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The economic collapse during the Great Depression of the 1930s spared few individuals, industries, or institutions. As more and more jobs disappeared, desperate people searched for work or other means to survive. Although public agencies created programs to ease the problems of unemployment, the emergency overwhelmed most state governments. As the crisis worsened, the states turned to the federal government for help.

Highlighting the concerns of the states were the conditions in penal institutions where increased populations, limited work opportunities, inferior educational facilities, and deteriorated structures overwhelmed existing systems. While these conditions existed in all states, the experiences of the penitentiaries in the Far Southwest demonstrated the impact of federal policies during the Great Depression.[1]

This region of the United States, comprised of Arizona, Nevada, New Mexico, and Utah for the purposes of this study, suffered similar consequences during the economic crisis. Here, as in other areas of the country, officials turned to the federal government for assistance in finding constructive activities to occupy the time of idle inmates. As a result, national leadership assumed a far greater position in the implementation of policy and practices in the state penal systems. In particular, agencies of the federal government focused on work and educational opportunities for inmates to alleviate disciplinary problems so common in congested prisons.

Federal intervention in state penal systems during the Great Depression began in 1931 when the government published the findings of the

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investigation of the Wickersham Law Commission. This commission reported directly to President Herbert Hoover that from an educational, disciplinary, and business standpoint, American penitentiaries as a whole were failures. Prisons, the commission judged, fell short of society's goal to reform criminals, provided limited protection of society, and subjected inmates to brutal treatment in antiquated and inefficient institutions. Within the final report, penological experts outlined plans to improve the system. To achieve that goal, the commission stressed the segregation of the more degenerate and hardened criminals, the expansion of parole, and monetary remuneration for inmates who worked.[2]

Although the commission report brought attention to conditions within prisons, the depressed economic situation prevented states from adopting most of the recommendations. Still, the Wickersham investigation represented the subtle entry of the national government into the prison affairs of the states. Though the study included federal penitentiaries, state correctional facilities experienced the major impact. Before the organization of the Wickersham committee, wardens and other prison administrators rarely looked to Washington for direction, and instead depended on their own organizations, such as the American Prison Association (APA), to initiate plans for reform, evaluation, and innovations in penology.

Rarely invited and usually hesitant to offer suggestions related to policy, the federal government nevertheless had placed restrictions on state penitentiaries. For example, in 1929 Congress passed the Hawes-Cooper Act. Designed to prevent unfair competition from cheaper, convict–made goods and supported by the American Federation of Labor, this bill gave states the right to bar the importation of articles produced in penal institutions.[3] With a deferred period of five years from passage to implementation, however, the law did not become effective until 1934. Needless to say, this act only served to compound problems for the troubled prisons. The elimination of markets meant fewer inmates worked and less income for the penitentiaries.

Hampered by the constraints of federal legislation that removed traditional outlets, wardens and other members of the boards of control for state institutions searched for ways to sell articles made at the prisons. At the same time, organized labor renewed protests against prison industries and lobbied against the unfair competition of inmate goods. Influenced by labor unions, Congress then passed the Ashurst-Sumner Act in 1935 which barred without exception the interstate shipment and sale of goods made in prisons.[4] Consequently, this law and the Hawes-Cooper Act reduced potential markets and caused a drastic curtailment of prison industries.

In addition to the limitations these new laws imposed, the National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA), part of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal, affected prisons. Intended to revive and stimulate business activity, the NIRA created the National Recovery Administration (NRA). In turn, this agency prompted industry members to write codes in an effort to balance production and consumption. Therefore, in October 1933 retailers who joined the NRA adopted codes that prohibited the sale, acquisition, or distribution of prison-made goods. To modify the extreme provisions of the manufactures' codes and to salvage production of specific articles, penitentiary representatives from thirty-six states signed and presented to the NRA a separate convict labor code. But legal objections, most notably the inability to comply with the collective bargaining provision mandatory under Section 7(a) of the act, forced prison officials and representatives of the APA to draft a new voluntary agreement among the states. Approved by President Roosevelt in April 1934 and endorsed by thirty-one states, this new compact allowed convict-made goods to be sold on the open market, but at a fair competitive level with private goods.[5]

Despite the efforts of the states, prison industry seemed doomed after the Supreme Court ruled the NIRA unconstitutional in 1935. Faced with idle inmates in crowded prisons, wardens throughout the United States feared the outbreak of riots or other disruptive behavior. Aware of the distress caused by lack of employment for convicts, President Roosevelt established the Prison Industries Reorganization Administration (PIRA) in 1935. This agency served to study, recommend, and direct plans for the utilization of convict labor, and based all suggestions on the accepted philosophy that work for inmates aided reformation and eliminated disciplinary problems associated with overcrowding.

