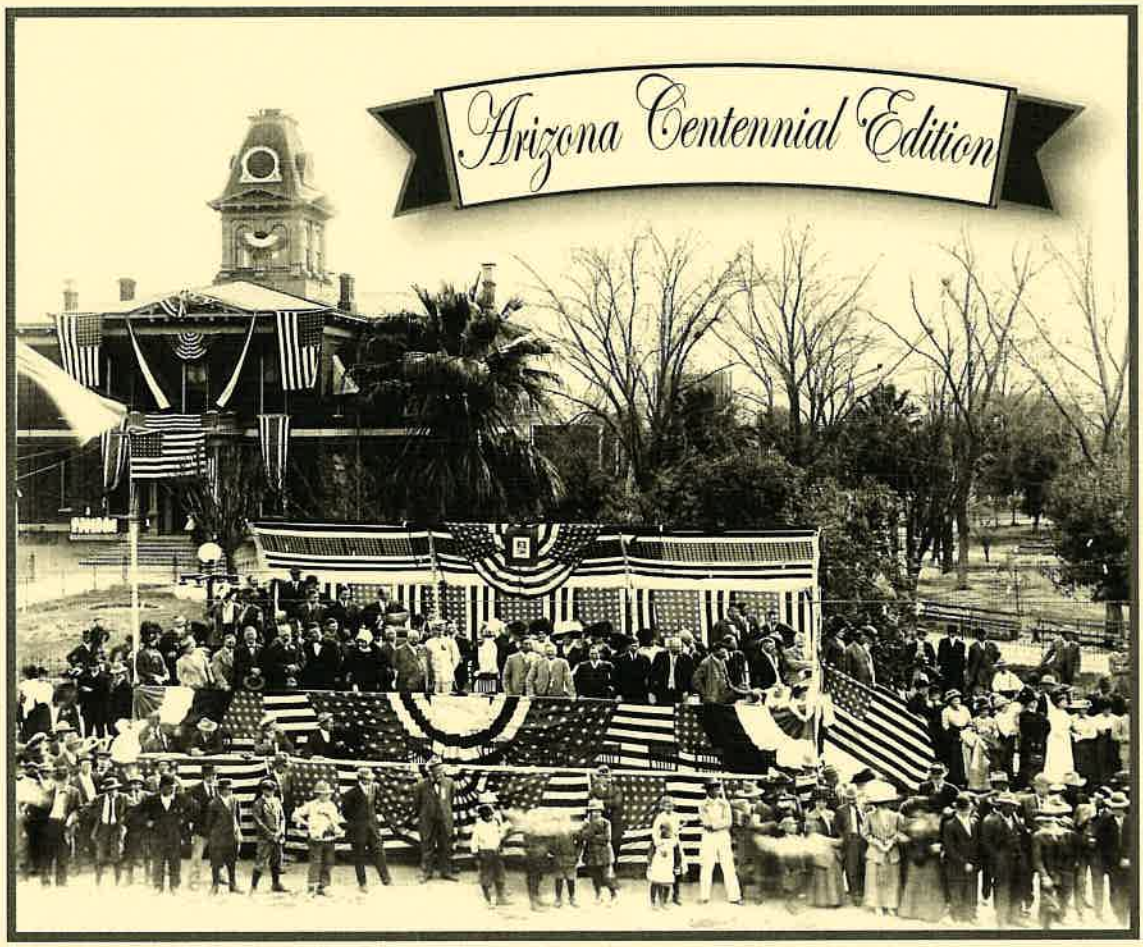
TERRITORIAL TIMES

Prescott Arizona Corral of Westerners International



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John Huff Designs prepared the front cover layout.

Cover Photo: On February 14, 1912, Phoenix was the site for a statehood celebratory parade along Washington Avenue from midtown to the Capitol building. The reviewing stand was located near midtown with the old Phoenix City Hall seen in the background left.

Back Cover: The Great Seal of Arizona, courtesy of the Arizona Secretary of State.

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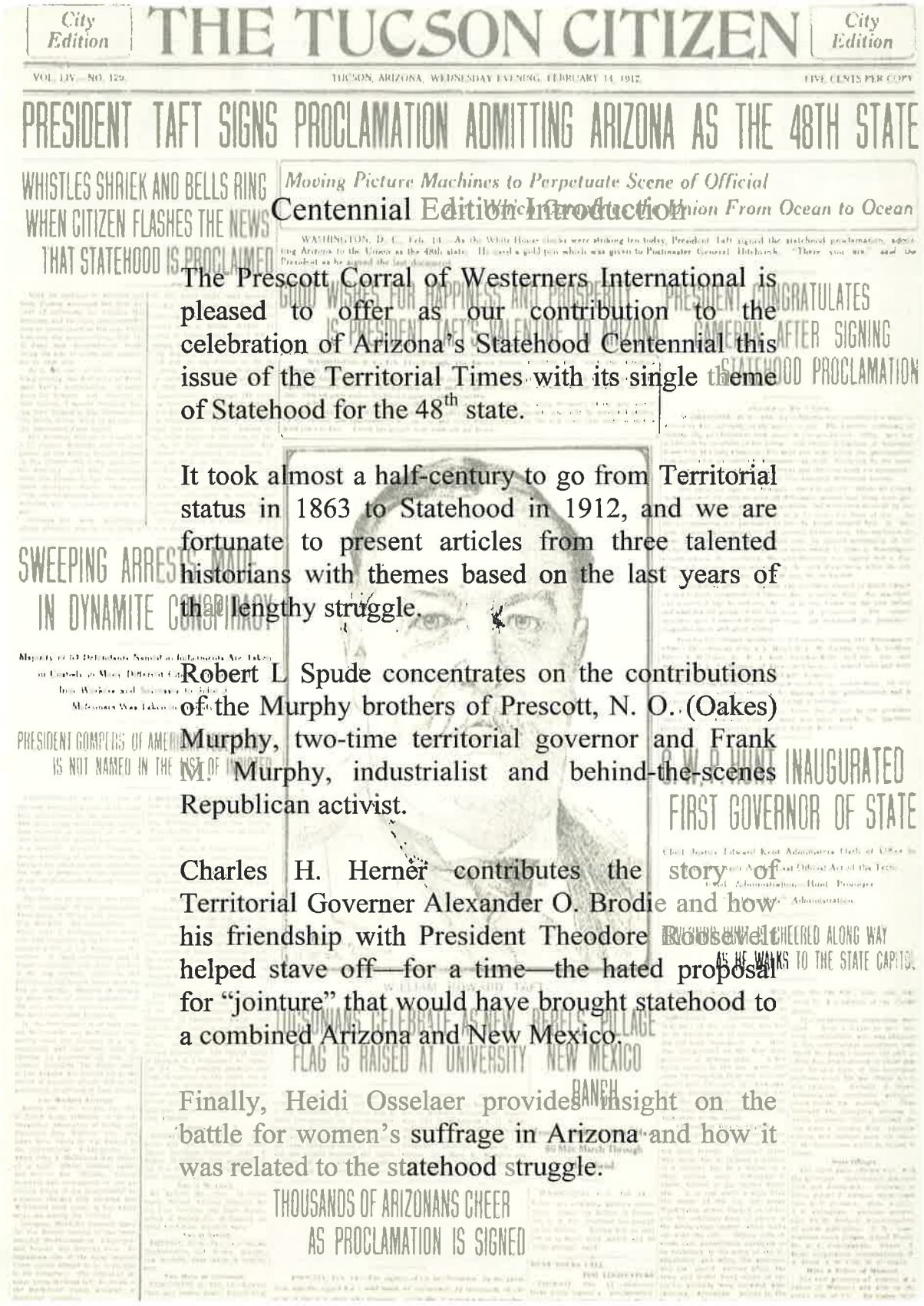


The Prescott Corral of Westerners International is pleased to offer as our contribution to the celebration of Arizona's Statehood Centennial this issue of the Territorial Times with its single theme of Statehood for the 48th state.

It took almost a half-century to go from Territorial status in 1863 to Statehood in 1912, and we are fortunate to present articles from three talented historians with themes based on the last years of that lengthy struggle.

Robert L. Spude concentrates on the contributions of the Murphy brothers of Prescott, N. O. (Oakes) Murphy, two-time territorial governor and Frank M. Murphy, industrialist and behind-the-scenes Republican activist.

Charles H. Herner contributes the story of Territorial Governer Alexander O. Brodie and how his friendship with President Theodore Roosevelt helped stave off—for a time—the hated proposal for "jointure" that would have brought statehood to a combined Arizona and New Mexico.

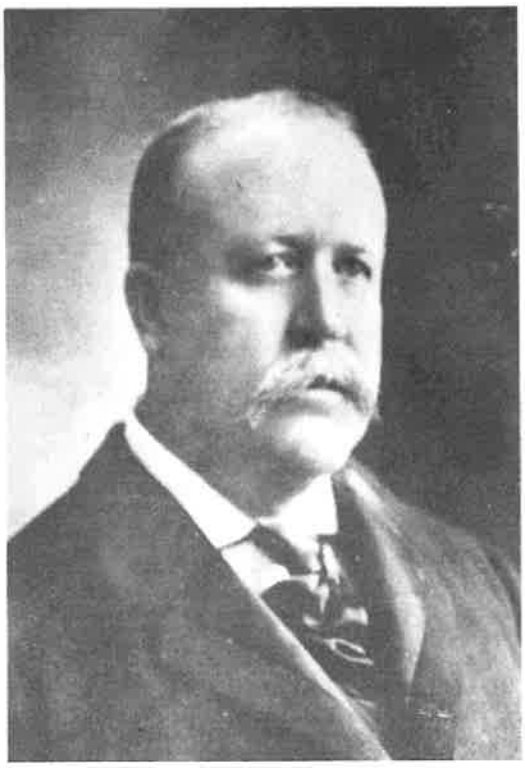
Finally, Heidi Osselaer provides insight on the battle for women's suffrage in Arizona and how it was related to the statehood struggle.

SAVING ARIZONA: THE DEFEAT OF JOINTURE

By Robert L. Spude

Washington, D. C., January 1906—The perfunctory congressional hearings had droned on for hours when Oakes Murphy rose to speak. The portly ex-Governor of Arizona Territory was red-faced angry. He accused the representatives of not listening to the pleas of the Arizonans present. He asserted that orders from President Theodore Roosevelt to shackle Arizona to New Mexico as one state in a joint statehood bill was meant to deny Arizona its political rights. He accused the congressional power brokers of New England of defeating a shift of power to the Far West. He labeled the House hearing a farce. Murphy's outburst caught the chair of the Committee on Territories by surprise and the Arizonan was soon in a shouting match with its members.

Chairman Edward Hamilton banged the gavel and reprimanded Murphy on how he should address the august body of which he at one time had been a member. But to the press, Murphy's outburst was the beginning of the worst days of the battle against joint statehood. Newspapers from coast to coast quoted Murphy highlighting the plight of the territory.[1]



Governor N. O. Murphy

The previous month, President Roosevelt had urged the Congress to no longer delay passage of a bill providing for combining Arizona and New Mexico into one state and to allow immediately for the new single state to enter the Union. Over the next month, congressmen who had sworn never to vote to join Arizona to its neighbor were met with a combination of "Teddy's" big stick and Speaker of the House "Uncle Joe" Cannon's pressure and his rewards of office—some called them bribes—to line up behind the jointure bill.

By the time Murphy and the Arizonans appealed to the House committee to reconsider, as Murphy said, "the cinch was in." On January 20 the jointure bill appeared on the floor of the House and passed within four days. The bill quickly crossed the Capitol's halls into the waiting arms of Albert Beveridge, chair of the U.S. Senate Committee on Territories. His glowing review and recommendation on the joint statehood bill (some called it his "holy cause") on January 28 suggested a quick

passage in the Senate and subsequent signature into law by the President. The political entity called Arizona was about to be erased from the map.

For a generation Nathan Oakes Murphy had been the loudest booster for Arizona statehood. A genial, five-feet eight-inch skilled politician, he had served in the territory's two highest posts, elected and appointed. Through his wit and congeniality, plus, as one author wrote, a subtle forceful drive (and occasional angry outbursts), he had championed home-rule. Under territorial status, its residents were second-class citizens, unable to vote for the president or to have voting representatives in Congress. They were ruled by inept presidential appointees in the highest posts, and dictated to by congressional oversight of any legislation. They were denied rights and privileges available to most Americans.

