merits of Judge Moss, though the tenor of editorials was that Moss was a better, cleaner candidate than was Regan.

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The Times printed no series of articles equivalent to those contributed by Marshall M'Neil to the Herald-Post. However, news stories made clear a pro-Regan bias on the part of the Times. Statements in favor of Regan were given great display, those supporting Moss or Hervey little if any attention. 8

The Times was not so reticent in its editorial columns. The total number of editorials dealing with the Congressional election was greater in the Times than in the Herald-Post. Times editorials included both denunciations of Moss and praiseworthy comment on Regan. The editorials were inclined to stress the seniority, maturity, experience, and desirable campaign tactics of Regan; and to criticize the alleged inexperience, indecision, and undesirable campaign tactics of Moss. 9

Again, no mention appeared of the candidates' approach to Spanish-American problems.


The Press and the Armijo Park Rally

As compared with press silence on outstanding Hispanic problems, so much attention was given by both the Times and Herald-Post to events at the Armijo Park rally that special comment should be devoted to press approach to this affair.

The Armijo Park political rally was held in the heart of South El Paso, an area of Hispanic concentration, on the night of July 19, 1950. During the course of the evening a large number of children carrying Moss placards created some disturbance while candidates were speaking. Though candidates, including Regan, who cut short his address, were obviously distressed by the commotion, the rally was not broken up. The crowd thinned out during and after the disturbance, but it was not certain that the youths' activities discouraged the audience.

Under the headline, "Moss Backers Refuse to Let Rally Be Held," the Times reported the event in a front-page spread the next day in the following words:

An organized gang of children carrying Paul Moss banners and led by a screaming teen-ager, Wednesday night broke up a political rally at Armijo Park. With their banners, placards nailed to sticks, the youngsters stormed the stand and refused to allow candidates other than the Moss speaker to be heard. Fred Hervey tried in vain to be heard above the screaming. Ken Regan, representative from the 16th Congressional District, said, "I won't try to buck this. I am responsible for the money Moss is distributing here, in trying to beat me, and I am glad that it is doing someone some good."

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The report in the Herald-Post gave a different version of the rally: 11

........Prior to the rally, scores of children and teenagers with a sprinkling of adults, entered Armijo Park carrying Paul Moss banners and placards. They milled through the crowd in a disorganized manner. When Moss' speaker, Richard Telles, took the speaker's platform, they cheered loudly.........Although the crowd was noisy, every speaker scheduled to appear got to the platform and finished his speech. The crowd did not start to leave the park until after the speeches of Otho Manning and Ernest Guinn, candidates for county attorney. This was approximately twenty-five minutes after the candidates for Congress finished their speeches........

Observation would indicate that the truth lay somewhere between the two newspaper versions. The youngsters did seem to be creating their disturbance in an organized manner, and created more disturbance than was admitted by the Herald-Post; but did not break up the rally, as contended by the Times. 12

An uninformed outsider reading the accounts of the Armijo Park rally would suppose the incident to have posed one of the most important questions of the campaign. Nearly as much space and heat were devoted to this as to any other single question - and none of the questions raised had much bearing on pressing problems


12 Vernon Smylie, campaign manager for Moss, issued a statement denying the truth of the Times article. See "Manager Says Times Article 'Fabricated'," El Paso Herald-Post, LXX, 171 (July 20, 1950), p. 1. A reply to Smylie may be found in "Moss Man Charges 'Inaccuracy'; Reporter Cites Rally Incidents; Speaker, Spectators Give Views," El Paso Times, LXX, 202 (July 21, 1950), p. 1. In this latter front-page spread the Times toned down its report that the rally had been 'broken up'. For first-hand account of the rally, see Appendix I-3.
characteristically faced by the El Paso Hispanic majority. No writer suggested at any point that the differences of opinion over what occurred at Armijo Park might have been less important than housing, health, attainment of public office, discrimination, and the rest.

**Attacks on the Herald-Post Editor**

Another subject which was treated as though it were of colossal significance to El Paso was the general topic of Ed Pooley, editor of the *Herald-Post*. He was attacked for the support he gave to candidates, and candidates favored by Pooley were criticized for the alleged guidance they were receiving from the editor.

Regan himself criticized Pooley early in the campaign. He compared the *Herald-Post* editor to "a little dog that runs out and bites your coat-tails. You feel like kicking his head off." In his first major address of his campaign for re-election, Regan referred to Judge Moss as the "Charlie McCarthy of Edgar Bergen Pooley." Again, Bill Snow, El Paso attorney, leveled a bitter attack against Pooley's position on the Congressional race.

Other candidates were criticized because of support they received from Pooley. A speaker for Otho Manning charged that County Attorney

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13 Report, political rally, Liberty Hall, July 12, 1950, Appendix I-1.


Ernest Guinn was a "stooge of the Herald-Post: "Ed Pooley knows that Guinn will listen to him and makes news for his newspaper. Ed Pooley would hate to get anyone in the county attorney's office who would not follow his suggestions...." 16

In the county judge race, Victor B. Gilbert, charging that Pooley was supporting Bean because of opposition to some of Gilbert's projects, stated: "I would advise Mr. Pooley, if he wants to be county judge, to get a majority of the votes and execute the required bond." 17

The housing question did come into this pro-Pooley and anti-Pooley battle, but hardly in a way that would warm the hearts of the Spanish tenants. Pooley was accused of refusing to print news stories submitted by pro-Regan people. Lee Newman, realtor, submitted a set of photographs and facts depicting unsanitary conditions allegedly created by the city's regulation that tenement houses in South El Paso must use garbage cans instead of bins. According to Newman: 18

....... Pooley told me he would have a story written and publish it with the pictures. Friday, after I had not seen the story, I called him about it.
Newman quoted Pooley as saying, "We have a man working on it now. By the way, when are you going to stop supporting Ken Regan?"

Newman replied that he was not going to stop......Newman then quoted Pooley as saying, "Well, then, come up and get your pictures!......"

This realtor's objection to the use of expensive garbage cans in place of cheaper wooden bins is significant as being the only place where Spanish problems came up for press discussion. Even then it was only by inadvertance, and in relation to a different subject, that the matter arose at all.

Instructions to the Voters

Both papers were ready with recommendations to the voters as to how they should cast their ballots. The Times confined its recommendations to the Congressional and state office races, and also included an indorsement of Judge Roy D. Jackson for the 34th district judgeship. 19 Contests for county and precinct offices, which had engendered some excitement in the campaign, were not touched by Times recommendations.

The Herald-Post, however, made specific suggestions with respect to many county offices, in addition to its adherence to Moss and its suggestions with respect to state offices. Just prior to each of the primaries, the Herald-Post listed its recommendations for state offices. Prior to the first primary it ran short editorials supporting each of its favorites respectively; and on July 20 summarized its

19 See the following Times editorials: "For State Offices," LXX, 201, (July 20, 1950), p. 4; "Elect Judge Jackson," LXX, 202 (July 21, 1950), p. 4; and "Object is to Vote," LXX, 238 (August 26, 1950), p. 4.
recommendations. In no case did either paper support or reject a candidate on the basis of a position on Spanish-American problems, nor did either of them ever hint that such problems might exist.

Through articles, editorials, and selection of news items, therefore, the El Paso press played an active role in the 1950 campaign. Its role, however, did not extend to the raising of problems neglected by candidates. The close economic ties between the two newspapers might imply to some an agreement to disagree, to boost circulation. Whether this in fact was the case is difficult to determine. W. J. Hooten, editor of the Times, denied that the differences between the two papers had been stimulated to keep up circulation, and insisted that the differences were very deep and very genuine. 21

**Summary**

In brief, the press reflected the sorts of domination that prevail in El Paso. As things now stand the press does not offer to Spanish-Americans any satisfactory instrumentality for the alleviation of pressing difficulties.

The point has now been made. El Paso Spanish-Americans are afflicted by serious problems badly in need of adjustment, but under

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21 See interview with W. J. Hooten, March 27, 1951, Appendix B-11.
present circumstances there do not exist centers of influence for bringing about such adjustment. Even the League of United Latin American Citizens, which would normally be expected to shoulder much of the burden indicated, has become in large part a social organization without effective social consciousness and lacking an articulate voice to express such consciousness if it had it. The contempt that was expressed by Louis Tovar for things Spanish, and the anxiety he implied to be accepted as a "good American" is the sort of spirit that was manifested by many leading people in the Lulac organization. 22 Whatever might be the psychological prestige value of such an attitude, its value for correction of Spanish-American problems is nil. People who have problems in common will not move forward by pretending they have nothing in common.

Is the economic and social future of the Hispanics therefore entirely without hope? The remaining pages of this report will explore that question.

Part Three: Conclusions

Chapter 12
THE WELLS OF HISPANIC POWER

A widely held contention of political scientists is that the ways of politics emerge from the patterns of influence and power in the social environment.\(^1\) Party platforms — in El Paso it would be candidate expressions of "problems" — reflect, as a part of the political process, this interplay of social pressures.\(^2\) Campaigns, another phase of political operations, are found by many contemporary political scientists to reflect faithfully the political and social environments.\(^3\) Finally, the public policies which are effected in government are themselves a consequence, not of independent formulation, but of action by groups in society able to make their influence felt.\(^4\)

In determining the actual or potential capacity of El Paso Spanish-Americans for accomplishing desired political alleviation of their most pressing problems, attention must be given to the character and components of power. What sorts of things are needed so that El

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\(^2\) "....politics involves the translation of social pressures into public policies." Odegard and Helms, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

\(^3\) Odegard and Helms find that campaigns emerge out of the environmental factors in combination with the "nature and imagination of the nominee and his managers." *Op. cit.*, p. 569.

\(^4\) See ibid., p. 2; Snyder and Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 107; V. O. Key, Jr., *Politics, Parties, and Pressure Groups*, p. 2.
Paso Hispanics might inject important influence into public policy? T. V. Smith calls power "the capacity to effect results," and other writers suggest similar definitions. 5

As has been shown in the preceding discussion, the Hispanics of El Paso, though constituting a population majority, have not markedly possessed "the capacity to effect results." The politics of El Paso has not translated into governmental action any noticeable Spanish-American pressure. Expressions of "problems" by politicians have not significantly reflected Hispanic group pressure, nor has public policy of El Paso been much determined by organized pressure from Hispanic interest groups. That Spanish-Americans have not made demands effective upon the political structure would indicate a lack of Hispanic power. Their status as a popular majority has not compensated for other weaknesses as a political pressure group.

Wherein lie the weaknesses of the Spanish-American community? What elements of influence or affluence are requisite for exercise of political power?

That types of power are many and varied is stressed by writers on the subject. Lasswell and Kaplan accept Russell's contention that the ways of power are varied and kaleidoscopic, with sometimes one form of power, sometimes another, often a combination of many, forming the

foundation for the total societal structure.  

Textbook and other writers list a number of different wielders of power. Snyder and Wilson repeatedly mention politicians, economic leaders, labor leaders and publicists as being the holders of power. Most frequently emerging as important factors in power are wealth, public opinion, organization, and the vote. On the subject of wealth, Lasswell and Kaplan write that, "Most frequently, however, the various forms of power based on wealth ('economic power') have been assigned an especially fundamental role." However, confirming the view that the bases of power are varied and changeable, these and other writers insist that economic power is not the only form of power, and not necessarily the most important.

Though wealth may not be in all cases a central focus of power, that it is an important source of social and political influence seems to be widely accepted. The position of El Paso Spanish-Americans in this regard, as was shown in earlier discussion, is generally weak. It is not through the media of wealth or of business or commercial prestige that the Spanish-Americans are going to change or modify public policies,

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7 Snyder and Wilson, op. cit., pp. 160-161.

8 Lasswell and Kaplan, op. cit., p. 93.

9 Ibid.; Russell, op. cit., p. 135; MacIver, op. cit., pp. 91-93. For a contemporary critique of the economic determinists, from Aristotle through James Harrington, to the Marxists and James Burnham, see David Spitz, Patterns of Anti-Democratic Thought, Chapter 2, especially pp. 40-48.
and it would be entirely unrealistic to suggest that they might improve their condition by investing in business, acquiring trade and manufacturing interests, and so on. The Spanish-Americans are not financially in a position to do so, and no amount of admonition or preaching will make them any more financially able than they are at present.

As much credit is generally given to public opinion as a formulator of policy as is given to economic affluence — though it must be underlined that economics can play a role in formulation of much press and radio expression. Many writers make rather extreme claims for the effectiveness of public opinion in influencing political action. Thus, Merriam and Gosnell claim that, "Most issues are not decided by the parties, but by public opinion." 10

Writers agree that public opinion is many-sided and generally ill-defined. Bogardus claims, "Public opinion is usually a set of conclusions on a proposal involving social change. It is the end product of a process which is little considered and rarely analyzed." 11 The same writer points out how public opinion grows from a variety of situations, all involving in some way the intermingling of people.

Bogardus lists a number of instrumentalities as making public opinion. Included in his list are (1) personal conversation, (2) reading of newspapers, (3) seeing motion pictures, (4) listening to the radio, (5) reacting to education, and (6) participating in discussion


groups. 12

In terms of El Paso public opinion, at least on pressing Hispanic problems, we can quickly rule out motion pictures, radio, and education. None of these, to the best knowledge of the writer, are ever directed in any noticeable way to urgent problems of the Hispanic popular majority. Newspapers as formulators of public opinion on such matters have already been found deficient.

This leaves personal conversation and participation in discussion groups as vehicles of opinion on Hispanic problems. Undoubtedly these cannot be excluded, but as many authorities make clear, public opinion cannot be effective without crystallization - presumably through some sort of conscious, organized plan. 13

As media for expression of Hispanic needs, El Paso newspapers might be admonished to take a more active hand; but it is likely that El Continental and the English-language newspapers will pay closer regard to Anglo advertising revenues than to private criticisms of editorial policies. No El Paso newspaper - much less El Continental - is in the same category with the New York Times, and none is able to impose its will on advertisers instead of vice versa.

Lulac and ad hoc complaint groups may be quite another matter. There is nothing in the El Paso scene which should permanently prevent the crystallization of Hispanic needs through such agencies. Organization

12 Bogardus, op. cit., pp. 31-123.

can be an important focus for public opinion, and can exercise power in its own right. 14

It is clear that the League of United Latin American Citizens can stand some revision. Vastly more civic consciousness is needed in the organization. Less stress on social dinners and parties, and more stress on public questions of import to the Spanish-Americans, would transform the Lulac from a relatively ineffective social get-together to an effective instrumentality for reform. Spanish-Americans who are concerned over their housing, health, and other problems, must join Lulac in greater numbers. There is no bar to membership by workers, small tradesmen, and others who do not belong to the Hispanic business and professional classes who now dominate Lulac. The organization is there, and its statements of principles need no change to make it a powerful weapon for expression of social need. The most that is needed is a jolt which will loosen the organization out of the easy feather-bed of smug satisfaction into which it has fallen.

Organizationally speaking, there is a need, from the Hispanic point of view, for greater Spanish-American participation in top-level labor union decisions. This may not be achieved through mere appeals to union leadership, but may require some sort of Hispanic organization within the unions, and pressure from the outside, as from a regenerated Lulac.

14 For a clear-cut statement on the power of organization, see Harvey Fergusson, "The Unorganized Majority vs. the Organized Minority," in Snyder and Wilson, op. cit., pp. 250-254.
However, assuming non-access to economic and other media for expression of crystallized public opinion, the vote remains as an essential if public policy is to give ear to voices of Hispanic complaint. Without some lever of power such as economic affluence, or the strike, or the vote, all of the organization in the world may be relatively sterile of effect. The point made in the opening lines of this discussion must be repeated: No one form of power - as for example the power of wealth - is necessarily fundamental or dominant. Depending upon how it is exercised, it is possible for the vote to emerge in the community as a power to be reckoned with.

Political scientists generally show a marked respect for the power of the vote. The Committee on Political Parties of the American Political Science Association comments:

It is only at the polls that a party can be held finally accountable for its promises and its deeds. And it is through the act of election to a greater extent than through anything else that more widespread popular participation may be achieved in the political process. Americans therefore have rightfully associated the growth of democracy with the extension of the suffrage.

Numerous writers point to the impediments suffered by the disfranchised. In summary of this point, Merriam and Gosnell write


16 Committee on Political Parties, American Political Science Association, "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System," supplement, American Political Science Review, XLIV (September, 1950), p. 76.
Imperfect as the right to vote may be, without it a group is at considerable disadvantage. Suffrage does make a difference in the services rendered by the government, in the opportunities for public employment, in the chances for rising to a position of power and prestige, and in the self-respect of the group.

These authors provide striking material showing the effects on the Negroes of their disfranchisement in the South. Binkley and Moos suggest that disfranchisement can be a social and political handicap for any group—as, for example, the migratory workers:

It is not sheer caprice that has left the migratory worker with so few legal safeguards, but rather his disfranchisement through residence requirements for voting.

Finally, the strenuous efforts often made to prevent a given group from voting would seem to indicate that dominant groups customarily hold the power to vote in high regard. The association of the poll-tax, for example, with "white supremacy," suggests a very real consciousness on the part of dominant groups that the vote does

17 Merriam and Gosnell, op. cit., p. 33; see also Binkley and Moos, op. cit., p. 129.

18 Merriam and Gosnell, op. cit., p. 19; see also the discussion, Odegard and Helms, op. cit., pp. 407-10, on the dire results of Negro disfranchisement as compared with the beneficial results of extensive Negro voting in Memphis, Chicago, and New York; and John Dollard, Caste and Class in a Southern Town, quoted in Helms and Odegard, op. cit., pp. 405-406. Merriam and Gosnell write, "Negro politicians have not secured as much in the war of governmental services as they might have secured under different political conditions. But it is clear that they have secured more in the North in the way of educational facilities and protection of persons and property than their disfranchised brothers have attained in the south." Op. cit., p. 21.

19 Binkley and Moos, op. cit., p. 129.
affect public policy in some important way. If the vote were simply an empty exercise, no such violence or enthusiasm would be devoted to preventing deprived groups from voting.

In support of the view that the vote can be a powerful instrument, Merriam and Gosnell write that, "It might also be stated as a sociological principle that when one racial or nationalistic group lives side by side with another of different social status, the dominant group tries to institutionalize its alleged superiority by political means." 20

Of course a mere participation in the vote will not, per se, guarantee responsible political action.

As the Committee on Political Parties suggests, "A more responsible party system is intimately linked with the general level as well as the forms of political participation." 21

In summary, then, more than one avenue is opened to El Paso Spanish-Americans for increasing their influence and hence their participation in policy-making. There is nothing to prevent them from demanding and securing a more effective voice in labor leadership. They can attend to strengthening of the League of United Latin American Citizens, and perhaps inject themselves more effectively into other civic groups. By these processes the Spanish-Americans can secure a more crystallized voice in public affairs. That voice can then be applied to their vote.

20 Merriam and Gosnell, op. cit., p. 15.

21 Committee on Political Parties, op. cit., p. 65.
The El Paso Spanish-American vote will now be examined to determine what measures might be used to give it a greater force than it now enjoys.
Chapter 13
THE SPANISH-AMERICAN VOTE

Present Power

If a crystallized, organized Hispanic public opinion could be harnessed to a vote which would roughly correspond to the numbers of Spanish-Americans in the El Paso population, it would theoretically seem that some effective pro-Hispanic measures might be taken despite Anglo economic and social domination. It therefore remains to analyze the present and potential power of the Spanish-American vote.

El Paso poll-tax lists reveal that in 1950 the proportion of Hispanic voters to total voters was far below their relative numbers in the total population. Remembering that from 65 to 70 per cent of the El Paso county population is Spanish-American, it is worthy of note that in 1950 only 29.4 per cent of total voters in El Paso County were Spanish-American, and that only 28.4 per cent in the city of El Paso were Spanish-American. When ethnic composition is compared with composition of the voting population in each city precinct, it appears that proportions of Spanish-American voters are the lower of the two in most cases. The following table and graph indicate for 1950 the approximate percentages, in each precinct of the city of El Paso, of Spanish-American population to total population, and the percentage of Spanish-American poll-tax payers to total poll-tax payers:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>El Paso city precinct</th>
<th>Hispanics as percentage of total population</th>
<th>Hispanic poll-tax payers as percentage of total poll-tax payers</th>
<th>El Paso city precinct</th>
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1 Calculated from the number of householders. Spanish-American and Anglo-American names found in Hudspeth's El Paso City Directory, 1949, were counted for each precinct. For further data, see Appendix A. No means were available for determining ethnic composition of precincts outside the city limits.

2 Calculated from Official Alphabetical List of Poll-Tax Payers, El Paso County, Texas, 1950. Spanish-American and Anglo-American names were totaled and the results compared for each precinct. For further data, see Appendix J.
Hispanics as percentage of total population: ____________

Hispanic poll-tax payers as percentage of total poll-tax payers: _______
In four of the above precincts, the Hispanic percentage of total poll-tax payers corresponds to their percentage of the total inhabitants of the area. In eight precincts their poll tax percentage is greater than the population percentage, but in only two of these is it more than 5 per cent greater. In the remaining twenty-nine precincts, their poll-tax percentage is smaller than the population percentage, and in twelve of these the difference exceeds 5 per cent.

When the composition of the El Paso voting population is seen in this light, many of the problems discussed up to this point take on a new meaning. The Spanish-Americans, though a majority of the total population, are a minority of the total voters. Their needs are neglected. Candidates, while interested in securing Hispanic votes, are more anxious to secure the votes of the Anglo majority. El Paso public policy and politics, in other words, while not geared to the needs of the popular majority, are clearly tailored to suit the temper of the voting majority - that is, the Anglo popular minority.

Thus it was that in El Paso not even opposition candidates brought up Hispanic problems to embarrass incumbent opponents. No one cared that much about the Spanish-American vote - or perhaps it would be more correct to say that everyone cared more about the Anglo vote. Speaking of the political response of candidates to ethnic groups, Odegard and Helms write, "There are, of course, sharp rivalries among them, and it requires no little political skill to mobilize one group without offending others." 3 In El Paso the ethnic groups which count

politically are two in number - Spanish-American and Anglo-American. The problem of political accommodation is thus simplified, and therefore brought into clear focus.

In the El Paso voter response to the 1950 primary campaign, it appeared that even with only 29.4 per cent of the total vote, the Spanish-Americans are already a force to be reckoned with. Candidates who entirely neglected that vote flirted with political disaster, especially if their opponents gave some attention to the Spanish-Americans.

Response to the Campaign

In some cases, while unable to affect the final outcome, the Spanish-American vote did bring a candidate close to victory, and his opponent dangerously close to defeat. In at least one instance, the Spanish-American vote put into office a candidate who would otherwise have probably lost the election. Finally, and perhaps most significantly, it was revealed Spanish-American voters, for all of the holier-than-thou attitudes of their own upper classes, are possessed of an in-group consciousness. That consciousness was reflected in the election returns. Where there was any common ethnic reason to support or reject a candidate there was no doubt about the Hispanic reaction. Spanish-American voters were all together in such cases either in total acceptance or in total rejection. As will be shown later, the Hispanic voters' reaction was inspired by a sense of common ethnic interest and not by any managed bloc manipulation. It appeared fairly certain that, possessed of such consciousness, a county-wide Spanish-American voting majority could
control the governments of the city and county of El Paso. Extended to Congressional and legislative districts, such a vote could perhaps send Hispanic-supported legislators to the state and national capitals.

Victory and Near-Victory

In one case an Hispanic-supported candidate secured office, probably largely as a result of his Spanish-American support. At the same time, the race between H. C. Hinton and John T. Bean for the nomination as county superintendent of public instruction offers one of the most striking patterns of correlation between ethnic composition and voting behavior, and provides an instance of a candidate who won the first primary with the overwhelming support of voters in all predominantly Hispanic precincts, plus the aid of sufficient scattered precincts of prevailing Anglo composition. As the results turned out, Bean received 10,587 votes and Hinton, 8,676. 4

H. C. Hinton had made no particular appeal to the Spanish-American vote, but had been content to stand on his record. John T. Bean omitted strong attacks on Hinton's record, but spoke to Anglo groups on a few school problems 5 and to Hispanic groups about his attachment to the Spanish-American people. 6 He thus won the nomination through discussion of some issues with the Anglos and through expressions of friendship for the Hispanics.

4 For this and other tabulations see "Precinct Tabulation of El Paso County Democratic Primary," El Paso Times, LXX, 205 (July 24, 1950), p. 9.
5 See Chapter 8.
6 See Chapter 10.
In the first primary, Bean won majorities in all precincts having an Hispanic voting composition of 26 per cent or over. In the remaining thirty-six precincts, Bean won majorities in twelve, without pattern with respect to ethnic composition of voting public. Thus Hinton won majorities in twenty-four precincts, all of them having an Hispanic composition of 25 per cent or less. Bean won majorities in thirty-four precincts, of which twenty-two contained an Hispanic voting population of 26 per cent or over.

By adhering to innocuous expressions of friendship for the Spanish-American voters, "Juan Tortilla Frijol", the man who had swum the Río Grande and who had spent much of his life in South El Paso, avoided discussion of issues of concern to the Hispanic voters, and so side-stepped the pitfalls which may otherwise have obstructed his victory. No marked anti-Bean antagonism was engendered among the Anglo voters, and he was able to secure enough votes in predominantly Anglo precincts to win the election. The power of the Hispanic vote — even though under one-third of the total vote — was made clear in this contest.

In the Congressional contest, the potential power of the Hispanic vote was also revealed. In the first primary, Regan's count was 7,307; Moss', 6,943; and Hervey's, 5,632. In the second primary, Regan received 9,369 and Moss received 8,597 votes. The Hispanic vote consistently supported Moss in both primaries, and very nearly spelled defeat for Regan. Had Moss followed the example of Bean, and been

7 See Appendix K-8.
careful to retain a handful more of Anglo votes, he would have won the Congressional seat.

In the campaign, Moss had made the strongest appeal to the Hispanic vote. His supporters had distributed the greatest quantity of Spanish-language literature. It was apparent that Moss forces provided the Spanish-Americans with the greatest number of campaign jobs. A wide variety of anonymous pro-Hispanic literature was distributed in aid of the Moss cause. Anonymous anti-Regan stories were circulated in Hispanic areas. Issues of interest to Spanish-Americans, while not at all underlined, were injected most noticeably by Moss forces.

Ken Regan took less initiative in his approach to the Hispanic group. He defended himself against charges of discrimination. He welcomed the support of Pete Sánchez. Along with other candidates, he advertised in *El Continental* and in the Lulac convention program booklet. In one English-language advertisement his supporters pointed to endorsements from Spanish-speaking people. Perhaps Regan's most marked appeal occurred in the full-page *El Continental* advertisement in which he was referred to as "amigo de los latino americanos." No such mass of Hispanic literature as was circulated by Moss forces was distributed by Regan; nor did Regan supporters make any appeal so marked as to emphasize any special approach to the Spanish-American people.

Fred Hervey made the least attempt of the Congressional candidates to appeal especially to the Spanish-Americans. Like the other candidates, he advertised in *El Continental* and in the Lulac program bulletin, without, however, changing his pro-businessman theme in any
way. He received some limited support from El Continental.

In the first primary election, all voting precincts having an Hispanic voting composition exceeding 53 per cent gave more votes to Moss than to any other Congressional candidate. Of the precincts having an Hispanic voting composition of 53 per cent or less, ten showed a preference for Moss, four for Hervey, and thirty-one for Regan. Among these precincts of lesser Hispanic voting composition, no valid pattern can be drawn in terms of correlations between ethnic composition and voting response. Voters showed preference for Moss in Precinct 45, for example, which contains an Hispanic voting population of only 3 per cent of the total.

