THE COCHISE OUARTERLY

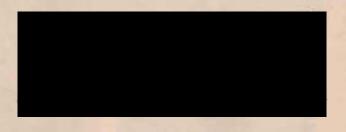
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COVER PHOTOGRAPH Douglas Port of Entry — 1911 photo.



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BULLETS ACROSS THE BORDER Part I — The Situation and the Beginning By Larry D. Christiansen

The Mexican Revolution that began in the second decade of the present century directly embroiled the United States in the struggle. This article will focus on the involvement of the Cochise County-Mexican border towns and revolutionary activities in the adjacent areas. The purpose of the article is to retell the local story from contemporary sources.

From 1877 to 1910 Mexico experienced a period of growth and stability almost void of politico-military strife. With disorder finally under control and attractive concessions to foreign capital plus a restoration of Mexico's credit brought this nation gradual acceptance among the family of nations. In 1877 only six foreign governments had representatives in Mexico; by 1910 that number had jumped seven-fold. The changes, due primarily to the iron rule of President Porfirio Diaz, although beneficial to the nation, had discriminated against the masses whose conditions were even more deplorable than ever before. Diaz's abolition of the ejidos and other reactionary land policies reduced the sedentary Indian to near serfdom and left almost all the rural people without any real property. Mexico was ripe for a great socio-economic upheaval.

In early May of 1910 Halley's Comet appeared in the sky and the earth even passed through the tail of the comet. For millennia the appearance of comets engraved deep impressions on men's minds, usually held to portend special events. In Mexico where the stellar spectacle made its closest approach to the earth, many people interpreted the comet as an evil omen. Somewhat later a corrido, a Mexican popular song based on current events, started:

> Oh comet, if you had but known What it was you prophesied, You never would have come out that way, Lighting up the sky . . . Mother Guadalupe, Give us your blessing . . .

Apparently the Diaz administration gave little thought to such superstitions. Mexico's strong man announced his retirement and eased his rule to allow candidates to campaign. Francisco Madero, among others, offered himself for the job as president of Mexico. Madero traveled about the country talking to the people until June 6 when Diaz ordered him arrested and jailed. Within a month approximately 60,000 Mexicans were jailed for political reasons, i.e., opposing the re-election of Diaz. The president and dictator of over thirty years once again declared he had been overwhelmingly reelected. Mexico set about to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of her declaration of independence from Spain. The big festival occurred September 15, 1910, at a government cost of twenty million pesos and twenty carloads of imported champagne. President Diaz celebrated his eightieth birthday at the same time. He told a group of foreign guests, "Centennial Mexico is in a position to show the world that it is a country worthy of taking a place among the civilized nations." But Diaz erred, Mexico teetered on the brink of her biggest, bloodiest revolution.

A group of political malcontents used the celebration as a forum to protest the recent election and were jailed. Madero escaped from jail and fled to Texas where he issued a revolutionary plan declaring Diaz's election void and named himself as provisional president. In desperation Madero, the man of peace, called for open rebellion and urged his countrymen to take up arms at 6 p.m. Sunday, November 20; 1910. Madero's initial attempt at revolution proved a quick fiasco for on the night of November 19 he waded the shallow Rio Grande and spent a cold night waiting for his 'army." When it arrived late the next day, it numbered less than a handful whereas his uncle doing the recruiting promised between 500-800 men. Madero gave up the rebellion and returned to the United States and planned to flee to Europe.

Nevertheless, as fate would have it, the revolution was initiated anyway as in Chihuahua a rough shopkeeper, Pascual Orozco, and a bandit, Doroteo Arango, better known by his adopted name of Pancho Villa, staged their uprising. Madero cancelled his trip to Europe and rushed to Chihuahua and persuaded the two guerrilla leaders to let him lead the revolution under his plan. Thus in late November of 1910 armed rebellion flared in the northern states of Mexico. Therefore, the U.S.-Mexican border became a focal point in the revolution since it served as a source of contraband, recruits, and escape.

