

# MAPA de los ESTADOS UNIDOS DE MÉJICO.

*Segun lo organizado y definido por las varias  
actas del Congreso de dicha Republica y  
construido por las ingenias autorizadas.*

LO PUBLICAN J. DISTURNEL 102 BROADWAY

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Scale of English Miles. REVISED EDITION



# *Hispanic Americans in Congress* 1822–2012

## ★ INTRODUCTION ★

On September 30, 1822, Joseph M. Hernández began his service in Congress as Florida's first Territorial Delegate, pioneering Hispanic-American representation in the American republic. Like other Hispanic Americans in the federal legislature during the 1800s, Hernández advanced from the periphery of the Union to hold a brief term in an office whose core duties were more diplomatic than legislative, working to turn the former Spanish colony where he was born into a state.

*Hispanic Americans in Congress, 1822–2012*, chronicles the story of Hernández and the 90 Hispanics who followed him into Congress.<sup>1</sup> In helping to shape Congress, these *nuevomexicanos*, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, Cuban Americans, and Guamanians, among others, enriched U.S. history.

The United States House, the Senate, and the career trajectories of their Hispanic Members have undergone extensive change during this span of nearly two centuries.<sup>2</sup> During our research for this book, several recurring themes raised the following questions: How did these individuals' experiences compare to those of other newly enfranchised Americans, particularly African Americans during Reconstruction and women in the early 20th century? To what degree did American expansion influence the story of Hispanic Americans in Congress? How did their decades-long status as statutory representatives with constituents at the fringes of the continental United States affect their legislative priorities and shape their legislative styles? What was their reaction to the political culture of Capitol Hill, and how did they overcome institutional barriers?

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An 1847 map shows the states of Mexico and the southern United States at the time of the U.S.-Mexican War.

John Disturnell, *Mapa de los Estados Unidos de Méjico: Segun lo organizado y definido por las varias actas del Congreso de dicha república y construido por las mejores autoridades*, map (New York: J. Disturnell, 1847); from National Archives and Records Administration, Records of the U.S. Government, RG 11



Benigno Hernández of New Mexico, who served from 1915 to 1917 and 1919 to 1921 in the U.S. House, became the first *Hispano* to represent his state as a voting Representative.

Image courtesy of the Palace of the Governors Photo Archives (NMHM/DCA), 50403

## EXPERIENCES OF HISPANIC AMERICANS AND OTHER MINORITIES IN CONGRESS

In some ways the history of Hispanic Members resembles that of other groups who had been newcomers to Congress. For example, by the 20th century, many Hispanic Members—like women and African Americans in Congress—had eventually come to view themselves as “surrogate” representatives for Hispanics nationwide, legislating for individuals far beyond the borders of their individual districts or states.<sup>3</sup> Additionally, like the stories of women and African-American Members of Congress, the story of Hispanic Americans in Congress occurred overwhelmingly in the U.S. House: Of the 91 Hispanic Americans who have served in Congress, only seven were Senators, and three of these served in the House first.<sup>3</sup>

Hispanic-American Members assimilating into the political culture of Capitol Hill participated in the same stages of development that women and African Americans did: pioneering, apprenticeship, and mature integration.<sup>4</sup> But although these stages were roughly proportional, they unfolded over a much longer time frame for Hispanic Members than for other groups because of reluctance against incorporating “foreign” peoples into the American body politic and because of the disadvantaged political status of the territories they represented. (Seventeen of the first 25 Hispanic Members of Congress—68 percent through the end of the Second World War—represented territorial possessions.)

Hispanic Members’ story was unique in other aspects, too. After Reconstruction, black Americans experienced a prolonged period of contraction, decline, and exclusion that resulted from segregation and disfranchisement. From 1901 to 1929, there were no blacks in the federal legislature. Conversely, except for the period from the 49th through the 55th Congress (1885–1899)—due largely to political realignments in the New Mexico Territory rather than to direct disfranchisement—Hispanic Americans have consistently served in the federal legislature since the mid-1800s. From 1899 onward, at least one Hispanic American has served in each Congress. Unlike the pioneering women and African-American Members, who faced increased expectations and heightened scrutiny by the media, the earliest Hispanic Members elicited a muted reaction from the court of public opinion. In fact, the sparse coverage of New Mexican Territorial Delegates in Eastern newspapers and, particularly, the limited coverage of Puerto Rican Resident Commissioners by the mainland media, were considerable obstacles in researching this volume.

While seeking to advance within Congress and adapt to its culture, the early generations of Hispanic Members faced racial prejudices. Since there were relatively few of them, they also lacked the ability to organize legislative caucuses. More than one-third of them served as “statutory representatives,” that is, as Delegates or Resident Commissioners who possessed circumscribed legislative powers.<sup>5</sup> For the most part, the Constitution did not contemplate such representation over the long term, leaving Congress to establish and manage these offices, whose powers were often strictly limited. Thus, their legislative strategies differed from those of most Representatives and Senators. Quite often, Hispanic-American statutory representatives functioned more like envoys or ministers without portfolio than lawmakers. Consequently,

they often served as intercessors between the territorial governments and federal executive departments.

By the period after World War II, as Hispanic Representatives and Senators became more numerous, they cultivated legislative strategies that were common on Capitol Hill. Some pursued an institutionalist “work horse” strategy; adhering to the prevailing traditions and folkways of the House and Senate, they hoped to shape policies by attaining positions of influence on the inside.<sup>6</sup> Representative Henry B. González of Texas (1961–1999), who eventually chaired the powerful House Banking and Currency Committee, embodied such an approach. Though an advocate for civil rights since the early days of his political career, González eschewed identifying himself as a Member who supported Hispanic causes so as not to alienate others. In the 1960s, he repeatedly clashed with more-radical Hispanic activists in the Chicano movement, who embraced the name as a politicized term of self-identification. “Our task is to overcome political isolation, and it is a delicate path that makes the difference between attracting a friend and becoming isolated and alone,” González once noted. “If we cry in an empty room, we may expect to hear only our own echoes.”<sup>7</sup> Others, such as Ladislav Lazaro of Louisiana (1913–1927) and Edward Roybal of California (1963–1993), favored a methodical legislative style, diligently immersing themselves in committee work and policy matters.

Other individuals who embraced a “show horse” style were less common; circumventing prescribed congressional channels, they appealed directly to the public and media and became symbols for Hispanic civil rights. Many of the Puerto Rican Resident Commissioners—who were already relegated by their restricted role to the margins of institutional power—often bore the mantle of reform, claiming to speak on behalf of all Puerto Ricans. Among them were Luis Muñoz Rivera (1911–1916), Santiago Iglesias (1933–1939), and Antonio Fernós-Isern (1946–1965).