Hervey trailed behind both Moss and Regan in all but four precincts, and each of these four contained an Hispanic voting population of 51 per cent or less.

The pattern on the runoff primary of August 26 is even more clear-cut. Here Hervey had been eliminated, and it is easier to discern voter preferences. Here every El Paso County precinct, without exception, having an Hispanic voting composition exceeding 38 per cent, showed its preference for Moss over Regan. All but six precincts having an

8 Arranged in terms of Hispanic voting composition, they are precincts 15, 54, 17, 16, 4, 11, 47, 18, 55, 12, and 13. See Appendix K-1.

9 Arranged in terms of Hispanic voting composition, the Moss precincts were 45, 21, 31, 20, 49, 10, 23, 48, 14, 57; the Hervey precincts, 1, 22, 52, and 19; and the remainder of the precincts having less than 53 per cent Hispanic composition expressed preference for Regan. See Appendix K-1.

10 Precinct 1, 11 per cent; precinct 22, 22 per cent; precinct 52, 38 per cent; and precinct 19, 51 per cent.
Hispanic composition of 38 per cent or less showed preference for Regan. Thus Moss secured twenty-one precincts, of which fifteen contained an Hispanic population of 39 per cent or over; and Regan secured the remaining thirty-seven precincts, with none of them having an Hispanic composition exceeding 38 per cent. 11

In the Congressional race, therefore, the power of the present Spanish-American vote was demonstrated. Moss needed only 772 more votes to receive the nomination. The large Spanish-American vote he received accounted for the small difference between the support given the two candidates.

From these results, the following conclusions may be tentatively drawn:

1. Hervey, a relatively weak candidate, failed to appeal strongly to either the Anglo or the Hispanic group. His emphasis was almost entirely on the business class. He therefore lost to one or the other of his opponents in almost all precincts, and gained in no precinct having an Hispanic composition in excess of 51 per cent.

2. Moss made a strong appeal to the Hispanic vote. He or his supporters introduced issues related to discrimination. Spanish-Americans were approached in the Spanish language in written and oral form. Moss apparently won the majority of Spanish-American voters,

The six precincts which showed preference for Moss and contained an Hispanic composition of 38 per cent or less are precincts 45, 9, 49, 23, 48, and 52. Precinct 52 has a Spanish voting composition of 38 per cent. Precinct 2, also 38 per cent, went for Regan. Appendix K-2. For tabulations in second primary, see "Run Off Returns of Democratic Primary, El Paso County, Texas, August 26, 1950," El Paso Times, LXX, 240 (August 28, 1950), p. 7.
but lost the majority of voters in the predominantly Anglo-American precincts. The Spanish-American vote alone, which is but 29.4 per cent of the El Paso County total vote, was insufficient to put him in office. Had there been a larger Hispanic vote, or had Moss been careful not to alienate large numbers of Anglo voters, he would have received the nomination.

3. Regan defended himself as friend of the Latin Americans, but did not show them the attentions showered by Moss. Though Regan did not carry any precinct in either election which exceeded 53 per cent in Hispanic voting composition, and though in the second primary he failed to carry any precinct containing an Hispanic population of 39 per cent or over, his Anglo support secured for him the election in El Paso County, but by a narrow margin which was created by the Hispanic support given Moss.

4. The conclusion would not therefore seem unjustified that to win an election of this type in the El Paso border community, the Hispanic vote should be considered in high regard by the candidate hopeful of election; but that to alienate the Anglo sectors of the community is disastrous. In his campaign, Moss was attentive to the wishes of the Spanish-American precincts, but he failed to win sufficient Anglo support to secure a majority. Conversely, it is possible that had Regan expressed greater friendship for the Spanish-Americans, but been still careful not to alienate the Anglo vote, he might have built for himself a majority in the first primary which would have relieved him of the expense and time of the second.
Another race, that for nomination as county judge, demonstrated the present power of the Spanish-American vote. Here, Woodrow Wilson Bean, running against Victor B. Gilbert, lost the election by a margin of 10,249 to 9,384, but showed strength in the Hispanic precincts by capturing a majority of the votes in all precincts containing an Hispanic voting population of 41 per cent or over. In the remaining forty-four precincts, Bean was able to win a majority in only six, and Gilbert won the nomination. Bean, the brother of John T. Bean, candidate for school superintendent who did make a strong appeal to the Hispanic vote, became associated in the public mind with a pro-Hispanic approach, though this approach was not marked in his actual campaign methods. Bean was in a particularly favorable position to rely on the Spanish-American vote without undue effort, and could perhaps have closed the narrow margin between himself and Gilbert by making a stronger appeal to the Anglo voters. As in the case of Moss, sufficient impetus was provided through the Spanish-American vote to require only a small push among the Anglos to assure the nomination. That extra push was not in evidence, and Bean lost the nomination to the Anglo-supported Gilbert.

Evidences of Group Consciousness

In all of the above contests, strong group consciousness was manifested among the Hispanic voters. In the case of the sheriff race,

12 Precinct 44, 7 per cent Hispanic voters; precinct 51, 11 per cent; precinct 46, 13 per cent; precinct 23, 26 per cent; precinct 48, 37 per cent; and precinct 52, 38 per cent.
it was probably not only the Spanish-American rejection which eliminated Boone; but in this contest, again, a strong in-group identification among the Spanish-Americans is to be noted.

The sheriff's race, with its bewildering array of candidates, eliminated all but Hicks and Boone in the first primary. Hicks made no marked appeal to the Spanish-American vote, but Boone had been widely associated in the public mind with job discrimination in the city fire department. He received a majority of votes in some of the overwhelmingly Anglo precincts. However, Hicks won a large lead in the Hispanic areas, winning without exception all twenty-five precincts having an Hispanic composition of 22 per cent or over, plus eleven other precincts ranging from 8 per cent to 20 per cent in Hispanic voting population. Boone secured majorities in all but two of the El Paso voting precincts having 10 per cent or less Hispanic voting population. In this instance, anti-Boone resentment among the Latin Americans was heaped upon whatever Anglo favor might have been found for Hicks, to win for Hicks the nomination, 10,047 to 8,110.

The contests involving Spanish-American candidates again showed in clear-cut manner the ethnic considerations which affected the Spanish-American vote.

13 See Chapter 3.
14 See Appendix K-7.
15 In precincts having an Hispanic composition of 10 per cent or less, Hicks secured a majority only in precinct 3, 8 per cent; and in precinct 31, 9 per cent. See Appendix K-7.
Hispanic candidates were engaged in five local contests. These five contests, from which some tentative conclusions may be drawn, were (1) county commissioner contest, precinct 1, in which J. J. Avila and three Anglo candidates ran for the nomination, (2) county commissioner contest, precinct 4, in which J. D. Carpenter and Ray Villescás were contestants, (3) justice of peace contest, precinct 1, place 1, in which Joseph J. Rey opposed the incumbent, R. E. Crawford, for the nomination, (4) justice of peace contest, precinct 2, in which F. M. Hill was opposed by A. M. Pedregón, and (5) constable contest, precinct 2, in which E. D. Luna, Billie Helms, and Earl Stedham, contended for the nomination.

It is instructive that in all but one of these five races, all voting precincts of over 50 per cent Hispanic composition voted overwhelmingly for the Spanish-American candidate; and that all voting precincts of less than 50 per cent Hispanic voting composition voted overwhelmingly for the Anglo in preference to the Hispanic candidates. The one exception to this pattern is provided by the Carpenter-Villescás contest, in which of the eleven precincts involved, Carpenter carried ten, including precinct 4, 80 per cent Hispanic voting population. Precinct 11, 83 per cent Hispanic voting population, was carried by Villescás. 16

J. J. Avila, for example, ran with three Anglo opponents. Thirty-three voting precincts were included in this commissioner contest. Of

16 For data on these elections involving Spanish-American candidates, see Appendices K-9 through K-13.
these thirty-three, Avila received more votes than did either of his opponents in each of the six precincts of 51 per cent or more Hispanic voting population, plus a small margin over his nearest opponent in precinct 14, with 39 per cent Hispanic voting population. In five of the six precincts having over 50 per cent Hispanic voting population, Avila received a majority of the total vote in each, with only precinct 17, 75 per cent Hispanic, giving him slightly less than a total majority. In the twenty-six precincts having less than 39 per cent Hispanic voting population, Avila had but a scattering of votes in each case.

The vote in county commissioner precinct 1 would therefore appear to have been definitely pro-Hispanic or anti-Hispanic. The fate of Avila was determined by the total Hispanic vote as compared with the total Anglo vote, and Avila lost the nomination.

Almost precisely the same results occurred in the justice of peace nomination, precinct 1, place 1. The area of this race covered forty-one voting precincts. Of these, eight contain an Hispanic voting population of 51 per cent or more. It was precisely in these eight voting precincts that Rey received overwhelming approval. It was precisely in the thirty-three precincts having less than 51 per cent Hispanic composition that Rey was overwhelmed by votes for Crawford. Crawford secured the nomination.

Neither the justice of peace contest, precinct 2, nor the constable contest, precinct 2, included enough voting precincts to make any conclusions about them entirely valid. However, it is instructive that in each case the Spanish-American candidate was able to secure a
plurality or majority only in the one precinct having an Hispanic voting population exceeding 50 per cent. Four voting precincts were involved. The three precincts having less than 50 per cent Hispanic composition each voted overwhelmingly for the Anglo-American candidates, and in each contest the Anglo-American candidates won the race.

In each of these five races involving Hispanic candidates, therefore, ethnic support played a deciding role. In no other contests did the line of cleavage so closely hover the 50 per cent line of demarcation between Hispanic and Anglo voter-predominance. In no race involving Anglo candidates was the ethnic division so certain. In the Bean-Hinton contest, for example, Spanish-Americans overwhelmingly supported Bean, and enough Anglo-Americans went along with them to place him in office. Again, in the Regan-Moss contest, the ethnic line of demarcation between the pro-Moss and anti-Moss precincts was somewhat below the 50 per cent mark because numbers of Anglos came to the aid of the Moss candidacy. The contests involving Spanish-American candidates suggested no such hazy separation between Anglos and Hispanics. Hispanic precincts pretty consistently supported the Hispanic candidate, and Anglo precincts about as consistently supported the Anglo candidate or candidates.

Even in the case of J. J. Avila, who ran against three Anglo candidates, it becomes apparent that he could easily have won a clear majority in the first primary over all three of his opponents had all of the voting precincts in the area of contest exceeded 50 per cent Hispanic voting composition. The lessons to be drawn from all but the
Carpenter-Villesscas race are equally clear and of the same character. If anything, it may be assumed from the Carpenter-Villesscas contest that Spanish-American voters are as discriminating as they are conscious of their common ethnic needs. All of the factors involved in the rejection of Villesscas by the residents of precinct 4, 80 per cent Hispanic, and an industrial area, are not clear.

In the contests involving Hispanic candidates, arrangement of voting precincts played into the hands of Anglo candidates. The Telles election as county clerk in 1948 affords an example of an Hispanic candidate who was able to overcome the minority character of the Spanish-American vote and secure office on a county-wide basis. In the Telles case, Hispanic voters were supported by pro-Telles Anglo voters. This, however, is an unusual case. As long as each commissioner or justice precinct is arranged to contain a majority of Anglo voters, Spanish-American candidates will have difficulty securing election in these minor contests; and until a larger number of Spanish-Americans vote, it will be difficult for any candidate to duplicate the county-wide feat performed by Telles in 1948.

Other Contests

Not much can be learned from the remaining contests. In the two legislative contests, Puckett and Owen led in all but one or two precincts with majorities without ethnic pattern. The Jackson-Elfers race provided another example of results inconclusive in terms of precinct composition. Elfers carried no El Paso precinct, and Jackson
won the first primary, carrying El Paso County 12,526 to 6,332. Again, Otho A. Manning, for attorney, was overwhelmed, 12,403 to 6,866, by Guinn votes in all but three El Paso precincts, and no correlations can be shown in terms of Hispanic or Anglo vote-patterns. About the most that can be said is that in none of these races did any candidate show any more or less attention to the Spanish-American voters than did any other, and so no ethnic correlations emerged in voter response. In each case it seems likely that the losers might have increased their respective votes at the expense of the winners by showing a greater interest for the El Paso Hispanic group, without, however, alienating the Anglo voters. Some candidate weaknesses were involved in a few of these contests, which would possibly have cancelled out any overtures to the Spanish-Americans. Elfers' vitriolic methods may have hurt his position, in Anglo as well as in Hispanic districts; and Manning joined Elfers as the harping type of candidate who won few friends in any sector of El Paso. Moss forces also became known as denunciatory and critical in their tactics, but Moss was almost able to compensate for whatever rancor he caused by making strong appeals to the Hispanic vote.

In summary of the present power of the Spanish-American vote, the Spanish-Americans are not voting in numbers commensurate with their population percentage; nevertheless, their 29.4 per cent of the total vote is recognized by candidates as worthy of attention, and did in some cases affect final tabulations in the 1950 primary campaign. Finally, even without much organization or much crystallization of opinion, the Spanish-American could become an important force if the
total Spanish-American participation in the sufferage were expanded.

**Potential Power**

The foregoing discussion has at several points implied that an increased Spanish-American participation in the El Paso County vote could become an effective instrument for alleviation of many Hispanic problems. Politics being at best an unpredictable process for solution of important social problems, it would be rash to suggest that an increased Hispanic vote would liquidate all of the hardships now faced by El Paso Spanish-Americans. It seems likely, however, that they could place their favored candidates in public elective office; could assure themselves more ready access to public employment; could add to their prestige and thereby to their strength in demanding the improvements they desire; could influence candidates to give them more meaningful attention in campaigns; and, through legislative and possibly through Congressional representation could possibly wield a greater influence on affairs affecting them than they are now able to do.

The potential power of the Hispanic vote in El Paso County may be seen by examining an area in which the Spanish-Americans have already achieved a voting majority. San Miguel County, in northern New Mexico, provides a suitable illustration. The population of San Miguel County is 26,411, and that of Las Vegas, the principal city of the county,
Both county and city are therefore smaller than their El Paso counterparts. Ethnic composition, however, is similar for the two. As in El Paso County, no accurate figure is available on the proportion of Spanish-Americans in the population of San Miguel County, but personal observation, voting records, and all estimate indicate that they do clearly comprise a large majority, probably from 70 to 80 per cent of the population of the county.

Though a greater portion of agricultural lands are in Hispanic-owned plots than is the case in El Paso County, and though there is more evidence of Hispanic-owned small businesses in San Miguel County, the principal economic leadership in the New Mexico county is, as in El Paso, in the hands of Anglos. There is not a single Spanish-American among the officers of the Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce - an organization which purports to serve the business interests of the entire county. Aside from the many small Spanish-owned farming plots, large ranches provide the principal sources of income in the county. All ranchers named by the manager of the Chamber of Commerce as holding large

17 Figures taken from Roster of Officials, San Miguel County, 1951. Published by San Miguel County Clerk, and taken originally from U. S. Census figures. See Appendix H-4.

18 The check on mother tongue of the population, made in 1940, included only states and large cities, and therefore throws no light on the Las Vegas situation. No count by ethnic groups has ever been made. See interview with Lewis F. Schiele, manager, Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce, September 5, 1951, Appendix B-19.

19 President, Ross E. Thompson; manager, Lewis F. Schiele; managing director, Dr. Julius Evans; secretary-treasurer, LeRoy Wicks; Board of directors; James E. Connor, Dayton E. Dalby, Lewis G. Frantz, A. H. Gerdeman, Ivan J. Hilton, George O. Maloof, and Gordon E. Melody.
Some payroll is provided by New Mexico Highlands University, by a hospital for the insane, a home for the aged, a division of the State Highway Department, trade with local ranchers, and tourists. Two of the more important industries include the Jayval Manufacturing Company, which produces parachutes for the government, employs 160 persons at present, and anticipates employing 440 in the near future; and the Dumas and Oliver Slade interests, big distributors of milk for San Miguel and Santa Fe Counties. Both of these industries are Anglo-owned and Anglo-operated. The Santa Fe Railroad, which passes through Las Vegas, provides some employment.

The city of Las Vegas, New Mexico, is actually a combination of two cities - West Las Vegas, population 6,250 and nearly 100 per cent Spanish-American, and East Las Vegas, population 7,449, and something

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20 Ranchers, and their approximate acreages, according to Mr. Schiele: R. L. York, 55,000 acres; John Leatherwood, 15,000; Col. William Salman, 35,000; Union Land and Grazing Co., 95,000; Warren Shoemaker, 20,000; Sowell family, 65,000; Milner Rudolph, 20,000; Jay Long, 10,000; Joe Harris, 20,000.

21 According to Mr. Schiele, the university provides a payroll of some $750,000 annually.

22 These figures were secured from Mr. Schiele. See Appendix B-19. While their accuracy cannot be exactly determined, Mr. Schiele is a longtime resident of Las Vegas and his word on the subject is about as close as one can come to a correct report. See also, for report on agricultural economy of San Miguel County, San Miguel County Veterans Advisory Committee Report, Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce, July, 1945. (All nine members of the Veterans Advisory Committee were Anglos)
Each town is a separate government unit, and each has its own business district. Significantly enough, property valuation of West Las Vegas totals $1,557,038, and that of East Las Vegas comes to $5,571,663. It seems clear that the half of Las Vegas most populated with Anglos is the half in which the most valuable business and investment property is found.

As in El Paso County, San Miguel County is without discriminatory practices insofar as service to Spanish-Americans is concerned. Personal observation during the summer of 1951 indicated that if anything it would be the Anglos who might occasionally meet with some minor personal abuse because of their ethnic background.

The socio-economic picture in San Miguel County is therefore similar to, though not an exact parallel of, the El Paso situation. It is at this point that all similarity between the two comes to an end. In San Miguel County, in the 1950 general elections, 1,676 voters had Anglo names, and 7,558, or 81.8 per cent of the total of 9,234 had Spanish names.

The contrast between El Paso and San Miguel office-seekers and

23 Population figures in Roster of Officials, op. cit. Ethnic percentages are based on personal observation, common knowledge, and interviews during the summer of 1951. They can in any event be only approximate.

24 Property valuations cited in Roster of Officials, op. cit. Figures in the Roster were taken from county assessor’s records.

25 Poll Book, Election of 7th day of November, A. D. 1950, San Miguel County, New Mexico. Anglo and Spanish names in the poll book were counted. See Appendix H-1.
office-holders is also striking. In terms of their names, candidates for nomination in the 1950 New Mexico primary election ballot in San Miguel County may be classified as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Anglo</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congressional representative</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governor</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant governor</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary of state</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State auditor</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State treasurer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney general</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superintendent of public instruction</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commissioner of public lands</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of state corporation commission</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice of supreme court</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State representative, 6th legislative district</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State representative, 29th legislative district</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County commissioners</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probate judge</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County clerk</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County sheriff</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County assessor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County treasurer</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County school superintendent</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice of the peace</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constable</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTALS</strong></td>
<td><strong>47</strong></td>
<td><strong>59</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, of 106 candidates running for nominations for all offices on the San Miguel County primary election ballot, 59, or 55.7 per cent of the total, were Spanish-American. Of 34 candidates running for county office, 30, or 88.2 per cent, were Spanish-American.

The eliminations in the primaries did not change in any important respect the proportions of Hispanic candidates seeking office in the

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26 Canvass of Returns of Primary Election, Held June 6, 1950, State of New Mexico, County of San Miguel. In the court house, San Miguel County, Las Vegas, New Mexico. See Appendix N-2.
1950 San Miguel general election. Of 49 candidates for all offices, 31, or 63.3 per cent of the total, were Spanish-American. For county and lesser offices, of the 22 candidates, 19, or 86.4 per cent, were Spanish-American. In the final outcome of the election, a support of either ticket would have given the largest share of victory to the Hispanic candidates. 27 In the general election, San Miguel County went Democratic, with ten Anglo and fifteen Hispanic victors for all offices, and two Anglo and nine Hispanic victors for the eleven county and lesser offices.

As things now stand in San Miguel County and environs, the public elective offices, including district posts, are held by Anglos and Hispanics as follows: 28

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Anglo</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State senators</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State representatives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District judge</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. S. senators</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U. S. representatives</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County chairmen</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County commissioners</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County clerk</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County treasurer</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County assessor</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County superintendent</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County sheriff</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District court clerk</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probate judge</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Board of education</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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27 Official Canvass of Returns of General Election Held November 7, 1950, State of New Mexico, County of San Miguel. In the county court house, San Miguel County, New Mexico. See Appendix N-3.

28 Roster, loc. cit.
The above list indicates that of the county officers, fifteen are Spanish-American and only three are Anglo-American.

In summary, in El Paso County, where the Hispanics cast 29.4 per cent of the votes in 1950, they hold practically none of either the elective or appointive offices. Nor do El Paso Spanish-Americans have any representation in district offices which include El Paso. In San Miguel County, where they cast 81.8 per cent of the vote in 1950, the Spanish-Americans hold 82.4 per cent of the elective offices. If all districts including San Miguel County are added, the Spanish-Americans hold 75 per cent of all offices in the area of San Miguel County and environs.

In terms of the effect of participation of the vote on public office-holding, analysis of the voting population and office-holders of West and East Las Vegas is significant. In the 1950 general election, voters were divided between Spanish-American and Anglo-American in the two communities as follows: 29

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Anglo</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Las Vegas</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>2,772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Las Vegas</td>
<td>1,420</td>
<td>1,265</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following are city officials in the two communities: 30

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Anglo</th>
<th>Spanish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West Las Vegas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mayor</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29 Official Canvass of Returns of General Election....loc. cit.

30 Roster, loc. cit.
The conclusion is clear: In the southwest, a self-conscious Hispanic voting majority can enjoy overwhelming representation in elective public office; and an Hispanic voting minority, faced by a self-conscious Anglo voting majority, brings little or no Hispanic participation in elective public office. The Spanish-Americans of El Paso enjoy almost no participation in public office because they comprise only 29.4 per cent of the voting population. If, say, 60 per cent of the voters were Hispanic, and if the Spanish-American feeling of common interest were as crystallized as it appeared to be in 1950, they would hold the major portion of El Paso elective public offices.

Selection of Spanish-Americans to appointive public office would follow. In San Miguel County almost all appointive county offices are held by Spanish-Americans, so that a visit to the county building reminds one of a tour of a governmental establishment in the republic of México. The writer spent two days in the San Miguel county offices, working among officials and secretaries, and never heard a word of English.

In no respect do the Spanish-Americans of San Miguel County receive less public service than do Anglo-Americans. Civic leaders customarily display a keen respect for the Spanish-Americans. Finally, candidates for public office are constantly attentive to the needs and interests
of the Spanish-American voters. 31

The San Miguel County situation provides pretty substantial
evidence of the power over public office that El Paso Spanish-Americans
might wield if they were to fully exercise the suffrage. Socio-
economic differences between the two communities are not extreme. Only
the differences in voting habits adequately explain the contrasts
between the two communities in terms of political participation. It
happens that with the majority method of selection of public office-
holders, the conscious majority takes all, and the minority gets little
or nothing.

Obstacles

To advocate an increase in El Paso Hispanic voting is far from
pointing to the means whereby such an increase may be accomplished.
It therefore remains to examine the impediments which stand in the
way of El Paso Spanish-American voting, and to indicate the means

31 For example, see the following items in the Las Vegas Daily
Optic: Advertisement, "Your Government Wants You," LXXI, 173 (June 1,
1950), p. 6, in which David Chávez, candidate for governor, wrote,
"...it is our responsibility to select leaders regardless of
creed..."; and "Political Activity in County is Heated," LXXI, 175
(June 3, 1950), p. 1, describing a political rally in which Judge
Chávez delivered a lengthy oration to an ethnically mixed audience,
in the Spanish language; same article, where Judge Chávez claimed he
had tried to get a highway through West as well as through East Las
Vegas, since "the town (West L.V.) is as much entitled as the city to
a good highway"; and "Demos Cite Records, Claim GOP Charges Weak,"
LXXI, 294 (October 23, 1950), p. 1, where John E. Miles, candidate for
governor, is reported as saying, "When I become governor I shall
administer all affairs for the benefit of all the people, regardless
of race, creed, or color" and see also LXXI, 176 (June 5, 1950), p. 1;
LXXI, 178 (June 7, 1950), p. 1; LXXI, 275 (September 30, 1950), p. 1;
LXXI, 278 (October 4, 1950), p. 1; LXXI, 279 (October 5, 1950), p. 1
whereby such impediments may be removed.

The suffrage in El Paso County is limited by at least three factors: (1) the lack, until recently, of a secret ballot, (2) the length of the ballot, and (3) the poll tax. Undoubtedly the most severe obstacle to full voting participation is the poll tax.

The Non-Secret Ballot

Until 1949 the ballot was not secret in Texas. The voter signed his name in a register under a serial number which also appeared on the ballot he marked. Of this system, Carey McWilliams writes:

Hardened as one may be to the discrepancies between ideals and realities in American political life, it comes as something of a shock to be told, as I was told on all sides in El Paso, that the secrecy of the ballot in western Texas is a myth... El Pasans with whom I discussed local politics are convinced that ballots are customarily checked to see how certain individuals voted and that afterward people often lose their jobs. On a five-day visit I was of course unable to get specific evidence that this practice exists, but the belief that it does was expressed with striking unanimity. And the belief has a most inhibiting effect on a large number of voters. Other manifestations of tight control of opinion were also cited: For example, an official of an industrial plant was able to secure the dismissal of a teacher at Texas Western College of Mines and Arts by merely requesting it.

In 1950 in El Paso many voters seemed unaware that the non-secret features of the ballot had been removed, and that the voter could

32 Carey McWilliams, "The El Paso Story," Nation, CLXVII, 2 (July 10, 1948), p. 46. The college referred to by Mr. McWilliams is now Texas Western College. Faculty members reported to the writer that one of their colleagues had been dismissed because of his vote, but this story could not be confirmed. This was the only specific report of this type that the writer was given, and it is possible that all the stories implied by McWilliams refer to one and the same event.
express his political opinion in an election without fear of reprisal.

The ballot reform of 1949 follows very closely the suggestions made by W. J. Hooten in a 1948 El Paso Times column: 33

For years a number of Texas newspapers, including the Times, have advocated a change in our system of casting ballots so there would be secrecy. First one thing and then another has kept the Texas legislature from making the desired improvement.

All our lawmakers would have to do would be to inspect the system used in Arizona and then adopt it. A slip attached to the ballot in Arizona is removed and a number placed on it that tallies with the name of the registered voter. No one could check and find out for whom the voter cast his ballot.

Substantially, this system has now been adopted by the Texas legislature, and the new secret ballot arrangements prevailed during the 1950 primary elections. The new system applies to both primary and general elections. 34 A detachable stub is on the top right-hand corner of each ballot. On the stub appears a serial number, the date and designation of the election, and the words, "Note: Voter's signature to be affixed on the reverse side." A number identical with that on the stub appears on the top left-hand corner of the ballot. 35

To this point, the new system seems little different from the old requirement that the voter sign a register opposite a number


35 Ibid., Articles 2980 and 3109.
corresponding to the number on his ballot. Secrecy, however, is presumably guaranteed by the new requirement that after the election the container of stubs be delivered to the district clerk, the container of ballots to the county clerk. 36 Though the county clerk may deliver his ballot box to "any competent officer having process therefor, for any tribunal or authority authorized by law to demand such ballot box," 37 the clerk of the district court may allow no one to open the stub box except upon order of the court. 38 Prior to the inauguration of this system, the county clerk had control both of the signed registers and of the ballot boxes.