Along the Arizona border the first indication of trouble, other than the regular bandits, came the third week of June, 1910, when rumors circulated through the area that rebels planned to take Naco, Sonora. It stood to reason that the custom house and its money were the prime target so twenty to thirty heavily armed men guarded it. A day later Federal reinforcements from Cananea arrived in Naco. No attack occurred and to this present date, it is impossible to determine if the rumors were groundless or whether the precautions taken deterred the rebel action. The day the Federal troops arrived, they saw three burros loaded with goods going into the San Jose Mountains. Fearing the burros carried contraband for the rebels, the troops conducted a short search but failed to locate men or beasts.'

Because of this scare the strategic points along the border were strengthened, however inadequately, by the Mexican government. On the United States side the initial rumors caused little or no anxiety until the overt rebel actions in November which resulted in patrol assignments of U.S. troops along the Texas border beginning Novem-

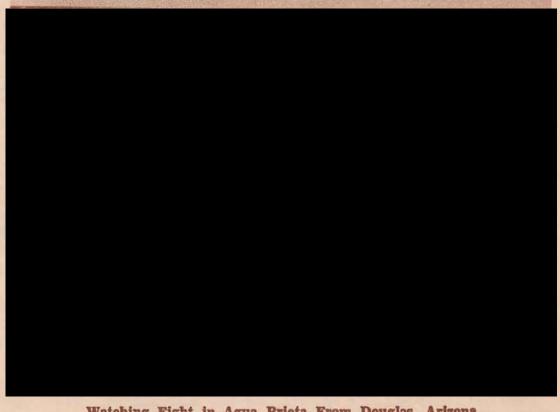
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^{1.} Bisbee Daily Review (Bisbee, Arizona) June 21, 22, 1910. Hereafter called Review.

ber 3, 1910. For the first time American soldiers were stationed along the international border due to Mexico's revolution.

Three days later U.S. troops moved to the Arizona border. Approximately a hundred men from Company B 18th Infantry stationed at Fort Whipple under the command of General Earl D. Thomas were assigned the task of patrolling the border from Douglas to the San Pedro River. Fifty men encamped at Naco and began patrolling the border within four hours of their arrival. About the same number moved to Douglas and camped near the stockyards. The soldiers tried to stop the smuggling of arms and other contraband from the United States into Mexico and prevent the rebels from using the U.S. side to stage any overt actions. Mexico immediately reduced her force in Naco, Sonora, and Cananea by some 200 men and sent them to Casas Grandes. General Torres in Naco expressed gratitude for the U.S. soldiers to enforce neutrality and stop the smuggling of arms and ammunition.²

In spite of the troops on both sides of the border, arms and ammunitions continued their flow into Mexico by going around and even through the patrolled areas. Increased arms and ammunition sales accurred in Naco, Nogales, Douglas, Benson, and as far away as Tucson and Phoenix. There was no possible way for one company of soldiers to stop this contraband. Only a few smugglers were caught. On December 3, 1910 in Agua Prieta Federal troops entered a train at the depot and arrested Manuel Inez. After some phy-



Watching Fight in Agua Prieta From Douglas, Arizona

2. Review November 26, 27, 29, 1910.

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sical persuation, the Federals learned that Inez had been in Douglas for eight days and purchased \$1,500 in arms and ammunitions with money supplied by Fronteras merchants. He cached the contraband in several locations east of Douglas where his associates picked it up. The Mexican officials hurried to check the rebel plans only to arrive too late and saw the rebels heading southeast with the contraband. The Federals fired a few shots but made no chase.³

The local newspapers in southern Arizona noted the stealthy departures of many Mexicans from U.S. border towns. These Mexicans lived and worked on the north side of the international boundary but their hearts belonged to the land south of the line. Some helped in the smuggling either physically or financially while those aroused with the deepest sympathies joined the Insurectors and hoped to ultimately help their home land. In late December, 1910, American officials checked a report that a group of Mexicans had formed near the Huachucas with intentions of crossing the border to join the Insurectors. They found the report correct but the American effort too late. The Bisbee and Douglas newspapers stated that Mexicans as far north as Clifton, Arizona were aroused in favor of the Mexican rebels. Sympathy for the Insurrectors received a big boast in January of 1911 when the Federales began impressing men into the army of the government in an attempt to suppress the rebels. This conscription caused many Mexicans to flee their homes, some of whom moved north and crossed into the United States.⁴ In February of 1911 a correspondent of a local newspaper gave his estimate of the situation as follows:

