A PASSION FOR POLITICS: THE LIFE OF MULFORD WINSOR

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CONTENTS

Introduction iii

I. From Kansas to Arizona 1
II. Tucson, Arizona, 1899-1903 6
III. Newspaper Days: Phoenix to Yuma and Back, 1904-08 13
IV. Mulford Winsor, Territorial Historian 17
V. The Making of Arizona's Constitution 23
VI. The Road to Statehood 28
VII. Mulford Winsor, State Land Commissioner 34
VIII. Rancher and Senator, 1915-1917 45
IX. Water, Politics, and Pestilence, 1917-1918 52
X. The Yuma Mesa Auxiliary Project and a Run for Governor 61
XI. The Collapse of Arizona's Cotton Industry; First Regional Planning for Colorado River Control 70
XII. Muddying the waters: Arizona and the Colorado River 76
XIII. Hunt vs Winsor: The River and the Code Commissioner 84
XIV. Damming the Colorado: Winsor and the Swing-Johnson Bill 91
XV. The Arizona Colorado River Commission 96
XVI. Political Interregnum: Winsor becomes State Librarian, 1932 109
XVII. The State Library: Depression Years, 1932-36 112
XVIII. A New State Library Building and the WPA Statewide Library Project: First Efforts Toward Library Extension 121
XIX. A Nation at War: Arizona's Libraries, 1941-44 132
XX. State Aid for Arizona's Libraries? 1945-1949 140
XXI. ASLA vs Winsor: Stalemate 1950-1951 158
XXII. The Extension Agency: A Double Cross and a Failure 1951-54 174
XXIII. The Death of Mulford Winsor and the Activation of Library Extension, 1956-1957 186

INTRODUCTION

When Mulford Winsor died following a stroke at the age of eighty two in Phoenix on November 5, 1956, he ended more than a half century of service to the territorial and state government of Arizona. Born in Kansas May 31, 1874, he came with his family at the age of eighteen to Arizona where he became a newspaper printer, editor and publisher. In 1901, 1905, and 1909, he was named Assistant Chief Clerk in the Territorial Legislature. In March 1909 he was called to be Arizona's first Territorial Historian. In 1910 he was elected a delegate from Yuma County to the Arizona Constitutional Convention. When George W. P. Hunt became the first governor of Arizona in 1912, he asked Winsor to be his private secretary. Later that year, he was named the first chairman of the State Land Commission, a position he held until 1915. He was elected Senator from Yuma County beginning with the third State Legislature meeting in January 1917, serving as President of the Senate from 1923 to 1928. During the last two years of his Senatorial tenure, he was a member of the Arizona Colorado River Commission, making several trips to Washington to testify on behalf of Arizona's interests in the Colorado River controversy. On the death of Arizona's first State Librarian, Con P. Cronin, in 1932, Winsor was named by the State Legislature as Arizona's second State Librarian, a position he held until his death twenty-four years later.

Like his predecessor, Mulford Winsor had no background or training in library work, and, from all indications, no particular interest in Arizona's libraries aside from the State Library, which he viewed as an agency whose primary responsibility lay with service to the State Legislators. As a long time member of the Arizona State Senate, Winsor was an expert in bill drafting, a skill which he made available freely to legislators who wished help in presenting their measures before the legislature. This, together with the provision of legislative reference, he regarded as the most important part of his work as State Librarian. In addition, Winsor's first important political appointment, that of Territorial Historian of Arizona, was indicative of his life-long passion for the collection and preservation of historical and archival material about Arizona. In 1937, he succeeded in amalgamating the State Historian's office with that of the State Library, thus officially adding research in Arizona history to his duties.

Thus, when Winsor was approached by members of the Arizona State Library Association beginning early in the 1940s with reiterated requests for State Library support for stronger libraries in Arizona, his reaction was lukewarm at best. ASLA efforts to work through the State Library for the establishment of an extension agency to further the cause of Arizona libraries, lacking the enthusiastic support of the State Librarian, were rebuffed year after year by the State Legislature. Finally, in 1948, the rumored possibility of Federal asistance for libraries, available only to states having an extension agency, breathed new

life into ASLA's cause. On March 17, 1949, the 19th Arizona State Legislature passed a bill establishing an extension agency as part of the State Library, this agency to become operative only if the Public Library Service Demonstration Bill passed Congress. Since the Congressional Bill failed, the Arizona State Extension Agency remained dormant.

In the end, the breakthrough came with Congressional passage of the Federal Library Services Act during the summer of 1956. Mulford Winsor's death on November 5 that same year led to a change in the administration of the State Library and the beginning of a new era of library service in Arizona.

I am appreciative to a number of institutions and individuals for supporting my study of the life of Mulford Winsor. My research on Winsor's life and times was supported by a sabbatical leave granted by the University of Arizona for the fall semester 1987. In addition, I was named the 1988 recipient of the Bert Fireman Award by the Arizona Historical Foundation. Members of the Reference Staff at the Arizona Historical Societies of Tucson and Yuma were generous with information, as was the ever helpful staff at Special Collections, University of Arizona Library, Tucson.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Sharon Womack (1940-1993), then Director of the Arizona Department of Library, Archives & Public Records, who not only was unfailingly interested in my efforts to learn more about her predecessor in office, but who supported my research by giving me free access to the voluminous records of the State Library and of the Arizona State Library Association, stored at the DLAPR Archives building. I regret that her untimely death prevented my sharing my completed history with her.

Finally, my greatest appreciation goes to my good friend, Mulford Winsor's daughter, Eleanor Winsor Davis (1904-1995), who loaned me her father's personal papers and who was my initial inspiration for undertaking the life of Mulford Winsor. It is to Eleanor, in love and friendship, that I dedicate this volume.
Margaret F. Maxwell

I. FROM KANSAS TO ARIZONA

Mulford Winsor was born on May 31, 1874, in Jewell City, Kansas, the third child and second son of Caroline Kelly and Mulford Winsor, Sr. A country newspaper editor, his father managed newspapers in Jewell County until the family moved to Leavenworth in 1884. Here, according to his own recollection, the ten year old boy learned to set type on the Leavenworth Evening Standard, standing beside his father. Of this experience he said, "I remember that the hand-written copy was very poor, particularly the unedited but meager telegraph."1

Two years later, when the family moved to Fort Smith, Arkansas, twelve year old Mulford seems to have continued his work as a compositor; he worked with his father on the Fort Smith Elevator (a weekly), the Fort Smith Times (morning) and the Evening Call. The precocious teenager gained a reputation all over the state of Arkansas as a "swift," an extremely fast and accurate compositor, during the seven years that the Winsors remained in the area. Here Mulford completed grade school and high school, the extent of his formal education.

Things seemed to be going well for the Winsors, except for the fact that Fort Smith, situated as it was near mosquito infested marshes on the banks of the Arkansas River, was not a healthy place to live. Malaria struck the family. The oldest son, Walter, had moved to Arizona in 1890. He wrote glowing reports of a land "where the air is pure and malaria unknown."2 In January 1892, the Winsor family sold their home, packed their belongings, and took the Santa Fe Railroad for Seligman, Arizona, where they caught the Prescott and Arizona Central Railroad to their destination, the little town of Prescott, Arizona. Here Mulford Winsor, Sr., turned his hand to contracting and building houses while the young Mulford worked as a compositor both for the Journal-Miner and the Courier.

Prescott in 1895, judging by contemporary photographs and written accounts, must have been a pleasant place for solid, conservative, God fearing folk such as Mulford and Carolyn Winsor. A panoramic lithograph created by Jules Baumann, Prescott photographer and artist, in 1891 shows a town of some pretensions built up around a dignified Victorian style court house of three stories on the town square. According to Baumann, "Prescott enjoys a most perfect climate; cyclones, fog, extreme heat or cold are unknown here. The air is light, dry and pure, full of fragrance from the lofty pines which cover the surrounding hills. One finds here excellent public schools, churches of 5 different denominations, flourishing fraternal societies, a well organized and effective fire department, militia company, Grand Army post, etc., etc., also 2 daily papers and in fact most everything that goes to make up a modern, American town." Even making allowances for civic boosterism, Prescott, Territorial Capital of Arizona until 1889, had an atmosphere of culture and stability that was all too often lacking in some of the less settled areas of the Territory.

But though hard times may have come later to Arizona than they did to the more settled Eastern areas of the United States,

by the end of the year 1895, locally depressed economic conditions forced Prescott businesses to cut back. Mulford found himself only occasionally needed by Prescott's two newspaper editors. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that when Mulford's brother Walter, who had previously moved to the town of Yuma in the southwest corner of the Territory, told him of an opening at the Yuma Times, that he decided to leave Prescott. By May 25, 1895, he was serving as the foreman of the Times, with his brother as his assistant. And so, with the hot summer drawing on, Mulford found himself in a town with such a reputation for searing temperatures that it seems to have been the original for the old joke about the prospector who having died and gone to Hell, sent back upstairs for his blankets.

However, there seems to have been more to Yuma than heat. As a contemporary account put it, "Yuma was an 'adobe' town, as all Arizona towns have been, but it is rapidly losing that characteristic with the building of modern wood and brick structures. The county court house and jail are relics of old adobe decency, but the church and school buildings are first-class structures, which condition argues well for Yuma's morals and intelligence... The leading merchants occupy good buildings. The last public building erected is the Gandolfo hotel, a brick structure two stories in height, having a frontage on Main street of 195 feet. The upper floor contains thirty guest rooms...

"The town has all the modern equipment of sewerage, waterworks, electric light and telephone... Water is supplied the town by pumps and a reservoir on the hill. The ease with which the desert may be made to blossom like the rose is shown by an orange grove on the hill, near the reservoir, from which the ground is watered... In the Colorado bottom lands, below the town, irrigation is effected by means of pumps, supplying two canals, and a comparatively small area of land is under cultivation. The chief products of this land are alfalfa, grapes, and peaches.

"This 'gate city' of the Territory has a great future in store for it, unless all indications are at fault." 3

No wonder that the young Mulford Winsor decided to forsake the pines of Prescott and to throw his lot in with the fortunes of the fledgling Yuma Times. But scarcely had the Times's rival, the weekly Arizona Sentinel, announced, albeit grudgingly, that the Times' editor thought his new foreman "a No. 1 man,"4 than it cheerfully announced its obituary. Alas to read, first on July 13, that "The Sheriff took possession of the Times office last Sunday afternoon and moved the material to the court house where it still remains. Two judgements have been rendered against it and an appeal to the District Court taken. This ties the Times up for the present and it is probable that some little time will intervene before its readers will have the pleasure of perusing its columns again." On August 3, Sentinel readers learned that "The Yuma Times plant was sold yesterday morning at 10 o'clock to satisfy the judgement of Samuel Purdy (Yuma County Attorney) against the Yuma Printing and Publishing Company. It was bought by Mr. Purdy for $200 over a chattel mortgage held by

J. W. Dorrington for $500."

At this point, Mulford and his brother Walter, casting about for new possibilities to earn a living, took up 160 acres of fine river bottom land five miles south of Yuma. Joined by their parents, they decided to try their hands at farming. Mulford Winsor, Sr., built a modest four room frame dwelling on the property and they planted the acreage to alfalfa.

Though his father seemed happy, working on the construction of a new home for his family on the fertile tract of land in the Yuma Valley and plunging himself into the detailed study of everything that had been written about the possibility of irrigating the desert lands on which he now found himself, Mulford soon found himself looking around for more challenging employment. He probably met Dick Laney, an official of the F. L. Ewing Lumber Company on Third Street in Yuma in the course of arranging for the lumber to build their house on the bottom lands. As Mulford recalled the story some years later, "Laney and his wife, a highly capable lady,... conceived the idea that there was an urgent opening in the journalistic field. They visited the author of this story at his ranch in Yuma Valley... and persuaded him to take charge of the managerial and mechanical phases of the Laney newspaper project. He did so for pure love of the labors of a newspaper office, 'whether mechanical or journalistic." 5

Late in March, Mulford left Walter with his parents to continue cultivating their river bottom ranch while he took the dirt road north to Yuma. Here he established himself and his new weekly newspaper in an old adobe building which stood on Madison Avenue two doors south of the old Sanguinetti home (now the headquarters of the Yuma Historical Society). As he remembered it, "the adobe was old and crude, but it answered the requirements of the none too particular manager of the Advertiser. It contained rooms for a business office, a composing room and a pressroom, in which latter compartment stood a Washington hand press, one of the last of its type. A small receptacle adjoining the business office served as a bedroom for the man of all work--namely the writer-- except in the summer months, when he spent the hours of delightful nocturnal repose on a cot perched on the roof, which was reached by way of a ladder."6

Here, happily basking in the last of Yuma's mild spring days, Mulford set in type and issued the Yuma Advertiser's first number, dated April 9, 1896. As an item of local interest, he stated "Tomorrow April 10th the Yuma Sun will appear above the editorial horizon. The bright young attorneys, Brown and Huson will wield the pen and shears and we venture to assert will cause the sun to shine."

Sadly enough, Winsor's fledgling newspaper survived less than two months. But coincidentally, at about the same moment that Winsor's Advertiser ceased publication, C. L. Brown, coeditor of the equally new Yuma Sun, asked Winsor if he would be interested in joining forces with him, as his partner had decided to bow out of the business. Winsor was delighted; he turned over the idle Advertiser equipment, including the quarters it had

occupied on Madison Avenue. The Yuma Sun announced that it was now published by Charles L. Brown and Mulford Winsor. The Brown-Winsor partnership lasted only three months. In mid August 1896 Brown sold his interest in the newspaper to Winsor, who carried it forward alone for the next three years.

Winsor had first shown an interest in Democratic politics in 1896, when he served as secretary for the Yuma county Democratic convention. Having dabbled tentatively at the edge of the water in 1896, by the time of the October 1898 county Democratic convention Winsor decided to get his feet wet. His own Yuma Sun for October 7, 1898, listed the complete slate of Democratic candidates for the twentieth Territorial Legislature along with other biennial elective county positions. As he noted, "most of the gentlemen selected by the Democratic Convention to represent that party in the fall campaign are well known citizens of Yuma County, and their interests in the community as well as their ability to variously perform the duties of the respective offices to which they aspire are matters of history... As candidate for Assemblyman, the Democratic party chose Mulford Winsor, proprietor and editor of this paper. Of his claims and qualifications we can have but little to say in these columns, further than to tell in brief plain manner of the years he has spent in preparation for public life in whatever direction his services might be demanded...

"Mr. Winsor's sentiments should by this time be well known, as he has had the editorial management of the Sun, which reads in every camp and by nearly every voter in Yuma County, for over two years. If he be chosen to represent Yuma County in the lower house of Arizona's Legislature, his every effort will be put forth in aiding to secure the reforms so strenuously demanded, notably the abolishment of the territorial Boards of Control, Equalization, Immigration, and Education, which is incorporated in the Territorial Democratic platform and is receiving the endorsement of the voters of all parties." 7

But alas for Mulford's new found political aspirations. Despite the possibly less prejudiced opinion of the editor of the Arizona Bulletin the following week that "Mr. Winsor is a man of intelligence and would reflect credit on his county if elected to the legislature,8 Republican candidate John Doan won the election.9

What Winsor might have done, had he won election to the twentieth Arizona Territorial Legislative Assembly, is of course speculative. But Winsor seems to have determined to leave Yuma. Six months later, on Friday, March 10, 1899, the Sun's editorial column carried the announcement of the sale of the newspaper to J. E. Devine, a Phoenix newspaperman. Giving himself enough time to wind up his affairs in Yuma, on April 17, 1899, Mulford Winsor took the Southern Pacific railroad train for the biggest city in the Territory of Arizona, Tucson, where that same day he began his new position as news editor of the Arizona Daily Citizen.10

1. Winsor, Mulford. "Mulford Winsor's Story of Himself," typescript, E. W. Davis Collection.

2. Mulford Winsor, Sr., to Washington Winsor, July 27, 1902, typescript, E.W. Davis collection.

3. "Yuma, Arizona," The Arizona Graphic, 1 (Jan. 20, 1900), 1-2.

4. Arizona Sentinel, May 25, 1895.

5. Mulford Winsor, "First Daily Publisher gives Story of Beginning," Yuma Daily Sun, Sept. 25, 1953.

6. Ibid.

7. Yuma Sun, Oct. 7, 1898.

8. Arizona Bulletin, Oct. 14, 1898.

9. Arizona Sun, Nov. 11, 1898.

10. Arizona Daily Citizen, April 17, 1899.

II. TUCSON, ARIZONA, 1899-1903

After Mulford Winsor's years in Yuma, Tucson, largest city in the Territory of Arizona, must have been an imposing sight. The business district, some three quarters of a mile from the Southern Pacific station, was impressive, with its unpaved streets fronted with brick buildings and tall poles strung with electric wires for lighting marching along the edge of the sidewalk. Stately Victorian homes illuminated with the new electric power or the older, more reliable gas lighting bordered Main Street to the north of the business district and in the Armory Park neighborhood to the south. And not only were most of the businesses and many of the homes electrified; a municipal water system had furnished Tucsonans with safe, drinkable water for more than a decade, freely available at thirty-five hydrants located throughout the city. The finer homes of Tucson had water piped indoors; a few of them even boasted indoor bath facilities. In addition, many of those members of Tucson's aristocracy who had abandoned the ubiquitous "little house" in the far corner of the back yard were subscribers to Tucson's local telephone exchange. What a contrast this must have seemed to the little Colorado River village of Yuma.

Tucson had spread out in all directions from its earlier center around Stone, Pennington, Congress, and Main Streets, so much so that a year earlier, in 1898, a streetcar powered by two mules traversed rails laid out to the east from the Southern Pacific depot past the buildings of the Indian School to the growing University still isolated on its forty acres three miles from Tucson in the desert. A second mule car line ran south to Carillo's Gardens, a pleasant, tree shaded amusement park located a few blocks southwest of the business district on the banks of the Santa Cruz River.

If all this was not enough to prove that Tucson was a thoroughly modern city, the first automobile in the Territory, a Locomobile steamer, owned by Dr. H. W. Fenner, came to Tucson that same year.1 And in contrast to Yuma, which seemed just barely able to support two rival weekly newspapers, two daily papers, the morning Arizona Daily Star and the evening Tucson Citizen had coexisted for a number of years, though not, of course, without rivalry. It was to work as news editor on the Citizen that Mulford Winsor had come to Tucson on Monday, April 17, 1899.

The Republican oriented Tucson Citizen, edited for many years by Herbert Brown, had recently acquired a new manager and editor, George H. Smalley, who for several years previously had edited the Phoenix Evening Herald. In a series of autobiographical reminiscences written a half century later, Smalley remembered his first sight of his new newspaper plant. The financially shaky Citizen "was housed in a long adobe building at the corner of Congress and Main. During the heat of a summer day the tin roof of the building sent blistering heat into the newspaper office. In the process of printing a paper, the wax rollers would start to melt, and the press had to be stopped. I had a box made to contain two rollers which was

packed with ice, and when the ink dragged on the forms, I had two other rollers in the icebox which were substituted for the two melting rollers. In that way we printed the editions."2

An experienced newspaperman straight from an Arizona village where summer temperatures topped anything Tucson could possibly muster probably looked like an ideal assistant to the hard working Citizen editor. And indeed Mulford Winsor and George Smalley seem to have worked well together, remaining friends for many years after their brief association on The Citizen. But Mulford did not remain long at this time in Tucson. Just after the first of the year, the Tucson Citizen announced that "Mulford Winsor, former editor of the Yuma Sun, has received the appointment of County Assessor of Yuma County for the ensuing year to succeed John M. Speese, whose term expired." 3

Mulford's enthusiastic pursuit of Yuma County's taxes must have made him one of the best known albeit least popular citizens of the county. If one is to believe the account in the Citizen for May 14, 1900, he "accomplished a distance of nearly 1000 miles in seventeen days," mostly on horseback, visiting every mining camp, farm and ranch in the county. Just how much revenue Mulford collected, and how he established his assessment of value of the various properties he inspected in Yuma County is not known. Probably it is just as well that after one term as tax assessor, he did not attempt the unpopular task again.

Winsor's survey of Yuma county, which must have interested him greatly, together with the preparation of required reports to Governor N. O. Murphy occupied him through the end of the fiscal year. On August 24, 1900, a month later, he returned to the Yuma Sun, this time as business manager. 4 Without doubt, he maintained his interest in Arizona politics and the Democratic party. Perhaps he witnessed the fractious Democratic convention held during the month of September in Phoenix. At any rate, at the opening of the Twenty-first Territorial Legislature in the new Capitol Building in Phoenix on January 21, 1901, Mulford Winsor held the appointive post of assistant chief clerk of the Council.5

This opportunity to witness as well as to record the day by day transactions of the Legislature was an invaluable apprenticeship for Winsor's later political career. Much of the Legislature's time was taken up with revisions to the Arizona Civil Code, a matter which was to be of much interest to Winsor some years later. Members of the Legislature locked horns on many issues with Governor Murphy, rejecting his plea for funding for the construction of a new Territorial Prison to replace the antiquated and inadequate fortress at Yuma. They seemed equally unwilling to heed his request for funding for the construction of storage reservoirs as an aid to irrigation. However, they adopted the saguara blossom as the official flower of Arizona, and selected an official State Ode, "composed by Mrs. Elise E. Averill, of Tempe, and Mrs. Frank Cox of Phoenix." Moreover, they gave tax exemption for twelve years to beet sugar factories, and passed a law "making it unlawful for any person to conduct a game of chance on the streets of any unincorporated city." They then turned their attention to appropriation bills. In addition

to the general appropriation bill allowing state expenditures of $35,000, a number of special appropriation bills were passed, including the generous sum of $1000 "to defray the expense of the Legislative committee on dedication of the capitol." All in all, as future State Historian George Kelly commented, "This Legislature made more appropriations and passed more bills over the Governor's veto than had ever been done by any former session."6

Whatever their feelings toward Governor Murphy, the legislators knew how to throw a good party, particularly when they were given an expense account of $1,000 to do it. The dedication of the new capitol building on February 24, 1901, must have been spectacular. The legislative chambers were garlanded with pine and banked with shrubs and flowers. Governor Murphy, Chief Justice Webster Street and President Eugene Ives of the Council spoke. Mrs. Frank Cox of Phoenix, fair composer of the just adopted Arizona Ode, sang the ode to great applause. In the evening, as one newspaper correspondent put it, the capitol was "dampened in the most approved style," with a punch bowl in the Governor's office, another in the office of the Secretary, a third in the Council Chamber and a fourth in the Assembly Hall. "If that will not lay far over the best cocktail route ever traveled in the Southwest I miss my guess," concluded the correspondent, with considerable enthusiasm.7

We may assume that our hero took in the festivities, and that he also survived them. The following month, the March 27, 1901 Arizona Sentinel reported that "Mulford Winsor, who has been serving as Asst. Chief Clerk of the House in the late 21st finished up his work and came home from Phoenix on Monday morning's train."

Winsor remained as business manager of the Yuma Sun until May 17, 1901. On that date he severed his association with the Sun, becoming co-owner and manager of the Southwest Printers Supply of Los Angeles.8 For the rest of the year, he traveled about the Territory selling type fonts and other printers' supplies to Arizona newspapers.

In April 1901 the Tucson Arizona Citizen, for which Mulford Winsor had worked briefly in 1899, changed hands. Herbert Brown, proprietor of the Citizen and superintendent for several years of the Territorial Prison at Yuma sold the paper to a conglomerate known as "the Democratic syndicate." According to Don Schellie, the "syndicate" consisted of two wealthy Arizona mining men, Charles M. Shannon and William C. Greene.9 As George Smalley, editor under whose direction Mulford had worked earlier, put it, Greene had purchased the Citizen in order to provide a job for John H. Behan, a friend from his Tombstone days.10 Behan was teamed with O'Brien Moore, who had served as editor of newspapers in Houston and St. Louis before coming to Arizona. The "syndicate" seems only to have provided the cash for the newspaper operation, leaving management and editorial policy to Behan and Moore.

Editor Moore was characterized by Smalley as "very pugnacious and a vicious writer."11 That plus the fact that the first issue of the Citizen announced to staunch Republican

Smalley's dismay that since the Republican party had become "a servile servant of monopoly, ... this newspaper will henceforth resolutely advocate the principles of the Democratic party,"12 led Smalley to leave the paper.

The change in political affiliation, of course, would not disturb Democrat Mulford Winsor. Evidently he felt he could get along with the scrapping O'Brien Moore. Behan's name disappeared from the Citizen masthead on May 23, 1901, about the time that the Arizona Citizen moved to larger quarters at the corner of South Stone Avenue and Broadway.13 On December 13, 1901, the Citizen announced: "Hon. Charles M. Shannon and his associates, who purchased The Citizen last spring for the sole purpose of establishing a Democratic daily newspaper in Arizona, having now effected that purpose, have sold all their rights, title and interest in The Citizen Publishing Company to O'Brien Moore and Mulford Winsor." From this date, the masthead read "O'Brien Moore, Editor. Mulford Winsor, Manager." And on December 16, three days later, the name of the paper was changed from The Arizona Citizen to The Tucson Citizen.

The opening of the year 1902 found Mulford at work in Tucson on the Citizen. In addition, evidently as representative for "the newspaper syndicate," possibly the Shannon-Greene partnership which had purchased the Citizen in 1901, Winsor began traveling about southern Arizona looking for newspapers to purchase. After a trip to Tombstone, the Tombstone Prospector claimed that "Mr. Winsor is the most successful newspaper man in Arizona, being to this section of the southwest what Mr. Hearst is to older and more thickly populated sections."14

But Mulford and O'Brien Moore came to a parting of the ways in July and he left Tucson and the Citizen. On July 3, the Tempe News announced that "Mulford Winsor has purchased the Phoenix Enterprise, and yesterday entered upon his new duties as editor and manager of that paper." Shortly thereafter, he acquired the assets of the Phoenix Democrat and, according to the Yuma Arizona Sentinel, "buried the now defunct sheet in the rear of the Enterprise office. Mr. Mulford Winsor announces that a new plant has been purchased and the Enterprise will shortly come to the front as a real, first class afternoon paper."15

Those were heady days, as Mulford seemed bent on proving the truth of the Tombstone Prospector's characterization of him as "the most successful newspaper man in Arizona." Despite the frantic pace of his activities, however, he seems to have found time for frequent visits to Tucson. Keno Brown, a young friend of George and Lydia Smalley whom he had met in Tucson the year previous, seems to have been the attraction.

It would seem, however, that Keno herself was not at first the principal reason for his visits. Keno's parents, Jim and Ollie Brown and their three daughters with their easy laughter, their loving congeniality, and the hospitable welcome that they extended the serious, reserved young businessman must have been a tremendous contrast to the pious rigidity of Winsor's own home. It is easy to understand why he found this casual, outgoing, fun loving family attractive.

Jim and Ollie Brown had come to Arizona in 1879, settling

on a ranch in Sahuarito. Five children, Clara Beatrice ("Keno"), James Kilroy, Jr. ("Roy"), Harriet Estelle ("Tootsie"), John Stephenson ("Johnie") and Marguerite Bernice ("Billie") were born to them while they were in Sahuarito. Although they loved the isolated ranch on the stagecoach route between Nogales and Tucson, they realized that their children needed schooling. Keno, the eldest, was sent to Tucson to attend St. Joseph's Academy. In 1899, in order to keep the family together and so that the younger children could go to school, Jim moved his family to Silver Lake just south of Tucson. While nineteen year old Keno finished her classes and piano lessons at St. Joseph's and enrolled at the University of Arizona, sixteen year old Tootsie and eleven year old Billie rode to the school on Congress Street downtown in Tucson on burros. The two boys, eighteen year old Roy and fifteen year old Johnnie, continued to help out on the ranch at Sahuarito.

By the time Mulford met the Browns, they were living in a handsome two story house, the Fitch house, on Military Plaza not far from his friends, George and Lydia Smalley. Mulford seems to have been most attracted at first to the now eighteen year old Tootsie. Tootsie, however, showed no interest in this short, clean cut, good looking, fastidious young business man. In her eyes he seemed pompous and stuffy, as well as terribly old -- being all of twenty six. So Mulford, who seems to have decided that it was time he married, dropped Tootsie and turned his attention to Keno.

Keno Brown was twenty one. She had never found school interesting, so she was no longer enrolled at the University. A sweet, charming young woman, she danced well, played the piano, and recited nicely. As her daughter Eleanor characterized her, "horses, people, parties, dresses, and dancing" interested her more than anything else.16 Mulford decided Keno would make him an acceptable wife, so he began to court her. Not only did he single her out for special attention when he joined the Browns on picnic outings to Sabino Canyon and the Santa Rita Mountains, and on trips to their ranch at Sahuarito; he took her to the theater, to Silver Lake, and to Carillo's Gardens. He had a fine singing voice, and Keno loved to accompany him on the piano.

But Ollie, thinking back many years later on her dear Keno's life with Mulford Winsor, noted several incidents that should have warned Keno of trouble ahead. First of all, Ollie and Jim were troubled by Mulford's superior moral attitude toward their daughter's nickname. "Keno," he said caustically, "is the name of a gambling game, and I prefer she be called Clara, her proper name." Clara she was -- to Mulford. But her family and friends continued to call her Keno.

Keno loved costumes. She had a beautiful Indian costume that she loved to wear, letting her long black hair hang loose about her shoulders. Ollie had a photograph of Keno in her Indian costume, probably taken as she was about to go to a party. When Mulford saw it, he tore it up. His future wife was not to be seen in public looking like a savage!

One of the most beautiful homes in Tucson was the palatial residence in "Snob Hollow" owned by General L. H. Manning. A

month or so before Keno and Mulford were to be married, they were invited to a dance at the Manning home. Mulford came down on the train from Phoenix in plenty of time for the dance, but he decided he was too tired to go. Moreover, since he was not going, he did not think Clara should go either. Clara, who loved parties and dancing, was heartbroken. As Ollie remembered it, "I thought he was unreasonably selfish and cruel, and said, 'No matter what he wants I'd go if I were you.' Well, she went with some friends, John and Pauline Metz. The next day he acted in such a mean way the engagement was broken and she gave him back his diamond. That same evening he asked me to take a drive with him, which I did. He said, 'What do you think of Clara and me.' I said, 'Mr. Winsor, I think it's the best thing that ever happened, so much better now than later.' Oh, if only the engagement had never been renewed, but it was the next day. Christmas day of 1903 with a house full of wonderful mistletoe decorations and small colored electric lights entwined; they were married by the Rev. Mr. Selby, an Episcopal minister. She was a sweet pale faced little bride and Mulford a nice looking groom."17

Mulford and Clara left immediately for the Winsor ranch in the Yuma valley, where Clara met Mulford's parents for the first time. After the first of the new year, they moved to their new home at 1135 West Adams, Phoenix.

"Things went well for a while," summarized Ollie, "then Mulford became cold, arrogant, and unbearable -- became engrossed in politics, spent most of his time away from home, and let Keno get along the best way she could. He was and is the most mentally cruel man I know, yet I've always liked and admired him" 18

1.C. L. Sonnichsen, Tucson: the Life and Times of an American City (University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), p. 161.

2. George Herbert Smalley, My Adventures in Arizona (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1966), p. 90-91.

3. Citizen, Jan. 8, 1900.

4. Estelle Lutrell, "Newspapers and Periodicals of Arizona, 1859-1911," University of Arizona Bulletin, General Bulletin, no. 15, July 1949, p. 102.

Corrected in margin

5. ~~Kelly, op. cit.~~ George H. Kelly, Legislative History: Arizona, 1864-1912 (Phoenix, 1926), p. 218.

6. Kelly, op. cit. p. 206 and passim.

7. Kelly, p. 215.

8. Lutrell, "Arizona Newspapers," p. 102.

9. Don Schellie, The Tucson Citizen, a Century of Arizona Journalism (Tucson: Tucson Daily Citizen, 1970, p. 69.

10. Smalley, My Adventures in Arizona, p. 103. Schellie's research agrees with Smalley; see his The Tucson Citizen, p. 70.

11. Smalley, p. 103.

12. Arizona Citizen, Jan. 1, 1901.

13. Schellie, p. 72.

14. Tombstone Prospector, June 24, 1902.

15. Arizona Sentinel, Sept. 23, 1903.

16. Eleanor Winsor Davis, "Ollie and Jim in Sahuarito," unpublished ms., p. 241.

17. Olive Stephenson Brown, "Journal," transcribed by E. W. Davis; original in possession of E.W.D.

18. Ibid.

III. NEWSPAPER DAYS: PHOENIX TO YUMA AND BACK, 1904-08

Yumason

1904 was a hard year for Arizonans. The failure of the International Bank of Nogales on January 14 was only a portent of depressed economic conditions to follow. Drought conditions in the Salt River Valley area surrounding Phoenix brought economic hardship with them. Times were hard for Mulford Winsor, uncomfortably aware of the size of the mortgage on his Phoenix Enterprise, and the difficulty each month of making income equal outgo. Just how this affected Mulford's new bride, soon pregnant with her first child, we can only imagine. The novelty of showing off his pretty wife and of introducing her to his friends and associates in Arizona's capitol city soon wore off, particularly after her condition became obvious and she entered the customary period of "confinement," when no proper woman would be seen in public. Worried about bills that arrived whether the Enterprise's income was sufficient to take care of them or not, Mulford spent long hours at the newspaper office working. For the first time in her life, Keno felt unlovely, neglected, and unhappy. Yet she was excited over the prospect of having a baby of her own. When her first daughter, Eleanor Winsor, was born on December 10, 1904, it seemed the culmination of her dreams. Mulford, too, was ecstatic with his new fatherhood.

Shortly thereafter, Mulford was selected as Assistant Chief Clerk of the Arizona House of Representatives of the 23rd Legislature. 1 George W. P. Hunt, later to be Arizona's first elected Governor and a good friend of Mulford and Clara Winsor, was elected president of the Council for that session. It is possible that Hunt first made Winsor's acquaintance at this time.

1905 was one of the years in which Joint Statehood (the admission of Arizona and New Mexico as one state) was being debated in Congress. As Winsor recalled it, "In the 23rd there was no one--Democrat or Republican--to agree to jointure on any terms, and upon the recommendation of Governor Brodie Congress was memorialized for free and unadulterated Statehood. About the 15th of February Governor Kibbey replaced Governor Brodie, and he proposed an election to show Congress just how much opposed to joint Statehood Arizona really was. But the Legislature was too economy minded for that. It was fairly liberal with itself--though not as much so as previous legislatures--but it would not go for the expense of an election..."2

As may be imagined, these matters and others served as grist for the mill of the young editor of the Phoenix Enterprise, who by his own account "let the chips fall where they might," regardless of the fact that he risked making enemies in high places by his brash commentaries on Legislative events and personalities. Evidently this happened. Shortly after the close of the 23rd Legislature's session, as Winsor remembered the incident, "the holder of the Enterprise securities suddenly demanded immediate payment in full. I was unable to meet the demand without accepting proffered assistance from certain large interests which then controlled more than one Arizona newspaper, and I declined the offer. Unable to satisfy the demand of the importunate holder of an overdue mortgage on my printing plant...

I turned the printing plant over to my creditor and moved out."3 On June 21, 1905, the Arizona Sentinel announced that "Mulford Winsor, Jr. has sold his interest in the Phoenix Enterprise and will return to Yuma and take charge of the Yuma Sun." Clara, Mulford, and baby Eleanor established themselves in a small frame house on Orange Avenue in Yuma, not far from the Madison Avenue offices of the weekly Yuma Sun, and Mulford went back to his former editorial responsibilities on that newspaper.

Five months later, on November 15, 1905, Mulford Winsor and his associates decided to phase out the weekly Sun, and to establish a daily newspaper, a first for Yuma. First, the newspaper plant was moved from its old location on Madison Avenue to a larger building on the north side of Second Street. A Cottrell-Babcock cylinder press was purchased, an acquisition which Winsor later characterized as "an otherwise improved but still primitive plant."4 The owners had hoped to tie their new daily in with the telegraphic news service of the Associated Press, but this was not immediately accomplished. As Winsor told it, "The Morning Sun was of necessity definitely a local newspaper. It appeared regularly six times a week, in company with the brilliant luminary from which its title was derived, but since it had no press franchise its coverage of news did not equal the scope of the purveyor of light and heat. To this there was one notable exception. When on April 18, 1906, San Francisco and other California localities were shaken by one of the most disastrous earthquakes in American history, everyone was eager for news of succeeding events. A local Southern Pacific Railroad train dispatcher ... provided the answer. As press report after press report from the scene of destruction came over the wires he took them off and conveyed copies to the Morning Sun. During the period of excitement not less than two and sometimes three special editions were issued daily, giving to the people of Yuma a down-to-the-hour account of the terrible tragedy."5

And so the daily newspaper now called The Yuma Sun had its inception. It was printed under Mulford Winsor's direction until the following year.

On March 6, 1907, the Arizona Sentinel announced that "The Morning and Weekly Sun, and the printing plants connected therewith were on Monday sold to Mr. A. M. Foster, the well-known job printer and newspaperman, who assumed control on Tuesday. Mulford Winsor, the former editor and proprietor of the Sun, will, we understand, engage in farming in Yuma Valley." Mulford and Clara and their two daughters (a second child, Margaret, had been born February 1, 1906) left the house on Orange Avenue and moved in with Mulford's parents in the frame house south of Yuma.

Although Mulford may have felt that the move to the valley was expedient, doubling up with Mulford's parents must have meant many adjustments for both families. Caroline Winsor had many traits which must have annoyed the generous, affectionate, openhanded Clara; permeating the older woman's character was a streak of religious piety amounting almost to fanaticism. Her thrifty ways verged on stinginess. But above all Carolyn Winsor ruled the family with stern matriarchal domination and

unbendingly iron zeal. To give her her due, one must recognize that it must have been hard for the older woman to suddenly find herself sharing her home with a daughter in law and two noisy little girls. In fact, the constant irritation she probably felt having to live with Mulford's children, together with the resentment that must have gone along with living with a daughter in law who did not run the same sort of "tight ship" as she did, must have been galling. Perhaps this was the reason that Mulford's father decided to build another house on some property he and Mulford had earlier acquired on the mesa east of downtown Yuma. As soon as the house was livable, he and Caroline Winsor moved, leaving the valley home to Mulford and his family.

But it was some time before this occurred. In the meanwhile, Clara tried to make the best of the situation. She fit in as best she could, helping her mother in law with her garden, feeding the chickens, canning, taking care of her two little children, and doing the innumerable chores that fell the lot of a ranch wife. This became increasingly difficult after she found herself pregnant again, early in 1908. Mulford proved neither sympathetic nor helpful. Seemingly quite oblivious to Clara's distress, he betook himself once again to newspaper work and other more interesting pursuits to be found in Yuma, leaving Clara alone with a father in law who, she felt, was sometimes inclined to be overly affectionate and a mother in law who openly resented her. She had been brought up with the adage "a soft answer turneth away wrath," and so she kept her feelings to herself and went out of her way to avoid antagonizing anyone. Only late in her life, long after Carolyn Winsor's death, in answer to her daughter Eleanor's query as to what she thought of Carolyn during the years she lived with her, she said simply, "I disliked her." Probably to everyone's relief, sometime during the first part of the next year, in the spring of 1908, the house on the mesa was far enough along to be habitable, and the elder Winsors took themselves to their new home.

How long Clara Winsor remained at the ranch in Yuma after this is not known. She determined to go home to her beloved family in Tucson for the birth of her third child. Some time during the fall she took the train for Tucson with Eleanor and Margaret. Her third child, a boy, named Mulford after his father and his grandfather, arrived on December 26, 1908.

Mulford Winsor was not in Tucson for the birth of his son. In fact, from all evidences, he seemed in no particular hurry to see the new arrival. He joked, in a facetious letter written to his mother in law, Ollie Brown, after the event, that he was "puffed up to twice (his) normal size" with pride, and suggested that Ollie accompany Clara and the children when she decided to come back to Yuma.6

But Clara was not to return to Yuma, with or without her mother, for many months. She and the children remained in Tucson with her family while Mulford once again took the train for Phoenix. The Twenty-fifth Territorial Legislature of 1909 was about to begin its sessions, and Mulford was determined to have a part in it.

1. George H. Kelly, Legislative History: Arizona, 1864-1912 (Phoenix, 1926), p. 245.

2. Mulford Winsor, "Speech to the Senate of Arizona, January 1945," MW papers, Box 6, folder 5, DLAPR.

3. Mulford Winsor, "Newspapers," typescript copy in E. W. Davis notebook #2, 1905-1909.

4. Mulford Winsor, "First Daily Publisher Gives Story of Beginning," Yuma Daily Sun, Sept. 25, 1953.

5. Ibid.

6. Mulford Winsor to Ollie Brown, undated letter, typescript copy, E. W. Davis collection, notebook 1905-1909.

IV. MULFORD WINSOR, TERRITORIAL HISTORIAN

historian

By the time the Twenty-fifth Territorial Legislature convened in Phoenix on January 18, 1909, Mulford Winsor had sought out his friend George W. P. Hunt, again President of the Council, and possibly through Hunt's influence had been appointed assistant chief clerk to the Council. Certainly Hunt, from what transpired later in the legislative sessions, wanted Mulford as his assistant.

Clara, still in Tucson with her family, must have been wondering by this time whether she had been abandoned. A letter from her, which probably reached him about the first of February, spoke of her feelings. What Mulford thought when he read her letter may be imagined. Certainly he had been neglectful in not making the trip to Tucson to see his new son. But it was a long train journey, certainly a good deal out of the way if one is going from Yuma to Phoenix. And the trip from Phoenix to Tucson, if not quite as long, took the better part of a day, and for a man trying to make ends meet on the small salary of an assistant chief clerk, the expense was a further consideration. But obviously a letter was necessary, to smooth things over. Heaven only knew what Clara's parents thought of him, to say nothing of his Tucson friends. Mulford's letter to Clara of February 5 is a masterpiece of contrition and conciliation. Apologizing for his seeming neglect, he promised to do better in the future. Beginning a litany which Clara was to hear all to often in the future, he continued, "I was disappointed at not being able to go over to Tucson and see you and the babies... but I had the work piled up so that it was impossible. I might be able to run down some Saturday night, but the expense is so much that I think probably that will not be advisable either. At the worst, it will not be very long, if nothing happens, before we will be going home, and then, I hope we will have time to become acquainted once more..."1

"If nothing happens... we will be going home." But Mulford was hoping that something <u>would</u> happen, for George W. P. Hunt, President of the Legislative Council, and his friend Mulford Winsor were quietly laying some plans. On Tuesday, March 9, the plans came to fruition. It seemed probable to Mulford, if matters went according to schedule, that he would not take Clara home to Yuma for quite a while. As reported by the <u>Arizona Republican</u>, "Among several bills brought into the council yesterday and at once put through under a suspension of the rules was one creating the office of territorial historian and providing for the collection and compilation of all available data regarding the earlier history of the territory. The bill was introduced by President Hunt...

"It shall be the duty of the Arizona historian to collect data of the events which mark the progress of Arizona from its earliest day to the present time, that an accurate record may be preserved of those thrilling and heroic occurrences; that knowledge of the achievements of Arizona's trail blazers may not perish with the passing of her pioneers, but may be perpetuated and disseminated for the benefit of the present and future

generations; that the names of those whose lives were and are identified with the establishment, the progress, and the development of Arizona may be given just and lasting recognition. It shall be the duty of the historian, in the performance of such duty, to travel from place to place, as the requirements of the case may dictate, and to take such steps as may be required to secure the data necessary to the carrying out of the purposes and objects herein set forth.

"For the purpose of paying the salary and defraying the office and traveling expenses of the historian, the following sums are hereby appropriated annyally: To pay the annual salary of the historian the sum of $2,400, and to defray the traveling and office expenses and other expenses actually and necessarily incurred in securing historical data, and compiling and classifying the same, $1,800 per annum, or so much thereof as may be necessary...

"It is said that in the event of the enactment of the bill into a law Mulford Winsor, assistant chief clerk of the council, who has for some years been interested in the early history of the territory, will be put forward for the appointment to the office of historian."2

Mulford must have known that this was in the wind, when he wrote his letter of February 5 to his wife, though he gave no hint of any such possibility. As matters worked themselves out, it would be the better part of a year before Clara and Mulford would be together again.

The bill, which seemed non-controversial enough as far as the legislators were concerned, was sent forward to the House, where, as had been done in the Council, it was hurried through under a suspension of the rules.3 But at this point it hit a snag. Sharlot M. Hall, bill clerk for the Council in the previous legislature, one of the attache positions which Winsor had coveted but for which he had not been selected, had the backing of the powerful Arizona Federation of Women's Clubs as their candidate for the historian position. Without doubt, Sharlot Hall was at least as qualified as was Mulford Winsor for the position. Outraged, the Phoenix Woman's Club decided to take a stand against the Legislature's seeming chicanery. The next day the combined Phoenix Woman's Club and the Arizona Federation of Women's Clubs submitted an official protest to Governor Joseph H. Kibbey, offering the name of Sharlot Hall as a more qualified candidate.4

What was Governor Kibbey to do? Unwilling to further rouse the wrath of the powerful clubwomen of Arizona, he addressed an open letter to them. Appearing in the same issue of the Republican as the women's protest, the letter explained rather uncomfortably that the governor had obligated himself to appoint Mulford Winsor. As he put it, "Some two weeks ago Mr. Mulford Winsor, a democrat, came to my chambers and broached the subject of the creation of the office of territorial historian... I approved the plan and suggested that Miss Hall would be admirably qualified to fill that position. He said that the legislature would, however, pass a bill creating the office if he, Mr. Winsor, would be appointed to it... The alternative presented to

me was to have no such office at all, or consent to appoint Mr. Winsor to it... My judgment is that I decided wisely to have the office, even though I could not designate Miss Hall to be its incumbent. If I had insisted on Miss Hall we would not have had the office established, so that my action in no event can be deemed to be a want of recognition on my part of her worth and fitness."5

Thus, on March 18, 1909, the last day of the twenty-fifth and final Territorial Legislative Assembly, Governor Kibbey signed the bill which became Chapter 94 of the Laws of Arizona; An Act to provide for the collection, compilation, preservation and publication of the historical data of Arizona.6

As the Territorial legislators scattered from the Capitol to their homes in various parts of Arizona, Mulford Winsor began to plan for his new assignment. Interviewed in his office in the Capitol Building, he told the reporter that he would be in Phoenix for three or four months "working over some material that he has collected, before starting out on his travels over the territory ... Before he can even begin this work, he will have to get a list of the best sources of information, the names of old-timers ... The immediate need of the office was to obtain the facts from these early settlers, who are fast passing away."7

But even as Mulford began gathering material and planning his strategy for the most efficient collection of Arizona history, events in Washington were moving which were to make a change in his plans. As soon as William Howard Taft was inaugurated as President in March 1909, he exercised his presidential prerogative to appoint a new governor for the territory of Arizona. Sharlot Hall's friend, Judge Richard E. Sloan from Prescott, was summoned to Washington a few days after the inauguration. Back home in Arizona, everybody knew why. Richard Sloan was to be Arizona's new governor.8

Even before Sloan's May 1st inauguration, Mulford Winsor expressed his apprehension to his friend and supporter, George W. P. Hunt. In a letter dated April 29, he said, "There is undoubtedly a somewhat prevalent belief that I am to be displaced by the incoming Governor... I must confess to you that I cannot entirely avoid anxiety... If there is anything you can reasonably do... to influence him against the carrying out of the rumor's provisions, I wish you would...

"I have heard it rumored that Judge Sloan, being a Prescott man, would naturally be pre-disposed in favor of Miss Hall, she being a Prescott woman."9

By deliberate intent or otherwise, the new Governor did not make himself available to speak with the Arizona Historian until May 5. The results were discouraging. As Winsor told Hunt, "While he was 'very glad to learn the circumstances,' he was exceedingly non-committal. He told me there was strong pressure being brought to bear, expecially by the ladies, to induce him to appoint Miss Hall, for whom, he admitted, he had a great deal of respect and admiration. However, he had given the matter no thought or investigation as yet, and would take some time to investigate and decide it 'upon its merits,' which of course means that he will decide it as he sees fit."10

Meanwhile, Mulford continue with his activities, gathering materials toward his prospective history of Arizona. By the end of the month, Winsor reported to Hunt that "I am going right ahead with my work, and have made much greater progress than I anticipated. Ordinarily there might be some hope that one's enthusiasm and progress would attract attention of a favorable character, and to that extent act as a recommendation; but the Governor has never evinced the slightest disposition to pay any attention to what is going on, or to care whether I were accomplishing anything or not. It rather leads one to the belief that he may be afraid that he will find, should he investigate, a condition which will not justify removal...

"If I should be interfered with in the work I am doing it will undoubtedly be the greatest disappointment of my life..."11

At the end of the fiscal year, Winsor submitted his annual report to the Governor to account for his activities through June 30, 1909. The report suggests his conscientious attention to his duties. The collection of oral histories was his top priority, and from his own account, his accomplishments in contacting Arizona's oldest citizens were impressive.

In addition, to remedy the crying need for an adequate collection of Arizona source materials in the Capitol, he had begun to gather government reports, War Department records, Congressional documents, and early histories of Arizona as well as private diaries and manuscripts preserved by descendents of Arizona pioneers. Beyond such primary sources, he had used funds alloted to the Historian's office for the purchase of rare and important volumes of Arizoniana. By the time of his report, the collection consisted of 366 titles, housed in the office of the Historian.

And finally, as an aid to the writing of the definitive history of Arizona which Winsor saw as the task of the Arizona Historian, he was preparing an outline history of Arizona. "It will not be intended for publication, but rather as the framework upon which to erect a more elaborate structure; but, despite its incompleteness as to detail, I shall hope that it may more nearly approach a comprehensive History of Arizona than any single publication that has so far been issued, and form the basis of a work which will accurately and completely set forth all that is known or may be learned of Arizona's intensely interesting and most creditable past."12

Had Winsor retained his office long enough to complete the monumental task he set himself, Arizona might have had the detailed, comprehensive State History which is still lacking. But this, though he did not know for a certainty at the time, was not to be. Even as he prepared his annual report, he remained apprehensive as to his future. In a letter to his friend George Hunt on June 18, he said, "As for the safety of my job, that is as problematical as ever. I haven't had a word of any sort from the Governor. He has ignored the office as completely as though it didn't exist..."13

All through the long hot summer Mulford Winsor traveled, corresponded, visited with old timers, and collected artifacts and manuscripts. The first of September saw him back in Phoenix

with a suitcase full of old manuscripts and records from Pima and Yuma Counties.14

Toward the end of the month, his nemesis, Sharlot M. Hall, who had been in Los Angeles doing research at the Southwest Museum most of the summer, returned to Phoenix to confer with Governor Sloan. Then Winsor was called into the Governor's office and asked to resign. Winsor refused to do so; instead he sent Sloan a letter, declining to resign and setting forth his reasons for his position. Of course, said he, he realized that the Governor could remove him if he saw fit to do so.15

He was removed. On October 1, 1909, headlines in the Arizona Republican blazoned the news: "Historian of Arizona -- Miss Sharlot Hall Succeeds to that Office Today; Replacing Mr. Winsor." And despite the gloomy prediction in the Prescott Journal Miner that "Miss Hall may do as well (as Winsor), but we doubt it,"16 the appointment stood. Mulford Winsor cleaned out his desk and returned to his ranch in Yuma.

1. Mulford Winsor to Clara Winsor, Feb. 5, 1909, typescript, E.W. Davis collection.

2. "Phoenix Bill to Governor," Arizona Republican, March 9, 1909.

3. "Legislation's Last Touch," Arizona Republican, March 13, 1909.

4. "Historian of Arizona," Arizona Republican, March 18, 1909.

5. Ibid.

6. Arizona Territory. Acts, Resolutions, and Memorials of the Twenty-Fifth Legislative Assembly (Phoenix, 1909), p. 23-36.

7. "New Offices will Open," Arizona Gazette, March 30, 1909.

8. "Judge R. E. Sloan may be Governor," Arizona Republican, March 30, 1909.

9. Mulford Winsor to G.W.P. Hunt, April 29, 1909, Hunt collection, ASU, Box 1, folder 7.

10. Mulford Winsor to Hunt, May 7, 1909, Hunt Collection, ASU, box 1, folder 7.

11. Winsor to Hunt, May 28, 1909, Hunt Collection, ASU, box 1, folder 7.

12. Mulford Winsor, Arizona Historian, to Governor Richard E. Sloan, Report, July 1, 1909, typescript, DLAPR.

13. Winsor to Hunt, June 18, 1909, typescript, Hunt Collection, ASU, box 1, folder 7.

14. "Winsor brings back many old Papers," Arizona Gazette, Sept. 2, 1909.

15. Yuma Morning Sun, Oct. 5, 1909.

16. "Winsor did not resign as Historian," Journal Miner, Oct. 5, 1909.

V. THE MAKING OF ARIZONA"S CONSTITUTION

Constitu

By October 4, 1909, Mulford Winsor was again at his Yuma Valley ranch, still smarting over his summary dismissal as Territorial Historian, but somewhat mollified by a kindly letter from his friendly supporter, George W. P. Hunt. With the definite possibility of statehood in the near future, politics were on Hunt's mind. It was none too early to be certain that the Democratic Party was strongly in place, with active committee representatives in every county, representatives, of course, who thought favorably of one George W. P. Hunt as a viable possibility for Democratic party candidate for Arizona's first state governor. Who would better be the Secretary to the Democratic Party of Arizona than Mulford Winsor, suggested Hunt.

Winsor was flattered that his mentor Hunt wanted him on his team, but he responded cautiously, indicating his interest, while reminding Hunt that since he was no longer Arizona Historian, he must return to ranching for his livelihood. "As for your unduly kind expression regarding myself," said he, "I can only say that I will never fail to do whatever lies in my power to work for the party's good."1

Clara and the children joined Mulford at the ranch and he settled into a pleasant rhythm of activities which often took him into Yuma. Here he worked from time to time for J. H. Westover, now editor of the Morning Sun and visited with his mother and brother Walter in their house on the mesa not far from the Sun office. In addition, as Deputy Grand Exalted Ruler over the Elks Club of Arizona, on March 20, 1910, he laid the cornerstone of the new Elks building in Globe.2

While Winsor was in Globe he visited his friend Hunt. Did the two men talk politics? Or did their conversation turn perhaps to the fact that Mulford Winsor, an old newspaper man, was currently without editorial employment? From events which transpired shortly thereafter, one may surmise that their conversation had something to do with both topics.