Raymond Telles, county clerk of El Paso, discounted the tales of ballot-checking prior to the reform. Now, as he stressed, any illegal attempt at identifying the opinions expressed at the polls would require collusion between the district clerk and the county clerk, with at least the implied assent of the district court. 39 The boxes may not be opened without breaking their gummed seals. The possibility of such checking is still not entirely precluded, but its chances have been reduced.

During the summer of 1950, El Pascans expressed no confidence that the ballot is now actually secret. As is suggested by McWilliams, their

36 Ibid., Articles 3012 and 3027.
37 Ibid., Article 3028.
38 Ibid., Article 3012.
39 Interview with Raymond Telles, county clerk, July 25, 1950, Appendix B-22-b.
attitudes, though possibly at variance with the facts, could conceivably limit their vote, particularly among the Spanish-Americans, who are in the main dependent for their livelihoods upon employment by Anglos. It may be expected, however, that as time passes and public understanding of the ballot reform becomes widespread, the problem of the non-secret ballot will cease to act as a limitation upon the Hispanic vote.

The Long Primary Ballot

The long primary ballot prevails in Texas. The El Paso County Democratic ballot for the first 1950 primary was two feet in length. The column of candidates, printed in 6-point type, measured 21 inches in length. Thirty-four separate offices appeared on the ballot. Between 90 and 100 names were listed on each ballot, depending on the precinct. For the offices of governor and lieutenant governor, and judge of criminal appeals, practically no campaign effort was made in El Paso County. Nevertheless, the voter was required to choose from among seven candidates for the gubernatorial nomination, twelve for nomination as candidate for lieutenant governor, and eight for the justice nomination.

The problems of the voter are not helped by the marking method used on Texas ballots. The voter is required to cross out all names for which he does not desire to vote, leaving unmarked the name of his own preference. 40 No instructions appear on the ballot, though instructions are available in the polling places, and sample ballots

40 Articles 2981 and 3109, op. cit.
clearly marked are passed out by candidates.

A summer of intensive research revealed some information on a limited number of candidates. On this basis, had the writer been an El Paso voter, he might have felt able to cast a reasonably intelligent vote for perhaps one-half of the nominations sought. The problem of the average busy voter can be surmised.

The long ballot imposes a serious obstacle to Hispanic as well as to Anglo voters, but it cannot be safely assumed that it limits Hispanic voting much more severely than it inhibits Anglo exercise of the suffrage. The problem of the long ballot is one which is faced by voters generally throughout the United States. San Miguel County, which enjoys a high Spanish-American participation in the suffrage, is no exception. It may even be possible that the long ballot in El Paso encourages the Hispanic voter to indicate his preference for Spanish-American candidates wherever they appear. His problem of selection is thereby simplified, as it needs to be when he is faced with as many as a hundred candidates from which to choose. Whatever discouragement the long ballot affords the Spanish-American voter may therefore be compensated by a greater concentration on Hispanic candidates among those Latins who do participate in the suffrage.

The Poll Tax

The poll tax is often cited as a limiting factor in Texas suffrage. The tax amounts to $1.75 per person, must be paid by all between the
and must be paid before February 1 preceding any election in which it is desired to vote. Names of poll-tax payers are entered on registers for reference at election time, and no showing of receipts is required.

As is frequently pointed out, a family with two or more adults hesitates to pay $3.50 or more up to six months before an election in which the candidates are not as yet known, nor the issues formulated. The campaign is too remote, and immediate needs are too pressing, to permit even this small expenditure.

Organizations interested in increasing the Hispanic vote have noted a marked increase in poll tax payments during recent years. Prior to the February 1 deadline of 1950, the Lulacs and labor organizations interested in getting out a large labor vote which happened coincidentally to be principally Hispanic, worked to get members of the Spanish-American community to pay their poll taxes.

After this campaign, an upsurge in total poll tax payments by the Spanish-Americans was noted. An article in the El Paso Herald-Post commented on the increased Hispanic participation in the suffrage in recent years, and described the tax-payment campaign and its results:

41 Ibid., Article 2959.

42 Ibid., Article 2955.

A study of poll-tax payments indicates that El Paso candidates this year must reckon with numerous changes in precinct voting strength.

Although small, the changes reflect trends which, if continued, eventually could shift the predominance of political power to areas and groups that in the past have generally played a minor role in city and county elections.

Most of the changes have come about in the last two years. Eight new precincts have been added, making a total of 58 in the city and county. Some boundaries have been changed and some precincts have been renumbered. New subdivisions have boosted the number of voters in outlying areas of the city.

But the most significant change, in the view of politicians in and out of office, is the fact that the percentage of voters in the south part of the city has increased, while the percentage of voters in some areas of the city north of the tracks has decreased.

For example, the nine precincts in South El Paso, Nos. 10 through 18, have a 1950 voting strength of 4,767, an increase of 168 or 3.6 per cent in the number of qualified voters since last year.

By contrast, nine selected precincts well north of the tracks have 5,232 qualified voters this year, a loss of 253 or 4.6 per cent. These are precincts 25 through 30, and 34, 35, and 43. No. 43, in Kern Place, dropped from 637 to 575.

A total of 27,240 persons have paid poll taxes as compared with 24,966 in the 1949 city election, and 30,216 in the county and state elections of 1948, which also was a presidential election year.

This year more than 40 special deputies helped County Tax Assessor-Collector R. R. Deason issue poll tax receipts. Several organizations, including the Junior Chamber of Commerce, the League of United Latin American Citizens, and all labor groups encouraged payment of poll taxes.

In the south part of the city several individuals were active. These included Richard Telles, Joe Dávila, and Arturo Merjil.

Mr. Dávila and Mr. Merjil were president and vice president of the old Veterans Unity Club, which petitioned the Ponder administration for better housing. When no housing projects materialized they threw their support to Dan Duke, helping to elect him mayor.......

'......We worked this year as individuals,' said Mr. Dávila. 'For me the big issue is still housing and slum clearance.'

44 They still didn't get any housing projects.
He added that he concentrated on getting poll taxes paid in Precincts 11, 12, and 13, which comprise most of El Paso's tenement sections. These three precincts showed a net gain of 149 from last year, an increase of 10 per cent. No. 13 jumped from 708 registered voters to 767, although its geographical size was reduced.

About the only realistic suggestion which can be made with regard to the poll tax is that Spanish-Americans bend every effort to get it paid by themselves and by their friends. Abolition of the poll tax is of course the obvious solution for the difficulty, but until enough pressure can be generated throughout the state for its elimination, it is doubtful that anything will be done to get rid of it. Such pressure requires, first of all, widespread payment of poll taxes by those who oppose its continuance. The anti-poll tax people might thus get their representatives into public office and then be able to push for elimination of the tax.

The discouraging feature of the poll tax is that to secure its payment there must be a never-ending campaign. An increase in poll tax payments in one election will not guarantee a similar level of voting in the next. However, it may be anticipated that when the Spanish-Americans see some concrete results of their poll-tax payment, they will come to consider the tax as a sort of fee paid for the securing of public attention, and may thereby be encouraged to continue the practice.

The poll tax is admittedly a discouraging hurdle, and no amount of desire to see an alleviation of Hispanic problems should blind one to the difficulties that will be met. The only thing that can be said for certain is that if almost all the Spanish-Americans of El Paso - or even
a portion of them equal to the portion of Anglos paying theirs—would
take care of their poll taxes prior to each election, they would be
likely to receive more official attention than they now enjoy. After
that, poll tax payment would seem like less of a hardship. In the
final analysis, the securing of such an objective depends upon the
work done by Hispanic and other interested organizations, and upon the
response given by the Spanish-Americans to that work.

Character of the Hispanic Vote

As was pointed out earlier, the effectiveness of the vote depends
as much upon its quality as it does upon its quantity. If a vote
cannot be sufficiently crystallized behind some point of view or sense
of common interest, it is essentially meaningless in terms of influence
over public policy. Conversely, if any politician or civil demagogue
with sufficient money, gall, or threat can simply corral a community
of voters like a herd of senseless cattle, their votes can be not only
meaningless but positively harmful to themselves.

In the discussion of the Hispanic response to the campaign, it
was shown that the Spanish-American voters at least seemed to have some
sense of in-group identification, of common need. Their votes were not
thrown about, willy-nilly, without any sense of group responsibility.

It may be contended that general issues, of interest to all voters,
could in some cases so overshadow housing, health, attainment of public

45 Chapter 12.
office, wage discrimination, and other typically Hispanic problems, that the Spanish-American vote could be distributed without reference to special Hispanic problems. This did not occur in the 1950 campaign, despite the fact that candidates placed great stress on such general topics as foreign policy, business and government, ideological position, prices, and so on. Instead of splitting their vote, the Spanish-Americans seized on every straw of friendship, favor, name, or view, to support their friends and reject their real or imagined enemies.

This is not to say that Spanish-Americans do not have varied views on these general questions. They do. At the polls, however, Hispanic concern over common problems appears to play the deciding role.

It is hard to conceive that with a majority vote combined with greater crystallization of Hispanic opinion, the Spanish-American voters would be less likely to place their own special problems before other, more general, questions. When that occurs, the Spanish-Americans will have lost their present sense of group consciousness, and will have ceased to be a defined community in southwest political life. Their loss of consciousness respecting their Hispanic identity will indicate that they no longer have problems which can be especially attributed to their status as a particular ethnic group. Except for a few individual cases of rejection of Hispanic culture, there is no evidence to indicate any such imminent denial of common group interest.

Finally, election results in 1950 indicated that Spanish-American votes were not cast en bloc, subject to political manipulation, and
without at least some conscious individual feeling on common problems. As has been seen in this chapter, Spanish-Americans supported Spanish-American or Pro-Hispanic candidates - or where there was no choice on ethnic grounds, their votes were cast without any show of ethnic consideration.

Many writers report the mass buying and trading of "Mexican" votes by political bosses along the border. Most such narratives refer to events of from two to five decades ago. For example, there are stories of the mass buying of "Mexican" votes during the heydey of the Kelley ring in El Paso in 1907.

No jefe político or vote-buying practices could be discovered in the El Paso campaign of 1950. Persons familiar with the political complexion of the Hispanic community even reported that free hand-outs of beer and sandwiches had lost their effectiveness among a people becoming more alert on political matters. As has been demonstrated in the discussion of the campaign and of methods used at the polls on election day, the free-handout approach to El Paso politics was not an important item in the 1950 primary campaign.

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48 Political chief. Term used along the border to designate a machine boss.

49 See Chapter 10.
Everyone interviewed on the question denied knowledge of any "Latin American vote" which could be swung without special appeal in favor of or against any particular candidate. 50 Only Robert L. Holliday suggested that he thought that in some precincts some local leaders "exert strong influence." 51

Research revealed no vote-buying or bloc manipulation of the Hispanic electors. There was no evidence of controlled bloc voting. Lulac delegates from other border counties denied that such practices are typical today along the border.

It appears fairly clear that whatever support candidates received from the Spanish-Americans, they received as a consequence of approaches to voters in general and of particular appeals designed primarily to attract Hispanic voters.

While manipulated bloc voting cannot be ruled out as a future possibility, it would seem that the trend is entirely in the opposite direction.

50 See, for example, interviews with William C. Collins, June 27, 1950, Appendix B-3; Tony Garibay, July 3, 1950, Appendix B-7; Joe Rey, June 29, 1950, Appendix B-16; and Henry Martínez, July 11, 1950, Appendix B-13-b.

51 Holliday interview, loc. cit.
Chapter 14
DOMINATION AND THE VOTE

As has been shown in the preceding discussion, the El Paso Spanish-American majority lives in a social-economic-political context which is Anglo-dominated. Business, labor, social life, and politics, are principally functions of Anglo influence. Opinion is guided by Anglos. Issues raised in the campaigns are largely unrelated to pressing problems faced by the Hispanic numerical majority. Public jobs, at least on executive levels, are held in the main by Anglos. Social and economic El Paso, in short, is run by Anglos. Such economic rights as Hispanics do enjoy are to be attributed principally to purchasing power and to bilingualism.

One might be inclined to conclude from this that the Spanish-Americans, though a numerical majority, would in such an Anglo-dominated environment constitute a politically submerged mass, forever without effective voice in public affairs. Nothing could be more false.

In the 1950 primary campaigns almost all candidates devoted some attention to the Hispanic vote. Almost every candidate produced some Spanish-language literature, many spoke in Spanish or through Spanish-speaking supporters, and none failed to appear at rallies in areas of Hispanic concentration. At least one candidate, John T. Bean, was able to secure the nomination by appealing strongly to the Hispanics while taking care not to antagonize the Anglos. No candidate who had sharply antagonized the Hispanic voters received a nomination. Weakness in
Hispanic areas almost lost the nomination for Regan, and was in large measure responsible for the inconclusive Congressional results in the first primary.

The Spanish-Americans hold 29.4 per cent of the El Paso vote. If there were a way whereby such things could be measured, it might be found that the candidates expended about a quarter of their total time and energy on the Hispanic vote. The impression of this observer was that about that proportion of political literature appeared in Spanish; and that about that proportion of total speaking time was devoted to areas of Hispanic concentration. Much of the attention given in this discussion to the campaign has been arranged with that impression in view.

That candidates devoted but little time to Spanish-American problems was clear enough. Their fear of retaliation from Anglo businessmen and landlords, plus their own natural inclinations toward Anglo interests, probably helped account for their reticence to speak of Spanish-American problems. But no candidate concealed his anxiety to secure Hispanic votes. With 70.6 per cent of the votes cast by Anglos and 29.4 per cent cast by Spanish, El Paso experienced precisely the sort of political campaign that might have been expected.

We have seen that where it is fully utilized, the Spanish vote can work an important influence on public affairs. In San Miguel County, New Mexico, where the Spanish do vote in numbers roughly

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1 See p. 238, and Appendix J.
proportionate to their percentage of the total population, practically all public offices are held by Spanish-Americans, the overwhelming majority of candidates are Spanish-Americans, and there are no complaints that the Spanish are receiving inadequate political attention. All of this occurs in San Miguel County despite the fact that the large investments, important businesses and leading commercial groups are in the hands of Anglos.

Political scientists should not be surprised at this power of the vote. They will be surprised only if they have fallen under the spell of those who are over-awed by the supposed magic of economic power. There are many forms of power. Labor is one of these. Wealth is another. Strong emotional feeling may be another. Public opinion is another. The vote is another, and so on. The key lies in having effective power, organized and going somewhere.

That the Hispanic people of El Paso are generally conscious of their origins, that, politically speaking, they have a sense of in-group identification, has been demonstrated. Candidates who showed their friendship for the Spanish-Americans were overwhelmingly supported in Hispanic precincts. Those about whom pro-Hispanic attitudes were in doubt found little support, and those who had aroused Hispanic antagonism were firmly rejected by the Spanish-American voters.

The Hispanic vote will find its strength in crystallization of Hispanic opinion through organization. If an expanded Hispanic vote turns out to be ineffective, it will be precisely because it has not been used as a sustaining tool for support of a unified opinion, but
is scattered and desultory. As Odegard and Helms point out,²

The political significance of racial and nationality
groups depends upon (1) degree of concentration and (2)
intensity of ethnic loyalties – reflected in group organization
and activity. These in turn may depend upon the degree to
which the group culture differs from that of the predominant
Anglo-American. But even groups possessing a high degree
of ethnic solidarity may have little political significance
if widely scattered. On the other hand, the presence in
New York City of some 2,000,000 Jews, over 1,000,000 Italians,
over 600,000 Irish, and some 400,000 Negroes make racial
and nationality considerations in the politics of the city
of utmost importance. Their votes bulk large enough to
constitute an important factor. For a candidate to offend
one of these major groups may easily prove fatal.

The lesson emerges: If, unfrightened by the bogey of Anglo
economic and social domination, the Hispanics of El Paso will (1)
organize, and (2) vote, they will be able to put into county and
perhaps district office any candidate they support.

This is not all they will be able to do. They will be able, by
political means, to bring the pressure of local government to bear on
problems with which they are plagued – housing, health, attainment of
public office, wage discrimination, and so on. Political power will
give them a prestige which may change the unfavorable attitudes of some
public leaders. While not in a position to take definitive action on
the alien migrant worker and U. S.-Mexican relations problems, an
increase in political influence on the part of the Spanish-Americans
in any area is likely to affect somewhat the disposition of these
questions.

²Peter H. Odegard and E. Allen Helms, American Politics, 2nd
Edition, p. 333. See also J. A. Corry, Elements of Democratic
An organized vote, at least in terms of political life and participation in public affairs, may thus cut through the whole fabric of Anglo-American domination. As has been earlier suggested, a more remote effect might be the abolition of the poll-tax. The immediate problem, however, is to get out the Spanish vote, and to organizationally crystallize the present sense of in-group political identification among the Spanish-Americans. Pressure on Austin will have to await the recognition of political realities.

The application of such conclusions to other border communities, and possibly to communities away from the border, may be seen. Southern counties inhabited by Negro numerical majorities are naturally suggested, though it may be that present severe economic and social impediments reduce the possibility, in such southern counties, of social consciousness, of poll-tax payment, and of voting.

Whatever may be the disabilities suffered by non-voting numerical majorities in other areas, the El Paso situation seems to indicate that, at least in the American political structure, almost 100 per cent economic and social domination by a minority need not forever prevent the political emergence of a conscious and reasonably integrated majority.

This report has not been without sympathy with the particular group under scrutiny. The writer confesses to a warm sense of kinship with the gracious and neglected Spanish-American people. If something herein can be of service to them, a principal purpose of this study will have been served.
APPENDIX
Appendix A

Ethnic Composition of Precincts. ¹

Arranged in order of Hispanic composition.

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<th>El Paso City</th>
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Interviews

B-1. Amador.

Interview with Charles Amador, editor, Labor Advocate, July 7, 1950.

Question: What special approaches are used by candidates to attract the Latin American vote?
Answer: Candidates hire Latin Americans in areas of concentration. Moss places special emphasis on housing, pay, and education. Sandwiches and beer are still used in some instances. Charges of discrimination are sometimes used, as for example when a speaker at a political rally in the Lower Valley accused Odessa, Moss' home town, of practicing discrimination when an outside baseball team came to town. I checked personally in Odessa and found that no such discrimination had taken place.

Question: In your opinion, which candidates seem most likely to attract the Hispanic vote?
Answer: Moss is leading in Latin American support and expects from 60 to 70 per cent of the Latin vote. Woodrow Wilson Bean, running for county judge, also expects a large Latin American vote.

Question: Has labor taken any steps to encourage the Spanish-Americans to vote?
Answer: Yes. Labor organizations have tried to get them to pay the poll tax.

B-2. Barry.

Interviews with Mrs. Alice Barry, Executive Secretary, El Paso Council of Social Agencies.

a. Interview of July 10, 1950

Question: Have any specific moves been made to improve housing conditions described in the border project report?
Answer: No. There remain only the three federal housing projects: Tays, Alamito, Sierra Vista. The latter is for veterans only.
Question: What are some issues of concern to Spanish-Americans which could be introduced into the campaign?
Answer: Housing, wages, and discrimination. There is a need for public citizenship classes, of which there is but one, at Aoy School. More are needed. There are many non-citizens in the Spanish-speaking group who need this kind of aid.

Question: In what areas is discrimination a problem in El Paso?
Answer: Discrimination is here. It is sporadic but important, and is found especially in the important jobs and in the social situation. Some Spanish-Americans are found in top executive positions. It is difficult but not impossible to achieve such places. Some heads of store departments are Latins. Businessmen are increasingly of the opinion that cheap labor is no longer an advantage to El Paso. The Chamber of Commerce is particularly concerned over this.

Question: What are some obstacles to improvement in social and economic status of the Hispanics?
Answer: One important obstacle is the lack of social consciousness on the part of influential Latin Americans themselves. Another need is integration with the Anglos, which the social agencies are trying to achieve. This policy is quite at variance with the methods used by the agitators.

Question: Have the social agencies taken any steps to encourage the Spanish-Americans to vote?
Answer: Yes. The Southern Conference for the Southwest did tremendous work in getting out the Hispanic vote. It aided in paying the poll tax, and so on.

b. Interview of March 26, 1951.

Question: Could you give a picture of the participation enjoyed by Spanish-American people in the leading civic organizations of El Paso.
Answer: Yes. I will go through my list of organizations, and tell you what the situation is in each.

Of 28 clubs with welfare projects, only five have any number of Latins. These would be the Lulac No. 9, Lulac No. 132, Junior Lulac Council, Pan-American Optimists, and Pan-American Opti-Mrs. There is also the Pan-American Round Table, and as far as I know the only thing they do is entertain foreign dignitaries, especially from Mexico. There are a few Latins in that. Going through the women's clubs, I find that the Business and Professional Women's Club, the Pilot Club,
and the Junior League of El Paso - a very, very "smart" group - have neither Spanish-American members nor officers. The Junior League, I believe, may have one or two people of Spanish strain from the "old families." The Women's Club of El Paso has never had a president or vice-president who is Spanish-American, though there are a few Hispanic officers. They are not barred. They simply don't join. The Young Matrons' Auxiliary of the same group has a few Latin members, but no Latin officers to my knowledge. The same is true of the Junior Women's Club, which incidentally is autonomous and not an auxiliary of the El Paso Woman's Club. The same is also true of the Woman's City Garden Club and of the El Paso chapter of the American Association of University Women - that is, some Hispanic members but no officers. In the case of the A.A.U.W., there are several Latin members. Some of the garden clubs, and a few of the civic clubs of broad, general interest, such as the P.T.A., do have plenty of Spanish-American members and officers.

Of the men's groups, such as Rotary, Kiwanis, Lions, and so on, there are always a few Spanish-American members, but the number is always small in proportion to the total membership.

I would not say that the Spanish-Americans are barred from these various civic groups. It is simply that on the whole, little effort is made to get the groups together. They are not discouraged from joining. They are simply not encouraged, and no one is especially concerned with the matter. Further, the Spanish-Americans are not noted as being great "joiners" anyhow.

B-3. Collins

Interview with William C. Collins, El Paso County Assistant County Attorney, June 27, 1950.

Question: What, in your opinion, is the principal task of the Democratic Party in El Paso County?
Answer: To provide the machinery for conducting the primary election.

Question: Which are the important political leaders in El Paso?
Answer: In the Democratic Party, Ernest Guinn, County Attorney, is an influential figure. In the Republican group, H. D. McCune, Jr., plays an important role.

Question: What methods are used by interested candidates to get out
the Spanish vote?
Answer: Methods are not too much different from those used with Anglo voters. There are interviews and campaign literature is distributed. There is some use of refreshments to attract votes. For example, Milton Trice, candidate for commissioner, has passed out beer, soft drinks, picnic fare.

Question: Does the presence of the border come into the campaign in any way?
Answer: I can think of no way in which the border is a factor in the campaign.

Question: Is there a "Latin American vote" as such?
Answer: I have no special knowledge of any "Latin American vote". There is, however, some special support given by the Spanish-Americans to individual candidates. There is an increasing participation and interest in public office on the part of Latin Americans, and this has been the trend since the war. Some candidates realize this. For example, to get the Mexican vote John T. Bean, the candidate for school superintendent, calls himself "El Frijolito", Little Bean.

Question: How is law enforcement here affected by presence of the large Hispanic group?
Answer: The great bulk of law enforcement problems comes from the Latin American group. At least 70 per cent of law enforcement problems involve Mexicans. Of course there are a lot of minor misdemeanors of a family character which Anglos would simply not bring into court. I think a lot of the legal problems involving Mexicans can be explained by economic factors.

B-4. Córdova.

Interview with Gabriel Córdova, clerk and interpreter in El Paso corporation court, 1944-1947 and past president of Sigma Iota Pi, Spanish-American college fraternity on the campus of Texas Western College, July 10, 1950.

Question: What are some issues of concern to Spanish-Americans which could be injected into the campaign?
Answer: One is the problem of education. There is no special attention given by schools to the Spanish-speaking child. No school principals are Spanish-speaking. There is a
resulting lack of understanding of their problems. There are some night classes at Aoy School, but they are inadequate. Secondly, there is some discrimination. The Fire Department never employs Latins. At Texas Western, no Latin Americans are allowed in sororities or fraternities, so we have had to organize Sigma Iota Pi. Also, candidates for office seldom speak Spanish. This could be an issue. Furthermore, many Latins refuse to run for office. When they do get in, they are in a minority of one.

Comment: The Spanish-Americans do have problems, but they resent being designated in any special way as though they are not full American citizens. I, for one, resent the suggestion.

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B-5. Fox.

Interview with Chris Fox, Public Relations Manager, State National Bank, El Paso, onetime sheriff, councilman, president of the El Paso Chamber of Commerce, active political leader, and well-known civic figure, March 26, 1951.

Question: What are some of the principal sources of El Paso economic life?
Answer: Well, you might say that El Paso is wearing three hats: (1) the El Paso-Juarez trade, (2) the military activities, and (3) the ordinary economic activities.

Question: Could you tell me something about the business and editorial management of the Times and Herald-Post?
Answer: The Newspaper Printing Corporation prints both papers. D. D. Roderick, Sr., is president and principal owner. The corporation furnished the physical plant, equipment, business management, and produces the newspapers. Roderick is also publisher of the Times, of which Mr. W. J. Hooten is the editor. The Herald-Post, of which Mr. Edward M. Pooley is editor, is published by the Scripps-Howard people.

Question: Speaking generally, how much Spanish-American participation would you say there is in trade and manufacturing in El Paso?
Answer: They are active mainly in the retailing field, and in a few of the smaller manufacturing operations.
Question: What would you say about participation of the Spanish-Americans in social and civic life? Would you say they meet with serious discrimination in El Paso?

Answer: I agree with Mr. Telles when he says there is no discrimination in El Paso. We've been living, not talking about, the "Good Neighbor" policy here in El Paso for years. The Latins are a mighty damn fine race of people, and their participation is increasing as time goes on. They are getting more able, economically and otherwise, and are enjoying greater educational advantages as time goes on. Twenty years ago they were 95 per cent liability. Now they are a real asset, and their ability to earn is on the increase.

B-6. García.


Comment: The problems political and otherwise of Latins vary from place to place. A better total picture could be secured by going to Laredo, Brownsville, and El Paso, in each of which the situation is different. The Latins are most advanced in their political activities in Laredo. They might have the same political problems in each place, but the problems differ in intensity from place to place. Thus you will have bloc voting by Latins in some farming counties of south Texas, but not much of that in other parts. Latins will fail to pay their poll taxes, and hence not vote, in some areas, but pay their poll taxes in reasonable numbers in other places.


Interview with Tony Garibay, Commander, Armijo Post #2753, Veterans of Foreign Wars, July 3, 1950.

Question: What organizations are there other than the Lulacs which are especially concerned with Latin Americans?

Answer: There is Sigma Iota Pi, a social fraternity on the campus; the Mexican-American Organization; the Anahuac Club, a social group which stresses sports, mostly in South El Paso. The Pan-American Optimists are working on child delinquency through recreational activities.

Question: What issues of concern to Latin Americans could be brought
up by candidates in the present campaign?

Answer: One would be schools. There is an insufficient teaching of English. Recreational facilities as far as schools are concerned are okay. Two years of foreign language are required in high school, and the students invariably take Spanish, when they should be learning English. Classes in remedial English were tried for three months at Bowie High School, then canceled. There is insufficient organized play in the El Paso school system. Another problem is the problem of housing, which is poor, without adequate sanitation facilities; often there will be one running water spigot for fifty people, and but one bowl, likely not to be working. There is no adequate garbage disposal, though such service is quite adequate in other parts of town, where one may get an accumulation picked up almost any time of day.

Question: How are the Latin Americans approached by the candidates?