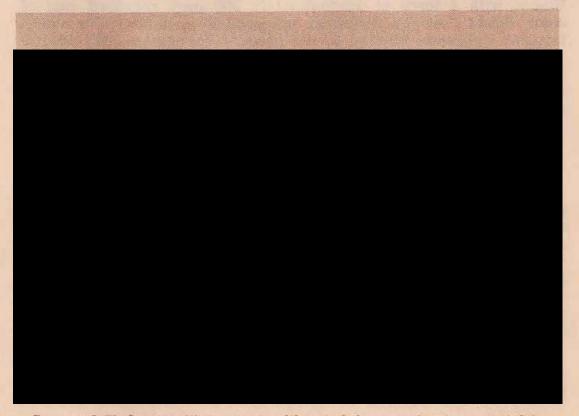
> The homes of Mexican residents of Douglas are crowded with refugees who fled Mexico to avoid impressment into the federal service, and who declare that they are only awaiting the appearance of the rebels to join them. One band of these refugees started last night to find the insurrectors and succeeded in crossing the line.⁵

As the rebel activities in northern Mexico increased so did the movement of supplies and recruits from the United States into Mexico. This gave the American troops the next to impossible job of enforcing neutrality on the north side of the border. Besides Fort Huachuca the normal military installation, troops camped at Nogales, Naco, and Douglas. Cavalry detachments posted at Naco and Douglas patrolled the border as best they could with their few numbers. Early in 1911 ten men established an outpost at John Slaughter's San Bernardino Ranch; at the same time the number of infantry men at Douglas increased from fifty to one hundred. American troops came to the border and their role although limited in military terms, was long in time—twenty-three years they served on the border until finally withdrawn in 1933. Their numbers increased as did their accommodations—from a temporary encamp-

Review Dec. 4, 1910.
Review Dec. 22, 1910.
Review Feb. 5, 1911.

ment at the stockyards in Douglas to the ballpark and finally into their own organized Camp Harry J. Jones.⁶

When rebel activities in Sonora intensified in February of 1911, the Federals realigned their defenses to counter the rebel moves. A "band of bandits" seized Fronteras and jailed the civil authorities. They claimed to be a part of the revolution, but they also looted. Mexican thieves made it a practice to cover their crimes with revolutionary rhetoric, but at the same time the Insurrecto movement's incohesiveness made it impossible to screen the motives of declared rebels. As a result, personal gain frequently clouded revolutionary aims. The rebels held the town for only one day, since the first train from Agua Prieta brought fifty Federales who arrested seven bandits. The Fronteras episode caused the governor of Sonora to send word to Agua Prieta that the rebels were headed their way. The governor sent a special train from Nacozari with 170 Federal soldiers and volunteers to reinforce Agua Prieta. This gave the border town 245 soldiers for defense by February 24th. However, the action occurred elsewhere as a rebel force under the command of Arturo "Red" Lopez took Fronteras on the last day of February. The next day Insurrectors surrounded Naco, Sonora, on its three Mexican sides and demanded its surrender. When they received no response to their demand, they withdrew as fast as they



Command Under "Red" Lopez Awaiting Reinforcements at Agua Prieta, Mexico. Photograph Taken after the Insurrectos brought up theirs from Fronteras—April 14 or 15, 1911.

6. Review Dec. 4, 1910, Jan. 5, 29, 1911, Feb. 3, 1911.

had appeared. They also suddenly abandoned Fronteras. Two or three rebel bands threatened Cananea several times without attacking. The residents of Agua Prieta and many Americans just knew the next big rebel strike would be Agua Prieta.⁷

Soon the city experienced a number of scares. On the evening of March 9, 1911 Red Lopez's force appeared before Agua Prieta. American spectators rushed to the border, some intent on crossing into Mexico. However, the U.S. Cavalry deployed along the border prevented their crossing and allowed only a few newspapermen and surgeons across. The U.S. troops found about fifty Mexicans from the United States hiding in the weeds near the border apparently waiting to join the rebels if a battle ensued. The cavalry moved the Mexicans away from the international line. Lopez withdrew before morning without firing a shot. During the day Americans in automobiles scouted the area south of Agua Prieta, but failed to locate the rebels. On March 11th fifty Pirtleville Mexicans crossed the line west of the smelter and joined General Jose Blancon's rebels.⁸