## FROM DEMOCRACY’S BORDERLANDS: HISPANIC-AMERICAN REPRESENTATION, 1822–1898

The congressional careers of the 10 Hispanic Americans who served during this era unfolded along with U.S. continental expansion. Each represented constituents whose native lands had been acquired by war or diplomacy from Spain or Mexico. For much of the 19th century, these lands lay at the far edges of the U.S. frontier. All but one of these Hispanic Americans—Representative Romualdo Pacheco of California—were Territorial Delegates, and the vast majority were from the New Mexico Territory, carved out of the lands ceded to the United States by Mexico in the wake of their conflict from 1846 to 1848.

The educational, professional, and social backgrounds of these Hispanic Members of Congress, particularly the eight Territorial Delegates from New Mexico, were strikingly similar. These Members were wealthy businessmen or landowners, well educated, and connected by fledgling political organizations and overlapping kinship networks. Their families had long played a governing role in the region in the era of Spanish rule predating Mexican independence. Several members of this cohort owned numerous Indian slaves; in Florida,



Ladislav Lazaro of Louisiana (right) was a country doctor whose civic service career began on the local school board. Lazaro eventually served in the Louisiana legislature before his 1912 election to the U.S. House. Here, he confers with Representative Joseph Walsh of Massachusetts (left) in 1921.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress



In the foreground, President William Howard Taft signs the New Mexico statehood bill. The United States, which acquired a vast swath of land in the Southwest ceded by Mexico after the U.S.-Mexican War, administered New Mexico as a territory for more than 60 years before admitting it to the Union in 1912. Most nineteenth-century Hispanic Americans in Congress were Delegates from New Mexico.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

A *Puck* cartoon from 1902, *Waiting for Their Stars*, depicts three territories, New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma, waiting to become states. Columbia promises, “Your stars shall be put on the flag just as soon as those politicians in Congress will let me.” Oklahoma entered the Union in 1907; New Mexico and Arizona followed five years later.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

Joseph Hernández operated massive plantations by using several hundred African-American slaves.

Their legislative strategies varied widely, though invariably they focused on basic infrastructure improvements, particularly roads and railways that would be important to any territory. None of these individuals were “surrogate representatives” in the sense that they represented Hispanic interests nationally, but several of them acted as ambassadors for their own Spanish-culture constituencies. José Manuel Gallegos, the first Hispanic Delegate from New Mexico, was a defrocked priest, a former Member of the Mexican legislative assembly, and an ardent Mexican nationalist. Gallegos understood implicitly that his overwhelmingly *nuevomexicano* constituency placed “peculiar demands” on Congress. “They are in their origins,” he explained to the House, “alien to your institutions, your laws, your customs, your glorious history, and even strangers to your language.... I am, and have ever been, one of that very people.”<sup>8</sup>

As Territorial Delegates, this generation of Hispanic Members of Congress had few substantive legislative accomplishments. The hurdles to effecting legislative change were numerous, although most were not as overt as the refusal by the House in 1854 to grant Delegate Gallegos an interpreter on the floor. (He spoke no English, and a clerk read his translated floor speeches throughout his House tenure). Far more subtle, but more profound, was the protean role of the Territorial Delegate in the 19th-century House. The institution, growing because of westward expansion, greeted the steady stream of territorial representatives in an improvisational fashion—putting in place an ad hoc system of representation whereby Congress crafted laws and set procedural rules that gave territories a limited voice in national affairs. Adding to the difficulty of addressing the interests of the large Hispanic population in the Southwest, too few Hispanic Members served at any one time to drive a legislative agenda. Except during three Congresses (the 45th through the 47th, 1877–1883), each with a pair of Hispanic Members who served simultaneously,



most of these individuals served their brief terms as the only Hispanic in the national legislature.

### **“FOREIGN IN A DOMESTIC SENSE,” 1898–1945**

The Spanish-American War of 1898 refashioned Hispanic representation in Congress. The short-lived war quickened America’s rise as a world power and expanded its overseas empire to include the Philippines and Guam in the far Pacific and, closer to home, Puerto Rico in the Caribbean basin. Of the 15 Hispanic Americans who were elected or appointed to Congress in this era, eight were statutory representatives. (One was from the New Mexico Territory before its admission into the Union as a state in 1912, and seven were from Puerto Rico.)

For decades, territories on the North American continent had been organized with the understanding that they would eventually be incorporated as states. U.S. colonialism forced Congress to decide how overseas territories and peoples who were never expected to be admitted into the Union would be treated in the national legislature. Congress’s solution to this problem was to create a piecemeal colonial administrative structure through a series of organic governing acts. Even the U.S. Supreme Court, in determining that such territories would remain unincorporated in a series of decisions known as the Insular Cases, was ambiguous about the status question: Puerto Ricans, the justices reasoned, were “foreign in a domestic sense.”

Congress set the administrative landscape for U.S. colonial rule in these far-flung locations—particularly in the case of Puerto Rico by the Foraker Act of 1900 and the Jones Act of 1917. Initially, the Foraker Act, which created the office of Resident Commissioner, greatly circumscribed Puerto Rico’s representation in the U.S. federal government. Most officials, including the governor, and key administrators in the colonial government were presidential appointees, and Congress had authority to overrule any law passed by Puerto Rico’s legislature. The Jones Act of 1917, while extending citizenship to Puerto Ricans, left the island’s long-term status uncertain.

During this era, Resident Commissioners arguably had less power than Territorial Delegates. The first Resident Commissioner, Federico Degetau, could not even sit with other Members in the chamber. Eventually, Resident Commissioners were granted this privilege, along with a seat on the Insular Affairs Committee, which had jurisdiction over territories and overseas possessions. But the early Resident Commissioners were not permitted to join party caucuses, they could not vote in committee, and they had no vote on final legislation that reached the House Floor. Like earlier Territorial Delegates, they were not at their core legislators. Rather, they functioned like lobbyists or envoys, who could educate, debate, and testify on behalf of legislation, but were unable to vote their constituents’ will.

Early Puerto Rican Resident Commissioners faced an uphill battle in making the case that territorial residents should participate in U.S. society and earn full citizenship rights. “A good deal has been said about the unpreparedness and the unfitness of our people for self-government,” Tulio Larrínaga, the island’s second Resident Commissioner, told congressional colleagues. “I wish every honest man ...



Resident Commissioner Félix Córdova Dávila of Puerto Rico (far left) visits the White House in 1924 with other leaders from the island. The delegation pressed President Calvin Coolidge to grant Puerto Ricans the right to elect their own governor. Until the 1940s, Puerto Rican governors were appointed by U.S. Presidents.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress



An image of the U.S. delegation to the Pan-American Conference in Rio de Janeiro in 1906. Puerto Rican Resident Commissioner Tulio Larrínaga is seated in the front row at the far left.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress



Dennis Chavez of New Mexico was the first Hispanic American to serve in both the U.S. House (1931–1935) and Senate (1935–1962). Chavez was an early proponent of Hispanic civil rights nationally.