Answer: Beer and barbecue is still an important method. No special reference is made to problems of the Spanish-speaking people. Promises are made which are impossible to carry out. Elsewhere, just speeches. There is some promise of jobs by the candidates. Generally the promises are unfulfilled. Invitations to social affairs, hand-outs and beer are used.

Question: Why are there so few Latin Americans in public office?

Answer: The poll tax is the main reason. Before the war, very few Latins paid their poll tax. The Latins are discouraged from running because there is so little hope of being elected. The Anglo voters are likely to unite for the Anglo candidate, while the Hispanics are divided.

Question: How about public employment? Do Latin Americans share equally in this, without discrimination?

Answer: There are few or none in the Fire Department or in the utilities. They are, however, given work sweeping streets, digging ditches, and so on.

Question: Is there a "Latin American vote"?

Answer: I don't think there is any bloc "Latin American vote" as such. In El Paso, at least, I know of no controls by politicians over the Latin vote, and I don't know of any delivery of votes.

Question: Are the Latin Americans generally satisfied with press attitudes?

Answer: I don't think the press is giving the south side a square deal - as for example on society pages, where Latins
seldom appear. But they'll give a big space to an Anglo
corkscrew derby.


Interview with Francisco Hernández, member of the U. S. Housing
Authority Board, July 13, 1950.

Question: Could housing be brought up as an issue by candidates
for Congress?
Answer: Yes. Housing calls for bills introduced in and passed
by Congress. Fred Hervey, in the Liberty Hall rally last
night, did mention that he was in favor of slum clearance,
but against Federal aid, which is too much like socialism.
I told him he lives in a fine home, so doesn't understand
the problems of those people in need of decent housing.
He thinks that one can have housing by simply reducing
taxes on builders, but that won't do it. Rents will be
as high as ever, and the same conditions will still
apply.

Question: Could housing be brought up as an issue by candidates
for county commissioner?
Answer: No. They can concern themselves with recreation which
is a problem affecting many of the Latin people of El
Paso.

Question: What special methods have been used to attract the Spanish
vote?
Answer: Candidates will deliver talks in Spanish, which helps
some. They are increasingly bringing up issue, such as
housing, recreation, health, etc., which are of concern
to the Latin voters. You notice this now because whereas
before the war there were only some 2000 voters of Latin
extraction, now there are around eight thousand. The
practice is to talk some in English, then make some
remarks in Spanish to indicate they know the language.

Question: Have the federal housing projects really helped the slum
dwellers?
Answer: Yes. They have had ample opportunity to make application,
and we have provided easy facilities for them to make out
forms, etc. Rents are graded according to income, so that
the federal housing can be readily available to them. The
main problem is that there are too few affected by the
projects.

Question: Have housing conditions improved any since the reports
and campaign of 1948?

Answer: No. If anything they have gotten worse. Every year they are worse than the year before, because new construction is rare and owners allow their places to become dilapidated, and make as few repairs as possible. I lived in South El Paso during 1918 and 1919, and conditions were bad then, but not as bad as they are now. Occasionally some tenement is condemned, but never torn down.

Question: Are any new housing projects in prospect?
Answer: Yes, Congress has authorized a new project, which we hope will get under way soon. This will be the first since 1936, when the Tays project was put up. We hope to build two housing projects within the near future. One is definitely authorized, and we have hopes that another can be gotten under way.

Question: Is there any difference between candidates Regan and Hervey respecting methods of slum clearance?
Answer: No. They both say they are for it, but against federal aid. They don't disagree on this because they see eye to eye on it.


Interview with Ed. Holden, Executive Vice-President and General Manager, El Paso Chamber of Commerce, March 26, 1951.

Question: Could you give some names of people whom you consider to be leading civic figures in El Paso?
Answer: Yes. I might mention Jack Bowell, who is chairman of the El Paso Board of Development, and active in the annual stock show, as well as head of various local fund-raising organizations. There is Dr. M. P. Spearman, on the El Paso County Board of Development. Another would be F. Carter Womack, head of the El Paso Electric Company. He has headed the community chest, livestock show, and rodeo. Another would be J. Francis Morgan, head of a large construction firm. A man you should see would be Chris Fox, formerly sheriff, and now public relations man with the State National Bank. He was once a councilman, and also had my job here. He is known all over town. There is Boyd Ryan, an active civic leader and board member of the Chamber of Commerce, as well as Johnny Stockmyer, a businessman on both sides of the river.
Question: I notice you haven't named any Spanish-Americans. Are there any Latins whom you would consider as being important civic leaders?

Answer: Well, yes, probably so. Some of them are engaged in small retail trade and small manufacturing. We tried to get a couple of them onto the board of directors of the Chamber of Commerce, but we were unable to do so. Those of us who thought they should be on couldn't swing it with the rest of the Chamber.

Question: Could you say something about the ownership and editorship of the El Paso newspapers?

Answer: I don't know all the details, but Dorrance Roderick is principal owner and publisher in the Newspaper Printing Corporation, which prints both papers and takes care of their business management. Bill Hooten is editor of the Times, and Ed Pooley editor of the Herald-Post.

Interview with Robert L. Holliday, influential figure in the Democratic Party, July 6, 1950.

Question: Could you name some of the individuals who in the past have played leading roles in El Paso political life?

Answer: Well, an early leader and head of the so-called El Paso Ring shortly after the turn of the century was C. E. Kelley, a druggist and county treasurer. Another prominent name was that of Richard M. Dudley, mayor of El Paso for a short period and a figure in the Texas state senate. Robert Ewing Thomason held a seat in the U. S. House of Representatives for fourteen years. Other names of early political leaders include Park Pittman, county clerk; George Huffman, tax assistant; and Jim Harper, district judge. A more recent name is that of Claude Hudspeth, state legislator and senator and Congressman — a powerful man who attained influence as a rancher, lawyer, and banker.

Question: What have been some of your important civic activities?

Answer: Many years ago I was on the school board, and was on the Board of Regents of the University of Texas. I moved out here around 1915 or 1916, and for many years was party chairman in the 16th Precinct.

Question: Has this area always been predominantly Democratic?

Answer: No. In the early days it was Republican in sympathy. That was shortly after the Civil War, and almost up
to this century.

Question: Has there been any bloc voting by the Latins in El Paso, or any controlled voting?
Answer: No. There might be some controls by precinct leaders, but it doesn't amount to much. Back in 1907, the Kelley ring bought up seven to eight thousand Mexican votes in each election, but that day is over.

Question: How do you account for the low participation of Spanish-Americans in public office?
Answer: El Paso is 60 to 65 per cent Mexican and they pay only 6 or 7 per cent of the taxes of the community. They spend all their money on drink and big families, instead of paying their poll taxes.

(Holliday spoke in contemptuous terms of "Mexicans". "Oh, he's just a Mexican" he commented respecting each of three candidates mentioned in the interview. During the interview, Louis LeVeaux, Executive Secretary of the El Paso County Republican Committee came into Mr. Holliday's office and informed Holliday that this writer was attempting to raise the question of race hatred. The two men then discussed the Negroes and agreed that "they are good if they stay in their own places," and that they did not believe in social equality. An undue sensitivity on the part of these two individuals was indicated, for this writer asked only the questions herein indicated, and made no comments.)

Question: Does the border come into the campaign in any way?
Answer: No, not in any important way. There are groups in Mexico which want to keep their workers there, and groups here that want to bring them into the state. There aren't any other border problems.

Question: What is the source of much of the charges of discrimination leveled against Regan?

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1 See LeVeaux interview, Appendix B-12.
Answer: Most of these stories come from the days he was mayor of Midland. His fault is that he is dominated by the oil interests.

Interview with W. J. Hooten, editor, El Paso Times, March 27, 1951.

Question: Would you say that your differences with Mr. Pooley of the Herald-Post are genuine, deeply felt differences?
Answer: Yes, definitely. The differences are very genuine, and are not just created to keep up circulation. There are very few things we do actually agree upon. We do agree on and work together on such things as the Sun Carnival, library bond issue, gang warfare, and so on.

Question: What could you tell me about ownership and management of the Times?
Answer: Ownership of the Times is predominantly in the hands of the Roderick family. There are four generations of them living here - T. R. Roderick, Dorrance Roderick, Dorrance Roderick, Jr., and Dorrance Roderick III. It is Dorrance Roderick, Sr., who holds most of the shares in the Times.

Question: Are Spanish-Americans employed freely in El Paso publishing, without discrimination?
Answer: Yes, definitely. We practice no discrimination whatsoever. Spanish are employed on the paper. Nor is there any discrimination in El Paso. They are employed in the police, in the county offices, and city offices. If discrimination does occasionally occur, it is an individual matter, not a county policy.

Question: Would you say that there is any knowledge of bloc voting by the Spanish-Americans in response to strong political influence?
Answer: No, I have no knowledge of any such thing. The Latins vote as they please. In some of the other rural border counties, I understand there is some bloc voting, but we know of none here in El Paso.

Question: Is the Lulac fully accepted and respected by all groups in El Paso?
Answer: Yes. Lulac is fully accepted by one and all. Last year it got the prize for getting out the most poll-tax payments.
Interview with Louis LeVeaux, Secretary, El Paso County Republican Executive Committee, June 27, 1950.

Question: Could you say a word about the Republican party structure in El Paso?
Answer: The party is organized like the Democrats. There are precinct chairmen and county chairmen. The precinct chairman is selected by neighbors, in the precinct. If they decide to put up a ticket, they hold a county meeting. For each three hundred votes for governor, the county sends one delegate to the state convention. The Republicans will not put up a ticket this year on the county level.

Question: Is the Republican Party concerned with any issues of special interest to the Hispanic group?
Answer: No. There are no issues like that here which we would take up. We don't push any campaign anyhow.

Question: Does the border come into Republican political thinking in any way - that is, respecting commerce, migrant workers, and so on?
Answer: No. The border is of no particular interest to us. Establishment of a free zone here is about the only question that might be brought into the campaign.

Question: Is there any "Latin American vote" as such?
Answer: There is none that I know of. The Lulacs are trying to organize something of the sort.

Question: What, would you say, are the bases for the discrimination charges leveled against Regan?
Answer: Regan got the name for being anti-Mexican in some restaurant deal in Odessa. But he has been trying to make up for that by entertaining the Mexican vote. The Mexican issue is not raised on a county basis. On the precinct level there are parties, and the candidates say how much they love them. The Democrats usually try to get in one Mexican as a concession - such as Raymond Telles, the county clerk.

Question: Where does the Republican Party in El Paso get its main support?
Answer: Its principal source of support comes from lawyers, big business, and bankers. There is a lot of moral support which it receives from people in overalls who contributed one and two dollars each.
Question: Who provides most of the guidance for the Republicans in El Paso?
Answer: Well, I am county secretary and elected at the county convention. A. J. W. Smith is chairman of the party. I suppose we two are the core ordinarily, when there isn't much doing. But in presidential years we expand our activities somewhat.

Question: Are the Republicans ever able to get a man into office?
Answer: Practically never. It has been a long wait since 1932. Around 1910 we got one man to the legislature because a Mexican was running for the legislature on the Democratic ticket and the party ditched him. He was part Mexican, named Pat Dwyer. Afterwards he represented San Antonio for years. El Paso voters turned him down because he was a bad hombre.


Interviews with Henry Martínez, president, El Paso Council of League of United Latin American Citizens, and governor of district 19, Pan-American Optimists (including New Mexico, part of the Arizona border, and Texas west of the Pecos).


Mr. Martínez stressed the work being done by Lulacs to get the Spanish-Americans to vote, and emphasized particularly the encouragement of poll-tax payment that had been part of the Lulac effort. With large families and low incomes, asserted Mr. Martínez, the small families are the ones among the Latins who vote.

b. Interview of July 11, 1950.

Question: Would you say that there are any marked political controls over the Hispanic vote in the precincts?
Answer: No. Absolutely not. There might be a few people who have friends, and therefore can count on some votes; but it isn't a common or regular thing. There may have at one time been some political controls over the Latin vote, but for one thing Bowie High School has done much to educate the Latin American students, and to break whatever political controls might have existed in the various precincts.
Question: Are there any civic education groups active in El Paso?
Answer: Of course the Lulacs and similar organizations include as part of their task the civic education of the people. There is also an informal group of about twenty-five who meet each Monday to discuss impartially the qualifications of the various candidates - not just to hear speeches. Among others supported by them is W. O. Hicks for sheriff, whom they have decided is the best man in every way. On the Congressional race they haven't been able to make up their minds, so instruct members to vote as they please. Raymond Telles is a member of the group. It has no name.

c. Interview of March 29, 1951.

Question: Would you say, in general, that discrimination is a problem in El Paso?
Answer: Yes, it is a very definite problem. It is true that Spanish are employed widely all over town. However, there are many places, such as in the county and city government, where they are employed principally at menial tasks. Also there is the wage difference. Employers are glad to get the Spanish, provided a lower wage can be paid. If it is a question of giving an Anglo or an Hispanic a job, at the same wages for either, and the language problem is not involved, you know as well as I do who will be employed - the Anglo.

Question: Are responsible executive positions denied Hispanics in El Paso?
Answer: Oh, no, you'll find them in a few such posts. For example, there is Joe Moreno, assistant cashier for the El Paso National Bank; and Manuel Escajera is one of the vice presidents of the same bank. Also, you will find them in a few instances as department store managers. I think their bilingual abilities account for this as much as anything else.

Question: I am not altogether clear as to the exact character or purpose of the Pan-American Optimists. Could you say something about this?
Answer: The Pan-American Optimists were originally organized as a chapter of the Pan-American International, to take care of special problems faced by young people in South El Paso. It is not a segregated group, and Spanish are found in other Optimist chapters than the Pan-American. Altogether, there are in this area six Optimist clubs: the Ysleta, El Paso, Pan-American, Juarez, Ascarate, and Lower Valley.
Question: What is Lulac doing about problems of discrimination?
Answer: Lulac has no set program on this. We take up individual discrimination cases as they come. Lulac is highly respected, and ordinarily when we bring up a matter of discrimination, corrective action is taken by the people to whom we register our complaint.

B-14. Owen.

Interview with Frank Owen III, candidate for Texas House of Representatives, 90th District (El Paso, Hudspeth, and Culbertson Counties), July 3, 1950.

Question: Do you employ any special manner of approach in attracting the vote of the Spanish-Americans?
Answer: In Latin rallies my method is to introduce myself in Spanish, and after making a few remarks in Spanish, launch off into English, as they feel offended if the candidate acts like they don't know English. But they do appreciate his knowledge of Spanish.

Question: Have you discussed in your campaign any issues of particular concern to the Hispanic voters?
Answer: No, I have not brought up any issues of special concern to them. Housing is also a problem, but this is mainly a federal problem outside the powers of the legislature.


Interview with Edward M. Pooley, editor, El Paso Herald-Post, March 26, 1951.

Question: Could you tell me something about the ownership of the El Paso newspapers?
Answer: The Herald-Post is a Scripps-Howard publication, with 51 per cent of its stock in the hands of the Scripps Company, a holding concern. The Roderick family owns around 75 per cent of the stock in the Times. The rest is owned by friends and employees. El Continental is Latin-owned, and is in the chain of Jose Garcia Valesca, who operates newspapers in Mexico, including El Fronterizo in Juarez.

Question: Do any Latin Americans participate in ownership of the English-language newspapers?
Answer: No.
Question: What do you know about ownership of radio stations in El Paso?
Answer: Not much. Dorrance Roderick owns KROD, and Fred Hervey runs KSET. KTSN and KELP are owned individually by El Paso and outside interests.

Question: Do any Latins participate in ownership of radio stations?
Answer: Not to my knowledge.

Question: What do you think about the Lulacs? Are they fully accepted as equals among El Paso civic groups?
Answer: Yes, definitely, they are accepted fully. In fact, there is some fear of them.

Question: Mr. Pooley, you frequently refer to the so-called "Kingmakers" in El Paso politics. Just whom do you mean?
Answer: Oh, they're all over the place. I can't give you any exact names. Well, I could name Sam Young, president of the El Paso National Bank. Then there are a lot of corporation and railroad lawyers. But I can't tell you all their names.

Interviews with Joe Rey, lawyer, and candidate for justice of the peace, Precinct 1, Place 1.

a. Interview of June 29, 1950.

Question: What are some issues of concern to Spanish-Americans which might be injected into the campaign?
Answer: Public employment is one. There is a need for a greater number of Latin people in the county court house. All the chief deputies - clerk, sheriff, tax assessor, district clerk, and so on - are Anglos, and these officers are the real power. Only the bilingualism of the Latins forces officials to appoint them at all, and this is rare. Another problem is the lack of recreational facilities in areas of Hispanic concentration.

Question: Is there any evidence of bloc-voting among the Spanish-American voters?
Answer: No. Occasionally there will be a trend of Latin sympathy, as in the Gilbert Bean contest, where the Latins are pro-Bean.

b. Interview of July 18, 1950.

Question: In one of your talks at a rally you mentioned machine
politics in El Paso. Would you care to clarify this comment?

Answer: I was referring especially to the extension of J. P. Precinct One in 1947 in a nine-mile tongue to include the home of my opponent, R. E. Crawford, the incumbent, after he had moved out of his regular precinct. Milton Price was the only commissioner to favor this, but he was able to talk the other commissioners into it. According to law, a suit for change of precinct may be brought by a resident or voter. But when I tried to bring suit, Guinn, who runs the courthouse machine, told me the state would be the party to bring suit, and that I would have to take it up with the state attorney general who would be arriving in El Paso after the election. Guinn has been in office nineteen years and Crawford for fourteen and they work together. Favors are granted to friends of the courthouse machine. For instance, bonds of $200 must be posted by non-friends, but to cover the same type of case $50 bonds are sufficient where friends are involved.

B-17. Roderick.

Interview with Dorrance D. Roderick, Sr., publisher, El Paso Times, and principal owner, Newspaper Printing Corporation, El Paso, Texas, March 27, 1951.

Question: Who owns the El Paso Times?
Answer: I do, mainly. I own some 80 per cent of the stock, and the rest is in the family and in the business executives of the paper. It is strictly a local enterprise.

Question: Would you say that Spanish-Americans are employed freely, without discrimination, in the various phases of your publishing business?
Answer: Yes. There are Spanish reporters, pressmen, mailers. There is no discrimination. I was the first chairman of the Good Neighbor Commission, and can say that there has never been any problem of discrimination in El Paso.

B-18. Ruff.

Interview with Dr. Edgar T. Ruff, head, Department of Modern Languages, Texas Western College, El Paso, March 26, 1951.
Would you say that the Lulacs are fully and equally accepted by civic organizations in and around El Paso?

Yes, except that a lot of Anglo groups don't know much about the Lulacs. There certainly is no opposition of any kind to them - simply in some cases no knowledge of them.

Would you say that there is any difference in the treatment afforded longtime Spanish-American residents of El Paso and the treatment afforded the more recent residents who have closer ties with Mexico?

No, absolutely not. They are all treated the same. If in some cases there might be some discrimination, it is possible that it might be based on color of skin, but certainly not on Spanish or Mexican background. A blond Mexican, of which there are several, may in some few cases have a better chance than a very dark Spanish-speaking person who comes from a long ancestry dating from early grandees. The reverse is also true. Discrimination is not a common problem, but if there is any difference shown in treatment of Latins, it may in a few cases be based on skin-color, not ancestry.

Question: Could you indicate some of the leading sources of income in and around Las Vegas?

Well, this is principally a ranching area. We have no heavy industry, and very little of any other kind. In addition to the ranching, the tourists bring in some income. Highlands University provides no less than $750,000 in payroll alone. Its budget amounts to $1,250,000 per year, plus what it spends from admission to athletic events. Las Vegas is a division point for the Santa Fe Railroad, and this brings in, according to the division superintendent, around $1,000,000 per year. The asylum brings in a payroll of $75,000 per month, and the Meadows Home for the aged, $20,000 per month. There is a division of the Highway Department with a district office for six counties, and the payroll there is around $10,000 per month. One of the principal industries here - in fact about the only one - is the Jayval Manufacturing Company, now employing 160 people at the manufacture of parachutes for the government. They are now short
sixty employees for a complete shift, and when that is provided, they will have 220. They expect to double that all around, making a total of 440 within the near future. Then there are the Slade interests — the Slade boys are Dumas and Oliver — who handle a big milk distribution and processing plant here, for Las Vegas and the surrounding country. They also have interests in Santa Fé. Outside the county there is a mica plant at Mora which is getting under way. They get out a gross of about $48,000 per week — that is, two cars at 80,000 pounds each of mica per week, at thirty cents a pound.

Question: I notice that Las Vegas apparently has a majority of Spanish-American people. Would you say that is correct?
Answer: Yes, of course. I would say that the Spanish people here in the county are around 70 to 80 per cent of the population. That is just an estimate, but everyone around here seems to think that is about the right figure. There is no way of knowing for sure, as there are no figures on it.

Question: Do any of these Spanish-American people run the big ranching or business interests here?
Answer: Well, a lot of them do have small plots of land which they use for raising corn and other crops, and quite a few, especially in West Las Vegas and out in the county have small businesses. However, I wouldn't say that very many have any large investments.

Question: How about the various industries you have described? Are any of them Spanish-owned?
Answer: No. They are all owned by Anglo businessmen.

Question: How about the ranches you mentioned? Are any of them Spanish-owned?
Answer: There are two or three Spanish oldtimers who have ranches. But almost all of the big ranches are Anglo-owned.

Question: Could you give me the names of some of the leading ranchers as you think of them, and their acreages?
Answer: Surely. One of the most well-known is R. L. York, who has around 55,000 acres. You understand, these figures are only estimates, based on hearsay or on my contact with these people. There is John Leatherwood, with 15,000 acres. That is just a guess. Colonel William Salman, who is at La Cueva, has 35,000 acres and around 200 head of milk cows. The Union Land and Grazing Company holds about 95,000 acres in the Mora County trade area, and Warren Shoemaker, who has palomino
horses and cattle, holds around 20,000 acres. The Sowell family— that is, the father and three sons— have between them around sixty to 65,000 acres, and Milner Rudolph, who does have some Spanish background, has around 20,000 acres, in Mora County. Joe Harris, who is just getting under way, now has around 20,000 acres, and Jay Long owns something like 10,000 acres.

Question: If you were to name some of the leading businessmen of Las Vegas as they occur to you, whom would you include?

Answer: I would name Lee Orbison, of the Orbison Chevrolet; Dewey Tidwell, who runs a drug store; Robert E. Urey, the Skelly gas distributor, and James C. Wright, manager of the hardware division of Charles Ilfeld Company. Then there is Joe Torres, representative of the Goodrich Tire and Home Appliance Company.

Question: Who are the officers of the Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce?

Answer: The president is Ross E. Thompson, manager of the Public Service Company. Vice-president, is Dr. Julius Evans, an M. D. The secretary-treasurer is LeRoy Wicks, who owns and operates a transfer service. On the Board of Directors are James E. Connor, business manager at Highlands University; Dayton El Dalby, a building contractor; Lewis G. Frantz, who is retired; A. H. Gerdeman, president of the Las Vegas Savings Bank; Ivan J. Hilton, president of the First National Bank and mayor, who also owns Hilton Motors; George O. Maloof, a grocery store owner; 2 and Gordon E. Melody, manager of the Outdoor Advertising Company.

Question: How much territory is covered by the Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce?

Answer: The entire county.

Question: How are your members distributed around the county?

Answer: We now have a total of 321 members. Of these, forty are from West Las Vegas, 250 are from East Las Vegas, and the remainder are from around the county.

2 Mr. Maloof is one of the most influential individuals in town. He owns a number of grocery stores, liquor establishments, and other businesses. He is the one man in Las Vegas who has been able to get the police to make a place in front of his residence which warns, "No parking. Private residence."
B-20. Shady.

Interview with Marvin Shady, publisher, Labor Advocate, March 29, 1951.

Question: Are Latins given equal rights with Anglos insofar as union rights, membership, position, etc., are concerned?
Answer: There is no discrimination in any of the unions.

Question: How about the skilled trades?
Answer: No discrimination occurs in electrical or other skilled trades, unions, or courses of study; but to get a job, one must be enough qualified to get into the union. A habit that got started some time ago may cut down on the number of Latins in certain skilled trades. The Mexicans are a poorer class, so they don't get into things so much.


Interview with Squire A. Sharpe, chairman, county executive committee, Democratic Party, El Paso, Texas, June 27, 1950.

Question: Could you outline your principal tasks as chairman of the committee?
Answer: Well, my principal task and principal headache, in addition to collecting enough money to run the primary, is to keep these precinct judges and other party workers completely neutral. Just this morning I had to fire a precinct judge who had expressed favor for a candidate. Outside of having to keep the primary going, I don't have much to do. But I'm plenty busy right now, taking applications to run, raising money, and keeping party workers impartial.

B-22. Telles.

Interviews with Raymond Telles, county clerk, El Paso, Texas.

a. Interview of June 29, 1950.

Question: What organizations are there which are especially concerned with Latin Americans?
Answer: There is the Pan-American Optimists; Sigma Iota Pi, a social fraternity; the Casino Mexicano, a social organization; and of course the Lulacs. None of these, including the Lulacs, are political in the
sense of supporting any candidates. They do, however, encourage the Latins to pay the poll tax. This is especially true of the Lulacs, and I think some of the social groups have made the same effort.

Question: What issues of concern to the Hispanic people have arisen in the present campaign?
Answer: There is the housing issue. Judge Moss says he is in favor of it. Regan voted against housing in Congress. Hervey says he is in favor of housing only if privately supported. Another issue is the issue of rent controls. Regan is against controls, while Hervey and Moss have expressed mild support.

Question: What methods are used by individual candidates to attract the Latin American vote?
Answer: They rely on Spanish-speaking people who are leaders in each community. Sandwiches and beer were once useful in campaigns, but are no longer so effective in the face of public enlightenment. About the only issues brought up are housing and slum clearance. Regan seems to have been against the Latin American people on housing and slum clearance. He was mayor in Midland, where incidents occurred.

Question: Is there a Latin American bloc vote in any sense?
Answer: Only in the sense that individual candidates may be heavily supported or opposed by large numbers of Latins. But now that there is greater education and payment of poll taxes we might expect a trend toward what might look like bloc voting - that is, for or against certain candidates or issues.

Question: What issues of concern to Latin Americans could be brought into the campaign?
Answer: There is some discrimination. Occasionally a firm will advertise for Anglo employees, but this is infrequent. In public employment there are only rare individual cases of discrimination. Joe Boone, chief of the Fire Department, has been accused by some of having practiced discrimination in employment. Other issues could be housing, slum clearance, sanitation, crowded school conditions, and the question minimum wage.

Question: Are you satisfied with press attitudes on the Latin Americans in El Paso?
Answer: I feel that the Herald-Post is very fair and impartial, and that Mr. Pooley gives adequate coverage. He is the editor of the Herald-Post.
b. Interview of July 25, 1950.

Question: Could you explain the new system whereby it is hoped a secret ballot can be achieved?

Answer: For about a year now, the practice has been to have a stub containing a number corresponding to a number on the ballot. The voter must sign on the back of the stub. After he votes, he puts the stub in a round box, the ballot in a square one. The ballot box is held by the county clerk, the stub box by the district clerk, and neither may be opened without order from the district court. Previously, a number corresponding to the ballot was fixed in the register books beside the voter's name, and the county clerk had custody of all the ballots. Now it would take collusion of county and district clerks to investigate the vote. I am inclined to discount tales of ballot-checking which are alleged to have occurred before this change was made, and don't know of any cases where such things have actually happened.

c. Interview of March 24, 1951.

Question: Would you say that any particular individual or group is in a position of substantial leadership in the Democratic Party in El Paso County?