The various rebel factions did not coordinate their actions in the early days of the revolution as evidenced by the fact that three days after Lopez surveyed the town another rebel force moved in to appraise the situation. On the morning of March 12th General Blanco with a force of approximately 500 men appeared east of Agua Prieta. As the Federales prepared to encounter the rebels, Douglas sightseers hurried to the border—"at least 6,000" according to the newspaper—literally lining the boundary from the custom house to the east end of the city, while a few went further out toward Niggerhead. All expected to see a battle for Agua Prieta; however, only a brief skirmish took place. When the 250 Federales moved east to engage Blanco's force, the rebels retreated under fire. The firing in this case was along an east-west axis so no bullets fell in the United States.⁹

During the Sunday encounter a doctor and several newspapermen in three automobiles from Douglas were on the scene picking up and treating wounded participants. American observers claimed the Federales executed nine or ten rebel prisoners on the spot. Thirteen Mexicans from Agua Prieta and several Americans were incarcerated in the bullring for exhibiting too much sympathy for the Insurrectors. The Federales arrested an American photographer for being too nosey with his camera while the civilians were arrested. The Mexican authorities soon released the Americans.¹⁰

Once again Americans in their cars searched for the rebel force who left the scene. They found Blanco's camp and interviewed the rebel general. Blanco claimed he retreated as a result of seeing

10. Dispatch March 13, 14, 1911.

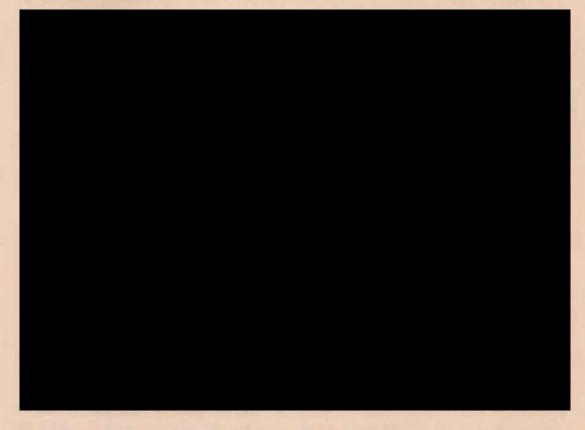
^{7.} Review Feb. 15, 28, March 1, 2, 1911. Douglas Daily Dispatch (Douglas, Arizona) Feb. 25, 1911, hereafter cited as Dispatch.

^{8.} Review March 9, 10, 11, 12, 1911. Dispatch March 9, 10, 11, 12, 1911.

^{9.} Review March 13, 1911. Dispatch March 12, 13, 14, 1911.

U.S. troops stationed along the border and feared they might aid the Federales. The general said he decided to withdraw rather than fight. It is impossible to determine if this was just an excuse for a retreat in the face of an inferior force or the whole truth. Evidently, Blanco decided that Agua Prieta was not ripe so he passed it up. A day after the skirmish and some nine miles south of Agua Prieta he stopped a train, held up railroad traffic for five hours, then moved out of the area. Blanco was wise in not engaging the Federales in his approach from the east. The superiority of his numbers did not counterbalance the Federales' advantages of a ready supply base and position. Blanco needed the element of surprise to place the odds in his favor. The city would not be taken by rebel force moving across open country to take it.

Agua Prieta still remained important to both sides in the revolution. Two weeks after Blanco's threat, another scare of an attack sent Mexicans scurring into the United States. About the same time Red Lopez appeared in Douglas. Red had been born in Tucson and had many friends in Douglas. He was accused of banditry and horse stealing but after his men took Fronteras, he boasted of being the "Conqueror of Fronteras" and bore the military title of captain and then colonel. Red climbed onto a parked sedan on G Avenue, and being full of enthusiasm and other spirits, started



Waiting for War News At U.S. Custom House, Douglas. Note the U.S. banner under the U.S. flag at the far right. This photograph was probably taken Sunday, April 16, 1911 the next day the Federales attack Agua Prieta.