Image courtesy of the U.S. Senate Historical Office



President Harry S. Truman (left) rides in an open car in Puerto Rico in 1947 seated next to Governor Jesús Piñero. A year earlier, Truman had appointed Piñero as the first native Puerto Rican governor of the island. Piñero had previously served as Resident Commissioner in the U.S. House.

Image courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration

to answer me this question: If every Territory and every State that has been admitted into this Union was better prepared than the island of Porto Rico is to-day? Look back to the different portions of this country which have been made States by acts of Congress. What was their population; what was their literacy; what was their wealth; what was their civilization as compared with the civilization of four hundred years of Porto Rico?"<sup>10</sup> Complicating matters was the fact that the Puerto Ricans themselves were divided nearly evenly into three factions regarding their future status: statehood, complete independence, or autonomy within a commonwealth structure.

Hispanic-American Members of Congress made notable gains in this era. Though he served only briefly and symbolically as the first Hispanic Senator, Octaviano Larrazolo of New Mexico (1928–1929) rose to prominence because of his long career as an advocate for *nuevomexicanos*, who he felt were marginalized and manipulated by the state's party structures. The next Hispanic to follow him—and the first to serve in both chambers—Dennis Chavez of New Mexico was arguably the first surrogate representative for Hispanics nationally; for instance, Chavez led a Senate panel that pushed for reforms in Puerto Rico during the early 1940s. As Hispanic Americans entered this apprenticeship phase on Capitol Hill, they gained more-prominent committee assignments. Joachim O. Fernández of Louisiana held powerful posts on the House Naval Affairs and Appropriations Committees in the 1930s, and during his brief stint in the U.S. House, Chavez chaired the Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, which had a strong influence on policy in the Western states.

## SEPARATE INTERESTS TO NATIONAL AGENDAS, 1945–1977

The Second World War marked another turning point for Hispanic representation in Congress. Of critical importance, it raised the expectations of returning Hispanic-American veterans, as it had for African-American servicemen; in fighting for democracy abroad, many believed that they had earned a greater measure of it, particularly in segregated locations, back home. An organized effort to attain broad civil rights ensued.

That movement followed two paths that converged by the end of the era. On the first path were individuals like Representatives González and Roybal; both were elected in the early 1960s but made their start in public service in the late 1940s, organizing local civil rights groups. Roybal founded the Community Service Organization (CSO) in southern California, and González created the Pan-American Progressive Association (PAPA) in San Antonio, Texas. CSO, PAPA, and similar groups that came into existence at that time advocated for education, housing, and employment issues important to their communities. By the 1960s, dissatisfaction with the pace of change led to the development of younger, more radical causes like the Chicano movement, which sought to spur local reforms and foster ethnic pride.

Meanwhile, Puerto Ricans experienced a different path to reform. In 1946, for the first time during U.S. colonial rule, a native Puerto Rican, former Resident Commissioner Jesús Piñero, was appointed to serve as governor. Then

the Elective Governor Act of 1948 granted islanders the power to choose their governor at the polls instead of having one imposed on them by presidential fiat. Four years later, largely because of the work of Resident Commissioner Fernós-Isern and political titan Luis Muñoz Marín (the son of former Resident Commissioner Luis Muñoz Rivera), Congress granted Puerto Rico commonwealth status via *Estado Libre Asociado* (the Free Associated State)—a position that was short of statehood but one that extended federal programs and protections and fostered local autonomy. Resident Commissioners gained more privileges in the U.S. House during a series of institutional reforms in the 1970s, though they now competed with other voices representing insular interests in Washington, D.C.

The 12 Hispanic Americans elected to Congress in this era continued a period of institutional apprenticeship. This generation was the first in which the number of Hispanic voting Members of Congress (six) equaled the number of Hispanic nonvoting statutory representatives. Though statistically small, this trend portended greater possibilities for voting Members, who enjoyed privileges and powers statutory representatives did not, including the ability to accrue the requisite seniority for leadership positions. Hispanic Members continued to earn spots on key committees where none had served previously: In the 80th Congress (1947–1949) Antonio Fernós-Isern of Puerto Rico served on the House Armed Services Committee; in the 85th Congress (1957–1959) Joseph Montoya of New Mexico served on the House Judiciary Committee; in the 87th Congress (1961–1963) González served on the Banking and Currency Committee; and in the 89th Congress (1965–1967) Roybal served on the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. In the Senate, Dennis Chavez, who entered that chamber in 1935, rose to chair the Post Office and Post Roads Committee in the 79th Congress (1945–1947) and the powerful Public Works Committee in the 81st and 82nd Congresses (1949–1953) and again in the 84th Congress (1955–1957) until his death in 1962 during the 87th Congress (1961–1963).

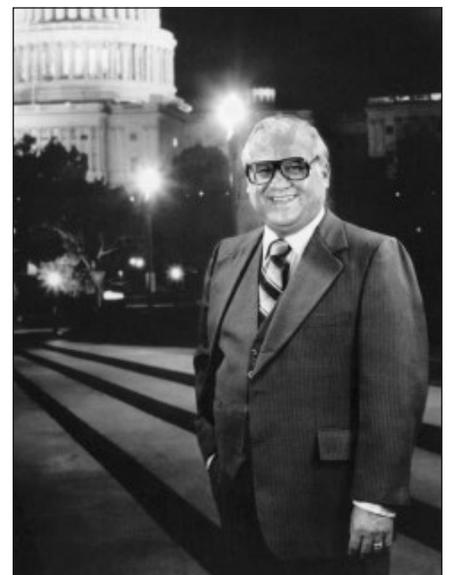
## STRENGTH IN NUMBERS, CHALLENGES IN DIVERSITY, 1977–2012

Like their female and African-American colleagues, the post-civil rights era generation of Hispanic lawmakers created a legislative groundswell on Capitol Hill. The civil rights movement, the ensuing civil rights legislation of the 1960s, and court-ordered redistricting opened new avenues of political participation for many Hispanic Americans. Consequently, many more Hispanics were elected to political office at the state and national levels. Fifty-four of the 91 Hispanic Americans who served in Congress through 2012—nearly 60 percent—were seated after 1977. The overwhelming majority of these representatives (44 of 54) were elected as voting Members of Congress—a departure from the trend in the prior three generations of Hispanic Members. Moreover, in the 1970s, for the first time, Hispanic Members were elected from states outside the Southwest, including New York, New Jersey, and Illinois. With the election in 1989 of Ileana Ros-Lehtinen of Florida, who succeeded the late Claude Pepper, two more barriers were broken: Ros-Lehtinen became the first woman of Hispanic descent and the first person of Cuban descent to serve in Congress. These gains over several



Senator Joseph Montoya of New Mexico (right) speaks with President Lyndon Johnson (seated). At left is New Mexico's other Senator at the time, Clinton P. Anderson.