Answer: No. No one controls the party. The significant thing is to find out who controls the candidates, if anyone. There is no reason to support the party at all, since it is simply a device for carrying on the primary. The party is supposed to be absolutely impartial. The party is non-existent except during the primary election period, therefore it is meaningless to talk about control of or influence over the party. The party is not tied up in any particular way with any group or section of El Paso life. No cliques exist in the party as such, except insofar as there are the usual differences at primary time. Financially, the party is supported by the candidates—that is, the expenses of running the primary are prorated among the candidates, and the party does not have to worry about expenditures at any other time, since it is inactive. Even the county chairman has nothing to do except during primary campaigns, when he must accept applications to run in the primary, handle primary expenses, and collect from the candidates.

B-23. Waller.

Interviews with J. L. Waller, professor of history and head
of the Department of Social Sciences, Texas Western College.


Question: Do you have any evidence of control of the Hispanic vote by party workers or others?
Answer: In my field, I am not very familiar with the situation in El Paso in present-day politics, but would say that if there is any control or influence, it occurs in the precincts where henchmen of candidates do favors for voters, make friends, and so on.

b. Interview of March 29, 1951.

Question: Many people have commented on the great improvement occurring in recent years in the conditions faced by Spanish-Americans in El Paso. How would you account for that improvement?
Answer: There might be several answers. For one thing, many of the boys who fought in the two world wars have received, or their families have received, the usual allotments associated with service of that kind. Secondly, I would say that wages have increased rather remarkably. Thirdly, the school system has been improved, and there is no discrimination practiced in education. Finally, labor organizations have become stronger, and hence have been able to improve working conditions.

Question: Would you say that Latins in El Paso are faced with a serious discrimination problem?
Answer: No. There is no regular discrimination at all, and if it occasionally crops up, it is an individual matter.

B-24. Webber.

Interview with George Webber, AFL representative and organizer for El Paso, Vice-President of the 4th District, Texas State Federation of Labor, Vice-President, National Farm Laborers' Union, and chairman, El Paso Housing Authority Board.

Question: Would you say that Latins participate freely and equally in membership and in official positions in El Paso labor?
Answer: Yes. Actually, we don't have any leadership, and the so-called "leaders" simply take their orders from the
organization. Labor in El Paso is about 60 per cent Hispanic, 40 per cent Anglo, and the officers in the unions are about the same - that is, 60-40. For example, the skilled weavers, #24076, have 100 per cent Hispanic membership and leadership; the skilled moulders are the same; the skilled painters, about 60-40 with regard to both members and officers. Of course some unions might be in reverse, say 60-40, because of citizenship requirements for certain jobs which would include at least some of the Latins.

Question: Would you please name some leading Spanish-American officers?
Answer: Well, Samuel Diaz is business agent for the truck drivers, though Fred Bone is head business agent. Ramon Roman is business executive for the garment workers and international representative for the cement, lime and gypsum workers, as well as being recording secretary for the Central Labor Union. Emanuel Arranda is president and business manager for the lumber and sawmill workers, No. 3195.

Question: Would you say that Spanish-Americans in El Paso face a serious problem respecting discrimination in employment.
Answer: In employment no, but in wages, yes, definitely. Spanish-Americans will be considered by employers as "key men" at $1.00 per hour, but "no good" at $1.65, the prevailing wage. We run into that sort of thing all the time. Whenever they will work for less, they can have any job they want. There is no discrimination where they are willing to take lower wages. It used to be, no good work at all, so maybe it has improved somewhat. Sales jobs, in which you find quite a number of Latins, are not organized, and it is generally tougher pushing for Latins in all jobs. I remember the case of one man in Darbyshire Steel, whom the employer considered as a fine man at ninety cents an hour, and outside the union; but once the man wanted to get into the union, at $1.25 per hour, the employer decided he was no good.

Question: How do you explain this attitude on the part of some employers?
Answer: There is no good reason. It is just a personal prejudice, a sort of business psychology that has been drummed into employers.

Question: What would be your position on the wetback question?
Answer: My position is that labor should be represented on the Commission on Migratory Labor, which so far has denied labor an opportunity to be heard. Also, the question
of importation of wetbacks should depend on shortage, and on nothing else. Otherwise they just come here so that employers can pay low wages.

Question: How would you constitute the Migratory Labor Commission?
Answer: It should have representatives from the State Department, from the state labor department, and from organized labor.

Question: How about representatives from employers?
Answer: Since the only question they should have to settle is the question of shortage, what can the employers tell the commission about that? The Texas state labor department and organized labor can tell the commission whether or not there is a shortage, or whether our own people are available. All the employer can do is say there is a shortage, but these other groups are in a much better position to actually determine whether or not there is a shortage, on the basis of people looking for jobs, and so on.

Question: With regard to the wetbacks, what happened in 1948, when so many were let over at once under the noses of the immigration authorities?
Answer: The workers were starving in Mexico. The question was, what else was to be done with them? The original fault lay, not so much in letting them across the bridge, as in letting them congregate in Juarez in the first place. Boards for recruiting had gone into Mexico without proper information, and without the labor representation which would have been able to advise on the question of shortage, equalization of wages, and so on.

Question: How would you go about determining the desirability or undesirability of entry of Mexican migrant workers?
Answer: I would ask certain relevant questions, for example, (1) Is there a shortage? Or just a desire for low-paid workers? (2) If there is a shortage, why not come to the Texas Employment Agency and to the labor people before securing laborers from Mexico? (3) For example, if 2500 workers are needed, and 2500 are available in the United States, why go across the Rio Grande? Because of a shortage? (4) If Mexicans are imported to satisfy pressure for low wages, how can equalization of wages with Americans be secured? Incidentally, I would like to warn of the danger of bringing in Communist Party members among the mass of workers. There are a number of them in Mexico who can come in that way.
Interview with Marvin Williams, newspaper publisher, real
estate and insurance agent, and Negro leader, and Dion Muse, real
estate agent and Negro leader, March 24, 1951. (Mr. Williams
presented most of the material here, and so the two interviews will
be joined as one. However, Mr. Muse made several important
contributions to the interview.)

Question: What important problems of discrimination, would you
say, are faced by Negroes in El Paso?

Answer: There are around 5,600 Negroes here. We live in a very
unique situation, without any special pattern on
discrimination or segregation. Busses are legally
segregated by state law, but actually no segregation
occurs except when some ambitious driver from some
other part of Texas or the South tries to segregate.
One such driver once tried to get me to move to the
back, and before I would do it, I insisted that he
get all the white passengers out of the back. He got
the help of a police officer, who agreed with me that
the whites would have to move if I would. Therefore
several whites had to stand, while I sat alone among
empty seats for the rest of the ride. Though state law
requires segregation in terminals, and signs are placed
there to that effect, no one pays any attention to it,
and waiting rooms, rest rooms, and so on, are used
interchangeably as far as the various people are
concerned. Segregation does occur pretty uniformly
as far as restaurants and lodging places are concerned.

Question: How about segregation in residences?

Answer: There is none. Negroes are scattered all over town,
usually in small clusters but often individually. Along
Montana Street, for example, which is predominantly a
white neighborhood and fairly well off economically,
there are a number of Negro families living. There is
no "Black Belt" here in El Paso. As you can see, I am
living in a neighborhood inhabited by white families in
the main — some Spanish, some Anglo.

Question: What pressures do you meet against voting?

Answer: None, except the poll tax, which affects everyone in low
income. Negroes never have any difficulty voting. Last
year two Negro clerks were employed in polling places —
at Mr. Zion Church and at Bell School.
Questions: Can you describe any employment pattern insofar as Negroes are concerned?
Answer: Perhaps so, but it is pretty hard to determine. In some instances, especially on railroads, the menial jobs will go to the Spanish, and the Negroes will work as brakemen, shopmen, mechanics, and in other skilled trades. But in other types of work it might be the other way around. We have three Negro policemen, and one man has been promised a good position in the sheriff's department. There are a number who have good jobs with the Phelps-Dodge Refinery. There is no equal opportunity insofar as top-flight executive positions are concerned, and sales positions are held in the main by Spanish. But all in all, the situation in El Paso is no worse than the situation in the average northern city - and in some respects it might be better than in the case in the North.

Question: Is there segregation in education?
Answer: Yes there is, in accordance with Texas law. If it were not for the law, and the difficulty in this case of getting around it, I doubt that there would be such school segregation here.

Question: How would you account for El Paso's size and importance as a population center?
Answer: To understand that, one must stress the significance of its geographic location. It is a point of change, especially into Mexico, but also to the north and to the west, via New Mexico. The transit character of the place requires a number of different types of economic activities which help account for its importance as a population center.
Appendix C

Labor Organizations in El Paso. ¹

1. American Federation of Labor
   Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators and Paper-Hangers of America
   United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America
   International Union of Operating Engineers
   International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers
   Sheetmetal Workers International Association
   International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America
   International Brotherhood of Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers
   Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers' Union of America
   International Union of Wood, Wire and Metal Lathers
   Plasters' International Association of the United States and Canada
   International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers
   International Association of Heat and Frost Insulators and Asbestos Workers
   Bakers and Confectionary Workers International Union of America
   Barbers, Hairdressers' and Cosmetologists International Union of America
   United Cement, Lime and Gypsum Workers International Union
   National Federal of Post Office Clerks
   Brotherhood of Railway Clerks
   Retail Clerks' International Protective Association
   International Union of Elevator Constructors
   International Association of Fire Fighters
   International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers
   International Ladies' Garment Workers Union
   Federation of Government Employees
   Hotel and Restaurant Employees' International Alliance and Bartenders' International League of America
   National Association of Letter Carriers
   Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees
   Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America
   International Moulders and Foundry Workers Union of North America
   American Federation of Musicians
   Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters
   International Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union of America
   Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees of America
   United Slate, Tile and Composition Roofers, Damp and Waterproof Workers Association

¹ Secured from Marvin Shady, Publisher, El Paso Labor Advocate, on July 25, 1950.
International Alliance of Stage Employees and Moving Picture Operators of the United States and Canada
American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees
International Stereotypers and Electrotypers Union of North America
Switchmen's Union of North America
The Commercial Telegraphers' Union of North America
International Typographical Union
International Brotherhood of Blacksmiths, Drop Forgers and Helpers

2. Congress of Industrial Organizations
   Newspaper Guild
   Amalgamated Clothing Workers
   Brewery Workers, CIO

3. Unaffiliated
   Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers
   Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers
   Brotherhood of Trainmen
   Order of the Conductors of America
   International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers
Appendix D

Letters

D-1. Excerpt from undated letter from Luciano Santoscoy to President Truman, on the subject of housing:

......In the year 1947 in a slum area of 10 x 15 city blocks, known as South El Paso, we had 345 sub-standard dwellings, with a population of 23,000 persons or 19.7 per cent of the total city population. This slum area produces only 17 per cent of the revenue, but 71 per cent of public assistance cases, 31 per cent of the fire calls, 26 per cent of the police calls, 51 per cent of serious crimes, 88 per cent of juvenile delinquency, 53 per cent of known venereal disease, 66.7 per cent of infant mortality cases. In the month of June, 1948, the infant mortality cases in this slum area rose 13.7 per cent.

According to a survey of two hundred school children of separate families, there are:

7.06 persons per family
5 per cent have shower facilities
3 per cent have bath tubs
3 per cent have private toilets

......For the above reasons I believe that the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill should be passed. It will be beneficial to every needy American family in this country.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) Luciano Santoscoy

D-2. Letter of August 4, 1948, from eighteen veterans to the governor of Texas; on the subject of housing:

Hon. Beauford H. Jester
Governor, State of Texas,
Austin, Texas

Dear Sir:

El Paso is in mourning, and rightly so, for twenty-eight of our infants who died last June from diarrhea and enteritis alone! A 12 per cent increase over any previous record. Last year we had 66.7 per cent. The doctors say it is due to the terrible housing conditions in this, the slum area. We have pleaded and begged our Mayor and City Council for well over a year to enforce the sanitary ordinances of the city, yet our success has been nil.
The tenement owners claim that they cannot repair these properties because they do not derive sufficient rent, but since August 1947 to date, a good 66 per cent increase in rent has been permitted by OPA and no repairs are in sight yet.

Those of us who fought for democracy and a better way of life, feel that we are entitled to some consideration. The mothers, wives, and children of our comrades who fell by the ways so that democracy might live, surely are entitled to this.

We beseech you, as head of our state government, to do something to remedy this condition, which is not found only in El Paso, but in many other cities and towns of our great state.

Very truly yours,

(Signatures of 18 veterans)

D-3. Letter of February 20, 1950, from Luciano Santoscoy to Opportunity Fellowships, John Hay Whitney Foundation, on the subject of housing:

George Lovecky,
Secretary to the Director,
Opportunity Fellowships,
John Hay Whitney Foundation,
30 Rockefeller Plaza,
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I have your letter of February 1, 1950, requesting further information on my request for a fellowship for "slum clearance housing".

Any effort to rebuild the slum areas of this city would, of course, run into millions of dollars since I am sure you noted in the Housing part of the study which I sent that forty per cent of the population live in sub-standard housing. But a great deal can be done to improve this condition by education and by political action.

This area of the city is made up to a large degree of people who are uneducated. A number of things enter into this being true, overcrowding in the schools which has not allowed a full school year to these children, low economic standards which has made it necessary for children to work rather than attend school; recent immigrants to this country congregate in this area, they do not speak English to any degree and live in constant fear of deportation. I believe our housing figures show three thousand aliens families in this district.

It has seemed to me if we could carry on an educational program for adults as to health measures, sanitation. We need some language
classes for adults - we have children expelled from school because they speak Spanish on the school grounds but it is hard for them to become fluent in the English language when they hear nothing but Spanish at home, also language difficulties decreases their job opportunities.

The streets of this area need to be paved, lighted, we need more public playgrounds, the City Housing Law need to be revised where landlords can be forced to bring rental property up to a standard of health and decency through screening, sewerage disposal, etc. How can people be clean when only 7 per cent have access to bathing facilities?

The Latin people represent a majority of the voters and people who are sympathetic to our needs could be elected to the municipal government, school boards, health officers, etc., through teaching people to exercise their right to vote.

Individual reminders through the mails to pay their poll taxes, reminders to vote on election days. Insisting candidates commit themselves to a platform to improve the living conditions of this area.

It has seemed much could be accomplished through this method but there is money involved, and money has not been available to actually carry on a consistent program. The use of posters has been an effective weapon in the past but they too are expensive. I have felt that $1000 per year over a period of five years would pay real returns. The time is strategic inasmuch as we have been organizing and are in a position to take action.

Many people here hold jobs that put them in the position of being of real help to our people but they are not in sympathy with our welfare. These are public jobs in county, city, and state levels. We could use organized pressure for changes through an educational program informing people of their right and their needs.

If there is further information which you desire I shall be glad to supply you with more detail.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Luciano Santoscoy
1115-1/2 South Stanton,
El Paso, Texas
February 20, 1950
D-4. Excerpts from letter of December 9, 1949, from county superintendent of public instruction to the League of United Latin American Citizens, on the subject of discrimination in the schools:

League of United Latin American Citizens,
219 International Building,
San Antonio, Texas

Gentlemen:

I have been requested by Mr. Henry Martinez, president of the Lulac Council Number 132, to answer the questionnaire sent out by you on November 17, 1949....

3. There are no regulations discriminating against children of Latin American descent.

4. There are no students of Latin American origin who are required to attend a particular school in any grade.

6. There is no difference in the schools attended by the Latin American children and the Anglo American children....

Very truly yours,

(Signed) H. C. Hinton,
Superintendent
County Schools

D-5. Letter of October 26, 1948, from the Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, to Mr. R. A. Cortez of the League of United Latin American Citizens, on the subject of migrant workers:

Dear Mr. Cortez:

To expedite a reply the Attorney General has requested that we respond to your telegram of October 18, 1948, in which you express concern regarding reports which recently appeared in the press to the effect that this Service "allowed admission" of, or "let down the bars" to illegal Mexican farm laborers.

At the outset I should like to state that it was inaccurate and misleading to refer to the situation which arose the week before last at El Paso as "letting down the bars to illegal immigration." The
facts of the matter are that pursuant to the International Agreement of February 21, 1948, relating to the importation of Mexican agricultural laborers to be used exclusively in such employment, certificates of need for their services having been issued by the United States Employment Service, the Mexican government agreed to establish a recruiting center at Juarez to supply workers urgently needed in New Mexican and in the intermountain states.

Various employers had been granted certificates of need and their applications to import specified numbers of agricultural laborers under the immigration laws had been approved. These employers had proceeded to El Paso for the purpose of recruiting the workers, but dangerous delay elapsed without any recruiting center having been established in Juarez. In the meantime an almost total loss of the sugar beet crop was being threatened by the delay as well as the loss of millions of dollars' worth of cotton which was open and ready for picking. At the same time thousands of Mexican agricultural laborers, many of them on the verge of starvation, had assembled for the purpose of being recruited under the program by United States' growers. Finally the news having spread among the workers that employers were waiting in El Paso to commence employing them, they proceeded to flock across the river in large numbers. The Border Patrol, with all of its facilities greatly overtaxed, continued, as it had done for some weeks, to apprehend them in large numbers and return them to Mexico. Eventually the situation became so critical from the standpoint of both the need of the employers and the need of the workers, that it was decided, strictly as a temporary emergency measure, to parole the arrested aliens and defer their removal to Mexico until the crops in question had been harvested.

The conditions of the parole were that the aliens be paid prevailing wages, that the employers comply with all other terms of the international agreement relating to conditions of employment, and return the workers to Mexico at the termination of their contracts. Incidentally, the parolling of the aliens was discontinued on October 18, the needs of the employers as certified to by the United States Employment Service having been filled. I may add that teams of Border Patrol officers of this Service are being detailed into the areas where these aliens are employed for the purpose of inspecting conditions of employment and to ascertain that the agreed upon wages are being paid; also to prevent the aliens from drifting into other areas and into other types of employment. At the termination of their present employment the aliens are to be returned to Mexico. In fact, on October 22 two hundred of these aliens were returned to Mexico and they will be continued to be returned at the rate of from one to several hundred per day until all have been deported.

As to complaints which have been received since the appearance of the press reports concerning the situation at El Paso on the
general subject of illegal Mexican immigration and its effect upon
domestic workers, it may interest you to know that during the first
three months of the current fiscal year the Border Patrol, on the
Mexican border alone, apprehended and returned to Mexico 80,322
Mexican nationals who had entered or were attempting to enter
illegally. In addition, substantial numbers were apprehended in
other parts of the country and returned to Mexico. During the last
two fiscal years, Border Patrol apprehensions numbered 193,852 and
194,954 respectively, and, again, these figures do not include
substantial numbers of Mexican nationals apprehended in the interior
of the country and returned to Mexico.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Watson B. Miller,
Commissioner,
Immigration and
Naturalization Service,
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

D-6. Summary of letter of November 4, 1948, from Mr. R. A. Cortez,
national President, League of United Latin American Citizens, to
Mr. Tom C. Clark, attorney general of the United States, Washington,
D. C., in response to the above letter from the commissioner of the
Immigration and Naturalization Service:

In his letter, Mr. Cortez made the following points:

1. The Immigration Service is setting itself as arbiter of
Mexico's compliance or non-compliance with international agreements.

2. It is setting itself up as arbiter of conditions and welfare
of laborers not citizens and on the soil of a foreign country.

3. The economy of agricultural enterprises does not fall within
the province of the Service.

4. Workers are "paroled" until employers' needs are filled,
and deportations do not take place until after the harvest.

5. The Service is forcing conditions of involuntary servitude
on aliens by preventing them from drifting into other areas or into other employment.
To the Public

Aug. 10/52

I was told at the time that I knew nothing about the events that occurred on my brother's property.

Jose Delcourt Jamato, who was killed in Korea, even got into the papers. They took it as needed only for the purpose of letting our friends and relatives know of our sorrow. I believe it's enough to state your statement. I don't see any justification for his statement and my political considerations.
Appendix E


Mayor Duke opened his address by misnaming the League of United Latin American Citizens. He reported to the assembly that Governor Shivers had called for a local El Paso commission to "track down discrimination." Mayor Duke stressed that no such commission is necessary in El Paso, and commented that there is no discrimination. He stated that El Paso knows how to take care of people practicing discrimination. In conclusion, he commented that he was proud to have the Lulacs in El Paso.

Mayor Duke left the meeting before George J. Garza was able to deliver the Lulac response to the address. One of the members volunteered to serve as mayor to hear the reply. In his response, Garza expressed satisfaction that the situation in El Paso did not call for a commission to handle discrimination, but remarked that freedom from fear is a problem faced by all groups, and that agencies could work toward solution of that problem.
Appendix F

Officials, City and County of El Paso, Texas, June 1950.

F-1. City officials

Elected:
  Mayor, D. L. P. Duke, Sr.
Aldermen:
  Jules Carlin, Mayor pro-tem; in charge of airport, finance, personnel
  Casey Kayer, in charge of parks and recreation
  Carroll W. Smith, in charge of engineering and streets
  Archie Gill, in charge of water, auto shops, paint shop
City Tax Collector and Assessor, Joe Graves
City Treasurer, Wiley Edwards

Appointed:
  City Engineer, Hal Stacy
  Planning Engineer, Walter Stockwell
  City Attorney, Travis White
  Building Engineers or Inspectors:
    Dorsey White, Chief Inspector
    Ed Rodríguez
    Clarence Marr
    Jack Mahan
  Plumbing inspector, Jim Brenan
  City Clerk or Secretary, Bill Collins
  License Collector, J. Fred Ellis
  Public Works Engineers, Glen English
  City Auditor, Glen R. Daniels
  Personnel Director, Malcolm Johnson
  Sanitary Department Head, Ed Muckaroy
  Street Department Head, James Schwartz
  Paint Shop Head, George Schneider
  Superintendent of Water Works, E. J. Umbenhauer
  Superintendent of Health Department, Doctor Cox
  Airport Manager, Charles Moore
  Park Commissioner, Hugo Meyer
  Police Chief, W. C. Wooverton
  Fire Chief, Doc Davis
  Purchasing Agent, Ben Luhm

F-2. County Officials

Elected:
  County Judge, Victor B. Gilbert
  County Attorney, Ernest Guinn
  County Sheriff, Joe Campbell
  County Treasurer, Dave Sullivan
County Assessor and Collector, R. R. Deason
County Clerk, Raymond L. Telles
Superintendent of Public Instruction, H. C. Hinton

Appointed:

Assistant County Attorneys:
  William Collins
  R. B. Redie

Deputy Sheriff, Bob Bailey
Deputy Assessor and Collector, William Baehr
Chief Deputy County Clerk, W. T. Duncan
Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Oscar Fatuch
Secretary to the Superintendent of Public Instruction, Erin Bibby
County Health Officer, L. T. Cox
Superintendent, Child Welfare, Mary Lois Dunlap

Child Welfare Workers:
  Mrs. Helen Slutes
  Miss Margaret Arrington
  Miss Lola Tigner
  Miss Elizabeth Hurlbut

County Auditor, E. W. Hayght
Assistant Auditor, Anna Chapman
Purchasing Agent, Spencer Semmes
County Probation Officer, L. L. Mobley
Administrative Officer, Engineering Offices, Lee R. Jones
Veterans' County Service Officer, Herbert Parker
Appendix G

Political Campaign Expenditure Form, El Paso County, Primary 1950.
STATE OF TEXAS
COUNTY OF EL PASO

In compliance with the requirements of Article 3172, Revised Statutes, 1925, regulating and limiting the expenditure of money by or for persons for nomination for office in primary elections, I, John Doe

(Candidate—Campaign Manager—or any Authorized Agent)

for and on behalf of, John Doe

(Myself or Name of Candidate)

candidate for the office of County treasurer

of El Paso County, Texas, do hereby present and file the following itemized statement of expenses incurred in my candidacy for nomination to said office before the first Primary Election * to be held on the fourth Saturday in July, same being the 22nd day of July, 1950.

to-wit:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>MONEYS PAID, ITEMIZED (SEE OVER FOR ITEMS AND LIMITS ALLOWED BY LAW)</th>
<th>TOTAL AMOUNT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traveling Expense, R. R. Fare, $</td>
<td>5 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gasoline and Oil, $</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Incidents, $</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Assessment $</td>
<td>XXXXX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Executive Committee (See Art. 3170 A).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clerical or Stenographic Work</td>
<td>5 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Telegraph, Telephone, Postage, Freight or Express Paid</td>
<td>10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Printing and Stationery</td>
<td>30 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Newspaper and Other Advertising Publicity</td>
<td>30 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Radio Service</td>
<td>10 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Political Rallies</td>
<td>25 00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Amount</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I do solemnly swear that the foregoing statement filed herewith correctly shows all moneys received by me and disbursed by me, or in my behalf or with my knowledge or consent, through or by any other person in connection with the candidacy of John Doe for the nomination for county treasurer before the first Primary Election, and that I have neither directly nor indirectly arranged or assented to, encouraged or connived at the spending of any money other than as shown in said statement, and that I have not violated any provision of the laws of Texas governing primary elections of the expenditure of funds in connection with the candidacy for a nomination in such primary election in letter or in spirit.

(Signed)...

Sworn to and subscribed before me, the undersigned authority, this the ......... day of ........... 19...

El Paso County, Texas

*If this is the third or last statement to be made, strike out "to be."

**NOTE**—Three Statements are required for each primary election as follows:
1. Not more than 30 nor less than 23 days prior to date of election.
2. Not more than 12 nor less than 8 days prior to date of election.
3. Not more than 10 days after date of election.

File Number..............
Article 3170, R. S., 1925, does not authorize the expenditure of any moneys except as follows:

1. For the traveling expenses of the candidate, or of his campaign manager or assistant campaign manager as defined by this Chapter, or of a secretary for such candidate.

2. The payment of fees or charges for placing the name of the candidate upon the primary ballot, and for holding and making returns of the election.

3. The hire of clerks and stenographers and the cost of clerical and stenographic work and of addressing, preparing and mailing campaign literature.

4. Telegraph and telephone tolls, postage, freight and express charges.

5. Printing and Stationery.

6. Procuring and formulating lists of voters.

7. Headquarters or office rent.

8. Newspaper and other advertising and publicity.

9. Renting of halls or providing places for public meetings and all expenses of advertising and other expenses usually incident to holding such meeting.

The total expenditure authorized shall not exceed the following amounts for each candidate for each of the following offices, to-wit:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Office</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>For United States Senator</td>
<td>$10,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Governor</td>
<td>$10,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Judges of Courts of Last Resort, District Members of Congress, and Members of Congress at Large</td>
<td>$2,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For District Attorney or District Judge</td>
<td>$1,500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Member of the State Senate</td>
<td>$1,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Member of the House of Representives</td>
<td>$300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For County Officers in Counties having a population of 50,000 or more</td>
<td>$750.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For County Officers in Counties having a population of 30,000 or more, and less than 50,000</td>
<td>$500.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For County Officers in Counties having a population of less than 30,000</td>
<td>$300.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For any other position which the law may provide shall be chosen in primary election</td>
<td>$100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For County Officers in Counties having a population of less than 30,000...

(The preceding Federal census to determine the population of a County.)

For any other position which the law may provide shall be chosen in primary election...

Only four fifths of the sums stipulated in this article as the limits of expenses to be incurred by candidates and their campaign managers may be expended in the campaign preceding the first primary and the remainder in the campaign preceding the second primary.
Appendix H

Political Literature

H-1.