In all areas of the country, PIRA conducted extensive surveys of penal facilities and directed attention to resources, available labor, and possible prison industries that could produce goods used in state agencies and institutions. Investigators compiled detailed histories of the individual penitentiaries, types of work performed in the past, and guidelines for future convict employment. While each state had unique problems and possibilities, all surveys unanimously endorsed more work for prisoners to ease overcrowding, to improve morale, and to reduce the cost of incarceration.[6] Besides prison industries, PIRA recommended that states use convict labor in agricultural activities, forestry work, the manufacturing of building materials, and finally in construction projects.[7]

The expansion of prison structures seemed an obvious solution to overcrowding, particularly in the Far Southwest where many of the buildings had fallen into disrepair and no longer provided adequate protection or security. This was definitely the case in Utah where Warden

Richard E. Davis had urged the construction of a larger, more modern facility at a different location since the middle of the 1920s.[8] Yet state lawmakers, aware that Utah had limited resources for so expensive an undertaking, hesitated to make any moves until 1937. At that time, the legislature appropriated money to purchase land and to build a new prison. Although two years in the process, the board of corrections finally selected a suitable location. Encompassing 721 acres, not far from the old prison and still within Salt Lake County, the site included adequate water rights for irrigation and farming.

Known as "The Point of the Mountain," the new location seemed to offer great potential and more than enough room to build a secure structure, to increase farming, and to expand prison industries.[9] Utah then applied to the Public Works Administration (PWA) for funds to help pay for the new facility. The New Deal agency, however, rejected the request. Utah officials did not record the specific reasons why the PWA refused the appropriation for the new penitentiary. Evidence suggests, however, that a reevaluation and closer scrutiny of all projects prompted the rejection. Although the warden sent some inmates to the new site to prepare the foundation, construction proceeded slowly and was delayed further because of World War Two.

In 1938 the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor issued a report to all state governments concerning the construction of new facilities. In essence, that study cautioned states to evaluate possible alternatives before asking the federal government for construction funds. Pointing out that tremendous expenditures for iron and steel rarely guaranteed greater protection of society, the committee suggested instead that states might spend money more profitably for the salaries of guards and salaries and rehabilitative programs such as education for inmates. As an additional option, the report urged greater use of parole, or the utilization of less expensive buildings to house prisoners and relieve overcrowding. While the impact of this report remains uncertain, it is clear that federal policy at this time included the limitation of funds for new construction.[10]

Although none of the other states in the Far Southwest had a program as ambitious as Utah, each advocated a construction project to expand facilities. In Nevada, for example, inmates used stone from the prison quarry to build a new two-story structure to house a factory for the manufacture of license plates,[11] while convicts in New Mexico renovated an existing structure for the same industry.[12] In both cases, state legislators rather than the federal government appropriated funds to cover the construction costs. Likewise in Arizona, Senate Bill No. 239, passed in 1939, approved the construction of new buildings for more

dormitories and a dining hall.[13] Yet these additions, coming as they did at the end of the decade, failed to relieve overcrowding during the depression.