Frank M. Murphy

THE MURPHYS COME TO ARIZONA

During the 18th century the Scotch-Irish ancestors of Frank and Oakes Murphy left Northern Ireland to farm the rocky soil of Maine. In 1856, shortly after Lucy and Benjamin Franklin Murphy married and began raising a family of nine, the mass migration of Yankees to the upper Midwest uprooted them to the shores of Lake Michigan. Their son Nathan Oakes had been born in Jefferson, Maine, on October 14, 1849, as well as his brother Frank Morrill on September 4, 1854, but they were raised in the deep woods of upstream Cato Township, Wisconsin.[2]

The boys learned hard work around the mill and multiple jobs in logging camps and in the growing lake town of Manitowac. Their mother, herself educated and a talented writer, ensured her family was to be better educated. Oakes, after finishing high school, spent the gray winters of 1866–'69 teaching in a one-room township school house. At the same time the family became fanatical adherents to the cause of the newly formed Republican Party—birthed in Wisconsin in 1846. The Murphy clan was Republican to the core.

In 1877 twenty-three-year old Frank headed to Arizona Territory and soon found himself driving a buckboard stage to the short-lived, silver boom camp of Tip Top. Within a few years he had found a new home in the territorial capital of Prescott. When his brother Oakes arrived in April 1883, they formed F. M. Murphy & Brother, a brokerage firm meant to sell lands and mines. Prescott was beginning three decades of mining expansion, and the brothers had set up shop at an opportune moment.

They bought the hydraulic gold mines of Lynx Creek, then turned around and sold them to a British company. They orchestrated the sale of the failed Jerome copper mines to Montana millionaire William Andrews Clark, who tapped into the fabulously rich United

Verde deposit. They befriended Dr. James Douglas, the Canadian just beginning his career with Phelps, Dodge, and his sons Walter and Jimmie—important later in many of their schemes. And they negotiated the sale of the Congress Gold Mine to a Mississippi River fleet owner, Joseph "Diamond Jo" Reynolds, who helped Frank on his way to his first million dollars.[3]

OAKES ENTERS ARIZONA POLITICS

Business was soon secondary when Oakes became the private secretary of the Republican governor Frederick A. Tritle in1883, with whom he helped rejuvenate the territory's Republican party. Oakes pushed Frank into running for Yavapai county sheriff, for which, Frank later recalled, he "fortunately failed of election."

During the late 1880–'90s, Democrats controlled nearly all local and territory-wide elected posts. The Republican revival in Arizona didn't go well until 1888 when Benjamin Harrison (an Indiana Republican) was elected President. Harrison appointed Conrad Meyer Zulick to be governor, but former governor Tritle helped Oakes Murphy get the appointment as territorial secretary (equivalent to lieutenant governor). As territorial secretary he jumped into his lifelong cause, the admission of Arizona as a state to the Union, working hand-in-hand with Marcus A. "Mark" Smith, the territory's Delegate to Congress on a statehood bill.

In an interview with the press in Chicago, Murphy said, "The old mythic idea about droughts, deserts, Indians, and outlaws are being rapidly exploded by the actual facts." Arizona had boundless mineral wealth and, with irrigation, its farms would be as bountiful as Kansas.[4] Murphy was optimistic about statehood since Congress seemed on a statehood creation spree—six northern tier states (North and South Dakota, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, and Washington) gained admission in 1889.

In 1892, while in Washington D.C. lobbying for statehood, Oakes Murphy was appointed as Arizona Governor by President Harrison, and in June he took Smith's statehood bill to the National Republican convention. Working with Senator Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio and others in a resolutions committee, he failed to get a statehood plank adopted but succeeded in inserting one for arid lands legislation. Rushing back to Washington to help push the statehood bill, a naïve Murphy was surprised when it faltered in committee. One more effort in the winter 1892–'93 failed to budge the Senators.

The Arizonans unwisely had held firm to the government subsidy of silver mining through the rallying cry for free and unlimited coinage of silver—and inserted such a declaration in the draft state constitution of 1891. No Congress would accept such a policy, with the nation bound for a gold standard, where silver would be devalued. Arizona's silver mining industry collapsed in the resulting crash of silver market prices.[5]

FROM GOVERNOR TO DELEGATE

With the election of the Democrat Grover Cleveland as president, and with the national shift in administration, Governor Murphy found himself out of office in April 1893, but he was not finished.

In the spring of 1894, Oakes Murphy determined to run for Delegate to Congress, a position considered the property of the incumbent Democrat Mark Smith. But the depression of 1893 and the rise of the Populist Party brought forward a charismatic young politician, William "Buckey" O'Neill. O'Neill had been a Republican and a friend of the Murphys until he made corporations, especially railroads, targets for criticism and

tax reform. In an unusual three-way campaign, O'Neill took enough votes away from the Democrat J. C. Herndon that Murphy won (Smith had wisely declined to run). Thus Murphy would serve as Arizona Territory's non-voting member of Congress from March 1895 to March 1897.

Delegate Murphy immediately began working the halls in Washington for a revised statehood bill (without "Silverite" language). As before, the bill passed the House but found an unfriendly Senate tabling the statehood issue. Without support from the Cleveland administration, the bill died. A frustrated Oakes decided that he would not run again for the thankless job of non-voting Delegate.

In Washington there thrives a disease known as Potomac Fever. Once caught, there is no cure, and Murphy had it. No out-of-office politician with it can avoid the annual return to the banks of the Potomac River for the winter session of Congress. After December 1895 Murphy may have returned to Arizona to glad-hand constituents and cronies or delve into assisting his brother in mines, railroads, irrigation projects and resorts, but for the rest of his active career he would find himself each December again at the nation's capital.

GOVERNOR AGAIN

When war was declared with Spain in April 1898, a harried President William McKinley found Oakes Murphy on his doorstep and, as the story goes, offered him the now vacant governorship of Arizona on the spot. He did not wish to be distracted and Murphy was given no option but to agree to serve a four-year term. That's the story. However, Murphy's friendship with McKinley's Secretary of War, Russell Alger, who was a director in brother Frank's railroads and mines, may have given Oakes the entrée and a nudge to return to the territory's highest office.[6]

Back in Phoenix, one of his first acts was the preparation of the governor's annual report, which justified and called for immediate statehood for Arizona. "The progress in the Territory," he wrote, "in population, in wealth, and the development of material resources has been remarkable." He made his case in one sentence: "The rapidity with which Arizona has developed from a primitive frontier region into one of the most progressive, enlightened, and law-abiding communities of the Union is neither understood nor appreciated by Eastern representatives, otherwise the boon of self-government would not now be denied us."[7] The thick volume was part of an overall strategy, slowly developed, that would end in statehood.

The maturing politician knew what Arizonans needed: the strong support of the McKinley administration; a Republican Delegate to Congress with connections; and friends and champions in Congress who would ensure final success. In June 1900 the delegates from Arizona to the Republican Party National Convention had inserted into the party platform, with the help of Oklahoma and New Mexico delegates (and with the friendly assistance of Senator Joseph Foraker) a commitment plank for statehood for the territories.

The Arizona delegation also made a vocal point to pull the bandwagon for Roughrider Theodore Roosevelt for vice-president. The previous year, during the first reunion of veterans of the 1st Volunteer Cavalry, Colonel "Teddy" had told his old troopers that "you can count on me" to support statehood for the territories. The Murphy brothers also courted President McKinley in orchestrating a well-publicized trip through Arizona in May 1901 as part of the president's Western tour. In Phoenix, Governor Murphy found the president reluctant to give a strong endorse-

ment but friendly enough to aver that statehood would be deserved in time.[8]

Meanwhile, the contest for Delegate to Congress fell on Oakes shoulders. A Republican victory would send a message to the McKinley administration and Republican-controlled Congress that a new state of Arizona would be allied with the Grand Old Party. Murphy first courted Richard A. F. Penrose, Jr., owner of the Commonwealth Mine in Cochise County, to run for Delegate—his brother was Senator Boies Penrose of Pennsylvania, one of the most powerful members of Congress. Penrose declined the honor, but agreed his brother would support the statehood bill.[9]

Senator Albert Beveridge

With the Democratic Party in turmoil over the possibility of running two candidates, Murphy decided, unfortunately, to run for the office himself. His campaign message was simple: he would bring statehood.

The press treated Murphy unmercifully. He was the target of the nastiest of accusations, all false. Oakes Murphy wrote to a friend in October 1900 that "political demagogues [are] circulating falsehoods about me seeking to prejudice the people."[10] The Democrat territory failed again to vote a Republican into office. The successful candidate, Mark Smith, to his credit when it came to statehood, was a bipartisan ally.

During the lame duck session, 1900–1901, both Murphy and Smith were in Washington testing the waters for statehood. The following October, Governor Murphy called a rally for statehood in Phoenix, which passed resolutions for immediate statehood. Oakes put them in his pocket and in December of 1901 optimistically headed for the Potomac.[11]

Few Arizonans doubted statehood legislation would soon coast to an easy victory. The Governor and the Delegate both were in Washington D. C., optimistically aiding where they could the movement of the new statehood bill through the House. It passed May 9, 1902. Senator Mathew Quay of Pennsylvania, urged by friends in New Mexico, was ushering the bill through the Senate. With the statehood goal apparently about to be realized, the *Arizona Republican* newspaper cheered, "Statehood has no more consistent and untiring champion than N. O. Murphy."

The Democratic press similarly praised Mark Smith. One can catch a hint of expectant senators in the making. Murphy's four year term as governor would end July 1, 1902, but he remained active in the statehood debates.

Unfortunately, as Murphy had to report back home, the bill had been sidetracked in the Senate Committee on Territories.[12]

The fate of events can turn subtly or catastrophically. On September 6, 1901, an assassin fatally shot President McKinley, elevating the untested Roosevelt to the White House. Another shift occurred in the Senate. That winter, a first term senator from Indiana, Albert Beveridge, a Roosevelt protégé replaced the chair of the Senate Committee on Territories. Arizonans were about to enter a period of trial. The statehood bill was stalled by Beveridge who declared that his committee needed more information. The grapevine said he opposed the bill because, among other things, it would probably bring in two Democrats into the Senate if Arizona gained statehood.

Reacting quickly, Murphy sent a letter assuring Beveridge that "Arizona would be safely Republican." As for U. S. Senators, "there would be no question of the outcome." In a more strongly worded letter, the editor of the *Arizona Republican*, owned by Frank Murphy, wrote that Republican Senators would be elected because the railroads and mining corporations ran the territory. Because the legislature would select Senators, corporations would influence the outcome. He added the astonishing information that men in the legislature "are of very ordinary timber and easily controlled. It has always been easy for these corporations to get through any legislation they desired in their interests." Beveridge blandly responded to both that Congress would pass the bill not because of party considerations, but "purely on its merits."[13]

BEVERIDGE'S 'INVESTIGATION'

During the congressional recess Beveridge led an investigating committee through Oklahoma, New Mexico and Arizona. One senator later recalled that Beveridge told the committee members before departure that he planned not an investigation but a condemnation.[14] Between November 16 and 19 they briefly visited Prescott, Phoenix, Tucson, and Bisbee. At the request of the new Republican Governor, Alexander Brodie, a Rough Rider friend of the President, Oakes Murphy met the party in Phoenix while brother Frank's Congress mine manager, William Staunton, escorted the party the entire time it toured the territory. As Staunton took Beveridge to the 3,050 foot level of the Congress mine and through the gold mill he thought Beveridge bored and inattentive. "On the train," wrote Staunton, "Beveridge dozed most of the time, with his hat over his eyes and his back to the window."[15]

When delivered to Congress in December 1902, the Beveridge report stated that Arizona and New Mexico were not prepared for statehood; that Arizona was but a mining camp filled with saloons, gamblers, and people of low morals. Worse, corrupt corporations, some of them connected to the big political bosses controlled the legislature, and were looking for more government largess with statehood. The Murphy arguments were turned back on them.

BEVERIDGE VERSUS ARIZONA

The now ex-Governor Murphy reported to his brother that Beveridge was but a tool for the more powerful Eastern Senators—Nelson Aldrich of Rhode Island, Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts, and Orville Platt of Connecticut. The power brokers wanted to fend off the growing political power of the West. Aldrich had helped the six states gain statehood in 1889, but was burned when their interests came into conflict with the Northeast. He had no desire to see a repeat. They had found the right chair for the committee on territories, for Beveridge conducted his fight against statehood with the righteous air of a zealot who had found sin. In hindsight it is obvious that Beverage was just as committed to stop Arizona statehood as Oakes Murphy

was committed to see a new star added to the flag.