George W. P. Hunt, a self made man who had arrived penniless in Globe in 1880, was general manager of the Old Dominion Commercial Company and president of the Old Dominion Bank at Globe as well as a long time Arizona politician. A moderately wealthy man who was outspoken in his progressive political philosophies, Hunt had as many enemies as friends in his hometown. Globe's well established daily newspaper, the Republican oriented Arizona Silver Belt, took every opportunity to snipe at his political aspirations.

A few months before Winsor's and Hunt's chat, John O. Dunbar had established what he hoped would be a mouthpiece for the Democratic party, the Daily Globe. Whether Hunt bought out the Daily Globe is not known, but it seems almost more than coincidental that on May 27, 1910, Mulford Winsor was announced as being the new "sponsor for the policy of that paper."3 From this time, the Globe became the vehicle for Hunt's progressive political ideas.

Winsor's connection with The Globe came at a crucial time in Arizona's political history, as Congress battled over the long

awaited Arizona statehood bill. The bill had passed the House in January 1910, but not until June 16 did the Senate pass it. Dubbed "the enabling act," its provisions called for delegates to a constitutional convention to be selected by county conventions rather than by direct primary election. A further provision of the act was that the resulting constitution must be approved by Congress and the President before Arizona would be admitted to the Union as a State.

Winsor's first important editorial, sounding a clarion call for "Arizona's Responsibility," appeared on the pages of The Daily Globe on June 20, 1910, the same day that jubilant Arizonans learned that President Taft had signed the statehood bill. Embodying for the first time in print three of the most controversial ideas in Hunt's progressive philosophy, Winsor stated that Arizona must have "a people's constitution.. with power to make such laws as they may choose, to reject such proposals as they may not want, to select such officers or discharge them as their interest may demand." In other words, Arizona's constitution must have "as its foundation stone... Initiative, Referendum, and Recall."4

On June 27, Governor Richard E. Sloan called a special election for September 12 for the selection of delegates to the constitutional convention. If Mulford Winsor wanted to be one of the delegates, he would need to begin his campaign for election. He therefore turned the paper back to its owners.

The September 12 election found both Winsor and Hunt elected as delegates to the constitutional convention. But Winsor aspired to higher office than mere delegate from Yuma County. With utmost diffidence, he asked Hunt's support as "candidate for the position of presiding officer of the Convention."5

Meanwhile, as the Daily Globe cautiously stated that it supported both Winsor and Hunt, and that "either would make an admirable presiding officer," 6 Hunt was quietly laying the groundwork for his own candidacy. Because of the lopsided majority of Democratic delegates to the convention, it was a foregone conclusion that the President of the Convention would be a member of that party. But that president was not to be Mulford Winsor. At 10 a.m. on October 10, the Democrats caucused at the Phoenix Elks' lodge. On their third ballot, G.W.P. Hunt was voted Convention President.7

Although Mulford Winsor played an important part as a delegate and chairman of two important committees to the Constitutional Convention, this disappointment may have been a key to some of the problems he would encounter in his future efforts to rise politically. According to one observer, "At the time of the constitutional convention the delegates were pretty well divided into the 'liberal' (their opponents called them radicals' and the 'conservative' (called reactionaries by the opposition) camps... On a straight showdown of power (Mulford Winsor) could have been elected by about 2 1/2 to 1. But the conservatives figured he was too radical and there were some rumblings of an open break if he were elected. Ordinarily this would not have mattered, but President Taft was opposed to (radical ideas such as Initiative, Referendum, and Recall,

particularly the recall of Judges) ... Hence, if ... statehood was to be achieved, it was necessary that a pretty well united front (at least on the surface) be presented. At this point, in order to maintain a united front, G. W. P. Hunt was agreed upon as the compromise permanent chairman...Had (Winsor) been named as permanent chairman, he would also have been selected as a candidate for either governor or one of the three congressional posts..."8

Hunt, however, received general support from both radicals and conservatives. He seems to have been an admirable convention leader, both astute and tactful in his dealings with a sometimes intransigent group of men. He soothed Winsor's wounded feelings by appointing him chair of two committees, the only delegate so honored. Indeed, Hunt in his unpublished autobiography indicated that he made a conscious effort to "be fair and just in all of the questions that came before the body." 9

The most controversial propositions before the convention were those of initiative, the right of the people to initiate legislation; referendum, the right of the people to reject laws passed by the state legislators; and recall, the right of Arizona's electors to recall elected officials whose performance they did not consider satisfactory. Debate on the matter started on November 4, a rainy day which left Phoenix's unpaved streets a morass of slimy, sticky clay, "the navigating of which was dangerous alike to temper and clothing," according to the Arizona Gazette.10 Perhaps the hazards of getting to the Capitol building frayed already uncertain tempers of delegates, some of whom agreed with Governor Sloan and certain members of Congress that these radical measures might endanger Arizona's chances of gaining statehood. At any rate, according to the same newspaper, the "Row (began) early (and) continued throughout (the) session."11 At the conclusion of the debate, initiative, referendum, and the controversial recall including the recall of judges was made a part of the Constitution.

Chaplain Seaborn Crutchfield, an old Texas sheriff and circuit riding preacher as well as father to one of the delegates, opened each morning's deliberations with prayers that became one of the most memorable features of the convention. As Mulford Winsor recalled, "In perfect justice it must be said that if the convention's deliberations did not in every instance and particular result as might have been desired, the fault may not be laid at the chaplain's door, nor may the Lord in such event plead lack of knowledge of what went on day by day, for every morning He was given fully and frankly the latest information and gossip and his aid was invoked in style unique and language appealing." On the day following the skirmishes over Initiative and Referendum, Seaborn prayed, "Lord, I hope the delegates will construct so good a constitution that the newspapers of the country will carry the story under flaming headlines. And Lord, we hope that President Taft will not turn down the constitution for a little thing like the initiative and referendum. Lord, you will be doing the people of Arizona a favor if you will so influence the President that he will let us have a government of our own. Lord, don't let him be so narrow and partisan as to

refuse us self-government."12

A flurry of concentrated effort in the last few weeks brought the delegates to the close of their deliberations within the Congressionally mandated sixty day congressional limit. At 3:30 p.m. on December 9, delegate F. A. Jones moved adoption of the Constitution. At 4:10, the rollcall of the delegates began; at 4:17 it was completed. Mulford Winsor was proud to remember that his was the last name called, "and his affirmative response signaled the birth of the organic act of the State-to-be of Arizona. A moment later George W. P. Hunt of Gila County, President of the Convention, formally announced: 'Gentlemen, the Constitution of the State of Arizona has been adopted.'" 13

"It was a rather dramatic moment," concluded Winsor, "that signalized the completion of sixty days of hard and conscientious work as was ever given to a stated task by any similar body of men." 14 And indeed, the State Constitution which the delegates crafted in 1910 has remained, with some amendments, as a solid basis for the framework of laws and ordinances by which Arizona governs itself today.

1. Mulford Winsor to Hunt, Oct. 4, 1909, Typescript, Hunt Collection, ASU, box 1, folder 7.

2. Dated picture of cornerstone laying ceremony, E. W. Davis collection.

3. William Hattich, editorial, Tombstone Prospector, May 27, 1910.

4. Daily Globe, June 20, 1910, Hunt Scrapbook, UAz Library, Special Collections.

5. Winsor to Hunt, Sept. 15, 1910, Hunt Collection, ASU

6. Daily Globe, Sept. 22, 1910, Hunt Scrapbook, UAz Library.

7. Hunt, "Autobiography," typescript, p. 96. Hunt papers, DLAPR.

8. Kent Crosby to Eleanor Winsor Davis, June 1, 1960, EWD Collection. Crosby's information came from his father, George H. Crosby, Jr., first county attorney of Graham County and a good friend of W. T. Webb, convention delegate from Graham County.

9. Hunt, "Autobiography," p. 103.

10. "Phoenix must have paved streets," Arizona Gazette, Nov. 4, 1910.

11. "Convention betrays people of Arizona," Arizona Gazette, Nov. 4, 1910.

12. Mulford Winsor, pencilled notes on the Constitutional Convention, Winsor Collection, box 2, folder 3, DLAPR.

13. Mulford Winsor, "Statehood in the balance," typewritten manuscript, Winsor collection, box 3, folder 9, DLAPR.

14. Winsor, pencilled notes, Winsor collection, box 2, folder 3, DLAPR.

VI. THE ROAD TO STATEHOOD

statehood

Even before the formal completion of the Arizona State Constitution, Hunt, Winsor, and M. G. Cunniff were setting strategies for the campaign for the ratification of the constitution by Arizona's voters. By the end of December, Winsor had decided to repurchase his old newspaper, the Yuma Sun. As he told his friend Hunt, "I can't keep out of the game; there is absolute necessity for a paper that will and can fight the people's battles, and while Yuma is not the logical headquarters for such a newspaper, it is better than none." However, Mulford lacked funds for the purchase. Would Hunt, perchance, be inclined to invest "a few hundred dollars in stock?"1

Whether Hunt helped to finance Winsor's purchase of equity in the Sun is not known; by January 5, however, Mulford had taken over the editorial responsibilities of the paper, leaving J. H. Westover to handle business details.2 In addition, though he had stated earlier that because of his personal financial difficulties, he would not be able to campaign outside his own county, by January 9, he had changed his mind, deciding to speak for the cause at least over southern Arizona even if he had to pay his own expenses. 3

Hunt, too, was on the road, stumping for the new constitution. Discouraged by negative reception in solidly Republican Tucson, he returned to his home town, Globe, about the end of January, only to fall and dislocate his arm. Still in pain, he went to Bisbee on February 3. Here he found Mulford Winsor and Maricopa County District Attorney George Purdy Bullard ready to open the campaign in that area. As Hunt recalled the evening, "When I went into the hotel with my arm in a sling and face still showing signs of my recent accident, Winsor shouted with laughter and made all sorts of fun of me. That night he and Mr. Bullard spoke. Both made fine talks, but in the morning there was just one line in the Bisbee Review to the effect that they had spoken. So I had my fun then, telling Mr. Winsor the laugh was on him, that undoubtedly if I had been on the platform there would have been a front page story."4

Ratification day came on February 9, and to no one's great surprise, the new constitution was approved by a large margin of Arizona's voters.5 A delegation of twelve prominent Arizonans, led by G. W. P. Hunt, went to Washington to lobby Congress in favor of statehood. Unable for financial reasons to make the trip, Winsor contented himself with writing a well thought out and, he hoped, persuasive letter to President Taft, asking Presidential approval for the constitution.6

But meanwhile, as Arizonans followed the torturously slow progress of the statehood bill through the houses of Congress, some of the Democratic leaders felt sure enough of the eventual successful outcome of the cause to begin making a few plans. As early as May, Hunt wrote to Mulford Winsor discussing prospective Democratic contenders for State and National office. Many prominent men were interested in running for the United States Senate. However, said Hunt, as far as he knew no one had expressed interest in Arizona's Congressional seat. "Now," said

Hunt, "if you have aspirations for Congress, and your speech in Bisbee demonstrated to me that you can hold your own with any of them, why not indicate to some of your friends what you would like. If you should decide to enter the field for either House you would be a formable (sic) candidate... I feel that the people will insist that only a man who is absolutely known as a progressive can win... Let me hear from you." 7

Winsor was definitely interested. In July he began stumping the southern part of Arizona, saying nothing of any personal aspirations for public office, but urging statehood even at the cost of temporary compromise on the matter of the recall of judges measure in the constitution. In Phoenix "for a brief business visit," he made himself available to a reporter from the Arizona Democrat. "Statehood is what we want," said Mr. Winsor. "After we get statehood we will have more power in our hands than we have now, no matter what the constitution under which we are admitted...Even with the judicial recall eliminated, we will have a much better constitution than many states have and it will be easy of amendment." According to the reporter, Winsor claimed to be "taking no part in public affairs..." However, stated the reporter, though Winsor claimed to be no more than a simple rancher on the Colorado below Yuma, he was nonetheless "popular in his county among republicans and democrats alike, and when Arizona is a state, it is not at all unlikely that he will be chosen for one of the important offices." 8

Shortly thereafter, a joint resolution providing for statehood was passed by Congress. As was fully expected, on August 15, 1911, President Taft vetoed the measure, giving as his reason the "pernicious effect" of the judicial recall section in the Arizona constitution. Congress passed an amended resolution for statehood on August 21, with the stipulation that at the first general election in Arizona the people vote to remove the judicial recall clause. Everyone, from the simplest Arizonan to the President of the United States, knew that this was a charade, since Arizonans had already vowed to replace the clause in their constitution as soon as they gained the coveted statehood--but that was the condition. To no one's surprise, as soon as statehood had been achieved, Arizonans reinstated the judicial recall clause.

But meanwhile, the primary election was drawing near, and on September 8, 1911, Mulford Winsor formally announced his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for Congressional Representative. A lengthy article in the Yuma Sun, simultaneously printed as a four page pamphlet, included his Declaration of Principles, stating that he stood for the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall, including the recall of judges. In addition he favored a Corrupt Practices Act to safeguard elections against bribery, intimidation, and fraud. He favored direct election of United States Senators, and the abolishment of the secret party caucus. As he phrased it, "The people have a right to know what their servants are doing." Summing his philosophy up in his belief that "Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness are the inalienable rights of all men," he declared his love for Arizona and asked the voters of Arizona

to give him a "commission to struggle on, for her and in her name; to fight her battles in the Congress of our Nation; to represent the cause of Progress which she has so enthusiastically and so emphatically espoused; to be officially a servant of the people, as unofficially I have been and am, one of the people."9

Winsor mounted a concentrated campaign, completing a swing of the northern counties of Arizona by the end of September. As the Arizona Gazette averred, "he has received hundreds of pledges of support and is confident that he will win the nomination."10 He joined G. W. P. Hunt, candidate for democratic nomination for Governor, and Eugene Brady O'Neill, candidate for democratic nomination to the United States Senate, in Prescott at a Democratic rally in the Elks Theater on October 9.11 The following day Winsor and Hunt traveled to Phoenix, where Winsor seized the opportunity to express his confidence in his election to a Gazette reporter. "'I am going to win,' said Mulford Winsor this morning as he stepped from the train fresh from a campaign tour of the five northern counties of Arizona. 'Sentiment in the north is the same as in the south and I believe there will be a democratic landslide at the general election. Voters are doing a lot of deep thinking this campaign. I have been impressed with the serious, thoughtful attitude of every audience I have addressed. I believe every voter in the state knows today just how he is going to vote..."12

It would seem that Winsor's chances for selection as Arizona's Democratic candidate for Representative were excellent -- except for one problem. His opponent in the Democratic primary race was the popular sheriff of Maricopa County, one Carl Hayden. And despite a last minute plug from the friendly Arizona Gazette suggesting that voters "Nominate Winsor for the lower branch of Congress and you will have served your own best interest,"13 and despite Winsor's final heroic efforts, he was not the winner.

On October 25, the morning after the primary election, when the votes were in, the none too friendly Arizona Republican announced that "The Hunt, Winsor... combination went to smash. It worked all right so far as Hunt was concerned... But Winsor seems to have been thrown overboard. There will be some large explaining to be done between this time and the election."14

The survivor, of course, was George W. P. Hunt, who campaigned for governor in the general election of December 12 against Republican Edmund W. Wells. The result of that election was almost a foregone conclusion: the Democrats swept the state; George Hunt was elected as Arizona's first State Governor, and Carl Hayden became the State of Arizona's first Congressional Representative, the start of long, distinguished careers for each of these outstanding individuals.

Mulford Winsor's disappointment in the failure of his bid for Congress was alleviated by the continued encouragement of his friend G. W. P. Hunt. Always loyal to his supporters, as soon as he was elected Governor, Hunt cast about for a suitable government post for Winsor. As he remembered the occasion some years later in his autobiography, Hunt said, "Shortly after the election I received a letter from a group of Democrats in

Phoenix who had ... selected my private secretary. I immediately wrote back and thanked them for their suggestions, but stated that as far as my private secretary was concerned, I felt that was my prerogative, and that I should select him."15 The man Hunt had decided on was Mulford Winsor.

Although Governor-elect Hunt remained at his home in Globe until the day before his inauguration,16 Mulford Winsor checked in at the Ford Hotel in Phoenix on February 10, leaving his family behind in Yuma.17 Indeed there was little enough time remaining for him to complete the first of his important assignments for Arizona's new Governor, the writing of Hunt's inaugural address.18 On Wednesday, February 14, 1912, all Arizona waited for word to be flashed over telegraph wires that President Taft had signed the proclamation declaring Arizona to be a State. At 8:55 A.M. whistles all over Phoenix blew to announce the glad news, and the inauguration celebration began.

Meanwhile, the principle actors in the event were quietly waiting in the lobby of the old Ford Hotel at Second Avenue and Washington Street in downtown Phoenix, about a mile from the State Capitol building. At 11:18, the governor-elect turned to his friend and secretary and said, "Well, Mulford, I guess we'd better be going." "All right, governor," replied Winsor. "I'm ready."

And thereupon began one of the most unusual gubernatorial processions in the history of the United States. As reported by the Arizona Gazette, "the two emerged from the doors of the hotel, turned westward and before hardly anyone of the big crowd assembled inside and outside the hotel was aware, had begun the mile walk to the state capitol." The fact that West Washington boasted neither sidewalks nor paving did not deter Hunt, who waved the offer of a big touring car aside and strode purposefully down the center of the street, Mulford Winsor by his side. And such a procession it was! The crowd of onlookers fell into step behind them, walking in twos and threes west along dusty Washington Street. Automobiles, bicycles, buggies, motorcycles brought up the rear or raced on ahead of the governor and his party in order to get a better vantage point on the capitol grounds.

At approximately 11:50, governor-elect Hunt entered the capitol building, dressed in a brown suit, with a white carnation in his buttonhole. He walked up the stairs to the second floor corridor and from here stepped out onto the portico of the Capitol. Here, promptly at noon, George W. P. Hunt of Globe took the oath of office as the State of Arizona's first governor.19 Then, following an invocation by the Reverend Seaborn Crutchfield, whose prayers had made colorful the daily sessions of the Constitutional Convention in 1910, Governor Hunt delivered the beautifully phrased, carefully crafted inaugural address that Mulford Winsor had labored over with such telling effect, closing with the ringing lines: "I promise a Rule of the People, and in their name I accept this great and grave responsibility which they have conferred and at their will can take away. At the close of my stewardship I shall return the emblem of my brief authority ... free from stain or dishonor,

disloyalty, selfishness or meanness of purpose."20

Festivities continued with a forty eight gun salute--a blast for each star in the new flag of the Union--and a parade starting at the City Hall plaza that included every organization in the city. In the evening a reception was held at the Hotel Adams with dancing on newly swept and washed Central Avenue in front of the Hotel, illuminated by electric lights strung across the street.21 At least that was the plan. With people packed elbow to elbow in the street, it was impossible to dance. But nonetheless, as the Arizona Democrat averred, "enthusiasm ran high; the carnival spirit was in the air, and Phoenix spent a joyous evening.22

And thus closed the most exciting day in Arizona's history. Arizona was launched into statehood, and G. W. P. Hunt began his career as the most colorful, longest tenured governor in Arizona's history. As for his friend and private secretary, Mulford Winsor, he was soon to have a new position.

1. Mulford Winsor to Hunt, Dec. 23, 1910, Hunt collection, Box 1, folder 10, ASU.

2. Arizona Sentinel, January 5, 1911.

3. Winsor to Hunt, Jan. 9, 1911, Hunt Collection, box 1, folder 10, and Winsor to Hunt, Jan. 20, 1911, box 1, folder 13, ASU.

4. Hunt, "Autobiography,". p. 110.

5. "Constitution wins," Daily Silver Belt, Feb. 10, 1911.

6. Winsor to Taft, Feb. 11, 1911, quoted in J. Morris Richards, The Birth of Arizona (Phoenix, 1940), p. 32-33.

7. Hunt to Winsor, May 14, 1911, typescript copy, Hunt collection, box 1, folder 14, ASU.

8. "Statehood is the thing, says Winsor," Arizona Democrat, July 26, 1911.

9. "Mulford Winsor, Yuma Arizona," pamphlet reprinted from The Yuma Sun, Sept. 8, 1911, E. W. Davis collection.

10. Arizona Gazette, Sept. 30, 1911.

11. Poster, Hunt scrapbook, v. 3, UAZ.

12. "Winsor here is confident," Arizona Gazette, Oct. 12, 1911.

13. "Look for O'Neill, Ives, and Winsor on the Primary Election Ballot," Arizona Gazette, Oct. 21, 1911.

14. "Wells Sweeps Entire State," Arizona Republican, Oct. 25, 1911.

15. Hunt, "Autobiography," p. 118.

16. "Governor Elect Hunt and Party Leave for Phoenix," Daily Silver Belt, Feb. 13, 1912.

17. Arizona Gazette, Feb. 10, 1912.

18. J. Morris Richards, The Birth of Arizona (Phoenix, 1940), p. 58.

19. "Governor Hunt Walks to the State Capitol," Arizona Gazette, Feb. 14, 1912.

20. "G. W. P. Hunt is now Governor of Arizona," Arizona Democrat, Feb. 14, 1912.

21. "State Reception will be held at Hotel Adams this Evening," Arizona Gazette, Feb. 14, 1912.

22. "Thousands at the Monster Reception," Arizona Democrat, Feb. 15, 1912.

VII. MULFORD WINSOR, STATE LAND COMMISSIONER

Land com

The new governor and his secretary seem to have worked together to their mutual satisfaction. Who knows how long the arrangement might have lasted had a seemingly innocuous bill, HB 178, "Providing for the pay of state officers in certain cases," not been passed almost at the close of the first regular session of the legislature on May 18, 1912. Two days later, an unfriendly newspaper had sniffed out a scandal. It seemed, according to the newspaper, that "the certain cases" meant Mulford Winsor. "It is said," continued the account, "this bill was introduced solely for his benefit. But if this is the program it means a change from a program said to have been adopted some weeks ago. Under this old report ... Winsor was to be made the state historian and librarian under an arrangement which contemplated the consolidation of the two positions under a rather munificent salary...What Mulford don't (sic) know about running for office, getting beaten and holding another milking grip on the public teat, wouldn't fill many books. Already his latest sinecure has become the capital scandal of the 'big salary and little job.'"1

What Hunt thought of this attack on his secretary is not known. But he had no intention of abandoning the man who had already proved himself to be not only a staunch ally but also a master of the well turned phrase, as proven by the mellifluous oratory of recent Hunt speeches. As prescribed by terms of the Enabling Act that made Arizona a State, Arizona had been granted for the benefit of the common schools four sections of land in each township, to be taken from public lands within the borders of the new State. In addition, the Federal Government had granted 2,350,000 further acres of public lands to Arizona for the benefit of certain institutions, a total of more than twelve million acres of land. In order to survey and select the land, a State Land Commission was created by Act of the First Legislature, approved May 20, 1912. 2 The Governor was empowered to select the chairman and two other working members of the Land Commission. Fortuitously, he had not done so. On June 4, he named Mulford Winsor as Arizona State Land Commissioner.3

That Winsor was not a trained surveyor does not seem to have been a factor in the Governor's decision. Actually, his chief qualification for the position seems to have been his six month stint as Yuma County tax assessor in 1900. The matter seems quickly to have been taken care of; on June 1, Leroy A. Ladd, Hunt's loyal friend who had worked as publisher and editor of the Daily Globe during the campaign for the first general election of state officers, replaced Mulford Winsor as Hunt's secretary. The Land Commission, with Mulford Winsor as Chairman, Cy Byrne of Pinedale as Secretary, and William A. Moody of Thatcher as member, assumed its duties on June 4, 1912.4

Hot as it was in Phoenix, the new Land Commission members mapped a sensible strategy. Piling into the Apperson Jackrabbit automobile which had been purchased for their use, the three Commissioners and their chauffeur headed for the high country of Northern Arizona. Here amidst the cool pines they would begin

their survey of potential state land acquisitions.

By the end of September, Winsor and Moody returned to Phoenix to report progress, leaving Secretary Cy Byrne, Chauffeur Ival McCann, and the automobile at Holbrook. As a friendly Gazette reporter put it, as soon as the commissioners could complete their report to the Governor, "they will hurry back to Holbrook (as) it is the intention of the commissioners to work as long as possible in the northern part of the state. When the snow begins to fly they will work down south." Having traveled more than 2500 miles, Chairman Winsor was enthusiastic about the Commission vehicle. The Jackrabbit, said he "has gone wherever a wagon can go, and in some places where it would be extremely difficult to take a wagon... The tires have held up in great shape," always a consideration when traversing Arizona's wretched unpaved roads.5 Indeed, Winsor seems to have had a wonderful summer traveling, camping out, and generally immersing himself in the grandeur of Arizona's vast open spaces.

Winsor does not seem to have returned immediately to Holbrook. Probably at Governor Hunt's request, he attended the meeting of the Democratic State Central Committee held September 30 at the State Capitol, to draft the party platform for the next election. It would seem from several newspaper accounts that the radical element of the party, as represented by Hunt and Winsor, was in trouble. As the El Paso Herald put it, "The meeting of party council was one continuous and long drawn out fight in which the conservatives won on all counts. Each faction had a draft of a platform and while full and over-discussion was permitted the conservative steam roller was in good working order and the radicals under the leadership of Mulford Winsor didn't get a look in. There was even a fight against the endorsement of the recall."6

If these intimations of political trouble were not enough, Mulford suddenly found himself up to his eyeballs in hot water on the domestic front. With Mulford first in Phoenix working as secretary to Governor Hunt and later on the road traveling about Arizona as Land Commissioner, Clara and the three children had returned once again to live with Clara's parents in Tucson. Eleanor, the oldest, had been enrolled in second grade in the Tucson school, with her well loved "Aunt Tootsie" as the teacher; Margaret ("Sister") was a first grader, and four year old Mulford, who about this time acquired the nickname "Mud," was a preschooler.

Those were happy days, for the children, at least, growing up in the close and loving family of Jim and Ollie Brown. But what Keno thought of her role as a single mother raising her children in her parents' home with no husband in evidence may be imagined. From time to time she must have read newspaper accounts of Mulford's activities. Perhaps she read of the October meeting of the Democratic Steering Committee. At any rate, she seems to have known that Mulford was in Phoenix. Late in October, without telling him she was coming, she took the train to Phoenix, and confronted him. A week later, Mulford wrote a long letter to his mother in law, Ollie, or "Ba Bown," as she was called by her family. Of what passed between Clara and Mulford in his room at

the Ford Hotel he said only that "when Clara demanded the reason for my coldness, I simply could not be a humbug, and I confessed that it was not in my heart to be otherwise. And then of course, came a full disclosure." Why his dissatisfaction? Mulford laid it to "Clara's inability to grasp the subjects which have had to do with my hopes of achievement." Whether this was the whole story or not, they discussed the possibility of divorce-- a solution that evidently was unthinkable to Clara, despite her years of unhappiness and their long periods of separation. Nothing was resolved at the end of the painful discussion. Mulford promised Clara that he would come to Tucson on November 9 to talk further with Papa Jim and Ba Bown, whom he seems genuinely to have liked and respected.7

Mulford traveled to Tucson the following Sunday. Evidently he and Clara agreed to try once again to live together as a family. Nonetheless, as he explained to the Browns, he could not yet establish a home for them so they could be together. His duties as Land Commissioner required that he be on the road almost constantly. Perhaps by April of the following year...

And so Keno, still unhappy, remained with the children in Tucson and Mulford returned to Phoenix and his travels about the state. "If it were merely to 'lay down one's life' to serve a good purpose it would not... be such an impossible thing; but to live together lives which are not attuned is the height of tragedy."8 At least so it seemed to Mulford Winsor.

The rest of the year seems to have passed in a routine fashion. At least the Land Commission's doings seem not to have been spectacular enough to have rated headlines in the local newspapers. Perhaps this was a relief to those most concerned. Whether Mulford Winsor spent any part of the Christmas holidays with his family in Tucson is not known. Indeed, one may wonder whether he gave any thought to the promise he had made to his father in law to provide a home for his family in Phoenix or elsewhere by the first of April. But if Mulford had forgotten, J. K. Brown had not. On March 22, he sent him a terse note: "Sir: Can you provide a home for your family between now and the 1st of April as per promise of Nov. 9 1912. If not they can go to the Hotell (sic) with you for a time. Respectfuly, J. K. Brown."9 (J. K. Brown to MW, holograph, E. W. Davis collection)

Mulford Winsor rented a house not far from the capitol and moved Clara and the three children to Phoenix.

The Winsors were to live in the house on 614 Fourth Avenue for a little over a year. For Eleanor, though she hated to leave Ba Bown and Papa Jim and school with Aunt Tootsie as her second grade teacher, the move brought new friends and new experiences. Her mother started Eleanor and "Sister" on piano lessons at the Christy School of Music downtown in Phoenix and she made dresses with matching bloomers for both girls. "I had big ears," recalled Eleanor, "and I heard my mother telling Mrs. Cavaness, a neighbor friend of my mother, that whenever she sat down at the sewing machine she felt very sad. Daddy was not home much. He was always going on trips. He scolded me a lot and I didn't think he was very much fun."

Ba Bown and Papa Jim must have been aware of their

daughter's plight, as they came up from Tucson frequently to visit them. Very often Clara took the children to visit their grandparents in Tucson. Even Governor Hunt must have realized the situation at the house on Fourth Avenue. This kindly, warm hearted man liked Clara Winsor, and knowing that she had no way to get around Phoenix with her children except by streetcar, he would send the official state automobile with Chauffeur Harry Shea around to pick them up to take them on short excursions.10

But meanwhile, feeling that he had taken care of his family responsibilities, Mulford Winsor returned happily to his first love, the machinations of Arizona state politics. The second and third special sessions of the first Arizona State Legislature met between January and late April 1913, with little progress on measures of interest to Progressive Democrat Hunt as well as the Chairman of the State Land Commission. As the second session drew near its close, Winsor became increasingly anxious at the perceived hostility of some of the legislators to the work of the Commission. Legislative authorization was necessary for the continued funding of Commission activities, and despite a certain amount of subtle prodding, nothing had happened.

At last, toward the end of March, he met with the legislators to discuss the record of the Land Commission during its first nine months of operation. According to certain members of the State Legislature, it was not until he had been "put on the grill" at a recent meeting of the Association of Boards of Supervisors in Phoenix that the members of the Commission did anything more substantial than travel about enjoying the great out of doors and drawing their substantial salaries. In a sudden burst of activity following the Supervisors' meeting the Commission managed to select 75,000 acres on behalf of the state. This, to the legislators, did not look like very much to show for nine months in office. Winsor was predictably indignant. As he explained the matter, it was not until the Supervisors' meeting that the Commission finished its extensive and complex planning for the selection of the state lands.

Winsor's statement seems to have been met with considerable skepticism by members of the legislature, who suggested that he "stop playing politics and devote his attention to the duties of his office." Noting his continued efforts as Governor Hunt's unofficial speech writer, the Tucson Citizen reporter commented, "As Boswell to Governor Hunt, they realized that he has been kept pretty busy of late with the ax committee of the legislature on his hands... The Citizen suggests to Mr. Winsor that he eschew politics, stumping trips, defenses of the governor and himself, and devote his time to selecting the lands granted under the enabling act... At the rate he has been going, it would take fourteen years to make the selection..."11

Despite legislative reluctance to sink more state money into what seemed to most of them to be a highly inefficient operation, during the last week of the third session, Senator Davis of Maricopa County introduced Senate Bill 75, "to continue for two years more the present state land commission and provide it with sufficient funds to carry out the purposes of the land code... " This was passed by the House as House Bill 31 and

signed by the governor on May 17, 1913.12

Winsor's activities as Chairman of the State Land Commission seem to have made him more aware of the potential value of Yuma area land. Early in March in conjunction with Cy Byrnes, John Bolin, James McDonald, and G. W. P. Hunt he purchased 150 acres of prime Yuma acreage at $60.00 per acre, with Hunt putting up $4,500, half the money.13 A week later, Winsor turned up another "exceptionally fine deal (which) will make us some money, absolutely without a question of a doubt, and with no possibility of loss ..."14 After some hesitation, Hunt sent Winsor a draft for $2400 for more Yuma land. As he noted, with this investment he had sunk more than $8,000 in Yuma property.15

But though Hunt spent a pleasant Memorial Day holiday dinner with Mulford and Clara Winsor, enjoying Clara's enchiladas, of which he was very fond,16 trouble was brewing for the Chairman of the Land Commission. The root of the problem lay with the powerful Santa Fe Pacific Railroad Company.

Under the Federal railroad land grant act of 1866, in order to encourage railroads to extend their lines across the sparsely settled western sector of the United States, the United States government granted railroads willing to undertake such activity alternate sections of land, forty miles square, on either side of the railroad line. Thus, the Santa Fe Pacific Railroad Company had legal title to thousands of acres of land in the odd-numbered sections of land forty miles on either side of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe railroad line which ran through northern Arizona. As it happened, a number of the alternate sections granted to the railroad lay within the boundaries of the Hopi (or Moqui, as the tribe was then called) and Navajo Indian reservations. Under the terms of the Indian Department Appropriation Act of 1904 these railroad grant sections could be exchanged for vacant public lands "of equal area and value and situated in the same State or Territory." This was called "lieu land exchange." In most instances instead of the railroad exchanging acreage directly, it sold the privilege of selecting lieu lands to another agent, issuing a document called "scrip." This document certified that the railroad had "surrendered to the United States a specifically described parcel of land and that it authorized the purchaser as the railroad's so-called attorney in fact, to exercise its lieu right. It left the space for the name of the purchaser blank and as soon as the proper company official signed the scrip anyone could use it." The holder of the scrip selected a parcel of lieu land and submitted his selection to the local United States Land Office. When the selection was approved, a land patent was issued to the railroad, and the railroad company deeded the land to the purchaser of the scrip.17

This seemed fairly straightforward and above board. Beginning in 1910, approximately 345,000 acres of alternate railroad sections from the two Arizona reservations were exchanged for lieu lands in other parts of Arizona, the railroad working chiefly through brokers who purchased scrip in large blocks for resale to individuals. These buyers, some of them

cattle men interested in increasing their holdings and some of them small farmers, bought thousands of acres and very quickly made their selections. Some of the largest acquisitions were large sections of grazing land, particularly in southwest Arizona. Most of the rest went to individuals who originally had been interested in taking up smaller claims, from forty to 320 acres under the federal desert land acts. Later, finding that title to their holdings could not be secured for at least four years, many such persons turned to obtaining land through the scrip method.18 As the Land Commission began its selection of federal lands for state holdings, even more prospective settlers moved quickly to buy scrip, in order to acquire desirable holdings on federal land before these were taken up by the State under the Enabling Act grants.

The State Land Commission seems to have become aware of the Santa Fe Railroad Company's lieu land selection activity during the latter part of the year 1913, when Winsor, Moody, and Byrne were notified time after time that supposed federal land, available for the Commission's selection as state holdings, had been preempted by the railroad or its agents. Winsor looked into the federal law governing such exchanges and noted that though the exchange of railroad land lying within the boundaries of the Navajo and Moqui reservations was certainly legal, in order to qualify for exchange, the lieu lands selected must be "of equal area and value."

Were the acreages selected by the scrip brokers and the railroad for resale "of equal value," as required by law? Early in 1914, Winsor asked Moody and Byrne to check into the value of railroad lands on the reservations, and to compare these values with those lands selected elsewhere in Arizona as lieu lands. Not unexpectedly, he discovered that the reservation land was "so insignificant in value that in no legitimate way... could the railroad company ever have realized out of it an appreciable sum... An altogether liberal valuation of the land would be twenty-five cents an acre, yet the scrip which stood for it, costing the buyer from two and a half up, was applied to carefully selected land -- in fact the best unappropriated land in the State -- certain to become very valuable ... in many cases easily worth twenty-five dollars an acre."19

At this point Winsor lodged an official protest with the United States Secretary of the Interior.20 In response, the Department of the Interior suspended approval, or patenting, of the lieu lands in process.

As can be imagined, individuals who had purchased scrip in good faith from brokers or the railroad were outraged; many of them feared that they would lose their homes together with all of the improvements which they had made on their acreage. They were encouraged by the railroad to write to Arizona Senators Henry F. Ashurst and Marc Smith as well as to Governor Hunt, protesting the action of the Land Commission. The letters poured into the Governor's office by the hundreds; Hunt turned them over to Mulford Winsor. Winsor did two things in response. First, to each protester he sent a form letter stating that "the State Land Commission has made no protest against the patenting

of any specific scrip selections or against such selections in any specific section or locality. The Commission's attitude, in the performance of its very plain duty, is merely that of desiring a compliance with the law... This course you, as loyal, law-abiding citizens of Arizona, will undoubtedly approve... If the land in which ... settlers are interested is not of greater value than the lands in the ... Indian Reservation relinquished to the government by the railroad company, it is the opinion of the Commission that they need have no fear that patent will not issue. If, on the other hand, the lands in which they are interested are of much greater value than the ... base lands, and they should become innocent sufferers through misrepresentations of those who sold them the scrip to place thereon, the Commission, while sincerely regretting their embarrassment, will be compelled to disavow any responsibility therefor. You are of course aware that the Commission has nothing whatever to do with the final determination of the matter, which rests solely in the hands of the Secretary of the Interior..."21

In May 1914, the Secretary of the Interior called Winsor to Washington for a hearing on the matter, setting the dates for June 9 and 10. Arizona newspapers, all of them supporting the railroad and the landholders, covered the hearings in great detail. The Commission's lengthy report to the Secretary of the Interior was in three parts: a general review of the controversy, a statement regarding the base lands on which the scrip was issued, and a description of the lieu lands, accompanied by numerous detailed maps. The first day was taken up with Winsor's presentation of the report; on the second day lawyers representing the large cattle companies and the scrip dealers spoke in opposition to the Commission.22

Although Winsor seems to have acquitted himself ably before the Assistant Secretary of the Interior and his hostile opponents, he made no points at home in Arizona. As an editorial in the Tucson Citizen put it, "How long are the taxpayers of the state going to permit this heavy drain on the public treasury? Will they submit for another two years to the dictation of this diminutive boss who insults bona fide settlers who are trying to develop this great state?"23 Having made as much currency as they could from the facts of the controversy itself, Winsor's enemies seemed determined to damage him personally as much as they could manage. First, the manager of the southern Arizona based La Osa Cattle Company, one of the purchasers of the Moqui and Navajo base scrip,issued a formal protest to the State Auditor against the payment of Winsor's expenses for his trip.24 Next, an alert Citizen reporter ferreted out of the State Auditor's office the information that Winsor's railroad fare was paid not from Phoenix to Washington -- but from Phoenix to New York City and return. Worse yet, at the time that the news was published on June 24, the dilatory Land Commissioner was presumably away from his job, enjoying the delights of the Big City at Arizona taxpayers' expense.25

When Winsor returned to Phoenix in July, he made no effort to refute the newspapers' contentions or to justify his side trip to New York City. He continued to defend his stand on the

matter of illegal scripping of lieu lands in a low keyed fashion during the rest of the summer, but the primary election of September 8 took much of his attention. With the press sniping simultaneously at Governor Hunt and Winsor, calling Winsor the real governor of Arizona and stating (probably correctly) that Winsor's marvelous command of the English language could be detected in George W. P. Hunt's set speeches,26 the two men felt equally under fire. Yet it seemed almost a foregone conclusion that Hunt would emerge victorious as the Democratic candidate. Despite savage attacks by his opponent, Dr. H. A. Hughes, this proved to be the case.27

Hunt and Winsor immediately began to campaign for the November election. Predictably, the generally unfriendly Arizona press tied Hunt's record to that of Winsor, calling Winsor "the boss of the state machine," and reminding Arizona voters of the still unsettled scrip controversy. This, stated the Tucson Citizen editor, could be corrected "by the election of a governor who will turn Winsor out."28 Nonetheless, though Winsor may have made many implacable enemies with his stand in the matter of scripping lieu lands, Hunt's personal popularity carried him to victory on November 3 against both Ralph Cameron, his Republican opponent, and George U. Young, running on the Progressive ticket.

Once Hunt's continuation in the Governor's office was assured, Winsor turned his attention to writing his first official report as State Land Commissioner. Covering the period from the creation of the Commission on June 6, 1912 to December 1, 1914, Winsor's carefully written 167 page report was filled with tables and statistics and descriptions of Commission activities which would certainly seem to disprove the carping of Winsor's critics. Nonetheless, sniping at the Commissioner escalated.

To no one's surprise, when the Second State Legislature convened on January 11, 1915, one of the first items to be taken up was the restructuring of the State Land Commission. On February 16, the chairman of the Senate Commission on Public Lands presented a bill providing for the abolition of the Land Commission. On the same day, Senate Bill number 75, the so-called "Winsor bill," was read. This bill, prepared by Mulford Winsor, provided for the continuation of the Commission with even more power than it had had previously.29 The Winsor bill died when it was considered by the Committee of the Whole.

The Regular Session of the Legislature adjourned on March 11, with nothing settled. However, since the appropriation for the Land Commission ended with the adjournment of the Legislature, Winsor's enemies indirectly gained their ends. With funding for the Commission terminated, on March 12, Mulford Winsor locked the doors of his office and departed from the capitol.30

Governor Hunt called a special session of the Legislature for April 23-May 29, chiefly to take up the matter of appropriations for government offices. The impass was not resolved at the end of the special session.

The embattled governor called a second special session to

begin June 1. Threatening to keep the Legislators in session for the entire hot Phoenix summer if they did not get down to business, Governor Hunt's opening statement made it plain that "a well formulated code for the administration of State lands is positively necessary."31 House Bill no. 1 was introduced the first day of the session by Claypool of Gila County: "An Act to provide a code for the systematic administration and the care and protection of the lands belonging to the State of Arizona and vesting the necessary powers therefor in a department to be known as the State Land Commission." By June 11 the bill had been printed and was being considered by the House. When the bill reached the Senate, this body refused to pass it without an amendment which placed the selection of a land commissioner in a board, the members of which it named. Since the majority was known to be unfriendly both to Hunt and Winsor, it seemed a foregone conclusion that Winsor was at the end of his tenure as Land Commissioner.32

The amended bill was passed both by the House and the Senate; it was signed by Governor Hunt and became effective June 26, 1915. At 2:30 on June 29, the new board, consisting of Governor Hunt, Secretary of State Wiley Jones, Attorney General Sidney Osborn, State Auditor John C. Callaghan, and State Treasurer Mit Sims met to appoint the new Land Commissioner. Hunt and Jones voted for Mulford Winsor. Osborn, Callaghan, and Sims voted for William A. Moeur, chairman of the Maricopa County Board of Supervisors. Moeur was the new Land Commissioner.33

The United States Secretary of the Interior's decision, which approved most of the Santa Fe Railroad's lieu land exchange, was handed down in September 1915.34 By this time Mulford Winsor was back on his Yuma Valley Ranch, temporarily out of political office.

William S. Greever, who interviewed Winsor in 1949 regarding the lieu land problem, concluded in retrospect that although Winsor was certainly stubborn, and possibly partially in error, he was completely honest in the stand he took against the railroad. As he put it, Winsor "believed that white men rather than red should have as much of Arizona as possible. He thought that his department should favor small-scale ranchers rather than large. He wished to secure for the state the best of the remaining public domain. His complaints about the principles of lieu rights in general were accurate as far as he went but were not a fully rounded picture of the situation... He correctly pointed out that the original base was not worth a great deal, but he should not have supported such a ridiculous valuation (of the reservation lands)... He ought not to have talked of the railroad's 'committing a fraud,' since he admitted there was no intentional misconduct. Since he did do these things, he could hardly justify his complaints that pressure brought on Washington to approve the exchange violated 'the Marquis of Queensbury rules.' All in all, he displayed a quality most praiseworthy in a public servant -- the willingness to fight, almost alone against great odds and despite threats of dismissal, for a cause he sincerely believed in."35

1. "Winsor holds Public Teat Record," May 20, 1912, clipping, Hunt scrapbook, v. 5, UAZ.

2. Arizona. Legislature. Revised Statutes 1913, Chapter 1, Title 43. Phoenix, 1913.

3. Hunt to Duett Hunt, June 7, 1912, Hunt collection, box 8, folder 3, ASU.

4. "Winsor head of the Land Bureau of the State," Arizona Gazette, June 3, 1912.

5. "Land Commission Does Good Work," Arizona Gazette, September 26, 1912.

6. "Governor Hunt is Snubbed by the Democrats of Arizona," El Paso Herald, Oct. 2, 1912.

7. Mulford Winsor to Olive S. Brown, Nov. 7, 1912, typescript copy, E. W. Davis collection.

8. Winsor to Brown, ibid.

9. J. K. Brown to Mulford Winsor, March 22, 1912, holograph, E. W. Davis collection.

10. Eleanor Winsor Davis notes, E.W.D. collection.

11. "The Prod was Effective," Tucson Citizen, March 25, 1913.

12. Arizona. First State Legislature, 3rd special session. HB 31, "An Act to provide for the management of state lands, for the granting of rights-of-way over and reservoir sites upon such lands; for the relinquishment of the state's claim to certain school lands within national forests, and for the prosecution of trespassers upon state lands." Winsor collection, box 5, folder 6, DLAPR.

13. Hunt to Winsor, March 6, 1914, Hunt collection, box 1, folder 26, ASU.

14. Winsor to Hunt, March 12, 1914, Hunt collection, box 12, folder 4, ASU.

15. Hunt to Winsor, Apr. 21, 1914, Hunt collection, box 1, folder 26, ASU.

16. Hunt, Diary, May 30, 1914, ASU.

17. William S. Greever, Arid Domain: the Santa Fe Railway and its Western Land Grant (Stanford University Press, 1954), p. 63-64.

18. Ibid., p. 93.

19. Mulford Winsor, The Moqui and Navajo Scheme (State Land Commission of Arizona, 1914), p. 8.

20. U. S. 63rd Congress, 1st session. Congressional Record, p. 5119.

21. Winsor to the Armstrong Investment Company, May 14, 1914, Winsor collection, box 10, folder 1, DLAPR. Identical letters were sent to approximately fifty corporations and individuals who had complained to Governor Hunt during April and May 1914.

22. "Winsor denounces the Citizen at the Hearing in Washington," Tucson Citizen, June 11, 1914.

23. "Arizona's Costly Political Boss," Tucson Citizen, June 8, 1914.

24. "Formal protest made against payment of Winsor's expenses on junket to Washington," Tucson Citizen, June 22, 1914.

25. "Winsor drew money from the public treasury for ticket to New York and return," Tucson Citizen, June 24, 1914.

26. "The Hunt-Hughes Row," Tucson Citizen, Aug. 12, 1914.

27. "Governor Hunt wins in Arizona," Seattle Intelligencer, Sept. 9, 1914.

28. "Hunt must answer for this," Tucson Citizen, Oct. 15, 1914.

29. "Mulford Winsor's audacity," Tucson Citizen, Feb. 20, 1915.

30. "Exit Mulford Winsor," Tucson Citizen, March 13, 1915.

31. "Hunt outlines his wishes for action at extra session," Bisbee Review, June 3, 1915.

32. "The Downfall of the Boss," Tucson Citizen, June 24, 1915.

33. "Moeur gets the Land job of Winsor," Arizona Gazette, June 30, 1915.

34. "Winsor loses fight to stop patents of 1500 settlers who bought Moqui and Navajo scrip," Arizona Gazette, Sept. 22, 1915.

35. Greever, op. cit., p. 100.

VIII. RANCHER AND SENATOR, 1915-1917

1915

After the State Legislature adjourned on June 28, 1915, Mulford Winsor moved his family back to Yuma. Though they seem to have lived occasionally in the frame house on Mulford's Yuma Valley ranch, most of the time they lived in the house on the mesa in the sand dunes about ten blocks from the center of Yuma which had been built about 1907 by Mulford's father. After his father's death in 1908, his mother, Carolyn Kelly Winsor, continued to live in the home with his brother Walter. By 1915, Walter was working as a guard at the State Prison in Florence. It seemed logical, no doubt, when Mulford lost his position as State Land Commissioner that he and his family should move in with Grandmother Winsor. Whether this was a comfortable arrangement for Clara was probably not a consideration. Certainly, as his daughter Eleanor astutely observed, the arrangement was advantageous for Mulford, since it left him free to pursue his political and other interests unencumbered by his family. It also made it easier for his three children to attend Yuma city schools.

For Winsor himself the transition could not have been pleasant. Forceably removed from his political position by the State Legislature and still hurting from the lashing he had received from Arizona's partisan newspapers, it seemed as if everything conspired against him. He made the best of his situation, however. Despite Yuma's almost unbearable heat and humidity, he plunged immediately into work as a full time rancher. About this time he set out the first trees on the date farm in Yuma valley that was to give him such satisfaction later in his life.1

Governor Hunt had not forgotten Winsor. On November 6, he took the train to Yuma, as he put it "to inspect the (University of Arizona Experimental) Farm, but more specially to see mulford winsor."2 The Governor had badly missed Winsor's gift of the pen since Mulford had been shut out of public office in June, and never so much as at that moment, when Hunt felt increasingly under attack. First of all, Hunt had made many enemies because of his adamant opposition to the taking of human life. Insisting that "there will be no hanging while I am governor," Hunt had gone so far as to issue an unconditional pardon to one Knox Laird, a convicted murderer, earlier in the year. The matter went to the Supreme Court of the State of Arizona, which ruled against the governor. In addition, in September a strike was called against three of the principal copper mining companies in the Clifton- Morenci area. Hunt's well meaning personal efforts to mediate the strike earned him the enmity of the mine operators. Charles Akers, editor of the formerly friendly Arizona Gazette, and O. S. Stapley, State Legislator from Mesa initiated a drive to recall the governor. Hunt suspected mine owners were the instigators.3

What could be done to counter these attacks? Hunt felt that a well placed series of articles in the Arizona Labor Journal might be useful. Could Mulford write such a series? After some consideration, he agreed to do so. By the end of November, his first unsigned article appeared in the Labor Journal. 4

On November 29, 1915, the Arizona Gazette issued a formal nine point declaration of reasons why Governor Hunt should be removed from office. 5 Hunt identified Charles H. Akers, editor of the Phoenix based Arizona Gazette, as the "so-called head to the (recall) organization," sending Winsor a copy of the article. Would Winsor reply to the Gazette's attack? 6 Winsor's answer appeared on December 16. On that date, a thirteen page pamphlet entitled "So the People May Know" was issued from Phoenix under Governor Hunt's name.7 Charging that Akers and Stapley were the "hired puppets" of the owners and managers of Arizona's copper mines, "not one of whom is an American citizen,"8 Hunt refuted each of the nine points made in the Gazette article. He concluded by stating: "For the ultimate result of the formidable conspiracy herein described, I have no fear nor apprehension. 'Truth crushed to earth shall rise again' despite the scoundrelly connivance of 'foreign' capitalists or the lecherous lies of their prostitute press. In the discernment, judgment, and unassailable integrity of the people of Arizona I have an abiding faith." 9

As Governor Hunt had hoped, his defense was given extensive coverage by the press in Arizona. But few were deceived as to the real author. As the Tucson Citizen bluntly stated, "the Governor himself did not write it. The statement is too well written to be the work of his secretary and we come to the inevitable conclusion that Mulford Winsor, the deposed head of the land commission and decapitated boss of the Hunt machine is back on the job... Only a master of epithets like Winsor could have thrown together that virulent denunciation of the Governor's detractors."10

Whether the Hunt - Winsor pamphlet played a decisive part in the failure of the recall effort is not known. In any case, the campaigners did not gather enough signatures to bring the recall to the voters, and the effort was quietly dropped.

Torrential winter rains inundated much of southern Arizona during January 1916. By the middle of the month, news of flooding from Phoenix and areas higher on the Gila alarmed Yuma residents, particularly those living near the levee where the Gila joins the Colorado. In a speech given six years later, Mulford Winsor remembered the horror of Friday night, January 21, and the following morning. As he described the scene, "Where the railroad on its way to the western ocean crosses our river at Yuma, I stood on the bridge at midnight ... the bridge over which the trains days before had ceased carrying their human freight ... Beneath my feet boiled a veritable caldron of the deep... That roaring, leaping, plunging, surging flood, bearing mountains and valleys, gorges and canyons on its crest, rolled from bank to bank sixty seven and a half feet deep, so deep that for thirty feet the huge piles upon which the stone and concrete piers of the bridge were built stood naked and bare to the attack of the waters that surged and swirled about them. The monster waves in fury pounded the great steel girders of the bridge and flung their spray onto the rails.

"We have some good levees down there, wide and strong and high enough, but still they do not always hold... The Colorado in flood time, unlike most rivers, instead of coming up, chiefly

goes down. Therefore, although the water rarely reaches a dangerous height on the levees, the deepening current, when it eats into the earth upon which a levee is built, topples the embankment into the flood... When trouble of this sort threatens, ... mountains of granite rock are rushed to the danger point and trainloads upon trainloads are sacrificed to the angry waters as a revetment to protect the crumbling dike. It generally serves, but not always..." 11

Unfortunately, the levee did not hold. J. H. Westover, editor and owner of Mulford Winsor's old newspaper, the Yuma Sun, was also an anxious observer. As he put it, "Just at daylight (on January 22) a gopher hole on the levee protecting the town on the Gila side let the water through. The big whistle at the power plant sounded the arranged signal and a great fight was made to stop the hole. The fight was fruitless, and within ten minutes the hole had grown to the size of a man's body and within less than twenty minutes the fight was abandoned and we all rushed to our places to save what we could and to save ourselves."12

The old adobe building on the east side of Main Street between Second and Third Streets that housed the Yuma Sun was among the first to crumble, taking with it the presses and most of the back files of the newspaper that Mulford Winsor had helped to found. By nine that morning Main Street was inundated with five feet of water. The electric plant went out, as did the city water supply.13 But homes on the mesa, including the Winsor family's residence, escaped damage. In addition, the main levee held, keeping the flood waters from roaring down the Main Canal and inundating Yuma Valley farms and ranches. Thus, Mulford Winsor's Yuma valley ranch property was undamaged. Nevertheless, the experience made an indelible impression on him that would go far to explain his break with his friend G. W. P. Hunt on the matter of flood control for the Colorado River a decade later.