Construction projects, however, provided limited work opportunities for all the prisoners in the penitentiaries of the Far Southwest. Yet PIRA investigations revealed an urgent need for more inmate employment. In New Mexico, for example, where the agents from PIRA first visited in 1936, only 229 men of the 599 imprisoned worked. The majority of the employed convicts labored in the brick and tile plant, the automobile license-tag shop, and at the prison farm. While suggesting that "the possibilities of industrial employment in the New Mexico Penitentiary are not very great," the PIRA recommended the expansion of the print shop, the enlargement of the metal shop, and the establishment of a small factory to make brooms and brushes. Furthermore, the PIRA team proposed employment of convicts in a canning factory to preserve excess produce grown on the prison farm.[14]

The PIRA suggested similar activities in Utah the same year. With a prison population of 270, only 146 men worked and 66 percent of those employed had assignments related to maintenance projects. Under existing law, Utah allowed the sale of convict-made goods to state institutions, but did not compel the latter to buy from the prison. Yet PIRA documented a viable state-use market for industrial goods produced at the penitentiary. Therefore, PIRA investigators recommended that Utah enact a law requiring the state to buy needed supplies from the prison. By providing, for example, printing materials, clothing, sheet-metal goods, brooms and brushes, and furniture for sale to the state, the Utah prison could increase industrial production and at the same time, relieve if not eliminate the problem of idleness.[15]

In addition to the expansion of prison industries, PIRA suggested that the Utah penitentiary send honor inmates to work at abandoned Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) sites. While the CCC had originally maintained thirty-three camps in Utah, by 1936 only nine remained in operation. With almost 900,000 acres of state-owned land and more than seven million acres of national forest in Utah, ample opportunity existed for prisoners to live at the camps and to work on maintaining fire trails, removing undergrowth, grading roads, and building recreational facilities. Although Utah officials recognized the validity and merit of the plan, they opposed adoption because of anticipated increased costs for transportation and guards.[16] Likewise in New Mexico where the PIRA recommended similar employment for inmates, penitentiary administrators rejected the proposal for many of the same reasons.[17]

Prison officials in the Far Southwest, however, did agree with other proposals made by the PIRA to develop or expand prison industries. In Arizona, for example, where the prison population reached 723 inmates

at the end of 1937, the state entered into an arrangement with federal relief authorities to expand work opportunities. Under the terms of this program, Arizona convicts made mattresses with supplies furnished by the government and then sold the completed goods to state and federal agencies.[18]

Elsewhere in the Far Southwest, officials focused attention on the production of license plates. Both New Mexico and Nevada established factories in 1933, but because of limited state populations and revenues, this industry employed only a small percentage of inmates. Utah, on the other hand, enjoyed greater success. After purchasing and installing equipment in 1936, forty inmates produced license tags for all motor vehicles in the state as well as street and road markers for cities and towns in Utah.[19] Besides in-state use for the equipment, Utah arranged to make automobile tags for Wyoming which lacked resources to produce its own.[20]

Pleased with the success of that program, Warden Owen Nebeker then informed the board of corrections that prison officials in Nebraska wanted to trade shoes and heavy clothing produced by inmates there for canned fruits and vegetables prepared in Utah. For the same type of goods, Wyoming proposed the exchange of blankets. Already supplying state institutions, the Utah prison canning factory increased production to meet the requests of Nebraska and Wyoming and by the fall of 1939 employed more than forty inmates in the canning factory.[21]

In contrast with the experience in Utah, attempts by New Mexico to expand prison industries met resistance. Although the prison brick and tile factory supplied materials for additions to buildings at the university,[22] federal restrictions in other instances curtailed production. In one particular case, regulations required that bricks used for a PWA project had to be purchased from a factory more than three hundred miles away, while the plant in New Mexico remained idle.[23] Unable to find sufficient work for inmates, New Mexico as well as the other states in the Far Southwest turned to education as a way to relieve the problems of overcrowding. The shift in emphasis from work to school for inmates was particularly evident in Arizona.

Whereas informal classes for inmates had operated in the Arizona penitentiary since before the turn of the century, the realities of limited employment opportunities in the 1930s pressed officials to develop a more structured program. Since crowded conditions often produced short tempers, administrators supported school as a way to reduce tensions. Those same administrators also stressed education because of the large percentage of illiterate inmates who lacked the knowledge and skills necessary to function as honest and industrious members of society after their release from the penitentiary. In 1934, prison authorities reviewed the educational background of all the convicts and found only

eleven college graduates, seventeen who had one year or more of college, and fifty who had finished high school. Of the remaining 571 prisoners, 140 had completed eighth grade while the rest had had some formal education, but were for the most part functionally illiterate.[24]