THE 'JOINTURE' BATTLE BEGINS

During the winter of 1902–1903, Oakes Murphy, in editorials in the *Washington Post* and *Arizona Republican*, kept Arizonans apprised of the movements in Congress. He cursed the junior Senator from Indiana, praised the maneuvering of Senator Quay, and then reported the disturbing news, in January 1903, of a proposed new compromise bill that would join Arizona and New Mexico together as one state. While the Quay-Beveridge battle in the Senate stalled the statehood bill, the second proposal brought reaction from Arizonans. Murphy kept Governor Brodie informed and suggested he call for resolutions to let Congress know the opinion of Arizonans on jointure. Anti-jointure resolutions came into Washington from cities, counties and various associations and clubs, and the miners of the Humbug district of south Yavapai County sent a sarcastic resolution stating they were opposed to being "joined to New Mexico for statehood purposes, to Alaska for judicial purposes, and Puerto Rico for education purposes."[16]

In February 1903 the territorial legislature passed a resolution which stated that if a jointure bill passed, Arizona should be allowed to vote separately on the acceptance of a state constitution, in effect killing the bill. Murphy encouraged the resolution, while Mark Smith cursed it for suggesting Congress might think Arizonans supported joint statehood. Fortunately, the 1903 session ended without action. Oakes Murphy retreated to Arizona, where he was involved in several business deals with his brother.

OAKES TAKES TIME OUT

Frank's multi-million dollar holding company, the Development Company of America (DCA), had an interest in the land selected for a monumental dam on the Salt River. Because the federal government had passed legislation supportive of irrigation projects, Oakes helped sell the company's interest in the dam site. He also negotiated the five million dollar deal to create the Imperial Copper Company under the DCA and to acquire the rich copper mines at Silver Bell, near Tucson. The broker's fee provided for a comfortable life style. But his divorce from wife Nellie in September 1903 was the most shocking news. Democrat newspapers announced as cause "intemperance" on the part of the ex-governor, while Republican press accounts cited abandonment, a Victorian euphemism for having gone their separate ways. By December 1903 he was back in Washington readying for the next statehood fight, all the while courting Miss Emma Sells of Washington, who would become his second wife in April.

BEVERIDGE SNUBBED BY OAKES

After a famous snub of Beveridge—refusing his handshake in the capital one day, the equivalent at the time of a challenge to a duel—Oakes departed for a six-month honeymoon in Europe and the Mediterranean with his new wife. By that time, the political squabbles over joint statehood had diminished as the presidential election campaign of 1904 progressed. Before the campaign had fairly begun, Governor Brodie, a stout opponent of jointure, revealed to Arizonans that Roosevelt was not committed to jointure, and that Arizona statehood—jointure or otherwise—would not be a plank in the Republican Party platform for the fall contest. Roosevelt, however, wisely kept it from becoming a campaign issue as he gained election. After the election Brodie could be guaranteed the governor's chair for four more years but in December he announced his resignation and returned to the ranks of the U.S. Army as a major, foretelling what Arizonans feared. President Roosevelt would become an advo-

cate for joint statehood—a position Brodie could not defend.

In the 58th Congress, in the winter of 1904–1905, Oakes Murphy and Delegate John Wilson, soon to be replaced by Mark Smith, worked now to kill a statehood bill that would link Arizona to New Mexico. A new challenge had come from New Mexico: the dominant Republican Party there had split, with a majority now supporting jointure. Many New Mexicans thought this was their only chance, after so long, for statehood. Also, because New Mexico had double the population of Arizona, it would control the politics and culture of the new state. Frank Murphy in a private letter cursed the turncoats who, if they had stayed the course, would have guaranteed statehood for both—now it looked like statehood for none.

BEVERIDGE'S VISION FOR ARIZONA

Senator Beveridge brought the bill out of his committee in December 1904. During the debate the following February, he read before the Senate his "Arizona the Great" speech: imagine a territory of 262,300 square miles, second only to Texas; a territory stretching 630 miles from the Great Plains to the Pacific states. He praised the new state in all the terms Murphy had used to justify single statehood for Arizona. Except, Beveridge added, the prosperous Arizonans though less numerous could help civilize the backward uneducated, non-English speaking Hispanics of New Mexico.[17]

Through a series of bipartisan efforts an amendment was added to Beveridge's bill in order to give Arizonans a chance to defeat joint statehood. Frank Murphy and his wealthy backers, with access to Senator Joseph Foraker, strove to give Arizonans a voice. Foraker, a long-time colleague of Oakes, worked with the Arizonans to draft an amendment that would allow Arizona a separate vote on the acceptance of any joint state constitution. If they voted against the new state constitution it could not go into force. Because of this Foraker Amendment, the bill returned to a conference committee where it died. But Murphy warned this was only the first round of a major battle.

DUELING CONVENTIONS

In a bi-partisan call to arms the territorial Republican and Democrat central committees organized an anti-joint statehood convention in Phoenix. On May 9, 1905, six hundred participants organized an Anti-Joint Statehood League. Headed by Governor Joseph Kibbey (Brodie's replacement) with Frank Murphy a vice-president, the league set up statewide committees of correspondence. Various committees were formed to prepare for the oncoming battle. Writings by Oakes Murphy were compiled into an anti-joint statehood pamphlet and the league distributed other literature, ribbons and pins.

In opposition, a pro-joint statehood convention met in Tucson. "Little James," a fictional Salt River Valley country boy who had taken up the quill pen (actually "Uncle Billy" Spears, a reporter from the *Arizona Republican*) covered the convention of about sixty. Little James reported that they praised "Sentar Beverage"[sic] and his Arizona the Giant speech, and had organized themselves a Giant Arizona League. Former governors Louis C. Hughes and Myron H. McCord led the Giantists. They signed a memorial praying Congress not to vote on the question. Uncle Billy's account mocked the small movement in a widely read weekly column in the *Republican*.

A MORE FAVORABLE TOUR

More significant was the publicity stunt pulled off by Frank Murphy. He had courted Congressman James Tawney of Minnesota to bring a group of congressman on an unofficial

tour of Arizona. In October, through E. H. Harriman of the Southern Pacific, James Douglas of the El Paso & Southwestern, and himself as president of the Santa Fe, Prescott & Phoenix, Murphy orchestrated a first class railroad excursion, with private cars, the best Pullman cars, and more. The tour included the best of dinners, the best of schools, and the fashionable parts of Tucson, Phoenix, and Prescott, with a stop at the Grand Canyon. Murphy the promoter set up special events at his Tombstone mines, an underground feast in a copper mine, a horseback jaunt through the pines at the end of his new railroad to Crown King south of Prescott, and banquets and speeches throughout the territory.

Outside journalists with the Tawney tour gathered information about the universal opposition to joint statehood. More important were the words of the Congressmen themselves who, as some declared, opposed joint statehood—news captured by the press across the country. Congressman Henry Adams of Wisconsin stated he had "voted for joint statehood but never would again." Frank Murphy predicted to colleagues that any joint statehood bill would die in the next session of Congress.

TR FINALLY TAKES A STAND

Oakes returned to Washington in time for the opening of Congress and heard President Roosevelt's shocking message urging immediate passage of an Arizona-New Mexico joint statehood bill. Roosevelt also called for the joining of Oklahoma Territory with Indian Territory into one state. Powerful lobbies arrived to support the New Mexico and Oklahoma cause. The news reverberated like a summer thunderstorm across parched Arizona. Oakes Murphy, Delegate Smith, and others sent word to the Arizona Anti-Joint State League to hurry and send delegates to Washington to present a unified voice in opposition.

Merchants Morris and Baron Goldwater, Cattle Association head Dwight Heard, farmer Dr. Alfred Chandler, attorney Robert Morrison and two dozen others arrived to show that not just miners and railroad men opposed joint statehood. Governor Kibbey once more called for resolutions from across the territory. Frank Murphy met with E. H. Harriman in New York, and received agreement that Harriman would have his lieutenant in Arizona, Epes Randolph, call a meeting in Tucson to lead in sending resolutions. He similarly had James Douglas of Phelps Dodge, Senator William A. Clark, and more corporate friends issue statements in the press opposing joint statehood.

In late December 1905 Frank Murphy hosted the delegates to a strategy dinner at the Raleigh Hotel in Washington. Murphy and his mining partner, E. B. Gage, helped defray the expenses of the delegation. Delegate Smith was there as well as Oakes Murphy to represent the Phoenix board of trade; Walter Douglas of the Copper Queen Mine arrived to represent industry; and Henry Robinson of Youngstown, Ohio, and Pasadena, California, attorney for Ohio steel companies and Murphy's DCA, arranged meetings with Senator Foraker. The Arizona delegates agreed that Frank Murphy, however, was to stay in the background because he represented mines and railroads, and the merchants, cattlemen and farmers, chaired by Heard, would prepare for the hearing with the House.

All that clout failed to hold the pressure on the House. As mentioned at the beginning of this essay, President Roosevelt and Speaker Cannon's force pushed the bill through. After witnessing the spectacle, Frank Murphy's partner and the assistant secretary to the Republican National Committee, Victor Mason, wrote "I believe you would be perfectly dumbfounded to learn of the meth-

ods followed by the President and the Speaker of the House to whip the so-called insurgents in line." Their effort to push joint statehood, he added, "was little short of infamous, and if pursued by other people either in or out of official life would be plainly termed bribery."[18] In January 1906, Frank Murphy telegraphed the Arizona Republican that Congressman Tawney had "turned on us, but we will beat them in the Senate." On January 28, "Little James" wrote for his readers not to worry: "Sentar Beverage's Big State Bill" is about to meet Senator Foraker's "Big Club."

The news of the statehood fight had gained national attention. Some prominent magazines and newspapers praised joint statehood, while others commented on the president's and Uncle Joe Cannon's "infamous" actions. And reporters touring Arizona found overwhelming opposition among all classes of people. Several journals allowed Westerners to voice their opinions. In the February 3 issue of *Outlook* Ernest Lewis of Phoenix explained that sentiment and love of home were at heart of the issue. Threaten any other commonwealth with loss of its autonomy and expect a similar outcry.

MISS SHARLOT HALL'S REACTION

Sharlot Hall, Arizona's official historian, reacted through poetry. She had just edited a special Arizona edition of Charles Lummis' *Out West* magazine when she read the news stories of "fair Arizona" being denied entry into the sisterhood of states, of a plan to shackle Arizona to New Mexico as the only acceptable plan for entry, and the cry of Arizonans that it would be far better to remain a territory than succumb to that fate. Miss Hall captured the passion in her poem "Arizona," that begins:

> *No beggar she in the mighty hall where her bay-crowned sisters wait;*
> *No empty-handed pleader for the right of a freeborn state;*
> *No child, with a child's insistence, demanding a gilded toy;*
> *But a fair-browed, queenly woman strong to create or destroy . . .*

Hall's poem, first read to the Phoenix Woman's Club, soon appeared in Murphy's *Arizona Republican* newspaper. A copy was sent to Delegate Smith, who read it on the floor of the U.S. House. Afterward newspapers and magazines, coast to coast, reprinted her plea.

The Murphys, Delegate Smith, and their allies, Henry Robinson of Ohio and Senator Alger of Michigan, met with Senator Foraker. Through him, Frank Murphy wrote the president of the Santa Fe Railroad, "[I] think we have the joint Statehood Bill well in hand in the Senate."[19]

SENATOR FORAKER'S AMENDMENT

Foraker was one of the leading Republican "insurgents" opposed to President Roosevelt's liberal proposals and had been enlisted in the joint statehood fight after the death of Senator Quay. The Murphy group's strongest wish now was to force the Foraker amendment, which gave Arizonans a chance to vote independently for or against joint statehood if the joint statehood legislation were passed. Frank Murphy, however, told the *Arizona Republican* that they no longer wanted a complicated vote nor a constitutional convention, but a straight yea or nay vote on joint statehood. Foraker's amendment as thus simplified was introduced in the Senate and attached to the joint statehood bill.

The insurgents held the day, and the Senate passed the amended bill March 9, with 42 for it and 29 opposed. "Arizona is Free," proclaimed the Republican. Spontaneous celebration broke loose from Bisbee to Kingman.

In Prescott Foraker's photograph was hoisted; in Tucson bells rang and there were cheers in the streets; and in Phoenix citizens were in a momentary shock before the celebration began. The amended bill went to a House-Senate joint committee to either kill it, again, or forward for approval and presidential signature—either choice agreeable to Arizona.

Governor Kibbey joined the fray and almost lost his job owing to pressure by Beveridge, but the politically astute Teddy Roosevelt called Beveridge off. He did not appoint territorial officials to do his bidding, nor did he replace them for voicing an opposing opinion. Governor Kibbey met with President Roosevelt, who inferred that he would not interfere with the final deliberations, a blow to Beveridge. When, next, Senator Nelson Aldrich met with Roosevelt the press announced the powers that be were going to allow Arizonans a referendum on their own fate. Historian Jay Wagoner suggests Kibbey influenced the last revision to the Foraker amendment before its passage, providing for the vote not at a special election, but rather during the general election in the fall.