Handbill distributed anonymously in the 1950 primary campaign, containing a reprint from "Las Puntadas del Señor Regan,"

Las Puntadas del Señor Regan

El inefable señor Ken Regan, que en forma tan inesperada representa los intereses de este Distrito en la Cámara de Representantes, raras veces suele abrir la boca, por aquello de que en idem cerrada no entran moscas; pero cuando lo hace, desgraciadamente, es para meterse en pleonas. Digamos si no lo último: barrabás en que ha incurrido "nuestro" representante, al desatarse el martes en una serie de estupideces, en relación con el caso de José Villalobos, como por ejemplo la de exigir a México la extradición de aquel para que se juzgue en Estados Unidos por el asesinato del sheriff Morrow. Regan sabe (o debería saberlo) que para eso pertenece precisamente al cuerpo legislativo encargado de aprobar las leyes que México no puede, ni tomaría nunca, considerar la extradición de Villalobos, porque este nació en México y es mexicano, y lo ampara la Constitución Mexicana. Precisamente para juzgar y condenar crímenes de la naturaleza del que se ha imputado a Villalobos (el más correcto sería hacer constar que las investigaciones realizadas hasta la fecha hacen sospechar un homocidio en defensa propia, pues ya sabemos cómo las gangas de ciertas poblaciones de Texas) es que el Código Penal establece el capítulo de delitos cometidos en el extranjero, y este es un ejemplo típico y clásico de tal eventualidad. Luego, con un candor digno de mejor causa protestó: "Ya me cansé de que México abuse de nosotros en varias y diferentes circunstancias," invocando luego el Derecho Internacional para que se logre la extradición de Villalobos, y se obligue a México en lo futuro, a tratar con sus propios ciudadanos y entregarlos solamente a quien los solicite.

Las afirmaciones de Regan causarían justa indignación si fuera otra persona quien las hubiera externado. Pero, afortunadamente, ya conocemos el calibre intelectual del autor, y si no lo conocieramos, lo sucedido nos daría una pauta exacta para dar cuenta de su asombrosa estrechez cerebral. Y ya que Regan quiere acudir al Derecho Internacional por qué entonces no hace gestiones inmediatas para que el Gobierno de Estados Unidos devuelva la Zona del Chamilal a la República Mexicana, tal y como un Ilustre y venerado jurisperito, imparcial en todos conceptos, dictaminó hace muchos años?

Ahora que el periclitó representante de este Distrito se ha autoimpuesto como paladín de la Justicia y la Nación en aras del tan llevado y traído Derecho Internacional, esta es la oportunidad ideal para que lo demuestren con hechos auténticos y no con discursos retumbones de político mediocre.

Nosotros, a fuer de francos, nos asombramos que los arrebatos primaverales de Regan no son producto de su amor a la justicia, sino el afán que tiene de impresionar a los votantes del distrito, porque como dato curioso hay que considerar que en dos años Regan, o falló a las juntas del Congreso donde se ventilaron asuntos capitales para el futuro del país, o bien se concretó a no decir ni plo, temeroso tal vez, de ir a desbarrar como lo ha hecho ahora.

Por eso resulta demasiada coincidencia que, estando las elecciones casi en puerta (las primarias del Partido Republicano están en julio próximo) el señor Regan esté desplegando una actividad de hormiga, como si queriera lograr en quince días lo que no pudo realizar en dos años.

Crece Mucho la Cifra de los Casos

Vote Contra el Sr. Ken Regan

EL 22 DE JULIO
Dogs Picked Up in Drive
Sold to Rendering Plant

Dogs picked up in the current anti-rabies drive are sold to the All-State Products Co., rendering plant at 300 North Verde avenue.

The animals are taken there from the City Pound and shot.

Animals from the pound were formerly shot at the City Pound and buried at the city dump.

Miss Marion Young, president of the Humane Society, said today the society will start a new campaign for a dog shelter where animals may be kept for a sufficient period to permit owners to redeem them.

Will Curb Sales

The society will halt sale of dogs by the city for rendering purposes.

The All-State Products Co. is operated by Dr. Dan Daniels, veterinarian and Fred Hervey.

City Health Officer Daniels said the City is paid one-half cent a pound for animals bought by the firm. The animals, he said, are taken there "spasmodically."

On one recent occasion, he said, 38 dogs weighing 786 pounds were sold the company for $3.43. The money is turned over to Mr. Daniels by the Health Department and goes into the general fund.

A Herald-Post reporter witnessed the execution of part of a truckload of 15 dogs and some cats. The sight was not pleasant.

Shot With Rifle

The dog wagon, a panel-type truck, was backed up to a rear door of the rendering plant.

The dogs were removed from the truck one at a time with a dog stick. One man held the animal by using the stick. The other shot the animal in the head with a .22 caliber rifle.

A dog stick is a long pole with a noose on the end that can be tightened or loosened.

The dog on the end of the stick made no sound. When the rifle went off with a flat report the animal jerked, then slumped to the floor.

The other dogs in the truck, as though stricken by knowledge of what was coming, made no sound.

The air around the plant was heavy with the thick, sickening odor of rendering.

Tossed Into Can

The dead animal was tossed into a large, empty oil drum-type container. Then another dog was prepared for the killing.

But what was more unpleasant was the death of several small cats that arrived in a pasteboard box. A wire screen was across the top of the box.

Several shots were fired into the box. Apparently the animals were only wounded.

The dog catcher took them from the box and struck their heads against a nearby coil of barbed wire to finish them off.

Looked Ill

When he finished he looked almost as though he would be ill. "I don't like this," he remarked.

The Humane Society has questioned whether the City has the facilities now to conduct a drive against stray dogs.

"The County is under quarantine and dogs when taken from their owners' property should be on leash or muzzled."

Dr. L. T. Cox, Health Unit director, said rabies is worse this year than in any of the 20 years past.

"The society feels it could better care for animals if it had the animal shelter it seeks."

Some $12,000 more is needed to complete the fund for construction and operation of the shelter. The group appeals to El Pasoans for help.

—Reprinted from El Paso Herald-Post
July 16, 1949
H-3. Reproduction of campaign leaflet for Paul Moss. The original was printed in red and blue ink.
The Man-

- Judge
- Attorney
- Cattleman
- Oilman
- Businessman
- Author
- Civic Leader

His Record-

Led movement that enabled Odessa to become a full-fledged City.

Helped found the Odessa Chamber of Commerce and the Odessa Rotary Club.

Odessa’s first city attorney, holding office eight years.

President of the Ector County School Board that began construction of Odessa’s multi-million-dollar school system.

Leader in Permian Basin oil development.

Past chairman of the Odessa Better Housing Committee and Ector County Centennial Commission.

Leader in drive that raised money to buy 7000-acre ranch for Boy Scouts of America in the Davis Mountains.

Member of Democratic Party’s National Finance Committee in 1948.

Judge of the 70th Judicial District of Texas.

His Platform-

1. I will vote to maintain an adequate national defense.
2. I will vote to continue aid to our European allies temporarily in the interest of world security and a stable national economy.
3. I will work to balance the national budget by voting against unnecessary governmental expenditures.
4. I will vote to reduce taxes wherever possible.
5. I will vote against socialized medicine and all forms of compulsory health insurance.
6. I will vote to broaden and expand our national soil conservation program.
7. I will personally assist in establishing a plan to assure West Texas of adequate water supplies.
8. I will vote to provide our veterans with adequate hospital facilities, assistance in education and business, and all other benefits to which they are rightly entitled.
9. I will work for a fair balance between labor and management. I believe the Taft-Hartley Law should be amended to protect the public and serve as such a balance.
10. I will fight to free West Texas of discriminatory freight rates.
11. I will vote at all times to protect our small independent oil producers against the threat of foreign oil imports.
12. I will do everything in my power to see that the cities of the 16th Congressional District get and keep commercial air service.
13. I will work to improve trade relations with Mexico—one of our foremost potential markets for goods from the United States.
14. I will vote, should the occasion arise, to retain the 75-cent-an-hour minimum wage standard set by the last Congress.
15. I will support public housing projects in underprivileged areas where private contractors cannot afford to build decent homes and apartment buildings.
16. I will fight communism and socialism with all my power.
17. I will never dole out special favors to any special interests at the expense of the majority of our people.
18. I will stay on the job and never dodge issues while I am in Washington.
19. My vote on every measure confronting the Congress will be based solely on one consideration—the best interests of the 16th Congressional District, the State of Texas, and the United States.

There Is No Substitute For Ability!
H-4. Reproduction of Spanish-language campaign leaflet supporting Judge Paul Moss, and signed by nine Spanish-American names. The leaflet points out that Paul Moss is friend of (1) our poor people, (2) the worker, (3) the war veterans, and (4) the businessman.
Los que suscribimos la presente encarecidamente suplicamos a Vds. se unan a nosotros con el fin de apoyar la candidatura del Sr. PAUL MOSS para Diputado al Congreso del 16avo. Distrito.

Algunas de las razones por la cual solicitamos su ayuda son las siguientes:

1. El Juez PAUL MOSS es amigo de nuestra gente pobre.
   Favorice y dará su ayuda para la construcción de habitaciones al alcance de nuestra gente.

2. El Juez PAUL MOSS es amigo del trabajador.
   Favorice retener el mínimo de 75c la hora que establece la ley para el trabajador, o más si es posible.

3. El Juez PAUL MOSS es amigo de los veteranos de la guerra.
   Favorice los beneficios que por derecho les pertenecen a los veteranos, los cuales incluyen hospitalización adecuada, educación escolar y ayuda en sus negocios.

4. El Juez PAUL MOSS es amigo del comerciante.
   Favorice rebajar la deuda nacional tan pronto como sea posible, y así mismo, rebajar las contribuciones.

Nuestro único interés es el ayudar a nuestra gente. Por eso le rogamos sinceramente que usted y sus amigos voten por el Juez PAUL MOSS el día 22 de Julio.

Agradeciéndoles su valiosa cooperación y ayuda, nos es grato suscribirnos como sus atentos, seguros servidores y amigos.
WEST TEXANS ARE DYING IN KOREA

90 DEAD
385 WOUNDED
605 MISSING

This is America's toll so far in the Korean war. Some of the dead, the injured, and the missing are from El Paso and other communities in the 16th Congressional District of Texas.

For want of a single vote in Congress, these lives might have been spared.

Last January Congress voted against sending economic aid to Korea. The vote was 192 to 191.

Our present Congressman, Ken Regan, was among those who opposed that expenditure. His vote could have turned the tide.

A month later, he repeated his stand against Korean aid when the measure came up for a second time before the U.S. House of Representatives.

Today, we are spending American lives instead of American dollars in Korea.
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KEN REGAN VOTED AGAINST ECONOMIC AID TO KOREA

PAUL MOSS IS THE MAN FOR CONGRESS

DEMOCRATIC RUN-OFF PRIMARY, AUGUST 26TH

Political Advertisement Paid For By Friends Of Paul Moss, Robert L. Holliday, Chairman
### Requisitos para el Cargo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cargar</th>
<th>FRED HERVEY de El Paso</th>
<th>PAUL MOSS de Odessa</th>
<th>KEN REGAN de Midland</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Suficientemente joven para pasar muchos años representando al Oeste de Texas en el Congreso. (Se requieren de 10 a 15 años para abstenerse para el Congreso.)</td>
<td></td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Suficientemente vigoroso para trabajar muchas horas en su cometido.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Lo suficientemente dedicado para trabajar muchas horas en su cometido.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Experto y seguro para manejar un tallo. Tiene sentido común.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Justicia al valor de un dólar.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Pasea un perceptor crítico internacional.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Hombre de acción… no de palabras ni éxitos, ni protestas.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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**FRED HERVEY de El Paso**

- Ha trabajado muchos años en su pequeño negocio en el Oeste de Texas.
- Tiene la edad de 54 años.
- Ha trabajado muchas horas para verse como un hombre de acción en el Congreso.
- Tiene fe en el futuro, la tendencia hacia el socialismo pero lo apoya los partidarios de Wallace.
- Ha sido postulado 2 veces para cargos públicos y ha sido derrotado en las dos.

**PAUL MOSS de Odessa**

- Ha trabajado muchos años en su pequeña empresa en el Oeste de Texas.
- Tiene la edad de 64 años.
- Tiene la tendencia hacia el socialismo pero lo apoya los partidarios de Wallace.
- Ha sido postulado 2 veces para cargos públicos y ha sido derrotado en las dos.

**KEN REGAN de Midland**

- Ha trabajado muchos años en su pequeña empresa en el Oeste de Texas.
- Tiene la edad de 57 años.
- Tiene la tendencia hacia el socialismo pero lo apoya los partidarios de Wallace.
- Ha sido postulado 2 veces para cargos públicos y ha sido derrotado en las dos.

---

**LAS CALIDADES DE FRED HERVEY**

- **Experto y seguro para manejar un tallo.** Tiene sentido común.
- **Justicia al valor de un dólar.**
- **Pasea un perceptor crítico internacional.**
- **Hombre de acción… no de palabras ni éxitos, ni protestas.**

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**Para Regentear sus Negocios**

(El Negocio Más Importante es el Gobierno)

**USTED ES EL PATRON!**

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<td>1. Suficientemente joven para pasar muchas horas representando al Oeste de Texas en el Congreso. (Se requieren de 10 a 15 años para haber sido elegido a la cámara legislativa.)</td>
<td>Fred Hervey tiene 40 años.</td>
<td>Paul Moss tiene 64 años.</td>
<td>Ken Regan tiene 57 años.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Suficientemente vigoroso para trabajar muchas horas en su condición de líder de los distritos de Texas.</td>
<td>Durante 20 años los habitantes del Surcoreo han visto a Fred Hervey desarrollar una variedad de negocios.</td>
<td>Su vigor físico y reserva intelectual están limitados por su edad.</td>
<td>Ha estado enfermo por mucho tiempo durante el tiempo que ha estado en Washington.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. La eficaz dedicación para trabajar muchas horas en su condición de líder de los distritos de Texas.</td>
<td>Fred Hervey ha demostrado que puede dedicarse a un negocio en el que no tiene experiencia; aplicar principios prácticos de toda índole para trabajar largas horas.</td>
<td>Paul Moss está principalmente interesado en el prestigio de sus cargos de la cámara legislativa.</td>
<td>Ha estado enfermo por mucho tiempo durante el tiempo que ha estado en Washington.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Experiencia y negocia con fines en toda India: Tiene sentido común.</td>
<td>Fred Hervey ha sabido que puede dedicarse a un negocio en el que no tiene experiencia; aplicar principios prácticos de toda índole para trabajar largas horas.</td>
<td>Exige dinero más a un golpe de fuerza potencial.</td>
<td>Ha estado enfermo por mucho tiempo durante el tiempo que ha estado en Washington.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Justicia y valor de un dólar.</td>
<td>Fred Hervey ha sabido que puede dedicarse a un negocio en el que no tiene experiencia; aplicar principios prácticos de toda índole para trabajar largas horas.</td>
<td>Su propuesta para los negocios públicos y ha sido denunciada en las dos últimas elecciones.</td>
<td>Es un político profesional, que ha tenido éxito como gobernador en los termos pasados.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Puede un perspicaz centro internacional.</td>
<td>Fred Hervey ha sabido que puede dedicarse a un negocio en el que no tiene experiencia; aplicar principios prácticos de toda índole para trabajar largas horas.</td>
<td>Ha estado enfermo por mucho tiempo durante el tiempo que ha estado en Washington.</td>
<td>Es despilfarrador en cuestión de dinero. No está, como no ha evitado, que se demuestre el dinero de los contribuyentes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Hombre de acción... no de palabras, ni señales, ni promesas.</td>
<td>Fred Hervey ha sabido que puede dedicarse a un negocio en el que no tiene experiencia; aplicar principios prácticos de toda índole para trabajar largas horas.</td>
<td>Ha estado enfermo por mucho tiempo durante el tiempo que ha estado en Washington.</td>
<td>Vindicó en contra de la ayuda económica a Corea. Es un que se ha comportado en pro de la ayuda económica y militar para los Coreanos, pero no hizo mucho. Su experiencia en el Fuerza Armadas se limita a servicio dentro de los Estados Unidos durante las dos guerras mundiales.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Para Regresar sus Negocios**  
**(El Negocio Más Importante es el Gobierno)**

**USTED ES EL PATRON!**

FRED HERVEY, de El Paso

Anuncio Político Pagado por Amigos del Comité de Fred Hervey, L. A. Miller, Delgado
H-7. Advertisement, "Yes, Supporters of Ken Regan - are Proud of his Record!"

---are Proud of his Record!

He has voted as the decent people of West Texas would Have Voted.

He has conducted his campaign With the Dignity of a Congressman and a Gentleman.

We wonder if Moss is proud---

—of his lack of any Public Record, of the fact that he has been defeated each of the three times he has run for public office. We wonder too, if he is proud of the campaign waged in his Frantic Effort to win a seat in Congress?

These Letters Tell the Story
Read Every One of Them

Ed Pooley—
—said this about Ken Regan coming home to campaign

GIVE
KEN REGAN
A Blanket of Confidence

Colbert Coldwell,
president of the Home and Property Owners Ass'n, has this to say—
Too'

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Sincerely,

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J  «' 1 S  J .  I v e y

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These Letters Tell the Story

Read Every One of Them

GIVE

KEN REGAN

A Big Vote of Confidence

Encourage the Man who has conducted a Clean Campaign. Endorse the fine work he has done and Help him carry EVERY COUNTY IN THE DISTRICT by the Biggest Majority.

This Political Advertisement paid for by Friends of Ken Regan,

R. P. (Dick) Langford, Chairman.
Vote For
ALTON HOLLEBEKE
FOR
SHERIFF

GRADUATE OF THE TEXAS POLICE ACADEMY
HONEST, EXPERIENCED, UNBIASED

VETERAN OF WAR AND WORK

Served as Captain of El Paso County Highway Patrol under
Capt. Allen Reday and Sheriff Joe Campbell.

He's a member of the YMCA Club, El Paso Optimists Club, Finance
Chairman for the El Paso Valley Counties of America-YMCA Council
and serving on the Board of the El Paso County Water Control and
Improvement District. He's investigated the other candidates and it
before you can turn your vote.

HIS MORAIS ARE ABOVE REPROACH

For his ability, judgment,
VOTE FOR ALTON HOLLEBEKE
H-9. Content of one side of a handbill supporting J. E. "Jimmy" North for Sheriff of El Paso County, in the 1950 primary campaign:

As a former law enforcement officer with 10 years of practical experience in criminal identification and investigation in the El Paso Police and Sheriff's Department, plus 25 years of scientific crime detection education, which includes Forensic Chemistry, Photography, Fingerprint, Firearms, Handwriting, Criminal Modus Operandi and many other phases of modern law enforcement, taught in the 5 different schools that I have attended, F.B.I. School, Texas State Bureau of Intelligence and Scientific Crime Detection, the University of Applied Science, the Scientific Crime Detection Institute, and the Institute of Applied Science. The years of hard work and study in modern law enforcement procedures was not for honor or personal gain, but for the sole purpose of when the opportunity presented itself, I would be equipped with knowledge and experience in the type of law enforcement far superior to the catch as catch can variety now being used. That type of law enforcement has not and will not solve the major crime of robbery, burglary or murder.

The opportunity has presented itself. If you, the voter, want law enforcement instead of politics, vote and tell your friends to vote July 22nd for J. E. Jimmy North, the candidate for Sheriff who is financing his own campaign and is backed by no organization or group.

Thanks in advance for your support,

(Signed) James E. North

The other side of the handbill bore a sample ballot excerpt listing the nine candidates for sheriff with all names but that of James E. North crossed out.
You probably heard of Paul Moss - or know him - long before this 1950 Congressional race took place.

Judge, attorney, cattleman, oil producer, civic figure, author - a natural leader, his name long has been a symbol of West Texas. But there are other facts about Paul Moss which round out the full picture of his character and ability and background.

We, the friends of Paul Moss, feel that this man always has lived in the finest American tradition. We know he will represent all of the people of West Texas in the same fine fashion when he goes to Washington as our Congressman.

That is why we want you to know the full story of Paul Moss.

Background.....

Paul Moss was born on a farm in Clay County, N. Carolina, the son of Thaddeus and Almanda Moss.

As a boy, he attended schools in the nearby town of Hayesville. Later, he enrolled in Valpraiso University, where he was awarded degrees in education, speech, and law.

Moving westward, Paul Moss first came to Texas. Then he practiced law for a short period in Greybull, Wyoming, and Denver, Colo. He moved to Odessa in 1926, destined to play a substantial role in the city's growth.

He was Odessa's first city attorney..... chairman of the Odessa Better Housing Committee..... president of the Odessa School Board..... chairman of the Ector County Centennial Commission..... president of the Odessa Rotary Club..... and one of the leaders in raising money to

1 A boxed section here appears, as follows: "What kind of man is Paul Moss - inwardly? What is his basic philosophy? His spiritual side? Following are excerpts from one of his books, "Little Church of the Valley." We feel Paul Moss has answered those questions in his own eloquent words....'The American scene. The American way of life. We cherish individual freedom, a hope, a vision - democracy on the horizon, in the valley, in the home, in the fields, in the stream, on the mountain. If our people are lacking in any of the essentials, it is a defect in opportunity, and not a defect in our inheritance of fibre. Out of the past, out of our existence, with the heritage, spirit, and courage of our fathers, and the divine law as our foundation and guide, we find ourselves with a duty to perform. Let us, therefore, be up and about the countryside. Let us build in the light of a greater world....'
pay for the Buffalo Trail Ranch of the Boy Scouts of America in the Davis Mountains.

Present Activities...
It was in Odessa, too, that he acquired his cattle, oil and business interests...built up an outstanding legal reputation that led him to the judgeship of the 70th Judicial District of Texas.... and found time to write 11 books.

In 1948, Paul Moss, always a loyal Democrat, tackled the tough job of raising funds for his party. He worked in close touch with Defense Secretary Louis Johnson as a member of the Democratic National Finance Committee. As usual, he did his job well. His performance earned him the gratitude and respect of Democratic leaders throughout the nation.

Today - while devoting full time to his judicial duties - Paul Moss is as energetic as ever. He is an honorary member of the Gifts Committee of the Buffalo Trail Council of the Boy Scouts of America, and an active member of the Texas and American Bar Associations, the Authors' League of America, and the statewide Committee on Texas Youth and Government. He is listed in Who's Who in the Southwest.

Family Man...
Judge and Mrs. Moss, who recently celebrated their 31st wedding anniversary, reside on their ranch near the western outskirts of Odessa.

They have two children.
A son, William, a graduate of Baylor University, is actively engaged in ranching. A daughter, Betty, attends Southern Methodist University.

Their brother-in-law and life-long friend is U. S. Senator Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina. The senator is married to Mrs. Moss' sister.

Their daughter-in-law also is well-known in her own right. She is the former Jane Withers, the girl screen star of a decade ago.

In Conclusion...
Paul Moss' record is one of accomplishment and public service. Now in the prime of life, he will go to Washington equipped to give West Texas the prestige it deserves in our national government - prestige that not even years of seniority as a congressman can assure.

Paul Moss has no special interests to serve. He has no personal ambition to satisfy. His only reward will be in representing the people of the 16th Congressional District fairly, equally, and forcefully.
According to the title page, this booklet contains "the full text of District Judge Paul Moss' opening speech of his campaign for United States Representative, 16th District of Texas. The speech was delivered April 18, 1950, over ten West Texas radio stations."

Some three months ago, I announced my candidacy for United States Representative for the 16th Congressional District. At this time, I am formally opening my campaign with this broadcast over ten West Texas radio stations.

Our problems - both as a district and as a nation - are international, national, regional and local.

The Congressional District is a large district. Its interests range from oil and livestock in the East, to industry, security and glamor in the West.

Our progress now - more than ever before - depends on our ability to get along with each other. Our ability to cooperate. Our ability to pull together. Man cannot live alone, selfishly or otherwise. He is part of a complex world.

Some of our people can be classified as liberals, some as conservatives. I do not think an extreme liberal philosophy is the safest course. Neither do I think we should follow the path of reaction and Republicanism.

I think the safest route is neither to the left nor to the right, but down the middle of the road.

A man who is honest, and willing to work deserves food when he is hungry. He deserves a warm place to sleep when he is tired. If his wife or his children are sick or dying, he deserves a doctor. Above all, he deserves a chance. Without that, no man can be at peace.

A man who goes to Congress with his mind made up against helping those who need help will never serve his people well.

Our national government is more important to every one of us today than ever before. Never has it been more imperative that we fill the halls of our Congress with men who will diligently and sincerely shoulder the task of giving forceful representation to all of our people.

As a nation, we are enjoying the greatest era of peace, prosperity and progress ever known to mankind. We must see that nothing destroys that peace - and that no stumbling blocks are thrown up to halt progress.

Our national defense should be adequate. We must never again be caught asleep at the post as we were at Pearl Harbor.
Taxes, wherever possible, should be reduced.

We must continue to assist our allies in Europe. Gradually, I think, we will be able to free ourselves of this responsibility. But to do so abruptly, might plunge us into a depression worse than the one we knew during the Hoover administration and into a war that might spell the end of democracy.

A great future is in front of us if we only use our heads.

Thirty years ago, a man did well to travel forty miles a day on horseback. Ten years ago, the automobile was covering four hundred miles in the same span of time. Now we travel four thousand miles in a few hours by airliner without thinking twice about it.

I like to consider these facts. They are indicative, I think, of our national prosperity and progress. They also are indicative of some of our most pressing national and regional problems.

As a nation, we are traveling at a terrific pace. Just as there is no room for confusion at the controls of an airliner, there should be no room for confusion in our government.

We must face the manifold problems of a complex society. We must realize that it is futile to try to meet these problems by attempting to go back to the horse and buggy days of government.

That in no way, of course, implies that we must sacrifice free enterprise and liberty. Freedom is the sacred birthright of every American. It simply means that we must meet the expanding needs of our people courageously - and decently - and with conscience.

We can properly house our underprivileged and balance the national budget at the same time.

We can assure our farmers of a stable economy without running the nation into bankruptcy.

Free enterprise can provide proper medical attention without regimenting our doctors under a system of socialized medicine.

There are, of course, many other aspects of this picture of industrial and scientific and human progress that is America today.

Our working people have achieved a standard of living unparalleled anywhere else in the world. We should be proud of that fact. We should see that their standard of living is protected with good working conditions and the right to bargain for wages that will enable them to keep pace with prosperity.

I think we can do this without imposing on business. I think a good representative can be a friend to both labor and management.

This nation already has done a marvelous job of helping its veterans readjust themselves to peacetime living.
We should make certain that nothing interferes with that program. We should continue to assist them in getting a start in business. We should see that they are properly housed. And we should never let them want for hospital facilities when they are sick.

The national soil conservation program should be broadened and extended. With our soil depleted, our grain fields gone, our food baskets might come in empty and our national and domestic resources might prove inadequate in the event of another war.

We also must work out an amicable agreement among our oil producers over the importation of oil from foreign areas. I see no reason why an individual or corporation should not produce oil in - for example - Arabia or South America - but I do not think foreign oil should be allowed to destroy the oil industry in West Texas or any other part of the United States. Oil is one of our greatest assets.

Let's balance our national budget.

Yes, our nation is confronted with many problems today. Problems that are the growing pains of a virile people. We must meet these problems looking straight ahead. We cannot evade them. We cannot pass quietly over them. We cannot - we must not - turn back to 1929.

But our problems here in the 16th Congressional District are not confined solely to the national and international levels. We are the life blood of a great empire of our own - West Texas. An empire that sprawls over 19 counties. An area almost 400 miles wide - almost 300 miles long.

A few minutes ago, I mentioned housing. I think we can - and should - see that our underprivileged are provided with decent living conditions.

Housing, of course, is primarily a job for private builders. It should be. But we must never forget those who are unable to meet the purchase or rental price of decently constructed homes.

We owe it to them and to ourselves - as respectable people - to see that they are given a fair chance to advance and to better themselves in the finest American tradition.