Faced with those statistics, the authorities decided to expand the school, using those prisoners who had finished high school as teachers. Within a year, Arizona offered classes to convicts at the penitentiary in ancient, medieval, and modern history, with lectures on current events, studies of the Grand Canyon, the Colorado and Mississippi Rivers, the Chicago World's Fair, and travelers' views of foreign lands. In addition, science courses included the planets, the solar system, meteorological studies, basic biology, and human physiology. Some students pursued elementary and advanced Spanish, while those in classes at the fourth to eighth grades studied English, writing, spelling, and arithmetic.[25]

Also in 1935, Arizona prisoners who had achieved at least a junior high level began a new course in aviation where they studied the mechanics of aircraft engines, navigation, meteorology, and air commerce regulation. Out of seventeen enrolled, nine completed the course and received passing grades.[26] This aeronautical course reflected a national trend of increased interest in aviation and an awareness, perhaps, of the perilous situation in the world. Other courses offered at the prison included one on current events in which, it seems fair to assume, inmates studied aggressive nations who threatened world peace. Given the experience of inmates in World War One, when large numbers tried to enlist in the Armed Forces, and when inmates observed meatless days, increased agricultural production on prison farms, and purchased Liberty Bonds, War Savings Stamps, and Red Cross Coupons, prisoners in the 1930s probably wanted to be part of a readiness program in case the United States went to war.[27] Convicts in Arizona, as in the other penitentiaries of the Far Southwest, looked beyond the prison walls and identified, in a patriotic sense, with the rest of American society.

In Utah, administrators also saw education as a way to relieve tensions caused by overcrowding in the penitentiary. Discipline in congested prisons became more difficult and more costly to enforce when inmates remained inactive for long periods of time. A riot in 1931 in Utah, in which one convict was killed and several guards and inmates injured, spawned new interest in education as an outlet for idle prisoners.[28]

As a result of the riot, Warden R.E. Davis expanded educational facilities at the Utah penitentiary during the 1930s. To accomplish this goal, Utah drew upon the resources of the state and federal governments. Early in 1932, seven instructors from the University of Utah volunteered to teach classes to the inmates. An average of 140 convicts attended the prison school for a period of twenty-two weeks. The next year, the prison

employed six instructors to teach mechanical drawing, music, physical culture, athletics, and elementary subjects. Relief Funds for Unemployed School Teachers, an agency of the state of Utah, paid the teachers.[29]

Later, in 1934, the federal government provided funds under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration program to employ teachers. That program lasted until September 1935 when the PWA assumed responsibility for direction and funding.[30] With money from the PWA, the Utah penitentiary employed a supervisor for the school plus seven teachers. Eventually, the Works Progress Administration (WPA) initiated a program for adult education in Utah that included courses for inmates at the state prison. In addition to academic subjects, classes included landscape gardening, stone cutting, and surveying. With an average attendance of approximately 160 students, the seven teachers kept busy. In spite of teaching demands, they also developed a dramatics class the Associated Press recognized as one of the best educational programs to be found in American penal institutions.[31] Moreover, fees paid by outsiders who attended the prisoners' plays funded new acquisitions for the library at the penitentiary.[32]

In contrast with Utah where a school had served inmates intermittently since before the turn of the century, the Nevada prison first began an educational program for inmates in 1936. At that time, Nevada used WPA funds to hire a teacher for the school. Established "to help the men better themselves" and to alleviate some of the boredom and empty time of the inmates, the school offered basic courses for those with little or no formal education. The teacher not only taught classes, but also supervised the work of inmate instructors. The convicts used books donated by school districts throughout the state. Although attendance was not mandatory, officials observed an immediate and positive response by inmates who went to school. Because of financial constraints though, the prison school accommodated less than one-fourth of the two hundred men incarcerated.[33]

As in Nevada, New Mexico initiated an educational program for convicts in 1936. Convicted criminals in New Mexico at this time still served their sentences in the original structure built in 1884. Located on the outskirts of Santa Fe, the penitentiary consisted of two adobe cell houses within a thirteen–acre walled enclosure. Adjacent to the wall was a sixty–acre farm where approximately thirty inmates cultivated produce and vegetables during the summer months. With almost 600 inmates confined in a facility designed to hold 470, four men in a cell equipped for two was a common practice. This congestion and limited work activities to relieve the boredom and monotony of imprisonment prompted authorities to develop a school for the inmates. When convicts remodeled an older building for two classrooms, an inmate teacher directed the school, although Warden John B. McManus restricted reg-

istration to those with less than two years of academic education. During the first year of the school, a total of forty-eight prisoners attended classes.[34]