Image courtesy of the Lyndon B. Johnson Library/ National Archives and Records Administration



Eligio (Kika) de la Garza of Texas chaired the House Agriculture Committee from 1981 to 1995, the second longest tenure of any chairman of that panel dating to its creation in 1820. Harold Cooley of North Carolina led the Agriculture Committee for 16 years in the 1940s and 1950s.

Collection of the U.S. House of Representatives, Photography Collection



A campaign button supports the election of Herman Badillo of New York to Congress. Badillo, who represented a district that encompassed parts of Queens, Manhattan, and the Bronx, was the first person of Puerto Rican descent to serve as a voting Representative in the U.S. Congress.

Collection of the U.S. House of Representatives



Tony Coelho of California helped the congressional Democrats establish a competitive campaign finance apparatus during the 1980s. Coelho became the Democratic Majority Whip, the highest elected House leadership position ever attained by a Hispanic American.

Collection of the U.S. House of Representatives, Photography Collection

decades were punctuated by occasional surges, such as the one after the 1992 elections, when the number of Hispanics in Congress increased by one-third. Additionally, the elections of Mel Martinez of Florida and Ken Salazar of Colorado and the appointment and subsequent election of Robert Menendez of New Jersey meant there were more Latino Senators in the 109th Congress (2005–2007) than there had been in the entire history of Congress. No Hispanic Senators had served in the chamber since the departure of Joseph Montoya of New Mexico at the end of the 94th Congress (1975–1977).

The increase in Hispanic Americans from seven during the 95th Congress (1977–1979) to 31 in the 112th Congress (2011–2013) signaled that the time for formal organization and coordination had arrived. In December 1976, weeks before the opening of the 95th Congress (1977–1979), Representatives González of Texas, Roybal of California, Eligio (Kika) de la Garza of Texas, Herman Badillo of New York, and Puerto Rican Resident Commissioner Baltasar Corrada-del Río formally created the Congressional Hispanic Caucus (CHC). The group, though small, represented the amalgamation of various factions of the larger Hispanic civil rights movement, including activists, mainstream and middle-class reformers, and insular advocates. “The fact that we have joined together,” the fledgling caucus declared, “is a sign of the growing power of our community, and we are looking forward to strengthening the Federal commitment to Hispanic citizens.”<sup>11</sup> Indeed, in the following decades as its membership grew, the caucus pushed forward an ambitious legislative agenda. But policy perspectives within the caucus were far from monolithic. An eventual rift among Members over foreign policy toward communist Cuba led to the departure of Republican members of the CHC in 1997. And eventually, the objection by Hispanic Republicans to the CHC’s treatment of an appeals court nominee in 2002 led to the creation of the Congressional Hispanic Conference in 2003.

During this era, Hispanic-American Members of Congress entered a mature phase of institutional development. As members of a cross-section of congressional committees, including the most coveted assignments, such as Appropriations, Ways and Means, and Rules, they were involved with legislation affecting every facet of American life. Representing districts that were electorally safe, many Hispanic Representatives enjoyed long careers that allowed them to accrue seniority and move into leadership positions. Since 1977, six Hispanic Members of Congress have chaired congressional committees—twice the number in the previous three eras combined. And for the first time, Hispanic Members have risen into the ranks of party leadership. The first, Representative Tony Coelho of California, chaired the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee in the early 1980s and was elected Majority Whip in the 100th Congress (1987–1989) and again at the opening of the 101st Congress. (He served until he left the House in June 1989.) Robert Menendez chaired the House Democratic Caucus from 2002 until 2006, when he was appointed to the U.S. Senate. Previously, Menendez served as vice chairman of the caucus (1998–2002); Xavier Becerra of California filled that role from 2008 to 2012. Others on the leadership ladder have served as Chief Deputy Whips, including Bill

Richardson of New Mexico (1993–1997), Menendez (1997–1999), and Ed Pastor of Arizona (1999–2013).

## HISTORIOGRAPHY

The first edition of *Hispanic Americans in Congress* was published in 1995. Researched and written by the Library of Congress’s Hispanic Division, it followed the same format that was used by the Office of the House Historian for the second editions of *Women in Congress* (1991) and *Black Americans in Congress* (1989). As with the third editions of the books on women and African Americans in Congress, this edition of *Hispanic Americans in Congress* features major changes, including expanded profiles of former Members, contextual essays that introduce the profiles chronologically and group them into generations, and appendices.

All the former Members who were included in the first edition of *Hispanic Americans in Congress, 1822–1995*, are also included in this publication. To compile the roster of Members elected after 1995, we used the official list of Hispanic Members of Congress of the Library of Congress’s Hispanic Division. Another litmus test for self-identification was membership in the Congressional Hispanic Caucus or the Congressional Hispanic Conference.

Filipino Resident Commissioners, most of whom retained Spanish surnames, are not included in this publication because they identified themselves as Asian Pacific Islanders. Scholars in the Asian and Hispanic Divisions of the Library of Congress advised the Office of the Historian to include these Members in the forthcoming *Asian/Pacific Islander Americans* volume of the *Minorities in Congress* series.<sup>12</sup>

## TERMINOLOGY AND TRANSLATION

We use the term “Hispanic”—the U.S. government standard (and that of most state and local governments)—to identify persons who trace their origins to Spanish-speaking countries or regions, including Spain. During its 35-year history, the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, for instance, has included individuals with origins in Mexico, Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Portugal. In academic usage and even among some quarters in the general public, “Hispanic” can be a controversial label. Some prefer the term “Latino” to denote any individual, regardless of racial origin, who originates from a Spanish-speaking region in Latin America or the Caribbean. Others prefer to identify themselves as being from a particular country, using the terms “Mexican American” or “Chicano” to denote their roots in Mexico. However, even advocates for other more region- or country-specific terms acknowledge that, according to surveys of public opinion, most Americans prefer the designation “Hispanic.”<sup>13</sup> Throughout this book, we strive to use terms that include a geographic area of origin. We also use the terms “Hispanic” and “Latino” interchangeably.

Many of the primary and secondary sources we consulted for this volume were written in Spanish. The Office of the Historian transcribed sections of original sources in Spanish for use in quotations in the biographical profiles and contextual essays; the original Spanish quotations appear in the endnotes. All paraphrased articles are cited, but not directly quoted, in the endnotes.



Members of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus pose on the East Front steps of the U.S. Capitol in 2004. The organization of the caucus in late 1976 marked the increasing power of Hispanics in electoral politics and their efforts to shape the legislative agenda in Congress.