ROOSEVELT SIGNS JOINTURE BILL

On June 16, 1906, President Roosevelt signed the joint statehood act declaring that he hoped Arizonans would take this opportunity to become a state; otherwise, he threatened, there would be a long continued wait as a territory. A week later, ex-Governor Murphy stopped in the pro-jointure stronghold of Albuquerque and let New Mexicans know that Arizonans would "overwhelmingly vote against joint statehood." He began the fight with speeches and pamphlets, including one in collaboration with Governor Kibbey—Arizona deserved to retain its identity. He said "The notion of a 'Greater Arizona,' with the elimination of Arizona, does not appeal to her people. For years she has asked to be admitted . . . And she does not believe that a just nation will exercise a power to punish her for her temerity in asking for her own." The campaign for the vote was on.[20]

E. E. Elinwood, head of the territorial Democratic Party, worked with the Murphys and other Republicans in opposition. Ellinwood, a former lawyer for Frank Murphy, now attorney for Walter Douglas and the Copper Queen mining company, organized a joint Democrat and Republican convention to be held in Bisbee, with much work beforehand to ensure only anti-jointure delegates would be selected to attend. This bipartisan club later offered up a weak Republican opponent to Smith, who won reelection in the fall. More importantly, the bipartisan meetings erected a platform opposed to joint statehood and initiated the campaign to defeat the measure in the November 6, 1906 election.

AZ VOTERS REJECT JOINTURE

The bipartisan leadership brought all they could to bear against the possibility of loss of an independent Arizona and they were overjoyed when the election resulted in an overwhelming vote against joint statehood, nearly five to one opposed. The Arizona vote as officially reported to Congress was 3,141 for (or 16% of the vote) compared to 16,265 against (a whopping 84%), sending a strong message to Speaker Cannon, President Roosevelt, and Senator Beveridge. New Mexico approved jointure, 26,195 to 14,735, but the vote when compiled together with Arizona's still shows the measure defeated by 1,664 votes.[21]

After the election Senator Beveridge threatened that Arizona wouldn't see statehood for fifty years. President Roosevelt, however, was swayed at the outcome; to save face, his defenders blamed Beveridge for misinforming the president. By late 1907, after giving the State of Oklahoma life, Roosevelt was letting

Sharing An Unjoint Celebration: 1912 Washington Star Editorial Cartoon,

the press know that he supported separate statehood for Arizona and New Mexico. He did not push for legislation but ensured, with William Howard Taft, that the 1908 Republican Party platform included a plank for separate statehood—again! Frank Murphy met with President Taft at the White House in June 1909 and let it be known that the new president favored Arizona statehood. Murphy invited Taft to Arizona and in October 1909 in Prescott the president remarked publicly that he favored statehood, which was followed by legislation introduced that session. Statehood finally came on Valentine's Day, February 14, 1912.

Marcus Smith, ally in the campaign against joint statehood and long-time Delegate to Congress, became one of Arizona's first Senators. Because he outlived his contemporaries he was often asked to share the story of the statehood fights. The old Democrat, fond of the singular personal pronoun, seldom mentioned his Republican cohorts, the Murphy brothers.[22]

WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN

Would joint statehood have been a good thing for Arizona? Probably not. By 1906, Arizona had forty-three years of separate political identity from New Mexico and its previous tie as part of New Mexico Territory that lasted for a dozen years (September 1850–February 1863) was never workable. To Arizonans the joint statehood idea made no sense. It was a political maneuver to keep Democratic Arizona out of the Union, a scheme even Teddy Roosevelt would later regret.

With McKinley's death in 1901, congressional power brokers were able to delay Arizona statehood for a decade. Beveridge, Roosevelt's Congressional lead on the issue, was defeated for re-election in 1910 and did not see Arizona's first senators seated.[23] His Greater Arizona plan would have created a much different state, one dominated by the New Mexico Republican padrons (power brokers) for a half century.

The hero of this story may be Senator Joseph Foraker of Ohio, one of the "insurgent Senators" who opposed many of President Roosevelt's policies; he joined the fight and inserted the amendment which gave Arizona its chance to let its outrage be known and felt.[24] Foraker's ties to the Murphy Republicans were critical. The Murphys helped organize the Republican opposition in the territory and nationally, used the press, pamphlets, meetings and rallies to bring attention and the vote, while Foraker courted Congress including Democrats to win the day. It was a phenomenal alliance: Delegate Smith keeping the House Democrat caucus in line; Governor Kibbey courting and informing President Roosevelt of the territory's and nation's attitude until TR's resolve for jointure weakened; and the Murphys—the governor and the industrialist—joining their influence in the corporate and political arenas to gain victory.

In what was one of the great bipartisan campaigns in Arizona history, Arizonans voted for and retained their separate political identity, thus avoiding the fate of oblivion that would have occurred through joint statehood. Many individuals helped "Save Arizona," but among the critical leaders were the Murphy brothers, Frank and Oakes.

ENDNOTES

[1] Murphy's outburst would be purged from the official record of the meeting; see Committee on the Territories, Statehood for Arizona and New Mexico, January 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 1906 (Washington: G. P. O, 1906).

[2] The future governor was named after his maternal grandfather but always was called "Oakes."

[3] Robert L. Spude, "Frank Morrill Murphy, 1854-1917: Mining and Railroad Mogul and Developer of the American Southwest," in Raymond E. Dumett, ed., Mining Tycoons in the Age of Empire, 1870-1945: Entrepreneurship, High Finance, Politics and Territorial Expansion (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate Publishing, 2008) pp. 151-170.

[4] *Inter Ocean*, October 28, 1887.

[5] Mark Pry "Arizona and the Politics of Statehood" discusses the first convention and the first bill, as does Larson, New Mexico's Qwest; on the Republican convention, see AP reports in various issues, on-line newspapers, June 1892, Genalogybank.com.

[6] Wagoner, *Arizona Territory*, gives the standard explanation.

[7] N. O. Murphy, Report of the Governor of Arizona to the Secretary of the Interior, 1899 (Washington: G. P. O., 1899), pp. 178-9.

[8] Robert L. Spude, "A Presidential Tour: President McKinley Visits the Congress Gold Mine," *Territorial Times* (Prescott, AZ: Prescott Corral of Westerners International) vol. 1, no. 2 (May 2008), pp.18-25.

[9] Helen R. Fairbanks and Charles P. Berkey, Life and Letters of R. A. F. Penrose, Jr. (New York: Geneological Society of America, 1952), pp. 206-7.

[10] N. O. Murphy to A. F. Banta, October 6, 1900, Murphy file, Sharlot Hall Museum, Prescott.

[11] Arizona Republican February 27, 1901; January 14, 1902.

[12] Pry, "Arizona Statehood," passim. John Braeman, "Albert J. Beveridge and Statehood for the Southwest, 1902-1912," Arizona & the West, v. 10, no.4 (Winter 1968), pp. 312-342.

[13] Letters reprinted in LaMoine Langston, "Arizona's Fight for Statehood in the 57th Congress," M. A. Thesis, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, 1939, pp. 24-5.

[14] Senator Heitfeld to Marion Dargen, February 20, 1936, Dargen papers, Southwest Collection, University of New Mexico.

[15] Staunton reminiscence, vol. I, p. 130, William Field Staunton Collection, University of Arizona.

[16] *Arizona Republican*, February 19, 1903; Prescott Courier, February 20, 1904.

[17] Braeman, "Beveridge and Statehood," pp. 312-342; Larson, Quest, pp. 239-41; H. A. Hubbard, "Arizona's Struggle Against Joint-Statehood," *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. XI (1942), pp 415-23; and Hubbard, "The Arizona Enabling Act and President Taft's Veto," *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. III (1934), pp. 307-322, quote p. 315.

[18] Victor Mason to Staunton, January 26, 1906, Staunton Collection.

[19] F. M. Murphy to Victor Morawitz, Willard Hotel, January 26, 1906, Santa Fe collection.

[20] Pry, "Arizona Statehood," passim; Larson, Quest, passim. The opposition press cried out, Roosevelt was offering Arizonans not a square deal, but the hidden big stick. Albuquerque Journal quoted in Prescott Morning Courier, June 30, 1906.

[21] Arizona's Vote on Joint Statehood, House Document 140, 59th Congress, 2d Session, 1906, p. 3.

[22] Steven A. Fazio, "Marcus Aurelius Smith: Arizona Delegate and Senator," Arizona & the West, vol. 12, no 1 (spring 1970), pp. 22-62. For Smith's version of the anti-joint statehood fight see Mark A. Smith to George H. Kelly, January 12, 1924, in George H. Kelly, Legislative History, Arizona 1864-1912 (1926), pp. 287-302.

[23] John Braeman, *Albert J. Beveridge, American Nationalist,* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971) is the fairest biography of Beveridge.

[24] Many credit Foraker for saving Arizona, see "Arizona's Debt to Foraker," Tucson Daily Citizen, May 15, 1917.

GOVERNOR ALEXANDER O. BRODIE AND ARIZONA'S FIGHT FOR STATEHOOD

By Charles H. Herner

Before a group of some fifty spectators in the executive chamber of the Arizona capitol building in Phoenix on the morning of July 1, 1902, Alexander Oswald Brodie stepped forward to take oath of office as the 15th governor of the Territory of Arizona. Although not a politician in a traditional sense, Brodie had been intermittently involved in the Territory's affairs for over thirty years, first as an army officer and later as a civil and mining engineer.

Highly respected by both Democrats and Republicans, the new Governor presented two important attributes. First, he had a long-standing record of advocating statehood for Arizona and second, his close personal friend, Theodore Roosevelt, now occupied the White House.

Alexander O. Brodie

The son of Scots immigrants, Brodie was born in 1849 in the small hamlet of Edwards, New York, where his father owned a farm and operated a successful mercantile endeavor. According to family tradition, at the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, twelve-year-old-Alexander attempted to join the Union Army as a drummer boy. Unable to secure parental permission, however, he finally agreed to a family compromise. In exchange for his father's promise to secure for his son an appointment to the United States Military Academy, Alexander agreed to pursue a formal education at St. Lawrence University in Canton, New York, until he reached 16, the minimum age of admission to the Academy.[1]

At West Point, Brodie put together a checkered record. He performed reasonably well academically, but a youthful tendency to rebel against authority often resulted in disciplinary actions. Nevertheless, upon graduation in 1870, he ranked 27th in a class of 58.[2]

Assigned to M Troop, First Cavalry, upon graduation, Brodie spent the next two and a half years at Camp Apache in the White Mountains of eastern Arizona. Detailed as post adjutant during much of that period, he saw very little field duty, but on one occasion he led a small detachment of soldiers in pursuit of a group of Apaches who had stolen a number of the garrison's horses and mules. He also served without particular distinction in Colonel (Brevet General) George Crook's famous 1872-73 campaign into the Tonto Basin.[3]

Departing Arizona with his troop early in 1873, Brodie spent four years billeted at duty stations in the Pacific Northwest. In 1876, at Fort Walla Walla, Washington Territory, Brodie, promoted now to first lieutenant, married a popular local belle, nineteen-year old Kate Reynolds. The following year at Fort Colville, Washington, the young woman died in childbirth, followed in death a few weeks

later by her infant daughter. Completely devastated by the twin tragedies, Brodie resigned his commission.[4]

He then joined his father in a cattle ranching venture in Kansas, but soon turned his attention to mining. Eventually, he found employment as assistant engineer with the Walnut Grove Water Storage Company, a New York-based firm that had just completed a large masonry dam for placer mining purposes on the Hassayampa River a few miles south of Prescott.

The following year, the president of the Walnut Grove Water Storage Company, Henry S. Van Beuren of New York, visibly impressed with Brodie's ability to get things done, promoted him to chief engineer and superintendent of the entire Hassayampa River project.

The Walnut Grove Dam Collapses

On a cold January night in 1890, however, following a period of unusually heavy rainfall, the 110 foot high masonry structure suddenly collapsed. Approximately 60 persons living in the flood plain downstream lost their lives in the ensuing flood. The ever-optimistic Van Beuren planned to rebuild immediately, but upon failing to raise the required capital, instead filed for voluntary bankruptcy and arranged to have the reliable Brodie named receiver with a monthly stipend.[5]

Confident now that he had a future in Yavapai County, Brodie married Miss Mary Hanlon, a survivor of the Walnut Grove flood and a distant relative of Henry Van Beuren. The couple set up housekeeping in Prescott and became active in the local social life. In addition to his duties as receiver, Brodie also continued to supervise development of the Crown Point mine, a promising gold deposit that he and Van Beuren acquired from a local prospector. He also became involved in community affairs and began dabbling in local Republican Party politics.[6]

In 1891, Brodie took his first small step into the political arena by accepting appointment as the first colonel of the newly authorized Arizona National Guard. He resigned within a year, however, after President William Henry Harrison appointed a new governor, Nathan Oakes Murphy. Brodie knew Murphy well, but the two had a political disagreement, and Brodie chose to terminate his association with the Murphy administration.