One year later, the prison employed a salaried school administrator to direct studies and classes for 102 inmates. The illiterate and near-illiterate prisoners comprised 40 percent of the students.[35] The following year, classes included elementary subjects, advanced reading, beginner's English for non-native speakers, business English, business arithmetic, shorthand, typing, and bookkeeping. Another fourteen students participated in a music class and played in a band used in prison entertainment.[36]

While education resolved some of the problems of overcrowding in the prisons of the Far Southwest, not all inmates participated. For example, some convicts in Nevada crafted silver trinkets and leather cowboy articles that they sold to tourists who came to the prison yard to view dinosaur tracks. The ancient footprints, discovered in the 1880s when convicts excavated rock to enlarge the prison, attracted a large number of visitors each year.[37]

In contrast to the other states of the Far Southwest, and the rest of the United States as well, Nevada in the 1930s permitted gambling in licensed establishments and was beginning to earn a national reputation as a gambling center. Thus, because the state had legalized gambling, the warden and guards were more lenient and tolerated games of chance at the penitentiary. Inmates gambled in a low, one-story building called the "bullpen" where the convicts used homemade chips for betting. Prison officials issued brass tokens for normal currency exchanges, but prohibited their use in the bullpen. Despite negative connotations usually associated with gambling, Warden Matt R. Penrose reported that few disturbances originated as a result of the games and that gambling actually acted as a positive force by occupying the otherwise idle inmates.[38]

Rules against gambling, of course, or any other illegal activity for that matter, rarely deterred inmates from challenging the system. As a case in point, authorities in Arizona prohibited the consumption of alcohol in the penitentiary. Convicts in 1931 who worked at the prison farm located a short distance from the main facility, however, attempted to circumvent that regulation. That summer inmates made arrangements with a local bootlegger to exchange surplus hay for liquor. An alert guard, who intercepted the delivery, foiled their plans. When news stories appeared describing the convicts' activities, irate local citizens demanded to know why those criminals, sentenced to terms at the penitentiary, were working and living at the farm instead of behind bars. The loose

system of confinement, defended by the warden because of overcrowded conditions, angered both the court and residents of Florence where the prison was located.[39]

Overcrowding also troubled Warden Pat Dugan at the New Mexico Penitentiary in 1930. The increased numbers he referred to however, pertained to cats, not convicts. What had begun as a solution to control mice and rats had ended with a prison overrun with felines. Over the years, a natural increase produced a population explosion that threatened to overwhelm the prison. Warden Dugan complained that food for the cats represented an unjustified expense for the prison, while peace and quiet at night suffered because of the racket created by the nocturnal animals. To rid the penitentiary of the cats presented a dilemma because no one wanted to be accused of cruelty to animals. Nor could the prison release them in the city of Santa Fe which had a similar problem with large numbers of neglected and wild cats prowling the streets. In the end, the warden directed the removal of the cats in what he described as "a humane manner."[40]

Far more serious than the problem of too many cats, though, was the question of parole. In New Mexico, concern for the supervision of parolees prompted state officials to participate in the Interstate Commission on Crime. This commission, established in 1935, recognized the need for a national organization to address issues generated by an increasingly mobile population in the United States. More important, the commission viewed problems in the individual state prisons as a national concern. As a result, the commission prepared uniform acts on fresh pursuit of escapees, interstate extradition, and out-of-state witnesses. By the end of 1936, eleven states had adopted all or some of the laws, while four others developed a similar interstate compact.[41]