Image courtesy of the U.S. House of Representatives Photography Office



One example of Hispanic organization in the latter 20th century was the protest movement that united migrant farm workers who sought better pay and benefits.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress



Manuel Luján, Jr., of New Mexico served in the U.S. House for nearly two decades and was a founding Member of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus in December 1976.

Collection of the U.S. House of Representatives

The Hispanic Division of the Library of Congress reviewed all quotations to ensure that the transcriptions and translations were grammatically correct. The Hispanic Division also added accents where applicable and modified the transcriptions to make them understandable to readers of modern Spanish. Original translations were prepared by Translations International, Inc.

## METHODOLOGY AND USEFUL RESEARCH STRATEGIES

As with previous editions in the *Minorities in Congress* series, we consulted several standard sources that were indispensable during the compilation of this book. Inquiries into Members' congressional careers should begin with the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*. Maintained by the House Office of the Historian and the Senate Historical Office, this publication contains basic biographical information about Members, pertinent bibliographic references, and information about manuscript collections. Previous editions of the *Congressional Directory* also provided important biographical information, particularly for Puerto Rican Resident Commissioners. This Government Printing Office (GPO) publication, published once per Congress in recent Congresses but often once per session in earlier Congresses, dates to the early 19th century. From the 104th Congress (1995–1997) onward, the *Congressional Directory* is available at <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/>.

In the early phase of our research, we also consulted standard secondary references such as the *American National Biography*, the *Dictionary of American Biography*, and *Current Biography*. We used various editions of the *Almanac of American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: National Journal Inc.) and *Politics in America* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press; Congressional Quarterly, Inc.; CQ-Roll Call, Inc.) as a starting point to research current Members and many former Members who served after 1971. We also consulted various editions of the United States Census for biographical information about Members by using [ancestrylibrary.com](http://ancestrylibrary.com) at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Many of these census citations appear in the notes.

Much of the information in this book was obtained from primary sources, particularly published official congressional records and scholarly compilations of congressional statistics. Following is a summary of the sources we consulted for information related to congressional elections, committee assignments, legislation, votes, floor debates, news accounts, and images.

- The election results for the biennial congressional elections from 1920 onward are available in the Clerk's "Election Statistics," published by GPO and available in PDF format at <http://history.house.gov/institution/election-statistics/election-statistics>. We used the names of current and former Members at the time of their election to Congress or their listing in congressional sources. Michael J. Dubin et al., *United States Congressional Elections, 1788–1997* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland and Company, Publishing, Inc., 1998) contains results for both general and special elections. For the results of elections for Territorial Delegates in New Mexico during the 19th century, we consulted W. G. Ritch, *The Legislative Blue Book of the Territory of New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press: 1968; reprint of 1882 edition);

the U.S. Department of State Territorial Papers, New Mexico, 1851–1872 (National Archives Microfilm Publication T17, Roll 2); General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59, National Archives at College Park, College Park, MD (hereinafter referred to as NACP); and the U.S. Department of Interior Territorial Papers of New Mexico, 1851–1914 (National Archives Microfilm Publication M364, Roll 2); General Records of the Department of the Interior, Record Group 48, NACP. For results for elections for Puerto Rican Resident Commissioners that were held before 1940, our main source was Fernando Bayron Toro, *Elecciones y partidos políticos de Puerto Rico: 1809–2000* (Mayagüez, PR: Editorial Isla, 2003).

- For information on district boundaries and reapportionment, we relied on Kenneth C. Martis, *The Historical Atlas of Political Parties in the United States Congress, 1789–1989* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1989) and the three-volume work by Stanley B. Parsons et al., *United States Congressional Districts* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986). Various editions of the *Congressional Directory* proved useful for consultation.
- Committee assignments and information about jurisdiction can be found in three indispensable scholarly compilations: David T. Canon, Garrison Nelson, and Charles Stewart III, *Committees in the U.S. Congress, 1789–1946*, four vols. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2002); Garrison Nelson, *Committees in the U.S. Congress, 1947–1992*, two vols. (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 1994); and Garrison Nelson and Charles Stewart III, *Committees in the U.S. Congress, 1993–2010* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2011). Committee rosters and information also are published in the *Congressional Directory*. However, this source does not indicate changes in committee composition that occur mid-Congress.
- Legislation, floor debates, roll call votes, bills, resolutions, and public laws dating back to the 1980s can be searched on the Library of Congress’s THOMAS website at <http://www.loc.gov>. Two particularly useful print resources that discuss historical acts of Congress are Steven V. Stathis, *Landmark Legislation, 1774–2002: Major U.S. Acts and Treaties* (Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2002) and Brian K. Landsberg, ed., *Major Acts of Congress*, three vols. (New York: Macmillan Reference, Thompson-Gale, 2004). Floor debates about legislation can be found in the *Congressional Record* (1873 to the present), which is available from 1989 to present at the THOMAS website at <http://www.loc.gov>; an index of the *Record* from 1983 to the present is available at <http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/>. Electronic copies of the *Annals of Congress* and the *Congressional Globe* (the predecessors of the *Congressional Record*) are available at <http://www.loc.gov>. We also consulted the official proceedings in the *House Journal* and the *Senate Journal*. For House roll call votes back to the second session of the 101st Congress, please visit <http://history.house.gov>. For Senate roll call votes back to the first session of the 101st Congress, check the U.S. Senate website at <http://www.senate.gov/>. For print copies of the *Congressional Directory*, the *Annals of Congress*, the *Congressional Globe*, the *Congressional Record*, the *House Journal*, or the *Senate Journal*, please consult a local federal depository

library. A GPO locator for federal depository libraries is accessible at <http://catalog.gpo.gov/fdlpdir/FDLPdir.jsp>. For presidential statements and addresses, we used John Woolley and Gerhard Peters, eds., *The American Presidency Project* at <http://www.presidency.ucsb.edu>.

Using an online database, we reviewed key newspapers for the historical periods included in this book, including the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal*, and the *Washington Post*. We also consulted microfilm editions of Spanish and Spanish-English newspapers, including the *Albuquerque (NM) Journal* (various editions); *El mundo* (San Juan, PR); *La correspondencia* (San Juan, PR); *La democracia* (San Juan, PR); the *San Juan Star* (San Juan, PR); the Santa Fe (NM) *Weekly Gazette* (various editions); and the Santa Fe *New Mexican* (various editions). News accounts and feature stories provided missing information, particularly for Members who served before 1945. All the newspaper articles are cited in the notes.