It would seem almost a foregone conclusion that Mulford Winsor could not long absent himself from Arizona politics. On Sunday, February 27, Governor Hunt took the train to Yuma, where he spent the evening with his friend Mulford.14 Hunt wished to run as Democratic candidate for governor in the 1916 election, but with the attempted recall still a painful memory, he was concerned about the support of the Democratic caucus. Winsor agreed to help. On Friday morning, March 3, Winsor took the train to Phoenix to attend the Democratic State Central meeting.15 However, the State Committee, despite Winsor's manipulations, refused to endorse the incumbent governor.16

Despite Democratic opposition, on March 31, Hunt announced his candidacy for renomination. As his time permitted, he traveled about the state, doing some low keyed campaigning. But the threat of war -- not only in Europe but, following Pancho Villa's raid on Columbus, New Mexico on March 9, 1916, with Mexico -- was a recurrent concern for the governor and for all Arizonans. On May 10, Hunt ordered the Arizona National Guard to service on the Mexican border.

In view of state, national, and international upheavals, a modest news item which appeared in the Yuma Morning Sun on July

12 probably passed almost unnoticed. On that date Mulford Winsor announced his candidacy for the Democratic party nomination for State Senator from Yuma County.17 Since Winsor had no opponent in the September primaries, he continued to give most of his attention to helping his friend Hunt with his primary campaign.

Despite generally negative newspaper publicity for the governor, the September 12 primary election found Hunt as the Democratic party nominee for a third term as governor. In addition, to no one's surprise, his friend Mulford Winsor, who was well liked in Yuma, carried the election for Democratic candidate for State Senator from Yuma County.18 Since Yuma was a solidly Democratic county, even before the November general election it seemed likely that Mulford Winsor's exile from Arizona politics was at an end.

As predicted, on November 7 Mulford Winsor won a seat in the State Senate by a comfortable margin -- 1087 to 721. But incumbent Governor Hunt fared not so well. Rather unexpectedly in a year of the usual Arizona Democratic landslide, returns at the end of the day showed Republican candidate Thomas E. Campbell the new governor, beating Hunt, the only chief executive the State of Arizona had known, by thirty votes.19

Solicitously, Winsor suggested that Hunt call for a recount.20 Within a few days, the cumbersome recount procedure was begun. But on December 16 the Superior Court in Phoenix ruled against Governor Hunt.

Hunt, however, was not of a mind to tamely accept the Court's decision. On December 30, he noted in his diary that "Campbell filed his oath of office and so did I -- in the inspection of ballots I am nearly 90 ahead and it will be finished in 4 or 5 days." January 2, 1917, inauguration day, brought stalemate, with Hunt locking himself in his office in the State Capitol where he proceeded to take the oath of office, and with Campbell somehow gaining access to the east front balcony of the Capitol where he inaugurated himself. Seeing that his opponent meant business, Campbell sensibly did not press the issue. He set up a governor's office downtown, leaving George W. P. Hunt in temporary possession of the State Capitol.

But worse was to come, at least from Mulford Winsor's viewpoint. For Winsor had decided, despite his status as a freshman Senator, to try for the Presidency of the Senate. However, despite some strenuous last minute campaigning, when the Third State Legislature convened on January 8, Winsor's senatorial colleagues did not back his bid. After a preliminary ballot in which Winsor and D. H. Claridge of Thatcher tied, the Senators elected Claridge President. 21 Winsor was forced to console himself with the chairmanship of two committees: the Senate Committee on Finance and the Committee on Agriculture and Irrigation. In addition, he served as a member of the Committee on Rules, the Public Lands Committee, the State Accounting and Methods of Business Committee, the Style, Revision and Compilation Committee, the Enrolling and Engrossing Committee, and the Printing and Clerks Committee.22

The Legislature's preliminary housekeeping took up a couple of days and then, because no one was sure who the Governor

was, the two houses began to convene each morning and to adjourn after ten minutes. By Friday, even Mulford Winsor was bored enough to go home. Back in Phoenix the following Monday, Winsor discovered that without a governor to sign the payroll, not even the Chairman of the Committee on Finance could arrange for the legislators' $7.00 per diem pay. As Mulford and his colleagues waited uncertainly from day to day, their personal funds began to run low. Fortunately, most Phoenix hotels and boarding houses agreed to extend them credit, pending a settlement of the governor problem.

At last, on Saturday, January 27, after a month during which Hunt posted guards twenty-four hours a day to keep his opponent out of his office, the Arizona Supreme Court declared Thomas E. Campbell de facto governor, because the secretary of state had issued him a certificate of election after the November election. The court's decision was made despite the fact that by now the ballot recount showed Hunt leading by about a hundred votes. On January 29 Hunt noted in his diary that "the De Facto Governor read his message" to the State Legislature. "I spent the day like a lion in his cage."

Convinced that his cause was just, beleaguered governor in exile Hunt decided to pursue the matter in the courts at his own expense. The final decision as to who actually had won the gubernatorial election was not handed down for almost a year.

In the meantime, however, with a governor, de facto or otherwise, in the State Capitol the Legislature was able to begin necessary business. All of the legislators seem to have applied themselves diligently, none more so than Senator Winsor. By the time the Legislators adjourned on March 8, he had introduced sixteen bills, eleven of which became law. Of these, Winsor considered his bill which shifted the burden of keeping up state highways to the state rather than making Arizona's counties responsible for road upkeep the most important. Specifically, the Legislature approved an appropriation of $50,000 for an extension and an approach to the state highway bridge across the Gila River near Wellton in Yuma County, a measure dear to the hearts of Winsor's Yuma County constituents.23

Once the Legislative session was at an end, Mulford Winsor returned to Yuma and turned his attention to a large scale agricultural project which he figured looked like a sure way to make his fortune as well as that of his friend G. W. P. Hunt. During the time that Winsor was State Land Commissioner, he had induced Hunt to join with a group of other well to do Arizonans to purchase two tracts of land in Yuma, with Mulford Winsor serving as trustee for the property. The two tracts lay fallow until the fall of 1916 when, with United States involvement in the European war seeming imminent, Winsor became aware of high profits to be made in the sale of long fiber Egyptian cotton for automobile tire manufacture.24

Somehow, Winsor seems to have gotten enough credit to begin clearing and leveling the land. While the Third Legislature was in session, he used his influence with the Corporation Commission to induce the Southern Pacific Railroad Company to reduce the rate for freighting cotton seed from Tempe to Yuma

from 64c to 25c per hundred weight.25

Even more important to the future of his agricultural project was the signing on January 26, 1917, of the Yuma Mesa Project bill by President Wilson. Part of the Federal Reclamation Service's work, this project secured irrigation of 40,000 acres of mesa land with Federal funding.26 Shortly thereafter, toward the end of the 1917 session of the Arizona State Legislature, Winsor introduced Senate Bill 64, the District Irrigation Bill. This legislated the organization of an irrigation district on the Mesa Unit of the Yuma Project, a federal requirement for an administrative body which by law had to be formalized before water could be turned onto the mesa.27 The bill was signed into law by Governor Campbell on March 9, 1917.

1. Mulford Winsor to G.W.P. Hunt, Oct. 10, 1915, "Please ask Keane if he has heard anything from the date palms McOmie was going to bring in for me." (Hunt collection, ASU) Alexander M. McOmie joined the University of Arizona Agricultural Extension Service in 1909.

2. Hunt, Diary, Nov. 6, 1915.

3. Hunt to Winsor, Nov. 11, 1915, ASU.

4. "The Attack on Governor Hunt," Hunt scrapbook, UAZ, 1915 volume, no date.

5. "The Case of the People vs. George W. P. Hunt," Arizona Gazette, Nov. 29, 1915. The declaration was signed by O. S. Stapley and twenty others.

6. Hunt to Winsor, Nov. 30, 1915, ASU.

7. G. W. P. Hunt, "So the People May Know," Phoenix, December 16, 1915. Copy in 1915 Hunt Scrapbook, UAZ Library Special Collections.

8. This hyperbole was hardly accurate, though it could be stated that most of the mine owners most closely tied to the recall movement maintained their residences in the East and one of the Bisbee mines was owned by a group of Scottish investors.

9. "So the People May Know," p. 13.

10. "Governor Hunt's Defense," Tucson Citizen, Dec. 30, 1915.

11. Mulford Winsor, speech to the Arizona Industrial Congress, Phoenix, December 18, 1922, Winsor files, Box 4, folder 4, p. 7, DLAPR.

12. J. H. Westover to William H. Westover, in William H. Westover, Yuma Footprints (Tucson: Arizona Pioneers' Historical Society, 1966) p. 142.

13. C. F. Harvey Clark, "Flood of January 1916," manuscript, p. 84, Yuma Historical Society archives.

14. Hunt, Diary, Feb. 27, 1916, ASU.

15. Hunt, Diary, March 3, 1916.

16. "Democrats refuse to endorse Hunt at State meeting; Efforts of Mulford Winsor unavailing before Committee," Globe Record, March 5, 1916.

17. "Announcement," Yuma Morning Sun, July 12, 1916.

18. "Governor Hunt Democratic Candidate by a Large Majority," Yuma Morning Sun, Sept. 13, 1916.

19. "Campbell elected by small majority," Yuma Morning Sun, Nov. 9, 1916.

20. Winsor to Hunt, Nov. 12, 1916.

21. "Third State Legislature Organized," Yuma Morning Sun, Jan. 9, 1917.

22. J. Morris Richards, History of the Arizona State Legislature, typescript, Phoenix, 1981, v. 5, DLAPR.

23. "Winsor outlines some of the outstanding features of Third Legislature," Yuma Morning Sun, March 15, 1917.

24. See, for example, "Egyptian Cotton," Arizona, 6 (Nov./Dec. 1916), p. 7.

25. "Over 10,000 Acres of Land being Leveled in Yuma Valley for Farms," Yuma Morning Sun, Jan. 16, 1916.

26. "Wilson Signs Yuma Mesa Project Bill," Yuma Morning Sun, Jan. 26, 1917.

27. "Urging Passage of District Irrigation Bill," Yuma Morning Sun, March 4, 1917.

IX. WATER, POLITICS, AND PESTILENCE, 1917-1918

9 Water

For Mulford Winsor, deeply involved as he was in a speculative cotton raising venture, most of his energies for the next few months were bent toward making sure that he and his fellow investors harvested a bumper cotton crop at the end of the season. Success or failure, to a great measure, depended on an adequate water supply. The Yuma Mesa Reclamation Project, signed into existence in January 1917 and designed to assure water for Yuma's thirsty acres, was not yet implemented. Mulford Winsor took to his typewriter. On May 12 he wrote to Governor Campbell, suggesting that with billions of dollars being spent on the war effort, surely a few millions might be devoted to the irrigation of Arizona's arable lands. Governor Campbell sent Winsor's letter to Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane, along with a resolution from the Arizona Council of Defence in Phoenix, urging "speedy completion of the Yuma Reclamation Project."1

But as Mulford Winsor and other Yuma ranchers knew all too well, too much water could be even worse than not enough. They had not forgotten the catastrophic floods of January 1916. In May 1917, when Imperial Valley, California, growers across the Colorado River from Yuma decided to build a weir (a temporary diversion dam) just downstream from Yuma so that the river water might be raised to the level of the Hanlon headgate opening on the California side, thus making irrigation water available for Imperial Valley needs, Arizonans protested.2

Problems with Imperial Irrigation District and the Imperial Valley growers in California were not new. They stemmed from the aftermath of the catastrophic flooding of Imperial Valley which occurred in the spring and summer of 1905 when intake channels at and below Hanlon Heading, directly opposite Yuma valley and just north of the Mexican border at Andrade, California, were breached by the flooding Colorado River. After heroic efforts by the Southern Pacific Railroad Company to close the breach, in 1907 the Colorado returned to its customary channel, but Imperial Valley's irrigation difficulties continued. The problem lay in part with the tremendous load of silt which the Colorado River carried in its flow. The Laguna Dam, which was constructed in 1909 partly to form a reservoir which could serve as a desilting catch basin for the river, alleviated the problem only for a year before the Laguna basin filled with silt and the muddy waters of the Colorado poured, as silt laden as before, into the irrigation canals both on the Arizona and the California side. Thus, as the Colorado was diverted through the intake channel of the rebuilt Hanlon Heading into the Imperial Canal, silt was deposited until the level of the opening into the Heading was higher than the river level. Since the level of the Colorado fluctuated as winter and summer flooding occured, this was not always a problem, but when the river level was low, Imperial Valley crops were imperiled.

In order to take care of the situation, in July 1910, a temporary rock weir 960 feet in length was constructed just below the intake to the heading; this dammed the flow of the Colorado sufficiently to provide adequate water for Imperial

Valley growers. As previously agreed, the weir was dynamited in March 1911. Rock and brush weirs were rebuilt as needed from time to time across the river until the devastating flood of January 1916, after which time the Yuma County Water Users' Association brought action against the Imperial Irrigation District enjoining the District from erecting any further weirs, as they believed that the Imperial Irrigation Canal weir had been a contributing factor in the flooding of downtown Yuma. An agreement was reached during the summer of 1916, whereby the Imperial District was allowed to build a temporary weir, but only after giving a surety bond of $100,000 that the entire structure would be removed before January 1917. This ongoing arrangement was a sore point both for the Imperial Irrigation District and for the Yuma County Water Users' Association which would lead to an appeal to the United States Secretary of the Interior early in 1918.3

When Governor Campbell was notified of the Imperial Irrigation District's desire to build another weir across the Colorado in May, he wired Mulford Winsor, suggesting that he consult with two other Yuma growers, E. F. Sanguinetti and J. A. Ketcherside, to see what might best be done. The committee's response bears Winsor's fine hand in suggesting that "bond sufficient to ensure the removal of all obstructions (the weir) placed in the river and all possible loss to lands which might occur should the levees be broken, and also place at least $50,000 in the hands of the Reclamation Service for the strengthening of the Arizona levees above the site for the proposed dam..." would satisfy Yuma interests. If this were done, Yuma would not object to the yearly construction of a temporary weir.4

The matter of the weir settled, Mulford Winsor fled Yuma's heat for Phoenix's scarcely more salubrious temperatures to look after his political interests. With Hunt's political future still in limbo, Winsor and some of his senatorial colleagues were interested in dividing up a future governorship. Senators Fred Colter and Claudius M. Zander called on Hunt on May 28. After they left, Hunt noted, "Fred Colter will make a good governor he has fine ideals. Mulford don't think much of him - Mulford is jealous - and a little bit selfish - Winsor, (C. M.) Roberts, Homer Wood would all make good executives."5 On June 10, Colter returned with Winsor for more political maneuvering. Winsor openly expressed his opposition to Colter. But when Hunt asked him if he wanted to run in the next campaign, "he said no -- and then told me that he would like to see Hayden run and that he, Winsor, would run for congress -- Winsor is selfish -- Hayden will not in my mind give up congress," averred G. W. P. Hunt, with considerable insight.6 The result of the informal caucus seems to have been an agreement between the men to support Hunt once again in the election of 1918.7

This, as events of the following summer were to prove, was not to happen. In the meantime, however, Winsor returned to Yuma, putting thoughts of a larger political future aside to concentrate his attention on the ongoing problems of control of the Colorado River, so vital to Yuma growers. In the few short

weeks since he had been delegated by Governor Campbell to make recommendations on the matter of the Imperial Irrigation District weir, the Colorado had begun to rise. Already it was running close to thirty feet; the U. S. Reclamation Service had been asked for help. Emergency crews dumped hundreds of carloads of rock to strengthen the levees on the Arizona side, yet Yumans worried that another flood would occur.8 By the end of the month the water was over the road near the old Territorial Prison.9 The water level began to drop on July 3. Though the levees had broken at Blythe and Imperial, California, they held on the Arizona side, to everyone's relief.

The latest crisis only pointed up more strongly the urgent necessity for control of the Colorado River. The question, of course, was exactly what could be done to solve the flooding problem without damage to land on either the Arizona or the California side of the river. On July 2, ex California Senator Frank P. Flint met with the Board of Governors of Yuma County Irrigation District: Mulford Winsor, E. M. Sanguinetti, J. A. Ketcherside, and George Michelson, for further discussion of the weir at Hanlon Heading. The five men drove across the bridge to the heading, finding the intake on the California side badly choked with debris and silt, with the Colorado now running about three feet below the intake opening.10 Truly the Imperial Valley growers were in an emergency situation, one which could affect the wartime effort to increase crops of all kinds. The result of the July meeting was a contract which gave the District permission to construct a temporary dam "provided that the District had to deposit $5,000 with the Project Manager of the Yuma Project to cover cost of work in protecting the Arizona bank of the Colorado River and the Yuma levee." In addition, the District furnished a surety bond of $100,000 to cover possible future damage.11

This was the last serious crisis in the matter of weir building on the Colorado River, but not the end of the interstate Colorado River control problems with which Mulford Winsor was to be involved. His ongoing interest in reclamation and the Yuma Project led to further work of significance both in the Legislature and on the national level involving the control and use of Colorado River water.

But in the meantime, war related strikes and walkouts so serious that government intervention was necessary plagued Arizona's copper mining industry during much of the summer of 1917. In addition, Yuma's first groups of young men left for the war beginning September 5. But if the war brought hardship to some, it meant incredible profits to others. Cotton prices were rising weekly as Goodyear and other tire companies sent in buyers to negotiate with Yuma growers, bidding up prices competitively. By the end of September, the Morning Sun reported a $2,000,000 crop budding under Yuma's hot sunshine. A Southern Pacific Railroad official was quoted as saying "Yuma will be so rich this fall she will not know what to do with her money."12 Jubilantly, in early October Mulford Winsor met G. W. P. Hunt, on his way back to Phoenix from a Los Angeles vacation, to show him their prosperous looking acreage.13 All of Arizona felt the effects of

the boom. By the end of the year, the ~~per bale~~ return for the roughly 16,000 bales of Egyptian cotton grown in Arizona was an incredible $343 per bale.14 This was good news indeed for both Winsor and Hunt.

But even better news was to come, as far as Governor in Exile G. W. P. Hunt was concerned. On December 22, 1917, the Arizona Supreme Court handed down its unanimous decision seating Hunt as Governor of Arizona. The long battle was at an end.15

Although the regular session of the Third State Legislature had met as scheduled between January 8 and March 8, 1917, because this session had been under the control of "De Facto" Governor Thomas Campbell, Governor Hunt called a special session which met in Phoenix between May 21 and June 19, 1918. Mulford Winsor, of course, was in attendance. The Governor's stated purpose for calling the session was "that the efficiency of Arizona in the war may be increased." By the day of adjournment on June 19, the session had been nicknamed "The Resolutionary War Session" by the press, and indeed, although fifty two bills were introduced, the activities of the legislators seem to have been typified by one of Mulford Winsor's resolutions, which pledged state resources to the war. As the Arizona Gazette paraphrased it with exquisite sarcasm, "the resolution is a splendidly worded document, strong in its expression of support for the United States in the war, pledging the entire resources of the state in men, material, and money for the prosecution of the war and calling for suppression of all forms of lawlessness."16

Having disposed of the essentials, the legislators turned their attention to attacking Hunt and each other. Hunt's opening message had included a condemnation of the Bisbee mining deportations of July 12, 1917. He was viciously attacked on June 4 by Senator Fred Sutter of Bisbee, who defended the mine owners. Sutter had scarcely finished when Senator Winsor leaped to his feet to reply. "Always ready in debate, and clear-cut in argument, the Senator from Yuma with scathing sarcasm answered the attack on the Governor in a manner that frequently brought down the house with thunderous burst of applause," declared the editor of the Yuma Morning Sun. "He declared in brief that the Governor's loyalty could not be attacked, that Sutter was pleading the case of his 'clients,' and concluded with a masterful plea for unity with the duly elected public officials toward the winning of the war."17

The session ended on schedule on June 19, with President Claridge of the Senate naming the men who had declared themselves candidates for the Democratic nomination for Governor in the fall primaries. Since G. W. P. Hunt had decided against running for a fourth term, the field was open. Claridge announced the names of Mulford Winsor, Fred Sutter, C. M. Roberts, and Fred Colter. Winsor, who had sharpened his wit at every opportunity during the session, "was quick to call the attention of the senate to the order in which the (men) had been named as being the order of importance of the candidacies."18

With Hunt not in the running, who would the kingmaker back? To Winsor's dismay, Hunt decided on Fred Colter. After the close of the session, Winsor remained in Phoenix campaigning and

talking privately to the Governor. Hunt, however, had a long memory for favors and had decided to repay a political debt. As he confided in his Diary, "Mulford Winsor wants me to pull Colter off, that I am the only one that can do it. I told him I would not think of doing so and it would be rediculous (sic). It was Fred Colter at the opening of the con. (constitutional) convention that stayed with me and made it possible for me to be president- which was a stepping stone for governor and I have not forgot it."19 Evidently Hunt had also not forgotten that Winsor was his opponent for office in that far off time in the fall of 1910 when Arizona's representatives met to forge the organic law of the incipient state.

Meanwhile Arizona's newspapers had a field day trying to guess who would actually announce his candidacy for the democratic nomination, Campbell's nomination for the republican party being a foregone conclusion. Who would it be? Fred ~~Sutter~~ Colter announced his candidacy; B. B. Moeur and Sidney Osborn were candidates. Would Mulford Winsor declare himself? Pressed specifically about his plans for the gubernatorial race, he said "It is true that ... a considerable number of friends have asked me to consent to make the race, but I have not been able to convince myself of the sufficiency of the call. There are now about six candidates for the democratic nomination and I am afraid that my entrance would only cloud the situation more."20

This was Winsor's last public statement on the matter. Hunt's refusal to back his candidacy must have had a great deal to do with his decision. In addition, he had overextended himself financially with his speculative venture in cotton growing and no doubt would have had difficulty raising the funds to make an effective campaign. On July 16, 1918, Mulford Winsor announced his candidacy for State Senator from Yuma.21 He had decided, for the time being, at least, against running for governor.

Nonetheless, Winsor meant to have a hand in the primaries. By the end of July, he was back in Phoenix, to G. W. P. Hunt's surprise, campaigning for the candidate Hunt liked least, Sidney P. Osborn.22 By mid August, the field of Democratic candidates was thinning; B. B. Mouer retired from the race, throwing his support to Osborn. Hunt continued to glower at Winsor's perfidy. As he put it in his diary, "This is Mulford's work - it fills me with sorrow to think of it... It was Sids (Osborn's) vote that put Mulford out of the Land Com(mission, in 1914)"23

Winsor seems sensibly to have absented himself from Yuma's hot weather during most of the month of August. The week of August 19 found him campaigning for Sidney P. Osborn among the cool pines of Prescott, where he renewed his acquaintance with old friends from his youthful days as a swift in the Prescott Courier office.24 But by the end of the month he was home again to look after his cotton acreage. Cotton was ripening fast; on September 2 he met with officers of the Water Users Association on the pressing question of laborers for the harvest. It was estimated that 2500 pickers would be needed by Yuma growers. Some would come from Texas, but most of the itinerant pickers were Mexicans from Sonora. Since it cost the growers $40 per head just

to bring the laborers up from Mexico, a large sum of money was involved.25 But considering that the War Department had moved into the market, paying as much as seventy-three cents a pound for Pima cotton for use in manufacturing airplane wing covers, growers were guaranteed to make a handsome profit.26 1918 would be a profitable year for Winsor, Hunt, and their associates in the Yuma cotton venture.

Hunt, however, had his mind on other matters. At the primary election, held September 10, Winsor, who had run unopposed as Democratic candidate for Yuma State Senator, predictably won. As for the race for the governorship, Hunt's candidate, Fred Colter, carried every county in the State but one to win the Democratic nomination with 14,539 votes. Winsor's man, Sidney P. Osborn, trailed badly with 8,390.27 The Republican winner was Thomas E. Campbell, principal in the disputed governorship of 1917.

But in the midst of political campaigning stalked the shadow of death. Two weeks after the primary election, the Morning Sun carried the first notice of the outbreak of Spanish influenza that would decimate the country that fall. "Avoid crowds," advised the paper, while noting the difficulty of doing this unless one simply remained at home.28 By the following week, with fifty cases of flu at the State Normal School in Flagstaff, all six hundred students were quarantined.29

The following week, all theaters, pool halls, schools, and churches in Yuma were closed because of the epidemic. More than fifty cases had been reported in the city; scores of children left school ill on Tuesday, suffering from headaches, chill, high fevers, sore muscles, and general prostration. The only treatment known was to "retire, take a dose of salts, and call the doctor."30

On October 13, the Sun headlined news that the Germans had capitulated, and that they were willing to agree to President Wilson's surrender terms.31 But even while rumors flew that the Kaiser had abdicated, the first influenza deaths were reported in Yuma. Even worse, Yumans learned that Dr. J. A. Ketcherside himself was severely ill with influenza in the hospital.32 In a matter of days, the Yuma hospital was full; a building at the old Territorial Prison on the hill was set aside as a temporary hospital for flu cases.33 Clarissa Winsor, a compassionate, warm hearted woman, volunteered her services as vice chair of the local Red Cross. Hearing of a local Yuma family where both parents were sick with the flu, she personally took the children in.34

Deaths were now reported every day in the Morning Sun; seven were found dead near Maxey's Ranch, and this did not account for the hundreds of Mexican cotton pickers who fell victim to the plague. County Jail prisoners were detailed to dig graves; people lined up for a serum which, it was hoped, would protect them against the disease. And, noted the Morning Sun, "A face mask is no longer a laughable absurdity."35

State elections on November 5 seemed almost a mockery in the face of personal tragedy, but nevertheless the results were trumpeted in the Morning Sun the next day with the news that the

Democrats had made a clean sweep of the election. As the paper put it, "Slander Fails and Truth Prevails as People Rise for Colter and Hayden."36 The headline proved to be only partly correct, however. When all results were in, Arizona's durable Congressional Representative Carl Hayden had indeed been carried again to victory, as had Mulford Winsor, once again elected Yuma State Senator, but Hunt's candidate Fred Colter lost by 339 votes to Thomas E. Campbell.37 What Mulford Winsor thought of the outcome of the gubernatorial election is unknown.

Less than a week after the election, the long awaited news of the end of the great war came. At midnight on Monday, November 11, the whistles of the Southern Pacific Roundhouse sounded in Yuma signaling the signing of the peace treaty. Yumans forgot the election, forgot the influenza epidemic, and everyone streamed jubilantly into the streets where an informal celebration lasted until daybreak.38 Two weeks later, as the influenza epidemic waned and the threat of infection seemed over, Yuma churches, schools, and, of course, saloons opened once again.39

1. "Reclaim Western Lands and Thus Add to Food Supply, Advice of Yuma Man," Yuma Morning Sun, May 30, 1917.

2. "Indemnity if Weir is Put on Colorado, say Ranchers," Yuma Morning Sun, May 29, 1917.

3. Information about ongoing difficulties between Imperial and Yuma is to be found in M. J. Dowd's History of Imperial Irrigation District and the Development of Imperial Valley (El Centro, Calif., Imperial Irrigation District, 1956), p. 44, 53, 55, 59-62.

4. "Indemnity if Weir is put on Colorado, say Ranchers," Yuma Morning Sun, May 29, 1917.

5. Hunt, Diary, May 28, 1917, ASU.

6. Hunt, Diary, June 10, 1917.

7. "Hunt the Hope of Democracy," Tucson Citizen, July 28, 1917.

8. "Water promises to go higher at Yuma than in many years," Yuma Morning Sun, June 17, 1917.

9. "Colorado discharge 231,000 and gauge 29.3 here on Friday," Yuma Morning Sun, June 30, 1917.

10. Dowd, op. cit., p. 60.

11. Ibid., and "Association Insists on Indemnity if Dam is Built," Yuma Morning Sun, July 3, 1917.

12. "Yuma will revel in prosperity this fall, says S. P. Official," Yuma Morning Sun, Sept. 29, 1917.

13. Hunt, Diary, Oct. 4, 1917.

14. Joseph C. McGowan, History of Extra-Long Staple Cottons. El Paso, Hill Print. Co., 1961, p. 83.

15. Hunt, Diary, Dec. 22, 1917; "George W. P. Hunt is Declared the Elected Governor of the State of Arizona," Yuma Morning Sun, Dec. 23, 1917.

16. "Sutter's attack on Huntism adopted by Senate and printed," Arizona Gazette, June 5, 1918.

17. "Senator Mulford Winsor Defends Governor Hunt," Yuma Morning Sun, June 11, 1918.

18. "Resolutionary War Over," Arizona Gazette, June 20, 1918.

19. Hunt, Diary, June 28, 1918.

20. "Senator Winsor may be Nominee for Governorship," Yuma Morning Sun, July 5, 1918.

21. "Democratic Candidate for State Senator," Yuma Morning Sun, July 16, 1918.

22. Hunt, Diary, July 31, 1918.

23. Hunt, Diary, Aug. 15, 1918.

24. "Mulford Winsor," Yuma Morning Sun, Aug. 23, 1918.

25. "Labor Question Paramount Issue," Yuma Morning Sun, Sept. 4, 1918.

26. Leopold A. Chambliss, "Growing Cotton in the West," World's Work, March 20, 1920, p. 508.

27. Hunt, Diary, Sept. 11, 1918, and Menzo E. Hatter, The Major Issues in Arizona's Gubernatorial Campaigns. MA Thesis, ASU, 1951, leaf 40.

28. "Outbreak of Spanish Influenza," Yuma Morning Sun, Sept. 28, 1918.

29. "Quarantine 600 Students for Influenza," Yuma Morning Sun, Oct. 3, 1918.

30. "Close all Theaters, Pool Halls, Schools, and Churches in Yuma," Yuma Morning Sun, Oct. 9, 1918.

31. "GERMANS YIELD!" Yuma Morning Sun, Oct. 13, 1918.

32. "Three Deaths in Yuma from Influenza," Yuma Morning Sun, Oct. 18, 1918.

33. "Prison Hill will be Site for Flu Cases to Hospital," Yuma Morning Sun, Oct. 22, 1918.

34. "They Read the Sun and Helped Family," Yuma Morning Sun, Oct. 24, 1918.

35. "Prisoners Digging Graves for many Dead Near Yuma," Yuma Morning Sun, Oct. 25, 1918.

36. Yuma Morning Sun, Nov. 6, 1918.

37. Hatter, op. cit., p. 46.

38. "PEACE SIGNED!" Yuma Morning Sun, Nov. 11, 1918.

39. "Town to open up at midnight on Saturday," Yuma Morning Sun, Nov. 20, 1918.

8/1919

~~IX~~ X. THE YUMA MESA AUXILIARY PROJECT AND A RUN FOR GOVERNOR, 1919-1920

The year 1919 marked the end of George W. P. Hunt's almost unbroken tenure as Arizona's governor with the inauguration of his Republican successor, Thomas Campbell, on January 6. Despite the fact that Hunt had chosen not to run in the 1918 election, he felt a sense of sadness as his chauffeur drove him for the last time in the official state car to the Capitol building. Here he walked to the balcony where he himself had been sworn in on February 14, 1912, briefly introduced Campbell, and then with a nice touch of closure, walked back to the Ford Hotel. As he put it in his diary that evening, "I go out with a clean record. I walked to the capitol (at his 1912 inauguration) and I walked back."1

The following week, January 13, 1919, the Fourth State Legislature convened. Mulford Winsor had hoped to be elected President of the Senate by his peers, but despite some lobbying on his behalf by G. W. P. Hunt,2 this was not to be. Nevertheless, he put forward several important pieces of legislation: a 300 page bill to rewrite the election code and to limit spending by candidates in primary elections (vetoed by Governor Campbell), a bill appropriating $200,000 for highway construction between Yuma and Phoenix, and a comprehensive water code regulating the appropriation of the natural waters of Arizona, protecting the rights of prior appropriation, and creating the office of State Water Commissioner (allowed to become law without the governor's signature). At the end of the session, March 13, 1919, the friendly editor of Dunbar's Weekly concluded that "Senator Winsor of Yuma County was by far the ablest man in the Fourth Legislature... the 'Little Giant' from Yuma is a wonder."3

By May, 1919, Winsor was once again testing the gubernatorial waters, with the friendly Yuma Morning Sun avering that "We do not know what Senator Winsor's intentions are but the Democratic party should insist that he run either for Governor or for Senator (to succeed Marcus A. Smith in the United States Senate)"4 As for Winsor, he insisted that "so far as my own ambition, if I have any, is concerned... it is of no importance whatever. There should only be considered the needs of the state..."5

Of more immediate concern that summer was the pending extension of the U. S. Reclamation Service's Yuma Irrigation Project to the Yuma Mesa. As previously recounted, the Yuma project was a Reclamation Service sponsored effort to channel the waters of the Colorado River to provide irrigation water for more than 150,000 acres of arid land on both sides of the Colorado River, including Imperial Valley and the Yuma Indian reservation in California, and Yuma Valley, North and South Gila Valleys, and the Yuma Mesa in Arizona. The Laguna Dam, built in 1909 as a diversion rather than a storage dam, was the key to the project. The dam, built twelve miles north of the city of Yuma, consisted of a fifty foot wide concrete apron sloping from the crest of the dam to the water upstream. This apron was designed to desilt

rather than store the water of the Colorado so that it would be relatively free of sediment before it was diverted into canals. On the California side of the river, the water was diverted into a canal controlled by steel headgates. The canal followed the edge of the California mesa to a point north of Yuma at the Indian reservation. Here it flowed south three and a half miles until it reached the north side of the Colorado River and the siphon intake. This was an ingenious contrivance which took the water under the river and up to the surface again on the Arizona side of the river. Here it was carried in a canal south through Yuma to the Mexican border, with diversion canals serving to irrigate Yuma Valley.

The Yuma Mesa Auxiliary Project was designed to extend the range of irrigable land in Arizona by means of a pumping station which would raise the waters of the Colorado from the Main Canal in the Yuma Valley to the mesa to the east of the Valley. Sponsored in Congress in 1916 by Congressman Carl Hayden and Senator Henry F. Ashurst, and signed into law by President Wilson on January 25, 1917, the project lacked only the approval of Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane as to a time table for the construction of the pumping plant and necessary canals on the Mesa as well as terms and conditions of the sale of Mesa lands to the public. Col. Ben Franklin Fly, who had worked closely from the beginning with the Reclamation Commissioners and with Hayden and Ashurst to bring the Project to fruition, was selected to go to Washington to confer with Secretary Lane. Accompanying him as representative of the Yuma County Water Users' Association was Mulford Winsor.6

Winsor and Fly proceeded to Washington where they testified before the Interior Department, the War Department, and the Agriculture Department, urging speedy implementation of the Project.7 Their efforts were successful; on July 14, 1919, the order opening "Unit B" of the Yuma Mesa for public sale on December 10, 1919, was signed by Secretary Lane in a formal ceremony in the Secretary's private office.8

It was quite an event, an opportunity for national as well as statewide publicity. Both men took advantage of it to push Winsor's "reluctant" candidacy for Arizona governor. Arriving in Yuma from Washington on July 27, a week before Winsor returned, Fly praised Winsor's work in Washington, stating that "Senator Winsor made one of the best arguments ever heard before (the Indian Affairs Commission), being highly complimented by all of its members... Practically every man I met in Washington from Arizona invariably asked me 'Why the ---- don't you folks down in Yuma force Senator Winsor to run for Governor? He can be elected practically without an effort.' And that's what I say myself -- Why can't we force him to run for Governor?"9

Why indeed? By Sunday, August 10, Winsor finally reached Phoenix, having returned to Arizona via Denver and Northern Arizona. In Phoenix, still modestly noncommital, he was interviewed by a reporter from the Phoenix Messenger. "Being one of the ablest and most popular Democrats of the state of Arizona, the name of Senator Winsor is heard frequently in connection with the governorship nomination," averred the reporter. "He has made

no announcement but any good American would serve if the demand is insistent."10

And then Winsor himself was home to give a complete report of his activities. He told his supporters that he had delayed his return in order to see if Unit A (the mesa area immediately south of the city of Yuma, in which he owned a total of 100 acres) could be opened up along with Unit B. In order to open Unit A, an irrigation district must be organized. Most fortunately, Senator Winsor was the author of Arizona's irrigation law, so this should present no great obstacles. The only forseeable problem, according to Winsor, was the extra cost of rented power for pumping the water to Unit A.11

When it was announced that Winsor was to be the principal speaker at the Miami-Globe Labor Day celebration on September 1 at Midway, everyone assumed that he would take the occasion to announce his intention of running for governor.12 But though the Sun carried every word of his lengthy and bombastic oration, he uttered not the slightest hint of his plans, confining himself instead to high flown flattery of the laboring man and his "unselfish, exalted mission."13

To all appearances, Winsor seems to have been more interested in promoting the sale of mesa lands than in launching himself prematurely into a political race which, if he won the Democratic nomination, would no doubt pit him against the powerful and popular incumbent, Governor Thomas Campbell. Furthermore, with G. W. P. Hunt growing more restive in his self sought "retirement," there was every chance that Hunt might declare himself a candidate for the governorship in 1920.

On October 9, the official notice for the sale of public lands in Unit B of the Yuma mesa was given out. The sale was to take place in Sunset Park, Yuma, on December 10. The 6,400 acres of public land had been subdivided into 500 farms ranging from 5 to 20 acres each. The minimum price was $225 per acre, of which $200 was the estimated cost of the irrigation works which would have to be constructed to pump Colorado River water onto the land.14

Hoping for speedy Reclamation Service action on Unit A of the mesa, almost immediately after this, Mulford Winsor and B. F. Fly petitioned the Yuma Board of Supervisors to organize the Yuma Mesa Irrigation District so that Reclamation Service negotiations could begin for Unit A.15 The final hearing on the new district took place November 4, with F. L. Ewing, A. B. Ming, and Mulford Winsor as the Board of Directors.16

With Winsor's knowledge of water and irrigation law, it seems almost a foregone conclusion that when an irrigation conference was called by Governors D. W. Davis of Idaho and Simon Bamberger of Utah, to meet in Salt Lake City November 21-22, 1919, that he would be selected as one of the members of Arizona's delegation to the conference.17 Representatives from California, Oregon, Washington, Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Wyoming, and Utah met to discuss methods of storing the waters of the Colorado so as to make them available for irrigation.18 Discussions at this conference were among the preliminaries that led two years later to the federally

appointed Colorado River Commission that would engage so much of Mulford Winsor's time in the next decade.

Once home from the irrigation conference, all of Winsor's energies were channeled into promotion for the December 10 sale of Unit B mesa lands. When the long awaited day arrived, more than 1,000 people were gathered in Sunset Park. By the end of the first day 175 of the 600 tracts of land had been sold.19 Interest seemed to flag on the second day of the sale; Mulford Winsor, who purchased a five acre tract at the price of $346 the first day, obligated himself to take two ten acre units more, each of them costing $350.20 When the Great Yuma Mesa Land Sale ended on December 13, 94 tracts remained unsold of the original 600 tracts.

Over the next two months, the Yuma Commercial Club exercised every conceivable wile to induce potential buyers to invest in Yuma lands. On January 15, 1920, a delegation of 150 special visitors from Phoenix came by train to inspect the mesa. Hosted by the Commercial Club, the visitors were treated to lunch at the Elks Club at noon and a 7:30 pm banquet at the end of the day, at which the ever eloquent Mulford Winsor held forth on the profitability of investing in Yuma land.21 By February 1, all units had been disposed of, with Winsor purchasing another ten acre tract at the price of $250.00. All in all, he had obligated himself to a debt of more than $1,000. If all went well with his cotton crop, he figured he could handle the matter.

On February 12, 1920, Governor Campbell called a special session of the Fourth State Legislature to "consider and ratify" the Woman's Suffrage Amendment to the United States Constitution. Since Arizona women had had voting rights for more than seven years,22 the session was expected to be fairly routine. Senator Mulford Winsor, however, seized the opportunity to make a lengthy speech, in the course of which he quibbled with the Governor's choice of words in his call for the legislative session and discoursed on the importance of suffrage. Closing with the statement that this would no doubt be his last speech to the Arizona Senate, he finally yielded the floor.23

Strangly enough, no one seems to have caught the significance of Winsor's closing statement. After almost a year of indecision, Winsor had made up his mind to run for Governor. The day before the special legislative session, Democratic friends and supporters of George W. P. Hunt and Mulford Winsor had met in caucus in Phoenix to carve out some political territory. By the end of the meeting, it had been decided that George W. P. Hunt would run for the United States Senate, opposing incumbent elder statesman Marcus A. Smith, and that the group would support Mulford Winsor as their candidate for the Democratic ticket in the September primary elections.24

Senator Smith, who had represented Arizona in Congress since 1886, and who was known to support Arizona's copper mining interests, obviously considered labor sympathizer Hunt a potentially formidable political opponent. According to one account, as soon as the Democratic caucus's deliberations were made public, Smith's copper industry supporters sent a delegation to Washington "to arrange for Hunt to go to the south seas."25

If indeed this is what happened, Smith's supporters must have moved swiftly and effectively. Four days after the meeting, on Sunday, February 15, Hunt noted in his diary that he had had a private communication from Washington notifying him that he had been nominated to be United States minister to Siam. Although he had been cautioned not to say anything about the matter, since his name had not yet been presented to the Senate for confirmation, he immediately told Mulford Winsor what had happened. Said Hunt, "He was pleased. I think he thinks that if I am away my liberal tendencies will not bother (his chances for election)"26

On March 17, 1920, Winsor's long anticipated announcement of candidacy was sent to George S. Babbitt, chairman of the State Democratic Committee. His lengthy and carefully crafted letter, along with his picture, was widely disseminated in Arizona newspapers.27 Favoring education, flood control, arid land reclamation, highways, and law and order, his platform was unexceptionable. "Just how Winsor's announcement is going to affect the democratic situation is a matter of considerable conjecture," averred The Tucson Citizen. "(Charles M.) Roberts of Cochise, who has felt himself slipping of late, may decide to throw up the sponge, realizing that he cannot hope to win against a candidate who by tacit understanding has secured the support of George W. P. Hunt." The Citizen commented further that Winsor's announcement might induce conservative Democrat Mit Simms, Arizona Secretary of State who had been mentioned widely as a possible candidate, to make his announcement.28

Indeed, this is precisely what happened. When the September primaries rolled around, Thomas Campbell ran unopposed as Republican candidate, and Mulford Winsor squared off against Mit Simms.

But meantime, following his official announcement of March 17, Winsor did not immediately begin his campaign. Hunt's confirmation was in trouble with the Senate because of his purported sympathy with the radical I.W.W. On April 10, Senator Smith wired Hunt to come to Washington immediately to defend himself. Hunt declined to come until he knew the exact nature of the charges against him.29 When Hunt received a copy of the charges from Senator Smith, he once again called on Mulford Winsor to craft his defense.30 Certainly anyone who was familiar with Winsor's writing style would have no trouble guessing the author of Hunt's statement which was presented before the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate in May.31 It seems effectively to have silenced all senatorial objections. Hunt was confirmed by the Senate on May 18. Leaving for Washington almost immediately, he was sworn into office on June 1, 1920.32

With Hunt out of the way, Winsor and his supporters swung into action. J. H. Westover, publisher and editor of the Yuma Morning Sun, served as his campaign manager. As President of the Winsor Home-County Governor Club, Westover blanketed the state with letters and paid newspaper advertisements soliciting Democratic support for Winsor in the September Primaries.33 In addition, hundreds of copies of an eight page pamphlet reprinting Winsor's candidacy announcement were printed by the Sun.

In June, Winsor began stumping the state. From optimistic reports in the Yuma Morning Sun, Winsor was the only candidate who had a following in every county.34 Hunt, however, in a letter filled with friendly solicitude written just as he was about to embark on his voyage to Siam, gave him a few words of fatherly advice. He warned him that both C. M. Roberts and Mit Simms were traveling extensively, campaigning personally in all parts of the state. "With your oratory and by condensing your talk to about 30 minutes making a whirlwind campaign in car and auto speaking all those precincts, you would have a decided advantage," he suggested.35

Bowing to the inevitable, C. M. Roberts withdrew from the race a few weeks before the primary election. After this, most editorial comments in Arizona newspapers took for granted that Winsor would sweep his remaining opponent, Mit Simms, from the field in the primaries. Neither of the candidates indulged in mud slinging; from all written accounts it was an exceptionally clean campaign, one based on issues, not personalities. But when the last ballot was counted, Simms was the Democratic winner, defeating Winsor by 17,023 votes to Winsor's 13,711.36

Winsor was stunned by his unexpected defeat. As he phrased it in a speech given a couple of weeks later, "the horizon of my hope seemed to become completely shut in and the world to hold nothing worth mentioning... The word which I ... received from over the state ... succeeded in impressing upon my consciousness that the public does not desire my services..."37 Mulford Winsor never tried for high political office again.

A comment made by Allan B. Jaynes of the Tucson Citizen before the election may have bearing on Winsor's poor showing. Jaynes was sure that Mit Simms would carry Apache County, as he was supported by Fred Colter "who is supposed to harbor resentment since 1918 against Winsor when Colter ran for governor and was defeated mainly by his middle of the road harmony policy."38 Colter may well have damaged Winsor's support in other counties than Apache. And, in the final analysis, the editor of the Tucson Citizen may have put his finger on the problem when he characterized Winsor as "an intense egotist and politically domineering. On this account he has many bitter and secret enemies in his own party."39

However, Simms along with almost all other Democratic candidates for public office was defeated in the Republican avalanche that swept the country in the general election of November 2, 1920. At the national level, Democrat James M. Cox was resoundingly defeated by Warren G. Harding. Republican Ralph H. Cameron, who had served with Democrat Mark Smith as Arizona's last territorial delegate before Arizona gained statehood in 1912, terminated Smith's long career in the United States Senate. And, of course, Republican Thomas Campbell was elected to a second term as Governor of Arizona.

As Mulford Winsor put it in a gloomy letter written to his friend George W. P. Hunt in far off Siam after the general election, "Arizona furnished an example of the tallow going with the hide. I guess the people of this State thought that they must join the line of march, even though the march was backward.

And they did it with a vengeance."40

By the time the general election was over, however, Mulford Winsor along with many others in Yuma County had more than political woes to worry about. The end of the war in 1918 not only reduced the need for defense materials such as rubber tires with their cotton fabric linings; it reopened the United States to the importation of cheap Egyptian cotton. As a result, by fall 1920, the bottom fell out of the cotton market. As Winsor phrased it, "I am now vigorously, indeed desperately, engaged in an effort to keep from being engulfed by the onsweeping financial flood. I was very deep in cotton, and cotton has suffered more than any product grown in the United States."41

1. Hunt, Diary, Jan. 6, 1919.

2. Hunt to W. A. Parr, Dec. 10, 1918, Hunt Collection, Box 2, folder 7, ASU.

3. Dunbar's Weekly, March 22, 1919.

4. "Senator Mulford Winsor Mentioned for Governor," Yuma Morning Sun, May 20, 1919.

5. "Let Smith and Hayden alone," Phoenix Messenger, June 7, 1919.

6. "Send Committee to Washington," Yuma Morning Sun, June 13, 1919. General information about the Yuma Mesa Auxiliary Project is contained in a special edition of the Yuma Morning Sun, "The Morning Sun Yuma Mesa Land Opening Number," issued November 26, 1919.

7. "On the Beaches and Everywhere," Yuma Morning Sun, July 14, 1919.

8. A photograph was taken of the signing; among those present were Marcus A. Smith and Henry F. Ashurst, United States Senators from Arizona, Carl Hayden, Congressman from Arizona, and Arizona delegates B. F. Fly and Mulford Winsor. See Morning Sun Yuma Mesa Land Opening number, p. 55, for photograph and identification.

9. "Early Sale of Mesa Lands Depends upon Road, says Col. Fly," Yuma Morning Sun, July 29, 1919.

10. "Sentiment for Winsor Grows," reprint from Phoenix Messenger in Yuma Morning Sun, Aug. 17, 1919.

11. "Opening Mesa Lands Unit A in November," Yuma Morning Sun, Aug. 14, 1919.

12. "Winsor to Speak at Convention," Yuma Morning Sun, Aug. 26, 1919.

13. "Winsor Makes Great Spech at Labor Fete," Yuma Morning Sun, Sept. 2, 1919. Typescript text of speech (15 pages) is in Winsor collection, Box 7, folder 8, DLAPR.

14. U. S. Reclamation Service. The Yuma Mesa. 1919, p. 5.

15. "Notice of Hearings for the Proposed Organization of the Yuma Mesa Irrigation District," Yuma Morning Sun, Oct. 22, 1919. This article lists Winsor's land on the mesa, including SE 1/2 SE 1/4 NE 1/4 and SE 1/4 Sec. 16 T. 9S R23W, 60 acres.

16. "Mesa Unit A Irrigation District Formed," Yuma Morning Sun, Nov. 5, 1919.

17. Thomas Campbell to Winsor, Nov. 15, 1919, Yuma Historical Society.

18. "Irrigation Meet will Open Toiday," Yuma Morning Sun, Nov. 20, 1919.

19. "Big Demand for Yuma Mesa Land on Opening of Sale," Yuma Morning Sun, Dec. 11, 1919.

20. "Ardent Efforts Today by Yuma Citizens for Success of Land Sale," Yuma Morning Sun, Dec. 12, 1919.

21. "Delegation will visit Yuma Today," Yuma Morning Sun, Jan. 15, 1920.

22. The Arizona State Constitution was amended to guarantee all citizens, both male and female, the right to vote on December 5, 1912.

23. Mulford Winsor, Speech, 28 p., holograph, Winsor Collection, DLAPR.

24. "Hunt and Winsor Plan to Head Democratic Ticket," Verde Copper News, Feb. 13, 1920.

25. Steven A. Fazio, Marcus A. Smith, Arizona Politician, M.A. Thesis, University of Arizona, 1968, p. 159.

26. Hunt, Diary, Feb. 15, 1920.

27. See, for instance, Yuma Morning Sun and Tucson Citizen, March 17, 1920.

28. "Winsor is Expected to Fling Hat into Gubernatorial Ring," Tucson Citizen, March 16, 1920.

29. Hunt, Diary, April 10, 1920.

30. Hunt, Diary, April 23, 1920.

31. Quoted in part in John S. Goff, George W. P. Hunt and his Arizona (Pasadena: Socio Technical Publications, 1973), pp. 128-29.

32. Goff, p. 129.

33. Copy of Winsor Home-County Governor Club letterhead in Eleanor W. Davis files, 1-107; the first Winsor Home-County Governor Club advertisement appeared May 7 in the Prescott Courier.

34. "Winsor Gaining Strength," Yuma Morning Sun, June 20, 1920.

35. Hunt to Winsor, June 22, 1930, Hunt Collection, Box 2, folder 18, ASU.

36. Yuma Morning Sun, Sept. 11, 1920.

37. Winsor, Speech to U. S. Army Motor Convoy banquet, S.P. Hotel, Yuma, Sept. 26, 1920, holograph, 9 p. Winsor collection, Box 7, folder 2, DLAPR.

38. "Arizona Faces Live Campaign for Governor," Yuma Morning Sun, Aug. 18, 1920.

39. "Mulford Winsor," Tucson Citizen, May 8, 1920.

40. Winsor to Hunt, Dec. 6, 1920, Hunt collection, Box 2, folder 24, ASU.

41. Ibid.

8/1921

XI THE COLLAPSE OF ARIZONA'S COTTON INDUSTRY; FIRST REGIONAL PLANNING FOR COLORADO RIVER CONTROL

If anyone had told Mulford Winsor early in 1920 that the long continued escalation in cotton prices was about to end, Winsor would not have believed it. With a total of 2,500 acres of land in Yuma Valley alone planted to cotton, Yuma area growers assumed that cotton prices would continue to rise, as they had for the past four years, to feed the seemingly insatiable demands of the tire and thread industries.1 By May 18, Winsor and his friends were happily anticipating prices as high as $1.00 per pound.2 Surely this was not unreasonable, since cotton had sold for as much as $1.25 per pound in 1919.3

The first hint of trouble appeared in August, when California's Imperial Valley growers, who had counted on a price of between $80 and $90 per ton for cotton seed, learned that seed would bring only about $20.00 per ton, an amount insufficient even to pay for the cost of handling the crop.4 But even as the results of the September primary elections were being tallied and the winners were honing their campaign strategies for the November general election, reassuring news came from the East. Dwight B. Heard, chairman of the cotton committee of the Phoenix Chamber of Commerce wrote to the President of the Goodyear Tire Company at Akron, Ohio, regarding rumors that automobile tire manufacturers were considering substituting cheaper short staple cotton for the long staple Arizona Pima and Egyptian cottons which had become the principle crop for Arizona growers since the war ended. Replying to Heard's telegram President Seiberling said, "Long Staple Cotton is an absolute essential to the manufacturer of high grade tires... We believe there is a great future for the long staple in the tire industry and that the present depression in the staple market is due to general business conditions and in no way indicates a lack of interest for the long staple cotton by the tire manufacturers."5

If this were not enough, R. D. Davie who had just returned from the East assured cotton growers that "while brakes were put on rather hard ... there is a general feeling that the result will be beneficial ultimately... Locally we had gone a little crazy on cotton; too many cows have been sold; too many acres of alfalfa plowed up, and some lands planted that were not fitted... But cotton is here to stay and is and should be our main crop... Prices are bound to go up... Ninety days should see a good demand and at good prices."6

On September 23, two hundred Yuma County cotton growers met to organize the Yuma County Cotton Growers Association, with Mulford Winsor as President. All of the members of the Association agreed to "hold their cotton for the prices they are entitled to get and which they will surely get if they follow that course."7 Not quite a week later, the bottom dropped out of the cotton market. Instead of the $1.00 per pound hoped for, local buyers offered no more than 21c per pound. This spelled disaster to growers, as the price offered would not begin to cover their expenses (which averaged between 60c and 70c per pound), much less give them a profit.8 The fact that the

Goodyear Tire Company felt that by the beginning of the next year the slump in the auto industry might correct itself and the Company would be buying cotton again was little comfort to panicky growers.9 In the meantime, the best Goodyear could promise was to honor its price of 60c per pound on cotton already contracted for, though, as the Goodyear spokesman said, the cotton was not actually needed.10

The year 1921 started as badly as the previous year had ended. Since Winsor had not campaigned for the State Senate, he did not even have legislative affairs to take his mind off his troubles. In an effort to retrench, he left his home on the Mesa and moved his family to his acreage in the Valley. If he wrote to his friend G. W. P. Hunt, now U. S. Ambassador to Siam, the letters have not survived. But another friend told Hunt, "It is rumored that Mulford Winsor is in bad straits. He had a section in cotton and cotton is worth nothing. Long staple is quoted at about twenty-five cents, and short staple is quoted at about twelve cents. Farmers here are not putting in so much cotton and lots of them are so badly broke that they can't put in anything."11

But Winsor was suffering from more than financial woes. Shortly after Hunt wrote his exasperated letter to Sims, another of Hunt's friends happened to see Winsor in Phoenix. In a letter to Hunt she said, "I met Mr. Winsor on the street this morning. He is well at present but has had the small pox."12 Things definitely had not been going well for Mulford Winsor that spring.