There are two aspects of the labor situation that seem to be of particular interest to the people of the 16th Congressional District. One is the national minimum wage standard. The other is the use of farm laborers from Mexico.

As you perhaps know, the minimum wage for employees of many business concerns was raised recently by our Congress from 40 to 75 cents an hour. I think that increase was eminently fair and logical. No man should be expected to work today for the same salary he was receiving 10 or even 5 years ago.
I see no reason why laborers from Mexico should not be permitted to work on West Texas farms at times when there is a shortage of workers here. I think, though, that we should at all times see that they are treated fairly and provided with decent accommodations.

As your Congressman, I will work with all of my energy to obtain a hospital for the 22,000 veterans in and around El Paso. Not a specialized hospital. A general hospital that will be open at all times to meet their medical needs.

In the meantime, I will devote full effort to seeing that more beds are provided for use by veterans at William Beaumont General Hospital.

I will lend complete support to the veterans land program at Pecos. I will fight against discriminating freight rates for West Texas.

I will see that all young men from this district are accorded a fair and equal chance to obtain appointments to our service academies at West Point and Annapolis.

I will work to improve our trade relations with Mexico - one of our foremost potential markets for goods from the United States.

I will not remain silent and inactive while air service for Marfa, Alpine, Fort Stockton, McCamey or any other city in this district is threatened.

West Texas needs a representative in Washington. Our present Congressman went to our national capital to represent a few special interests - private interests - and that is exactly what he is doing.

With a Republican representing West Texas, it is easy to understand why hospitals are being dropped in our area, why federal projects fail to materialize.

You -- all of the people -- should be represented. Not just a select few. Not just old friends. Not just business associates. Not just people with enough money to contribute to a campaign fund.

West Texas needs a congressman who is free to judge for himself without looking back over his shoulder for a nod from one of the special interests.

I have no selfish interests to serve. No personal ambition to satisfy. If you see fit to send me to Washington, my sole reward will be in serving all of you faithfully - equally - and with all the energy I possess.

Before us lies an opportunity to work together -- to build together -- to guide the greatest section of our great nation to its full maturity.


Thank you.
Content of leaflet supporting Roy D. Jackson for Judge of the 34th District Court, in the 1950 primary campaign.

We, as loyal friends of Roy D. Jackson, Judge of the 34th District Court under appointment of the Governor of Texas and a candidate for election to this position, present his record of public service and private life as the basis upon which we seek for him your active support in the present campaign.

Judge Jackson served as your District Attorney for seventeen years in this Court. Upon the lamented death of Judge W. D. Howe, the Governor of Texas appointed Mr. Jackson Judge of this Court. His experience as District Attorney and his service as present judge of this court have especially qualified him to serve you justly and capably as Judge of the 34th District Court.

This is the Court in which your Grand Juries are impaneled, indictments returned, and felony cases tried. It is the Juvenile Court of El Paso County handling all juvenile delinquent, child adoption, child custody, and child welfare cases - as well as civil cases generally. Judge Jackson's character, training and experience have especially fitted him to carry on these duties in an intelligent, impartial, understanding and sympathetic manner. We are proud of the improvement that is being made in the handling of juvenile delinquency cases and child welfare work.

Personal and Family History

Roy D. Jackson, son of Texas pioneers, was born on a ranch in West Texas and has lived in West Texas all his life.

He was graduated from the North Texas State Teachers College and taught school before studying law. He was graduated from the Law School of the University of Texas, where he was an honor student and President of the Law School. He has practiced law in El Paso since his graduation in 1922.

He is a past president of the El Paso Bar Association, a past president of the El Paso Commercial Club, an active member of the El Paso Bar Association, Texas State Bar Association, and the American Bar Association - as well as of various local civic clubs. He has always been active in church and charitable organizations.

He married Lucile Prim of Sweetwater, Texas, while in college. They live at 3131 Pershing Drive. Mrs. Jackson, who has a Master of Arts degree from the University of Texas, has been head of the English Department of Bowie High School since it was established. She, the author of several English and English-Spanish text books, now in wide use in the schools throughout the United States and parts of Mexico.
and South America, is also an active member of several civic, cultural and professional organizations.

They have two sons, both graduates of El Paso High Schools and the University of Texas. Roy Jr., is now the General Attorney of the Atlantic Refining Company for the nation of Venezuela. He is married and has two children. A younger son, Robert is an aeronautical engineer for Douglas Aircraft Company stationed at Santa Monica, California. He is in charge of the development of the rocket motors for that company.

Because of his training, experience, family background, and family unity - we, his friends, endorse Roy D. Jackson, wholeheartedly as the type of man thoroughly qualified to carry on fairly and capably the many responsibilities of this judgeship.

In his behalf, we earnestly seek to enlist your support.

(This pamphlet prepared, paid for, and distributed by friends of Roy D. Jackson)


EXPERIENCIA
No hay substitución

IGUALDAD
Para todo hombre

LAS PROMESAS HECHAS EN 1946, QUE FUE MI PRIMER CAMPAÑA, SE HAN CUMPLIDO AL PIE DELA LE TRA

1. El Oficial del Condado al servicio de los veteranos, con su gabinete adecuado, ayudó a los veteranos a recoger, por compensaciones de guerra en 1948, $1,190,000.00; en 1949, $2,390,000.00, siendo todo ello una entrada nueva de dinero para el Condado de El Paso.

2. Un salón de asambleas adecuado, ámbar y cómodo fue puesto al servicio de todos los veteranos, tanto hombres como damas.

3. El Liberty Hall fue convertido en uno de los mejores auditorios de la nación, y el Coliseo es el orgullo y satisfacción de todos los amantes del teatro y dela lucha, gracias al gran número de individuos y organizaciones que devota e incansablemente "llevaron la carga."

4. Ya no hay más jóvenes ni dementes en la carcel. ¡Qué grande oprobio fué quitado de la reputación del Condado El Paso! Y esto, gracias una vez más a los hombres y mujeres que hicieron este beneficio a quienes no pueden servirse a sí mismos.
El Centro de Recuperación, moderno y completo, está diez acres en el Parque Ascarate, un verdadero monumento para aquellos que lo construyeron. Sus puertas están abiertas para cualquier joven que necesita su protección.

El Pabellón de Psiquiatría adyacente al Hospital General de esta ciudad, fue construido con fondos locales y federales, y colocará hasta treinta pacientes. De este modo restaurará a enfermos y sus amigos y familiares, aquí mismo y en casa, sin sufrir humillaciones de corte, cárcel o asilo.

5. Un Departamento de Menores, adecuado y eficiente, fue establecido para que trabaje en armonía con todas las agencias privadas y públicas de bienestar social para el mejoramiento de la juventud.

6. Se invirtieron $10,000.00 en parques infantiles, iluminación y equipo de recreación en 1949.

7. Los salarios de los empleados fueron aumentados pues no creemos en condiciones duras de trabajo y mala remuneración.

8. Hemos aprendido a conocer y amar a miles y miles de la mejor gente del mundo.

**P - R - O - M - E - S - A - S**

De la experiencia nace la confianza. Si ustedes me reeijen, haré lo siguiente:

1. Continuar desarrollando y embelleciendo nuestros dos grandes parques con lugares para pescar, remar, nada, cabalgar, tirar al blando, jugar el golf, parques infantiles, merenderos, etc., etc. En una palabra, recreación para grandes y chicos, cerca del hogar.

2. Renovar y remodelar nuestra vieja Casa de Corte de dos y medio millones de dólares cuya plomería y alumbrado eléctrico están desastrosamente inadecuados. Hay miles de pies cuadrados de superficie desperdigados lamentablemente y que se necesitan en gran manera.

3. Coordinar y relacionar los sistemas de bibliotecas en la Ciudad y el Condado para que pueda redundar en eficiencia económica y mejor servicio al público.

4. Uno de los mejores hogares juveniles de la nación, ahora completo, resuelve parcialmente nuestro problema número uno. Nos proponemos educar y preparar debidamente para su responsabilidad y ciudadanía a los cien jóvenes y señoritas sin hogar, descuidados y necesitados que cada mes ingresan a esta institución.
5. Nuestras 450 millas de carreteras en el Condado, serán preservadas; las estructuras y las arboledas serán extendidas y más eficientemente conservadas.

6. Los lotes vacantes serán acondicionados y equipados como parques de recreo para la comunidad.

7. Continuación de un servicio cortés y placentero para todos los que lo soliciten personalmente o por teléfono.

VICTOR B. GILBERT
Su amigable Juez del Condado
Appendix I

Political Rallies


The Liberty Hall political rally, held at 8 p.m. July 12, 1950, was sponsored and paid for by Fred Hervey, candidate for Congress. Paul Moss had earlier announced that he would not be there. An empty chair on the stage bore a large poster in the following form:

Paul Moss

Commenting on the absence of Moss, the moderator said, "Paul Moss didn't see fit to be here."

Candidate for Congress Ken Regan opened the discussion by remarking, "I don't know just what we can debate except qualifications. Mr. Hervey and I agree on basic issues." Mr. Regan then went on to list his own qualifications - vice president of chamber of commerce, president of chamber of commerce, alderman, and mayor of Pecos, Texas. He stressed his experience, commenting that "you don't call in a plumber for a surgical operation," and emphasized his experience in Congress, seniority, and committee membership. Regan injected a criticism of Ed Pooley, editor of the Herald-Post, comparing Mr. Pooley to "a little dog that runs out and bites your coat tails." Mr. Regan added that you feel like "kicking his head off." In conclusion, the Congressman answered some charges that he is sick,
a playboy, had been absent from Congress, and so on.

Fred Hervey, another candidate for Congress, then took the stage. He made much point of Moss' absence, and charged that "Moss didn't think enough of you voters to come up and talk to you." Mr. Hervey then took up the question of slum clearance, saying that he, like Ken Regan, was against federal aid to housing. On this topic he remarked:

If the government is going to be landlords, then I am against it. I have never seen a problem yet, that if you don't put incentive to it, it can't be done.

Hervey stated that he favored tax reductions to builders to encourage housing, and announced, "I am going to ask Ken Regan, what is he going to do about the desire of the government to build houses, because of the slums."

Turning to criticism of Regan, Hervey claimed that the Congressman did not work enough for the Ysleta veterans' hospital, and claimed that Regan had not been in Congress to vote on the oleomargarine bill. According to Hervey, Regan was "playing on taxpayers' money."

Hervey then brought up the subject of the cold war. Claiming that "we have hated Russia to death for the past twenty years or so," he denounced appeasing Russia "until just recently." He advocated building the best military machine, and announced that "if we invest money in those countries, let's serve notice on Russia we don't intend to lose that investment. If we must have war, let's have a war, before things get any worse."
Turning to government costs, Hervey denounced expenditures of government for helping the farmers and for keeping up prices generally.

Ken Regan's rebuttal was short. His principal point was that when the oleomargarine bill came up for a vote, he had been seeing the Veterans' Administration about getting more beds for the veterans of El Paso.

Hervey returned to the stage, and commented on Ken Regan that "if we could just get him working in Congress like now, it would be good." He labeled Regan "alibi boy," saying he thought that would be a better term than "playboy." Hervey stressed the need for getting young men into Congress, and added that "Ken Regan has seen his best days." He brought up again the question of the Ysleta hospital, and said Regan should have looked into this before the oleo bill came before Congress.

Gene Puckett, running for the legislature, 89th District, Place 2, next appeared. His remarks were confined to a glowing description of himself, with much emphasis being placed on his long-time residence in El Paso. He described himself as "the El Paso boy" and stressed his endeavors as a law student.

Anita Blair, candidate for the legislature, 90th District, remarked the legal and business interests are well represented in Texas, and added that one "doesn't have to be a lawyer to be a human being."

Frank Owen III, Miss Blair's opponent, took a personal approach.
He remarked that he could see a lot of personal friends in the audience, and informed his listeners that after the meeting he would "circulate around shaking hands. I will give you a chance to meet my wife after the meeting." Announcing his age as twenty-four, Owen revealed that, "I'm settled down, believe me." He spoke of his education and law studies and announced that "I'm proud of my profession."

Roy D. Jackson, running for judge, 34th District Court, announced that he was not "running against anybody," and had no scurrilous remarks to make about anyone. He said that he wished all the candidates could campaign like the speaker who had said, "They are all gentlemen." Jackson remarked that his wife had taught in Bowie High School in South El Paso because she "loves those Spanish-American boys and girls." In closing, he repeated that he was not "calling anyone any dirty names."

E. B. Elfers, opponent of Jackson for the 34th Judicial District nomination, attacked Jackson's record as district attorney. Elfers made no comment about himself, but confined his remarks to criticism of Jackson. He announced that "Jackson should be allowed to be the corporation lawyer he wants to be."

Victor B. Gilbert, running for county judge, cited his support of renovation of Liberty Hall, the Coliseum, and other public buildings. He said his opponent, Woodrow Wilson Bean, would have voted against such renovation, and that all of Bean's billboards and handshakes should not dissuade the voters from voting for Gilbert.
Woodrow Wilson Bean, opponent of Gilbert for the nomination at county judge, spoke of higher taxes and higher valuations caused by improvements to public buildings initiated under the Gilbert administration. He said these renovations had cost $500,000 in county debt, in addition to higher taxes, with valuations jumping from 76 cents to $1.05. But, he added, the taxes were still insufficient to pay for the improvements, though total valuations had jumped from $62,000,000 to $82,000,000. Bean concluded by remarking that on public issues he would not "straddle the fence."

Otho Manning, candidate for county attorney, next spoke. He described his opponent as "Ernest Guinn, the so-called people's friend." Anticipating Guinn's remarks, he said that of late Guinn had been quite busy because in earlier times cases now tried in county court had been tried in the District Court as felonies. His conclusion was that the increased business of Guinn was not, therefore, so remarkable. Manning criticized the extent of Guinn's private practice, and revealed that income from this practice was in the neighborhood of $20,000 per year.

Ernest Guinn, incumbent county attorney, explained that the increased work he was doing was accomplished without extra help, and that he had been "on the job all the time." After pointing out some concrete public service he has accomplished, Guinn claimed that Manning had been working in collusion with an attorney for the telephone companies—concerns which he, Guinn, had been fighting.

W. A. Simpson, candidate for sheriff, remarked that he spoke
Spanish fluently and added that "I know the people along the border."

James E. North, candidate for sheriff, stressed his knowledge of scientific law enforcement, and charged that there are in El Paso "too many unsolved crimes."

W. O. Hicks, candidate for sheriff, cited his experience in the sheriff's office and remarked that "there is no substitute for experience." He supported strong enforcement of the gambling law.

Joe Boone, another candidate for sheriff, pointed out that he had been chief of the Fire Department, and said he could "handle men" and knew how "to treat them." He said, "I know you folks don't want a sheriff who deals with crime groups."

Jean Tulk, an attractive lady running for nomination as sheriff, commented that she intended to make no promises. "You don't need muscle" she remarked, "but the office of sheriff must be placed on a business basis."

Alton E. Hollebeke, also a sheriff candidate, agreed with the qualifications indicated by other candidates as being requisite for the office, and remarked that he was the man with the qualifications. He cited his training and experience, and stressed the power and initiative he had shown in putting in some railroad crossing danger signs while he was working in the highway patrol. Hollebeke pointed out that he had served on many committees, commissions, and other law-enforcing agencies, and concluded by stating, "I have the longest name, the biggest name, and the most ability."

Ed Sims, a sheriff candidate, informed his listeners that he was
against illegal liquor sales. "I'm honest," he revealed. He promised to do all in his power to stop gambling and liquor sales to minors. Injecting a personal angle, he described himself as a farm boy.

Francis E. Riggs, running for sheriff, went into some details of his personal background. He revealed to his audience that he was married and had a daughter, and cited his experience as a lieutenant colonel in the Army. "That's experience," he commented.

W. E. Landstrom, also running for the sheriff nomination, stressed that he had lived in El Paso for forty-two years, and had been an officer for ten years. He pointed out that he was an independent candidate without any political connection, and advocated having experienced men in the sheriff's department. "If I was not qualified I wouldn't have filed for this office," he told the audience.

John T. Bean, candidate for superintendent of public instruction, cited his educational background, while H. C. Hinton, incumbent school superintendent, revealed to his audience that he was proud of a number of things, including democracy. He called for his re-election on the basis of his record.

Finally Joe Rey, candidate for justice of the peace, Precinct 1, Place 1, described the machine politics of the El Paso County Court, and charged that the borders of Precinct 1 had been enlarged to include the home of his opponent, incumbent R. E. Crawford. Describing the justice of peace court as a "court of the people", he charged that Crawford "lives in a palama."
The Ascarate Park political rally, held at 7 p.m., July 13, 1950, was sponsored by an Ascarate park improvement group. Attendance at the rally was light during the early stages, but as the meeting progressed it became quite heavy. In this rally, the sheriff candidates spoke first and the Congressional candidates last. Free soft drinks were available without charge to the public.

During the rally, sheriff candidates such as Alton E. Hollebeke and James E. North circulated about the audience shaking hands and passing out cards.

Anita Blair, legislative candidate, 90th District, repeated her admonition that "you don't have to be a lawyer to be a human being."

Ray Elliott, candidate for representative, 89th District, Place 2, called for a more economical state government. He cited his experience in the "business world," pointing out particularly his work in an insurance agency. John Eugene Puckett, running for representative, 89th District, Place 2, gave a detailed personal history of himself, citing his navy experience, and education. He described his opponent as "an insurance and real estate man."

Roy D. Jackson, candidate for nomination as judge, 34th District Court, stressed that his wife had taught Spanish-American boys and girls. He expressed genuine anger at the "campaign of villification" promoted by his opponent, and reminded the audience that "my opponent has nothing to say about himself." He said if such methods should continue, Jackson added, he would "stop being a gentleman."
Jackson's opponent, E. B. Elfers, made no comment about himself, but criticized the alleged paucity of cases tried by District Attorney Jackson during the past four years. He charged that Jackson was a representative of the Texas and Pacific Railroad Company, at the same time that he was being paid by the people of Texas. He remarked that both Jackson and Mrs. Jackson were on the public payroll. "Of his twenty-seven years in Texas," remarked Elfers, "he has been on the public payroll for twenty-three."

Otho Manning, running for county attorney, stated that his opponent, Ernest Guinn, was running on his record, but that "his record stinks."

A representative of Ken Regan confined his remarks to a series of questions asked of Judge Moss. He wanted to know whether or not Moss had circulated some pamphlets charging Ken Regan with discrimination against Spanish-Americans. The pro-Regan speaker stressed that Regan had recommended two Spanish-American boys for West Point.

Replying to the questions, Judge Moss briefly denied that he had had anything to do with the pamphlets mentioned by his accuser, and then addressed the audience with a glowing description of the American way of life.


The Armijo Park rally, held at 7:30 p.m. July 19, 1950, occurred in the heart of South El Paso, area of heaviest Spanish-American concentration in the city.
The rally opened with remarks by the legislative candidates. Gene Puckett, candidate for representative, 89th District, Place 2, stressed his personal background, and told his audience how he had spent ten years in South El Paso. "Ustedes son mis amigos," he repeated two or three times. Part of his remarks were made in a markedly poor Spanish.

Ray Elliott, Puckett's opponent, spoke in English, saying that he was a taxpayer and property owner, and therefore worthy of support.

Anita Blair, candidate for representative, 90th District, admitted that she didn't know much Spanish, but expressed a hope that her listeners would vote for her. She stated that she was spending her own money on the campaign, and she was going to represent all, particularly the little people who are the principal part of the country. She added that everyone would be able to write or telephone her for help.

Frank Owen III, Miss Blair's opponent, spoke first in Spanish. He remarked that he understood "your problems," and told his listeners that he was married, and had a son. He spoke of his family and college work. He then spoke in English, remarking that "we are all Americans." His remarks in English repeated in the main the statements he had made in Spanish. Twice he repeated, "I'd like for you to remember Pancho."

Frank Galván, an El Paso lawyer, spoke for E. B. Elfers, candidate for judge, 34th District Court. Speaking in Spanish, Galván several times injected the phrase, "my country people." He admitted that he had not been in South El Paso for a long time, and mentioned the
difficulties which he had had, as a Mexican, in entering the law profession. Finally, he informed his listeners, Elfers made his entrance into the profession possible. He then criticized Jackson for alleged errors committed in office, and spoke of the diminishing number of cases tried by Jackson during his last years as district attorney. He charged that Jackson represented the Texas and Pacific Railroad.

Roy D. Jackson brought his wife to the rally. Speaking in flowing English, Jackson remarked that he spoke only for himself. He presented his wife to the audience and asked if she had not served the people of that district. He told his listeners, "Galván has been working on you, not for you."

As the rally progressed, a group of teen-age boys became increasingly noisy. During remarks by candidates they alternately cheered and booed in turn. They carried pro-Moss placards, and waved these about, at times preventing the audience from getting full view of the candidates.

H. C. Hinton spoke in support of his candidacy as school superintendent by remarking only that he who would make the shortest speech would get the most votes.

John T. Bean, also running for nomination as superintendent of public instruction, spoke in fluent Spanish. He mentioned the three years he had spent as an instructor in Bowie High School, in the heart of South El Paso, and told his listeners that they were going to have a friend. He spoke of his residence on the banks of the river, and
informed the listeners that he had many times swum in the Río Grande. These comments brought loud applause. Advising them that this would be the last time he would be able to speak with them, he admonished, "Vote por Juan Tortilla Frijol! No hay cosa que nos gusta más que los frijoles!" ¹

Woodrow Wilson Bean spoke in behalf of his candidacy for the county judge nomination by charging that his opponent, Victor B. Gilbert, had not built parks as promised, and assured that he would fulfill this obligation.

Victor B. Gilbert mentioned the delinquency problem as an important one in need of solution. A friend then spoke in Spanish, and described the things which Gilbert had allegedly accomplished in the interests of the children. "His opponents promise much, and Gilbert acts," he told his listeners in Spanish.

Candidates for county attorney spoke as the confusion created by the teen-agers arose in climax. Otho Manning, speaking in English, criticized Guinn's home, office, and accumulated money. Before turning over the stage to Guinn, he remarked, "I know you're restless and want to go home."

Guinn charged that Manning was a big loan company man, and promised that he would take care of all who came into his office.

A friend of H. P. Talley, Señor Álvarez, spoke in behalf of Talley in the Spanish language. Talley then came to the stage and remarked in

¹ "Vote for John Tortilla Bean. There's nothing we like better than Beans!"
English that Sr. Álvarez had spoken to the audience in Spanish so that they might better understand him.

J. J. Avila, opponent of Talley for nomination as county commissioner, Precinct 1, referred to his listeners as "conciudadanos americanos" - fellow-American citizens. He revealed that there had been much vilification of him, and promised that he would defend the rights of his people. He claimed that he was familiar with their problems and that he would work for them. He underlined the charge that his opponent, Mr. Talley, was one who sold houses and who did not understand the problems of the people of that district. He described himself twice as "su candidato" who would work for his people.

Ray Villegas, candidate for nomination as county commissioner, Precinct 4, referred to his listeners as "futuros comerciantes de mañana" - future businessmen of tomorrow. He claimed that there was insufficient time to discuss the issues with his opponent, but pointed out that a comparison should be made between the parks and other public benefits of South El Paso with those in other parts of the city. A way of saving money, he claimed, would be to spend for necessary items and not for any other - and the parks, Villegas added, are essential. He promised that he would struggle for attainment of necessary improvements in that part of El Paso, and underscored the fact that he could speak "su propia lengua" - your own language.

J. D. Carpenter, opponent of Villegas, spoke briefly in English, and asked his audience just how Villegas would actually be able to make the savings promised.
In the midst of increasing confusion, Joe Rey, candidate for nomination as justice of the peace, Precinct 1, Place 1, told in Spanish how he was a graduate of Bowie High School, and had devoted his life to the public service. He mentioned his service in the Navy, and commented that his opponent had been in office for fourteen years - the implication being that this was too long. He pointed out that Crawford had to use an interpreter in dealing with the Spanish-speaking people, and again made mention of the extension of Precinct 1 to include Crawford’s residence.

Raymond Telles, unopposed candidate for nomination as county clerk, took the opportunity to express a hope that his listeners would be proud to have one "de ustedes" in the office of county clerk. First, vote as Americans, he admonished in Spanish, and advised his audience to carefully study the candidates for office before casting votes.

When Congressional speakers came to the stage, the disturbance created by the raucus group of young people reached its highest pitch. Richard Telles, brother of Raymond Telles, spoke for Moss. He stated it to be an honor to work for Moss. He condemned Hervey for his wide business interests in restaurants, stores, and other fields, and condemned the vote of Regan in the case of Korea. He described Moss as being a "muy buen Hombre" who had worthy ideas on the issue of the minimum wage, but was unable to speak the language of that district. He said little else of Judge Moss, except that he should receive support in the coming primary election.

Fred Hervey spoke amidst a crescendo of booing. Placards were
raised in front of him, and pieces of cardboard were made to sail about in the air among the listeners and onto the stage. Hervey stated that he had been working all his life, and commented that "You've got to be in his shoes to understand the working man. I am a friend of the working man." He spoke in favor of the little man and business man. He again described Regan as the "alibi boy" and charged that Regan was too busy "night-clubbing." Hervey promised that he would represent "you people." Hervey spoke in English.

Regan's remarks were brief. He addressed his audience as "ladies and gentlemen and paid employees of Paul Moss." He found it difficult to continue speaking, and after a critical comment on the wealth of Moss and Hervey, returned to his seat.

At the conclusion of the remarks by the Congressional candidates, listeners began to drift away from the meeting. However, the various sheriff candidates made a series of charges and counter-charges to a dwindling audience.


Statements made in the Cleveland Park rally of July 20 differed little from those characteristic of the other rallies. This meeting will therefore be reported only in part.

The Jackson-Elfers race for the 34th Judicial District judgeship nomination was reduced at the Cleveland Park rally to a concentration on the personal attributes of the two men. Elfers made his usual charges against Jackson for alleged laxness in office, and in an
attempt at showing that Jackson was too old for the office, commented on his opponent's bald head. In rebuttal, Jackson advised his audience that the grey hairs were in abundant evidence in Elfers' own head. Elfers then took the stage again and offered to go fishing or hiking with Jackson at any time, as a means of proving his vigor. In his remarks, Elfers charged that at the Armijo Park rally, Jackson had been trying to "stir up race prejudice," though it was not explained precisely what Elfers might have had in mind.

Guinn and Manning, candidates for county attorney, addressed themselves mainly to the question of the quantity of work accomplished by Guinn, and Guinn attacked Manning's record as alleged friend of gamblers and telephone interests.