The following year, Brodie easily won election on the Republican ticket as the Yavapai County recorder, but two years later declined to seek reelection. Although Brodie at the time sought no other political office, he continued to serve on the Republican central committee at both the county and territorial level.

The outbreak of the Spanish-American War in 1898 opened a window of opportunity that dramatically changed Brodie's future. As war clouds began gathering early that year, Brodie concocted a plan to organize a cavalry regiment composed of Arizona cowboys with himself as colonel and offer its services to the War Department. The Secretary of War turned that proposal down, but immediately following the declaration of war on April 25, authorized not one but three volunteer regiments configured exactly as Brodie had proposed.

The "Rough Riders" Are Formed

To command the first of these special regiments, President McKinley named Col. Leonard Wood and Lt. Col. Theodore Roosevelt. Brodie accepted the position of senior major in command of the First Squadron consisting of three troops (companies) from Arizona and one from Oklahoma Territory. Officially designated the First United States Volunteer Cavalry, Colonel Wood's command quickly fired the romantic imagination of the American people, who quickly and fondly came to refer to Wood's regiment as "The Rough Rid-

ers."[7]

That summer, as the war with Spain drew to a close, the Rough Riders, veterans of the Santiago campaign, moved from Cuba to a temporary camp at Montauk Point, Long Island, to be discharged. Meanwhile, a group of reform-oriented Arizona Republicans made their move.

Brodie Becomes Territorial Delegate

Convinced that Brodie, who had been wounded in Cuba, offered the best hope to wrest the position of Territorial Delegate to Congress away from the Democrats in the 1898 election, these would-be reformers dispatched an envoy to meet with Brodie at Montauk Point and test the waters. The identity of this individual is not known, but obviously he had been well briefed and empowered to make certain concessions, for the situation actually was much more complicated than it appeared. Basically, the problem hinged on Governor Nathan Oakes Murphy's take on Brodie's nomination.

Governor Murphy had entrenched himself as an effective "party boss" in a true sense of the expression. Capitalizing primarily on his political contacts in Washington, Murphy masterfully utilized party patronage to maintain control in Arizona. Yet, some dissention existed in the ranks, and reform Republicans already were chipping away at Murphy's influence. Arizona Democrats, of course, united in their opposition to the Murphy machine, watched from the wings with more than casual interest. Clearly, Brodie was on the brink of stepping into a political quagmire but, by the same token, he was going in with both eyes open.

Details surrounding the arrangements worked out between the Brodie and Murphy factions never have been made public, but the sequence of events reveals certain clues regarding the "horse trading" which obviously took place. For his part, Brodie, concerned that Murphy could negatively impact the election by withholding support for his candidacy, insisted that his nomination at the Arizona nominating convention be accepted by acclamation. He also insisted that Murphy agree to actively campaign on Brodie's behalf.

Conversely, Brodie agreed to support the Republican opposition to "Free Silver" and to endorse the gold standard. This concession proved to be an extremely bitter pill for Brodie to swallow. For nearly ten years he had been actively involved in Arizona mining and, as expected, on numerous occasions had openly expressed his support for the Free Silver movement. Finally, as part of the agreement, Brodie agreed to stay with his wife and son at his sister-in-law's home in Nova Scotia until after the Arizona convention made its selection. He then would embark for Arizona cast in the role of a wounded war hero returning home in response to the will of the people.[8]

Events at the Arizona nominating convention proceeded exactly as planned. George D. Christy nominated Brodie in a rousing speech. Following an equally enthusiastic second to the nomination, a delegate from Pima County jumped to his feet and moved that Brodie's nomination be accepted by standing vote, thereby assuring the agreed-upon nomination by acclamation.

Christie's speech, however, did more than select the candidate. It also set the tone for Brodie's campaign: "Give us Col. Brodie as our standard bearer and we will sweep every county from the Mexican border to the snow capped peaks of the San Franciscos," Christy thundered, "and place Arizona in the Republican column to stay, and a new star shall appear in the blue of our banner." In reality, however, advocating statehood at this point afforded the Republicans little more than a "me too" proposition, as the Democrats in their platform also championed that issue.

The Republicans simply argued that a Brodie victory at the polls in November would offer the best hope for statehood.

Returning to Arizona from Halifax immediately after wiring his acceptance of the Republican nomination as Arizona's lone delegate to Congress, Brodie launched an energetic campaign designed to reach as many voters as possible. But his pitch for statehood failed to connect. His opponent, John F. Wilson, prevailed 8,212 votes to 7,384. Deeply disappointed, Brodie returned to the Crown Point mine. The following year, however, the floundering statehood issue, so near and dear to the hearts of most Arizonans, received a totally unexpected shot in the arm.

Roosevelt Raises Statehood Hopes

In June 1899, the First Annual Reunion of the Rough Riders convened in Las Vegas, New Mexico. Both Brodie and Roosevelt, who had narrowly been elected governor of New York the previous year, attended. Roosevelt thoroughly enjoyed the festivities and on one occasion, in a speech accepting a medal of appreciation presented on behalf of the citizens of New Mexico, made an impromptu remark with far-reaching implications. "All I can say is," a veteran court stenographer carefully quoted him, "if New Mexico wants to be a state you can count me in and I will go to Washington to speak for you or anything you wish." Roosevelt's statement, of course, would not soon be forgotten in New Mexico and in Arizona.[9]

The presidential election the following year offered a mixed bag to statehood watchers. On one hand President William McKinley, winner of a second term, did not have an established track record of supporting statehood for Arizona, but on the other, his newly-selected vice president, the former governor of New York, Theodore Roosevelt, seemed to have a much more favorable view of the issue as he had publicly expressed at Las Vegas. Moreover, the national platform of both major parties in 1900 supported statehood for Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma.

The situation changed dramatically in September 1901, when an obscure anarchist shot down President McKinley, thereby unexpectedly thrusting Theodore Roosevelt into the White House. Nine months later, President Roosevelt accepted Governor Murphy's resignation and appointed his old comrade-in-arms, Alexander Oswald Brodie, in his place.[10]

Initially, at least from Brodie's perspective, his appointment as Governor in July 1902 came at the most opportune moment possible regarding statehood. Only two months earlier, the U.S. House of Representatives, with almost no opposition, had passed the so-called Omnibus Bill, which authorized Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma each to draft constitutions and apply for statehood. Obviously, with Congress apparently now coming in line and considering Roosevelt's 1898 remark in Las Vegas, statehood no longer appeared to be a will-o'-the wisp. Unfortunately, any attending euphoria soon vanished as reality took center stage.

Senator Beveridge Gets Involved

Strong support for the Omnibus Bill in the Senate came at the hands of the powerful Matthew S. Quay of Pennsylvania, but the chairman of the Senate Committee of Territories, Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, orchestrated a determined fight in opposition. Motivated by the Free Silver issue and fear that Arizona and New Mexico would enter the Union as Democratic States, Beveridge swung into action. Realizing, however, that Quay had strong bipartisan support for the Omnibus Bill, Beveridge concluded that he faced an uphill fight in the Senate, and that his best chance to kill the measure would be in his committee. Therefore, in an effort to gain time and line up opposition, Beveridge

arranged to take three members of his committee on a "fact finding" tour of Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma in the fall of 1902 to determine if those territories deserved statehood.[11]

Meanwhile, Governor Brodie already had moved aggressively to make his own position clear. In his first annual report to the Secretary of the Interior completed shortly after taking office in 1902, Brodie enumerated ten specific recommendations relative to Arizona. Significantly, the first on the list focused on statehood. "Arizona's claims to statehood [should] be given due consideration," Brodie pleaded, "and that such as lies within the power of the Interior Department be extended to secure the passage of the enabling act now before the Congress of the United States for the admission of Arizona, New Mexico and Oklahoma . . ." With his position on statehood clearly established as a matter of public record, Brodie began preparation for Beveridge's visit.[12]

The Beveridge "Fact Finding" Mission

Beveridge's "fact finding" mission actually did not resonate well with Brodie, particularly after the Senator ignored Brodie's offer to help arrange the trip and turned for assistance instead to ex-Governor Murphy's brother Frank, who owned the Santa Fe, Phoenix and Prescott Railway. Brodie traveled from Phoenix to Bisbee with Beveridge's group, doing all he could to present Arizona in the best possible light. Significantly, Beveridge spent only three days in Arizona interviewing selected residents—sometimes in private—and visiting such institutions as the University of Arizona, the Congress mine and the immense Phelps Dodge mining complex at Bisbee.[13]

Released in December, Beveridge's report, as Brodie anticipated, concluded that neither Arizona nor New Mexico met the qualifications for statehood. Among other objections, Beveridge claimed that both territories had an inordinate number of residents who spoke only Spanish. Moreover, neither Arizona nor New Mexico had the capability of sustaining the necessary economic growth which statehood would require. Notwithstanding Beveridge's negative report, however, the fight was far from over. Senator Quay dug in his heels and pledged to continue the struggle. Others joined the fray, as well, and ex-Governor Murphy already had gone to Washington to lobby personally for statehood. Nevertheless, Brodie now faced a difficult decision that would sorely test his acumen as a politician.[14]

Brodie Has Second Thoughts

Notwithstanding his long public reputation of supporting statehood, Brodie by the end of 1902, was beginning to have second thoughts on the issue. He still supported the basic concept, but in his view the timing was wrong. Arizona had not yet recovered from five years of drought, which had left both the cattle and agricultural interests in dire straights. The mining industry continued to flourish, but even so Brodie concluded that statehood at this particular point in time would impose an "additional burden of expense" which Arizona as a state could not readily absorb.

Given his position as Governor and past statements he had made regarding statehood, however, Brodie understood full well that he could not articulate his reservations regarding statehood publicly. To do so would destroy his credibility by revealing that a clear schism existed between his private opinions and the public commitments he had made earlier. Obviously, he had no choice but to choke back his own personal feelings and continue to push for statehood.[15]

Fortunately, another issue suddenly surfaced which took Brodie off the hook. In December, some Congressmen, apparently motivated by fear that the acrimonious positions taken by Quay and Beveridge could result in a Con-

gressional deadlock, suggested that Congress consider joining New Mexico and Arizona into one state and Oklahoma and the Indian Territory into another. Brodie may have been perfectly willing to accept a delay in granting statehood to Arizona, but he absolutely opposed joint statehood with New Mexico. In that regard, he obviously concurred wholeheartedly with one Arizona newspaper, which dismissed joint statehood as a "preposterous idea."[16]

Joint AZ/NM Statehood Considered

For the next two years, the statehood issue continued to languish in Washington. During that period, a number of bills proposing that Arizona and New Mexico be admitted as one state ground their way to a slow death in Congress. Most died in committee. One of the most intriguing measures suggested that such a state be named "Montezuma," but that idea got no farther than did the others.

Brodie never gave up the fight and publicly opposed joint statehood at every opportunity. At one point he even called upon each Arizona county board of supervisors and local boards of trade to petition Congress in opposition. In his 1904 Annual Report to the Secretary of the Interior, the Governor expressed himself even more strongly on the issue than he had before. "The people of Arizona have protested vigorously," Brodie wrote, " and will continue to do so until they have defeated the repugnant scheme. The injustice of it should readily appeal to all."[17]

In reality, however, Arizona's immediate future had been decided the year before at the Grand Canyon.

Obviously, the key to unlocking independent statehood for Arizona remained securely tucked away in President Roosevelt's pocket. Many individuals attempted to ascertain the President's position, but none could cut through his ambiguous statements and secure a definitive response. Even his good friend Brodie could not elicit a clear answer. In fact, the extant correspondence between Roosevelt and Brodie regarding statehood is remarkable for its paucity. At one point, Brodie even directly asked Roosevelt to support the Omnibus Bill then before Congress, but there is no evidence that Roosevelt even replied to Brodie's letter of request.[18]

Unable to secure a firm written commitment from Roosevelt, Brodie turned to a tactic that had served him well in the past. He intended to raise the issue in a forthcoming face-to-face meeting with the President. An exceedingly private man by nature, Brodie worked very effectively behind the scenes, as he once confided to George Smalley, who had asked for help in securing a postmaster's position. "Let me know the day you are going to send your papers [application] in and I will get in a personal letter to the President on your behalf," Brodie promised: "This latter keep to yourself as it is a way I have of landing things and I don't wish it known." The point is that Roosevelt may well have desired to avoid making a definite commitment to Brodie regarding statehood, but the close friendship between the two Rough Riders quite possibly could override that desire.[19]

Roosevelt Visit Provides an Opportunity

Brodie's opportunity to thrash out the statehood issue with the President personally came in May 1903. The year before, Roosevelt had planned a political junket across the nation, intending to visit every state and territory in the Far West. But an accident forced him to postpone the Western portion of his trip until the following spring. Upon being informed that Roosevelt would visit Arizona in May, Brodie immediately requested that Roosevelt spend two days in Arizona. The President replied that he could schedule only one day in Arizona to view the Grand Canyon, but as an alternative to Brodie's request, Roosevelt pressured Brodie to join the President's party at Albuquerque and travel with his group by

train as far as the Grand Canyon. He also requested that Brodie be prepared to accompany the President alone on a horseback ride along the southern rim of the Canyon. Brodie, of course, jumped at this opportunity to spend at least several hours alone with Roosevelt, enabling him to discuss the statehood issue and other matters in depth and in private.