Exactly how -- or why -- Winsor managed to finance the acquisition of another large tract of land when his financial affairs were in such precarious condition is not known. But according to a letter written some years later to Senator Carl Hayden, in late May 1921 he started another agricultural venture, one that he continued to pursue for the rest of his life, the establishment of a date garden on the Yuma Mesa. His inspiration may have come from an item which he may have seen in the Yuma Morning Sun on December 29, 1920, at a time when his fortunes seemed at a low point. Headlined "Two Thousand Dollars Acre Paid for Land, Valley Date Orchard Brings Record Price for Forty Acres of Land," the article told of the sale of the old Bernard Johnson date farm to the California Date Palm Nurseries for $75,000. At any rate, on his birthday, May 31, 1921, he acquired a tract of land, shortly thereafter entering into a contract with the United States Reclamation Bureau for delivery of water from the Unit B canal of the Yuma Mesa Auxiliary Project in order to establish a date garden. This he continued to improve through the years until it became a profitable venture, operating it under the name Persian Gardens.13

By mid June, he seems to have been feeling better. Speaking to a reporter from the Arizona Republican during a brief visit to Phoenix, he announced that he was now "a gentleman farmer," who was interested in improvements in the farming and cattle industries. His 600 acres in the Yuma Valley were planted to alfalfa and cotton, he stated. He firmly declined to talk politics.14

The rampaging Colorado River, swollen with summer rains, came close to putting an end once again to Winsor's hopes of recouping his losses. On June 30, it peaked at 31.50 feet, the greatest flood in forty years. However, the levees, considerably reinforced since the terrible flood of 1916 that wiped out much of Yuma's business section, held, thanks to the Reclamation Service, which furnished forty carloads of rock which were dumped into a threatened breach.15

By mid July, with the river back in its course and his crops safe, Winsor returned to Phoenix where, said a reporter, he spent time at the State Capitol "where he appears an interested listener to political gossip."16 It is doubtful that he was in Phoenix as late as August 21, when a cloudburst caused Cave Creek to inundate the State Capitol with two feet of water which poured "like Niagara" down the steps into the basement, leaving a foot and a half of mud and doing much damage to state records. But if any Maricopa County citizens thought that they were immune to the annual threat of flooding that kept Yuma citizens alert, they were disabused of that idea.17 In October, another downpour brought flooding to the Gila and Colorado Rivers, washing out the Southern Pacific railroad tracks near Niland, California, and causing five breaks in the main canal between Laguna Dam and the Yuma siphon drop. Unpaved Yuma Valley roads were "well nigh impossible." Once again Yuma farmers suffered terrible losses, this time because of flooding.18

With the year 1921 one of the wettest in many years, it seemed appropriate that the League of the Southwest, with delegates chosen from all states sharing the Colorado River as a boundary, should choose as its topic for the meeting held in Riverside, California on December 10 and 11 the possible construction of a dam at Boulder Canyon. Mulford Winsor was one of the Arizona delegates in attendance.19 In addition, the newly organized Arizona Industrial Conference called for December 15-16 in Phoenix included among its areas of interest not only freight rates, taxation, and marketing of Arizona industrial products, but also reclamation and flood control. Mulford Winsor was named as the chairman of the reclamation section. Who in Arizona had more knowledge of water law, to say nothing of practical experience with the unpredictable waters of the Colorado?20

On May 9, 1922, Mulford Winsor received notice that he had been elected a delegate to the Democratic Conference to be held in Tucson on May 15.21 Perhaps because of his financial difficulties, Winsor did not attend, contenting himself with sending a wire telling the conferees that the people were tired of Republican rule, and that it was time for a democratic administration of public affairs.22 Had he been there, matters might have been handled differently at the conference, but since Hunt, now back from Siam, found himself outvoted, perhaps Winsor could not have forstalled a most unusual event: the endorsement of Phoenix attorney Charles B. Ward as Democratic candidate for Governor of Arizona.23

Hunt had not planned to run for Governor in 1922, but he was so dismayed by the Democratic Party's choice of Ward as well

as the Convention's lack of censure of a proposal to change the Constitution to eliminate direct Primaries, that within a week he made up his mind to run. He asked Mulford Winsor's advice; Winsor told him that he had little chance of winning the election.24 This was not at all what Hunt wanted to hear. As he put it even before he knew Winsor's feeling on the matter, "I feel now the die is cast and I will have to run whether I want to or not."25

Run Hunt did, as also did Mulford Winsor, Winsor for State Senator from Yuma. Predictably, in the primary election on September 12, Hunt beat Ward, to emerge as the Democratic party's candidate for Governor, running against incumbent Campbell. Mulford Winsor, who ran unopposed for the Democratic nomination for State Senator from Yuma County, and who had no Republican rival, was assured of winning the general election in November. This being so, he turned his attention to helping Hunt's cause, speaking throughout the state in opposition to the Republican administration of Thomas E. Campbell, which he accused of "mismanagement and extravagance."26

Almost inevitably, the development of the Colorado River became an issue in the fall campaign of 1922. Arizona and California were only two of the seven states whose economic lifeblood was tied to the water of the Colorado. Recognizing the necessity for some legal mechanism for apportioning the Colorado's water,in May 1921 the governors of the states of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming met in Denver. They drew up a resolution petitioning Congress to authorize the seven states to enter into a compact "respecting the future utilization and disposition of the waters of the Colorado River"27 Thomas E. Campbell, Governor of Arizona, and one of the most active members of the group, was authorized to present the resolution in Washington to Congress. On August 19, 1921, Congress authorized the seven states to enter into a compact to divide the waters of the Colorado among themselves. Each of the seven state was to appoint a representative to the Colorado River Commission. President Harding appointed the then Secretary of Commerce of the United States, Herbert Hoover, to chair the Commission. Open meetings were held in Washington, Phoenix, and Denver between January and April 1922. After this the Commission adjourned until after the November election, "realizing that if such an adjournment was not taken various people with political ambition would immediately draw the river question into cheap partisan politics."28

Since Republican Governor Campbell had taken such a prominent role in the formation of the Colorado River Commission, running his campaign on the slogan "The Election of Campbell Means Industrial Peace and Development of the Colorado," it is surprising that Democratic candidates did not make the Colorado pact more of an issue at this time. Actually the main issues after the Primary election seem to have been the record of the Republican administration in road building and education, with extravagant expenditures to support both. As for Colorado River development, Winsor was heard to say, "It is a question requiring such careful consideration... that the very suspicion

of making political capital out of it meets with the severest condemnation ... We must, however, look well to the election of a governor who will while recognizing the legitimate rights of other states, battle for the protection of Arizona's extensive and superior rights, and there is a widespread feeling that Governor Hunt's well known backbone will come in very handy in that connection."29

Winsor's prediction may well have come back to haunt him in the next few years, as he and Governor Hunt came to a parting of the ways on the topic of Colorado River control. But that was in the future. In the general election of November 7, Winsor of course regained his seat in the Arizona Senate. And G. W. P. Hunt resoundingly defeated his gentlemanly Republican opponent, Thomas Campbell, by a vote of 37,310 to 30,599. As Hunt noted with great satisfaction in his diary, "Elected by an overwhelming majority, carrying all the counties but one."30

1. "Cotton Growers Hold Meeting," Yuma Morning Sun, April 11, 1920.

2. "Dollar Cotton is Anticipated," Yuma Morning Sun, May 18, 1920.

3. Walter V. Woehlke, "What Cotton Did to Arizona," Sunset, 47 (July 1921), 22.

4. "Cotton Seed Goes Down to $20.00 per Ton," Yuma Morning Sun, Aug. 21, 1920.

5. "Good News for Cotton Growers," Yuma Morning Sun, Sept. 21, 1920.

6. "No Reason to Worry about Market for Cotton, says Davie," Yuma Morning Sun, Sept. 21, 1920.

7. "Cotton Growers Association is Organized Here," Yuma Morning Sun, Sept. 25, 1920.

8. "Spot Cotton Drops to 21c with a very few Purchases Made," Yuma Morning Sun, Sept. 28, 1920.

9. "Present Cotton Conditions Due to Readjustment," Yuma Morning Sun, Oct. 3, 1920.

10. "Long Staple Cotton Market in the Yuma Valley is Opened by the Southwest Cotton Company," Yuma Morning Sun, Oct. 10, 1920.

11. Allen Nickerson to Hunt, March 9, 1921, Hunt collection, box 3, folder 3, ASU.

12. Bessie M. Stark to Hunt, June 18, 1921, Hunt collection, box 3, folder 6, ASU.

13. Winsor to Carl Hayden, March 23, 1943, Hayden collection, DLAPR.

14. "Senator Windsor (sic) Visits Phoenix," Yuma Morning Sun, June 19, 1921.

15. "River is Falling Fast," Yuma Morning Sun, June 30, 1921.

16. "Yuma Premier Alfalfa Land, says Winsor," Yuma Morning Sun, July 16, 1921.

17. "State Capitol Flooded as Second Cloudburst Causes Million Loss," Yuma Morning Sun, Aug. 23, 1921.

18. "Downpour heaviest in years," Yuma Morning Sun, Oct. 1, 1921.

19. "Delegates Returning from San Diego Meet," Yuma Morning Sun, Dec. 14, 1921.

20. "Accepts the Reclamation Chairmanship," Yuma Morning Sun, Dec. 11, 1921.

21. C. E. Rooney to Winsor, Winsor collection, box 7, folder 7, DLAPR.

22. "Winsor Sends Message to Conference," Yuma Morning Sun, May 16, 1922.

23. Hunt, Diary, May 17, 1922.

24. Hunt, Diary, May 27, 1922.

25. Hunt, Diary, May 24, 1922.

26. "Senator Winsor and the Development of the Colorado River," Daily Silver Belt (Miami), Oct. 26, 1922.

27. Quoted in Grace Kight, History of the Santa Fe Compact, MA thesis, University of Arizona, 1927, p. 67.

28. Ibid, p. 74-75.

29. "Senator Winsor and the Development of the Colorado River," Daily Silver Belt (Miami), Oct. 26, 1922.

30. Hunt, Diary, Nov. 9, 1922.

XII. MUDDYING THE WATERS: ARIZONA AND THE COLORADO RIVER

Although Carl Hayden, Arizona's representative to Congress, and Mulford Winsor had known each other for many years, (Winsor ran against Hayden as Democratic candidate for Congressional Representative in the primary elections of 1911) they were brought together in the summer of 1922 by their common interest in Colorado River control and development. On April 25, 1922, with the Colorado River Commission's decision on apportionment of the river's water still in abeyance, Phil Swing, California Representative to Congress from the Imperial District, introduced "a bill to provide for the protection and development of the lower Colorado River Basin" (Boulder Canyon Project bill). This bill, which together with its companion bill introduced in the United States Senate by California Senator Hiram Johnson became known as the Swing-Johnson bill, provided for a federally built dam at Boulder Canyon which would provide both flood control and hydroelectric power. In addition, the bill provided for construction of another dam (Imperial Dam) between the Boulder Canyon site and the Laguna Dam which would store water for a canal (All - American Canal) to replace the old Alamo Canal which had caused so many problems with Mexico, since most of the old canal ran through that country before turning north to Imperial Valley. 1 Both Winsor and Hayden suspected that Representative Swing's bill favored Yuma County's long time Imperial County antagonists.

Before Representative Swing's bill could be brought out of Congressional committee, the matter of the seven state agreement on division of the Colorado River waters had to be settled. In light of the fact that an accurate assessment of the average flow of the unpredictable waters of the Colorado seemed impossible, agreement among the states represented on the Colorado River Commission was at an impass. As chairman Herbert Hoover remembered the matter, "It seemed impossible to get an agreement. If the Boulder Canyon dam was built and water stored, the states below the dam -- California, Arizona, and New Mexico -- being the most fertile, would be the first to develop their lands. The states above -- Nevada, Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming -- feared that the lower basin states would thus establish a priority of water rights by 'beneficial use' over their own more slowly developing agriculture.

"One night I awoke with a start repeating in my mind a formula. I scribbled it on a piece of paper and carried it into the conference next morning. It was a proposal to divide the basin into two parts, the 'upper basin states' and the 'lower basin states,' and to draw up the Compact so as to divide the water forever between these two divisions ... We settled the Compact along these lines in a few hours." 2

Hoover's recollection of the solution to the problem is definitely simplistic, and not entirely accurate, but the desired agreement was obtained. The signing of the compact took place at Santa Fe, New Mexico on November 24, 1922, subject to the ratification of the legislatures of the seven states and Congress.3

Hoover must have realized, even before the compact was signed, that he would have trouble with Arizona. While the Commission's deliberations were still in progress, Republican Governor Campbell, who had strongly favored the pact, had been defeated for reelection. Anyone who knew incumbent Governor George W. P. Hunt even slightly would have been certain he would make political capital out of anything his predecessor had done while in office. Indeed, this is exactly what happened.

Even before the November 24 signing of the Santa Fe Compact, Hunt sent a night letter to Hoover telling him that Arizona would require at least two years to reach a decision on the Compact, in effect negating the agreement indefinitely, as unanimous ratification by all of the legislatures of states signatory to the Compact was mandated for the Compact to take effect.4 Governor Campbell took the opposite point of view, stating that the compact not only was fair to Arizona, but was necessary for the state to participate in the proposed federal projects. He urged the legislature to ratify the Compact. 5

Thus far, it seemed that the State was lining up as usual on party lines in the matter. But in this case, Mulford Winsor, normally Hunt's loyal supporter, was on the opposite side of the political fence. As one who had a personal stake in flood control on the Colorado, Winsor felt the need of federal assistance keenly. He stated his views about a week after Hunt's visit in a major address to the Arizona Industrial Congress in Phoenix on December 18 entitled "The Need of Flood Control." Describing Yuma's constant battle to save the levees that protected the city from the raging floodwaters of the Colorado, he pointed out that the breaking of the levee was not the main problem, it was "the never-ending expense of the fight... The United States charges it to the operation and maintenance of our irrigation system, but in reality we are being taxed for the operation and maintenance of the Colorado River, and the job is too big for us... If the levees don't all go broke, we will."6 The solution, obviously, was the proposed Colorado dam which would impound the waters "in order that they may be released in a regulated flow" to be used in irrigation and for the development of hydroelectric power.7

At Hayden's request, he sent him a copy of the address, along with a thoughtful, reasoned response to the Colorado River Compact. Since, as Winsor put it, there was little likelihood of federal action on the matters taken up by the Compact without ratification of that document, "then there must be a Compact... If the benefits of flood control on the lower river are ever to be enjoyed, they must be realized very soon. The needed relief can be delayed only at the cost of tremendous and widely spread interests -- only at the sacrifice of thousands of homes."

Winsor concluded by stating that as a member of the Legislature that was to consider ratification of the Compact in the next months, "I want to hear all of the testimony... (However,) it is my purpose to resolve every reasonable doubt on the side of the Compact."8

When the Sixth Arizona State Legislature convened on Monday, January 8, 1923, Mulford Winsor was elected President of the

Senate. After his political rebuff in the last election, this recognition by his peers was welcome indeed.

As Winsor escorted Governor Hunt to the front of the House chamber at 2:15, he may have wondered what Hunt would say about the Compact, which was the most important item of business before the two houses of the State Legislature that year. But in a speech which lasted more than an hour and ranged over more than thirty-four topics, Hunt alloted only the last few minutes of his presentation to the Colorado River question. Since, as he put it, "Arizona cannot afford to give up her greatest natural resource, with millions of acres awaiting development, and she cannot afford to plunge blindly into a contract that may be unfair to her," he urged caution, stating that "every paragraph of the pact (should) be scrutinized and studied carefully." The Compact's division of the Colorado's water between the upper and the lower basin states was unjust to Arizona, said Hunt. He felt that if the Compact's provisions stood, Arizona would not only be deprived of her rightful share of water, but that surplus water would be allowed to flow to the sea or, even worse, to Mexico.9

At first, Senate President Winsor was cautiously optimistic about the Compact's chances for ratification. 10 Early in February the House put forward a separate bill to ratify the Compact, but with reservations guaranteeing royalties to the State of Arizona on all hydroelectric power generated by the Boulder Dam, limiting water that could be alloted to Mexico, and exempting the waters of the Gila and Salt River systems from the calculation of Arizona's share under terms of the Compact.11 Anxious to know the effect that such reservations might have on the legality of Arizona's ratification, Winsor conferred with Carl Hayden.12 Hayden told Winsor that "An approval by a state made subject to a condition enlarging or changing the provisions of the Compact is not in fact an approval of the Compact." 13 The compact must be approved as written or not at all.

As the Arizona Senate continued to wrangle and equivocate, President Winsor, who had remained silent up to this point, declared himself, stating that he was "absolutely for the pact without any sort of reservation. I am for the compact as the beginning of a great movement of the state as against stagnation, a great development of the entire southwest." 14 Perhaps as a result of President Winsor's persuasive oratory, the Senate voted 10-9 in favor of ratification, substituting their bill for the House's and sending it back to the House.15 But when the Sixth Arizona Legislature finally adjourned at 1 AM Sunday, March 11, the Senate version failed in the House, effectively nullifying ratification for that session.16

What the anti-pact group did not reckon with, now that the other six state legislatures had ratified the compact, was the possibility that the provisions of the compact might take effect without Arizona's approval. In fact, several years later, this happened. But in the meantime, pressure was brought to bear by the federal government to persuade Arizona to join the other basin states in the compact. Governor Hunt received word from Washington that there would be no more U. S. reclamation

development on the Arizona side of the Colorado River until Arizona entered into the agreement. 17

As a gesture obviously calculated to demonstrate his willingness to cooperate with the other basin states as well as the federal government, Hunt called "a conference for the formulation of ideas which may form a foundation for an Arizona plan" for the development of the Colorado River, to be held in Phoenix May 8-9, 1923. To be certain that the results would be to his liking, thirty six Arizonans known to oppose the Compact, were invited to attend. Mulford Winsor was one of four pro-pacters included in the Governor's invitation. Wisely, realizing his was only a token invitation, Winsor refused the invitation, stating that "I could contribute nothing to a conference such as you propose." 18 Governor Hunt's reaction to the defection of one of his most powerful supporters was not immediate, but knowing Hunt's policy of rewarding his friends and avenging himself on his enemies, Winsor might well have been alert to possible reprisal.

Predictably, the Governor's Colorado River Conference accomplished little. At the close of the conference Hunt appointed a Committee of Nine to draft an Arizona plan as an alternative to the Colorado River Compact. The Committee came up with a proposal for a "state owned, operated, and controlled enterprise" to be called the Arizona State Power Commission, which would oversee the construction and operation of a dam at Glenn Canyon, or alternately at Diamond Creek. 19 In September, Winsor, who had been in close touch with Carl Hayden all summer, wrote with exquisite sarcasm, "I see by the Republican that the 'Committee of Nein' (sic) is going to Washington en mass. That's what I call fine business for the railroad companies."20 Unfortunately, the Hunt committee hearing before the Federal Power Commission on September 25 turned out to be a disaster. Hunt's defiant statement that "Arizona would never consent to the Santa Fe Compact" was promptly negated by pro-pacter Benjamin Franklin Fly (a lobbyist hired by the Yuma Water Users Association) who assured the Commission that the majority of Arizona voters favored ratification. 21 The FPC rejected the Arizona application.

After the Committee of Nine had returned from Washington, Mulford Winsor continued to write and speak in favor of Arizona's ratifying the pact. As he told Congressman Hayden, "The proper course of action with respect to the Compact has not altered one iota. There is but one thing to do -- stick by the guns, neither swerving nor yielding an inch, refuse to be diverted -- and ratification must finally ensue, certainly not later than the legislative session of 1925. It seems apparent that the Governor is not going to give the Sixth Legislature a chance to right itself.

"It is likewise apparent that he intends to run again, and make opposition to the Compact -- which at last he openly expresses -- his issue, relying upon the indifference of many, the ignorance of some, the prejudice of others, and repeated declarations that he is 'protecting the people.'" 22

On January 26, 1924, at a meeting of Yuma Democrats, Winsor

informally committed himself to try for the Democratic nomination for Governor. When asked how much financial help he would need, he told the group that "with a very little help he would be able to finance his own campaign." 23 By the first of February, a Winsor for Governor organization had been formed in Yuma County; a strong movement in Yavapai County favored his candidacy as well. 24 But by mid February Winsor seems to have been having second thoughts about his confident statement to his Yuma supporters in January regarding his ability to finance his campaign. When he was queried in Tucson a couple of weeks after the meeting in Yuma with his supporters as to his plans, he temporized.25 Yet, urged by friends who agreed with his support of the Colorado River Compact, he felt his chances were better than ever before for the nomination. 26

As late as the end of April, Winsor continued to dally with the temptation to make another run for the Governor's seat. But by this time, it seemed obvious that too much was at stake if he lost. In the first place, having tried for the nomination the year Hunt was in Siam, he knew the tremendous cost of a full scale campaign. He simply did not have the finances to manage the expense. In addition, it is possible that he agreed with the editor of the Tucson Citizen who figured that "there is no man in the Democratic party who has stood in the path of Hunt and escaped political annihilation." 27 Furthermore, he had learned from his previous experience that if he lost as a gubernatorial candidate in the primary election, he would be out of the running for a seat in the State Senate. With the Colorado River Compact sure to be an important issue with the Seventh Legislature in 1925, he wanted above all to lend his considerable influence in the Senate to ratification. So, stating that he wanted to continue to present the facts of the Colorado River Compact without making them a campaign issue, he declared that he would not enter the race for governor. 28

For most of the summer, Winsor seems to have ignored political issues, only in August realizing that the deadline for declaring his candidacy for the Democratic nomination for State Senator for Yuma County was upon him. Since he knew that as usual he would run unopposed, this seems to have been a rather pro forma gesture. 29 He surfaced briefly at the end of the month in response to the Yuma Morning Sun's query of all Yuma County legislative candidates as to their stand on the Colorado River Compact. Predictably, he favored "indorsement of the pact, without change." 30 His only further political statement during the primary campaign was to indicate his support for Sidney P. Osborn who along with E. W. Samuell was running as Democratic candidate for governor against George W. P. Hunt. Stating that "personally I was the governor's friend and am his friend," he reminded voters that Hunt had held office for four terms in defiance of the unwritten law limiting a public official to two terms. "A long term in office," said Winsor, "leads to monarchy." Already, he felt, Hunt had too much ambition as well as lust for public place and power. These, he averred, had overshadowed the Governor's former devotion to progressive democratic principles.31

Obviously most Arizona Democrats did not share Winsor's opinion. When the results were in after the September 9, 1924 primary election, Hunt had defeated his two opponents with 55% of the democratic vote.32 In the November election, he ran against Dwight B. Heard, Republican candidate, on his anti-Colorado River Compact platform as well as his heroic stand as Horatius at the Yuma Bridge defying hoof and mouth bacillus carrying California tourists the previous April.33 Despite the fact that an attack of appendicitis kept Hunt from actively campaigning until the end of October, he won his fifth term as Arizona governor in the November 4 election by a vote of 38,372 to 37,571. In addition, needless to say, Mulford Winsor, who ran unopposed in the general election, was returned by Yuma County voters as State Senator.

1. Beverly Bowen Moeller, Phil Swing and Boulder Dam (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971), p. 30-31.

2. Herbert Hoover, Memoirs: the Caninet and the Presidency, 1920-1933 (New York: Macmillan, 1952), p. 116.

3. The history of the Colorado River Compact has been detailed many times. One of the earliest, most complete accounts is Grace Kight, History of the Santa Fe Compact, MA thesis, University of Arizona, 1927.

4. "Hunt tells Hoover Arizona Cannot Endorse Colorado River Company," Yuma Morning Sun, Nov. 22, 1922.

5. Arizona Republican, Nov. 24, 1922.

6. Winsor, "The Need of Flood Control," Arizona Industrial Congress Bulletin, no. 13, Feb. 1, 1923, p. 7.

7. Ibid., p. 8.

8. MW to Carl Hayden, Dec. 24, 1922, Hayden Papers, Box 598, folder 12, ASU.

9. Journals of the Sixth State Legislature of Arizona, 1923, Senate, pp. 22-24.

10. MW to Col. B. F. Fly, Jan. 29, 1923, Winsor papers, Yuma Historical Society.

11. MW to Hayden, Telegram, Feb. 11, 1923, Hayden Papers, Box 598, folder 12.

12. MW to Hayden, Telegram, Feb. 7, 1923, Hayden Papers, Box 598, folder 12, ASU.

13. Hayden to Winsor, Feb. 7, 1923, Hayden papers, Box 598, folder 12, ASU.

14. "Winsor says River Pact is Salvation of Arizona," Arizona Republican, Feb. 28, 1923.

15. "Arizona Senate Votes for Ratification of River Compact," Yuma Morning Sun, March 11, 1923.

16. "Sixth Legislature finally adjourns," Yuma Morning Sun, March 11, 1923. According to Malcolm B. Parsons, "The failure of the Sixth Arizona Legislature to ratify the Compact ... did not indicate opposition to a projected utilization in some way of the water resources throughout the Colorado Basin. It indicated, instead, a suspicion of any ill-considered move which might jeopardize the interests of important groups within the state ... Those who advised a cautious delay certainly felt that Arizona's only bargaining power in obtaining what would be considered by them as an equitable supply of water, would be in withholding approval until the question was settled satisfactorily." Parsons, The Colorado River in Arizona Politics, MA thesis, University of Arizona, 1947, pp. 86-87.

17. Jack L. August, Carl Hayden and the Politics of Water in the Southwest, 1877-1932, Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1985, p. 295.

18. "Winsor writes strong letter to Govaernor Hunt," Yuma Morming Sun, May 13, 1923.

19. August, op. cit., p. 297, 309.

20. MW to Hayden, Sept. 11, 1923, typescript, Hayden papers, Box 598, folder 12, asu.

21. "Arizonans oppose Hunt's Colorado Plan before Federal Board at Washington," Arizona Record (Phoenix), Sept. 26, 1923.

22. MW to Carl Hayden, Jan. 4, 1924, Hayden collection, 600/8, asu.

23. "Mulford Winsor of Yuma has hat in Arizona ring," Arizona Republican, Jan. 29, 1924.

24. "Winsor is best bet of pact advocates," Prescott Journal Miner, Feb. 1, 1924.

25. Douglas International, Feb. 15, 1924.

26. Letters from J. T. Lewis, W. L. Barnum, George P. Sampson, and others, Winsor collection, Box 7, folder 7, DLAPR.

27. "One down," Tucson Citizen, May 10, 1924.

28. "Winsor states he is not Candidate for Governorship," Arizona Gazette, May 8, 1924.

29. "Candidates in Yuma County all entered," Yuma Morning Sun, Aug. 10, 1924.

30. "Winsor's Reply is Indorsement of Pact, without Change," Yuma Morning Sun, Aug. 30, 1924.

31. "Senator Winsor says Osborn should be Nominated," Phoenix Messenger, Sept. 6, 1924.

32. Menzo E. Hatter, The Major Issues in Arizona's Gubaernatorial Campaigns, MA thesis, ASU, 1951, p. 65.

33. Margaret F. Maxwell, "It's a Dirty Job, but Somebody Has to Do it," Tucson Corral of the Westerners, Smoke Signal, no. 58, Fall 1992, pp. 142-147. Also "The Governor and the Quarantine," Arizona Republican, Oct. 26, 1924.

XIII. HUNT VS WINSOR: THE RIVER AND THE CODE COMMISSION

The Seventh State Legislature convened in regular session on January 12, 1925. Despite some apprehension that Mulford Winsor's known opposition to Governor Hunt's position on the Colorado River Pact might make his retention as president of the Senate controversial, he was reelected. In the afternoon, fifth term Governor George W. P. Hunt delivered his message to the legislature. In addition to such matters as the need for additional prison space and space for the State Library, he stressed the need for a thoroughgoing revision of Arizona's code of laws, the last such revision having been completed in 1913. He concluded his lengthy message with a review of his efforts to work out a lower basin supplemental compact with Nevada and California to help solve Arizona's problems with the Colorado River Compact, reiterating at some length the 1923 meeting of his hand picked Committee of Nine with the Federal Power Commission in Washington, and giving his version of the failure of this meeting. Calling the possibility that the other six Colorado Basin states might develop the Colorado without Arizona's consent "puerile piffle," he closed by reiterating that the Colorado River Compact should not be ratified until Arizona's rights were insured. 1

The legislators began jockeying for position in the matter of the Colorado River pact almost immediately. On January 29, Winsor introduced a bill empowering the State Water Commissioner to impose a royalty upon power generated by the Colorado River. 2 As he had indicated earlier in a letter to Representative Carl Hayden in Washington, what he hoped would result from his bill, if it passed, was that "there need be no power reservations in the Compact," this being one of Arizona's major objections to the document. 3

Next the legislators tackled the perennial question of ratification of the Compact. By the end of February, the House passed a concurrent resolution ratifying the document with the reservation that the action would not become effective until an agreement had been entered into with the other lower basin states respecting allocation of Colorado River water between Arizona, California, and Nevada. An Arizona Colorado River Commission composed of three members of each of the Legislative chambers, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House, and the Governor was included in the Resolution, along with funding to support its activities. 4 When the House Resolution was submitted to the Senate, it passed, on March 11, following some modifications by President Winsor. House Concurrent Legislative Resolution No. 1 ratifying the Colorado River Compact was submitted to the Governor on March 12, simply for his information, since according to the Arizona Constitution a Legislative Resolution did not require the Governor's signature. What the resolution accomplished, from Mulford Winsor's viewpoint at least, was to signify that "the Legislature of Arizona expressed its approval of the Colorado River Compact and declared to the other States of the basin and to Congress that this State desires to work in harmony and cooperation with the other States

in bringing about the river's development." 5

Predictably, the governor was furious. Stating that "he had observed with amazement the efforts of the legislature to circumvent the executive authority of the state... by passing a concurrent resolution proposing ratification of the Colorado River Compact, the Governor asserted that this action was of no effect without his approval." With heavy handed sarcasm Hunt recommended that members of the legislature apply themselves to a study of Arizona's constitution. As he put it, "When I witnessed the attempt of the legislature to enact laws by resolution in an effort to evade the executive branch of the government, I was astonished." Then he vetoed the resolution. 6

Did the Resolution constitute Arizona's ratification of the Compact? Mulford Winsor, quoting Senate Bill no. 64, passed by Arizona's Fifth Legislature on March 5, 1921 and stating that the Compact would be binding when it had been "ratified and approved by the legislatures of the ... States," believed it did. 7 Could the Governor veto a legislative resolution? Mulford Winsor believed he could not.

Further dissention and acrimony marked the rest of the session. A bill appropriating money for code revision and directing the appointment of a code commissioner was passed by the legislature and sent to Governor Hunt for his signature; it disappeared from his desk. Rumors circulated that the bill had been stolen by a friendly supporter because the governor was said to be determined to veto the bill. After two days it was discovered and resubmitted it to the governor, who signed it, though not without grumbling. 8

On March 18, Governor Hunt appointed Judge Fred C. Struckmeyer as commissioner. 9 On May 16, Struckmeyer appointed Mulford Winsor as his clerical assistant, a position for which Winsor was certainly eminently qualified. 10

Was Governor Hunt unaware of what Struckmeyer had done? Or, was he simply biding his time, waiting to avenge himself on the man who had changed from firm friend to chief antagonist? At any rate, when warrants aggregating $800 covering Winsor's service as clerical assistant through June 23 reached Hunt's desk, he refused to countersign them. In explanation of his refusal, he told Commissioner Struckmeyer that he was acting first of all because of the constitutional provision that "no member of the legislature during the term for which he shall be elected, shall be appointed or elected to any civil office of profit under this state which shall have been created... during said term." (Arizona Constitution, Section 5, Article 4, part 2) Secondly, he claimed that threats had been made by Winsor and other members of the legislature that "there would be no code revision unless Winsor was given the position as assistant to the code commissioner." 11

But these were not the principal reasons for Hunt's action. "Since January 1923," Hunt continued, "when I assumed the office of governor, I have had uncompromising opposition from the president of the senate to the measures, program, and policies I have advocated. This opposition has been consistent, studied, and he and his associates have succeeded, to a considerable extent,

in crippling the administration and making it impossible to carry out certain policies pledged by me and also by the Democratic party platform." Therefore, Mulford Winsor was dismissed from his position as clerical assistant.

In other words, as the never friendly editor of the Arizona Republican was quick to declare, "Any man who is not in accord with the governor on every point is an enemy of the 'peepul' and unfit to discharge the duties of a public office." 12

Winsor's response was not long in coming. In a letter addressed to Hunt and distributed to the press, he wondered "whether you have not reached your dotage; whether you are not losing your mind; whether you have not become again the petulent child, crying for it knows not what; whether the strain of your unparalleled tenure of the office of governor ... with the power of life and death over your trembling subjects has not finally taken its toll of your faculties..." 13

To the delight of headline hungry newspapers all over Arizona, a second letter from Winsor hit Hunt's desk and the press the next day in which he denied "each and every" charge in Hunt's dismissal letter. 14 A third letter dated July 1 declared that all Hunt needed to compare with Nero was a fiddle and the ability to handle the bow. 15

As the Tucson Citizen editor put it, "Governor Hunt seems to have picked a Tartar when he selected Senator Mulford Winsor as a target for his accumulated animus." 16 But here, for the time, the matter rested, with Mulford Winsor filing suit in Arizona's Supreme Court to compel Hunt to countersign his warrants and Arizona's court system slowly cranking itself into gear to look into the matter.

In the meantime, sensing that the time was right to bring Arizona into an agreement on the division of the waters of the Colorado among the lower basin states, State Senator Ralph E. Swing of California wrote to Mulford Winsor suggesting a tri-state conference between delegates from the lower basin states.17 Realizing that Hunt would refuse to authorize travel funds for Arizona delegates to attend such a meeting, Winsor proposed Phoenix as the site, and suggested that Swing and the other out of state delegates should make arrangements for the meeting through Governor Hunt. Hunt's reaction was swift and predictable; as Winsor confided to Charles E. MacMillan, Speaker of the Arizona House, "The Governor has acted just as I wanted to see him act. He is a 100% obstructionist."18

Meanwhile, Winsor, interviewed by a reporter from the Yuma Morning Sun, elaborated, stating that delegates from California had approached him regarding a conference. However, he averred, he had referred them to Governor Hunt, "as it seemed to me that the negotiations should proceed... through the Governor,... who we must always assume will be fair and courteous and above any petty trickery.

"I note, however," continued Winsor, "that Governor Hunt... will not recognize the committee (of legislators stipulated by House Resolution No. 1) with which the California legislative committee is authorized to confer, but will appoint another committee of his own choosing... The legislature was merely

trying to do what it deemed to be its duty. We cannot be held responsible for executive acts of obstruction... In the event that the authorized legislative committee is prevented from functioning, which could doubtless be done as I have previously had occasion to point out, by the Governor's refusal to countersign warrants for expenses incurred, and the California legislative committee should decide to confer with an unauthorized committee, I can only express an ardent wish that something may be accomplished..." 19

Meanwhile, with Yuma temperatures topping out at an incredible 132 degrees and Phoenix setting records at 118 with a low for the night of 100 degrees, 20 and with August 5 set as the date for the tri-state conference in Phoenix, Senate President Winsor and House Speaker MacMillin named members of the Legislature's Colorado River Commission. 21 It seemed likely that two River conferences -- or none -- might be the result of the impass, as Governor Hunt deliberated on membership for his committee. No members of the Seventh Arizona Legislature were on his list, needless to say. 22

What California and Nevada officials thought of the standoff in Arizona can be imagined. As Mulford Winsor put it, "I wish we could just get serious, drop all trivial and childish questions of authority, and get together for a solution of this big question." 23 Governor Hunt, however, thought otherwise. In response to a communication from Senate President Winsor, notifying him of the appointment of senate members to the legislative committee, he wrote: "My dear Mr. President: I have your communication of July 18th notifying me that you have appointed a committee of eight members to represent the Arizona senate in negotiations between the three states in the lower Colorado basin as authorized by House Concurrent Resolution No. 1 of the Seventh Legislature. Your attention is called to the fact that House Concurrent Resolution No. 1 was vetoed. Consequently no action is required on your communication and I have therefore placed it on file." 24

Did Winsor and MacMillan have the power to appoint a legislative committee to confer with similar committees of Nevada and California? The question, as the Arizona Star editor put it, seemed to hinge on "whether the Governor had the right to veto the house resolution. Until that is settled any committee is out of order... In any event, Winsor has named his committee; that's more than Hunt has done."25

On August 3, Governor Hunt announced members of his committee: F. A. Reid, President of the Salt River Valley Water Users Association; Thomas Maddock, former state engineer; Cleve Van Dyke, Miami capitalist and member of the Board of Regents of the University; and A. G. McGregor, Bisbee mining engineer; and H. S. McCluskey, executive secretary to the Governor, made up the committee's membership. Announcement was also made that the Phoenix conference would be postponed until August 17. 26

On receiving word of the new date, Winsor stated, "So far as Arizona is concerned, the conference is the governor's. He has insisted upon that, and he has got it. That being settled, there should be no interference. ... Insistance by the

legislative committee upon participation in the governor's meeting would be confusing and embarrassing... At the very least, I hope that the conference will result in the presentation of the Governor's definite views, if he has any, with respect to the Colorado River..." 27

Almost predictably, the Tri-State Colorado River Conference of August 17 was a fiasco. Governor Hunt gave the keynote address, characterized by the Arizona Republican editor as "a wild war cry," in the morning. As he put it, "You ask about Arizona? I say to you gentlemen, frankly, that at this time all that we ask for ... is that Arizona receive protection of her rights, including her future development. If you ask me specifically what we want, I replay to you frankly, without any apology, that we do not know, because we have not sufficient data available to determine what it is practicable to develop."28 After this lengthy and sometimes confused diatribe, no one was surprised when the conference "blew up" shortly after the afternoon session began.29

Of the matter, Mulford Winsor stated from his home in Yuma, "There is little to be said at this time... As to whether there will be another conference, in which the Arizona legislative committee will participate, I am unable to say..."30

Obviously, both California and Nevada were anxious that this should come about. Unofficial negotiations between Arizonans and representatives from California and Nevada continued through the fall.

But Mulford Winsor's personal affairs also claimed much of his attention. On November 2, 1925, he instituted action in the Supreme Court of Arizona against Governor Hunt to force him to sign warrants for payment of his salary as clerk to Judge Struckmeyer the previous spring.31 The matter dragged on through the end of the year, drawing Winsor's attention from Colorado River matters, including the introduction into the Sixty-ninth U. S. Congress of the Swing-Johnson bill for the construction of the All-American canal and Boulder Dam on December 21, 1925. 32 Not until February 11, 1926, did Justice A. C. Lockwood rule that Mulford Winsor's service as clerical assistant "do not fall in the class contained in the law prohibiting members of the legislature from holding another state position." Governor Hunt was directed to sign warrants totaling $966.66 for his work.33

1. "Senator Mulford Winsor now President of the Senate," Yuma Morning Sun, Jan. 13, 1925.

2. "Rep. Wisener asks House to ratify Colorado Pact without any Reservation," Yuma Morning Sun, Jan. 30, 1925.

3. MW to Carl Hayden, Jan. 22, 1925, Hayden Coll., 600/8, ASU.

4. "Senator Winsor Denies Knowledge of Proposes Tri-State Conference," Arizona Republican, July 15, 1925; also MW to L. Ward Bannister, Denver, Colorado, Feb. 28, 1925, Winsor collection, Yuma Historical Society.

5. MW to Carl Hayden, March 16, 1925, typescript, Yuma Historical Society.

6. "Hunt Threatens to call Extraordinary Legislative Session," Bisbee Review, March 14, 1925.

7. "President Mulford Winsor on Colorado River Compact Ratification," Arizona Republican, March 29, 1925. United States Solicitor General Stephen B. Davis, however, disagreed: MW to Carl Hayden, March 31, 1925, Hayden Coll., 600/8, ASU.

8. "Find Code Bill after Search of Two Days," Arizona Republican, March 6, 1925.

9. "Judge Struckmeyer is Commissioner to Codify Statutes," Arizona Gazette, March 18, 1925.

10. "Winsor as Yorick," Tucson Citizen, June 26, 1925.

11. "Winsor calls his Removal by Hunt 'Legally and Morally Indefensible'", Yuma Morning Sun, June 26, 1925. Hunt's statement, whether valid or not, might have been reminiscent of the "deal" which he and Winsor put together in 1909 when Winsor was named Arizona's first Territorial Historian.

12. "The Governor and Mr. Winsor," Arizona Republican, June 26, 1925.

13. "Is Governor Hunt in Dotage, Winsor Wonders," Tucson Citizen, June 30, 1925.

14. "Short and Ugly used in Winsor Attack on Hunt," Arizona Star (Tucson), July 1, 1925.

15. "Winsor says All Hunt Needs to Compare with Nero is 'a Fiddle,'" Arizona Republican, July 2, 1925.

16. "A disgraceful exchange," Tucson Citizen, July 3, 1925.

17. Ralph E. Swing to MW, June 26, 1925; July 9, 1925, Yuma Historical Society.

18. MW to Charles E. MacMillan, July 18, 1925, Yuma Historical Society.

19. "Senator Winsor declares that Legislature cannot be held Responsible for Executive Obstruction in Colorado River Conference," Yuma Morning Sun, July 18, 1925.

20. "Temperature," Yuma Morning Sun, July 17, 1925.

21. Yuma Morning Sun, July 21, 1925.

22. "No Members of Legislature at Hunt Conference," Arizona Republican, July 18, 1925.

23. "Winsor declares Colorado Rivert Legislative Commission is ready to act any time," Yuma Morning Sun, July 23, 1925.

24. "Richardson is told Winsor's Action is Void," Tucson Citizen, July 21, 1925.

25. "The Colorado Whirlpool," Arizona Star (Tucson), July 21, 1925.

26. "Hunt names River Parley Committeemen," Tucson Citizen, Aug. 4, 1925.

27. "Senator Winsor's Views are Given," Yuma Morning Sun, Aug. 9, 1925.

28. Arizona's Viewpoint on the Colorado River: Speech Delivered by Gov. Geo. W. P. Hunt at the Colorado River Conference, Phoenix, Arizona, August 17, 1925, p. 2-3. Pamphlet, University of Arizona Library, 627.1 C7H94.

29. "The Colorado River Conference," Arizona Republican, August 18, 1925.

30. "Winsor Will Welcome Conference," Yuma Morning Sun, Aug. 19, 1925.

31. "Winsor seeks Court Action against Hunt," Arizona Star (Tucson), Nov. 3, 1925.

32. Beverley Bowen Moeller, Phil Swing and Boulder Dam, University of California Press, 1971, p. 85.

33. "Winsor Victor in Salary Suit Against State," Arizona Star (Tucson), Feb. 11, 1926.

XIV. DAMMING THE COLORADO: WINSOR AND THE SWING-JOHNSON BILL

On July 7, 1926, the Yuma Morning Sun carried a small statement announcing that Senator Mulford Winsor was a candidate for re-election to the State Senate from Yuma County. Two days later, George W. P. Hunt, after his customary ritual of indecision, announced his perennial candidacy for Governor.1 The results of the September 7 Democratic Primary Election were predictable at least for Hunt: Hunt won a decisive victory over his two opponents, J. J. Cox and E. E. Ellinwood. However, Mulford Winsor had opposition for the first time in his Senatorial career; Mrs. Edna H. Huffman ran against him on a platform opposing the Colorado River Pact which Winsor favored.2 With a clear cut difference between the two candidates, the results of the primary were interesting. Obviously Yuma County voters were not unanimously in favor of the Pact. Neither did all Yuma Democrats oppose the Swing-Johnson (Boulder Dam) bill as Winsor did. Nonetheless, Winsor beat Mrs. Huffman, 788 to 402, in a comfortable but not resounding vote of confidence.3 In the general election on November 2, Hunt beat his Republican opponent, E. S. Clark, though only by 399 votes. Mulford Winsor, who ran unopposed in the general election, was reelected to the Arizona Senate. And on the national scene, Winsor's friendly supporter Carl Hayden began his long and distinguished career as United States Senator from Arizona by beating incumbent Ralph Cameron.4

Although the Regular Session of the Eighth Arizona State Legislature was not scheduled to begin until January 10, 1927, Governor Hunt called a special pre-session for January 3, to consider, among other things, the Colorado River problem. Before Winsor left Yuma for the special session, he gave the Yuma Morning Sun a full statement of his views on the Swing-Johnson Bill for the construction of the All-American canal and dam at Boulder Canyon then pending in Congress. He felt it necessary to do this because of a resolution recently adopted by the Board of Governors of the Yuma County Water Users' Association, endorsing the bill in principle. In order to make his position perfectly clear, Winsor began by reiterating his well known stand on the Colorado River question. "From the beginning," he stated, "I have labored for an amiable agreement between the states at interest, by means of which the water of the river would be equitably divided ... I continue to hold that such an agreement (the Colorado River Compact) is an essential condition, precedent to the river's development... But... I am unable to subscribe to the Swing-Johnson bill... It ignores both federal and state laws requiring the state's permit for the construction of works for the development of hydro-electric power. Thus it would take from Arizona the only means she possesses to exact a revenue, through the medium of a royalty or license tax, from the development of hydro-electric power... I am sure that I have the deepest sympathy with ... the members of the Board of Governors, and share to the fullest extent their desire for the welfare of Yuma Project, but unfortunately it is in the 'spirit' of the Swing-Johnson bill that its evils lie... I shall continue to

bend my every energy toward the effecting of an amicable and equitable treaty between all of the Colorado River states... but I am anxious that there shall be full understanding that neither my personal interest nor my ardent wish to faithfully reflect the vews of the people of my community and county will lead me away from what I conceive to be my higher duty to Arizona as a whole."5

Whether the powerful members of the Board of Governors had realized the extent of Winsor's opposition to the Swing-Johnson bill, or whether indeed they had voted for him in November is unknown. Certainly with this plain statement of his position he placed himself squarely in an adversarial relationship to many of his Yuma County constituents. One of these was the redoubtable Col. B. F. Fly, long time promoter of Yuma Mesa Project B, and Washington lobbyist representing both the Yuma Water Association and Imperial County in support of the Swing-Johnson bill. In a telegram sent to Winsor at the Ford Hotel in Phoenix, Fly stated that Winsor's statement was "erroneous and unjust," because the Boulder Dam would provide irrigation water for 700,000 acres of new lands and water supply for the Yuma area. In addition, the dam would mean cheap electrical power for Arizona as well as California.6

Meanwhile, with neither ceremony nor fanfare, six term Governor Hunt took the oath of office before Chief Justice A. G. McAlister on December 31 and then spent a quiet New Year holiday in Nogales.7 By Sunday, January 2, 1927, he was back in Phoenix to check on state legislators who were caucusing to choose House and Senate leaders. In the evening Hunt noted in his diary that A. M. Crawford had been elected Speaker of the House, and that Mulford Winsor was once again selected as President of the Senate. "California will get comfort out of that," he grumbled.8

Hunt presented his message to the legislators the next morning. One of the principal reasons for the special session was for the legislature to appropriate $100,000 "to be spent in indefinite ways in the preservation of what Arizona believes to be its rights in the Colorado River."9

The bill for an appropriation to carry on the work of an Arizona Colorado River Commission was introduced in the House on January 6. But the measure was accompanied by a demand for full publicity on negotiations in progress for the past eight months between the Colorado River Commissions of California and Nevada and Governor Hunt's hand picked five man commission. 10 Reports from the tri-state Colorado River meeting now in progress in Los Angeles seemed wildly ludicrous; one Arizona proposal suggested that a canal be dug from Imperial Valley to the Gulf of California and that the waters of the Pacific Ocean be allowed to submerge Imperial Valley. Thus, California would have a wonderful new harbor. Imperial Valley residents who lost their lands would be given Arizona land in compensation. Another proposal was that the Colorado River should be diverted via a great tunnel to the Verde River in Northern Arizona where it would flow into the Salt River, thus irrigating all of Arizona and bypassing California entirely (the so-called High-Line Canal proposal). 11 Obviously something needed to be done about Governor Hunt's Colorado River

Commissioners.

The special session adjourned on January 8, having passed only the all important "feed bill" that authorized payment of the legislators' salaries. It did manage to pass a sharply critical joint memorial requesting that Governor Hunt discharge his five member Colorado River Commission. "Many times through their dangerous attitude they have menaced Arizona's rights and have failed utterly in this great crisis," said Senator Thomas Kimball, the mild mannered peace maker from Graham County and author of the memorial.12

When the legislators returned to the regular session the following Monday they were prepared to resist anything Governor Hunt might suggest. However, for the moment, Arizona's two most prominent political warhorses, Governor Hunt and Senate President Winsor, decided to bury the hatchet. On the second day of the session, Mulford Winsor introduced a joint memorial protesting passage of the Swing Johnson bill and setting forth Arizona's views respecting the development of the Colorado River. According to Winsor, "The passage of the bill ... would constitute 'a serious and unwarranted infringement of the sovereign power of the western states... to control the appropriation of water within their respective borders." The memorial ended with a warning that Arizona would carry its case to "the highest courts of the land" if the bill passed.13

In a rare demonstration of unity, Winsor's joint memorial was passed by the unanimous vote of the Senate and sent to the House, where it quickly passed and was sent to the Governor. By the end of the first week of the session Governor Hunt signed the memorial. It was forwarded to Washington along with a telegram directed to President Calvin Coolidge signed by President Mulford Winsor and Speaker A. M. Crawford asking his aid against the bill which "forced legislation founded upon the theory that might is right" on the state of Arizona. 14

On the same day, Senator Dan P. Jones introduced SB2, to create a Colorado River Commission to take care of Arizona's interests, the commission to be composed of four members chosen by the legislature and two by the governor. The legislators recommended that this commission be sent to Washington to oppose passage of the Swing-Johnson bill.15 Jones's bill did not fare as well. It cleared the Senate and the House and went to the Governor for his signature. Here, despite some lobbying by Winsor and Speaker Crawford,16 it was finished off by the Governor's veto.

For the rest of the session Hunt continued to veto bills and to rail at the Legislature and Winsor, seemingly in equal measure. As he put it at the end of "Another trying day ... This is the worst Legislature Arizona has ever had in my experience. The big interests ... control the Legislature. There is no leadership in either House. With all Winsors ability he is a poor ex. officer -- the results has been chaos and confusion the last 3 sessions."17

Was Mulford Winsor at the root of chaos in the eighth legislature? The Arizona Silver Belt editor thought this was the case. As he put it, "President Winsor, suffering from an inflated

political ego, has been soured and embittered by failure to realize his ambition to be governor or congressman. ... Biting sarcasm was ever on the tip of his tongue during the session, disguised as humor."18 A few days later, the Silver Belt editor continued his theme: "The sorriest spectacle was the frequent interruptions and heckling of minority members who had the floor... In fairness it should be said that in previous legislatures he conducted the proceedings with due regard to the rights of the minority. This was his first serious offence."19 One might be tempted to discount these comments, coming as they did from Governor Hunt's most faithful editorial supporter, except for a similar statement in Winsor's own Yuma Morning Sun earlier in the session, which refered to the "ease with which Mulford Winsor wields the gavel as president of the senate, aided and abetted by caustic repartee."20 Winsor's habit of using his quick wit at the expense of others was probably a factor in his lack of success in his past efforts to rise to high political office. As one of his associates said of him in later years, "He cracked his enemies and cracked his friends, and made enemies out of friends."21

On March 7, after much wrangling, compromise and consultation, House Bill 15 providing for the creation of a joint legislative and executive Colorado River Commission of eight rather than six members, with representation divided equally between the legislature and the governor's office, was passed and signed by Governor Hunt. Membership consisted of Mulford Winsor and A. H. Favour from the Senate, A. M. Crawford and M. F. Murphy from the House, and as Governor Hunt's appointees, Senator Thomas Kimball, H. S. McCluskey, Thomas Maddock, and Governor Hunt, ex officio.22 The compromise bill creating the Colorado River Commission was nearly the only bright spot in an otherwise fractious legislative session.

1. "Governor Hunt Announces he is a Candidate," Arizona Silver Belt, July 9, 1926.

2. "A Woman without Fear," YHuma Herald, Aug. 9, 1926.

3. "Hot Race in County Primary," Yuma Morning Sun, Sept. 8, 1926.

4. "Election Yesterday," Yuma Morning Sun, Nov. 3, 1926.

5. "Senator Winsor Gives Views on Dam Bill," Yuma Morning Sun, Dec. 31, 1926. Winsor's statement was reprinted in Dunbar's Weekly, "Swing Johnson Bill Violates Rights of Arizona, says Yuma Solon," Jan. 8, 1927.

6. "Swing Johnson Bill Fair to Arizona and Ought to Pass, says Col. B. F. Fly," Yuma Morning Sun, Jan. 6, 1927. Fly's hostility as well as that of other prominent Yumans may be among the reasons that Winsor chose not to run again for senator in the election of 1928.

7. Arizona Republican, Jan. 1, 1927.

8. Hunt diary, Jan. 2, 1927, ASU. Hunt might have taken comfort in the narrow margin of Winsor's victory, 9 to 8, with freshman senator Harlow Akers of Maricopa County opposing him.

9. "No Need for Inconsiderate Haste in the Special Session," Arizona Republican, Jan. 2, 1927.

10. "Lower Body of Legislature Unanimously Endorses the Idea of an Open Forum," Arizona Silver Belt, Jan. 6, 1927.

11. "Settling the Colorado River Controversy," Arizona Silver Belt, Jan. 4, 1927.

12. "Legislature's Regular Session Monday," Yuma Morning Sun, Jan. 9, 1927.

13. "The Anti Swing-Johnson Bill Memorial," Arizona Silver Belt, Jan. 11, 1927.

14. J. Morris Richards, History of the Arizona State Legislature, 1981. Typescript, v. 6, p. 8, DLAPR.

15. "Fight for Arizona's Rights," Yuma Morning Sun, Jan. 12, 1927.