We consulted a number of primary source collections for biographical and legislative information. In addition to the U.S. Department of the Interior Territorial Papers (Record Group 48) and the U.S. Department of State General Records Files (Record Group 59), we consulted the Presidential State Files, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, IA; Records of the Office of Territories, Record Group 126; and the Records of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, Record Group 350, NACP; and the Records of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, Record Group 233, National Archives, Washington, D.C. We also visited the Center for Southwest Research at the University of New Mexico (Albuquerque); the State Records Center and Archives and the Museum of New Mexico (Santa Fe) to review microfilm and photo collections of 19th- and early 20th-century New Mexico; and the Louisiana State University Libraries Special Collections (Baton Rouge).

## BIBLIOGRAPHIC SOURCES

We hope this book will serve as a starting point for students and researchers. Accordingly, we have provided bibliographic information. When applicable, we have included information at the end of each profile about principal manuscript collections, other repositories with significant holdings, and oral histories. This information was drawn from the House and Senate records that were used to compile the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*.

The historical literature on Latino studies, which has become one of the most dynamic fields in the profession, has been created largely since the 1960s and is far too complex for a detailed discussion here. As often as possible, in the endnotes of the essays and profiles of this volume, we have pointed readers toward standard works on various aspects of Latino studies and congressional history. However, the following general studies of Hispanic-American politics and civil rights proved important. They include F. Chris Garcia and Gabriel R. Sanchez, *Hispanics and the U.S. Political System: Moving into the Mainstream* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice-Hall, 2008) and Maurilio E. Vigil, *Hispanics in Congress: A Historical and Political Survey* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1996). For the rise of Chicano activism, two books by Juan Gómez-Quíñones are standard: *Chicano Politics: Reality & Promise*,

1940–1990 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990) and *Roots of Chicano Politics, 1600–1940* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994). Manuel G. Gonzales, *Mexicanos: A History of Mexicans in the United States*, second ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836–1986* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987), and John D. Skrentny, *The Minority Rights Revolution* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2002), are also useful histories. An important general reference work is Suzanne Oboler and Deena J. González, eds., *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Latinos & Latinas in the United States*, four vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

For the history of America's relationship with Puerto Rico and overseas possessions with Hispanic populations, we found the following works to be useful. The standard overview of Puerto Rican-U.S. relations is César J. Ayala and Rafael Bernabe, *Puerto Rico in the American Century: A History since 1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007). Also helpful, though more focused on the U.S. perspective, are books by Surendra Bhana, *The United States and the Development of the Puerto Rican Status Question, 1936–1968* (Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 1975), Roland I. Perusse, *The United States and Puerto Rico: The Struggle for Equality* (Malabar, FL: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1990), and Truman R. Clark, *Puerto Rico and the United States, 1917–1933* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 1975). Other useful works that focus on specific aspects of Puerto Rican history during the era of American rule are Thomas G. Mathews, *Puerto Rican Politics and the New Deal* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1960); Alfredo Montalvo-Barbot, *Political Conflict and Constitutional Change in Puerto Rico, 1898–1952* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1997); and James L. Dietz, *Economic History of Puerto Rico: Institutional Change and Capitalist Development* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986). To help us better understand the complicated Puerto Rican political landscape, we consulted Robert J. Alexander, ed., *Political Parties of the Americas* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982) and Robert W. Anderson, *Party Politics in Puerto Rico* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1965). Two political biographies also were important: A. W. Maldonado, *Luis Muñoz Marín: Puerto Rico's Democratic Revolution* (San Juan, PR: La Editorial Universidad de Puerto Rico, 2006) and Gonzalo F. Córdova, *Resident Commissioner Santiago Iglesias and His Times* (San Juan, PR: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1993). For an introduction to the protean nature of Puerto Rico's status in the American empire, we consulted Christina Duffy Burnett and Burke Marshall, eds., *Foreign in a Domestic Sense: Puerto Rico, American Expansion, and the Constitution* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001) and Bartholomew H. Sparrow, *The Insular Cases and the Emergence of American Empire* (Lawrence: The University Press of Kansas, 2006).

A number of volumes helped us better understand the history of New Mexico, its status as a territory and push for statehood, and the U.S. Southwest generally. Useful general histories included Charles F. Coan, *A History of New Mexico*, three vols. (Chicago & New York: The American Historical Society, 1925); Jack E. Holmes, *Politics in New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of



Admiral William Leahy (bottom right) speaks with Puerto Rican officials in 1939 about his new position as the island's governor. Among the officials are Resident Commissioner Santiago Iglesias (seated, center) and future Resident Commissioner Bolivar Pagán (standing second from right).

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

New Mexico Press, 1967); Howard R. Lamar, *The Far Southwest, 1846–1912: A Territorial History*, rev. ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2000); and Robert W. Larson, *New Mexico's Quest for Statehood, 1846–1912* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968). Laura E. Gómez, *Manifest Destinies: The Making of the Mexican American Race* (New York: New York University Press, 2007) and John M. Nieto-Phillips, *The Language of Blood: The Making of Spanish-American Identity in New Mexico, 1880s–1930s* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004) offer compelling narratives about ethnic and racial identity in the territory in the decades after its control was transferred to the United States. For biographical information on early Territorial Delegates, the following were valuable guides: Carlos Brazil Ramirez, “The Hispanic Political Elite in Territorial New Mexico: A Study of Classical Colonialism” (Ph.D. diss., University of California–Santa Barbara, 1979); Gerald Arthur Theisen, “Jose Manuel Gallegos (1815–75): The First Mexican-American in the United States Congress” (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1985); Ralph Emerson Twitchell, ed., *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, vol. II (Cedar Rapids, IA: Torch Press, 1912); and Maurilio E. Vigil, *Los Patronos: Profiles of Hispanic Political Leaders in New Mexico History* (Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1980).

For a better understanding of the history of U.S. territorial acquisition and Manifest Destiny, we consulted George C. Herring, *From Colony to Superpower: U.S. Foreign Relations since 1776* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981); Thomas R. Hietala, *Manifest Design: American Exceptionalism & Empire* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003); Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815–1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); Walter LaFeber, *The American Age: U.S. Foreign Policy at Home and Abroad*, two vols. (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994); Eric T. L. Love, *Race over Empire: Racism & U.S. Imperialism, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); and Gordon S. Wood, *Empire of Liberty: A History of the Early Republic, 1789–1815* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

The notion of representation on the periphery of a democracy, which is embodied by statutory representatives to Congress, is understudied and ripe for scholarly exploration. Nevertheless, the following works are helpful jumping-off points: Abraham Holtzman, “Empire and Representation: The U.S. Congress,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 11, no. 2 (May 1986): 249–273; Arnold H. Leibowitz, *Defining Status: A Comprehensive Analysis of United States Territorial Relations* (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1989); Betsy Palmer, “Delegates to the U.S. Congress: History and Current Status,” Congressional Research Service (CRS) Report for Congress (R40555), 6 January 2011, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; R. Eric Petersen, “Resident Commissioner from Puerto Rico,” CRS Report for Congress (RL31856), 16 January 2009; Earl S. Pomeroy, *The Territories and the United States, 1861–1890: Studies in Colonial Administration* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1969; reprint of 1947 edition); José E. Rios, “The Office of the Resident

Commissioner of Puerto Rico” (M.A. thesis, Georgetown University, 1969); William R. Tansill, “The Resident Commissioner to the United States from Puerto Rico,” *Revista jurídica de la Universidad de Puerto Rico* 47, nos. 1–2, 1978: 68–106; and Nancy Jo Tice, “The Territorial Delegate, 1794–1820” (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1967).