A successful parole program required close supervision of the released inmate. An examination of prison populations during the Great Depression, however, revealed that a high percentage of convicts were residents of states other than the one in which they were incarcerated. For example, in New Mexico, Warden McManus pointed out to Governor Clyde Tingley in 1935 that 60 percent of the inmates in the penitentiary came from other states. If paroled, a non-resident of New Mexico could return to his home state but someone there—outside New Mexico's jurisdiction—needed to regulate his activity. With no mechanisms in place among the states to assure the implementation of the parole statutes, many prisoners eligible for release remained incarcerated. Therefore, Warden McManus endorsed a plan for an interstate compact suggested by Attorney General of the United States Homer Cummings.[42] Eventually, New Mexico joined, among others, Montana,

Ohio, and Indiana in an Interstate Compact on Parole and Probation to facilitate a system whereby out-of-state prisoners could be released with supervision to their home state.[43] The action of the attorney general and the resultant compacts demonstrated again the increased activity of the federal government in the affairs of the states during the Great Depression.

Assistance in the implementation of parole and probation policies surfaced as one tangible example of federal intervention in state prisons during the economic crisis of the 1930s. The employment of teachers in the prison schools under PWA and WPA programs was another. The most immediate, though, and in the long run the most profound and enduring help for prisons emerged from the evaluations and recommendations of the PIRA. At the very least, those investigations focused the attention of states on strengths within their prison systems and offered possible alternatives to relieve the problems associated with overcrowding. As a result of the studies the PIRA conducted, penitentiaries in the Far Southwest and in other areas of the country developed more extensive educational programs and explored new ideas for prison industries.

In a larger sense, the experiences during the Great Depression created an atmosphere of closer communication and cooperation between the federal government and state authorities. This, in turn, brought even greater benefits to both parties during World War Two when prison industries produced military goods for the government. The outbreak of the war terminated the Great Depression and eliminated—for the moment—overcrowding and unemployment for prisoners. After the war, the prisons in the Far Southwest again faced swollen populations and limited work opportunities for the inmates. At that time, though, the concept of looking to the federal government for resources, for direction, and for assistance that had been firmly planted during the economic crisis of the 1930s offered state prison authorities additional options and more effective instruments to overcome those concerns.

NOTES

1. This study focuses on the experiences of adult males incarcerated in the state penitentiaries; juvenile and female prisoners are not included.

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4. *Ibid.*

5. "Prison Labor Compact: Explanatory Statement," Carville Papers, Nevada State Archives (NSA), Carson City, 1-2; American Prison Association, *Proceedings of the Sixty-Fourth Annual Congress of the American Prison Association* (New York: Central Office, 1934), 247-48.

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8. Utah, *Public Documents*, "Biennial Report of the Utah State Prison for Fiscal Years 1929-1930," vol. 3:6.

9. Utah, *Message of Governor Henry H. Blood to the 23rd Legislature of the State of Utah* (1939), 15; Utah, *Public Documents*, "Biennial Report of the Board of Corrections, 1939-1940," vol. 2:3.

10. National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor, "A Report to the Conference of Governors from the National Committee on Prisons and Prison Labor, September 1938," Clyde Tingley Papers, State Penitentiary, 2-3, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives (NMSRCA), Santa Fe.

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13. Arizona, *Report of Director of State Institutions, 1939-1940* (1940), 38.

14. *The Prison Labor Problem in New Mexico*, 10-15.

15. *The Prison Labor Problem in Utah*, 4-5.

16. *Ibid.*; Utah, "Board of Corrections, Minutes," 16 February 1938, Utah Department of Corrections, Salt Lake City.

17. *The Prison Labor Problem in New Mexico*, 12.

18. Arizona, *24th and 25th Fiscal Year Reports of Board of Directors of State Institutions* (1938), 88.

19. Utah, *Public Documents*, "Board of Corrections of the State of Utah, 1937-1938," vol. 2:27.

20. Utah, "Board of Corrections, Minutes," 6 September 1939.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Edward B. Swope to Governor Arthur Seligman, 16 January 1931, Seligman Papers, NMSRCA.

23. *The Prison Labor Problem in New Mexico*, 8.

24. Arizona State Prison, "Monthly Reports," April 1934, Documents Center, State Capitol, Phoenix.

25. Arizona, *Report of the Arizona State Prison at Florence, Arizona, for the Biennium July 1, 1933-June 10, 1935* (1935), 11.

26. *Ibid.*, 22.