16. Hunt, Autobiography, unpublished typescript, p. 283, DLAPR.

17. Hunt, Diary, March 3, 1927. ASU

18. "The Majority," Arizona Silver Belt, Apr. 26, 1927.

19. "Heckling from the Chair," Arizona Silver Belt, Apr. 29, 1927.

20. "Sen. Winsor is Life of Solons," Yuma Morning Sun, Jan. 16, 1927.

21. Unattributed quotation, headed "Winsor, Mulford," in Arizona Historical Society card file.

22. Pictures and brief biographies of the commissioners in Dunbar's Weekly, June 11, 1927.

XV. THE ARIZONA COLORADO RIVER COMMISSION

"What's all this river talk about?" said Arizona Red.
"To keep the power robbers out," so Mulford Winsor said.
"What makes Hi Johnson rave and shout?" said Arizona Red.
"Because we've hit him on the snout," the six times gov'ner said.
For they're grabbin' at the Canyon, they would pry our birthright loose,
With the Californians reachin' for the water and the juice,
They have dubbed us dogs in mangers, they have gassed us with abuse--
But we'll save the Colorado in the mornin'.1

As soon as the Eighth State Legislature adjourned, the Arizona Colorado River Commission began meeting on a regular basis. Whether the sum of $100,000 which had been voted for the commission's expenses by the legislature had anything to do with the members' sudden desire to visit Reno, Nevada and Sacramento, California is not known. But go they did, the week of April 25, 1927, all but Governor Hunt and Secretary Winsor, who was in Yuma on personal business.2

But though Winsor was in Yuma, he was not invited to a secret session of the Federal Commissioners in charge of the Colorado River project which toured Yuma and Imperial Valley in Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work's private railroad car. Secretary Work and Dr. Elwood Mead, Commissioner of Reclamation, met with the Board of Governors of the Yuma Water Users Association on April 29 regarding the resolution endorsing the Swing-Johnson bill which the Board had adopted in December 1926.3

Beginning Monday, May 9, the Arizona Commissioners began another round of meetings in Phoenix in the Governor's Office to agree on Arizona's strategy regarding the Colorado River pact and the Swing-Johnson bill. Battle lines seem to have been carried over from the legislative fracas of the previous month. Winsor, Murphy, Favour, and Crawford, representing the legislature, came out in favor of ratifying the pact. "Their attitude is one of obstruction (and) delay," moaned Hunt in his diary. "It is too bad!"4

Hunt no doubt was still smarting from Winsor's opposition in the recent legislative session. Additionally, having been forced by the Supreme Court of Arizona in February to sign the disputed warrants for Winsor's salary as code revision clerk, when Winsor put in his first claims for expenses as Colorado River Commissioner, Hunt found the matter particularly galling. On June 2, he noted in his diary that "Winsor sent down claiming for his expenses. I turned it down. He was mad. He has drawn $656.00 in claims. It is petty graft."5

With eminent good sense, on June 12 the Colorado River Commissioners left Phoenix's already hot summer weather and headed north -- all, that is, but Mulford Winsor. He was "prevented by business" from going with the rest of the party. But by June 19, he had joined the other Commissioners in Salt Lake City where they had a two hour conference with Governor

George Dern at the Statehouse. In the evening they were entertained at the Governor's Club at dinner.6 The next day, Hunt, who enjoyed motoring, returned to Arizona in his official white chauffeur driven limousine via Bryce Canyon, Cedar Breaks, and Zion National Park. The rest of the Commissioners remained for a few days in Utah.7

On August 4, a conference between Arizona's Colorado River Commissioners and their California counterparts was held in Governor Hunt's office in Phoenix. The conference opened on a friendly note, with Californians describing the problems of Imperial Valley farmers. But when asked, they stated that passage of the Swing Johnson bill was the best solution. At this point, as the Silver Belt reported it, "the air grew tense. Arizonans realized that California was still for California and Arizona and California was as wide apart as ever."8

On August 11, 1927, Mulford Winsor and other members of the Colorado River Commission left for Denver and the seven state conference on the Colorado River, which was slated to begin on August 23. A preliminary meeting between California and Arizona delegates was scheduled for Friday, August 19, to try to settle points of controversy regarding revenue and water allocation prior to the general assembly.9 The sticking point, according to the Tucson Independent, was that Arizona had the greatest area of all of the Colorado Basin states in watershed of the river. But of the lower basin states which were to share 50% of the water of the Colorado, Nevada claimed 2% and California wanted 32%, leaving just 16% for Arizona. Arizona delegates held out for half of the 48% that was left after Nevada's 2%.10

The morning meeting on August 19 was held behind closed doors, but reporters listening in the hall heard Arizona delegate Tom Maddock, his shouts easily audible through the open transom, tell the California delegation, "If you gentlemen imagine that Arizona is going to sign the seven state compact you had better get to hell out of here while you can. We will never sign the compact as it now stands and that goes for notice to the whole cock-eyed world."11 Amidst charges and countercharges, the preliminary meeting broke up, with the breach between Arizona and California wider than ever.

Mulford Winsor, who went into the preliminary meeting in a conciliatory mood, seems to have shifted his position by the time the conference officially opened on August 22. As Governor Hunt put it, "We went to the Denver conference of governors with somewhat divided viewpoints, but as the members from the legislature became more familiar with the subject and understood the unfairness of the California demands their attitude changed and we were able to present a more solid front. Senator Mulford Winsor, who had been a strong advocate of the Santa Fe Compact in particular, changed his position during the latter portion of this service on the commission."12 Winsor stated that although he had originally supported the compact, "when California insisted on tying the Swing-Johnson bill and Boulder Canyon Dam to the compact ... dull as my comprehension was, I could not keep from seeing what was being done."13

Hunt noted in his diary after the second day of the

conference that McCluskey, Maddox, and Winsor all made fine talks. "We put it all over them -- their contentions were weak, it was apparent to all..."14 However, not everyone shared the governor's opinion. The Denver Post stated that a defiant Governor Hunt had almost caused a complete collapse of the conference, when he threatened California with an ultimatum. Only the quick action of Governor Dern of Utah in calling for a noon recess saved the proceedings. When asked later if he thought there was a chance for a settlement, Hunt said, with typical candour, "Hell, no!"15

The Arizona press, predictably, backed the Arizona delegation. The Arizona Republican praised Mulford Winsor's speech, in which he stated that "Arizona earnestly and honestly desires an agreement whereby the Colorado may be developed, its floods controlled, power created, and the legitimate interests of all of the states ... adequately safeguarded." As the matter stood, however, ratification would mean that "the water available to the lower basin will speedily be gobbled up by California and Mexico and Arizona's slow developing lands will go dry."16 The Republican concluded with the comment that the conference showed Arizona's "sincere desire to reach an agreement with California in which its reasonable rights shall be protected ... This is clearly brought out in the address of Mr. Winsor which should be preserved as valuable documentary evidence."17

On September 1, conferees adjourned to the Denver airport to watch Colonel Charles Lindberg make a perfect landing with his trans Atlantic airplane as part of his triumphal tour of the United States.18 They then adjourned until September 19. As for progress thus far, California had reduced its demand for water, Arizona had gained some water, and "Reports indicate that to Mulford Winsor, president of the Arizona state senate, goes much of the credit for untangling the Colorado river mess."19

Arizona delegates spent the next two weeks conferring with their constituents. But once back in Denver, old acrimonies resurfaced, with Arizona and California delegates engaging in shouting matches and Wyoming threatening to leave the conference. Finally, Winsor suggested that the upper basin states draw up a compromise plan.20 By September 23, this had been done. The plan alloted to Arizona 3,000,000 acre feet of water annually from the main stream of the Colorado, 42,000,000 acre feet to California, and 300,000 acre feet to Nevada. One of the main points of disagreement had been concerning water to be given to Mexico. The upper basin agreement stated that any water given to Mexico should come from the amount still unallocated, and the million acre feet allotted Arizona from her tributary streams must be unencumbered. Arizona accepted the plan, but California balked.21

A final point of disagreement was hydroelectric power. Following much acrimonious discussion, on October 1, Arizona agreed to withdraw opposition to the construction of the Boulder Canyon dam in exchange for California's agreement to allow Arizona and Nevada to collect revenue from a government constructed power site at Boulder.22 California, however, refused to accept the proposal. Dissention marked the last days

of the four and a half week conference, which adjourned on October 5, with little to show for delegates' efforts.23

Home in Phoenix once again, on October 24, Governor Hunt convened the Fourth Special Session of the Eighth Legislature. On October 27, the first report of the Colorado River Commission of Arizona was read in the Senate, summarizing the commission's activities since its creation by the legislature on March 7, 1927. The report was unanimously accepted.24 A bill was put forward appropriating a second sum of $100,000 to fund commission activities. The bill failed.

This is not surprising in light of the fact that the expenditures of the commission up to and including November 15, 1927, totaled $26,387.30, a grandiose figure that smacked of high living at taxpayer expense. Mulford Winsor's claims, largest of any of the commission members, totaled $2,661.58. He was in Phoenix between April 21 and April 30; his claim for meals, tips, taxis, and incidentals for that period was $116.50. On April 17 he spent $55.44; on June 5, $38.65; on June 8, $6.65; his expenses on June 27 cost the taxpayers of Arizona $98.50; June 27, $5.75; July 1 through 15 amounted to $82.75; July 18-21, $21.85; and July 22-23, $11.80. In addition, he submitted a bill for $81.40 for lodging in a Phoenix hotel between June 8 and June 30. "Was Mr. Winsor attending Arizona Colorado River Commission meetings in Phoenix during all that time, or was he attending to the affairs of the commission for all that period?" queried the Arizona State News. "Mr. Winsor is supposed to live in Yuma, but judging from his Phoenix hotel bills,.... the border city... has lost one of its foremost citizens." In addition to the above, Winsor made a half dozen round trips from Yuma to Phoenix during the months of April, May, and June, for which taxpayers paid $300.25 As a reporter put it, for the period between April 21 and July 23, "this one small-sized man got away with about $449. This will average about $150 per month for 'meals, tips, taxis, incidentals.' Many of the voters who pay the taxes are forced to keep large families on that amount or less... Winsor must have had a better time than the others for his total bill was $2661.58."26 Other commissioners' expenses ranged from $2,068.06 for Governor Hunt to $765.00 for Helen R. Jones, stenographer to the Commission.27

But of course, nearly three quarters of the original $100,000 allocation was still available. As soon as the State Legislature adjourned on November 5, Winsor took the train for Los Angeles, where representatives of Arizona, Nevada, and California discussed the feasibility of a tri state conference prior to the resumption of the seven state conference planned for San Francisco in December.28

He was back in Phoenix by November 14, to request that the full commission meet the following day to discuss the Los Angeles meeting. Governor Hunt's notation in his diary following the meeting the next day reveal his feelings about the members of the commission. "Mac (H. S. McCluskey) is away; the com. met - and we had a hard time. There is deep distrust. It is too bad we have not a more able and liberal one. Mac & Tom (Maddock) are the two that is (sic) efficient - the others are Jealous and I

have a hard time to keep things tranquil - (M. F.) Murphy knows nothing, is nagging -- Winsor & (Alpheus H.) Favour are cunning and bright. All of them want to get in the Sun."29

Winsor arrived in San Francisco for the next round of meetings on December 1, accompanied by other Arizona commission members and several Arizona engineers hired to calculate hydroelectric power which could be produced by the dam at Boulder Canyon. Governor Hunt did not attend; he was preparing to leave for Washington to lead the commission's fight against the Swing-Johnson bill for the construction of Boulder Dam which was slated to be introduced when the Seventieth Congress convened on December 5.

On December 21, with the San Francisco conference deadlocked over differences relative to distribution of power from Boulder Dam, Governor Hunt directed Mulford Winsor and Henry S. McCluskey to go to Washington to present Arizona's position at hearings to be held by the House Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation beginning January 9.30 Winsor returned to Arizona from San Francisco, evidently spending Christmas in Phoenix. He left from Phoenix on the Washington train on the night of December 29, ready for his Washington adventure.31

Hearings on the Swing-Johnson bill for the construction of Boulder Dam began before the House Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation in Washington on January 6, 1928, with Mulford Winsor the first representative of the Colorado Basin states to testify.32 Having identified himself as an Arizona legislator, he explained that "important matters make it necessary for me to leave this afternoon," and therefore he had asked to speak first. 33

The "important matters" to which Winsor referred concerned a recent resolution from the Yuma Chamber of Commerce favoring the Swing-Johnson bill that had so alarmed Governor Hunt that he asked Winsor to return immediately to Yuma to see if he could squelch the insurgents. But Phil Swing, co sponsor of the bill, had ammunition even more damaging to Winsor personally than the Yuma Chamber of Commerce's resolution. In the midst of the cross examination which followed Winsor's statement of Arizona's position opposing Swing-Johnson, he read into the record a speech entitled "No danger from California" which Winsor himself had made in 1923. As he was forced to admit, he had said, "If California were disposed to hog the waters of the lower basin, and physical conditions were such that it might avail itself of their benefits, Arizona by the compact loses no legal right or power she now possesses to prevent aggressions at that State's hands. But the fear expressed is entirely swallowed up in the certainty that there will be no shortage. California's ... present needs and ultimate possibilities of reclamation from the Colorado are well established, and present no menace to Arizona's hopes or aspirations."

The fact that Winsor said he had now changed his mind seemed a feeble defense.34 Swing returned again and again to the attack, next reading Winsor's letter to Harry T. Southworth discussing benefits to Arizona from the development of the Colorado 35 and his 1923 article "Why I favor ratification of the

Colorado River compact."36

In between thrusts from Californian Phil Swing, Winsor continued to present Arizona's position in the day long hearings. Charging that the federal government and California were cooperating "in a boycott on Arizona,"37 Winsor stated that Arizona demanded a minimum compensation of $3.60 per horsepower for power developed at the proposed Boulder Dam.38 Denying that Arizona opposed the Swing-Johnson Bill "because of any objection to the beneficent ends sought by California proponents," he stated that "Arizona realizes the need for flood control in the Colorado river for the protection of the Imperial Valley and in some small degree for the protection of the particular district (Yuma) in which I live... We respectively (sic) insist, however, that these beneficent objects are not so urgent as to necessitate their achivement at the cost of another state nor of doing violence to that state's sacred rights."39

Winsor remained on the stand until the committee adjourned at 5:15 pm. He went from the Capitol Building to Union Station where he took the train for Yuma, Arizona. He could hardly have been looking forward to the task awaiting him there.

Yuma and Mohave Counties, the two Arizona counties whose boundaries are formed by the Colorado River, have historically been most affected by the unpredictable flooding of this mighty stream. Thus both counties consistently supported the 1923 Santa Fe Compact between the seven basin states of the Colorado, in opposition to majority opinion in Arizona. It will be remembered that Mulford Winsor, State Senator from Yuma County, pushed for Arizona's ratification of the compact in 1923 and later, gaining the enmity of Governor Hunt, who came to symbolize Arizona's intractible opposition to the compact. Winsor's opposition both to the compact and to the Swing-Johnson bill came about after he became a member of the Colorado River Commission and evidently became convinced that California was indeed out to take unfair advantage of her less developed neighbor to the east. His new political position was not shared by his constituents in Yuma County, however. In opposition to most Arizonans, they continued to support not only the compact, but also the building of the Boulder Dam as called for in the Swing - Johnson bill. Mulford Winsor's change of heart must have appeared to them at best as political expediency, at worst as outright betrayal of his neighbors who had voted him into office.40

On December 13, 1927, the Board of Directors of the Yuma County Chamber of Commerce voted six to two to endorse the Swing-Johnson bill as "the best vehicle now obtainable for an early and thorough development of the Colorado River."41 They did even worse; the next day, W. H. Buehman, Chamber of Commerce Secretary, wired Phil Swing at the House Office Building in Washington stating that "The Yuma Chamber of Commerce hereby goes on record as being in favor of an early and thorough development of the Colorado River to the end that adequate storage of water will be obtained and menace of flood eliminated. Believing that the Swing-Johnson bill is the best vehicle now available to obtain this result we hereby indorse said bill."42 Winsor's assignment from Governor Hunt was to induce the Chamber

of Commerce to rescind its resolution, thus blunting one of California's most telling weapons against the state -- a perceived lack of unity in the matter of the Swing - Johnson bill among Arizonans.

Arriving in Yuma on January 10, Winsor stated, "I think the Yuma chamber of commerce is making a mistake, both from a local as well as from a more far reaching point of view, running counter to state and country as it does." He also stated that on the very day he reached Yuma he had received word from his secretary that California representative Phil Swing had read the Yuma Chamber of Commerce resolution into the House Irrigation Committee record "as part of his effort to impeach my testimony before the house irrigation committee."43

Winsor's meeting with the Chamber of Commerce was unproductive. The Chamber of Commerce resolution backing the Swing-Johnson bill was put to a referendum; it was endorsed 87 to 24.44 But worse was to come for supporters of Arizona's position. Even as Winsor was traveling to Arizona to put pressure on his Yuma County constituents, a mass meeting was held in Kingman, Arizona by the Mohave County Chamber of Commerce. A telegram from Willis J. Black, President of the Chamber of Commerce, sent to Phil D. Swing at the House of Representatives on January 11, 1928, stated that "The Swing-Johnson bill was heartily and unanimously indorsed."45

Winsor and G. W. P. Hunt found themselves on the same train to Washington on Friday, January 13. Evidently their trip together was not entirely amicable. Hunt called a meeting after their arrival on Monday, January 16 with Winsor, McCluskey, Maddox, and Kimball in Senator Ashurst's rooms to plan strategy for hearings on the Swing - Johnson bill before the Senate Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation. He confided to his diary after the meeting, "We are four of us fighting for Arizona; Windsor (sic) is playing politics... Windsor had the nerve to want to come first, playing to home consumption... If we would win it would be a miracle."46

Hearings before the Senate Committee began at 10 am on Tuesday, January 17. Breathing fire, Governor Hunt led off, stating that "In all my experience I have never read or heard of a more outrageous, unmoral, or sinister proposal than the measure you are now considering... This bill reads like a peace treaty which a military autocrat would impose upon a conquered and vassal people. If you expect me to discuss this bill calmly, dispassionately, and impersonally, I must disappoint you... I feel a sense of outrage!"

After this opening gambit, Hunt might well have anticipated Senator Hiram W. Johnson's none too friendly inquisition, which took the better part of an hour. Johnson's questions obviously bothered Hunt, who repeatedly asked for time to consider an answer.47

Most Arizona newspapers scored Hunt for not being able to respond to Senator Johnson's queries. As the Tucson Citizen put it, "Governor Hunt has made a mistake every time he has been in Washington... His infelicity in dealing with other states and with the United States... has been disastrous for Arizona. His

injection of his peculiarly obstreperous personality over the heads of able Arizona river commissioners - either from vanity or the suggestion of sycophants - has been worse than needless... Unselfish friends of Arizona should try to prevail upon the governor to remain in the background during this crucial period."48

Mulford Winsor's more moderate, though hardly less lengthy, statement followed Hunt's. Senator Johnson's interrogation, hostile from the first word, followed. Once again Winsor was confronted with the letter he had written to Harry T. Southworth on August 24, 1923, supporting the Colorado River Compact. Defending his position, he told Johnson that "I was very much in earnest about it, but I could not get by with it with the people of Arizona. They thought the picture was wonderful, but ... under the terms of the Swing-Johnson bill... all of these benefits would go, not to Arizona, but to California... I wish you could understand, Senator... that in the view that I held with respect to the benefits that would come from the ratification of the Colorado River compact, I was not contemplating the Swing-Johnson bill at all... I would not have held the roseate view of the benefits to Arizona had I contemplated that California was going to assume the attitude that she did."49

The Senate hearings continued for the rest of the week. Hunt left Washington on Wednesday, January 25. Winsor and other members of the Colorado River Commission remained in Washington to meet with representatives of the other Colorado River Basin states on matters concerning the Colorado River Compact.50 Two weeks later, breathing optimism, Winsor returned to Phoenix. The conference had been productive, with agreement on the Colorado River controversy in sight. "It is very doubtful that any legislation (such as the Swing - Johnson bill) is passed (by Congress) until there is such an agreement," he was quoted as saying. He returned to Washington for further meetings by the end of the week.51

Winsor was back in Phoenix for a meeting of the Colorado River Commission on April 9. Predicting a filibuster against the Swing - Johnson bill when it reached the floor of the U.S. Senate, he told a Phoenix reporter that he doubted if the bill would pass in its present form, but that "no one may safely predict what the actual outcome will be."52

Returning to Washington when the Colorado River Commission meeting in Phoenix was over, Winsor took himself to the capital to hear Utah Senator Reed Smoot's two day filibuster against the Boulder Dam bill. What Winsor thought of the matter he did not say, but Governor Hunt thought "It was a fine argument."53 Shortly after this, the Arizona Commissioners returned to Arizona, with the passage of the Swing - Johnson bill still undecided.

The Colorado River Commission continued to meet periodically during the balance of the year 1928. Mulford Winsor evidently attended when he was in Arizona, but he seems to have spent most of his time in Yuma cultivating his date orchard. A brief session of the Commission in Prescott drew him to the meeting in August, perhaps as a respite from Yuma's summer heat.54

Late in the summer, Hugo B. Farmer announced his candidacy for Senator from Yuma County on the democratic ticket. After the September 11 Primary election, it was announced that he had won the democratic nomination, beating Nellie T. Bush. Mulford Winsor had not entered the primaries. For the first time in almost a decade, he would not be returning to the State Senate.55

As for perennial Governor George W. P. Hunt, he predictably won the democratic nomination for governor, running against Republican John C. Phillips in a campaign which was overshadowed by the national election, with Herbert Hoover running against Alfred Smith for United States President. Both Hoover and Phillips were elected on the Republican ticket in the election of November 6, 1928. Hunt was despondent over his defeat; as he confided to his diary, he figured with Phillips as governor that the Swing - Johnson bill would pass, and Arizona "will repent in sack cloth and ashes."56

But Hunt was determined to go down fighting. On November 9, he issued his obligatory congratulations to Governor Elect Phillips, stating that the Colorado River Commissioners, whose term of office did not cease until March 3, 1929, would "become privates in the ranks under your leadership."57 Having disposed of the amenities, he promptly called a fifth special session of the Eighth Arizona Legislature, to meet November 18, to take action in the Colorado River crisis and to enact the code of Arizona law which had been prepared by Code Commissioner Struckmeyer over the last year.58

With a good deal of emotion, Mulford Winsor called the Fifth Special Session of the Eighth Arizona Legislature to order at 2 pm on November 19. The sessions were given over primarily to intensive work on the Revised Code of Laws to which Winsor had devoted his editorial skills the previous year.59

Near the end of November, Winsor left Phoenix "on private business" for Washington. Rumor on the floor of the Senate had it, however, that his trip had something to do with Colorado Commission affairs and a last ditch effort to stall passage of the Swing-Johnson bill in Congress.60 But despite whatever efforts Winsor may have made to stall it, the Swing - Johnson bill to construct the Boulder Dam passed the United States Senate on December 3, to the delight of Arizona's renegade counties on the Colorado. As the Yuma Morning Sun trumpeted, "The future prosperity of Yuma County is practically established." 61 The bill passed the House on December 19. At a White House ceremony on December 21, 1928, President Calvin Coolidge signed the Boulder Canyon Project bill into law.62 Construction of the dam was begun in 1931 and completed in 1936.

This was not the end of the Colorado River controversy, however. After the passage of the Boulder Canyon Project Act, Congress appropriated funds for the project and authorized the Secretary of the Interior to contract for water and power with the six states that had ratified the Colorado River Compact -- all of the basin states except Arizona. Arizona took the matter to the courts, but lost its case because of its failure to sign the compact. Finally, in 1944, some two decades after Mulford Winsor's valiant efforts to push approval of the measure through

the Arizona State Legislature, Arizona signed.

As for the 1928 lame duck session of the Arizona State Legislature, it bumped along to its conclusion in a predictable manner. December 20 was named "Bouquet Day," with resolutions of appreciation and eulogies for legislators who would not be returning to the ninth legislature. The Senate voted $300 to hang a portrait of Mulford Winsor, President of the Senate, in the Senate corridor.63

And that was that -- almost. The fifth special session passed into history on December 31, 1928, only for a sixth special session to be called into existence immediately by almost ex - Governor Hunt during the small hours of the last day of the year. With the session lopping over into New Year's Day, it surely constituted the governor's last hurrah. The legislators raised their own pay from $7 to $15 per day. In addition they named a joint committee (presumably answerable to incoming Governor Phillips) to study the condition of dams in Arizona. The final session ended at 4 am, with legislators too weary to wish each other a happy new year.64

1. "The Ambition of the River Commission," Prescott Courier, Dec. 2, 1927.

2. "The Colorado River Commission," Graham County Guardian, Apr. 29, 1927; Tempe News, Apr. 29, 1927; Arizona Republican, Apr. 26, 1927.

3. "Secret Session of River Body at Yuma Today," Prescott Courier, Apr. 29, 1927.

4. Hunt Diary, May 9, 1927, ASU.

5. Hunt, Diary, June 2, 1927, ASU.

6. Hunt, Diary, June 19, 1927. ASU.

7. "Governor Hunt Returns Home," Salt Lake Tribune, June 21, 1927.

8. "The First Conference," Arizona Silver Belt, Aug. 5, 1927.

9. "Colorado Boards move on Denver for Final Trial," Journal Miner (Prescott), Aug. 17, 1927.

10. "Development of the Colorado Means Everything to Arizona," Tucson Independent, Aug. 19, 1927.

11. "Upper Basin States Firm for Colorado Compact," Los Angeles Times, Aug. 20, 1927.

12. Hunt, Autobiography, typescript, DLAPR.

13. "Arizona's Case in the Colorado River," Silver Belt, Aug. 25, 1927.

14. Hunt, Diary, Aug. 23, 1927, AHS.

15. "River Parley Nears Rocks," Denver Post, Aug. 23, 1927.

16. "Winsor says Arizona demands Equal Rights in River Agreement," Arizona Republican, Aug. 24, 1927.

17. "Arizona's Case at Denver," Arizona Republican, Aug. 25, 1927.

18. "Canal Bars Compact," Los Angeles Times, Sept. 1, 1927.

19. "Arizona Makes Headway," Douglas Dispatch, Aug. 27, 1927.

20. "Hunt Declares Arizona will get Her Share," Winslow Mail, Sept. 20, 1927.

21. "Arizona Accepts Plan of Upper Basin States," Douglas Daily Dispatch, Sept. 23, 1927.

22. "Agreements on Points made at Secret Meeting," Tucson Citizen, Oct. 1, 1927.

23. "River Parley is Adjourned to Meet Again on November 7," Yuma Morning Sun, Oct. 5, 1927.

24. "Arizona's Colorado River Commission Makes First Report," Arizona Republican, Oct. 28, 1927.

25. "River Commission Expenses," Arizona State News, Dec. 5, 1927.

26. "Those Commission Expenses," Tucson Independent, Dec. 14, 1927.

27. "River Board Cost $26,387," Journal Miner (Prescott), Dec. 2, 1927.

28. "Tri State River Conference Held Desirable by Winsor at Los Angeles at Informal Meet," Yuma Morning Sun, Nov. 11, 1927.

29. Hunt, Diary, Nov. 15, 1927, AHS.

30. "Governor Hunt Plans Trip to Washington," Douglas Dispatch, Dec. 21, 1927.

31. "Winsor Leaves for Washington for Colorado River Battle," Yuma Morning Sun, Dec. 30, 1927.

32. Winsor's testimony is recorded verbatim in U. S. Congress. House. Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation. "Protection and Development of the Lower Colorado River Basin," 70th Congress, 1st session, hearings on HR 5773, Jan. 6-Jan. 16, 1928. Y4.Ir7/2: C71/8/ Pts. 1-4 and appendix. Winsor's testimony demonstrates the folksy attempts at humor that seem to have become his hallmark in the Arizona Senate.

33. House Hearings, p. 19-20.

34. House Hearings, p. 59-60.

35. House Hearings, p. 69. The Southworth letter is reprinted in its entirety in Hearings before the Senate Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, Jan. 17-21, 1928, Y4.Ir7/ 1:C71/3, p. 273-281.

36. House Hearings, p. 82.

37. "Winsor Charges Boycott," Silver Belt, Jan. 6, 1928.

38. "Boulder Dam Conspiracy Charged by Winsor in Address before Congress," Tucson Daily Star, Jan. 7, 1928.

39. "Boulder Bill Considered Boycott of State Rights," Arizona Republican, Jan. 7, 1928.

40. This may explain the hostile editorial which appeared in the Mohave County Miner a week after Winsor's congressional testimony. As the editorial put it, "The impression that was obtained from the Winsor position (was) that he was playing politics and not trying to present facts..." ("Winsor and McCluskey Make Poor Showing," Jan. 13, 1928)

41. "C.C. for Dam Bill," Yuma Morning Sun, Dec. 13, 1927.

42. U.S. Congress. House. Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation. Hearings, 1928, p. 175.

43. "Winsor Plans to Tell Yuma it's all Wet," Tucson Daily Star, Jan. 11, 1926.

44. "Winsor scores Boulder Plans," Prescott Courier, Jan. 12, 1928, and House Hearings, 1928, p. 175.

45. House Hearings, 1928, p. 174.

46. Hunt, Diary, Jan. 13 and Jan. 16, 1928, ASU.

47. U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Irrigation and Reclamation, 70th Congress, 1st session. Hearings on S. 728, "Colorado River Basin," Jan. 17-21, 1928. Y4.Ir7/1: C71/3. Hunt's statement: p. 12-25; interrogation, p. 25-32.

48. "Gross Discourtesy," Tucson Citizen, Jan. 21, 1928.

49. Senate Hearings, p. 61-64; the Southworth letter is printed in its entirety as part of the Senate Hearings, p. 273-281.

50. "Negotiations on River Pact Resume Today," Arizona Republican, Jan. 29, 1928.

51. "Arizona will Win, Declares Winsor on Return," Arizona Gazette, Feb. 13, 1928.

52. "Filibuster Predicted by Winsor," Phoenix Gazette, Apr. 7, 1928.

53. Hunt, Diary, May 1, 1928.

54. "Arizona River Commission in Brief Session," Yuma Morning Sun, Aug. 5, 1928.

55. "Baker, Kelley, Polhamus, and Hugo Farmer Win," Yuma Morning Sun, Sept. 13, 1928.

56. Hunt, Diary, Nov. 6, 1928.

57. "Governor Hunt Pledges Aid to Judge Phillips in Colorado River Fight," Arizona Republican, Nov. 9, 1928.

58. "The Legislature will Meet in Special Session November 19," Dunbar's Weekly, Nov. 10, 1928.

59. "Revision of Arizona's Legal Code is Started by State Legislature," Arizona Republican, Nov. 21, 1928.

60. "River Fight Appears in Legislature," Yuma Morning Sun, Nov. 23, 1928.

61. "Senate's Action Boon to Yuma," Yuma Morning Sun, Dec. 3, 1928.

62. Beverly B. Moeller, Phil Swing and Boulder Dam, University of California Press, 1971, p. 122.

63. "State Legislature Speeds Work of Code Revision," Arizona Republican, Dec. 21, 1928. Also Journal of the Eighth Arizona Senate, Dec. 20, 1928, v. 16, p. 194.

64. "Flood Bill gets Cold Reception," Arizona Gazette, Jan. 1, 1929.

XVI. POLITICAL INTERREGNUM: WINSOR BECOMES STATE LIBRARIAN 1932

George W. P. Hunt's last official act as six term governor of Arizona was the signing of the 800 page revised Arizona Code of Laws approved during the final days of the Fifth Special Session of the Eighth Arizona State Legislature. On Saturday, January 5, 1929, even as movers came to clear his personal effects from the Governor's Office, he affixed his signature to the Code in the presence of Code Commissioner Fred C. Struckmeyer, Senate President Mulford Winsor, House Speaker A. M. Crawford, State Senator A. H. Favour, and H. S. McCluskey.1 He was not present for the inauguration of his successor, John C. Phillips, at 10 am on Monday, January 7.

Newly inaugurated Governor Phillips lost no time in ridding himself of as many of his predecessor's holdovers in office as he could. On January 9 he appointed a new slate of officers for the Colorado River Commission,2 thus terminating Mulford Winsor's career as a political official.

Exactly what Winsor did for the next year and a half is not clear. Probably he spent a good deal of time in Yuma working with the date grove several miles south of Yuma which he had acquired several years previously. He may have lived at Ayrlawn, his acreage southwest of Yuma. His oldest daughter Eleanor and her husband Tom Lipscomb were living with their baby, Mary Margaret, born March 8, 1929, in Winsor's house on the mesa near downtown Yuma. Except for occasional correspondence concerning business affairs, he and his estranged wife Clara had no contact.

The Wall Street stock market crash of October 29, 1929 seems to have had little immediate impact on Arizonans; the Tucson Citizen's only comment was, "Only paper values have been wiped out."3 A month later, in fact, Phoenix businessmen interviewed on the financial condition of Phoenix and the state unanimously agreed that "optimism is justified."4 The term "Depression" appeared for the first time in Arizona newspapers in early 1930, referring, of course, only to problems in other areas of the country.5 June, however, was a bad month, particularly in Yuma, where an arsonist started fires in four Yuma hotels.6 Twenty days later, the Yuma Valley Bank, largest bank in the city, closed its doors, turning its records over to the State Banking Commission.7 By September, a United States Department of Labor survey of Arizona reported, with exquisite understatement, "The supply of all classes of labor somewhat exceeded requirements."8 Arizonans braced themselves for the worst.

In the midst of uncertain times, perennial gubernatorial candidate G. W. P. Hunt's slogan "Back to prosperity with Hunt" must have had tremendous appeal. He easily won the democratic primary election on September 9. On November 4, Hunt defeated incumbent Republican Governor John Phillips by more than two thousand votes, becoming Governor of Arizona for the seventh time. In addition, voters sent a solidly democratic group of legislators to Phoenix for the Tenth Arizona Legislature. Possibly not by coincidence, a week later, the forty year old Arizona Republican, Phoenix's flagship newspaper, changed its name to the Arizona Republic.9

By the end of the year, the economic paralysis which gripped the rest of the country had reached Arizona. Phoenix opened a municipal woodyard to furnish work, food, and shelter for the "worthy unemployed."10 And in Tucson, trade union leaders petitioned Governor Phillips to open the armories so that unemployed men and women could have shelter and a place to sleep.11

How Mulford Winsor fared that year is not known. However, when the Tenth Arizona Legislature convened in Phoenix on January 12, 1931, he may well have sought out old friends and former fellow legislators in the Senate, seeking a position as attache. He received the appointment of Secretary to the Senate Style, Revision, and Compilation Committee, the committee which rewords Senate bills for clarity, spelling, and grammar before they are sent onto the floor for debate.

Winsor was eminently qualified for such a position; his incisive command of the English language was known to all of his former colleagues in the Legislature. His salary was set at $10 per day, the highest salary of any attache in the Tenth Legislature.12 Before the month was out, obviously his editorial work was well known. On February 14, a reporter from the Arizona Star commented that "Another dig at Mulford Winsor's penchant for moving commas was taken in the House today when Witt of Greenlee moved an amendment to the agriculture committee's livestock sanitary board bill. The amendment changed the word 'acts' to 'laws' and he explained that he made the motion 'to save Mulford a lot of work.' The motion carried and so did the bill."13

Mulford Winsor might have remained an attache to the State Legislature, or might have moved to another political appointment, had it not been for an unexpected development at the State Library. On March 14, 1932, State Librarian Con P. Cronin died. When the State Board of Curators John R. Murdock and E. O. Snider met on March 18 to choose Cronin's successor, there were two applicants for the position: Miss Marjorie Baker, a graduate of Riverside, California, Library School, who had served as vice librarian at Phoenix Public Library before coming to the State Library as Assistant Librarian, a position which she had held for several years. The second candidate was Mulford Winsor.14

The choice was obvious. Mulford Winsor was named as Arizona's second State Librarian, a lifetime appointment at the pleasure of the Legislature, at an annual salary of $3600. As the Winslow Mail editor put it, "Winsor is prepared for the position such as no other person immediately available in Arizona. He has been in close contact with the Arizona law-making bodies since before Arizona became a state. He has helped, as a member of many legislatures, to frame many of the state laws. He, possibly as no other man in the state, understands the constitution of Arizona. If the loss of Cronin is regrettable, the choice of his successor in the worthy Mr. Winsor atones for it in a large measure."15

Perhaps at the time, with Arizona's law makers, who after all, approved the biennial state budget recommendations, firmly

convinced that the library should remain exactly what its official name claimed it to be: the Arizona State Law and Legislative Reference Library, Mulford Winsor was the obvious choice over Con Cronin's experienced and professionally trained assistant librarian -- who just happened to be a woman. He remained Arizona's State Librarian for the next twenty-four years, until his death in November 1956 at the age of eighty-two.

1. "Governor Hunt Signs Code of Arizona Laws," Arizona Republican, Jan. 6, 1929.

2. "Phillips Appoints New River Commissioners," Arizona Republican, Jan. 10, 1929.

3. Tucson Citizen, Oct. 28, 1929, as quoted in Douglas D. Martin, An Arizona Chronology, University of Arizona Press, 1963-66.

4. Arizona Republican, Nov. 24, 1929, quoted in Martin, op. cit.

5. Arizona Republican, April 25, 1930.

6. Yuma Morning Sun, June 1, 1930.

7. Yuma Morning Sun, June 20, 1930.

8. Yuma Morning Sun, Sept. 17, 1930.

9. Arizona Republic, Nov. 11, 1930.

10. Arizona Republic, Nov. 20, 1930.

11. Tucson Citizen, Dec. 8, 1930.

12. Arizona. Tenth State Legislature. Senate. Journal, Jan. 12-March 14, 1931, p. 50.

13. "Dig at Mulford: Capitol Facts and Fancies," Arizona Daily Star, Feb. 14, 1931.

14. "State Board Expected to Name Successor to Con Cronin Today," Arizona Republic, March 18, 1932.

15. "A Happy Choice," Winslow Mail, March 19, 1932.

XVII. THE STATE LIBRARY: DEPRESSION YEARS, 1932-1936

Mulford Winsor could scarcely have entered upon his tenure as Arizona State Librarian at a less propitious time. The effects of the stock market crash of October 1929 were beginning to be felt in Arizona; as the demand for copper, probably Arizona's single most important economic resource, decreased, the price of copper dropped from 18.1 cents in 1929 to 5.6 cents a pound in 1932. Some mines cut production; others closed; the state's economy plummeted.

Conditions in Phoenix reflected those in other areas of the state, with businesses closing, banks failing, and unemployment lines increasing. Those who had work counted themselves fortunate, but even these, if they were employed by the State of Arizona, were not sure of a paycheck, for by mid 1932 the state hovored precariously close to bankruptcy.1 By the end of the year state employees found their semi-monthly salary warrants difficult to cash at face value.2

Problems with personal finances, however, did not diminish the energy and enthusiasm with which Mulford Winsor took over the duties of state librarian on March 18, 1932. His first annual report, the Ninth Biennial Report of the State Librarian, was submited three and a half months later. In that short time he had secured shelves for the entire collection, much of which he had found piled on the floor and in corridors of the capitol building for want of space. He then rearranged the books, separating them into appropriate sections with an eye to availability and accessibility. The most used books were placed in the main stack room on the third floor near the librarian's office. "This improvement," he commented, "involved the moving of practically everything, and with the most careful figuring some sections had to be moved more than once. It was a large undertaking, and with no fund in our budget for the purpose could not have been accomplished without the aid of the governor's unemployment relief fund."3

Most remarkably, in view of the severe crowding that had plagued the library for many years, Winsor managed to make space for a reading room. As he put it, "During the years when congestion was an outstanding characteristic, the Library had to be run on the buffet plan. Its intellectual food was partaken of standing. There was no place where a patron might leisurely and comfortably read or study. This has been corrected. Although not elaborately furnished, a comfortable, well lighted reading room has taken the place of two stacks at the west end of the main stack room, and patrons express their appreciation of the innovation."4 Two coats of white paint on the walls, ceiling, and book stacks, all paid for by the unemployment relief fund, completed the transformation.5

When this was finished, Winsor could turn his attention to the section of the library closest to his heart, the legislative reference bureau. As he phrased it, "While all of our duties are important, and properly command our constant and interested care, to the present librarian, upon whom years of legislative experience have left their impress, possibly no part of the work

appeals with such force as that of the legislative reference bureau... If we were able to undertake the work, bibliographies of the material on hand, by subjects, should be prepared, in order that complete lists of available items might be shown at a glance, thus giving the legislator an opportunity to read as much as he cared to read on any given subject. To give maximum effectiveness to this service, the reference material on each subject should also be briefed, pro and con, and made available to the legislators in condensed, unbiased form. This when added to the highly technical work of special research, and the preparation and revision of bills, would round out the legislative reference service and make of the bureau an ally of the legislature, which could be expected to increase that body's efficiency, and therefore its economy, many fold... It is our ambition, with modest support and encouragement, to so expand the facilities of this bureau that it will come to rank, if not in size, at least in practical usefulness, with the best and most efficient legislative reference bureaus in the country. I hope to see it occupy an undisputed place at the head of all those agencies, public and private, whose object it is to contribute to intelligent, constructive legislation."6

Those of Arizona's librarians who read Winsor's report might have discerned clearly that the state library was about to take a new direction, and that library extension would not be among the new librarian's priorities.

When the Eleventh State Legislature convened on January 9, 1933, Mulford Winsor had already been hard at work for months, drafting bills, resolutions, and memorials for the legislators. Of 536 measures presented by members of that legislature, 219, numbering 912 typed pages, were personally prepared by the librarian.7 In addition, on January 11, Winsor was named along with Senators Harry J. Valentine and John Francis Connor to work under the direction of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary as a member of the Commission for Uniform State Laws.8

But that was not all. Winsor had just completed a major research project which he had started some nine months previously at the request of members of the legislature. The finished document, entitled "Legislative assemblies: report of a study of the world's legislative systems in general, and that of Arizona in particular, submitted to a group of interested citizens,"9 was a study meant to lead to the reorganization and modernization of the administrative branch of Arizona's state government.10 Upon its completion, the report was presented to a special committee of the Arizona Legislature, which drew up a series of proposals for a radical reorganization of Arizona governmental agencies based on its recommendations. It was a beautiful plan, elegant in its comparative simplicity, but after all Winsor's research and hard work, when its supporters introduced it as Senate Bill 45 in the Eleventh State Legislature, it went nowhere. Some years later, when Mulford Winsor was asked why it had not succeeded, he stated that it was doomed to failure because of "opposition generated by affected departments."11

Newly elected Governor Benjamin B. Moeur's opening message to the Eleventh State Legislature could scarcely have bouyed

anyone's spirits. In his message, Governor Moeur recommended cutting state spending by $4,000,000 and cutting salaries of all state employees by 20%.12 But worse was to come. As the country looked hopefully toward the long awaited March inauguration of President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt, the state of Michigan proclaimed an eight day bank holiday, starting February 14, 1933. On March 2, as waves of financial hysteria washed over the United States, with depositors lined up to withdraw funds from ailing banks, Governor Moeur declared a three day closing for all Arizona banks, a moratorium which was subsequently extended to March 13. Cash was in short supply; state salary warrants were unredeemable, not only at banks but at stores.

The reopening of Arizona's banks on March 14 made little difference to those who were out of work and had neither cash to deposit nor to withdraw. It made less difference to state employees, whose salary warrants the banks continued to refuse to cash.

As for the state library, a nineteen percent reduction in the budget for 1933 had been partially offset by a special appropriation of $2500 for the Legislative Reference Bureau.13 This made possible the hiring of a special legal assistant to provide assistance for legislative work both in the senate and the house as well as the binding and repair of books belonging to the Legislative Reference Bureau.14 Winsor's small staff of three worked overtime without extra pay; vacations were cut and travel to professional conferences eliminated. However, despite the governor's mandate that state salaries should also be cut, Winsor maintained library salaries at their previous level.

Federal relief programs provided some assistance; working with grants from the Civil Works Administration (CWA, November 1933 - March 1934) and its sucessor, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA, April 1934-July 1935), Winsor managed to procure carpeting for the reading room, his office, and the main stack room. Old office furniture was replaced or renovated and a private workroom was fitted out for his use. In addition, "In desperate straits for room in which to house books, a systematic survey was made of the capitol building and every conceivable place where shelving might be put was seized by right of eminent domain. The attic was equipped, in a way, for the reception of archival records of various departments, permitting a third floor room theretofore utilized as a storeroom to be released for library purposes, an unused elevator shaft was made into rooms, and floors and shelving placed in several light wells. By dint of such devices, with labor supplied by the relief organization.... valuable possessions of the State Library have been kept off the street... The State Library has grown," concluded Winsor, "until it is just about to burst its walls. Every conceivable housing resource has been exausted and there is no place else to go... Every conceivable space in the capitol building is occupied and some spaces that under ordinary circumstances would not be considered available -- thirty one rooms on the second, third, and fourth floors, and the attic. Many of these rooms are dark -- most of them inaccessible except at the cost of entirely too

much exertion. Never intended for library purposes, with no library conveniences, the quarters are not susceptible of successful adaptation to library uses."

Once again, the solution was obvious. "It would seem that the logical answer to this multiple problem is the construction of the long-planned west wing of the capitol ... It is quite unnecessary to suggest that the financing facilities being offered by the Federal Public Works Administration, which include outright grants of thirty per cent of the cost of approved public works projects, and the employment that would be afforded to a considerable number of mechanics and laborers, make the enterprise a timely one from these points of view."15

Unfortunately, FERA allocations were not distributed as liberally as those of the short lived CWA; nothing came of Winsor's excellent suggestion. Nor was Winsor successful in his application to the CWA shortly before it ceased functioning in March 1934 for $6,360.00 to initiate "a pretentious project for a Statewide survey having for its object the locating and listing of public archives of historical value." The project, which would have furnished employment for fifteen persons, had its inception in a plan for a nationwide survey formulated by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Social Science Research Council.16 Jane Hudgins of Phoenix Public Library and Rudolph Gjelsness of the University of Arizona Library seem to have persuaded Winsor as State Librarian to submit an application; when CWA was phased out and the Federal Emergency Relief Organization took its place, Winsor did not renew the application, "as none of the librarians interested had the time to devote to its management."17

The Arizona Democratic Party platform adopted for the 1934 election included several of the ideas promoted by Mulford Winsor not only in his legislative survey crafted for the Thirteenth State Legislature of 1933 but also in his article, "Our antiquated law - making machinery," from the January 1934 Young Democrat magazine, which argued for a unicameral state legislature. One of the strongest planks in the Democratic platform stated that a single chamber legislature "would be an experiment in government of the greatest significance." In addition, the Democratic platform called for the reorganization of the administrative branch of Arizona's government, with "the elimination of unnecessary, overlapping and duplicating agencies, and the establishment of more efficient control of the several functions performed, particularly those relating to public finances."18 Although too many vested interests were involved to bring these reforms to fruition, incumbent Governor Benjamin B. Moeur based his 1933 campaign for reelection in part on these ideas. In the general election on November 6, 1934, Benjamin B. Moeur was reelected Governor.

Governor Moeur's message to the Twelfth State Legislature, which convened on January 14, 1935, was filled with optimism, stating that "Arizona is definitely on the road to recovery" from the ravages of the Depression. In contrast to 1933's financial chaos, when state salary warrants were "mere scraps of paper being discounted from 15 to 25 percent," the state was now

fiscally sound, with salary warrants "cashable at face value." As for legislative assignments, Moeur called for legislators to "survey governmental functions with a view to consolidation of departments and elimination of much duplication of effort." Finally, he recommended that the legislature "consider for submission to the people of a constitutional provision for a one-house legislature, of much smaller membership than we now have."19 Though this was not to come about, Moeur's recommendations must have given Winsor much satisfaction, reflecting as they did his own views. Winsor continued through the spring and summer as he had done the year before to speak and write in favor of governmental reform.20

Winsor seems to have stayed close to Phoenix most of the year. Unlike his predecessor, Con Cronin, he attended no library association meetings, giving "lack of funds for travel purposes, and lack of time to travel" as his reasons.21 Asked to speak at the annual meeting of the National Association of State Libraries in Denver on June 24, he declined, instead sending a sixteen page typescript of his presentation to be read by someone else.22

Winsor continued to apply for federal relief programs which might provide direct assistance to the state library. In November 1935 a WPA funded inventory and shelf - list of the state library's contents was begun. Since this was the first thorough inventory of state library acquisitions since the institutions's inception in 1863, this mammoth project was not completed for more than a year.23 In addition, beginning early in 1936, Winsor's personal interest in Arizona history led him to agree to give office space in the State Library to the research staff of the Arizona WPA Writers' Project. This project, part of the American Guide Series, resulted in the well-known volume, Arizona: a State Guide (New York: Hastings House, 1940). Probably the fact that the project was co-sponsored by the Arizona State Teachers College at Flagstaff and the Arizona State Highway Commission, meaning that Winsor had no personal responsibility for its direction and supervision, would account for his cooperation.24

Needless to say, Winsor continued to hone his litany of cramped library quarters on every occasion; at the National Association of State Libraries meeting the previous summer he had described his desperate straits, telling the librarians, "You who are familiar with public land law will understand when I say that title to (extra) rooms was acquired through the law of accretion. As the library's space requirements expanded, and books overflowed into the rotundas and hallways, claims were filed on unused elevator shafts, light well, store-rooms -- anything and everything remotely suggesting shelf space. This was far from sufficient, so as administrative departments outgrew their accomodations in the capitol and moved elsewhere, the library promptly moved in behind. So noticeable did the practice become that a wag charged that if an official absented himself for half an hour and left his door unlocked, upon his return he would find his furniture in the hall and book-stacks occupying his quarters."25

In April the following year Winsor wrote to Senator Carl

Hayden regarding the desperate need for an addition to the state capitol building to house the library as well as the supreme court and the attorney - general's office. The state had applied for PWA assistance for this long sought project more than a year previous. Could Hayden look into the matter?26 By July, Hayden reported that the project had been approved, but federal funding had not yet been allocated for it.27

In addition to new library quarters, Winsor began a campaign for more personnel and a larger budget for library activities. As soon as results of the November 5, 1936 election were known, he wrote each member of the newly constituted Thirteenth State Legislature, extending an invitation to get acquainted with the resources of the State Library, and enclosing a special report on the facility. Although he stated that "it is our inviolable rule to do no lobbying,"28 only the most obtuse legislator could have been unaffected by Winsor's comparison of activities, facilities, budget, and personnel of the State Library of Arizona with those of other states. This well thought out, carefully researched survey of American state libraries presents a picture of current state library practice mid stream in the depression years as well as giving a thumb nail sketch of Arizona's state library. Grouping American state libraries into five groups, with New York and California ranking at the top and states such as Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Wyoming at the bottom, Winsor pointed out that states in the top group "maintain complete and elaborate legislative services -- reference, research, and bill drafting by staffs of technical experts," at an average cost per state of $290,000. Even Group 5, eleven states which simply maintained law libraries with extremely restricted service, the average library service cost was $32,600.29 In contrast, the budget for Arizona's State Library for the biennium 1934-36 was $13,800, with a one time emergency appropriation for the Legislative Bureau of $4,800.30

As for personnel, the contrast was even more telling. The library's staff of three persons: the law and legislative reference librarian, the assistant librarian, and a secretary - librarian, had not been increased in seventeen years. Nor, for the past seven years, had salaries been raised. Mulford Winsor, law and legislative reference librarian, chief executive officer of the State Library, was paid $3600, the same as his predecessor, Con Cronin. The assistant librarian received $2100. The secretary - librarian was paid $1800.31 Not only did this small staff administer the Law Library, the General Reference Library, the Arizoniana collection, the American history and biography collection, the Genealogical library, the Federal and State documents library, and a Government collection, but Winsor himself was also responsible for the Legislative Bureau's highly technical and exacting functions.

In contrast, in other state libraries, "The average expenditure for library executive services per state is $12,500... Even in states of the lowest groups, where library services are at a minimum and service to the legislature is non - existent, the average expenditure for library executives is $4,750 per state." As for the number of employees, this ranged

from 119 in the state of New York to three in the states of Nevada, Wyoming, and Arizona. "Four states have more than 50, nine states more than 25, nineteen states more than 10, thirty-one states as many as 7. In no state rendering services nearly equivalent to those rendered by the State Library of Arizona is the number of employees less than 7... The future of the State Library of Arizona -- its scope, functions, and value to the state," concluded Winsor, "is for the Legislature to determine. It is hoped that the facts herein set forth will be found of assistance in the formulation of a policy."32

Winsor's "non-lobbying" effort paid off. The Thirteenth State Legislature not only authorized nearly a $7,000 increase in the library's budget, but also the hiring of a fourth staff member. Furthermore, by act of March 19, 1937, the name of the State Library was changed to the Department of Library and Archives, reflecting its "enlarged powers and enhanced responsibilities."33 The library now included not only the State Legislative Bureau and the Library Division, but also a new division whose scope and responsibilities fit Mulford Winsor's long standing interest in Arizona history neatly: the Divison of Arizona History and Archives.34

But even greater things were to result from the activities of the Thirteenth State Legislature. On March 16, 1937, the Board of Directors of State Institutions authorized the erection of an addition to the capitol for a new State Library. (Session laws 1937, Ch. 56)

1. "An Emergency Legislature," Arizona Republic, Apr. 15, 1932.

2. Winsor to Clara Winsor, Nov. 23,1932, holograph, Eleanor W. Davis collection; also see copy of speech (31 p., holograph) given by Winsor at the October 29, 1932 Arizona State Library Association meeting, in which he jokes about the semi-monthly salary warrants "which no one will cash." Winsor collection, Box 7, folder 9, DLAPR.

3. Arizona. State Librarian. Ninth report, p. 3.

4. Ninth report, p. 4.

5. Ibid, p. 5.

6. Ibid, p. 8-9, 13.

7. Arizona. State Librarian. Tenth biennial report, 1932-34, p. 8.

8. Arizona. Eleventh State Legislature. Senate. Journal. Phoenix, 1933, p. 51.

9. "Legislative Assemblies," 51 p. mimeo typescript, Winsor collection, Box 6, no. 3, DLAPR.

10. Mulford Winsor, "The Legislative System Survey," mimeo, Winsor collection, DLAPR.

11. Robert E. Riggs, The Movement for Administrative Reorganization in Arizona, University of Arizona Press, 1964, pp. 31-34.