For readers who are interested in acquiring reproductions of the photographs in this book, we have provided information for images from public, private, and commercial repositories. The photo collections we used are as follows: Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.); the Still Pictures Branch of the National Archives and Records Administration (College Park, MD); the Center for Southwest Research, University of New Mexico (Albuquerque); the Museum of New Mexico (Santa Fe); the Puerto Rican Cultural Institute (Chicago, IL); and the Las Vegas Citizens Committee for Historic Preservation (Las Vegas, NM). Others photographs were provided by the Collection of the U.S. House of Representatives; the Office of Photography, U.S. House of Representatives; the Collection of the U.S. Senate; and the U.S. Senate Historical Office. The images of current Members were provided by their offices, which are the point of contact for those seeking official images.

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Matthew A. Wasniewski, Historian

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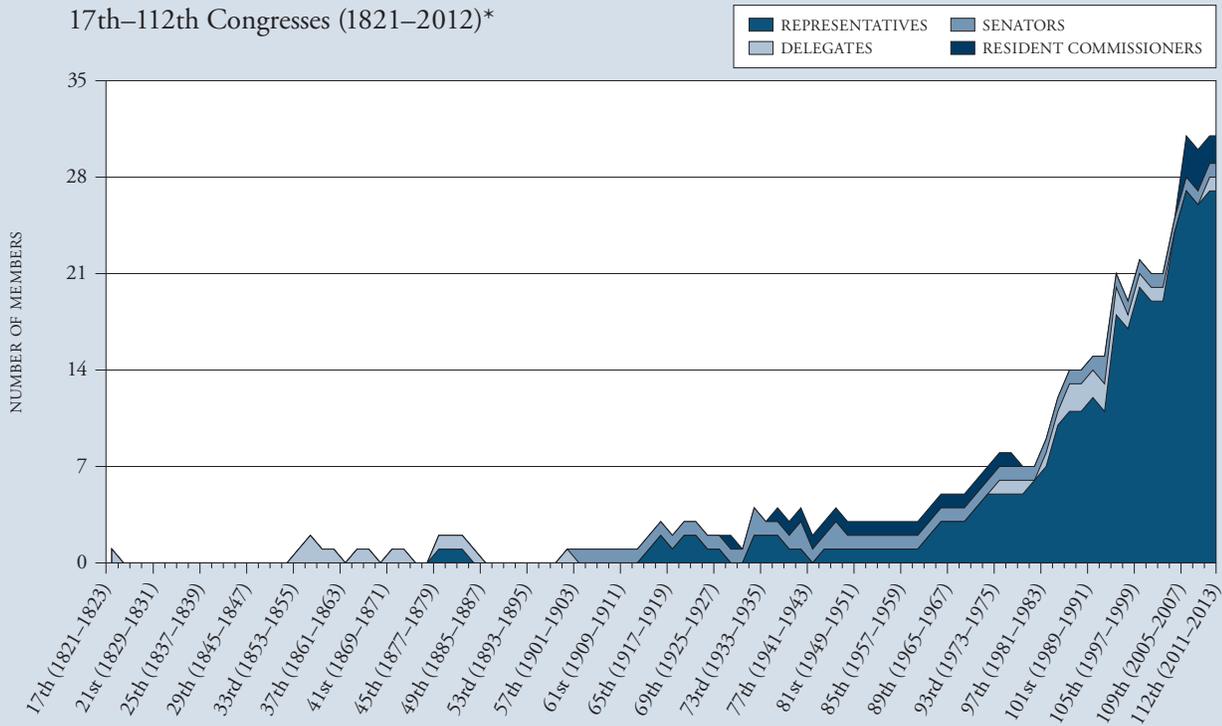
## NOTES

- 1 The closing date for the individuals included in this volume was September 1, 2012.
- 2 For a useful essay on surrogate representation within a larger discussion about “descriptive” versus “substantive” representation, see Michele L. Swers and Stella M. Rouse, “Descriptive Representation: Understanding the Impact of Identity on Substantive Representation of Group Interests,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the American Congress*, Eric Schickler and Frances E. Lee, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011): 241–271.
- 3 The proportions (through June 2012) for African Americans are similar: a total of 132, 126 of whom have served in the House and six of whom have served in the U.S. Senate (4.5 percent of the total). A total of 277 women have served in Congress—238 in the House and 39 in the Senate (14 percent of the total); eight of the women with Senate service had served previously in the House.

- 4 See Office of History and Preservation, U.S. House of Representatives, *Women in Congress, 1917–2006* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2007): 1–5; *Black Americans in Congress, 1870–2007* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2008): 1–7.
- 5 See for example, Abraham Holtzman, “Empire and Representation: The U.S. Congress,” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 11, no. 2 (May 1986): 249–273.
- 6 For more on the “work horse” versus “show horse” styles, see James L. Payne, “Show Horses and Work Horses in the United States House of Representatives,” *Polity* 12 (Spring 1980): 428–456.
- 7 For the quotation, see Thomas J. Foley, “‘Brown Power’ Parley Opens This Weekend,” 22 October 1971, *Los Angeles Times*: A18. See also Jack Rosenthal, “U.S. Latins Vote Political Drive: Office in Capital Planned by Spanish-Speaking Unit,” 25 October 1971, *New York Times*: 17.
- 8 *Congressional Globe*, House, 34th Cong., 1st sess. (23 July 1856): 1730.
- 9 For overviews of the Insular Cases, see James E. Kerr, *The Insular Cases: The Role of the Judiciary in American Expansionism* (Kennikat, NY: Kennikat Press, 1982): 3–13; Christina Duffy Burnett and Burke Marshall, “Between the Foreign and the Domestic: The Doctrine of Territorial Incorporation, Invented and Reinvented,” in Christina Duffy Burnett and Burke Marshall, eds., *Foreign in a Domestic Sense: Puerto Rico, American Expansion, and the Constitution* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001): 1–36.
- 10 *Congressional Record*, House, 61st Cong., 2nd sess. (1 June 1910): 7241.
- 11 David Vidal, “Congressional Caucus Is Formed to Speak for Hispanic Population,” 9 December 1976, *New York Times*: 32.
- 12 Memorandum, Georgette Dorn (chief, Hispanic Division, Library of Congress) to Matthew Wasniewski (deputy chief/historian, Office of History and Preservation, U.S. House of Representatives), 13 October 2010.
- 13 For general discussions of these various ethnic labels, see F. Chris Garcia and Gabriel R. Sanchez, *Hispanics and the U.S. Political System: Moving into the Mainstream* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson-Prentice Hall, 2007): 6–14; Kim Geron, *Latino Political Power* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005): 3–4; and Suzanne Oboler, *Ethnic Labels, Latino Lives: Identity and the Politics of (Re)Presentation in the United States* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995): i–xxi, 1–16.