Roosevelt's scheduled visit to the Grand Canyon turned into a festive occasion. Over 1000 spectators—including a number of Arizona Rough Riders—gathered to greet the President and cheer his remarks. Roosevelt talked at length about the beauty of the Canyon and the necessity to preserve it. And, of course, he also praised the Arizona Rough Riders for their performance in Cuba. Roosevelt's speech was extremely well received, and no one, with the obvious exception of Brodie, seemed to notice that the President failed to even mention statehood. Was that a calculated omission? Brodie later suggested it might well have been.[20]

President Roosevelt, Governor Brodie and other dignitaries pose at the Grand Canyon.

In some respects, 1904 stands as the high water mark of the Brodie Administration. That year, President Roosevelt resolved the long-festering Stoddard matter to Brodie's satisfaction, and the Murphy brothers orchestrated their last futile attempt to wrest control of the Arizona Republican Party from their archrival, Governor Brodie. The party's nominating convention served as the battleground for that final power play. Scheduled to convene in Tucson in March, the convention had the responsibility of selecting six delegates to represent Arizona at the national Republican convention in Chicago, where the Republican presidential candidate for the general election that fall would be named.[21]

On the surface, Roosevelt appeared to have the nomination in his pocket, but some Republicans still hoped they could steal the nomination for Senator Mark Hanna of Ohio by striking some kind of a deal with uninstructed convention delegates in the proverbial smoke-filled back room in Chicago. Brodie, absolutely determined that the Arizona delegation would not be a party to any such skullduggery, insisted that the delegates be instructed at Tucson to vote only for Roosevelt. On the other hand, Frank Murphy, acting leader of the "Old Guard" wing of the party in Arizona during his brother's absence, argued that Arizona should send uninstructed delegates to Chicago who then would be free to "act for the best interests of the Territory." Murphy continued to cling to that position even after Hanna died of typhoid on February 15, 1904. Consequently, the issue remained a divisive test of power between Murphy and Brodie to be resolved at the Tucson party convention.[22]

As the returns from the various county nominating conventions began rolling into Phoenix, it quickly became apparent that Brodie's supporters easily controlled the county elections, and that a strong pro-Roosevelt element dominated the territorial convention. At the last moment, however, the New Mexico delegate to Congress, Bernard S. Rodey, released

to the press a pair of telegrams stating that Roosevelt now actively supported a plan to combine Arizona and New Mexico into one state. Stunned by Rodey's allegations, Brodie quickly wired William Loeb, Roosevelt's private secretary, to determine the validity of Rodey's claim. Unfortunately, with no reply from Loeb yet in hand, Brodie had no choice but to face the delegates gathered in Tucson and address Rodey's allegations as best he could.[23]

If Delegate Rodey released his telegrams in an effort to embarrass both Brodie and Roosevelt at the Tucson convention, his timing could not have been better. But Brodie was ready. On March 8, he took the convention floor in response to Rodey's allegations. Speaking calmly and unemotionally, Brodie addressed Rodey's comments directly. "For some days telegrams have been flying around the country stating that the President was using his influence for joint statehood," Brodie began, and "I have never believed for an instant that the President has authorized such a statement."

That established, Brodie then described his long trip with Roosevelt from Albuquerque to the Grand Canyon in 1903. During that tour, Brodie assured the delegates, he had made it absolutely clear to the President that "the people of Arizona were unanimous for single statehood or none." Roosevelt had responded with the observation that he "had never taken a stand in statehood matters," leaving that decision solely in the hands of Congress. By implication, then, Roosevelt and Brodie had come to a convenient agreement that Congress would determine Arizona's future without presidential interference.[24]

Satisfied with Brodie's explanation, the delegates responded with a thunderous ovation and quickly elected Brodie and five other delegates to the Republican National 1904 Nominating Convention in Chicago. They were instructed to vote for Roosevelt.

Following the presidential election of 1904, the statehood issue continued to smolder quietly. Roosevelt now owed the continuation of his presidency to the ballot box as opposed to an assassin's bullet, but his position on statehood for Arizona and New Mexico had not changed significantly. He appeared to be moving closer to accepting joint statehood, but so far had publicly refrained from actually casting the die in that direction. Brodie, of course, remained true to the cause, even requesting the Arizona Legislature to send two memorials to Congress rejecting any plan to join the two territories.

Roosevelt Comes Out For Jointure

Suddenly, however, the situation changed dramatically. In his annual message to Congress in December 1905, President Roosevelt recommended that Arizona and New Mexico be granted joint statehood. Many Arizonans obviously felt that they had been betrayed and vociferously voiced their objections, but Brodie was not among them. Nine months earlier, on February 14, 1905, he had resigned as Governor to accept Roosevelt's offer to appoint him assistant chief of the Records and Pension Bureau of the War Department with the rank of major.[25]

For a variety of reasons, the exact impact of Brodie's relationship with Roosevelt, as it ultimately affected statehood, is difficult to determine. Obviously, there is no "smoking gun" pointing at any arrangement the two men might gave made, but many circumstantial clues exist. The friendship between the two Rough Riders, as forged at Riverside Park in San Antonio and later tempered by Spanish Mausers in the bloody hills of Cuba, established a battlefield camaraderie which the passage of time could only nurture and bond the two men even closer. Needless to say, the two old soldiers trusted each other implicitly. "I have always felt peculiarly

drawn to you," Roosevelt once wrote his friend, "as a comrade and fellow soldier and as a citizen. You are the kind of American I like to think of as typical of our country."[26]

Brodie Walks a Political Tightrope

Obviously a loyal supporter of Roosevelt from their first meeting in San Antonio, Brodie reliably fit the mold of the good soldier, marching to the beat of the regimental drum without complaining or breaking step. He consistently followed Roosevelt's instructions to the letter, but at the same time, maintained the freedom to fully and openly express his own position on any given issue until such time as Roosevelt made his final decision. The question of Arizona statehood is a perfect example of that arrangement.

In some ways, statehood at the turn of the century for Arizona and neighboring New Mexico at first appeared to be a unifying factor between Brodie and Roosevelt, but in reality that proved not to be the case. As Roosevelt settled into the White House following McKinley's death, he realized that his party stood badly divided on the statehood issue, which threatened to help disrupt his efforts to unify the GOP behind his presidential bid in 1904. Concluding, therefore, that he had to tread carefully on the issue, Roosevelt vacillated on making his wishes known until after the election of that year. On the other hand, Governor Brodie took an uncompromising stance on the matter, immediately championing without reservation the position of Arizona residents, who wanted separate statehood and wanted it now. Obviously, Roosevelt could have stopped Brodie's activities at any point, but significantly he did not.

The meeting Roosevelt requested between himself and Brodie at the Grand Canyon in May 1903 appears to have been the occasion where the two laid out their strategy. The plan really was quite simple. Brodie would freely continue to demand separate statehood, which would be critical in his efforts to ensure that the Arizona Republican Party rejected the Old Guard and supported the Roosevelt wing of the party. In other words, Brodie could pressure Congress in any way he desired without fear that Roosevelt would enter the fight publicly. For his part of the agreement, of course, Roosevelt agreed to leave the statehood question in the hands of Congress and refrain from making any public statement endorsing joint state statehood, which obviously would embarrass Brodie and harm his efforts to build a pro-Roosevelt Party in Arizona. The plan succeeded. Brodie and his supporters beat back the joint statehood crowd in Congress and Roosevelt successfully brought the Old Guard to heel in preparation for the 1904 election. The following year, with Brodie back in the army and reelection accomplished, Roosevelt publicly asked Congress to join Arizona with New Mexico, something that he apparently had wanted to do all along.

In the final analysis, then, Brodie actually accomplished virtually nothing to achieve statehood for Arizona during President Roosevelt's first term in office, but he played a key role in rejecting joint statehood with New Mexico. It is quite likely that without Governor Brodie's activities, the state of "Montezuma,"—or something similar—would have entered the Union before Roosevelt left office in 1909.

ENDNOTES

[1] Interview with Mary DeLanie, Alexander O. Brodie's granddaughter, April 13, 1963, Flagstaff, Arizona.

[2] Constance Wynn Altshuler, *Cavalry Yellow and Infantry Blue: Army officers in Arizona Between 1851 and 1886* (Tucson: Arizona Historical Society, 1991), pp. 43-44.

[3] Maj. John Green to Assistant Adjutant General (AAG), Department of Arizona, May 6, 1871, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, 1824-1881,

Arizona Superintendency, 1870-1871, Record Group (RG) 75, National Archives, (NA). Assuming command of the Department of Arizona in 1871, Lt. Col. and Brevet Maj. Gen. Crook established a well-deserved reputation as an effective Indian fighter. His 1872-73 campaign into the Tonto Basin is well known in Arizona.

[4] Altshuler, *Cavalry Yellow,* pp. 43-44.

[5] David B. Dill, Jr., "Terror on the Hassayampa: The Walnut Grove Dam Disaster of 1890," *The Journal of Arizona History*, vol 28 (Autumn 1987), pp. 283-306. A native of New York born in 1834, Henry Spinger Van Beuren and four siblings inherited an estate valued at $13,000,000.

[6] Altshuler, *Cavalry Yellow,* pp. 43-44. Mary Hanlon, a close friend and frequent traveling companion of Van Beuren's daughter, Nell, was visiting Walnut Grove with the Van Beurens when the dam collapsed. She left a gripping account of her narrow escape from flood water roaring down the canyon below the dam.

[7] Charles Herner, *The Arizona Rough Riders,* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970), pp. 14-15. *Ibid.,* pp. 10-38. Contrary to a local erroneous legend that probably never will die, the plans to raise a regiment of cowboy cavalry in Arizona actually originated with Brodie and not with William Owen "Buckey" O'Neill. O'Neill, however, did assist Brodie in recruiting men from northern Arizona.

[8] Prescott *Weekly Courier,* September 9, 1898. The term "Free Silver" refers to a concept championed by the Populist Party and later in 1896 by the Democratic Party to use silver on an unlimited basis to back up the nation's currency. Support for the idea snowballed in those states and territories with a viable mining industry such as Arizona. Brodie reportedly even declined the Republican nomination for Yavapai County treasurer in 1896 because he refused to support the gold standard as the Republican Party demanded.

[9] Newspaper clipping in Folder: "1899 Rough Rider Reunion," James H. McClintiock Papers, Phoenix Public Library.

[10] Apparently, Roosevelt decided to replace Governor Murphy largely because he openly opposed one of Roosevelt's pet projects, the National Reclamation Act, which happened to be highly popular in water-starved Arizona.

[11] John Braeman, "Albert J. Beveridge and Statehood for the Southwest, 1902-1912," *Arizona and the West,* vol. 10 (Winter 1968), pp. 313-340.

[12] *Report of the Governor of Arizona to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year Ended June 30,1902* (Washington: Government Printing Ofice, 1902). Although Brodie took office on July 1, 1902, it fell upon him to complete the governor's report for the previous year.

[13] Braeman, "Albert J. Beveridge and Statehood," pp. 313-340.

[14] *Ibid.* Beveridge's report to Congress reveals that he harbored strong anti-Hispanic sentiments.

[15] George H. Smalley to his father, January 23, 1903, Folder 5, Box 1, George Smalley Papers, Arizona Historical Society (AHS), Tucson. Born in 1872 in Wisconsin, George Smalley came to Arizona in 1896. As a reporter for the *Arizonan Republican*, he covered Brodie's 1898 campaign for delegate to Congress. The two became friends, and, after becoming governor, Brodie appointed Smalley his private secretary.

[16] Phoenix *Arizona Gazette,* December 14, 1902.

[17] Ibid., February 22, 1903; *Report of the Governor of Arizona to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year Ended June 30, 1904* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904).