12. Arizona Daily Star (Tucson), Jan. 10, 1933.

13. Arizona. Session laws, 1933, ch. 22.

14. Arizona. State Librarian. Tenth biennial report, 1932-34, p. 9, 14-15.

15. Arizona. State Library. Tenth biennial report, 1932-34, p. 9-14.

16. "Library Data Survey Sought," Arizona Republic, March 2, 1934.

17. Tenth biennial report, 1932-34, p. 12.

18. Platform of the Democratic Party of Arizona, 1934, typescript, p. 13, E.W.Davis collection.

19. "Tax Measures Greatest of Solons' Tasks," Phoenix Gazette, Jan. 14, 1935.

20. For example, see "The Legislature," and "Our Antiquated law-making machinery," Phoenix Gazette, June 18, 1935; the second article is a reprint of Winsor's article which originally appeared in Young Democrat, Jan. 1934.

21. Winsor, "Report to the Arizona State Library Association," Dec. 28, 1935, p. 4, typescript, DLAPR.

22. Mulford Winsor, "Some of the Problems of Western State Libraries," typescript, 16 p., E.W.Davis collection.

23. Arizona. State Librarian. Eleventh biennial report, July 1936, p. 8; State Library report to the Arizona State Library Association, Nov. 14, 1936, p. 1, typescript, DLAPR.

24. Mulford Winsor, Report of the State Library, Arizona State Library Association, Nov. 14, 1936, p. 1.

25. Mulford Winsor, "Some of the Problems of Western State Libraries," Annual meeting, National Association of State Libraries, Denver, June 24-29, 1935, typescript, p. 6-7, DLAPR.

26. MW to Carl Hayden, Apr. 1, 1936; Hayden to MW, Apr. 8, 1936, typescript, Hayden coll., ASU.

27. Arizona. State Library. Eleventh biennial report, July 1, 1936, p. 13.

28. MW to Oscar Hamblin et al., Dec. 11, 1936, typescript copy, DLAPR.

29. Mulford Winsor, "The State Library of Arizona," 1936, p. 5-6, typescript, DLAPR.

30. Eleventh biennial report, 1934-1936, p. 9-10.

31. Mulford Winsor, "State Library," p. 4.

32. Mulford Winsor, "State Library," 1936, p. 7-8.

33. Arizona. Dept. of Library and Archives. Twelfth Biennial report, 1936-38, p. 12.

34. Arizona. Session laws, 1937, ch. 32, no. 1, p. 84. The fact that even to a casual observer this new division's activities might seem to overlap those of the Arizona Historian was not lost on a number of Arizonans, not the least of whom was William L. Rigney, just appointed to the office by Governor R. C. Stanford. In a letter to Governor Stanford, Winsor said, "Referring to our talk .... There was and is no thought of interfering with the work or usurping the functions of the Arizona Historian's department, and it is my sincere belief that the bill does not in any way affect that department. Our duties and aims, as they relate to the history of our state, are complementary to the work of the Historian and do not conflict at all. The materials we collect and preserve are, indeed, available for the use of the Historian, as they are for the use of other patrons of the Library. (M.W. to Governor R. C. Stanford, March 8, 1937, typescript, DLAPR)

XVIII. A NEW STATE LIBRARY BUILDING AND THE WPA STATEWIDE LIBRARY PROJECT: FIRST EFFORTS TOWARD LIBRARY EXTENSION

As can be imagined, the long awaited library annex took most of Mulford Winsor's time and attention during the years 1937 and 1938. Approximately $370,000 was appropriated by the State of Arizona for the construction of the new building, conditional on federal approval of a Public Works Administration grant which was to cover an additional 45% of the cost.1 On July 15, 1937, Senator Hayden telegraphed Winsor to tell him that the PWA application had finally been approved.2 A month later, another telegram arrived to tell Winsor that $137,520 of PWA funds had been allocated for the project.3 The building was on its way!

But before the first shovelful of earth was turned for the foundations, Winsor and Phoenix architect Orville A. Bell made a trip to California to inspect libraries. Leaving Marjorie Baker to oversee the completion of the long-standing WPA shelf list and inventory project and the beginning of a WPA funded newspaper abstracting - indexing project,4 the two men spent the months of September and October 1937 touring the University of California at Berkeley library, the State Library at Sacramento, the University of Southern California Library, the Los Angeles Public Library, and the Huntington Library in San Marino. They even gathered library ideas from a "well known Los Angeles hotel."5

When Winsor and Bell returned from California, bids were opened for construction. The lowest bid, $605,999.99, was submitted by Del E. Webb Construction Company. But since this bid exceeded the amount of money available, "murals, floor coverings, book stacks, booklifts, furniture, ... as well as the air conditioning plant, elevator and drinking water system were eliminated." A revised contract for $443,547.99 was awarded to Del E. Webb on December 24, 1937.6

Within two weeks, steam shovels and trucks were removing dirt from the basement foundation area. Forms for the sub-structure were placed on February 7 and concrete was poured. Winsor, of course, was a more than interested spectator. As he paused at the site on his way to the library one morning, he encountered the construction superintendent. "Never poured so much concrete into a foundation in all my thirty-five years experience," said the superintendent. "Too much." "I don't know about that," retorted Winsor, "it is meant to be able to support three additional stories." "Three, hell," shot back the builder, "it's good for thirty."7

The new annex, which still houses the state library, was located at the west end of the 1918 wing, reshaping the capitol complex into an H with the capitol building as the east leg, the west wing the crossbar, and the annex the west leg. The original exterior design of the building has been altered in recent years by the addition of a multistory government office building to the west, but as executed, the new home of the state library must have been impressive. In his 1938 report, Winsor described the building in some detail. "From a paved landing, seventy-two by twenty-seven feet, three low steps rise to a porch thirteen

feet in depth, flanked on either end by a heavy wall. This porch gives access through arched openings to a recessed lobby, surmounted by a portico rising from the second to the fourth floors and fronted by four great cylindrical columns. Except for certain modernizations the exterior conforms to the older parts of the capitol. The walls of the first story above ground are faced with native granite, the upper stories with Arizona tufa. The granite was brought from the Harcuvar mountains, seven miles northeast of Salome, Yuma county, and is pronounced by experts to be much superior to the granite of the old building, which came from South mountains, near Phoenix. The tufa was taken from the same quarry in the foothills of the Bradshaw mountains, one and a half miles northeast of Kirkland station, from which wall material was procured for the original structure ... Dimensionally, the addition is 165 feet 10 inches long by 67 feet 9 inches wide, and, inclusive of the basement, five stories high. The total gross floor space, not including the portico, but inclusive of walls, stairs, hallways and lobbies, and enhanced by mezzanine floors in library stackrooms, is 58,902 square feet."8

The new annex was designed with space for air conditioning equipment in the basement. The Attorney-General's offices were located on the first floor north of the entrance and the State Tax Commission to the south. Rooms for the Supreme Court were on the second floor, south of the east-west hallway. This left the remainder of the annex for the Department of Library and Archives, which occupied the north half of the second floor and all of the third and fourth floors. Entrance to the library was, as it is today, on the third floor, where the visitor is still confronted with the massive charging desk. Library offices were immediately behind the charging desk. To the south was the main reading room; above the reading room on the fourth floor was the archives depository. The book stacks, located north of the charging desk and office area, extended from the second through the fourth floors.

Winsor was particularly proud of the interior arrangement of the library, as this was the result of his October 1937 study of California libraries. As he put it, "The importance of an arrangement of library quarters affording physical control of all rooms, arises from the circumstance that practically every large library suffers from the surreptitious removal of valuable books. To minimize this it is necessary that visitors should come under the observation of a member of the staff both as they enter and leave, and also that rooms occupied by patrons should at all times be under supervision. The arrangement of the Department's quarters is such that visitors may enter or leave only by way of the main office entrance, while the reading rooms are so located as to be under constant scrutiny."9

Winsor concluded his 1938 report with a summary of Arizona library problems. "There should be and we hope there is," said he, "a realization that until every citizen is reached by some form of library service the State's educational system will be incomplete, and to the extent of the discrepancy the government's duty to promote an informed and enlightened citizenry will fall short of complete discharge. Many sections of Arizona are

without library service of any kind -- a condition which demands correction. We trust the day may not be far distant when every habitation in the State shall have the advantage of library facilities, either through local libraries or branches thereof, by means of bookmobiles, or at least by a mail extension service. This Department should be the center of an effective Statewide library service, and we are prepared to do our duty in assuming such a reponsibility."10

If any of the members of the Arizona State Library Association read Winsor's library report, they might have been surprised at that statement. The death of Con Cronin and the retirement of Estelle Lutrell in 1932 had almost simultaneously removed both of the Association's leaders who had fought during the 1920's to bring libraries to Arizona's far flung population. Cronin, of course, was succeeded by Mulford Winsor, an intelligent, hard working, efficient state librarian but one who demonstrated no interest in Arizona State Library Association affairs. Lutrell was succeeded as University of Arizona Library director by scholar - librarian Rudolph Gjelsness. Gjelsness, who was active both in the state association and in the American Library Association, might have provided leadership in Arizona's fight for library extension, but he remained in Arizona only five years before accepting an endowed Chair of Library Science at the University of Michigan Library School.11 The few remaining members of the Arizona State Library Association struggled simply to keep the little organization alive in the dark years of the depression.

But interest in libraries and in library extension was growing on the national scene. In June 1937 the Michigan legislature passed a bill providing a $500,000 annual appropriation for books and libraries in the state. Federal and state aid for libraries was a prime topic at the 1937 American Library Association conference in New York City.12 It seemed natural, therefore, to build the November 13, 1937 Arizona State Library Association meeting around a similar theme. Following discussion at the meeting, resolutions were passed stating that "the president of the Arizona Library Association (should) appoint two or more members in each county to comprise a citizens' library committee, who are to work with the Association in an effort to promote and develop a unified program of library service throughout the entire State." In addition, the Association agreed to "appoint a committee to investigate the possibilities of obtaining Federal aid for Arizona libraries." It is perhaps symptomatic of the Association's lack of confidence in the State Librarian as a leader in this movement -- Winsor rarely attended ASLA meetings -- that the final resolution mandated "that the Arizona Library Association appoint a committee to investigate the possibility of obtaining through the State Department of Education (underlining mine) a full time librarian to cooperate with the school libraries in coordinating library service throughout the state."13

In February 1938, John T. Eastlick, President of the Arizona State Library Association, sent a statement to all librarians in Arizona. As he phrased it, "No state could possibly need federal

aid for its libraries more than Arizona. Our problem is peculiar to all western states where the population is unevenly distributed. The people of the districts where the population is concentrated, need and demand library service, and those living in the sparsely settled areas, which comprise the greater part of the state, should not be entirely neglected. The answer to the problem of library service under such conditions is federal aid. We are not only ready to receive such aid, but we are earnestly seeking it." In order to do this, he needed up to date information on city and county libraries in Arizona.14 Eleven public libraries and the Maricopa County Library responded.15

At the annual meeting of the Arizona State Library Association on April 9, 1938, a summary report was given on results of the survey. Jane Hudgins, Librarian of the Phoenix Public Library, was appointed to chair "a committee to investigate the possibilities of obtaining Federal aid for Arizona libraries."16

Help was not long in coming. On April 14, Hudgins received a long letter from Edith Gantt of the Library Service Division, United States Office of Education filled with suggestions as to how other states had solved the problem of bringing library service to their rural areas. In addition, Gantt explained, "The Federal Aid Bill which is to be introduced into Congress very shortly ... will have a provision for federal aid to rural libraries. There will be a provision that the money must be administered through a state library agency competent to properly administer it. Therefore, in order to get the federal aid, the states which do not now have a good library extension agency such as a library commission or a trained library worker within the state library whose duty it is to carry on extension work throughout the state, will have to either establish an agency or, where the law has provision for a state library as you have, it will mean simply the employing of a trained librarian to carry on the extension library work."17

Hudgins shared the letter with William H. Carlson, Librarian at the University of Arizona. His comments are indicative of general feeling among Arizona librarians concerning the incumbent state librarian. Said Carlson, "In view of the lack of interest in general library matters on the part of the present state librarian, I hope that federal aid, if it does come, will be administered through the state superintendent of education. Certainly anyone undertaking the pioneer work which will be necessary in our state will need a sympathetic and helpful chief. I should dislike to see such an agency for state aid set up merely as a more or less undesired adjunct to the present state library."18

But Mulford Winsor had a surprise for Carlson and Hudgins. Since Marjorie Baker attended ASLA meetings regularly, Winsor could hardly have been totally unaware of Association activities. Certainly he was well aware of activities in the federal sector involving libraries. As he put it in his Thirteenth Biennial Report (July 1, 1938-June 30, 1940), "A subject which has claimed much thought on the part of librarians and a great many forward-looking citizens of Arizona is that of a statewide

library system, through the medium of which library facilities would be extended to all parts of the state. It has come to the fore so rapidly in recent years as to suggest arrival of the time when it should be given serious legislative consideration."19

In the latter part of 1938, without consulting with any of the ASLA leaders, Winsor applied for a Department of Library and Archives sponsored statewide library project to be funded by the Works Projects Administration. The Arizona project was to involve the establishment of regional libraries which would administer demonstration libraries in rural counties as well as bookmobile service to outlying areas.

Evidently ASLA officers William Carlson and Jane Hudgins knew nothing of Winsor's plans until news of federal approval of his application appeared in the newspapers on October 5. Arizona had been granted $62,160 for the support of libraries for the next five years, beginning with fiscal year 1939-40.20 Carlson wrote to Winsor, whom he had never met, expressing surprise at the project and asking for more detail.21 Winsor's reply was evasive. As he explained the matter, "This project, as you suggest, has splendid possibilities. In sponsoring it, it was my hope that it might serve as an entering wedge for a permanent policy of state aid for county or regional libraries, supplemented by an extension or traveling service through the medium of which adequate library facilities might be carried into every community, urban and rural. The subject has occupied a prominent place in my thoughts for many years, but general financial conditions, along with other problems, have prevented bringing it definitely foward for legislative consideration.

"The success of the project, as I view the matter, depends almost entirely upon the quality of its management, which means, in the final analysis, that there must be at its head an unusually capable State Director -- one who is not only well versed in library technique, but who is enthusiastic, energetic, agressive without being offensive, and above all a first-class salesman. The project must be sold to the communities, and to the local officials. The first and most vital duty is to find the right person for this job ...

"As soon as the matter of tenure has been ironed out, we must get together."22

In the next month, Winsor called Carlson and Hudgins to work with him as members of the newly constituted State Board of Library Examiners as advisors for the new project. The Board met on December 21 to select a state supervisor and to review plans. "After the program is organized, Winsor said, between $10,000 and $20,000 will be used to purchase books. The movement was expected to be started in Pima or Coconino county, with supplies of books placed in country stores and other locations easily accessible to the greatest number of persons. Ten or more units will be established at strategic points in the state, Winsor said, with traveling libraries serving surrounding areas."23

A letter from Senator Carl Hayden to Mulford Winsor shortly after the start of the year 1939 telling him that WPA workers in Arizona were to be cut from 11,400 to 3900 by June 1939 24 might have given Winsor an intimation of trouble ahead for the

incipient WPA Statewide Library Project. However, the opening of the Fourteenth State Legislature on January 9 together with delays in completion of the new library building occupied most of his attention.

The library building construction completion date, originally set for September 29, 1938, had been extended first to January 31, 1939, and then to March 24, 1939. When the building was finally declared ready for occupancy, because of shortage of funding, more than half of the stack area lacked tile or linoleum covering for the concrete flooring. In addition, a compressor was omitted from the air conditioning plant, leaving stack rooms, shipping and repair room, law library, study room, genealogy reading room, and part of the main reading room with neither heating nor cooling.25 But nonetheless, early in April 1939 the shifting of library materials from their old cramped quarters in thirty one small rooms of the old capitol annex began. By the first of May, though the new library offices were not yet ready for occupancy, a stream of visitors from all parts of the country came to see the library's grand new quarters. They had to be shown through individually, since no one was yet available to staff the circulation area at the entrance.26

Before the Legislature adjourned on March 13, Senate Bill 2, transferring the office of Arizona Historian to the Division of Arizona History and Archives in the State Department of Library and Archives was passed. (Session laws 1939, Ch. 83, no. 2, p. 261) William L. Rigney, real estate broker and former legislator, appointed Historian by Governor R. C. Stanford on January 14, 1937, had done nothing of significance during his two year tenure.27 The move to abolish the position and merge the collections of the Arizona Historian's office with those of the Division of Arizona History was well advised. Alice B. Good, who had been with the Library since August 1933, was named Arizona History and Archives assistant, in charge of the combined collections which now numbered more than 5,000 titles.28

The satisfaction which Mulford Winsor felt in the merger of the Historian's office with the Department of Library and Archives is evident in a statement from his Fourteenth biennial report issued three years after the transfer. "For me," said he, "...this action had a personal as well as official significance. In 1909 I was named by the late Governor Joseph H. Kibbey, under the authority of an Act passed by the last Territorial legislature, to be the first Arizona Historian. In 1939, thirty years later, when the responsibility came again to me, I accepted it, I am happy to say, with the same enthusiasm, and with the same deep sense of its importance that imbued me on the former occasion. The feeling I likewise hold of the sacredness of the trust imposed is even more pronounced today, for with each passing year the duty becomes increasingly imperative -- and difficult -- to save from oblivion the truths of the stirring deeds, sacrifices and achievements of old Arizona's trailbreakers and builders; to piece together the exciting stories of the country's redemption from human savagery; to gather up the romantic threads of many a thrilling victory over nature's adverse forces and the development of a

raw land's resources and industries.

"No effort has been spared, nothing within the scope of the Division's powers or resources has been omitted to perform this duty."29

Unhappily, however, one important facet of the building of a strong library of Arizona history, the WPA Newspaper Indexing Project begun in September 1937 under the direction of Alice B. Hewins had been merged with the not yet functioning WPA Statewide Library Project and had ceased operations.30 The completion of this impressive index, consisting presently of some 50,000 cards in the reading room of the state library, would have been of inestimable value to researchers in Arizona history; even in its incomplete state it is a resource which must be checked by anyone working in the area of Arizona history.

From the first, delays plagued the WPA library project. Difficulties in finding an Arizona librarian qualified to direct the project as well as snarls of WPA instigated red tape were temporarily resolved in March when Patience Golter, Children's Librarian at the Phoenix Public Library, was given a leave of absence to serve as temporary director until July 1, 1939. A professionally trained librarian, Elma I. Courter, was induced to give up her position as librarian at Arizona State Teachers College, Flagstaff, to direct the project after that time.31

The theme of the thirteenth annual Arizona State Library Association meeting, held at the Adams Hotel in Phoenix on April 1, was the Statewide WPA Library Program for Arizona. Agnes Hunt Parke, WPA State Director of Professional Women's Projects, who seems to have been the cause of many of the roadblocks to a successful outcome of the program, explained how the state project might be set up. Mulford Winsor, as State Library sponsor of the project, discussed the State Library's part in the program. Jane Hudgins, member of the State Board of Library Examiners responsible for chosing the program director, spoke on WPA work in Arizona's public libraries.32

The State Library Association discussion, necessarily general in nature, did nothing to move the project along. In May, Winsor noted to his friend Congressional Representative John R. Murdock that the project was "languishing."33 On Murdock's suggestion, Winsor met with W. J. Jamieson, Arizona State Administrator for WPA projects. Nothing happened. In July, Edward A. Chapman, national Library Consultant of the WPA, met with Winsor and then with Jamieson. Chapman assured Winsor that "immediate action" would follow. Nothing happened.34

Instead of taking over the project as planned on July 1, Elma Courter seems to have spent the summer in Glasgow, Scotland. With the escalation of hostilities that was to lead to the declaration of war by Great Britain and France on Germany on September 1, 1939, it might have seemed an untoward season for an ocean voyage. In fact, Courter narrowly escaped taking passage on the ill fated Athenia which was sunk by German submarines during the first week in September. But she arrived safely in New York City on September 12, 35 and by October 2, was ready to start work as director of the Statewide WPA Library Project.36

As planned, Courter was to have been assisted by four

professional non-relief librarians and a cadre of WPA workers. They were to set up demonstration libraries in rural areas of the state where no library service had previously been available, securing as much local financing as possible, with the goal of eventually making the libraries self supporting.37 But as soon as Courter began her work, she encountered problems. She discovered that not only was she required to supervise the Statewide Library Project; she was also expected to direct the school library project and two related projects in the Phoenix and Maricopa County libraries.38 Worse still, after much publicity about the benefits to rural areas of the project, Courter discovered the realities of WPA mandated labor quotas. Under WPA regulations, each state was assigned a quota of laborers for a definite period of time. This quota was subdivided into districts by the State WPA directors, who then further subdivided the district quota by projects. No matter how much money had been alloted to a project, it could not be used if the "quota" did not permit it. Furthermore, if a district's quota was full, or if no one was available on the WPA certified roll at that location, the project could not be started. Nor could a qualified worker be transferred from one district to another, even if they were willing to relocate. Because of these complex and arbitrary regulations, only Pima and Maricopa Counties -- already Arizona's two most library minded counties -- could participate in the program.39

Just as serious, from Mulford Winsor's point of view, was the fact that as soon as the project opened, "numerous vital policies were put into effect, including... the burdening of the Statewide Library Project with workers who had no right on its payroll... In no instance was the sponsor (the State Department of Library and Archives) consulted. Everything indicated the philosophy that after the Project was opened, the sponsor had served his purpose; henceforth, what went on was no concern of his...

"The WPA attitude towards the Board of Library Examiners was to all intents and purposes the same. In the beginning ... it was declared that the Board's nomination was necessary before a professional or non-certified worker could be employed... How different WPA position after the Project was opened. Mrs. Parke's letters of the last few months emphasize that the Board's functions were purely advisory, and the clear implication is that while 'welcome,' they were wholly unnecessary. The climax of this post-opening attitude came with the reply we received to our series of pertinent queries... We were told, in effect, that the questions would be answered as the situations arose, and in accordance with WPA regulations."40

By the first of the year 1940, the project had nineteen workers in Phoenix (fourteen transferred from a previous WPA project for increasing library service in Phoenix), one in Mesa Public Library, one in Glendale Public Library, one in Peoria Public Library, one in Buckeye High School -- all in Maricopa County -- and one in Flagstaff Public Library. Elma Courter was the only trained librarian on the project. Her efforts to set up demonstration library projects in rural counties of the state

had been met with frustration. As for building a book collection for the project, Courter's book order was still on the WPA project director's desk five months after she had turned it in.41 At the end of January, Courter turned in her resignation, effective March 15, 1940.42

The theme of annual Arizona State Library Association meeting of March 16, 1940 was the future of Arizona librarianship. William H. Carlson, University of Arizona Librarian and President of ASLA, asked Mulford Winsor to participate in a round table discussion on the topic. In order that Winsor might prepare for Carlson's questions, they were submitted to him in advance. The questions, ranging from how a more extensive and complete library service in the state might be achieved to the possibilities of legislative action and appropriations for Arizona libraries, indicate Carlson's views; from Winsor's response, he seems to have been comfortable with them.43

In addition, since at the time of the conference, no successor had been appointed to take Courter's place as director of the WPA library project, Carlson asked her to report on the project. She agreed.44 With the program printed and final arrangements made, Carlson thought he could relax. But disaster was waiting in the wings in the person of one Agnes Hunt Parke, State Director of the WPA Professional and Service Division, WPA supervisor of the State Library Project. Three days before the conference she wrote Carlson, expressing her surprise that Coulter was scheduled to speak at the ASLA meeting. She demanded that Coulter submit a copy of her talk for clearance before it was given. Her reaction was predictable. Said she, "It is the opinion of... our Division that the proposed talk of Miss Courter, copy of which is enclosed herewith, does not suitably represent this organization. Since Miss Courter (who had resigned as of March 15) cannot officially represent (at the ASLA meeting on March 16) an organization with which she will no longer be affiliated, we suggest for your consideration the name of Mr. Fred D. McDonald, Supervisor of Community Service Projects, including Library Projects, as an alternate speaker."45

Minutes of the ASLA meeting of March 16 simply state tersely that "Mr. F. D. McDonald, Asst. Director of W.P.A. Projects, presented a report of the progress made in the W.P.A. Statewide Library Project."46 Whether Elma Courter was present, or how widely Carlson's copy of her proposed speech was circulated, is not known. On March 19, 1940, the three members of the State Board of Library Examiners (Mulford Winsor, William H. Carlson, and Jane Hudgins) resigned.47 On March 23, Winsor notified the agency that the Department of Library and Archives could no longer sponsor the project.48

As Winsor summarized the matter in his brief account of the WPA Statewide Library Program in his report to the legislature at the end of the fiscal year, "What ofttimes happens 'to the wisest plans of mice and men' is not news."49

1. Arizona. Dept. of Library and Archives. Twelfth Biennial Report, July 1, 1936-June 30, 1938, p. 3-4.

2. Hayden to MW, July 15, 1937, telegraph, Hayden file, DLAPR.

3. Hayden to MW, Aug. 25, 1937, telegraph, Hayden file, DLAPR.

4. Twelfth biennial report, p. 18.

5. Ibid, p. 2, 6.

6. Ibid, p. 11.

7. Mulford Winsor, "In the Director's Den," State Library Newsletter, July 1938, p. 2.

8. Twelfth biennial report, p. 4-5.

9. Ibid, p. 6-7.

10. Ibid.

11. Rudolph Gjelsness to Emma Dutcher, Oct. 30, 1937, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

12. Ibid.

13. Arizona State Library Association. Minutes of annual meeting, Nov. 13, 1937, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

14. John T. Eastlick, "To the Librarians... in the State of Arizona," Feb. 18, 1938, mimeo, ASLA file, DLAPR.

15. Arizona State Library Association. Statistical Survey of Public Libraries, Arizona. 1938. ASLA file, DLAPR.

16. Arizona State Library Association. Minutes of the annual meeting, Phoenix, Apr. 9, 1938. ASLA file, DLAPR.

17. Edith Gantt to Jane Hudgins, Apr. 14, 1938, typescript, ASLA file, DLAPR.

18. William H. Carlson to Jane Hudgins, May 24, 1938, typescript, ALSA files, DLAPR.

19. Arizona. Dept. of Library and Archives. Thirteenth biennial report, July 1, 1938-June 30, 1940, p. 21.

20. "Library Fund for Arizona is Urged," Arizona Gazette, Oct. 5, 1938.

21. William H. Carlson to MW, Oct. 28, 1938, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

22. MW to William Carlson, Nov. 1, 1938, typescript copy, ASLA file, DLAPR.

23. "Rural Library Plans Studied," Phoenix Gazette, Dec. 22, 1938.

24. Hayden to MW, Jan. 30, 1939, typescript, Hayden file, DLAPR.

25. Thirteenth biennial report, p. 6-7.

26. Winsor to Hayden, May 17, 1939, stated that "We are now in the unique situation of having practically our entire library moved, while our offices are not moved, pending a thorough cleaning of the new building ... In the meantime we are having to keep our library strictly under lock and key, and to travel back and forth to get each book wanted." Hayden file, DLAPR.

27. J. Morris Richards, Arizona's Official Historians. Phoenix, July 1980, p. 79-80. Typescript, DLAPR.

28. Thirteenth biennial report, p. 16.

29. Arizona. Department of Library and Archives. Fourteenth biennial report, July 1, 1942, p. 10.

30. MW to Hayden, May 4, 1939; Dec. 26, 1940, typescript copies, Hayden file, DLAPR.

31. Unsigned letter to Elma I. Courter, March 18, 1939, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

32. Arizona State Library Association. Proceedings of the 13th annual conference, Apr. 1, 1939, p. 2. Typescript, ASLA file, DLAPR.

33. Murdock to Winsor, May 29, 1939, typescript, DLAPR.

34. Winsor to Murdock, Aug. 7, 1939, typescript copy, DLAPR; also Winsor to William H. Carlson, March 29, 1940, typescript, DLAPR, in which he summarizes his frustration with the obfuscation of the local WPA officers regarding the project.

35. MW to Carlson, Sept. 25, 1939, typescript copy, DLAPR.

36. MW to Carlson, Oct. 28, 1939.

37. William H. Carlson, "Books for All Arizona," Radio talk given on Station KVOA and state hook-up, Jan. 2, 1940, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

38. MW to Carlson, March 27, 1940, typescript copy, DLAPR.

39. Elma I. Courter, "The WPA State-Wide Library Project: a progress report. Prepared for presentation at the ASLA meeting, March 16, 1940. Typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

40. MW to Carlson, March 29, 1940, typescript copy, DLAPR.

41. Courter, "WPA State-Wide Library Project," March 16, 1940, p. 3, ASLA file, DLAPR.

42. W. H. Carlson to Patience K. Golter, Phoenix Public Library, Feb. 6, 1940, typescript, ASLA file, DLAPR.

43. Carlson to Winsor, March 8, 1940; Winsor to Carlson, March 11, 1940, typescript copies, ASLA file, DLAPR.

44. W.H. Carlson to Elma I. Courter, March 1, 1940, and Courter to Carlson, March 2, 1940, typescript, ASLA file, DLAPR.

45. Agnes Hunt Parker to W. H. Carlson, March 13, 1940, typescript; Elma I. Courter, "The WPA State-Wide Library Project, a progress report," typescript, 4 p., ASLA file, DLAPR.

46. Arizona State Library Association. Minutes of the annual conference, March 16, 1940, p. 2. ASLA file, DLAPR.

47. W.H. Carlson to MW, March 19, 1940, typescript, and Winsor to Carlson, March 19, 1940, typescript copy, ASLA file, DLAPR.

48. Winsor to Carl Hayden, Aug. 5, 1940, typescript copy, Hayden file, DLAPR.

49. Thirteenth biennial report, July 1, 1938-June 30, 1940, p. 23.

XIX. A NATION AT WAR: ARIZONA'S LIBRARIES, 1941-44

The rest of the year 1940 passed relatively quietly. Winsor took several weeks off in July, the first real vacation he had allowed himself since he had taken over as director of the Department of Library and Archives. He spent the time working in his Yuma date garden, one of the joys of his life since he had acquired it on his birthday, May 31, 1921.1 In the twenty years since Winsor first turned water from the Unit B canal of the Yuma Mesa Auxiliary project onto his two hundred forty acre tract, he had developed, as he judged it, "about the world's finest date garden,"2 so fine, in fact, that he hoped shortly to begin to sell dates commercially.3

While he was out of town, his legislative assistant, Larry Davis, served as acting director of the library.4 Davis had become increasingly invaluable to the work of the library; not only was he adept at drafting bills for legislators, but also he was responsible for a "Guide to Legislative Drafting in Arizona,"5 a regular series, "Facts & Figures," about the activities of each legislature,6 and a series of legislative briefs on subjects of interest to the legislature. With war imminent for the United States, young men were being drafted for the armed forces in increasing numbers. Although Winsor, at the age of sixty six, was not at risk, Davis was definitely vulnerable. Short staffed as the library was, this would have been a real problem. Therefore, it was with a sense of heartfelt relief that Winsor learned at the end of the year that his assistant had been deferred as physically unfit. As he put it, "I really believe the army can get along without him better than we can at this juncture."7

It was just as well that Winsor had no notion of what the coming year would bring for his bright, able assistant. Larry Davis fell in love with Winsor's daughter, Eleanor, and on August 2, 1941, they were married. Under state government nepotism rules, Winsor was forced to discharge Davis.

But this was in the future. In the meanwhile, Winsor turned his attention to preparing for the Fifteenth Legislative session, which began January 13, 1941. This year he began a practice which he continued for the rest of his life. Just before the legislative session began, he sent a complimentary two pound box of his own Persian Garden Dates to each legislator with a brief welcoming note.8 This, no doubt he presumed, would serve to make the legislators view the library with favor, particularly when it came time for the vital appropriations bill. Despite the dates, however, because of war time funding priorities, the library budget was drastically cut. Winsor's desperation is evident in his "solemn assurance" to Frank W. Sharpe, Jr., chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, that "the job cannot be done efficiently, by any human agency, with the sum proposed," and that "the amount allocated to 'repairs and replacements' is insufficient to procure even the servicing of our typewriters."9 But neither dates nor arguments served to move the Committee on Appropriations and the library limped along for the next two years by cancelling continuing orders,

discontinuing periodical subscriptions, and abandoning short term projects, in the same way they had gotten by during the worst of the depression years.10

Once the legislative session was at an end, Winsor turned his attention to more pleasant matters. The old Yuma Territorial Prison, abandoned after the prison was moved to Florence in 1909, had recently been restored by a group of public spirited Yuma citizens. On Sunday, March 30, 1941, the new Yuma Territorial Prison Museum was dedicated, with Mulford Winsor as principal speaker. Since Yuma had been his home since 1895, few in his audience knew the old prison better than he, both as a Yuma citizen and as a newspaper man. Thus, who could better bring to life the prison of old, with its silent figures clad in black and yellow, the "snake den" carved deep in a granite hill where recalcitrant prisoners were confined, the women's quarters, the quarry, the insufferable heat which made the place an inferno... Mulford Winsor remembered it all. But best of all was the final disposition of the old prison as a museum. In particular, said Winsor, "I compliment you upon the advance made in the selection of a custodian of the institution. In the days of the old Superintendents, ... there was no such Warden as your charming hostess."11 The custodian of the Old Prison Museum was none other than Winsor's estranged wife, Clara Winsor, who served at the Prison Museum with grace and charm for the next quarter of a century.

The Arizona State Library Conference, held April 5, 1941, in Phoenix, found Mulford Winsor opening the doors of the State Library to the visiting librarians for a special tour. In addition, he participated as a member of a panel on the topic of library needs in Arizona, chaired by his friendly colleague from the University of Arizona Library, William H. Carlson. Carlson summarized the state of Arizona's libraries, citing growing interest and desire for library service by citizens in unserved areas of Arizona, which was balanced by the almost complete failure of the WPA project, now headed by Rosetta Thurston - Cowan and based at Arizona State Teachers' College, Tempe. How could speeches and plans of past years be translated into a real program of action? That was the question.12 But none of the librarians at the meeting seemed able to come up with an answer, and worse still, the average Arizona citizen did not seem to care. As international horrors screamed from daily headlines, the lowering clouds of war on the horizon swept all lesser matters before them. The registration of aliens, the callup of the National Guard, food stamps, rationing, conscription, spy scares, a resurgence of the old fear of a Japanese invasion of Arizona through Mexico -- fears, actual and imagined, held everyone's attention to the exclusion of all else. And then came the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, on Sunday, December 7, 1941, and the United States entry into the war.

Mulford Winsor spent the holidays that year in San Francisco with his daughter, Eleanor, her new husband, Larry Davis, and Eleanor's three children, Mary, Joanne, and Jeannie. Eleanor recalls that her father had trouble swallowing and seemed to suffer with his throat most of the time he was with them.13 When

he returned to Phoenix in January, he went to see Dr. Ketcherside. He was admitted to the Good Samaritan Hospital on January 17, 1942 and operated on on January 21. His condition was serious enough following the operation that he had special nurses day and night until January 23; he remained in the hospital until February 10, a total of twenty four days.14 After he went home to his small apartment at 1629 W. Madison Street, he convalesced until March 4, when he returned to work -- but not full time. As he told his friend Carl Hayden the following day, "As yet nothing has happened to me that could not be overcome by skillful surgeons and right living, both of which I have invoked. Yesterday I returned to my desk and took up where I left off, but find that it is not practicable to take up for too long at a time. The spirit is willing, but the flesh gets darn tired."15

With the nation at war, war related activities took precedence over normal library affairs. A special war session of the state legislature held in April drained the resources of the short staffed and underfunded state library. In addition, men from the armed forces stationed in Phoenix used the library's information resources, adding to the work load of the reference librarian.16

Not until May did Winsor succeed in replacing his legislative bureau assistant. At this time a young lawyer from Safford, Eugene Mangum, joined his staff. By September, Winsor was able to say, rather warily, "I have hopes that in due time he will become a valuable man."17 Unfortunately, before the end of the year and the beginning of the Sixteenth Legislative session in January 1943, Mangum left to take a higher paying position, leaving Winsor once again to shoulder the heavy demands of the legislative bureau alone.18

Summer in the only partially air conditioned library brought not only heat and dust, with stack room temperatures sometimes actually soaring to 136 degrees.19 However, an infestation of buffalo beetles which, as Winsor phrased it, "hastened to lay waste the carpet countryside," not only in the library but throughout the entire capitol building seemed almost as bad. Winsor's request that the building be sprayed was greeted with the answer that there was no money. Winsor spent part of the library's allocation to have the library sprayed; as he put it, "the war of defense was vigorously begun and has been continually waged to the present time," since as long as other offices were infested, the beetles would reappear. But worse was to happen. With the beginning of the monsoon season in July, the "temporary" roof which covered the library annex began to leak, with water finding its way through the asbestos roofing to "ceilings, walls, floors, bookstacks, furniture, equipment and accessories, and even to the books themselves." Money for repair had to come from the Department's slim budget. As Winsor pointed out, "The potentialities of disaster lurking in this situation are very great. No mention will be made of this Director's loss of sleep on nights when the rain was coming through."20

Lacking both a Legislative Bureau assistant and a secretary, Winsor coped as best he could with legislative requests for information and bill drafting during the Sixteenth Legislature.21

Worn out by the end of the session on March 14, 1943, he tried to put the library's affairs in such order that he could take several weeks off to vacation in northern Arizona. "But," as he put it in a letter to his daughter Eleanor in October, "owing to the conspicuous and total lack of a Legislative Bureau Assistant and the turn-over in other staff members it just couldn't be done." Worse still, the most experienced librarian on the staff, Marjorie Baker, left, leaving only Winsor and Alice B. Good as a professional staff members. In recognition of her fine record, on July 1, 1943, Good's title was advanced to Librarian and her pay was increased to $2,400. 22

Because of wartime gasoline and automobile tire rationing, the 1943 Arizona State Library Association meeting was cancelled. To substitute, President Frederick Cromwell solicited library news for publication in Arizona Library News. In addition, the April 1943 issue of the periodical contains the first complete Arizona library directory published to that time. Further, a series of local Institutes on War and Post-War Issues to help librarians inform themselves about wartime issues began in Phoenix on April 11, under the direction of Dixie Thompson, Osborn School Librarian.23

In the midst of war related activities, the possibility of federal aid for libraries was raised by Julia Wright Merrill of the American Library Association. Writing to Frederick Cromwell, President of the Arizona State Library Association, she told him of a bill, drafted by a group from ALA in response to the request of the Congressman from North Carolina, "for the maintenance of public library service in rural areas and in areas rapidly expanded by the impact of the war effort and for equalization of educational opportunities through library service." If passed by Congress, the bill authorized the appropriation of $5,000,000 - $10,000,000 annually to be allocated to State Library Extension agencies for library extension.

"We are not overly optimistic about the prospect of success," Merrill continued, but in order to be prepared for contingencies, she wanted Cromwell to confer with the head of the state library agency to decide who would serve as the state representative to ALA's Federal Relations Committee, this person to disseminate information and to give publicity to the movement when asked.24 Mulford Winsor agreed to do this.25

It would seem that Frederick Cromwell favored library extension work through the existing Arizona County Library pattern. As he told Winsor, "It is my opinion, and probably yours, that any such extension development should be under the State Library as the coordinating office with most of the actual service being given through County libraries. I think also that it would take very little money for the county supervisors, even aside from any Federal aid, to set up the chief town library in the county as a City & County library. Two thousand dollars a year, and the consent of the city, should be ample in most of the less populated counties to start the system going, and once it is started it should develop properly."26 Winsor agreed, though he cautioned that "the situation requires some change in our present county free library law."27

Winsor's interest in the matter is evident from his carefully crafted article, "Rural Library Service and Amendment of the County Free Library Law," which appeared in the November 1943 issue of Arizona Library News (p. 4-6). Reviewing the history of the County Free Library Law of 1929, he stated that the fact that only Maricopa County had taken advantage of the law since its passage led him to conclude that its failure could be ascribed to several causes: "(a) limited ... taxable resources ...; (b) legal restrictions preventing increases in county budgets, or (c) lack of library consciousness on the part of the county supervisors, perhaps reflecting a similar lack of interest on the part of ... the county's population." The solution, in his opinion was that "The county free library law should be amended... to provide for the extension of State aid, through a central library agency, to county free libraries ... This State aid might take the form both of direct financial support and of periodic book loans from the central agency. The cost of such a program need not be great, while the dividends in a better rounded education for the young people and a better informed democratic citizenry would be many times more than that cost."

In January 1944, ASLA President Frederick Cromwell asked Evangeline S. Berryman, capable Maricopa County Librarian, to chair a standing committee composed of one member from each of Arizona's counties to promote the county library movement in Arizona.28 Burdened by illness and unexpected family responsibilities, Berryman did little more than form the committee.29

Once again, wartime difficulties caused cancelation of the annual Arizona State Library Association meeting. But several smaller regional meetings seem to have taken place. Among these was a dinner meeting of the Salt River Valley Librarians' Association, held Friday, April 21, 1944. At the awards ceremony following the dinner Mulford Winsor was given an award of merit for "outstanding service toward the progress of libraries in the Salt River Valley." The citation was presented by Evangeline S. Berryman, who called him "our advisor and counselor." Continuing, she said, "Mr. Winsor's interest in the growth of County Libraries throughout Arizona is known by all of us ... I have talked to him of his vision for the future of the Arizona State Library and his dreams of a County Library in every county in Arizona. I believe Mr. Winsor will unit his efforts with ours to make these visions and dreams become realities when peace time conditions once more prevail."30

In a mail ballot for election of new ASLA officers in March 1944, Dixie Thompson, librarian of Osborn School, Phoenix, was elected president, with Harold W. Batchelor, the new director of Arizona State Teachers College Library, Tempe, as first vice president. Thompson seems to have lost no time in making contact with Julia Wright Merrill of the American Library Association regarding state aid for Arizona libraries. Merrill's response was to the point. "The first step," said she, "would be to persuade the legislature to create a state agency charged with the extension and development of public library service. Arizona

is at present the only state which lacks such an agency though it has a state library. Mr. Winsor has written me quite definitely that the law does not give the state library either authority or responsibility for leading in statewide development." (italics mine)

Thompson's next move was to confer with Mulford Winsor, who suggested she set up a committee to attempt to secure state aid during the next legislature. What Thompson thought of Mulford Winsor at that time is not clear. Surely, if she had seen it, she should have appreciated the the support he gave to library extension in the final section of his biennial report for 1942-44. As he summarized the topic, "The State Library Association has for a number of years had on its agenda the subject of wider and better equalized library service. Of late this interest, spurred by citizen demand, has become more vocal. It is likely that the growing movement will find expression in a proposal for remedial legislation -- perhaps for state aid to local libraries... perhaps for library extension, or perhaps for a combination of the two. Whatever type of legislation may be proposed, the subject is one worthy of the Legislature's most serious consideration. In the matter of library service to its citizens, Arizona, to its discredit, is one of the lowest ranking states in the nation." 31

Shortly after he completed his mandated biennial report, Mulford Winsor took a month off. He had passed his seventieth birthday that spring, and was feeling the effects of his age as well as the strains and worries of keeping his understaffed department going. His doctor ordered him to go somewhere for rest and relaxation. What better place than the cool pines of Prescott?32 He was made welcome by Grace Sparkes, ubiquitous secretary of the Yavapai Chamber of Commerce as well as secretary to the Prescott Historical Society and great good friend to Sharlot Hall, who had died the year before. She seems to have been a woman who enjoyed taking people under her wing; as she had looked after Sharlot, in a small way she seems to have done her best to look after Mulford. She invited him to address the July meeting of the Historical Society and offered to take him to stay at her cabin on the Hassayampa River. The cabin trip didn't work out, but Winsor relaxed and thoroughly enjoyed renewing acquaintance with old timers he had known in his Prescott youth and marveling at changes that had come to the city since he had left it in 1895.33 He returned to Phoenix about the end of August, relaxed and renewed for the months of preparation for the next session of the State Legislature.

1. MW to Hayden, Aug. 5, 1940, typescript copy, Hayden file, DLAPR.

2. MW to Hayden, March 23, 1943, typescript copy, Hayden file, DLAPR.

3. MW to W.S. Rosenbaum, Jan. 7, 1941, typescript copy, Winsor file, DLAPR.

4. Lawrence H. Davis to C. Hayden, July 15, 1940, typescript copy, Hayden file, DLAPR.

5. Davis, Guide to Legislative Drafting (Phoenix: State Legislative Bureau, 1941. 47 p. Also in Arizona Newsletter, Jan. 1941.

6. Arizona Newsletter, April 1941, etc.

7. MW to Frank W. Sharpe, Jr., Dec. 20, 1940, typescript copy, DLAPR.

8. Letters to legislators with their responses are in Winsor file, DLAPR.

9. MW to Frank W. Sharpe, Feb. 21, 1941.

10. MW to Lloyd Henning, Apr. 23, 1941, Winsor file, DLAPR.

11. Mulford Winsor, "Address delivered on March 30, 1941, at the dedication of the Old Prison Museum," 5 p., typescript, Winsor file, Box 7, folder 11, DLAPR.

12. William H. Carlson, "Panel Survey of Needs of Libraries and Library Service in Arizona," Arizona State Library Association Convention, Apr. 5, 1941, 3 p. typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

13. Eleanor W. Davis, reminiscences, EWD notebook 1940-55.

14. Hospital bills, MW file, Box 7, folder 8, DLAPR.

15. MW to Hayden, March 5, 1942, typescript copy, Hayden file, DLAPR.

16. "Report of the State Department of Library and Archives," Arizona Library News, v. 2, no. 2, 1942, year end issue, p. 5-6.

17. MW to Frank W. Sharpe, Jr., Sept. 18, 1942, typescript copy, DLAPR.

18. Arizona. Dept. of Library and Archives. Report, July 1-1942-June 30, 1944, p. 9.

19. MW to Leonard Klein, July 22, 1942, typescript copy, DLAPR.

20. Report, 1942-44, p. 16-17.

21. MW to Hayden, May 6, 1943, Hayden file, DLAPR.

22. MW to Eleanor W. Davis, Oct. 17, 1943, typescript, EWD collection.

23. "Worth of Institutes on War and Post-War Issues is Revealed," Arizona Library News, v. 2, no. 3 (Apr. 1943), p. 1-2.

24. Julia Wright Merrill to F. Cromwell, June 18, 1943, ASLA files, DLAPR.

25. MW to F. Cromwell, June 23, 1943, ASLA files, DLAPR.

26. Cromwell to Winsor, June 22, 1943, typescript, ASLA file, DLAPR.

27. MW to Cromwell, June 23, 1943, typescript copy, ASLA file, DLAPR.

28. Cromwell to Berryman, Jan. 13, 1944, typescript copy, ASLA file, DLAPR.

29. Berryman to Cromwell, May 2, 1944.

30. "Salt River Valley Librarians' Assocation," Arizona Library News, v. 3 (May 1944), p. 8.

31. Report, 1942-544, p. 20.

32. Mulford Winsor, untitled speech probably given at the July 1944 meeting of the Prescott Historical Society, holograph, pencil, 14 p., E.W. Davis collection.

33. MW to Grace Sparkes, Aug. 31, 1944, tykpescript copy, Winsor file, DLAPR.

XX. STATE AID FOR ARIZONA'S LIBRARIES? 1945-1949

Following her meeting with Mulford Winsor in the spring of 1944, ASLA President Dixie Thompson established an ad hoc Committee on State Aid, composed of Evangeline S. Berryman, Patience Golter, Alvida Hansen, Jane Hudgins, Gertrude James, Marie Siedentopf, Dixie Thompson, and Mulford Winsor, with Harold W. Batchelor as chairman.1 Although Winsor was in Prescott for most of the summer, the group met every other week, comparing laws for state libraries, extension agencies, county libraries, and state aid to libraries throughout the United States. They also gathered population and financial statistics for each Arizona county. By fall they had decided on provisions which should be included in the bill. They then took a rough draft to Winsor for advise and help with drafting. As he had suggested in his earlier article, "Rural Library Service and Amendment of the County Free Library Law,"2 Winsor favored "a formula for state aid to be given to each county in direct proportion to area, and inverse proportion to population and assessed valuation." The ASLA sponsored bill incorporated Winsor's ideas.3

The Seventeenth Legislature convened on January 8, 1945. On Saturday, January 13, Winsor returned the finished library bill to ASLA President Dixie Thompson.4 Thompson called a special meeting of the Arizona State Library Association on Saturday, January 20, at the Phoenix Public Library to consider the bill; it was approved by members present.5 "An Act Relating to Libraries; Providing for the Equalization and Extension of Library Service, and Making an Appropriation," House Bill 87, was introduced by L. D. McDonald and Owen A. Kane of Maricopa, K. W. Lines of Graham, R. H. Forbes of Pima, Don F. Riggs of Apache, and Clara Botzum and N. S. McCallum of Yuma. As was customary, it was assigned to four House committees: Judiciary, Education, Institutional Reorganization, and Appropriations.6

The library bill was supported both by the Congress of Parents and Teachers and the Arizona Education Association, which said of it, "The Library Equalization and Extension Act of 1945 is designed to remedy the deplorable situation which finds Arizona ranking with the block of states which provide their citizens inadequate library facilities. The Bill calls for the modest appropriation of 25c per capita of the population of the state ($44,549.00) with which to provide for the equalization and extension of library service. As may be readily seen, the enactment of this bill would be a great boon to citizens in the more sparsely settled areas of Arizona ... Everyone can conscientiously support this measure..."7 It was voted out of the Judiciary, Education, and Institutional Reorganization Committees favorably, but Leonard Klein of Yavapai, chair of the Appropriations Committee, refused to send the bill from his committee to the floor. Dixie Thompson requested a hearing before the committee. As she recalled the meeting, "Klein said he had a whole folder of letters favoring the passage of the bill and that he had never seen a bill any better handled or lobbied.... 'NOT THAT IT WILL DO YOU ANY GOOD,' he said. (caps Thompson's) ... If you have followed the papers concerning the activities of the

legislature you have noted that not ONE (caps Thompson's) post war bill has passed. They say they want to go on record as the legislature that appropriated NO MONEY, (caps Thompson's) or as little as possible... Klein represents the mining interest and he HAS to keep taxes down! ...

"Mr. Winsor, State Librarian, has been very pleased with our efforts, saying that ALL had been done that COULD have been done on our part..."8

Klein refused to send the bill from the Appropriations Committee to the floor of the House, effectively killing it. Whether Winsor had spoken to his legislative colleagues in favor of the bill is not known.

Newly elected ASLA President Harold W. Batchelor echoed the desolation of Arizona's librarians at the failure of the library bill in his Presidential Address. As he phrased it, "How hard the times! ... The Times are as hard as the emptiness of a stone... The times are as hard as the emptiness of a bookless library ... The times are as hard as the defeat of House bill 87... Yes, the past times were hard, the present times are hard, and the future times will be hard, as hard as the emptiness of a stone. State aid must come, not as a reward for a few public spirited librarians, but as the culmination of professional services to public needs..."9 Arizona's librarians would try again.

It is possible that the Association's effort to promote library aid legislation was ill timed. The war continued to drain the state's resources as well as to occupy everyone' attention. Although Germany had capitulated the previous summer, the Japanese stepped up the battle for the Pacific. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's unexpected death on April 12, 1945 was a shock to everyone in the Free World. As Carl Hayden put it to his friend Mulford Winsor, "He did not look well the last time I saw him, yet I could not believe it when first told that President Roosevelt had passed away. I have never known a more remarkable man, but he went the way he wanted to, working to the end. Harry Truman will make good as his successor because he has sense enough to know his own limitations, and therefore will delegate authority to able men to finish the war and to make the peace."10 Four months later, Truman ordered the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Japan surrendered on August 15, 1945.

Possibly as a result of publicity generated by the campaign for the library aid bill earlier in the year, Pima County joined Maricopa County on July 1, 1945 as the second Arizona county to take advantage of the 1929 County Library Law. Gertrude Burt was appointed county librarian; service began on September 15, 1945. By the end of the year, the city - county library had 1500 new library card holders; the book budget had been tripled to handle the increase, and "where one copy used to be ordered, six are now placed on the shelves, if the book promises to be popular." Libraries were on the move in Arizona!11

As for the Department of Library and Archives, things seem to have settled back to normal following the failure of the library aid bill. Among changes in personnel, the Department was given addition funding to hire Lewis T. Gibbs as Archives

Clerk.12 Possibly this hire was in response to Winsor's semi annual plea for more space and more staffing for the Arizona archives -- the non-current records of state agencies required by law to be deposited in the State archives. Winsor's 1946 report includes a new solution to the space problems: the microfilming of the archives. Although, of course, the project would be expensive, Winsor hoped the legislature would give it "early consideration."13

Winsor was grateful for the additional library personnel which he was able to hire during the summer of 1946. But the staff addition which probably delighted him most of all came through the intervention of Senator Carl Hayden, who pursued Arizona history with a passion only second to Winsor's. On August 10, 1946, Hayden wrote Winsor, stating that he had the money to pay someone $185 per month to do research on Arizona pioneers for him in the State Library. Could Winsor locate a qualified individual?14 Winsor promptly hired Joseph I. Miller, "an enthusiastic historical researcher and in every way qualified."15 Joe Miller remained at the Department for more than forty years. As Winsor's daughter remembered him, "he was very fond of my father, though he recognized some of his eccentricities and truly got a kick out of him."16

As the nation returned to normal following the end of the war, on April 13, 1946 the Arizona State Library Association held its first annual meeting since 1942. Responding to the fact that the Association's diverse membership was growing, the afternoon meeting was separated into three round tables: Children's Department and School Libraries Committee, College and Special Libraries Committee, and County - Public Libraries Committee. Perhaps because of his pride in the new, accurate catalog of holdings of the Department of Library and Archives, Mulford Winsor addressed the College and Special Libraries section on the union catalog as a tool in Arizona library development.17 Following Winsor's talk, a Union Catalog Group was formed "to outline and submit to the next (1947) annual meeting of the Arizona State Library Association an efficient and practical plan for setting up a Union Catalog for the libraries in Arizona."18

Rising interest in federal funding for libraries found expression in the establishment in 1946 of the American Library Association's National Relations Office in Washington, D. C. under the direction of Paul Howard. His task was "to supply information to Congressmen and public officials that wiser legislative and administrative action may result, and keep libraries of all kinds helpfully informed on important governmental matters."19 Each state's Federal Relations Committee, composed of the state coordinator, publicity manager, president of the state library association, and director of the state library agency, was to assist the National Relations Program in its campaign for Federal assistance to libraries. Arizona's Federal Relations Committee consisted of Dixie Thompson, coordinator, Genevieve Carleton, publicity, Harold Batchelor, ASLA President, and Mulford Winsor, director of the Arizona Department of Library and Archives.20

The committee held its first meeting in June 1946. Following the meeting, Harold W. Batchelor sent a terse letter to Paul Howard of the National Relations Office stating that "the functions and duties of the committee were not feasible in terms of our local library conditions and development -- hence it was the decision of the four that since a reputable and satisfactory cooperative program was impossible that it was preferable to abandon the job rather than pursue a mediocre or unsuccessful program."21 Without doubt there was more to this than met the eye, and the National director was quick to pick up on it. As he put it in his letter to Batchelor, "We had hoped that such a committee could form a nucleus for a concerted attack on state problems as well as on national problems... Arizona is the only state which has decided not to work on this program, and we really would like to know all of the reasons back of the decision..."22

Unfortunately, Batchelor's reponse, if he made one, has not survived. But his increasing dissatisfaction with the State Department of Library and Archives and dislike for its director is evident. In a letter written to J. Howard Pyle, Phoenix radio broadcaster and later Arizona governor, regarding a recent broadcast transcription of Pyle's tour through the library and his conversation with the director, he said, "I have written Mr. Winsor congratulations for his splendid participation on the program, but I did express regrets and disappointments regarding the impression given, that of the completeness of functions and service of the department. To class the department as a normal 'state library' is misrepresentation. It does serve the state government and offer general reference service to those who can avail themselves of the service -- but it does not perform the usual and valuable library services directly to the citizens of the state as a state library should. The department needs to offer library extension as well as the development of a general loan collection which may be borrowed by all of the citizens of the state, by person, by mail, or by package libraries and depositories. With the tremendous area, the scattered rural populations, the number of small communities, and the overall cultural poverty, the development of libraries in the state is exceedingly poor and meagre (sic) ... A state library thru its extension services should have a great interest and responsibility for library development of the state as a whole -- and we do not have that in Arizona -- with the consequence that our citizens are not broadly educated in book cultures, the use and interpretation and evaluation of printed materials, the enjoyment of reading, and the respect of scholarship and research.