The contest between H. C. Hinton and John T. Bean for the county school superintendency injected a new note into the campaign. The daughter of Bean was introduced to the audience and spoke for her father. Hinton, who had already presented his remarks, came back to the stage after Bean had retired, bringing his own teen-age daughter, whom he briefly introduced to the audience. Hinton's action was an interruption of the planned order of the meeting, and met with protest from the moderator.
### Appendix J

**Poll Tax Payers, Anglo and Hispanic, in Voting Precincts Within City and County of El Paso, 1950.**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Precinct</th>
<th>Total poll tax payers</th>
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<th>Hispanic poll tax payers</th>
<th>Hispanic as percentage of total poll tax payers</th>
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Precincts outside the city of El Paso

| 1       | 137 | 122 | 15   | 11 |
| 2       | 199 | 124 | 75   | 38 |
| 3       | 580 | 530 | 50   | 8  |
| 4       | 297 | 60  | 237  | 80 |
| 45      | 190 | 184 | 6    | 3  |
| 49      | 808 | 701 | 107  | 13 |
| 50      | 403 | 338 | 65   | 13 |
| 51      | 639 | 560 | 79   | 11 |
| 52      | 676 | 421 | 255  | 38 |
| 53      | 477 | 220 | 257  | 53 |
| 54      | 322 | 104 | 218  | 68 |
| 55      | 266 | 23  | 243  | 91 |
| 56      | 261 | 167 | 94   | 37 |
| 57      | 685 | 406 | 279  | 41 |
| 58      | 81  | 68  | 13   | 16 |
| **Totals for entire county** | **27,245** | **19,231** | **8,014** | **29.4** |
Appendix K

Primary Results

Results of the primaries correlated in significant cases with ethnic composition of El Paso voting public. ¹


<table>
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<th>Hispanic as percentage of total poll tax payers</th>
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¹ Calculated from Official Alphabetical List of Poll Tax Payers, El Paso County, Texas, 1950. See Appendix J.
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K-3. Congressional contest, first primary, July 22, 1950:

Returns, Sixteenth Congressional District

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K-4. Congressional contest, second primary, August 26, 1950:

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Hispanic as percentage of total poll

| Hispanic as | El Paso | Number of votes cast |
| percentage of | County | Jackson | Elfers |
| total poll | Voting | Precinct | |
| tax payers | | |
| 90 | 18 | 100 | 51 |
| 91 | 55 | 125 | 49 |
| 93 | 12 | 63 | 29 |
| 93 | 13 | 336 | 189 |


<p>| Hispanic as | El Paso | Number of votes cast |
| percentage of | County | Gilbert | Bean |
| total poll | Voting | Precinct | |
| tax payers | | |
| 2 | 25 | 309 | 200 |
| 3 | 27 | 304 | 195 |
| 3 | 28 | 296 | 126 |
| 3 | 43 | 331 | 180 |
| 3 | 45 | 74 | 63 |
| 4 | 24 | 234 | 198 |
| 5 | 30 | 211 | 164 |
| 5 | 42 | 316 | 117 |
| 6 | 29 | 229 | 173 |
| 7 | 26 | 269 | 151 |
| 7 | 44 | 30 | 34 |
| 8 | 3 | 294 | 167 |
| 8 | 21 | 131 | 106 |
| 8 | 33 | 237 | 183 |
| 8 | 34 | 288 | 165 |
| 9 | 31 | 132 | 117 |
| 9 | 32 | 304 | 197 |
| 10 | 5 | 120 | 110 |
| 11 | 1 | 60 | 33 |
| 11 | 20 | 149 | 111 |
| 11 | 51 | 240 | 294 |
| 12 | 6 | 108 | 91 |
| 12 | 35 | 222 | 154 |
| 13 | 9 | 180 | 139 |
| 13 | 46 | 213 | 292 |
| 13 | 49 | 331 | 307 |
| 13 | 50 | 199 | 86 |
| 14 | 10 | 126 | 87 |
| 16 | 58 | 40 | 34 |
| 18 | 39 | 188 | 149 |
| 20 | 36 | 174 | 110 |</p>
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K-7. Sheriff contest, second (runoff) primary, August 26, 1950.
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Hispanic as percentage of total poll tax payers | El Paso County Voting Precinct | Total votes cast
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3 | 45 | 93  
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5 | 30 | 158  
5 | 42 | 153  
6 | 29 | 180  
7 | 26 | 172  
7 | 44 | 32  
8 | 3 | 177  
8 | 21 | 126  
8 | 33 | 186  
8 | 34 | 168  
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11 | 20 | 117  
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Hispanic as El Paso County Voting Number of votes cast
percentage of total poll tax payers Precinct Rey Crawford

| Hispanic as percentage of total poll tax payers | El Paso County Voting Precinct | Number of votes cast Rey Crawford |
|---|---|---|---|
| 26 | 23 | 91 | 180 |
| 32 | 40 | 116 | 159 |
| 39 | 14 | 167 | 210 |
| 51 | 19 | 229 | 119 |
| 63 | 15 | 182 | 102 |
| 75 | 17 | 339 | 129 |
| 78 | 16 | 253 | 105 |
| 83 | 11 | 235 | 90 |
| 90 | 18 | 127 | 32 |
| 93 | 12 | 74 | 22 |
| 93 | 13 | 450 | 97 |


| Hispanic as percentage of total poll tax payers | El Paso County Voting Precinct | Number of votes cast Hill Pedregon |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11 | 51 | 361 | 152 |
| 13 | 49 | 356 | 198 |
| 38 | 52 | 323 | 224 |
| 53 | 53 | 155 | 219 |


| Hispanic as percentage of total poll tax payers | El Paso County Voting Precinct | Number of votes cast Luna Helms Stedham |
|---|---|---|---|
| 11 | 51 | 80 | 163 | 272 |
| 13 | 49 | 117 | 196 | 305 |
| 38 | 52 | 171 | 189 | 204 |
| 53 | 53 | 137 | 109 | 94 |
Appendix L


Thursday, June 8

For the convenience of the officers, delegates, and guests, and in order to expedite matters for the business session on the following day, registration of early arrivals will begin at 2:00 p.m. in the lobby of the Hotel Cortez.

At 7:30 p.m. Cocktail party - Sun Room, Hotel Cortez

Friday, June 9

1. At 8:30 a.m. Registration of officers, delegates, and guests - lobby of Hotel Cortez.
2. At 9:00 a.m. Meeting of the Supreme Council.
3. At 10:00 a.m. National Assembly convenes in the Ball Room, Hotel Cortez, Honorable Raoul A. Cortez, National President, presiding.
   (a) America and 
   (b) The Star Spangled Banner - Sung by Assembly, Miss Carmen Velasco, song leader, Mr. Enrique Cobos at the piano.
   (c) Pledge to the Flag - "Order of the Arrow," Boy Scouts of America.
   (d) Official Prayer - Elevated by the National Chaplain.
   (f) Response - George J. Garza, National Director of Junior Lulacs.
   (g) Roll call of delegates.
4. At 10:40 a.m. Appointment of Committees:
   (a) Rules N.B. The various committees after being
   (b) Credentials appointed will meet at the places
   (c) Resolutions that will be assigned to them that
   (d) Auditing they may consider the work referred
   (e) Special to them.
5. At 11:00 a.m. Resolutions read and referred to committees and special instructions issued.
6. At 12:00 Noon. RECESS
   A $1.00 plate lunch will be served in the Lobby of Hotel Cortez. Anyone wishing to avail himself of this service may do so by arranging reservations with the local council treasurer.
7. At 2:00 p.m. National Assembly reconvenes.
   (a) Junior Lulac Councils general session.
   (b) Installation of El Paso Junior Lulac Council.
   (c) Short talks by visiting and local speakers.
8. At 3:30 p.m. Business session.
9. From 4:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. The Ladies Council No. 9 will entertain the visiting lady delegates and guests in the Mirror Room of Hotel Cortez. Misses Adela Semón and Martha Monedero and Mr. Henry Cobos will participate in the music, song, and dances of the entertainment program.
10. At 5:00 p.m. RECESS
11. At 7:00 p.m. "UNA NOCHE EN MEXICO" - Delegates and visitors will be taken to the "Tiradores del Norte" Club, Ciudad Juárez, Mexico. Transportation will be furnished to the delegates and visitors by the local councils. This will be one of the highlights of the Convention in entertainment.

Saturday, June 10

12. At 9:00 a.m. National Assembly reconvenes.
   (a) Official Prayer - Elevated by National Chaplain.
   (b) Roll call of delegates.
13. At 9:15 a.m. Reports of National Officers and Committees:
   (a) National President
   (b) National Secretary
   (c) National Treasurer
   (d) Committees
   (e) Other National and District Officers
14. At 11:00 a.m. Voting on resolutions
15. At 12:00 Noon RECESS
16. At 1:30 p.m. National Assembly reconvenes
   (a) Unfinished business
   (b) Election of National and District Officers
   (c) Selection of 1951 Convention city
   (d) Good and Welfare of LULAC
17. At 5:00 p.m. ADJOURNMENT
18. At 7:00 p.m. Dinner-Dance - Ball Room, Hotel Cortez
   Mr. Gus C. García, Master of Ceremonies
Appendix M

Rules and Ordinances

M-1. What Lulac Stands For, a leaflet of the League of United Latin American Citizens.

1. To develop within the members of our organization the best, purest, and most perfect type of a true and loyal citizen of the United States of America.

2. To eradicate from our body politic intents and tendencies to establish discrimination among our fellow-citizens on account of race, religion, or social position as being contrary to the true spirit of Democracy, our Constitution and Laws.

3. To use all the legal means at our command to the end that all citizens in our country may enjoy equal rights, the equal protection of the laws of the land and equal opportunities and privileges.

4. The acquisition of the English language, which is the official language of our country, being necessary for the enjoyment of our rights and privileges, we declare it to be official language of this Organization, and we pledge ourselves to learn, and speak, and teach same to our children.

5. To define with absolute and unmistakeable clearness and unquestionable loyalty to the ideals, principles and citizenship of the United States of America.

6. By all lawful means at our command, we shall assist in the education and guidance of all Americans and we shall protect and defend their lives and interests whenever necessary. We shall oppose any tendency to separate our children in the schools of this Country.

7. Each of us considers himself with equal responsibilities in our Organization, to which we voluntarily swear subordination and obedience.

8. We shall create a fund for mutual protection, for the defense of those of us who may be unjustly prosecuted and for the education and culture of all citizens.

9. This organization is not a political club, but as citizens we shall participate in all local, State and National political campaigns. However, in doing so, we shall ever bear in mind the general welfare, and we shall disregard and abjure once and for all any personal obligation which is not in harmony with these principles.
10. With our vote and influence we shall endeavor to place in public office men who show by their deeds, respect and consideration for all citizens.

11. We shall select as our leaders those among us who demonstrate, by their integrity and culture that they are capable of guiding and directing us properly.

12. We shall maintain publicity means for the diffusion of these principles and for the expansion and consolidation of this Organization.

13. We shall diffuse our ideals by means of the press, lectures, and pamphlets.

14. We shall oppose any radical and violent demonstration which may tend to create conflicts and disturb the peace and tranquility of our Country.

15. We shall endeavor to secure equal representation on juries and in the administration of Governmental affairs.

17. (sic.) We shall denounce every act of peonage and mistreatment as well as the employment of minor children of scholastic age.

As loyal citizens of the United States of America:

1. We believe in the democratic principle of individual political and religious freedom, in the right of equality of social and economic opportunity, and in the duty of cooperative endeavor towards the development of an American society wherein the cultural resources and integrity of every individual and group constitute basic assets of the American way of life.

As citizens of Latin American descent, we assume our responsibilities and duties and assert our rights and privileges in the pursuit of a fuller and richer civilization for this, our native country.

We believe that education is the foundation for the cultural growth and development of this nation and that we are obligated to protect and promote the education of our people in accordance with the best American principles and standards.

We accept that it is not only the privilege but also the obligation of every member of this organization to uphold and defend the rights and duties vested in every American citizen by the letter and the spirit of the law of the land.

2. As members of a democratic society we recognize our civic duties and responsibilities and we propose:

To use all the appropriate means at our disposal to implement with social action the principles set forth above.

To foster the acquisition and facile use of the official language of our country that we may thereby equip ourselves and our families for the fullest enjoyment of our rights and privileges and the efficient discharge of our duties and obligations to this, our country.

To establish cooperative relationship with other civic organizations and agencies in these fields of public service.

That the members of the League of United Latin American Citizens constitute themselves a service organization to actively promote suitable measures for the attainment of the highest ideals of our American society.
That, in the interests of the public welfare, we shall seek in every way possible to uphold the rights guaranteed to every individual by our state and national law and to seek justice and equality of treatment in accordance with the law of the land. We shall courageously resist un-American tendencies that deprive citizens of these rights in educational institutions, in economic pursuit, and in social activities.


WHEREAS, following the recommendations made in resolutions adopted by the Association in previous meetings, the Department of Public Welfare of the State of Texas and the Ministry of Health and Welfare of Mexico have through their appointed representatives, formed the First International Mexico-United States Health and Welfare Committee, composed of lay and professional workers of El Paso, Texas, and Cd. Juárez, Chih., and,

WHEREAS, this committee has adopted a Constitution and planned a program for the improvement of the conditions of the people of both communities through the study and resolution of mutual problems....

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Association congratulate the first International Mexico-United States Health and Welfare Committee, the Department of Public Welfare of Texas, the Ministry of Health and Welfare of Mexico and the El Paso Office of the Pan American Sanitary Bureau for this effort in solving mutual international problems and,

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a copy of this resolution be sent to the above named agencies.

M-4. Primer Comité Internacional Mexicano-Estadounidense de Salubridad y Asistencia, Reglamentos.

Organización:

Artículo 1°. El Primer Comité Internacional Mexicano-Estadounidense de Salubridad y Asistencia, está compuesto por las Secciones, una en El Paso, Texas y otra en Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, que funcionan independientemente en algunos aspectos, pero coordinando sus actividades para resolver los
problemas que atañen a los dos Poblaciones.

Artículo 2°. Al frente de dicho Comité Internacional está el Consejo Ejecutivo compuesto por ocho miembros, cuatro de Ciudad Juárez y cuatro de El Paso, incluyendo a los dos Presidentes de ambas secciones.

De la directiva (Comité Ejecutivo):

Artículo 1°. El Comité Ejecutivo del Primer Comité Internacional de Salubridad y Asistencia, fungirá como directivo del mismo. Estará compuesto de un Presidente, un Vice-Presidente, un Secretario y cinco Vocales.

Artículo 2°. Cada año habrá nuevas elecciones, según lo marca el Estatuto del Comité.


Sec. 2: (a) No owner, agent or owner or person in charge of or in control of any tenement or lodging house shall permit any person or persons to occupy any room or any tenement or lodging house in which the air-space afforded is less than 400 cubic feet of air to each person over 12 years of age occupying the room...;

(b) No owner... or person in charge of or in control of any tenement or lodging house shall permit any person or persons to occupy any room or any tenement or lodging house in which all outside openings, including windows, doors, ventilators, and other openings are not protected against the entrance of insects with wire screening, of not less than sixteen (16) meshes to the square inch, kept in good repair at all times.

Sec. 3: Every tenement house and every part thereof shall be kept clean and free from any accumulation of dirt, filth, and garbage and other matter, in or on the same, or in the yards, courts, passages, areas, or alleys connected with or belonging to the same. The owner of every tenement house, or part thereof, shall thoroughly cleanse all the rooms, passages, stairs, floors, windows, doors, walls, ceilings, privies, water closets, cesspools, drains, halls, cellars and all other parts of the said tenement house, or parts thereof, or part of the house of which he is the owner, to the satisfaction of the Board of Health or its agents, and shall keep the said parts of the tenement house in a cleanly condition at all times.

Sec. 4: The owner of every tenement house shall provide and maintain therefore, suitably covered, watertight metallic receptacles for rubbish, garbage, and other matter. No person shall throw or place filthy water, garbage, refuse and other matter in the yards,
open areas, or alleys connected with or appurtenant to any tenement house, except in such receptacle as described above.

Sec. 5: In every tenement house which is within one hundred (100) feet of a sewer, there shall be at least one water closet for each eight rooms, or major fraction thereof, which water closet or closets can be approached by an entrance independent of any living room; and shall be easily accessible to the occupants for whose use they are intended; and all water closets shall be kept clean.

(Signed) R. E. Thomason

Mayor

Attest:
Herman Rosch
City Clerk

By:
W. R. Collins
Deputy
**Appendix N**

**San Miguel County, New Mexico: Political Statistics**

N-1. Poll Book of the election held on 7th day of November, A.D., 1950, San Miguel County, New Mexico.

<table>
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**TOTALS**          | 7,558    | 1,676    | 9,234 |

Totals for West Las Vegas:

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Totals for East Las Vegas:

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N-2. Official Canvass of Returns of primary election held June 6, 1950, state of New Mexico, county of San Miguel.

Votes Cast, 5,625

**Congressional Representative:**

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<td>Steiner Mason (R)</td>
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<td>José E. Armijo (R)</td>
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<td>Joe M. Montoya (D)</td>
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<td>John J. Dempsey (D)</td>
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<td>Joe A. Montoya (D)</td>
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**Governor:**

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<td>Ingram B. &quot;7-Foot&quot; Pickett (D)</td>
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**Lieutenant Governor:**

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<td>Ralph Gallegos (D)</td>
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**Secretary of State:**

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<td>Margaret Abrew (D)</td>
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State Auditor
W. S. "Billy" Apodaca (R) 771
Jerry M. Trujillo (D) 660
Robt. D. "Bob" Castner (D) 253
Tom M. McGrath (D) 1,142
Frank Stromei (D) 350
Eddie P. García (D) 1,692

State Treasurer
Alfred W. Kaune (R) 757
Gilbert J. López (D) 2,114
Don R. Casados (D) 1,527
J. B. "Buster" Mulcock (D) 78
R. H. Grisson (D) 286
L. Tracy Fox (D) 115

Attorney General
Dan Caldwell (R) 752
Joe L. Martínez (D) 3,726

Superintendent of Public Instruction
(All Anglos - 1 (R) and 2 (D) )

Superintendent of Public Lands
(All Anglos - 1 (R) and 2 (D) )

Member of State Corporation Commission
Chester Arthur Hunker (R) 750
M. A. "Tony" Romero (D) 1,910
Eugene "Gene" Allison (D) 493
Eloy Garley (D) 252
Albert Gonzales (D) 981
Lorenzo R. "Chico" Burciaga (D) 33
T. E. "Turk" Hinman (D) 25
R. L. "Bob" Johnston (D) 163

Justice of the State Supreme Court
(All Anglos - 1 (R) and 2 (D) )

State Representative, 6th Legislative District
Maurilio Antuna (R) 726
E. J. Patterson (R) 618
Peter M. Gonzales (D) 1,872
John M. Burns (D) 1,812
Abelino Estrada (D) 1,448
Pedro Bustamente (D) 1,901
Waldo Spiess (D) 1,897
Frank Montoya (D) 1,548
State Representative, 29th Legislative District
(Both Hispanic - 1 (D) and 1 (R) )

County Commissioners
1st District:  
(All Hispanic - 1 (R) and 1 (D) )
2nd District:  
(All Hispanic - 1 (R) and 2 (D) )
3rd District:  
(Both Anglo - 1 (R) and 1 (D) )

Probate Judge  
(Both Hispanic - 1 (R) and 1 (D) )

County Clerk  
(All Hispanic - 1 (R) and 2 (D) )

County Sheriff  
(All Hispanic - 1 (R) and 3 (D) )

County Assessor
Matías Martínez (R)  
774
Mrs. Myles Sweeney (D)  
2,873
Román Aranda (D)  
1,291

County Treasurer  
(All Hispanic - 1 (R) and 2 (D) )

County School Superintendent  
(All Hispanic - 1 (R) and 2 (D) )

Justices of the Peace  
(All Hispanic - 2 (R) and 4 (D) )

Constables  
(Both Hispanic - 1 (R) and 1 (D) )

N-3. Official Canvass of Returns of General Election held November 7, 1950, State of New Mexico, County of San Miguel.

Votes cast, 9,222

Congressional Representative
Steiner Mason (R)  
3,842
José E. Armijo (R)  
4,251
John J. Dempsey (D)  
4,855
A. M. Fernandez (D)  
4,776
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<th>Candidate 2</th>
<th>Votes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Governor</td>
<td>Edwin L. Mechem (R)</td>
<td>4,536</td>
<td>John E. Miles (D)</td>
<td>4,551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lieutenant Governor</td>
<td>Paul F. Larrazolo (R)</td>
<td>4,376</td>
<td>Tibo J. Chavez (D)</td>
<td>4,680</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretary of State</td>
<td>Mrs. F. A. &quot;Tony&quot; Vigil (R)</td>
<td>4,136</td>
<td>Beatrice Bassett Roach (D)</td>
<td>4,882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Auditor</td>
<td>W. S. &quot;Billy&quot; Apodaca (R)</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>Robt. D. &quot;Bob&quot; Castner (D)</td>
<td>4,976</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Treasurer</td>
<td>Alfred W. Kaune (R)</td>
<td>3,910</td>
<td>R. H. Grisson (D)</td>
<td>4,956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attorney General</td>
<td>Dan Caldwell (R)</td>
<td>3,843</td>
<td>Joe L. Martínez (D)</td>
<td>5,155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Superintendent of Public Instruction (Both Anglos)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commissioner of Public Lands</td>
<td>(Both Anglos)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(Both Anglos)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State Representative, 6th Legislative District</td>
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<td>State Representative, 6th Legislative District</td>
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<tr>
<td>State Representative, 29th Legislative District</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County Commissioners, 1st and 2nd District; Probate Judge; County Clerk; County Sheriff; County Treasurer; Superintendent of Schools; Justice of the Peace; Constable (All Hispanic)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>County Commissioners, 3rd District (Both Anglos)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
County Assessor
Matías Martínez (R) 4,067
Mrs. Myles Sweeney (D) 4,963

N-4. From Roster of Officials, San Miguel County, New Mexico. Court House, Las Vegas, N. M.

Population of county, 26,411
Population, W. Las Vegas, 6,250
Population, E. Las Vegas, 7,449
Valuation of property, W. Las Vegas, $1,557,038
Valuation of property, E. Las Vegas, $5,571,663

District and county officials:

U. S. Representatives:
Antonio M. Fernández, Santa Fe
John J. Dempsey, Santa Fe

U. S. Senators:
C. P. Anderson, Albuquerque
Dennis Chavez, Albuquerque

State Senators:
Gordon E. Melody, Las Vegas
Margarito A. Baca, Shoemaker (R)
Joe M. Márquez, Dilia

State Representatives:
Waldo Spiess, Las Vegas
Peter M. Gonzales, Las Vegas
Pedro Bustamente, Ribera

District Judge, 4th Judicial District (Guadalupe, Mora, San Miguel Counties)
Luis Armijo

County Chairman, Democratic Party
Luis Enciñas

County Chairman, Republican Party
Francisco Gallegos

County Commissioners
Eusebio Seguro
T. G. Flores
J. B. Brown

County Clerk
Ed. García
County Treasurer
M. A. Ortiz

Assessor
Mrs. Miles Sweeney

Superintendent of Schools
Mrs. Toni Angel

County Sheriff
Melecio Vigil

District Court Clerk
Florencio C. DeBaca

Probate Judge
Alberto Martínez

County Board of Education
Joe C. Maestas
Mrs. Tonie L. Angel
Rosario Lucero
Cliefes Buintana
Manuel A. Ortiz
Francis J. Gormley

Officials, West Las Vegas
Mayor, Manuel J. Baca
Clerk, Guadalupe Luján

Board of Education: Leo C. DeBaca, Manuel Sena,
Carmen Ciddio Gallegos, Luis F. Armijo,
Mrs. Antonio Angel

City Council: All Hispanic

Officials, East Las Vegas:
Mayor, Ivan J. Hilton
Clerk, E. J. McWenle

Board of Education: E. L. Kaemper, H. M. Mortimer,
Richard H. Whorton, Dr. Paul D. Henry, O. G. Burris

City Council: Four Anglo, one Hispanic
BIBLIOGRAPHY
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


Committee on Political Parties, American Political Science Association, "Toward a More Responsible Two-Party System," Supplement, American Political Science Review, XLIV (September, 1950).


Murphy, Wallace C., *County Government and Administration in Texas.* Austin: University of Texas, 1933.


Sánchez, George I. *Forgotten People.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940.


**Documents**

**Private**


Public


Interviews


Fox, Chris, Public Relations Manager, State National Bank, El Paso, onetime sheriff, councilman, president of the El Paso Chamber of Commerce, active political leader and well-known civic figure. March 26, 1951, Appendix B-5.


LeVeaux, Louis, Secretary, El Paso County Republican Executive Committee. June 27, 1950, Appendix B-12.


Ruff, Edgar T., head, Department of Modern Languages, Texas Western College. March 26, 1951, Appendix B-18.


Webber, George, AFL representative and organizer for El Paso; vice-president, 4th district, Texas State Federation of Labor; vice-president, National Farm Laborers' Union; and chairman, El Paso Housing Authority Board. March 26, 1951, Appendix B-24.

Williams, Marvin, and Dion Muse. Williams, newspaper publisher, real estate and insurance agent, and Negro leader. Muse, real estate agent and Negro leader. March 24, 1951, Appendix B-25.

Letters


Merjil, Arturo, Jose Davia and Luciano Santoscoy to the mayor, El Paso. Undated. Subject: Housing. See above, Chapter 3.


Santoscoy, Luciano, to George Lovecky, Secretary to the Director, Opportunity Fellowships, New York 20, N. Y., February 20, 1950. Subject: Housing and sanitation. Appendix D-3.

Veterans and Citizens Unity Club to Hon. Ken Regan, Representative in Congress, April 8, 1948. Subject: Housing. See above, Chapter 3.

Veterans Unity Club to the public. Open, undated letter. Subject: Housing. See above, Chapter 3.

Periodical Items


Advertisement, El Paso Herald-Post, LXX, 203 (August 26, 1950), p. 3.


"Can This Be Legal?" Editorial, El Paso Herald-Post, LXX, 146 (June 21, 1950), p. 10.


"Is This a Record to Be Proud Of?" advertisement, El Paso Herald-Post, LXX, 197 (August 19, 1950), p. 16.


Item, El Paso Times, LXX, 32 (February 1, 1950), p. 2.


"Judge Moss Charges Regan 'Asleep at the Switch'," El Paso Herald-Post, LXX, 164 (July 12, 1950), p. 2.


"Los Suscritos, Residents de Odessa, Texas........" advertisement, El Continental, XXV, 154 (July 21, 1950), p. 4.


"One Million Texans Can't Be Wrong," advertisement, El Paso Times, LXX, 197 (July 16, 1950), p. 44.


"Ten to Fifteen Years Are Required to Get Ahead in Congress! Look to the Future! With Fred Hervey..." advertisement, El Paso Herald-Post, LXX, 155 (July 1, 1950), p. 18.


"Which Man Would You Hire?" advertisement, El Paso Times, LXX, 190 (July 9, 1950), p. 44.


**Political Campaign Literature**

Jackson, Roy D.: Leaflet supporting candidacy of Jackson for Judge of the 34th District Court, circulated in the 1950 El Paso County campaign. See Appendix E-12.


"Paul Moss is the Man for Congress," leaflet distributed in the 1950 El Paso County Primary campaign. See Appendix H-10.


**Reports on Political Rallies**


AUTOBIOGRAPHY
I, James L. Busey, was born in Seattle, Washington, February 4, 1916. I received my secondary school education in the public schools of Alaska and California. My undergraduate training was obtained during the years 1934-1935, 1936-1937, and 1938-1939, at the College of Puget Sound, from which I received the degree Bachelor of Arts, Magna Cum Laude, in political science, in 1940. During the years 1937-1938 and 1939-1942 I served as teacher in elementary and secondary grades in the public schools of Alaska. During 1943-1946, while in the United States Army, I guided orientation groups and classes in foreign languages. From The Ohio State University, I received the degree Master of Arts in Education in 1947. While in residence at The Ohio State University, I acted in capacity of graduate assistant to Dr. Alan Griffin during the years 1946-1948, and during the spring quarter of 1948 served as instructor in the College of Education. Meantime, I had in 1947 begun graduate specialization in the Department of Political Science at The Ohio State University, and during 1948-1949 served in capacities of graduate assistant and assistant in that department. In 1949 I received an appointment as assistant professor of political science at the University of Wyoming, and have continued in this position while completing requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy at The Ohio State University. During the first term of the summer of 1951 I served as visiting assistant professor of political science and geography at New Mexico Highlands University.