[18] Governor Brodie to President Roosevelt, November 15, 1902, "Governor's Office," Record Group 1, Alexander Oswald Brodie, 1902-1905, Letters of Governor Brodie, July 1, 1902-March 19, 1903, Book 1, Arizona State Library and Archives, Phoenix.

[19] Brodie to George Smalley, January 2, 1902, Folder 1, Box 1, Smalley Papers, AHS. Brodie's admission to Smalley of his influence with Roosevelt is just one example of his close relationship with Roosevelt.

[20] Unidentified newspaper clipping, Governor Brodie's Scrapbook, Author's Files.

[21] Arizona Secretary of State Isaac Taft Stoddard had been appointed to that position by President McKinley. Suspected by many in Arizona of being corrupt, Stoddard and Governor Brodie quickly became involved in a bitter fight over the disposition of territorial incorporation fees.

[22] Phoenix *Arizona Republican,* February 2,3, 1904; Phoenix *Enterprise,* January 12, 1904. A native of Ohio and one of the most powerful members of the Republican Party, Marc (Mark) Hanna did not always see eye to eye with Roosevelt.

[23] Phoenix *Arizona Republican,* March 9, 1904. An Irish-born politician, Rodey came to New Mexico in 1881. Elected delegate to Congress in 1900, he championed separate statehood until 1904, when he changed his position for unknown reasons. The origin and authenticity of the telegrams released by Rodey has not been determined.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] Robert W. Larsen, *New Mexico's Quest for Statehood, 1840-1912* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968) pp. 226-235.

[26] Roosevelt to Brodie, April 20, 1912, Series I, Reel 157, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, Library of Congress.

Women's Suffrage and Arizona's Quest for Statehood

By Heidi Osselaer

Just prior to 9:00 am on February 14, 1912, when word reached officials in Phoenix that President William Howard Taft had signed Arizona's statehood proclamation, a "wild chorus of bells, whistles, and other noisemakers was sent up by Phoenix revelers." In Prescott the courthouse bell rang forty-eight times and in Bisbee forty-eight sticks of dynamite were ignited to celebrate the birth of the new state.

A few hours later, newly elected Governor George W. P. Hunt walked from the Ford Hotel on Second Avenue and Washington Street to the State Capitol Building, where he took his oath of office. After the inaugural ceremony, a parade celebrating statehood made its way down Washington Street featuring local National Guard companies, students from local schools, boy scouts, war veterans, and representatives from local fire departments, labor unions, and male civic organizations.

Some schoolgirls were included, but no representatives from Arizona's numerous women's organizations participated. In fact, women were conspicuously absent from the statehood festivities, largely because they could not vote. However, the statehood battle gave women an opportunity to convince Arizona's voters and politicians that they too deserved

Madge Udall of Arizona leads the 1913 suffrage celebration parade in New York City.

to become full-fledged citizens and march in a parade.[1]

ARIZONA'S 2ND CLASS CITIZENS

Arizona's battle for statehood was long and had left many territorial residents frustrated with their lack of clout at the national level. A territory has no voting representation in Congress, its governing officers are appointed by the federal government, and voters may only elect local officials and territorial legislators. In other words, territorial residents are severely limited in their ability to govern themselves. Arizonans felt they were second-class citizens at the mercy of the federal government. As the territory's population increased and residents demanded statehood, woman suffrage advocates argued they too were treated as second-class citizens, without representation of any kind in government. The statehood battle and the woman suffrage battle would be closely linked in Arizona as both men and women sought to exercise their political rights on the national stage.[2]

In the nineteenth century most Americans, both male and female, believed that there were separate spheres of influence. Women, who were believed to be more physically and mentally fragile, were destined to prevail in the domestic sphere, overseeing their homes, the education of their children, and the moral well being of their families. Men were viewed as physically and mentally superior, enabling them to go outside the home and work in the public sphere. Because men best understood the workings of government, they could represent women's interests, and therefore women did not need the vote. This notion of separate spheres was first publicly challenged in the United States in 1848 by Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and other women who demanded the right to vote at the first women's rights conference at Seneca Falls, New York.

In the decades that followed that first demand for suffrage, women's rights leaders in the western states and territories argued that women, especially Anglo women, were pioneers who had made tremendous sacrifices to help establish churches, schools, and libraries and had labored alongside men in the fields and in business, thereby earning the right to vote. Many members of the legislatures in western states and territories conceded the important roles women had played and granted women limited suffrage, often in municipal or school board elections. Several legislatures, including those of Wyoming (1869), Utah (1870), and Colorado (1893), took it a step further and gave women the right to vote in all elections. Arizona's legislature first debated the merits of granting women full suffrage in 1883, but the notion failed to win sufficient votes because a majority of members believed it would "degrade women from their proper sphere in the home circle."

MOVEMENT BEGUN IN ARIZONA

In 1891, Josephine Brawley Hughes, a prominent reformer in Tucson who had been president of the territorial Woman's Christian Temperance Union, established the territory's first woman suffrage organization because she believed "women could not wage effective battles for reform without political discourse." Hughes was a former teacher who partnered with her husband, Louis Hughes, to run the *Tucson Star* newspaper, and their editorials argued for numerous reforms, placing a high priority on the prohibition of alcohol and woman suffrage. Although she was able to make some progress towards curbing alcohol abuse, Arizona's male politicians told Hughes and her small band of followers that their demand for woman suffrage was "a revolutionary and untried question" lacking sufficient support among the territory's population.[3]

Over the next few years, Hughes was joined in the suffrage campaign by Pauline O'Neill and Frances Willard Munds, both former teachers and temperance advocates active in the women's club movement in Prescott. O'Neill was the widow of William "Buckey"

O'Neill, a local Populist politician who had championed a bill in the legislature that gave taxpaying women the right to vote in municipal elections in 1897. During almost every legislative session between 1883 and 1912, a full suffrage bill was introduced, but invariably went down to defeat. Organizers from the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA) blamed liquor interests, but local leaders like Munds and O'Neill believed territorial politicians were the ones to blame. Democrats controlled Arizona politics prior to the 1950s, so they had nothing to gain by adding women to the electorate and, in fact, male party leaders worried that women would not be strong partisan supporters of the Democratic Party.[4]

ARIZONA STATEHOOD OPPOSED

Congressional attitudes toward Arizona also played an important role in both the statehood and the suffrage campaigns. Many members of Congress viewed the territory as too sparsely populated, the desert environment insufficiently hospitable, the economy based on extractive industries incapable of supporting steady economic growth, and the residents too un-American and uneducated to merit statehood. Opposition to statehood was led by Senator Albert J. Beveridge of Indiana, chairman of the Committee on Territories, who stated that the "great American desert was inhabited by culturally incompatible Spanish-speaking residents and dominated by a few large absentee-controlled mining corporations and the big railroads."

Beveridge complained that courts required the use of Spanish interpreters to conduct business—proof to him that it was insufficiently Americanized— and many of the saloons in towns operated twenty-four hours of day. Beveridge was one of many prominent Anglos who believed that Mexicans were inferior to Euro-Americans and held back the development of western territories. Similar arguments plagued New Mexico, whose predominantly Hispanic residents were also demanding admission as a state. Additionally, Beveridge complained that Arizona's population was "of a transient character, going there to work in the mines or for other purposes, but who have not permanently settled and adopted the family life."

President Theodore Roosevelt concurred with Beveridge's conclusions and refused to consider separate statehood for either Arizona or New Mexico. Over the next decade, as territorial politicians waged a public relations campaign to improve Arizona's image, suffrage leaders joined the chorus, arguing that enfranchising women would help change the public perception of the territory as a cultural backwater.[5]

Concern with Arizona's and New Mexico's unsuitability for statehood led congressmen in the spring of 1902 to debate whether or not the two territories should be admitted as one large state named Montezuma or Lincoln, with the capital located in Santa Fe. The plan found favor among members of Congress who believed that New Mexico was not Anglo enough and Arizona's economy was not diversified enough for the two to survive as independent states. The response to the joint statehood recommendation, or jointure as it was commonly referred to, was swift and almost universally negative in Arizona. Residents were appalled to think they would have to travel hundreds of miles to the capital in Santa Fe and their primarily Anglo population would be overwhelmed by the predominantly Hispanic population of New Mexico.[6]

SHARLOT HALL ENTERS THE FRAY

The jointure movement in Congress was opposed by Arizona mining companies, local businessmen, and labor leaders, but it also was opposed by the territory's famed writer, Sharlot Hall of Prescott. Hall was a nationally known writer through her poetry publications and as an editor for Charles Lummis's popular literary publication, *Out West*. Her writing focused on the history, culture, and

geography of the West, and, according to her biographer, Margaret Maxwell, Hall was anxious to her use her talents to "prove that though Arizona might be in the West, it was not wild."[7]

Hall decided to devote an entire issue of *Out West* to defeating the jointure campaign. To rebuff the outside negative image of Arizona's frontier extractive economy, she wrote a painstakingly researched and detailed 64-page article describing how the copper mining, ranching, forestry, and farming industries had brought steady employment and income to the territory, rebutting Beveridge's opinion that the territory was nothing but a mining camp. Her extensive statistics built a strong case that Arizona was ready to stand on its own, but it was her impassioned poem *Arizona* printed in the same issue that struck a nerve with many readers. She argued Arizona was no longer a young territory, but rather had grown to become "a fair-browed, queenly woman." This queenly Arizona was mature enough to make her own decisions and was better off to remain "with shackles on wrist and ankle and dust on her stately head" as a territory than to be forced against her will into a marriage with New Mexico as a requirement for joining the union.[8]

Sharlot Hall, Territorial Historian, was the first woman to hold an Arizona Territorial Office

While she waited for the poem to be printed in the next edition of *Out West*, Hall brought a copy of it to Phoenix and shared it with newspaper publisher Dwight Heard who believed it might help Arizona's efforts to defeat jointure. He had the entire piece reprinted on the editorial page of the *Arizona Republican* (the forerunner of the *Arizona Republic*) and then paid for the poem to be printed as a broadside to be distributed to each member of Congress and reprinted in the *Congressional Record* in early 1906.

Hall's poem and article were credited by some observers for convincing sufficient numbers of senators to vote against joint statehood.

One Pennsylvania newspaper editor wrote, "Sharlot M. Hall perhaps put out the strongest papers that were issued to show why Arizona should, when admitted to statehood, be admitted as a great commonwealth singly." With the jointure issue put to rest, Arizona residents returned their attention to the statehood and suffrage battles.[9]

Suffrage leaders Josephine Hughes, Frances Munds, and Pauline O'Neill renewed their arguments in newspaper articles, speeches, and letters to legislators that enfranchised women would vote to close the saloons, gambling halls, and red light districts that contributed to crime and vice in towns, reforms that would appeal to Congress. In 1909, Hughes told the president of the legislative council, George Hunt, "For more than 30 years Mr. Hunt, a large portion of the most womanly women in Arizona have been working and

hoping for the time when they could use their influence in assisting the molding and directing the affairs of our municipalities and territory. Nothing can be done at this time which would give a stronger impetus to the statehood movement than that of enfranchising the intelligent womanhood of Arizona."[10]

Hughes's choice of the terms "womanly women" and "intelligent womanhood" were shorthand references to educated Anglo women. Suffrage leaders both in Arizona and nationally often employed the tactic of suggesting that educated women were better qualified to vote than uneducated male immigrants who were unable to read or to understand democracy. Senator Beveridge and other members of Congress had complained vehemently about the high levels of illiteracy in Arizona. According to the U.S. Census in 1900, the literacy rate for native-born residents was almost 97 percent, but for non-native-born whites, primarily from Mexico but also from Europe, it was only 70 percent.

LITERACY TEST ESTABLISHED

In 1909 Arizona's suffrage leaders urged Democrats in the legislature to pass a bill requiring a literacy test administered by voter registrars. The bill was heavily favored by labor union members wishing to minimize the influence of immigrant workers. Hughes, Munds, and O'Neill believed that Mexican American men did not support suffrage and, therefore, they also wished to minimize their influence at the polls. They obviously did not see the hypocrisy of their argument that women should be enfranchised because they had labored to settle the territory, while they were simultaneously working to disenfranchise pioneering Mexican Americans who had made similar contributions to Arizona's development.[11]

With a significant portion of the state's Mexican American population neutralized by the literacy law, suffrage leaders next turned their attention to convincing delegates chosen to the constitutional convention that women should be granted the full rights of citizenship. Frances Munds and Pauline O'Neill knew that most delegates were progressives who supported direct democracy, including the initiative, referendum, primary elections, and the recall of elected officials. Many male voters believed corporations—especially mining companies—had too much control over government, and if the electorate were given more clout in decision making with these mechanisms of direct democracy, then corporate power would be diminished.