"At the last legislature the Arizona state library assn. sponsored a bill to enlarge the activities of the department as well as to provide state financial aid for the establishment of county libraries and the development of other libraries in the state. The bill never got out of the committee. The sad fact however was the complete ignorance and unworthy attitude of some of the legislators...

"Again the Arizona state library assn. will present to the

coming legislature a bill to correct some of the library evils -- and a program such as Sunday's will make our work much harder to overcome the false impressions, the complacency, and the lack of need as set forth."23

This the Library Association did, submitting House Bill 287 late in February 1947 to the Eighteenth Legislature. This hastily prepared bill, which called for the creation of an extension agency in the Department of Library and Archives without asking for an appropriation to support it, was never reported out of the Judiciary Committee. As Gertrude James, then a member of the ASLA Committee on Library Legislation, remembered the event, "The loss of this abortive effort may be blamed on the pressure of time and the fact that adjournment of the session was too close at hand when the bill was finally introduced, plus the fact that the association was unable to lobby effectively."24

Again, it is not known whether Mulford Winsor exerted any influence on behalf of the ASLA sponsored library bill. Hard working members of the ASLA Committee on Library Legislation might have noticed, however, that although their bill got short shrift from the legislature, that body not only voted a generous increase in the library's 1947-48 appropriation; in addition, the legislators appropriated $10,000 for the purchase and installation of microfilm equipment for Department of Library and Archives use.25 Winsor purchased a 35 mm and a 16 mm reproducing machine, film readers and accessories with the money.

Meanwhile, back in Libraryland Arizona, once again the theme of the Arizona State Library Association meeting, held March 28-29, 1947 in Phoenix, was statewide library development for Arizona. President Harold Batchelor emphasized the need of a statewide library survey committee "to discover the state's weakness in the library field." From this survey, according to Batchelor, the association would be able to formulate a statewide library plan.26

In July 1947, a nine person survey committee was set up, with Sherrill McMillan as chair.27 Not until November did McMillan felt sure enough of feasible goals for the committee to correspond with other members of the committee. Early that fall, she had discovered that the Southwestern Library Association, of which Arizona was a member, was interested in an area wide survey. Sallie Farrell, SWLA chair of Extension and Federal Aid Committee, suggested that they coordinate efforts. But Farrell felt that nothing should be done until they had conferred with Helen Ridgway, American Library Association Public Library specialist, who planned to visit the southwestern states the following spring.28

In the meantime, more than ever determined to introduce a successful bill for a library extension agency in the 1949 legislature, officers of the Arizona State Library Association continued their campaign. In December 1947, the ASLA executive committee consisting of Dorothy Hardaway, ASLA President; Lela Burns, First Vice President; Jennie Welcome, Second Vice-President; Gertrude James, Secretary; and Dorothy Burge, Treasurer, met with Mulford Winsor to to discuss a library bill which might have a chance of getting through the legislature.

Acting on Winsor's advice, instead of trying to rework the unsuccessful 1945 bill, they drew up a brief amendment to existing library law, Arizona Code 1939, Section 2-503. This provided for a library extension section to be administered under the Library Division of the State Department of Library and Archives. As part of the amendment, the Department of Library and Archives was authorized to accept federal funding for libraries. No appropriation for the new section was requested.29

Obviously, as written, the proposed extension agency's only important function was to accept federal funds, on the chance that the Library Demonstration Bill should pass both houses of Congress. But by February the federal library bill had passed the Senate and had been sent to the House for action, so Arizona librarians maintained their optimism.30

In the midst of the dilemma, Helen Ridgway, Public Library Specialist in the American Library Association, who had been following the Association's progress with more than sympathetic interest, told ASLA President Dorothy Hardaway that she planned to travel to Arizona and would lend her advice as well as ALA's prestige to the campaign.31 Ridgway met Hardaway in Prescott on February 23. She spent the next few days traveling around Arizona, visiting libraries and library leaders, before meeting with ASLA executive officers in Phoenix on February 28 and 29.32 Then, culminating a second week of activity and library visits, on Thursday, March 4, Ridgway met with State Librarian Mulford Winsor and addressed a special session of the Arizona House of Representatives on the importance of library service to all Arizonans.33

Obviously, Helen Ridgway had turned all of her charm as well as political savvy on Mulford Winsor. In introducing her to Association members at the opening session of the ASLA conference the following day, "he emphasized how greatly we deplore the adult library services of our state, and how far below the standard of our scenic beauty they fall." He continued by stating that Arizonans "must overcome the ignorance of need and the apathy existing among our citizens who have adequate library services." Exhorting Arizona librarians to take Ridgway's advice, he said that "timely and thorough spade work must be made."34

Following Winsor's introduction, Helen Ridgway pointed out once again that whereas the national standard of expenditure per capita for libraries was $1.50 per year, Arizonans expended only 20 cents per year per person. In addition, of all the forty eight states, Arizona alone could not take advantage of federal appropriations, since this state did not have a library extension agency. Following her talk, ASLA members passed a resolution: "Resolved that the Arizona State Library Association sponsor, at the next session of the State Legislature, a bill designed to establish a State Wide Library Agency in Arizona."35

On the last day of Ridgeway's visit, March 6, 1948, a slate of ASLA officers was chosen for the following year. Jennie Welcome was elected ASLA President. A graduate of Case Western Reserve Library School and a Douglas, Arizona, native, Welcome had been librarian of Douglas High School since 1943. One of the most indomitable, hard working presidents the association has

ever known, this tiny woman with the sunny name was the driving force that put the campaign for the extension agency over before the legislative session of January 1949. Immediately following the conference, she set up a network of ASLA committees in order to build a groundswell of support for the passage of the library extension bill the following January.

Trouble surfaced almost immediately; Harold Batchelor, director of the Arizona State College Library (Tempe), warned that Helen Ridgway "was playing politics too much with Winsor and (Jane) Hudgins (director of Phoenix Public Library)," both individuals Batchelor disliked.36 Gertrude James, First Vice President, spoke of "the complexities of our Phoenix situation," that "it is not possible to get Miss Hudgins to work under the direction of anyone (particularly not Gertrude James!)."37 Jennie tried to smooth Gertrude's ruffled feathers, stating that after school was out at the end of May (she was the only librarian in her library, so could not easily get away), she would take the train to Phoenix and the Executive Board could meet. "It is unfortunate tht we have these frictions in the organization," she said philosophically, "but then, all organizations have them, I suppose. We simply must remember that our goal is more important than our personal feelings and that we will get nowhere pulling against each other. Let us try to hang on to a sense of perspective and a sense of humor and do our jobs to the best of our ability."38

Meanwhile, Jennie did her best to publicize the library campaign in Cochise county, though local apathy made her task difficult. On behalf of the Association, she hosted a meeting of interested Cochise County citizens and librarians. Patricia Paylore and Donald Powell from the University of Arizona Library drove out to Douglas and talked about rural libraries in Arizona and the need for an extension agency. Although Jennie sent out 100 invitations, only eight people showed up. As she put it to Berryman, "Some people in this county are quite opposed to federal aid. We could see, too, that the ideas that books should be used and worn out, and that a library should be an educational institution as well as a recreational facility were new to some of them."39

By June, Jennie was besieged with bad news on all sides. In Washington, the House of Representatives failed to bring the Library Demonstration Bill out of committee before Congress adjourned on June 20, effectually killing it.40 A few days later, the entire ASLA Legislative Committee came completely unglued. Evangeline Berryman, competent director of the Maricopa County Free Library and chair of the committee, resigned on account of serious illness. Almost immediately, the other two members of the committee, Dixie Thompson and Patience Golter, quit.41

Obviously the work of the ASLA Legislative Committee had to go on without interruption. But who could serve as chair of the committee? Isolated in Douglas in the Southeast corner of the state and unable to leave except on occasional weekends, Jennie began writing letters, trying to find a competent volunteer. Brilliant, hard working Patricia Paylore of the University of

Arizona would be a good choice, but Paylore refused, stating that she felt she had too much work as chair of the survey committee. Don Powell of the University of Arizona was chair of the publicity committee, so he could not take the responsibility. Powell half facetiously suggested that Jennie ask Winsor. As he put it, "Even Winsor might do in a pinch - a hard pinch."42

But of course Mulford Winsor as a state employee could not chair a committee whose duties, in part, involved lobbying the state legislature for passage of the library bill. Furthermore, Winsor spent most of the summer in the hospital for further surgery on his throat. When he returned to his desk on August 4, he was in no condition to busy himself with activities beyond those of his department.43

As Jennie remembered that summer, it was one of the most trying periods of her presidency. She wrote fourteen letters and had fourteen refusals. Finally she met with the ASLA Executive Board and flatly told them that she knew none of them wanted Jane Hudgins, strong minded, authoritarian Phoenix Public Librarian, as chair of the legislative committee, but unless one of them were willing to volunteer for the job, she was ready to ask Jane.

Even that threat did not produce results. So Jennie called Jane Hudgins. She did not ask her to chair the committee; she tactfully suggested that since she knew how busy Jane was with her other duties, perhaps Jane could suggest someone on her staff who might be willing to be the chair of the committee. Jane assured Jennie she would take care of the matter. And sure enough, within the week, on October 25, Mary Carlisle, cataloger at the Phoenix Public Library staff "volunteered."44

One can imagine Jennie's relief to have that important position filled. Assuring Carlisle that she could choose anyone she liked to work on the committee, Jennie turned her attention to getting ready for the annual ASLA conference coming up on November 4 in Phoenix.

Accompanied by the redoubtable Jane Hudgins, the new chair of the ASLA Legislative Committee, Mary Carlisle, met with Mulford Winsor in mid November regarding the library bill. Carlisle reported that "everyone agrees he is the key person and I find him most agreeable to work with."45 The committee met again on November 18, but without Winsor, as he was in the hospital again for throat treatments. Following Winsor's idea, the committee planned to use the 1945 bill with a few changes suggested by Winsor.46

On November 27, both Helen Ridgway and Sallie Farrell returned to Phoenix to work with the ASLA Executive Committee members and to lobby crucial members of the State Legislature. Ridgway was upset at splintering of the ASLA ranks as well as the increasing lack of enthusiasm for the idea of library extension work on the part not only of members of the State Legislature but Arizona State College Librarian Harold Batchelor. Batchelor had talked to Ridgway at the Southwestern Library Conference earlier that fall and had expressed himself both forcefully and negatively about the utility as well as the practicality of library extension work in Arizona. In addition,

the weak condition of Mary Carlisle's important ASLA Legislative Committee and Carlisle's timidity about legislative lobbying concerned her. But worse was to come. The ASLA Executive Committee hosted a tea for the honored guests on December 4. In the midst of the tea, Mary Carlisle took Jennie Welcome aside and told her she was resigning as chair of the Legislative Committee.

Jennie never forgot her horror at Mary's announcement. She grabbed Mary by the wrist and hauled her back to the room where the guests were assembled and screamed, "Do you know what this woman has just done? She has RESIGNED as chair of the Legislative Committee! Just like that!"

A hastily handwritten note from Carlisle stating that she was resigning for personal reasons because "My husband has asked me to do this"47 obviously satisfied no one. What in actuality was behind her resignation? Jennie speculates that probably Jane Hudgins used her authority as Phoenix Library Director to force Mary to accept the assignment. Having done so unwillingly, the magnitude of the responsibility very shortly overwhelmed her to the extent that regardless of the potential consequences to her job at the public library, she simply could not take it. She is not the first woman, nor will she be the last, to use her husband as a handy excuse for refusing an assignment which is distasteful to her.48

Fortunately, the ASLA stalwarts rallied to the crisis. First Gertrude James agreed to coordinate both the legislative and her own publicity committees.49 And a little later, Evangeline Berryman, who had been recuperating from an illness at the home of her daughter in California, announced that she would return to Arizona to resume the chairmanship of the committee. As one of the ASLA officers put it, "We are so happy about this last and so doggoned mad about the recent defection of our Chairman that we are in fine fighting fettle."50

Next, Gertrude James, Patience Golter, and Marie Seidentopf went to work to salvage the extension bill. On Monday, December 6, they took it to Mulford Winsor. Although they chatted for an hour, "he did not even look at the bill," said Gertrude in a letter to Sallie Farrell. "By the time the hour was over we realized that your ... meeting with him had left him with certain definite impressions ...

"a. We were instructed to go out and write a short bill providing for an extension agency, a supervisor with powers and duties, provisions to accept federal grants, and an initial budget.

"b. You two (Ridgway and Farrell) had impressed on him the advisability of the planning period, the task the supervisor would have spending such a large budget, and the need for the agency above everything else.

"c. He is remaining in town until we get this thing in shape."

The next day Gertrude James and Patience Golter worked up a short bill following Winsor's suggestions. That afternoon they took it to Winsor. "Again," said James, "he did not even look at the bill, but told us of a brain storm he had had during the night." It seems that he suddenly realized that the Arizona

Code, already authorized him to do what ALS wanted. Section 2-503 (1939) provided for a library division. The law lists seven sections under the division, but also states "and such other sections as the director may deem advisable." In other words, Winsor had had the legal right to set up an extension section under the library division all along. "To us," said James, "it seemed a most wonderful loophole, and as he says, it would be the easiest kind of a bill to get passed." As for funding for the new section, "He will then ask for the appropriation after the bill is passed in his request for an appropriation at the end of the session."51

It all seemed too good to be true. But although ASLA officers were enthusiastic, Helen Ridgway expressed doubts as to the wisdom of establishing the new agency as a section under the Library Division. As she put it, "I know that Mr. Winsor's salary was set by law at one time at $5,000. As head of a division the Supervisor of Library Extension might conceivably be paid $4500... Whether the salary of the head of the Library Division approaches $4500 I do not know,52 but I doubt if such a salary could be obtained for a section head, and a lesser salary would not be likely to attract a trained librarian with five years of the type of administrative experience desired ... This should be a ranking Division, in my opinion, and not a Section under the Library Division, or Phoenix interests will be likely to swamp the needs of the rural areas of the state."53

But by December 14, Gertrude James sent Jennie Welcome the final draft of the amendment as prepared by Mulford Winsor. "We talked quite frankly with Mr. Winsor and he believes that since he already has the power to appoint all the employees in the department it would not be necessary to put the appointment of the supervisor in the law. We can only rely on our trust in him and our insistence when the time comes for an appointment that the right person be chosen... This ... amendment is a long far cry from what we first started out to talk about. It is the only thing that Mr. Winsor thinks has a chance. Every day he hears cries from legislators about the many appropriations for which various groups in the state are going to be clamoring. The Tax Research Association, the press in general and the tax payers are very alert and interested in this coming legislature and they are assuming a watch-dog attitude toward any group asking for funds... This seems to be the logical way to begin. As Mr. Winsor points out 'half a loaf is better than none.'...

"Examine this amendment critically and let us know what you think... Patience and I both feel that Mr. Winsor will endorse this amendment and may not take too kindly to any other suggestion."54

Helen Ridgway seems to have been resigned to the fact that the gutted amendment would be presented to the Arizona legislature. As she wrote to Gertrude James, "Mr. Winsor was most cordial and helpful in all of our conferences and was far more patient in explaining the legal ramifications to us than most people could possibly have been while facing such a serious throat operation ... I can't help wondering whether the pressure

of time, Mr. Winsor's physical condition and the desire to make everything as easy and as sure as possible before leaving for the coast has made this new approach seem more desirable than it might have under different circumstances."55

Mulford Winsor left Phoenix for San Francisco and a third throat operation on December 15. He returned after Christmas,56 far from well, and with his medical treatment only partially completed. But the Nineteenth State Legislature was about to convene, and sick or well, Mulford Winsor felt he must be there to meet it.

On January 4, 1949, a week before the opening of the legislative session, Dixie Thompson, Patience Golter, and Gertrude James met again with Mulford Winsor regarding the proposed library extension legislation. In contrast to their previous feelings of cautious optimism about Winsor's support for the idea, they came out of the meeting "completely stunned, disillusioned, and discouraged." As James put it in a letter written the next day to ALA's Helen Ridgway, "We have discovered the startling fact that no matter what kind of a bill we support as an Association, no more will be done for library extension than Mr. Winsor visions. The three of us have come closer to the truth of what will happen than anyone ever has before. Mr. Winsor on one side, and professional librarians on the other, are talking about two different things when they mention library extension...

"He frankly told us the following: He believes he can find a person capable enough to handle library extension for the salary he would pay which would not be above that of any of his other employees. At present there is no friction in his department, and he does not wish to have any. The salary would naturally cause professional jealousy. The supervisor so named in the bill would take from him some personal authority which he prizes very highly. The department is so organized that there are no heads of divisions. Any one person in the department may be shifted to any other job. He thought that a wonderful set-up, and praised it highly, intimating to us that it might be possible that anyone doing library extension might be shifted if necessary to other tasks. At present, no division, section, or department takes precedent over another.

"He frankly told us he had the power now to start library extension. He has had it for years. He told us that he felt the need of the legislation to give him the backing to ask for an appropriation to implement library extension. ...

"Making a division instead of a section will make no difference. Introducing the long form of the bill or the amendment will not either. Nothing can be done beyond Mr. Winsor's wishes as long as he is director. No requirements in a law will compel him to observe them. He can close his eyes to them, as he already has for years...

"It is almost impossible for a mere handful of enthusiastic overworked professional school librarians to attempt this job. No, Arizona is not ready for public library development... Though we still trust Mr. Winsor, <u>he will do only what he sees fit</u>. (Underlining James's) ... We cannot help feeling, knowing

what is going to happen, that we are selling the State down the river... Shall we support (this legislation), or shall we wait until Mr. Winsor retires from the scene? ... We have sunk to a new low since yesterday."57

Ridgway responded by telephone the next day. Now that Winsor's motives were out in the open, what should the Association's position be in supporting the bill which they had worked so hard for? Ridgway suggested that the Association "had invested too much time, money and effort and had aroused too much resonse from people generally to drop its campaign. Therefore, the best approach was to "soft pedal" Association sponsorship, with the idea that a more effective bill might be put through the legislature after Winsor removed himself from the directorship of the State Library.58

The following Saturday, January 8, ASLA President Jennie Welcome, accompanied by Don Powell, Patricia Paylore, Janet Marsh, and Fred Cromwell, joined Gertrude James and Patience Golter in a meeting with Winsor. In addition to Winsor's views on the place of library extension as part of the State Library, they discussed the stipulations of the Library Demonstration Bill which was once again before Congress. At the end of the discussion, realizing that no other course was practical at this late date, the ASLA executive committee "voted to support the amendment." As Gertrude James explained to Helen Ridgway, "We all feel that the changes in the federal bill put many more restrictions on the State and that library extension will necessarily have to be pretty well planned and effectively set up before money will be given to the State. These restrictions will force Mr. Winsor to make library extension much stronger than we believe he would under his own interpretation. Thus by our action the Association will back the amendment knowing full well that at some future date we may have to ask for a change in the law to make library extension a stronger division of government."59

Winsor, obviously pleased that he had silenced ASLA opposition, went so far as to present Gertrude James and Patience Golter, chief ASLA lobbyists, with a two pound box of dates from his Persian Gardens in Yuma. As James put it, with utmost irony, "This has been one of the high points in our efforts and we hope tomorrow will not bring a new low."60

On January 14, 1949, Winsor met with the entire membership of the Arizona State Library Association Executive Board. Following the meeting, Gertrude James, chair of the Co-ordinating and Publicity Committee, presented Max Connolly, chair of the House Education Committee, with the amendment together with a number of publicity items which had been worked up chiefly by James and Don Powell.61 On January 18, she met again with Connolly, who assured her he would take it up before his committee that very day. James came away from the meeting in good spirits; as she told Jennie Welcome, Connolly was the editor of the Tempe newspaper and had published a small news sheet for the Association in the early 1940's. Thus, said James, "he was very interested in seeing our present efforts."62

On February 4, the library extension bill was introduced as

HB 151 in the House by Max Connolly, chair of the Education Committee. The bill had also been assigned to the Judiciary and the Capitol Buildings and Grounds committees, but optimistic ASLA members anticipated no trouble in getting this non-controversial bill which did not carry an appropriation out of the other committees.63

Helen Ridgway seems to have been the only open skeptic. On February 1 she wrote to Mulford Winsor, wanting to know his Department's budget request for the biennium 1949-50 and 1950-51, and inquiring as to whether an allocation for the proposed library extension section was included in his budget. Winsor's reply was cautious. As he told Ridgway, "Inasmuch as the Legislature is now in session, and the appropriation bill is the last thing on the agenda, it is not possible to give you the figures you want." He did admit, however, that he had requested $45,000 per year for the Department. "These figures," he continued, "include nothing for library extension or state aid, since at the moment such expenditures are not authorized. In the event the library extension bill becomes a law, we will request an additional amount for that purpose."64 With this, Ridgway had to be satisfied.

On March 4, House Bill 151 passed the House on roll call without a dissenting vote.65 From here it went to the Senate, where all indications called for a positive vote. At this point, Mulford Winsor stepped in to request an appropriation to support the proposed bill. Writing to both the chair of the House and Senate Appropriations Committees, he said,

"It is with no little gratification that I note the passage of H.B. 151, designating a state library extension agency and making it possible for our state to participate in and enjoy the benefits of the proposed federal plan for the extension and development of public library services, of which Arizona stands so much in need.

"Under the terms of H.R. 874 and its companion measure, S. 130, there is pending in congress legislation which, if complied with, will enable this state to receive $40,0000 per year for the next five years, and thereafter, for another five years, from $40,000 to $100,000 per year on a matching basis, for the purpose above stated.

"To receive these advantages, however, we must prepare an acceptable plan and administer the same. At this time it is not possible for us to say what the expense will be, but it is certain that one professional library extension administrator and one clerical assistant will be required. I would suggest that for the implementation of H.B. 151 you add to the current requests of this Department the sum of $6,000 per year. At your discretion, this appropriation may be earmarked for library extension only. <u>In any event, not one cent of such additional appropriations will be expended except for the purpose indicated, and not at all unless or until the act of Congress referred to becomes law.</u>" (italics mine)66

This would seem like an open invitation to the parsimonious Appropriations Committees to reject Winsor's request for extension funding. Who knows whether Congress would pass the

Library Demonstration Act? It had failed in the last session, and why should it succeed now? Predictably, Winsor's request for funding was denied on the next to last day of the Nineteenth Legislature, Regular Session, March 17, 1949. 67

The library bill passed the Senate on March 12 and went to the governor's desk. On March 17, 1949 Governor Dan Garvey signed the bill into law. But there was only cautious rejoicing among the hard working ASLA group which had seen the bill through the legislature to its successful passage. Winsor retreated to the fastness of his "Castle" and virtually refused to discuss implementation of the bill. Worried, Gertrude James wrote to Jennie Welcome, stating that "We saw Mr. Winsor last week and he informed us we would have to realize that he could not ask for a large appropriation. We have no idea what his intentions are and a little in doubt about our next move concerning finding out. The whole thing is more or less in his hands. So far he has not called on us or any member of the Association that I know about concerning a budget which he would present to the Legislature... I do not know what stand or position the Association can take in regard to attempting to influence him. The Association has spent its time, effort and money and state affiliations and influence getting this Bill passed. And if the Section under Mr. Winsor does not meet the expectations of the people who worked for the bill, the Association is going to be responsible for some explanation. We are in a rather strange situation. I hope all will go well and that the right person will be employed and an adequate plan set up...

"The Section will be as strong or as weak as Mr. Winsor wants to make it. Perhaps it will never really come into its own until after he has passed from the scene."68

What James did not know (though she might have guessed, from her meeting with Winsor earlier in the year) was that the State Library Director had no intention of activating the Library Extension Section in any way until Congress passed the Library Demonstration Bill.

But meanwhile, Winsor had his own troubles. He had returned from San Francisco against his surgeon's advice in order to meet the demands of the Nineteenth State Legislature in early January. He had counted on postponing further throat treatment until after the adjournment of the Legislature. Now it seemed evident that he could not wait. On March 17, three days before adjournment, he flew to San Francisco for the completion of the treatments. As he sadly remarked in his letters to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate, this would be the first session ending in thirty years that the seventy five year old Winsor had failed to witness.69

1. "Committee on State Aid," Arizona Library News, 2 (Nov. 1944), p. 3.

2. Winsor, "Rural Library Service and Amendment of the County Free Library Law," Arizona Library News, v. 2, no. 4 (Nov. 1943), p. 6.

3. Gertrude James, "Looking Backward," Arizona Librarian, v. 6, no. 4 (Oct. 1949), p. 14.

4. Dixie Thompson to Lela M. Burns, Jan. 23, 1945, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

5. Arizona State Library Association. Special meeting, Jan. 20, 1945, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

6. A verbatim transcript of the Library Equalization and Extension Act of 1945, together with a summary, "History and Fate of H.B. 87," is included in Arizona Library News, v. 3, no. 3 (June 1945), p. 5-10.

7. Arizona Education Association. "Legislative Bulletin no. 4," p. 2, Feb. 26, 1945, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

8. Dixie Thompson to Louise Milligan, March 5, 1945, 2 p. typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

9. Harold Walter Batchelor, "Presidential Message," Arizona Library News, v. 3, no. 3 (June 1945), p. 3-4.

10. Hayden to Winsor, Apr. 25, 1945, typescript, Hayden file, DLAPR.

11. "Pima County Library Service," Arizona Library News, v. 3, no. 4 (Dec. 1945), p. 3.

12. "News around the State," Arizona Librarian, v. 4, no. 2 (Oct. 1946), p. 18.

13. Arizona. Dept. of Library and Archives. Report, July 1, 1944-June 30, 1946, p. 5.

14. Hayden to Winsor, Aug. 10, 1946, typescript, Hayden file, DLAPR.

15. Winsor to Hayden, Aug. 13, 1946, typescript copy, Hayden file, DLAPR.

16. Eleanor Winsor Davis, notes on the state library, May 16, 1970, EWD notebook II, p. 2.

17. "Arizona State Library Association Meeting, April 14, 1946, Tempe," Arizona Librarian, v. 4, no. 1 (Apr. 1946), p. 5.

18. "Plan for Union Catalog and Specialization," Arizona Librarian, v. 4, no. 2 (Oct. 1946), 8.

19. "Put over the Library Development Fund," Arizona Library News, v. 3, no. 4 (Dec. 1945), p. 6.

20. "Arizona National Relations Committee," Arizona Librarian, v. 4, no. 1 (Apr. 1946), p. 6-7.

21. Harold Batchelor to Paul Howard, June 22, 1946, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

22. Howard to Batchelor, June 26, 1946, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

23. Harold Batchelor to Howard Pyle, Oct. 21, 1946, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

24. Gertrude James, "Looking Backward," Arizona Librarian, v. 6, no. 4 (Oct. 1949), p. 15. The only known piece of newspaper publicity in favor of the library bill appeared in the Arizona Times (Phoenix) in an article on inadequacies in Phoenix area elkementary school libraries, which annually spent about 30 cents per pupil, as against the national standard of $1.50. See Barbara P. Robinson, "Exposes Drastic Shortage of School Books," Arizona Times, Feb. 25, 1947, p. 1.

25. Arizona. Dept. of Library and Archives. Report, July 1, 1946-June 30, 1948, p. 7.

26. Arizona State Library Association, Proceedings, March 28-29, 1947, typescript, p. 1, ASLA files, DLAPR.

27. "Report of the Survey and Planning Committee, 1947-1948," typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

28. Sherrill McMillan to ASLA Survey Committee members, Nov. 2, 1947, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

29. "An Act Relating to Libraries: Providing for Library Extension in the Library Division of the Department of Library and Archives," 1 p. typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

30. American Library Association. National Relations Office. Federal Relations News, v. 3, no. 9 (Feb. 26, 1948), p. 1

31. Ridgway to Hardaway, Jan. 15, 1948, typescript, ALSL files, DLAPR.

32. Ridgway to Hardaway, Feb. 6, 1948, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

33. Arizona State Library Association. Proceedings of the 19th annual conference, March 5-6, 1948, typescript, p. 1, ASLA files, DLAPR.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid, p. 2.

36. Batchelor to Welcome, Apr. 15, 1948, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

37. James to Welcome, Apr. 22, 1948, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

38. Welcome to James, Apr. 25, 1948, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

39. Welcome to Berryman, May 20, 1948, typescript.

40. American Library Association. National Relationsl Office. Federal Relations News, v. 3, no. 13 (June 24, 1948), p. 1.

41. Welcome to Don Powell, June 27, 1948, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

42. Powell to Welcome, July 6, 1948, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

43. Winsor to Eva Favour, Prescott; typescript copy, Favour file, Reference Dept., DLAPR.

44. Hudgins to Welcome, Oct. 25, 1948, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

45. Carlisle to Ridgway, Nov. 19, 1948, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

46. Carlisle to Ridgway, Nov. 19, 1948, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

47. Mary Carlisle to Jenny Welcome, Dec. 4, 1948, holograph. ASLA files, DLAPR.

48. Jennie Welcome, personal interview with Margaret Maxwell, Apr. 14, 1988.

49. Welcome to Hudgins, Dec. 6, 1948, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

50. Ernestine Bohlmann, ASLA secretary, to Ridgway, Dec. 7, 1948, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

51. Gertrude James to Sallie Farrell, Dec. 8, 1948, typescript copy, ASLA file, DLAPR.

52. The Director's salary for 1949-50 was $5,000; the Librarian's was $3,600. (Arizona. Dept. of Library and Archives acct no. 1-1-04-000-0000, DLAPR)

53. Ridgway to James, Dec. 13, 1948, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

54. James to Welcome, Dec. 14, 1948, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

55. Ridgway to James, Dec. 20, 1948, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

56. James to Welcome, Dec. 14, 1948, typescript, ASLA file, DLAPR.

57. Gertrude James to Helen Ridgway, Jan. 5, 1949, typescript, ALA archives, University of Illinois, Champaign/Urbana, IL.

58. Helen Ridgway to Gertrude James, transcript of telephone conversation, Jan. 6, 1949, and Ridgway to S. Farrell, Jan. 7, 1949, ALA archives.

59. James to Ridgway, Jan. 11, 1949, typescript, ALA archives.

60. Gertrude James to Helen Ridgway, Jan. 19, 1949, typescript, ALA archives.

61. Gertrude James, report of Coordinating and Publicity Committees to ASLA, Apr. 1, 1949. ASLA files, DLAPR.

62. James to Welcome, Jan. 18, 1949, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

63. James to Welcome, Feb. 5, 1949, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

64. Winsor to Ridgway, Feb. 7, 1949, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

65. Gertrude James, ASLA news extra, March 4, 1949, mimeo, ASLA files, DLAPR.

66. Winsor to Carl Morris, chair, House Appropriations Committee, and Warner Mattice, chair, Senate Appropriations Committee, March 11, 1949, typescript copies.

67. "Legislative log for March 17," Arizona Republic, March 18, 1949.

68. Gertrude James to Jennie Welcome, March 14, 1949, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

69. Winsor to Fred J. Fritz, Senate President, and Ray Langham, House Speaker, March 17, 1949, typescript copies, Winsor collection, DLAPR.

XXI. ASLA VS WINSOR: STALEMATE 1950-1951

Fully aware that without funding, the Department of Library and Archives' Library Extension Agency was totally non functional, Arizona State Library Association leaders began to plan for the next ASLA conference. This was held at the University of Arizona, April 1 and 2, 1949, just two weeks after Governor Garvey signed the toothless Library Extension Bill into law. Once again, the theme of the conference was library extension. How might the new law, which everyone recognized as simply "enabling legislation," be implemented? A panel discussion, chaired by Patricia Paylore, compared three possible models: the Louisiana Demonstration plan, the New Mexico Regional plan, and the County - City Contract plan as implemented by Pima County, Arizona.

Inevitably, no consensus was reached, since everyone knew that funding for library extension in Arizona was contingent on the passage of the Federal Library Demonstration Bill, then hung up on the United States Senate calendar. But everyone agreed that in order to move quickly on extension if and when the Federal Library Demonstration Bill was passed, the state needed a plan "built upon a statewide survey made by our own Extension Agency."1

A noble idea, except that "our own" Extension Agency existed only on paper, under the not too enthusiastic purview of the director of the Department of Library and Archives. ASLA discussion ended with Jane Hudgins of the Phoenix Public Library moving that "the Association go on record as willing to help Mr. Winsor work out a plan."2 Patricia Paylore, chair of the ASLA Survey and Planning Committee, agreed to chair the committee to work toward such a plan, which logically should begin with a full scale survey of Arizona population, resources, and libraries.

Soon after the meeting, Gertrude James, newly elected ASLA President, and Patience Golter went to see Mulford Winsor, recently back from another trip to California for throat treatment. They explained, said James, "that the Association had voted to work with him in any way possible to draw up a plan for Arizona for library extension... As tactfully as possible we tried to give him the impression we were at his beck and call, and wished him to advise us on what we could do to best work out a plan which would really be of some service and help to him.... His foremost advice to us as a group is that we must not set our minds on any one particular plan or dream so much that we cannot be persuaded from it. We must be practical at all costs, and willing to start with a small beginning...

"Patience and I," James continued, "in all our dealings with Mr. Winsor have been impressed with his sincere integrity to do the right thing for Arizona. We feel he was very pleased that the Association will continue its interest in extension and on its own time help to work out a feasible plan."3

Full of enthusiasm for extension planning, Patricia Paylore traveled from Tucson to Phoenix on April 20 to meet with Winsor. As Gertrude James expressed it, "she made a hit with him... (he) affably agreed with Pat's plans and made several suggestions

which she had already known about. She is free to go ahead on her own, and will keep him informed of steps forward." Most importantly, "Mr. Winsor plans to ask the legislature for an appropriation when the special session (of the legislature) convenes." According to the newspapers, this might be as early as January 1950.4

Meanwhile, as Winsor prepared to leave Phoenix, traveling first to Yuma and then to San Francisco for most of the summer, Paylore began her plans for an "extensive survey of the state regarding population, areas, assessed valuation, transportation lines, geographical barriers, libraries, and such facilities," to lay the groundwork of information to be presented to the United States Office of Education as soon as Congress passed the Federal Public Library Service Demonstration Bill.5 Asking Dixie Thompson to search out information for Apache, Navajo, Coconino, and Mohave Counties, Gertrude Thayer to cover Gila, Graham, Greenlee, and Yavapai Counties, and Phyllis Ball to research Cochise, Santa Cruz, Pinal, and Yuma Counties, Paylore hoped to have raw material for the survey in place by September.6 But even Dixie Thompson, always a hard working member of ASLA's inner group, was overwhelmed by Paylore's expectations of the committee. Though she expressed herself as having "the greatest admiration and confidence in your (Paylore's) ability and willingness to give of yourself to this project," she could not devote the necessary time to it. She resigned from the committee in May,7 and was not replaced.

By August, Paylore's ambitious ideas for a full scale survey of Arizona had been put on hold, if not abandoned, as too ambitious a scheme for a volunteer group to tackle on their own time.8

Meanwhile, the director of the Department of Library and Archives was having troubles of his own. The Nineteenth Legislature in its regular session earlier that year had created a Special Legislative Committee on State Operations, with Fred J. Fritz, Senate President, as chair. In order to expedite its work, the committee hired a Chicago based consulting firm, Griffenhagen & Associates, to analyze the various departments, bureaus, and agencies of Arizona state government and to make recommendations for their possible reorganization. Winsor was asked to provide information about the structure of his department, a routine request, or so it seemed. As he had done in biennial reports for his department on so many previous occasions, he outlined the heterogeneous activities that fell under the purview of the Department of Library and Archives:

"1. Maintenance of the State Law Library...

"2. Maintenance of a library section ...

"3. Maintenance of a library on geology and mineralogy and a mineral museum.

"4. Maintenance of a genealogical library.

"5. Maintenance of a library and museum containing all available material pertaining to the history of Arizona.

"6. Performance of the duties of the office of Arizona Historian...

"7. Maintenance of an archives division...

"8. Supplying information on a practically unlimited range of subjects ... by telephone and by mail...

"9. Conducting exchanges of public reports and documents...

"10. Service to ... patrons and visitors whose object is research...

"11. Maintenance of the State Legislative Bureau...

"12. Conducting a statewide library extension service...9

In May, Fred J. Fritz, Chair of the Special Committee, asked Winsor to provide him with a statement of the department's problems. For Winsor, this was easy enough; he had enumerated them often enough without result in his biennial reports. Chief among the problems was "Proper staffing of the State Legislative Bureau; thorough training of its members, and the payment of salaries commensurate with the ability and education required to insure continuity of services beyong the period of necessary special training." In addition, as he had done on so many previous occasions, Winsor complained that air conditioning in the library building was virtually non existent, to the discomfort of library users, staff, and books alike. Salaries of the professional library staff were not commensurate with similar positions elsewhere, he averred; therefore, he had difficulty in retaining good staff members. Finally, on his own behalf, he suggested that "adjustment of functions to make possible the performance of duties imposed by law with respect to the preparation of Arizona history" be implemented.10 How he longed to devote more time to research and writing on Arizona history!

Had hard working members of the Arizona State Library Association read Winsor's letter, they might have noted that obviously Winsor did not think that the lack of funding to implement the Extension Agency constituted a "problem" for his department. A little later, on Winsor's return from another trip to the coast for treatment, he wrote a private letter to Robert E. Morrow, Representative from Mohave County, in which he further voiced his feelings. Said he, "There is nothing more distasteful and repugnant to me than griping and I believe that I can truthfully say that I rarely indulge in the practice. However, I want to at this occasion mention that I feel very much disappointed, if not indeed hurt, that the Appropriations Committee did not see fit to allow our Department the funds necessary to properly staff our Legislative Bureau which would in turn afford needed individual relief and give me an opportunity to do the historical work which is weighing so heavily on my mind and conscience, and which I so much desire to do ... I feel that I am possessed of a knowledge of historical facts related to Arizona that should not be permitted to pass away without recording for the benefit of present and future generations.

"Apart from the historical feature the State Legislative Bureau should be properly staffed, in order that ... there may be a man so trained that the work of the Legislative Bureau and of the Department itself may go on smoothly and efficiently in the event of my retirement, which we must realize could happen at any time from any one of a number of causes."11

This was the first time the seventy-five year old Mulford

Winsor had acknowledged, even privately, that he might consider stepping down from his post.

In December, the Griffenhagen Report on General State Organization appeared. The report's recommendations for reorganization were wide ranging; among the most controversial was the proposal that a Department of Higher Education be created, with all of the state controlled, state supported institutions of higher education to be merged into a new University of Arizona headed by a chancellor and controlled by a board of regents. The functions of the Department of Library and Archives "in relation to all books and the library services as such, including the conduct of a state-wide library extension service, if and when activated" were to be transferred to the University of Arizona. As for Winsor's cherished legislative bureau, the report recommended that this be split off from the state library and left under the control of the state legislature. "If desired," concluded the report, "the legislative bureau may continue to maintain quarters in rooms now used by the library where it can conveniently use library materials."12

Although Winsor remained publicly silent concerning this unexpected frontal attack on his domain, he must have been appalled. No doubt in comparison to his own problems, the Arizona State Library Association's continued preoccupation with funding for the stepchild which had been thrust upon him during the last legislative session seemed peripheral. But with or without his backing, the Association continued exploring strategies for acquiring funding for the Library Extension Agency.

At about the same time the Griffenhagen report landed on Winsor's desk, ASLA President Gertrude James was checking on the possibility of a special legislative session -- and if that materialized, the best strategy for introducing a bill requesting $10,000 to fund extension. Logically enough, James approached Senate President Fred Fritz, who told her he thought the governor might well call a special session, but that by law, if this occurred, only "emergency" measures specifically proposed by the governor for that session could be considered.

The question was, how could ASLA's appeal for funding be construed as an "emergency?" "If we knew that the Federal Bill were going through next spring, we could appeal on that basis as an emergency," said James, casting about for straws. But since that was far from certain, the best thing, she concluded, might be to visit the governor and plead the extension agency's case herself.13 This James did, on December 12. Governor Garvey agreed to "consider the request for $10,000" but warned that since the session would be short, only "emergency" legislation could be introduced. With this she had to be content.14

But when the special session convened in mid February, Governor Garvey included "appropriations" in his call for the session, making it possible for the ASLA request for funding to be considered. On February 26, Eva Decker, Representative from Navaho County and a supporter of Arizona libraries, introduced a bill (HB 34) for "an appropriation of $10,000 to the Department of Library and Archives for statewide library extension."15

Since the Federal Library Demonstration Bill was scheduled for a vote in the United States House and Senate later in the month, and since passage of the federal bill would guarantee passage of HB 34 by Arizona's legislature, ASLA supporters watched national news as anxiously as they did the deliberations of the Arizona Legislature.

On March 3, HB 34 was reported favorably out of the Education Committee of the House with the recommendation that it "be considered" on the floor. Not at all by coincidence, the Annual Convention of the Arizona State Library Association was in session in Phoenix.16 Following President Gertrude James' direction, as soon as the ASLA session was completed, librarians marched on the capitol to lobby for the bill.17

In addition, Gertrude James wrote a letter in support of HB 34, which she gave to Representative Decker to be distributed to legislators. James's most cogent argument, of course, was the fact that if the Federal Library Demonstration bill passed and the Extension Agency had not been funded, Arizona would not get its share of federal money.18

So near and yet so far! James's logical and well written statement was never distributed. On March 9, 1950, Congress voted the Library Service Demonstration bill down. The timing could not have been worse; the Arizona House Appropriations Committee had been waiting for Congress to act before they considered HB 34; the moment the news from Washington reached Phoenix, the committee killed the Extension Agency funding bill.

ALA's Public Library Specialist, Helen Ridgway, was of course anxious to know what had happened. As Gertrude James explained to her, "In the buck passing at our Capitol we have been told that ... if the Federal bill had passed, they would have immediately brought out House Bill 34.

"We have certainly listened to a lot of excuses and been given the run around. Some of their arguments are -

"a. This is the same legislature in which the extension bill was passed, and we told them at that time we did not need any money... In refuting this statement, we told him that at that time we thought the Federal bill was going to pass, and we needed an enabling act for extension.

"b. It is not an emergency, and it would be better for us to wait until the regular session in 1951.

"c. Why can't the State Library Association make the survey on a volunteer basis?"19

The demise of House Bill 34 was not the only library related activity in the Special Session of the Nineteenth Legislature. On March 13, inspired by recommendations of the Griffenhagen Report, House Bill 95, "to remove legislative reference bureau from department of library and archives," and House Bill 96,"to create legislative reference bureau," were placed on the Active Calendar of the Committee of the Whole House.20

Despite Gertrude James' close monitoring of legislative activity, she knew nothing of the library reorganization bills until she was notified by a legislator that both were up for discussion on the floor. James immediately met with Mulford

Winsor and then with several legislators. As James phrased it, "We got the impression this morning that they are using the Griffenhagen recommendation as an excuse to pull out the legislative reference service from under Winsor's direction. It is strictly personal; they have been wanting to do it for a long time, and the leadership of the house is backing the bill as it was introduced by request. One legislator told us that we would be surprised how many mistakes and errors were coming in on bills written under Winsor's direction. How it can be economical to set up a separate legislative bureau from the Department of Library and Archives is beyond me, but they are bent on taking it out from under him, and since he is director for life, this is apparently the only way they can do it.

"We are worried about the future implications at this point. ... This action taken by the legislature has come as a complete surprise, and we are not prepared to know what to do. It seems almost that within our hands there is a chance to make a recommendation to set the department up on a more firm foundation, yet we know the legislature will do nothing as long as it is under Mr. Winsor. Though he puts on a good front, we wonder if he does not really know the sum and substance of what they are trying to do, since no legislator has discussed the matter with him although his name has been brought up on the floor of the House. They commend Mr. Winsor for his fine work, and say it is not a personal matter, but it is, as they want to get control.

"... House Bill 96 is up for 3rd reading in the house today. We have no idea what reception it will have in the senate, but the president of the senate, also on the interim committee, will probably give it leadership. The session is beyond 20 days now, so not too much time is left."21

To Mulford Winsor's relief, with the assistance of Pima County representative and old friend Dr. Robert H. Forbes, both HB 95 and 96 were defeated.22 As newly elected ASLA President Don Powell of the University of Arizona Library put it, "I think this is very fortunate for the legislation would certainly have been ill-conceived and planned."23

Although legislators in favor of separating the Legislative Bureau from the Department of Library and Archives did not succeed in putting their bill through the special session of the Nineteenth Legislature, it was obvious that they would try again. Shortly after the close of the special session, Harold C. Giss, Representative from Yuma, wrote to Ray Langham, member of the Legislative Interim Committee in charge of considering recommendations for reorganization of Arizona State agencies. Since the bill for making the legislative bureau a separate agency had not passed, and since legislative dissatisfaction with the bureau seemed to have some grounds, what could be done to make the bureau as presently constituted more effective? It seemed evident to Giss, who was one of Winsor's friendly supporters, that though "at some future date, the department is going to have to be divorced," present needs for more permanent staff for the bureau must be met. "The cost of hiring such personnel," said Giss, "two or three young people, would not be

much greater if any at all than the cost of hiring so-called specialists at a high rate of pay for the sessions. I feel that Mr. Mulford Winsor is sincere in his desire to have the department function properly, and that he will work toward that end. I also feel that after he has such a department established, it will stand on its own and then he will be able to devote his time to other important work (such as the writing of Arizona history) that should be done...

"I heard it remarked on the floor of the House by one of our fine members that some of the bills coming out of Mulford Winsor's office were not at all in good shape. The tremendous press and strain at the time the Legislature is in session for a large number of bills to be rolled out of that department, doesn't give the bill writer the opportunity to do everything he would like to do. When there was a little less work to do and a little more attention could be given to each bill, there was no fault to find at any time.

"The record of the department is a good one, and in the absence of already having any provisions for a separate and special Legislative Bureau, we ought to protect the interests of the Legislature and in turn the people by making adequate provisions for that department."24

As a matter of courtesy, Giss sent a copy of his letter to Mulford Winsor. The embattled director of the Department of Library and Archives made a prompt and defensive response. "To your answer to the remark which you heard 'on the floor of the House by one of our fine members' may I not suggest an amendment... As quoted to me, the remark was to the effect that 'three-fourths' (or some large percentage) 'of the bills that came from the Department of Library and Archives were unconstitutional.' Your explanation of this circumstance seems to me to be rather too much on the side of an apology -- an explanation or an excuse for a charge which you assume to be justified...

"My answer to the statement of the member is that it was a gratuitous and untruthful insult uttered in unfair support of an unsound cause. I do not hesitate to assert that not one bill prepared by the Legislative Bureau during the special session was unconstitutional in any particular... With respect to the quality of the work we have been able, with our inadequate facilities of personnel, to perform, we are proud, and do not feel that we have the slightest occasion to apologize or be apologized for."25

The following week, Winsor met with the Special Legislative Committee on State Operations to defend his administration of the legislative bureau.26 The meeting went badly for Winsor; two days later, Winsor was informed that the Committee had decided to hire lawyers to assist in drafting bills which issued from the Legislative Bureau.27

A second meeting between Winsor and the Committee on June 12 did nothing to resolve the impass.28 Defensively, Winsor solicited a feature article on the state library from one of the friendly reporters of the Arizona Republic. Although the article, illustrated with a number of attractive photographs of parts of

the museum collection as well as the director himself, was a general overview of the library and its book collection, two paragraphs were devoted to the legislative bureau. The final paragraph breaths the defensive resentment of the director: "Mulford Winsor, Arizona pioneer, historian, and director of the department of library and archives, takes pride in the fact that never has a legislative measure adopted by the legislature as originally prepared by the legislative bureau, been found unconstitutional by the Arizona Supreme Court."29 One can almost hear Winsor telling the Republic reporter, "Be sure you get that in, just as I gave it to you!"

Winsor's biennial report for 1948-1950, which came out late in August, takes the same defensive posture regarding the record for accuracy of the Legislative Bureau. In addition, he pointed with pride to the Bureau's "Guide to Legislative Drafting" (written by his former assistant Lawrence C. Davis), stating that it "has received the approval of a number of legislative drafting agencies of highest rating in the United States." He concluded his report on that unit by stating that "Other services of the State Legislative Bureau, except for the maintenance of a legislative reference library, have been seriously circumscribed, as heretofore indicated, by personnel limitations."30

A copy of the report was sent to each member of the State Legislature. In September, Robert H. Forbes, representative from Pima County and one of the legislators who opposed the separation of the legislative bureau from Winsor's department, wrote to Winsor, commenting on the report. Said Forbes, "The partial (emphasis Forbes') achievement of the objectives of the Department due to inadequate appropriation and personnel, notwithstanding repeated requests made by you for these enabling provisions, was doubtless the ground on which a division of the Department was attempted during Nineteenth legislative sessions.

"Why not guard against a renewal of this effort with the usual Library and Archives appropriation bill, introduced early in the (Twentieth) session, expanded to cover and provide for the discharge of duties defined in the law... Needless to say, I and others would cooperate with you in an renewed effort in this direction."31

This Winsor determined to do. He spent considerable time and effort during the rest of the year quietly paving the way for a considerably increased request for funding of his department to be submitted to the Twentieth Legislature when it convened in January 1951.

In view of Winsor's preoccupation with the protection of the legislative bureau as well as his desire to make a case for increased funding overall for the Department of Library and Archives, it is easy to understand that the non-functioning library extension agency hardly seemed a matter of importance. The mild statement regarding library extension in his biennial report for 1948-1950 was hardly calculated to move the legislature to action, certainly not a legislature which had ignored a decade of impassioned pleas for air conditioning with which to mitigate the unbearable heat of a Phoenix summer in the library's reading room. Of extension, Winsor said,

"... The lack of adequate library service in all except the most highly populated Arizona counties is well known, and imposes a hardship upon the residents which is not creditable to the State. This oversight (funding for the Extension Agency) should receive legislative attention, and provision made for the implementation of the authority already extended.

"It is regrettably true that Congress failed to enact the Library demonstration bill, H.R. 874, providing for Federal participation in the demonstration of library extension services, which appeared to be assured of passage, but pending the enactment of such a measure the least that Arizona should do is to make a statewide survey and determine the needs of the counties and communities in the matter of library service, and the best method to be employed in supplying them. The greatest assurance of a democracy that works is an informed citizenry, and without effective library service the facilities for an informed citizenry are seriously defective."32

Though Mulford Winsor placed a low priority on his extension agency, this was not true of the executive board of the Arizona State Library Association. No sooner had their bill requesting funding for the agency been turned down by the legislators in the special session of the Nineteenth State Legislature than they began campaigning for the next session. Patricia Paylore, chair of the ASLA Extension Committee, wrote countless letters to individuals, clubs, and other Arizona associations, asking for support for library extension, most specifically for contractual agreements between counties and already established libraries in cities, such as the one which was functioning so successfully in Pima County.33

Following an ASLA Executive Board meeting on May 20, 1950, Donald M. Powell, ASLA President, along with Gertrude James and Patricia Paylore, met with Mulford Winsor about strategy for the next legislative session. One can almost sense Winsor's lack of interest in Powell's report that "Mr. Winsor seems to feel that there would be no harm done in introducing a bill for a special appropriation for extension activities as well as putting a request for extension funds into the budget request for the Department of Library and Archives. Since the separate bill would be considered first, the budget request could be withdrawn in case the separate appropriation was made... The one drawback which I see is that the separate request will be referred to several committees, probably our old friends education, judicial, and finance, whereas the budget request evidently only has to go to the finance committee."34

Unfortunately, the outbreak of the Korean war in June 1950 gave Arizona's always parsimonious legislators a further excuse to keep a tight hold on spending. As Powell, James, and Paylore approached key legislators to sound them out on the likelihood of a separate funding bill succeeding in the Twentieth Legislature, they were met with discouragement. As Powell put it, "The war situation will probably change the program of the moment. Several members of the legislature have already indicated that they will not consider any further appropriation requests at this time and it looks as though the whole temper of

the legislature would be to retrench on spending."35 Under the prevailing conditions, the ASLA Executive Board decided not to pursue a separate funding bill, but to work for legislative approval of an adequate budget for the entire department, including the extension agency.36

A week later, Don Powell and Gertrude James met with Mulford Winsor. Somewhat to their surprise, he reiterated his idea that a separate bill for funding would have a better chance of success, accompanied by his own request for funding in the departmental budget. An obvious problem, of course was the question of how ASLA lobbyists could answer legislators who would want to know why ASLA was introducing a separate bill when Winsor had already included funding for extension in his general library budget. As Powell put it, "I think this may be hard to answer."37

"I had a feeling in talking to Mr. Winsor Saturday," said Powell, "that he wanted us to bring it up in this way so that he could concentrate on an increased budget for his already established services. I feel, too, that should his budget be presented without our separate request, that the extension appropriation would be the first item to be cut, particularly by an economy-minded legislature."38

The question of how to justify a separate funding bill continued to plague ASLA officers. A letter from Irene Peck, the friendly and helpful executive secretary of the New Mexico State Library Commission, provided a new idea. Julia Asplund, who had successfully put library extension over some years earlier in New Mexico, suggested that a bill might be introduced which itemized certain types of work to be done by the agency, authorizing specific funding for each. Such a bill would not duplicate Winsor's general appropriation.39 ASLA officers concluded that "it might be wise to introduce such a bill for its educational purposes." In fact, thought Powell, it would actually be better if the bill did not get out of committee, thus avoiding its probable defeat on the floor of the House. With groundwork thus laid, "the sum requested might well stand a good chance of passage as a regular budget item."40

A brilliant strategy -- except it did not appeal to Mulford Winsor. As he put it, "The specification of types of work might very easily arouse arguments which would not advance the cause."41 The idea was discarded.