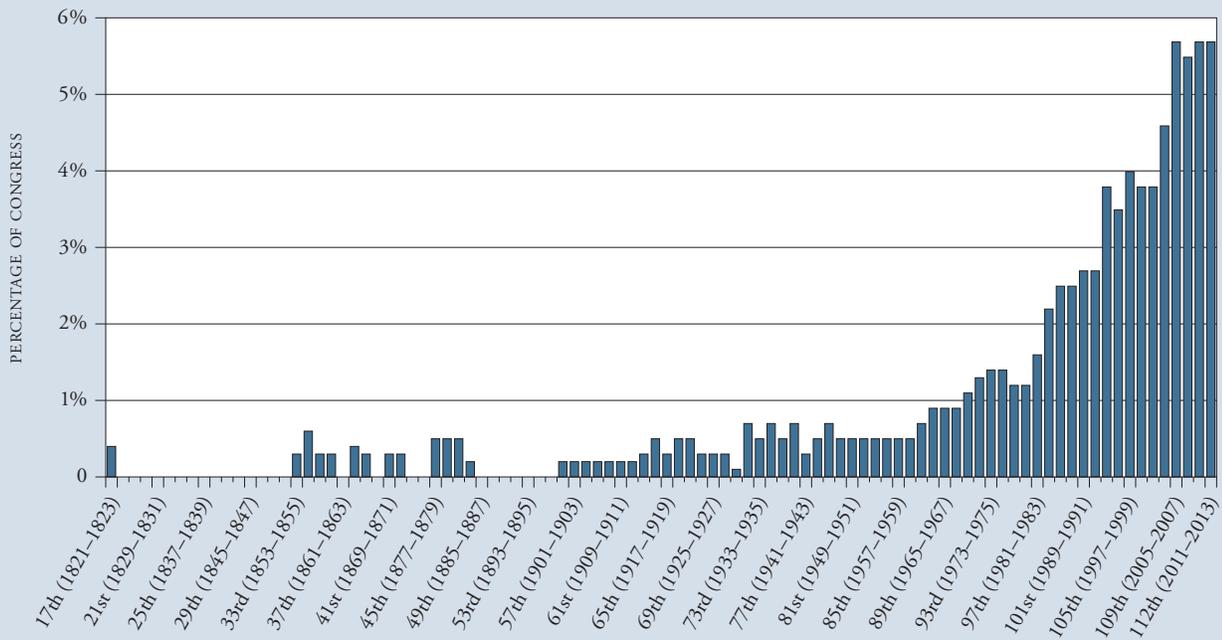
### Hispanic Americans in Congress

17th–112th Congresses (1821–2012)\*



### Hispanic Americans as a Percentage of Congress

17th–112th Congresses (1821–2012)\*

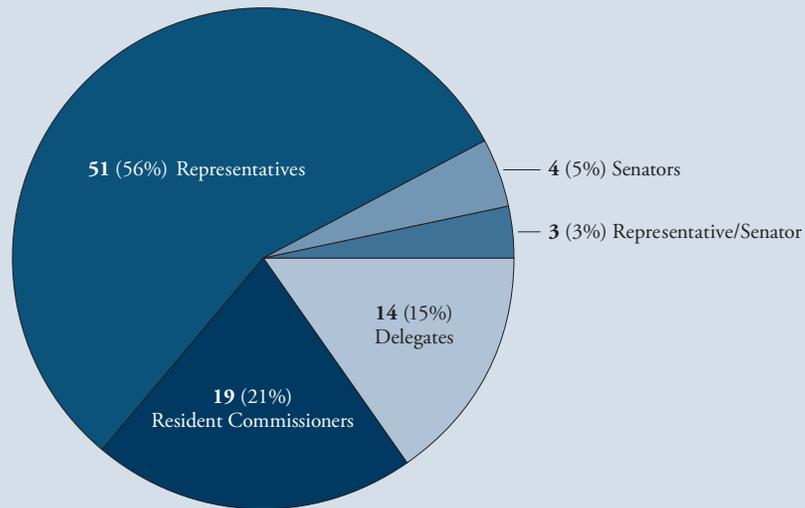


Source: Appendix A: Hispanic-American Representatives, Senators, Delegates, and Resident Commissioners by Congress, 1822–2012; Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives; U.S. Senate Historical Office.

\*112th Congress (2011–2013) as of September 1, 2012.

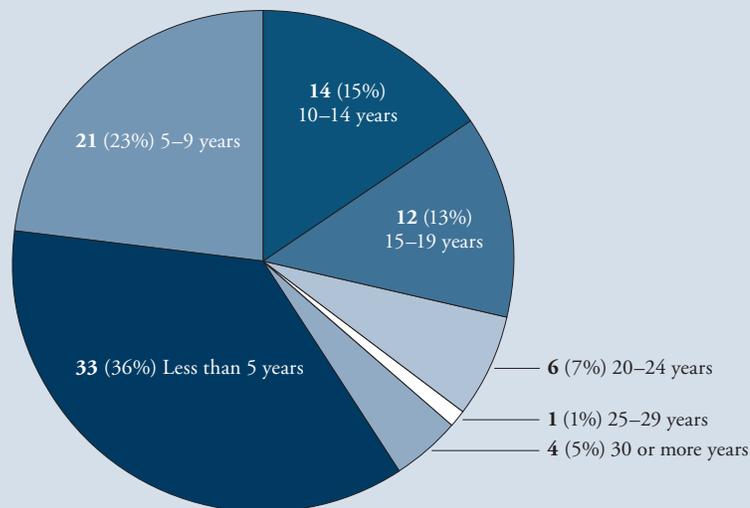
## Hispanic-American Members by Office<sup>†</sup>

1821–2012\*



## Length of Service of Hispanic-American Members of Congress<sup>‡</sup>

17th–112th Congresses (1821–2012)\*



Sources: <sup>†</sup> Appendix A: Hispanic-American Representatives, Senators, Delegates, and Resident Commissioners by Congress, 1822–2012; <sup>‡</sup> *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress, 1774–2005* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 2005); also available at <http://bioguide.congress.gov>.

\*112th Congress (2011–2013) as of September 1, 2012.