On November 2, 1910, Frances Munds was asked by constitutional convention leaders to preside over a hearing on suffrage held at the territorial capitol. The gallery was filled to capacity as delegates heard testimony that women worked and paid taxes yet had no voice in government. The primary anti- suffrage argument was "that suffrage was a dangerous and radical thing to put into the constitution and that it would endanger its acceptance both by the people and by President Taft."

STATEHOOD AT RISK?

Women's leaders had argued that woman suffrage would help Arizona become a state, but now leading politicians countered that it would jeopardize statehood. George Hunt, president of the constitutional convention, told Munds that Taft and Congress would reject a constitution that gave women the vote and therefore Hunt would not throw his substantial political weight behind the issue. An editorial in the *Arizona Republican* pointed out the hypocrisy of the delegates who supported direct democracy, but not woman suffrage. They showed "precisely the attitude which they say is so objectionable in the members of the legislature—the attitude of denying to a considerable proportion of the population a chance to be heard." The anti-suffrage delegates prevailed and the provision was defeated. The constitution was approved by the convention delegates; Arizona's male

voters; and eventually by President Taft. Women came up empty handed.[12]

While George Hunt and other state politicians made speeches and celebrated their great accomplishment on February 14, 1912, women could only stand on the sidelines and note their exclusion not only from the festivities, but more importantly as citizens. Suffrage leaders began a public relations campaign reaching out to the voters.

SHARLOT HALL WRITES AGAIN

Sharlot Hall once again put her considerable writing skills to the cause as guest editor of an edition of *Arizona: The New State Magazine*, a promotional publication dedicated to portraying the new state in a positive light, and dedicated the entire February 1912 issue to the state's women. She gathered prominent Anglo women to write on a variety of topics that highlighted Arizona's womanhood. One article expounded on the accomplishments of the woman homesteader, whose "permanency of her home creates the need for school and church, the establishment of social order." Other articles were dedicated to the women who attended the state's colleges and to members of the Arizona Federation of Women's Clubs.

Munds wrote a piece that was widely reprinted in state newspapers entitled, "Do Arizona Women Want the Ballot?" telling her readers, "The men of Arizona are not going to deny their women the right to stand shoulder to shoulder with them in helping to launch this new state of ours." Pauline O'Neill wrote about the contributions of European nuns titled "The Early Catholic Sisters," and pioneer Yuma teacher Mary Elizabeth Post wrote about the accomplishments of white teachers.[13]

Missing from the publication was any account of Mexican American, African American, or Asian American women and their accomplishments. One piece did highlight Native American female students, explaining how white teachers had brought education to the reservations that allowed many native women to escape from the poverty and primitive conditions in their lives. But no one wrote about the important roles played by women of color who belonged to their own organizations, like the black women who formed the Arizona Federation of Colored Women's Clubs because they were excluded from the Arizona Federation of Women's Clubs, or the Mexican American women who worked in women's auxiliaries of the mutual aid society *Alianza Hispano Americana* or in *La Junta*, dedicated to the Catholic Church. And although the Anglo wife of Governor George Hunt was featured, there were no articles about women like Trinidad Meija Escalante Swilling, the wife of Jack Swilling, despite her numerous contributions to Phoenix's early development.[14]

THE INITIATIVE OPTION IS USED

The new state constitution gave voters the right to amend the constitution by initiative, so suffrage leaders launched a petition drive in the summer of 1912 and collected signatures from over 4,000 registered voters—including a significant number of Mexican American, African American, and Chinese American voters—enough to place a suffrage amendment on the ballot. They then lobbied labor unions leaders, state political party chairmen, and newspaper editors and won their support—these male leaders took note of the popular enthusiasm for suffrage and the willingness of suffrage leaders to side with Anglo labor leaders on important issues and no longer tried to resist. Just days before the fall election, Josephine Hughes wrote an editorial titled, "A Pioneer Woman's Appeal for the Ballot" that was printed in newspapers throughout the state. In it she stated:

> Does anyone believe that without the joint labors, the joint struggles, the joint suffering and the privations of the pioneer men and women in thus achieving and establishing the civilizing conditions for which

> Arizona has been struggling for more than thirty-five years, we would have been a sovereign state today? What hope would there have been for Arizona's admission to statehood had there been no conquest of the Apaches, mining stock or farm industries? No schools, churches, no social conditions, no community life?[15]

Hughes's arguments resonated with Arizona's male voters, who for so many years had resented their own lack of self-government as residents of a territory. On Election Day, November 5, 1912, the suffrage amendment passed with a resounding 68 percent of the popular vote.[16] Their victory was celebrated on May 3, 1913, with a parade held in New York City. Ten thousand women marched down Fifth Avenue with a half million spectators watching as Arizona's "fair-browed, queenly" representative Madge Udall, a recent graduate of the University of Arizona, rode her horse carrying the Arizona banner.[17]

ENDNOTES

[1] Mark Pry, "Arizona and the Politics of Statehood, 1889-1912," Ph.D. dissertation, Arizona State University, 1995, p. 321; *Arizona Gazette*, Feb. 14, 1912; Dean Smith, *Arizona Highways Album: Road to Statehood*, Phoenix: Arizona Highways, 1987, p. 138; *Prescott Journal-Miner*, Feb. 14, 1912.

[2] Pry, "Arizona and the Politics of Statehood," pp. 2-3.

[3] Aimee DePotter Lykes, "Phoenix Women in the Development of Public Policy: Territorial Beginnings," in *Phoenix in the Twentieth Century: Essays in Community History*, edited by G. Wesley Johnson, Jr., p. 34; Mark Pry, "Statehood Politics and Territorial Development: the Arizona Constitution of 1891," *Journal of Arizona History* 35 (1994): 409, 422.

[4] William "Buckey" O'Neill to James McClintock, July 14, 1897, McClintock Collection, Phoenix Public Library. Before the law went into effect, a judge overturned it; *Woman's Journal*, 9 May 1903, p. 146; *Arizona Republican*, 21 March 1903.

[5] Jay J. Wagoner, *Arizona Territory, 1863-1912: A Political History*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970, p. 408; Pry, "Arizona and the Politics of Statehood," p. 109; David R. Berman, *Reformers, Corporations, and the Electorate: An Analysis of Arizona's Age of Reform*, Niwot: University Press of Colorado, 1992, pp. 9-11; Karen Underhill Mangelsdorf, "The Beveridge Visit to Arizona in 1902," *Journal of Arizona History* 28 (1987): 250, 252-4; Laura K. Munoz, "Desert Dreams: Mexican American Education in Arizona, 1870-1930," Ph.D. dissertation, Tempe: Arizona State University, 2006, pp. 17-18; Linda Carol Noel, "'The Swinging Door': U.S. National Identity and the Making of the Mexican Guestworker, 1900-1935," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park, 2006, pp. 44-45.

[6] Noel, "The Swinging Door," p. 60.

[7] Margaret F. Maxwell, *A Passion for Freedom: The Life of Sharlot Hall*, Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982, pp. 91-93.

[8] Maxwell, *A Passion for Freedom*, pp. 92-95.

[9] *Out West*, Jan. 1906; Maxwell, *A Passion for Freedom*, pp. 93-96.

[10] Mrs. L. C. Hughes to George Hunt, March 3, 1909, Laura Clay Collection, King Library, University of Kentucky, Lexington.

[11] Statistics of Population, U.S. Census, 1900; Laura Clay to Miss Gordon March 3, 1909, Laura Clay Collection, King Library, University of Kentucky, Lexington.

[12] Frances Munds's report to the *Woman's Journal*, 1913, Women's Suffrage Collection, ASLAPR; Pry, "Arizona and the Politics of Statehood," pp. 263-265; *Arizona Republican*, Nov. 14, 1910.

[13] *Arizona: The New State Magazine*, Feb. 1912, pp. 7-9.

[14] *Ibid*, p. 9; Munoz, "Desert Dreams," p. 199.

[15] Arizona woman suffrage petitions, Arizona State Library, Archives and Public Records, Phoenix; *Arizona Gazette*, Sept. 30, Oct. 3 and 5, and Nov. 4, 1912.

[16] Thus Arizona became a suffrage state eight years before the 19th amendment, joining only Wyoming (1869), Utah, Colorado, Idaho, Washington, California, Kansas and Oregon in that regard.

[17] *New York Times*, May 4, 1913, p. 1, (There is no evidence that Madge Udall was a member of the Udalls of Arizona politics.)

ABOUT US

The award-winning Prescott Corral (www.prescottcorral.org) was founded in 1962 as an affiliate of Westerners International (www.westerners-international.org), an organization dedicated to the preservation of the real history of the American West.

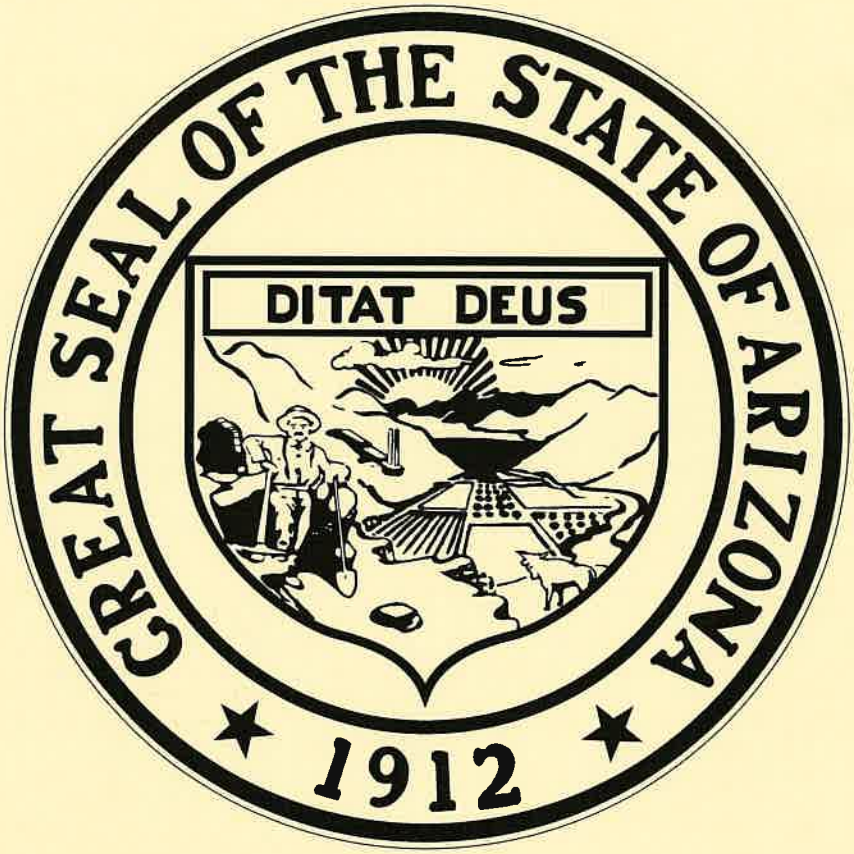
The Prescott Corral has a well-earned reputation for excellence in preserving Western history through its monthly dinner meetings, the annual History Symposium it co-sponsors with the Sharlot Hall Museum, and its contributions to area historical preservation groups.

ABOUT OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Robert L. Spude, Ph.D., received his history degrees from Arizona State University and the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He has worked for the National Park Service since 1977 and is presently regional historian for the NPS Intermountain Region based in Santa Fe. He is also incoming president of the Mining History Association, which will hold its annual conference in Prescott, June 7-10, 2012.

Charles Herner was born in Jerome and raised in Douglas. He received two degrees in history from the University of Arizona and a reserve officer's commission in armor. Now retired, he taught U.S. History from 1963 to 1990 at Canyon del Oro High School in Tucson and also retired from the U.S. Army Reserve with rank of colonel. Herner first became interested in Alexander O. Brodie while researching his first book, *The Arizona Rough Riders* (University of Arizona Press, 1970). He recently completed a full-length biography of Brodie, which is scheduled be published by Texas Christian Press in the spring of 2012.

Heidi J. Osselaer received her undergraduate degree in history at the University of California, Berkeley, and earned both her master's degree and doctorate in U.S. history at Arizona State University. The University of Arizona Press published her first book, *Winning Their Place: Arizona Women in Politics, 1883-1950*, which won two Glyph Awards from the Arizona Book Publishing Association in 2010—best History/Political and the Embodying Arizona Award. In 2008 her paper "Nellie Trent Bush: Arizona Maverick," garnered two awards at the Arizona History Convention. She teaches U.S. Women's History at Arizona State University, Tempe, and serves on the Executive Board and the Scholars' Committee of the Arizona Women's Heritage Trail. She also serves on the Editorial Board of the *Journal of Arizona History* and is a speaker for the Arizona Humanities Council.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