The election of Howard Pyle, popular Arizona radio commentator, as Arizona's new governor in November was good news, as he was known to be favorable to libraries.42 Filled with optimism, members of the ASLA Executive Board visited the governor, asking his support. They then began a series of "barnstorming meetings" in various Arizona communities, attempting to rouse citizen support for library extension.43 In December, members of the ASLA Legislative Committee contacted Max Connolly, a friendly representative from Maricopa County, who agreed to introduce an appropriation bill for $27,000, or $13,500 for each of the next two years.

The Twentieth State Legislature, the first two session legislature (the second by law being held a year after the

first), convened on January 8, 1951. Although Governor Howard Pyle was the lone Republican in a solidly democratic state government, his reputation as a charismatic, caring individual, plus the fact that he assured the legislators that he would work with them for economy in state government, led both House and Senate leaders to pledge their cooperation even before the session started. But although ASLA leaders had had a friendly meeting with the new governor late in November, obviously library matters were of minor concern both to him and the members of the legislature. In a legislative session which abolished racial segregation in the public schools as well as empowering the governor to enter into an agreement with the Federal government to extend benefits of the Social Security Act to state employees, House Bill 73, introduced by Max Connolly in January, created hardly a ripple. It was assigned to House Committees on Education, Appropriations, and Judiciary.

On February 27, Polly Rosenbaum, Chair of the Education Committee, granted ASLA members a hearing on the bill. Favorably impressed, the committee voted in favor of the bill. A week later, Carl Morris, Chair of the Appropriations Committee, granted the ASLA group a hearing. The bill died in Morris's committee, though, said Morris, "the hearing did help."44

Realizing that HB 73 had failed, ASLA leaders contacted Mulford Winsor. Imagine their surprise when they discovered that Winsor had included nothing in his general departmental budget to fund the extension agency. Asked to appeal to the Appropriations Committee for a hearing, he wrote a pro forma letter, but was not permitted to appear.45 Once again, the drive to fund library extension for Arizona had failed.

Perhaps ASLA members might not have been surprised, had they carefully listened to a radio broadcast made by Mulford Winsor over Station KOOL, Phoenix, on September 21, 1950, during ASLA's fall campaign to build citizen interest in library extension. In the course of the broadcast, Winsor described the history and facilities of the Department of Library and Archives, emphasizing the activities of the State Legislative Bureau and the Division of Arizona History -- without so much as mentioning the Extension Agency and what its activation could mean to Arizona citizens.46 In addition, less than two weeks after the adjournment of the state legislature, Mulford Winsor took himself down to Tucson to the annual meeting of the Arizona State Library Association. Here, on March 31, he spoke at the University of Arizona Library, an institution which he had never before visited, on the history of the Department of Library and Archives. In view of the fact that he could hardly have been unaware of the feeling of the ASLA Executive Board toward his failure to include the extension agency in his budget, the fact that he agreed to speak at all would seem to show either courage, a gross lack of sensitivity or an extreme degree of chutzpah. But speak he did, ending his presentation, which contained no mention of extension, with the grandeloquent claim that "We are earnestly endeavoring to contribute our part in the effort so splendidly exerted by the several institutions represented at this section of today's program, to the end that knowledge of the

achievements of Arizona's trail blazers may not perish with the passing of the pioneers; to the end that the names of those whose lives were and are identified with the establishment, the progress, and the development of Arizona may be given just and lasting recognition."47

Don Powell, just past President of ASLA, held his peace until mid April, when he fired a volley at the director of the Department of Library and Archives which no doubt relieved his feelings immensely, though it seems not to have moved its target. Summarizing the activities of the ASLA Executive Board for the past fiscal year, he said,

"At a series of Executive Board meetings last fall it was finally determined to submit to the legislature a bill requesting an appropriation with which to begin the library extension work which had been provided for by law in 1949. Both the general legislative strategy and the amount of the appropriation were worked out in conferences between members of the board and yourself.

"Briefly it was decided that the appropriation request should be $27,000 for the biennium. It was also decided that the association would sponsor a bill requesting this amount, and it was agreed that the same sum would be requested in the budget of the Department of Library and Archives. The bill was to be used for educational purposes, for hearings before the committees, for a talking point; it was hoped that the appropriation could be secured as a general budget item.

"It was on this basis that the association worked out its campaign... It was with great surprise and shock that members of the association discovered some two weeks before the end of the session that the item of $27,000 for the biennium had <u>not</u> been included in the budget request of the Department of Library and Archives. Although this had been part of the agreement between the Association and the Department, the association had not been informed of the change. In spite of support by prominent members of the legislature, the bill could not be got out of the Appropriations Committee and library extension to Arizona's citizens was delayed once more.

"This is the gist of the report. To me there is no doubt that the fact that the appropriation was not included in the budget request for the Department of Library and Archives, contributed substantially to the failure of the request....

"....Many members of the association have given generously, unselfishly, of their time and efforts over periods of many years to further this cause. In view of this, I feel that they are due an account of such progress as we have made and work that we have done."48

Winsor's reply is a masterful non-apology. Said he, "I am astonished and hurt by your statement, and the implications thereof... I distinctly recall the reference to the subject when strategy was being discussed. My opinion, and I am quite certain that I so expressed it, was that the presentation of a separate bill was essential, while inclusion of the item in the budget was immaterial, although it would of course have done no harm...

"I am indeed very sorry if I said anything constituting an agreement with the members of the committee that the item would be included in the budget, or that I regarded it as a matter of any moment. You can rest assured that the fact that it was not in the budget had absolutely nothing to do with the result. With the failure of the House to pass the bill the (appropriations) committee had no intention of including it (in the Department's general budget) ...

"Of course the difficulty of securing legislative support all stems from the impression that the authorization given for library extension was contingent upon the enactment of a bill by Congress providing for Federal aid."49

From hereon in, the Arizona State Library Association declared open season on Mulford Winsor and the Department of Library and Archives.

Why would Mulford Winsor have broken his verbal agreement, reiterated several times, with the Executive Board of the Arizona State Library Association? One can only speculate, of course. But no doubt he knew the members of the Legislative Appropriations Committee well enough to realize that his chances of getting an overall increase in his Departmental budget would be better if he did not insert a line item for a previously unfunded agency, particularly one not favored by legislators.

And indeed, this is precisely what happened. From a steady state budget of $40,340 for each fiscal year since 1949, the budget approved by the Twentieth State Legislature for the Department of Library and Archives for fiscal year 1952-53 totalled $57,670.50

1. "Looking Forward," Arizona Librarian, v. 6, no. 4 (Oct. 1949), 13.

2. Arizona State Library Association. 20th annual conference, proceedings, Apr. 1-2, 1949, typescript, p. 2, ASLA file, DLAPR.

3. Gertrude James to Patricia Paylore, Apr. 14, 1949, typescript copy, ASLA file, DLAPR.

4. James to Helen Ridgway, Apr. 21, 1949, typescript copy, ASLA file, DLAPR.

5. Gertrude James to Esther Meier, May 5, 1949, typescript copy, ASLA file, DLAPR.

6. Paylore to members of ASLA Survey and Planning Committee, May 23, 1949, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

7. Dixie Thompson to Pat Paylore, May 31, 1949, typescript, ASLA file, DLAPR.

8. Gertrude Thayer to Patricia Paylore, Aug. 15, 1949, typescript, ASLA file, DLAPR.

9. Mulford Winsor to Special Legislative Committee on State Operations, no date, probably spring 1949, typescript copy, p. 2-3, Winsor collection, DLAPR.

10. Winsor to Fred J. Fritz, May 31, 1949, typescript copy, DLAPR.

11. Winsor to Robert E. Morrow, June 20, 1949, typescript copy, DLAPR.

12. Arizona. Legislature. Special Legislative Committee on State Operations. Report on General State Organization. Phoenix: Griffenhagen & Associates, Dec. 1949. Section 5, p. 47.

13. Gertrude James to Patricia Paylore, Dec. 2, 1949, typescript, ASLA file, DLAPR.

14. Arizona State Library Association. Executive Board. Minutes, Jan. 14, 1950. typescript, p. 2, ASLA file, DLAPR.

15. ASLA news sheet, Feb. 23, 1950, mimeo, ASLA file, DLAPR.

16. "State Library Group to open meet Friday," Arizona Republic, March 1, 1950.

17. ASLA. Executive Board. Minutes, March 3, 1950, typescript, ASLA file, DLAPR; ASLA. Proceedings of the 21st annual convention, Arizona Librarian, 7 (Apr. 1950), 10-13.

18. Arizona State Library Association. HB 34: Appropriation for Library Extension, plea to legislators, March 1, 1950, mimeo, ASLA file, DLAPR.

19. Gertrude James to Helen Ridgway, March 14, 1950, typescript copy, ASLA file, DLAPR.

20. Arizona. House Journal, First Special Session. Phoenix, 1950, p. 213.

21. Gertrude James to Helen Ridgway, March 14, 1950, typescript copy, ASLA file, DLAPR.

22. Eleanor B. Sloan to Mulford Winsor, March 24, 1950.

23. Donald M. Powell to Irene Peck, March 23, 1950, typescript copy, ASLA file, DLAPR.

24. Harold C. Giss to Ray E. Langham, May 16, 1950, typescript copy, Winsor files, DLAPR.

25. Mulford Winsor to Harold C. Giss, May 18, 1950, typescript copy, Winsor files, DLAPR.

26. Arizona. State Legislature. Special Legislative Committee on State Operations. 2nd annual report, Jan. 8, 1951. State Doc. LG5:1:950, DLAPR.

27. MW to Fred J. Fritz, Chair, Interim Committee, May 24, 1950, typescript copy, DLAPR.

28. Special Committee, 2nd annual report, op. cit.

29. Claiborne Nuckolls, "Library Contains Books Worth Million," Arizona Republic, Sept. 10, 1950.

30. Arizona. Dept. of Library and Archives. Report, July 1, 1948-June 30, 1950, p. 5-6.

31. Robert H. Forbes to MW, Sept. 20, 1950, typescript, DLAPR.

32. Arizona. Dept. of Library and Archives. Report, July 1, 1948-June 30, 1950, p. 18-19.

33. Patricia Paylore to the Arizona Municipal League, May 1, 1950. County-city agreements, of course, were already a part of Arizona law.

34. Donald M. Powell to Helen Ridgway, May 22, 1950, typescript copy, ASLA file, DLAPR.

35. Powell to Irene S. Peck, July 31, 1950, typescript copy, ASLA file, DLAPR.

36. ASLA. Executive Board. Minutes, Sept. 23, 1950, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

37. Powell to Jennie Welcome, Oct. 2, 1950, typescript copy, ASLA files.

38. Powell to Gertrude R. James, Oct. 2, 1950, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

39. Irene S. Peck to D. M. Powell, Oct. 19, 1950, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

40. Powell to M. Winsor, Oct. 25, 1950, typescript, Winsor files, DLAPR.

41. MW to D.M.Powell, Oct. 27, 1950, typescript copy, Winsor files, DLAPR.

42. Gertrude James to Helen Ridgway, Nov. 20, 1950, typescript, ALA archives, U of Ill, Champaign/Urbana, IL.

43. See, for example, Don Powell's account of the Yuma meeting, Dec. 2, 1950, typescript, 2 p., ASLA files, DLAPR.

44. Gertrude James, ASLA Legislative Committee Report, 1950-51, p. 2, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

45. Gertrude James, ASLA Legislative Committee Report, 1950-51, p. 2, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

46. Mulford Winsor, "The Arizona State Department of Library & Archives," Arizona Librarian, 7 (Jan. 1951), 6-8.

47. Mulford Winsor, untitled, 8 typewritten pages, headed with note, "Arizona Library Association, Tucson, March 30-31, 1951, E.W.Davis personal files.

48. Don Powell to Mulford Winsor, Apr. 13, 1951, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

49. Winsor to Powell, Apr. 16, 1951, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

50. Biennial reports, Arizona. Dept. of Library and Archives.

XXII. THE EXTENSION AGENCY: A DOUBLE CROSS AND A FAILURE 1951-54

Summer in Arizona is rarely conducive to extra activities. Members of the Arizona State Library Association Executive Board, with Marie Seidentopf as newly elected president, did little to further the cause of funding for library extension until fall 1951. But on October 6, members of the ASLA Executive Board met first with Mulford Winsor1 and then with Governor Howard W. Pyle regarding the Department of Library and Archives and its non-funded extension agency. At the end of their conference, Pyle promised to talk with Winsor about the matter.2 This he did. As to what transpired during their meeting, Winsor said only that Governor Pyle agreed with Winsor, that legislators would respond more favorably to pressure from local citizens rather than the continued prodding of members of the State Library Association, whom legislators considered to be motivated by self interest.3

Reinforcements for the cause of library extension came that same month from the eleven Arizona Chapters of the American Association of University Women, who decided to make this the topic for their year's work. Their fall workshop, held in Scottsdale Saturday, October 27, featured a panel discussion on library extension made up of three librarians: Marie Siedentopf, Gertrude James, and Mulford Winsor, with Robert H. Wallace, legislative representative from Maricopa County representing the Arizona Legislature.

Unfortunately, the workshop did not turn out quite as extension supporters had hoped. Representative Wallace occupied most of the allotted time in berating the librarians "for not being able to tell the legislature what the cost (of the extension agency) would be over a period of time." When Mulford Winsor chimed in to inform workshop participants that "the only purpose of the bill (to establish the State Extension Agency) as it was passed in 1949 was to enable the state to accept federal aid should the federal library service demonstration bill pass Congress," library extension supporters were dismayed. The meeting ended before any of the librarians present were able to rebut Wallace's charges, to say nothing of Winsor's statement.4

As Patricia Paylore put it the following spring, "As I go about the state talking to various groups about this problem, I continually run up against Mr. Wallace's misconceptions about our purpose. His statement ... that we had never submitted a budget is, of course, a deliberate misstatement...5 Concerning Mr. Winsor's statement ... I admit that this was one of the purposes of our legislation, but ... it was certainly not the only purpose."6

Before the opening of the Second Regular Session of the Twentieth Legislature on January 14, 1952, ASLA President Marie Siedentopf met again with Mulford Winsor. Her frustration when she learned that the library's budget was set for the year and that an appropriation for the extension agency would not be included may be imagined. The Library Extension Agency would be without funding for another year.7 But Winsor himself seems to have fared well under the Twentieth Legislature. Before the end of the session, Senate Bill 40 was passed stating that "until

otherwise provided by law, the present director of the department of library and archives shall be director of the department of library and archives." In addition, the act raised the director's salary from $5,000 to $7200.8

On April 5, 1952, the ASLA Executive Board voted to reactivate the ASLA Extension Committee. Once again, Patricia Paylore was named chair; she chose five of the most committed ASLA leaders: Gertrude James, Donald Powell, Dixie Thompson, Elizabeth Smith, and Patience Golter to serve with her on the committee. The charge to the committee was to draw up a five year plan for library extension for Arizona and to have it ready to present to ASLA membership at the annual meeting in May. The Executive Board agreed that the plan should be shown to Mulford Winsor, but that the Association would proceed with the plan whether he approved or not. Further, all candidates for the State Legislature should be asked to take a stand on the plan before the November election. In addition, the plan would be the basis for legislation to be submitted to the Twenty-First Legislature in January 1953.9

On May 3, 1952, the Extension Committee's Five-Year Plan for Library Extension for Arizona was presented to ASLA membership at the annual meeting.10 The plan called for a total expenditure of $150,265 for the first five years of the extension agency's work, including salaries for a director-field worker, a cataloger-librarian, a secretary, a field worker, and a clerk. Money for capital expenditures for a station wagon / bookmobile, books, films and sound recordings, and other necessary equipment was also included.11

Following the ASLA meeting, Patricia Paylore took the plan to Senator William F. Kimball for his opinion. Paylore was heartened by his reaction. After making several helpful suggestions, Kimball said, "I want to draw this bill for you!"

Paylore was stunned by this unexpected offer of help from a senator who had previously been antagonistic to the cause of library extension. "Now," she concluded in a letter to Gertrude James, "all we have to do is pray for his re-election -- something I never thought I"d live to do."12

Armed with the emended "Five-Year Plan," Extension Committee members traveled to Phoenix on May 21 to meet first with Mulford Winsor and then with Governor Howard Pyle. Donald Powell reported that the conference had been "fairly successful... While Mr. Winsor made no solemn commitments, he did say that if conditions seemed favorable as they do at present, he would make a request in his budget for funds to activate the state library agency. This is a more positive statement than we have ever had from him before, and while we cannot be sure that he will actually put this in his budget until the budget request is in, the situation certainly looks hopeful.

"Governor Pyle, whom we saw after speaking with Mr. Winsor, was most cordial and pleased with the plan... (He) said that if things went smoothly as we expected that he would make state library extension a part of his message to the legislature."13

It is doubtful, however, that Mulford Winsor had had a real change of heart about the importance of library extension as a

part of his department's operation. As always, other interests took precedence with him, though he presented a veneer of civil acquiescence to the ASLA representatives. Without doubt he was much more interested in a warmly appreciative biographical sketch by Claiborne Nuckolls entitled "State's Grand Old Gentleman Reigns over Winsor's Castle" which appeared in the Arizona Republic on May 25. Characterizing Winsor as "Pioneer, statesman, philosopher, student, and historian," Nuckolls described him as a "diminutive figure of a man, with piercing blue eyes that sparkle behind steel rimmed glasses," and stated that he had "played a major role in shaping Arizona's destinies since well before statehood." And what did Nuckolls see as Winsor's greatest strength? "Winsor almost literally lives and breathes Arizona and its historical lore. At almost any hour you may find him poring over a newly acquired document or volume or working on his own history of Arizona government from territorial days through statehood. He possesses an inexhaustible collection of historical notes about events of the past and prominent figures of the early days. He was there when many of these events took place. And he personally knew nearly all the picturesque figures he describes...

"As the years rolled on, Mulford Winsor's unceasing research has narrowed and linked together the earlier gaps in Arizona history. The world of the future will know more about Arizona because he answered the call of the West before the turn of the last century."

Those were fine words, which, added to the handsome salary increase that the Legislature had voted for him in January, must have gone far to balance out any worries Winsor might have had as to the fate of his library in the coming session of the legislature. Worry about library extension he did not. As a matter of fact, he had matters so well under control at the library that he took a four day vacation in July, something he had not done for ten years, and went home to Yuma to look after his Persian date farm.14

Once back at his desk, Winsor responded to Radio KOOL's request for an interview for its "Inform the Public Series." Answering a series of questions from news editor Don Harvey, he described the operations of the Department of Library and Archives in some detail. Although several of Harvey's questions could certainly have elicited a statement about the value of library extension, this was obviously the furthest thing from Winsor's mind. If anyone had ever doubted, Winsor only passively tolerated the efforts of Arizona's library supporters to activate his non functioning extension agency.15

Winsor's lack of enthusiasm is further demonstrated in his answer to a request from Julia D. Bennett of the American Library Association for information about library development and extension work in Arizona.16 He responded by quoting Section 2-503, Arizona Code of 1939, as amended by Chapter 51, Laws of 1949, the enabling legislation for the extension agency. He commented briefly on the agency as the final paragraph in his answer:

"This amendment was adopted in anticipation of the passage

of the Library Services Bill, but was unaccompanied by any appropriation for the making of a survey to determine with accuracy the library needs of the various counties and sections of the State, which are now known only in a general way. Nor have the efforts exerted by library enthusiasts (chiefly the Library Extension Service Committee of the Arizona Library Association) at subsequent sessions availed to secure funds, failure in each instance being attributable to the continued failure of the Library Services Bill. Hence we are unable to provide you with answers to all of the questions included in your questionnaire."17

Arizona's "library enthusiasts," chief among them Patricia Paylore, resumed their campaign to activate the library extension agency in October. Unable to meet with Governor Pyle in person, Paylore wrote Pyle to ask if Winsor had submitted his budget for the coming year. If so, was there some way that ASLA could examine the budget to see if he had kept his word and had included funding for the Extension Agency? "Senator Kimball has assured me that he is with us 'all the way' on this project," Paylore continued, "and that he will do everything in his power to see that Mr. Winsor's budget receives full consideration. This latest ally, together with your promise of including this legislation in the message to the Legislature next January, has heartened us greatly. We feel that prospects for the future are brighter than they have ever been."18

By December, ASLA members ascertained that Winsor had, indeed, asked for money in his 1953 budget to activate the extension agency. "It is a good deal less than the amount we believed was the absolute minimum at which a beginning could be made," commented Patricia Paylore, "but nevertheless we will attempt to go along with his figure. The immediate problem is to secure legislative support for Mr. Winsor's entire budget in the coming legislature. The fear is that funds for new services, such as this would be, might be whacked off entirely. We must prevent this happening if possible, through education of legislators to the need for the type of service planned."19

Paylore's fears were well founded. The Twenty-First Legislature met between January 12 and March 31, 1953. Despite his promise, Governor Pyle did not mention library extension in his message to the legislature. As Paylore succinctly phrased it, "It would appear therefore that we have been 'forgotten' (euphonious for double crossed) once more."20

Undaunted, Gertrude James and Patience Golter had a hearing before the House Appropriations Committee on behalf of Winsor's budget line item of $17,700 for the Extension Agency. Significantly, the chair of the committee, Neilson Brown of Santa Cruz County, who opposed the funding, was absent. On February 25, Patricia Paylore and other members of the ASLA Legislative and Publicity Committees and representatives of the American Association of University Women met with the House Education Committee. "It was subsequently learned that while the Education Committee recommended approval of the budget request for this item, the Chairman (Neilson Brown) of the Appropriations Committee was unalterably opposed to it. It was therefore

stricken from the budget in Committee...

"The Legislative Committee refuses to concede defeat," continued Chairman Paylore, with determined optimism. "This incurable optimism that Arizona will eventually provide extension service arises from our knowledge that it is wanted, and that each year more and more citizens join us in our fight. Our feeling is that the Legislature this year was definitely on the defensive. They had to work harder than ever to refuse this request. There is no doubt whatever in our minds that with informed constituencies speaking their minds vigorously, legislators who have bottled up our appropriations requests in the past must eventually heed the increasing pressure being brought to bear upon them."21

Although the refusal of the Twenty-First Legislature to fund the Library Extension Bureau brought frustration and anguish to Arizona State Library Association leaders who had worked so long for this goal, the director of the Department of Library and Archives which housed the unfunded extension agency had his own private agony. Shortly after the opening of the Twenty-first Legislature's first session, on January 15, 1953, Senators Merryweather, Kimball, and Orme introduced Senate Bill number 6, which called for the creation of a Legislative Council, to consist of the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, five senators and five representatives, who would "provide bill drafting, research, and such other services to the legislature as might be deemed necessary to improve the quality of legislation." The Council would "assume the powers and duties of the Department of Library and Archives and the Director thereof relating to the State Legislative Bureau, as well as all the powers and duties of that bureau."22

The bill, which had general support, reached the Senate Committee of the Whole on January 22. Obviously, however, the same senators who could see no reason for spending state money to further the cause of rural library service had some understanding of the anguish this change would mean to the man who had served them for so many years as the director of the Legislative Bureau. Senator Kel M. Fox asked that an explanation of his vote be inserted in the Senate Journal. Describing Winsor as "the spright (sic.) octogenarian head of the State Department of Library and Archives whose dual role as head of the Legislative Bureau will be eliminated if this bill becomes law," Kell continued by stating, "Speaking as but one member of this body, I want to take this opportunity to acknowledge the deep debt owed by both the legislature and by the people of Arizona to this remarkable public servant, one of the few links between Arizona's romantic and colorful past and its glorious future."23

The bill passed the Senate unanimously on January 23. After some compromise, it was passed by the House and returned to the Senate for that body's approval. By Friday, February 13, five senators, no doubt certain that their change of stance would not influence the outcome, determined to vote against it. Senator Sullivan's explanation of his negative vote, inserted in the Senate Journal, constituted another tribute to Mulford

Winsor. Said Sullivan,

"During many terms as a member of this body, I have had occasion to have many bills prepared by Mr. Mulford Winsor as head of the legislative bureau. I have always found that not only is Mr. Winsor very cooperative in working with me, but also preparing my bills in a manner that needed but little, if any, correction or alteration after they had been screened by the various committees to which they had been assigned. As a business man, when I have a man working for me who has given complete satisfaction for many years, I don't replace him with a new man who has not had experience. Mr. Winsor has been preparing the bills for this legislature for over a period of twenty-five years and has given complete satisfaction. The passage of Senate Bill 6 will remove this work from Mr. Winsor's department. This body owes a great debt to this remarkable man for his many years of service to us and the people of Arizona..."24

Without doubt these kind words and other expressions of regard from his legislative colleagues pleased Winsor, but the axe fell nonetheless. The Senate passed the revised bill, 14-5; it was signed by Governor Howard Pyle on February 16. Winsor's library kingdom was truncated.

Having removed the legislative reference bureau from Winsor's control, the legislature turned its attention to another matter which some of them, at least, hoped would lure the "spright octogenarian" librarian into relinquishing his position entirely. After many years of wrangling and foot dragging, the legislature passed the State Employees' Retirement Act. Stating that "The purpose of this Act is to effect economy and efficiency in the state service by providing a means whereby employees who become superannuated may, without hardship or prejudice, be replaced by more capable employees," the Act provided retirement funds based on salary and length of service for any state employee sixty years of age or older, with the requirement that state employees must retire before they reached the age of seventy. House Bill 19 passed the House on March 12, with an amendment by Representative Polly Rosenbaum specifically exempting Mulford Winsor from compulsory retirement at that age (Winsor would turn seventy-nine on May 31 that same year) The bill was signed into law on April 8, 1953. 25

And finally, to prove, one must suppose, that Arizona's legislators were not actually opposed to public libraries -- just to state funding for their support -- the legislators passed House Bill 25, which permitted an increase in the statutory tax limit for local support of public libraries from one mill to one and one half mills in a city or town for establishing and maintaining a library. Yes, if the people of Arizona wanted libraries, let them tax themselves locally to maintain them.

Patricia Paylore was elected President of the Arizona State Library Association at the 24th convention of the Arizona State Library Association, held at the Hacienda del Sol in Tucson on April 11-12, 1953. By May, she was working out strategies with Bill Bartels, North Phoenix High School Librarian and chair of the ASLA Legislative Committee, for cracking some of the hard

nuts in the legislature at the next legislative session. As she advised Bartels, "I feel that we should not waste too much time on a state wide canvass of all legislators, as nine tenths of them are of no value to us. The ones to hit and hit hard and hit soon are people like Senator (Alfred) Paul from Cochise County and Neilson Brown from Santa Cruz. These were the boys that really stopped us cold this winter... Do you know (Representative Robert H.) Wallace (of Phoenix)? Mr. Winsor says that he is just constitutionally opposed to Library Extension. It might be worth our while to have you ask for a conference with him sometime. I will try to take care of Paul and Brown down here."26

On October 8, Paylore drove to Santa Cruz County outside of Nogales to keep an appointment with Neilson Brown, chairman of the powerful House Appropriations Committee. Several years later, she described the meeting. "He received me at his fabled ranch house, almost feudal in its baronial splendor. On the walls of his study photographs of the University of Arizona's famous 1928 polo team of which he had been captain reminded me that we had been classmates. His well-manicured hands reached across his well-ordered desk for the Arizona Code and we read the library law aloud together, I quoting it from memory, in a sort of liturgical chant. 'You don't need state aid,' he concluded when we had recited our amens. 'Here's all you need right here in the county library law. Just go on with the good work you've been doing in the counties. If they want it, they'll provide it for themselves.'" And with condescending courtesy, the Gentleman from Santa Cruz rose, the interview at an end, to usher Paylore to the door.27

But more was to come. At the request of Mrs. H. C. Autenrieth, AAUW President, on October 13, Patricia Paylore traveled to Phoenix to appear on an AAUW panel with Bill Bartels representing the library position and Senator Miller and Representative Wallace on the opposing side.28 Things did not go well for the library contingent; as Bartels stated, "the consensus of all present was that further emphasis should be on local responsibility for local development."29 Or, as Paylore, considerably discouraged, put it, "it would seem futile to continue plugging for state aid for the rest of this year at least. It would seem to me that our best tactic is to follow the advice we received that might emphasize development of county library service wherever possible."30

It would have been out of character, however, for Patricia Paylore to give up so easily. By November 12 she had rallied; as she put it to her AAUW friend Bert Autenrieth, "we have gone too far, put too much into this, been at it too long and believe in it too firmly to give up in the face of such legislative opposition as was expressed at your meeting." ASLA officers determined, therefore, to appear once again before the House Appropriations Committee at the next legislative session in January 1954.31

Their appeal to the House Appropriations Committee the following February was, predictably, futile, despite some unexpected support from Mulford Winsor, who testified before the committee personally. Later, he reported that "Mr. Brown's

response was, 'Mr. Winsor, don't you think that is a local matter?' Mr. Wallace's stare was as stony as ever."32

But Patricia Paylore was determined to try again. Knowing that Polly Rosenbaum, chair of the House Education Committee to which the library's budget was also referred, was friendly to the cause of libraries, she sought a hearing before that group. The result exceeded her worst expectations. As she told it, "The gentleman from Maricopa County's Fourth District said: 'Tell me, Miss Paylore, isn't this agency you're trying to set up just another bureau that you librarians have dreamed up? If the people of the state want this service you've been trying to cram down their throats, why don't they come to us and ask for it?'

"I could feel my heart beating with a slow-rising anger. But I stayed cool and I answered him courteously -- I was an old hand at this business by now and had learned how to behave. But beyond my calculated answer, how could I tell him of the thousands of miles Donald Powell and I had driven in our own cars at our own expense to try to serve the little people of our state who had sent out cries for help? how to tell him that rural people in general, no matter what their needs and aspirations, are inarticulate and unorganized, without direction or leadership? But I tried, and do you know what he said when I stopped? He said it seemed awfully funny to him that if what I said was true, our volunteer work, noble as it has been, hadn't done any good, since there still weren't any more libraries. If people really wanted libraries, why didn't they follow our advice?

"But the climax of that session came, after I had presented evidence that it was no conspiracy on our part to build an empire, when (Robert E. Morrow) the gentleman from Mohave County (population 8,000, no tax supported library) leaned forward and shook an admonishing finger at me. 'Didn't you promise us in 1949 when we passed the law creating this agency that it was only to enable the state to accept federal funds, and that you would not ask thereafter for state funds?'

"This was a reference to the most infamous double-cross in Arizona's stormy library history, and I gripped the edge of the table till my knuckles showed white. To this there was no answer that could be made without revealing the fatal dissension within our own ranks. I was there to speak for all the librarians in the state and I could speak for only some of us.

"Politics! Who said librarians were sheltered refined intellectuals, and that library work was such nice clean work?... If anybody had told me twenty-five years ago when I began my first full-time library job that I'd end up at a legislative inquisition, talking back to a modern Torquemada, I'd have said he was crazy.

"I talked for eleven hours that day to the State Librarian, to officers and committee chairmen of the Association, to the newspapers, to lay groups whose support we sought, and to seven key legislators at an unofficial meeting outside the capitol chambers.

"And I got nowhere -- a chronicle of failure.

"I drove back to Tucson alone, a hundred and twenty-five

miles, got home at one-thirty the next morning, and was at work at my regular University library job by eight o'clock."33

A chronicle of failure, with its inevitable conclusion; the library extension agency remained unfunded.

But for Mulford Winsor, who even with his token support of the line item for library extension in his library budget had long since proven that although he might be "superannuated" he could be counted on to cooperate with his friends in the legislature, rewards came during the second session of the Legislature. After fifteen years of fruitless requests for an appropriation to complete the construction of the west wing of the capitol building by air conditioning the library, the legislature (HB 28) appropriated $2500 for the purpose.34 And more was to come. On January 20, 1954, the "greying, stooped director of the state library and archives" was given an unprecedented honor by his colleagues on the floor of the House: a House Resolution, signed by the entire house membership.35

As Winsor told it, "The House resolution took me completely by surprise. I had not the slightest intimation of what was planned. The Sergeant-at-Arms walked in and advised that the Speaker requested my presence. I was escorted to the rostrum, and the ceremony began. Introduction of the resolution by all of the members was announced and the document was read. Members of the House to the number of fifteen or twenty made speeches, some of which outdid the resolution itself. When the Speaker requested all who favored adoption of the resolution to arise, every member arose. The resolution itself, bearing the signature of every member of the House, was then presented to me. It is in my archives -- a record for all time. It would be very strange if I did not prize it highly."36

Indeed, as his daughter Eleanor said some years later, "I venture to say this was the happiest moment of my father's life."37

The resolution, which expressed "appreciation to Mulford Winsor, director of the state department of library and archives, for his many years of constructive influence as a scholarly and sincere builder of Arizona,"38 was of the variety usually introduced when a public official retires. Windsor, however, stated when asked that he had "no thought of retiring."39

1. Marie Siedentopf to M. Winsor, Oct. 11, 1951, typescript, DLAPR.

2. Seidentopf to Pyle, Oct. 8, 1951, typescript, DLAPR.

3. Pencil note by Marie Siedentopf, evidently notes from a telephone conversation with Mulford Winsor on a letter, Donald M. Powell to Marie Siedentopf, Dec. 12, 1951, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

4. Marie Siedentopf to S. Janice Kee, ALA, March 11, 1952, typescript copy, ASLA files, and "AAUW Panel on Library Extension," Arizona Librarian, 8 (Oct. 1951), p. 16.

5. Cf the detailed two year budget for the State Library Extension Agency submitted as part of H.B. 73 introduced by Max Connolly (D., Maricopa) on behalf of ASLA during the 1951 session of the Twentieth Legislature; see also Arizona Librarian, 8 (Jan. 1951), p. 4.

6. Patricia Paylore to Nell B. Byers, AAUW State Project Committee, March 13, 1951, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

7. ASLA Executive Board, meeting, January 5, 1952, minutes, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

8. Arizona. Session Laws, 1952, Chapter 87, 2-509, 2-510.

9. Patricia Paylore to ASLA Extension Committee members, Apr. 10, 1952, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

10. Arizona Librarian, 9 (July 1952), p. 13.

11. ASLA. Extension Committee. "Five-Year Plan for Library Extension for Arizona, May 1952," 3 p., typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR. Also in Arizona Librarian, 9 (July 1952), p. 19-21.

12. Patricia Paylore to Gertrude James, May 6, 1952, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR. Kimball's copy of the ASLA plan with his notes and emendations in University of Arizona Library, Special Collections, Kimball collection.

13. Donald M. Powell to Gertrude Burt, June 5, 1952, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

14. Winsor to William A. Sullivan, July 14, 1952, typescript copy, Winsor files, DLAPR.

15. Script for Radio Station KOOL's "Inform the Public" series, aired Aug. 25, 1952, E.W.Davis files.

16. Julia D. Bennett to MW, Aug. 29, 1952, typescript, ALA archives, University of Illinois.

17. Winsor to Bennett, typescript, Sept. 3, 1952, ALA archives.

18. Patricia Paylore to Governor Howard Pyle, Oct. 20, 1952, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

19. Paylore to Phyllis Bayley, Dec. 16, 1952, typescript copy, ASLA.

20. Paylore to ASLA Executive Board, Jan. 30, 1953, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

21. ASLA. Legislative Committee. Report, Apr. 10, 1953, mimeographed, ASLA files, DLAPR.

22. Arizona. 21st Legislature, Journal of the Senate, quoted in J. Morris Richards, History of the State Legislature of Arizona, 1989, microfiche.

23. Arizona. 21st Legislature. 1st regular session, 1953. Senate Journal, p. 71-72.

24. Arizona. 21st Legislature. 1st regular session, 1953. Journal of the Senate, p. 133-134.

25. Arizona. Laws, Chapter 128, p. 261-266.

26. Paylore to Bartels, May 26, 1953, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

27. Patricia Paylore, "The Effect of Climate and Distance on Libraries in the Arid Regions," in Libraries in the Southwest, edited by Lawrence Clark Powell. Los Angeles, University of California Library, Occasional Papers, no. 3, 1955, p. 48-49.

28. Mrs. H.C. Autenrieth to P. Paylore, Sept. 26, 1953, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

29. ASLA Executive Board. Minutes of the meeting, Nov. 7, 1953, Arizona Librarian, 11 (Jan. 1954), p. 16.

30. Paylore to Mrs. Autenrieth, Oct. 19, 1953, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

31. Paylore to Mrs. H.C. Autenrieth, Nov. 12, 1953, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

32. Winsor to Paylore, typescript, Feb. 17, 1954, ASLA files, DLAPR.

33. Paylore, "The Effect of Climate and Distance on Libraries..." in Libraries in the Southwest, op. cit., p. 49-50.

34. J. Morris Richards, History of the Arizona jState Legislature, microfiche.

35. "Mulford Winsor is Honored," Arizona Republic, Jan. 20, 1954.

36. Winsor to Eleanor Winsor Davis, Feb. 6, 1954, typescript, EWD collection.

37. Eleanor Winsor Davis, interview with Margaret F. Maxwell, Sept. 20, 1991.

38. Arizona. House. 21st Legislature, 2nd regular session, HR 3, Jan. 20, 1954, 4 p. typescript, original in Winsor files, box 7, folder 6, DLAPR.

39. "Former Citizen Co-Publisher Honored by House Resolution," Tucson Citizen, Jan. 20, 1954.

XXIII. DEATH OF MULFORD WINSOR AND ACTIVATION OF LIBRARY EXTENSION

Taking her cue from legislators who had informed her that Arizona's already existing county library law should serve the needs of rural libraries, Patricia Paylore determined to pursue that avenue. On March 1, 1954, Pima County, one of Arizona's two counties which had taken advantage of the county library law, acquired a new Gerstenslager Bookmobile. Before it was put into service, Paylore arranged with the City of Tucson for permission to take the bookmobile on a demonstration tour of neighboring Cochise County. Sponsored by the Arizona State Library Association in cooperation with the Carnegie Library of Tucson, Paylore, together with Phyllis Ball, Donald Powell, and John E. Thayer, all of the University Library, made a three day, four hundred mile pilgrimage over mountain roads and sandy desert tracks, stopping at trading posts, school houses, as well as the small towns and cities of the county. As bookmobile driver, John Thayer sensed "the deep inner feelings of the missionary who labors in the field." Describing the trip later, he told of "Women from remote ranches (who) journeyed countless miles to wait for the bookmobile as it made scheduled stops along the road... Few had known just what a bookmobile would be like, and admitted as much. However, their awe of this wonderful new travelling library was overcome as soon as they saw the collection of 2500 attractive books carried on its shelves...

"If you doubt the immediate and genuine response of a child to an attractive book, then by all means spend some time watching the expressions on young faces as they step into a bookmobile for the first time... With what eagerness did the very young reach for books on the lower shelves devised for their convenience... How content these youngsters would have been if only they might have remained lost in those magic pages for the remainder of the day...

"The bookmobile covered more than four hundred miles in three days. Moving through Sulphur Spring Valley, it stopped at villages so small one had to look on both sides of the road to avoid missing them. It made its way into that canyon colorfully known as Mule Pass Gulch, to stop at Bisbee. And on it rolled to halt before the roofed sidewalks of Tombstone. Through its doors passed the curious and those who wanted books -- wanted them desperately.

"In a sense it was downright cruel of us to take the bookmobile and its collection to the people of Cochise County, to let them see and touch books which they could not take away with them. And yet that was the purpose behind our visit... By presenting to them in a very real way a practical answer to their needs for library coverage, we hope they will be spurred into that action necessary if they are to realize such possibilities. So, too, must the other counties within the state take up the fight if they are to enjoy the fruits of adequate library service... In no other way can this hunger for books be satisfied."1

The bookmobile tour, an effort to promote grass roots interest in a county library system in Cochise County, was

Patricia Paylore's last major activity before the end of her tenure as ASLA President. Shortly before the annual ASLA conference, this time held jointly April 23 through April 25, 1954, with the New Mexico State Library Association at the Royal Palms Inn in Phoenix, Paylore summarized her activities as president. As she remembered,

"I made four trips to Phoenix by car. I drove to Eloy, to Hayden, to Nogales, to Douglas, and to Safford, and I went by train to Yuma. I accompanied the Pima County Bookmobile in my own car on its four hundred mile trip through Cochise County. In addition, I represented the Association at various meetings at the annual conference of the American Library Association in Los Angeles last June and again at its midwinter meeting in Chicago in February of this year. I have been your spokesman before the Arizona State Legislature, and at various clubs and organizations...

"Did all this travelling do any good, you ask.

"From your point of view, I don't know..."2

Despite her stunning record of activities, it seems evident that Patricia Paylore felt that her efforts had brought her little appreciation from her colleagues in the Association. In a long letter of advice and counsel to incoming ASLA President Bill Bartels, she suggested that he set goals immediately, "otherwise you will fritter away the year as I did this past year and come up at the end with a blank... If I can help you and the Association by a frank discussion of my own personal failures as president I am glad to wear the sackcloth."3

One wonders what was behind Paylore's bitter feeling of failure. Whatever the reason, she confined further ASLA activities chiefly to letters of sometimes sharply worded advice to President Bartels.4 She did not attend ASLA Executive Committee meetings, nor did she attend the annual ASLA conference in April 1955, as she had accepted an invitation from Lawrence Clark Powell to speak about the Arizona library dilemma at a conference of librarians and writers co-sponsored by the Rockefeller Foundation, Occidental College, and the California Library Association on April 16.5 That she was glad for an excuse not to appear at the April ASLA conference is evident from her comment to Bill Bartels, stating "I have some regrets that I will not be able to attend ASLA this year, but I am sure that everything will go off more smoothly for my absence. ... Certainly the old adage about "no man being a prophet..." was never truer than in my case."6 In addition, no doubt her activity as Southwest Library Association program chair for the November 1954 convention in Albuquerque, followed by her election as SWLA President, absorbed her time and energy, but her resolute voice for Arizona's libraries must have been missed by many.

Paylore was missed by many, but possibly not by all. Arizona State Library Association activists, perhaps agreeing with Paylore's assessment that "As long as the present incumbent remains in the State Library, the Legislature will never appropriate money for library extension. I have the solemn promise of the highest-placed legislators to this effect!",7 did

nothing during the first regular session of the Twenty-Second State Legislature which opened January 10, 1955. This was somewhat surprising, since the legislature was missing one of library land's most formidable opponents, Neilson Brown, recalcitrant long term chair of the House Appropriations Committee. As for "the present incumbent," otherwise known as Mulford Winsor, he happily submitted the Department's annual budget -- without a line item for the Extension Agency -- to the newly constituted House Appropriations Committee, glad to avoid further confrontations either with the Appropriations Committee or with ASLA.8

Perhaps it is an exaggeration, however, to say that ASLA was entirely inactive during the first legislative session. Early in March, ASLA President Bill Bartels, accompanied by Mulford Winsor, paid a visit to newly inaugurated Governor Ernest W. McFarland. Forwarned by Patricia Paylore's confrontations with Arizona's governors as well as with the courteous but intransigent director of the Department of Library and Archives, Bartels was astonished by what transpired. As he told Paylore, "My visit with the Governor was quite interesting. Mr. Windsor (sic.) took me to his office, introduced me, and proceeded to give the Governor a background on attempts for library extension legislation in the state. This included a denunciation of your acquaintance, Mr. (Neilson) Brown and Mr. (Robert H.) Wallace. He then left me with the Governor, and we talked generally. Later he asked me to repeat the gist of our conversation to Mr. Roland Bibolet, his Secretary. Mr. Bibolet took notes and also asked me to write him recommendations of the Association. This attention was encouraging, but I do not have my hopes up."9

But more wonders were to follow. By fall of the same year, H. R. 2840, the Library Services Act, began to make its way once again through Congress. Hopes had been dashed so many times since the first introduction of the Congressional library bill in 1946 that Arizona's library supporters were only cautiously optimistic. Nevertheless, newly elected ASLA President Frances Fleming suggested that Fleming Bennett, University of Arizona Librarian and chair of the ASLA Federal Relations Committee, look into what might be done on the Arizona scene. Bennett found an unexpected ally in none other than Mulford Winsor, who was now ready to push for legislative support for his extension service. Not only did Winsor ask Bennett for help, but he prepared a three page information sheet on library services in rural areas, to inform Arizona legislators, librarians, and others interested in library service of the purpose of the pending federal Act. Furthermore, as part of his campaign for legislative funding for his extension agency, Winsor told Bennett that his department was ready to undertake a survey of library service in Arizona, a necessary preliminary to Arizona's receipt of federal funds under the pending Act.10

By the time the Twenty-Second Legislature opened on January 9, 1956 for its second regular session, ASLA officers and Mulford Winsor were thinking in terms of a statewide library plan which might be presented to the legislature, one which would qualify Arizona for federal grants when the Library

Services Act became law.11 On January 21, at Winsor's request, seven ASLA officers: Bill Bartels, Dorothy Burge, Mildred Donham, Gertrude Thayer, Dixie Thompson, Mae Wiita, and Fleming Bennett met with Winsor to initiate such a plan. By February 10, the seven officers, constituted as a Special Advisory Committee on Library Extension with Fleming Bennett as chair, had prepared an eight page Plan for Library Extension Service in Arizona for Winsor's approval and use with the legislature. Based on ASLA's 1952 plan, the Plan outlined extension services to be included and requirements for establishing and maintaining them, including a first year budget totalling $40,000 of Arizona funds matched by $49,450 in Federal funds. A suggested second year budget asked for $55,000 in Arizona dollars to be matched by $68,000 in Federal funding.12

Unfortunately, the federal library bill stalled in committee; by the end of March, it seemed evident that it would not pass before the April adjournment of the Arizona Legislature. Dissapointed, Mulford Winsor issued a letter to Arizona's library supporters in which he reminded them that if this happened, the Arizona legislature would refuse to fund the extension agency. However, stated Winsor, "The attention of local authorities should be directed to the law providing that cities and towns may assess a tax of one and a half mills for the operation of local libraries, while the authorities of counties having no library service should be reminded that a tax of one mill may be levied on a county level for the purpose of aiding such service. Interest in library service would thus be stimulated and local libraries established to serve as a foundation for more and better service. With a basic foundation thus laid, passage of the Federal library services measure would unquestionably be promptly followed by legislative matching of the Federal grant."13

None of the ASLA officers could have said it better.

On Thursday, May 31, 1956, Mulford Winsor celebrated his eighty second birthday by working a full eight hour day at the library. But though no festivities interrupted his customary duties on the actual date, he did plan a strenuous celebration for the following Sunday. As he told some old friends from his youthful days in Prescott, "I shall probably take a walk Sunday down to Clay Parker's residence. You may or may not have learned that I have quite a penchant for walking, so a walk to 211 West Paseo and return -- probably about twenty odd miles -- to my residence, should be a pleasant jaunt."14 Winsor was obviously in high good humor and even finer fettle that spring.

But even more was to come. On June 6, 1956, Julia D. Bennett, ALA's Washington Representative, sent a telegram to Fleming Bennett:

"GLAD TIDINGS. SENATE PASSED LIBRARY SERVICES BILL UNDER UNANIMOUS CONSENT LATE TODAY. OUR GREAT DAY IS HERE." Joyfully, Bennett notified his ASLA colleagues. "Now," he said, "we must map out plans for influencing state legislators."15

By the end of the month, an excited Gertrude Keuhl, current ASLA President, wrote to Mulford Winsor stating that she had "received a very nice note from (Congressman) John Rhodes in

which he expressed the opinion that if a measure requesting matching funds was introduced early enough in the next session of our state legislature, Arizona might well be able to receive the full five year benefit of federal funds." Keuhl closed her letter hoping that Winsor "would agree to contributing your many years of experience in working with this (ALSA Legislative) committee, in an advisory capacity, or in any way so designated by you. Mr. Bennett and I are both hoping very hard that you will decide in our favor!"16

Winsor was ready to cooperate, but he also had his own ideas. On August 2, he issued another general letter to "Friends of Library Services," in which he announced the passage of the Federal Library Services Act. "Several years ago," he continued, "when a previous version of the Library Enabling Act was pending in Congress, but failed of enactment, the Legislature designated the Department of Library and Archives as the agency to administer the Act, but neglected to provide funds for the purpose. We trust you will bring the subject to the attention of interested friends of library service and to your representatives in the approaching Legislature, to insure that the subject may not be overlooked at the next session of that body."17

Having issued his letter of appeal, Winsor took himself off for Yuma, which he termed "my relaxation capitol -- summer and winter."18 By September 19 he was back at his desk at the Department of Library and Archives, seemingly none the worse for his week in Yuma's merciless temperatures working in his beloved date grove. He'd been spending summers in Yuma for years, and besides, everyone knows it's a dry heat!

The following week, on September 26, Mulford Winsor suffered a slight stroke and collapsed at his desk. Protesting that he was fine, and that he wanted to clear his desk before he left, he was taken to the Good Samaritan Hospital in Phoenix. A second stroke toward the latter part of October left him with paralysis on the right side and slurred speech.19

Winsor's daughter, Eleanor Winsor Davis, came from San Francisco to visit him in the hospital about this time. As she remembered, "He recognized me and in a thick tongued manner of talking - difficult to understand -- he asked me to take him away. He even made an effort to get out of bed. I made some reassuring remarks about his hospitalization and then talked about Adlai. (Eleanor Davis was working that fall on the Adlai Stevenson Presidential campaign) He knew at the time who I was talking about, but Mrs. Good (Winsor's assistant librarian) and others said he remembered things in the past but would forget more recent events -- like me being there to visit him, for instance."20

As Winsor's condition worsened over the weekend of November 3-4, family members were summoned. He died at 10:55 p.m. on Monday, November 5, 1956.21 His body lay in state in the rotunda of the State Capitol Thursday from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m., followed by funeral services at A.L. Moore and Sons Mortuary at 3 p.m. Additional funeral services were conducted Friday in Yuma at the Johnson Mortuary chapel by the Yuma Elks Lodge, followed by burial in Yuma's Desert Lawn Memorial Park.

When the Twenty-Third State Legislature met in its first regular session in January 1957, the House and Senate unanimously passed House Concurrent Resolution No. 7, paying tribute to the man who had served them so long and so faithfully. As the resolution concluded, "His knowledge of the history of the State of Arizona, gained from personal experience, and his willingness to assist persons who needed information gained Mulford Winsor the well deserved reputation of elder statesman."

Following the adjournment of the Legislature, a bronze plaque was erected in the State Capitol for deceased members of the Arizona Constitutional Convention. Of Mulford Winsor, it said:

Mulford Winsor, 1874-1956
Newspaper publisher and editor
First Territorial Historian
Member, Constitutional Convention
First State Land Commissioner
Member and President of the Senate
Member, Colorado River Commission
Director, Department of Library and Archives
Served to the End
A State Builder
His Work Lives On.22

AFTERWORD

Alice B. Good, chief subordinate officer to Mulford Winsor at the Department of Library and Archives for many years, was appointed Winsor's successor as Director of the Department on November 8, 1956.23 On February 14, 1957, HB 5, granting $31,783 to the Department of Library and Archives "for promoting the development of public library service in rural areas, in accordance with the federal law known as the 'Library Services Act,' was passed by the Legislature and signed into law by Governor McFarland. By April 1, Catherine S. Chadwick, Extension Librarian for the past two years with the State Library of Montana, had arrived in Phoenix to begin her work as Arizona's first Extension Librarian. The battle for library services to all Arizonans was won.

1. John E. Thayer, "Q.E.D," Arizona Librarian, 11 (Apr. 1954), 17-20.

2. Patricia Paylore, "The Sure Traveler," Arizona Librarian, 11 (Apr. 1954), 3-4.

3. Paylore to Bartels, May 20, 1954, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

4. Paylore to Bartels, Nov. 27, 1954, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

5. "Libraries in the Southwest... A Conference..." Los Angeles, University of California Library, 1955.

6. Paylore to Bartels, March 22, 1955, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

7. Paylore to Julia D. Bennett, Director, ALA Washington Office, "Questionnaire: Information to be used with the Library Services Bill," Feb. 16, 1954, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

8. Paylore to Bartels, March 22, 1955, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

9. Bartels to Paylore, March 4, 1955, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

10. Fleming Bennett to Winsor, Dec. 21, 1955, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR; also Mulford Winsor, "Library Services in Rural Areas," undated, probably Dec. 1955, 3 p. typescript, University of Arizona Library, Special Collections.

11. Winsor to Frances Fleming, Jan. 17, 1956, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

12. ASLA. Special Advisory Committee on Library Extension. "A Plan for Library Extension Service in Arizona," Feb. 1956, 8 p. typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

13. Winsor to "Friends of Library Service," March 23, 1956, typescript, ASLA files, DLAPR.

14. Winsor to Mr. and Mrs. M. R. Loring, typescript copy, June 2, 1956, Winsor files, DLAPR.

15. Fleming Bennett, "Special Bulletin," June 7, 1956, typescript copy, ASLA files, DLAPR.

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20. Eleanor W. Davis, undated scrapbook, notes toward a biography of her father, EWD collection.

21. "Mulford Winsor, 82, dies after stroke," Arizona Republic, Nov. 6, 1956.

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