27. U. S. House Committee on Labor, "To Employ Convict Labor for the Production of War Supplies: H. R. 7353," 65th Cong., 2d. sess., 1918, 8; American Prison Association, *Proceedings of the Seventy-Fifth Annual Congress of Corrections of the American Prison Association* (New York: Central Office, 1945), 84.

28. *Albuquerque Journal*, 9 September 1931.

29. Utah, *Public Documents*, "Biennial Report of the Utah State Prison for the Fiscal Years 1933-1934," vol. 2:6.

30. Utah, *Public Documents*, "Biennial Report of the Utah State Prison for the Fiscal Years 1935-1936," 5.

31. Larry H. Malgren, "A History of the WPA in Utah" (master's thesis, Utah State University, 1965), 94, 97.

32. Darrell J. Greenwell, "Final Report of Darrell J. Greenwell, WPA Administrator, 1935-1943," microfilm, Utah Historical Society, Salt Lake City, 9.

33. Nevada, *Appendix to Journals of the House and Senate*, "Biennial Report of the Warden of the State Penitentiary and the Superintendent Nevada State Police, July 1, 1934-June 30, 1936," 38th sess., vol. 1: 7.

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35. New Mexico, *New Mexico State Penitentiary Report of Board of Commissioners and Superintendent to the Governor of New Mexico for Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1937* (1937), 4.

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37. Matt R. Penrose, *Pots 'O Gold* (Reno: A. Carlisle and Company of Nevada, 1935), 220.

38. *Ibid.*, 230.

39. *Albuquerque Journal*, 12 August 1931.

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41. Richard Hartshorne to Governor Clyde Tingley, 11 December 1936, Tingley Papers, Penitentiary 1933-36, NMSRCA.

42. John B. McManus to Tingley, 24 September 1935, Tingley Papers, Penitentiary 1937-38, NMSRCA.

43. Roy E. Ayers, Governor of Montana to Tingley, 14 February 1938, Tingley Papers, Penitentiary 1937-38, NMSRCA.

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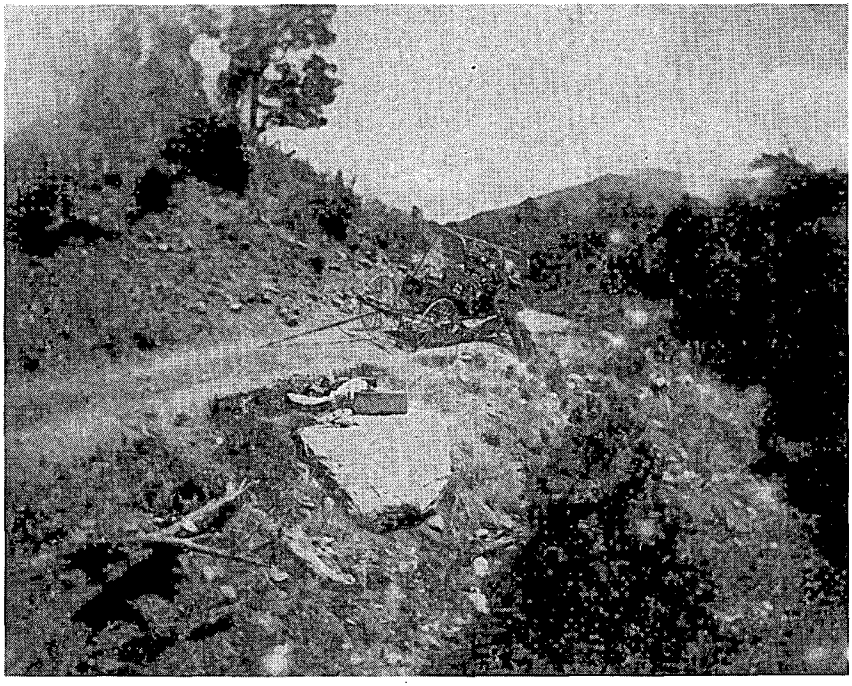

The broken wagon wheel that led to the founding of the Taos art colony. This photograph, taken on the afternoon of September 3, 1898, by Bert G. Phillips, shows Ernest L. Blumenschein leaning against the broken wheel. Photograph courtesy Museum of New Mexico, negative no. 40378.