to espouse the Insurrectos' cause. The Mexican consul learned of Red's performance and sought to have him arrested. The Douglas police hesitated to arrest Red, and since Red's state of intoxication did not completely dull his sense of danger, the arrest did not materialize. He commandeered a mule and rode it to the outskirts of town where he had staked his horse. Possibly Red came to Douglas to get information from an alledged rebel junta that operated in Douglas, then inbibed too much of the American liquors he loved and found himself in a tight spot.¹²

The cat and mouse games had to end in a battle sooner or later. On April 7, 1911 the Federales found two of their soldiers dead near the border just south of the smelter. The Douglas paper suggested the killings came at the hand of a rebel messenger carrying information between the junta and Red Lopez. Three days later Red's advance force moved within three miles of Agua Prieta then retreated. The next day they cut the telegraph wires between Douglas, Agua Prieta, and Nacozari. Lopez then captured the train near Fronteras and held it until April 13. He ordered his 150 men to leave their horses and board the train, and guarded the engineer so no warning could be given the Federales. Red gained access to the town and the surprise he needed by using a Mexican version of the classical Trojan Horse, only in this case an Iron Horse instead of a wooded one. This, Red Lopez initiated the First Battle of Agua Prieta.¹³

The Federal garrison had been reduced to about seventy men so the rebels outnumbered them, but still the surprise entrance proved the key to the battle. After the bold, daring entry, Lopez's men detrained shooting and quickly extended their firing line from the depot toward the U.S. border. Enroute Lopez with fifteen men captured the Mexican guard house some seventy feet from the border and raised their red, white and green flag of rebellion. When

the Federales poured shots into the guard house, one of Lopez's men deserted and dashed for the United States, but Lopez dropped him with one shot. Other Insurrectos moved to flank the second Mexican guard house located right on the line and in so doing some of them crossed into the United States west of the American custom house. American officials told them to leave, but being subjected to Federal shots, they dropped to their knees and from U.S. soil returned a couple of volleys at their enemies before returning to Mexico. Later a second group of rebels tried to cross the border in another flanking movement, but this time U.S. troops prevented the intrusion.¹⁴

The Inurrectos took the second guard house and again raised their flag. Although they had not completely flanked the Federales they had pinned many, if not most, of the federal garrison in their quartel or barracks. Unfortunately for the defenders the quartel had

12. Dispatch March 26, 30, 1911.
13. Dispatch April 14, 1911. Review April 14, 1911.
14. Dispatch April 14, 1911. Review April 11, 12, 1911.

openings only on the sides facing the rebel firing line. Finally the Federal troops inside the building dynamited a rear exit for themselves, afterwhich two captains and twenty-nine of their men scrambled for the United States amid a hail of rebel shots and surrendered to the U.S. troops. This left the rebels to combat less than two dozen Federales trapped in a hopeless situation.¹⁵

Captain J. E. Gaujot of Troop K 1st. U.S. Cavalry commanded the troops who patrolled the line after the fighting started. He warned both sides to stop firing into the United States but his admonitions went unheeded. The two Mexican officers begged him to do something to get the remaining Federales to surrender. Gaujot had just previously assessed the Federals' chances from the roof of a building and felt sure the defenders would all be killed. Captain Gaujot and a civilian, Charles McKean, mounted horses and with a flag of truce rode across the line. Both sides eased their firing and the two Americans approached the Federales and told them of their officer's request. At first the Federales refused to even consider surrender, but after discussion they stated they would surrender if their captains returned and so ordered. Finally, Gaujot suggested that the men surrender to him instead of the rebels and leave their arms and ammunition for the Insurrectos. While this highly irregular and unique way of getting the Federales safely into the United States was being discussed, Red Lopez approached to find out what was taking place. He agreed to the scheme of

Col. "Red" Lopez. The original picture was on a post card, hence he was called the "poser-in-chief for bloodthirsty post card pictures."

15. Dispatch April 14, 1911. Review April 14, 1911.

Captain Gaujot and so the Federales surrendered to the American troops and were taken into the United States. Gaujot's move proved not only daring and humane, but it had the potential of provoking an international crisis. Within two days a communique arrive from Washington, D. C., which ordered U.S. troops not to cross the border under any circustnces.¹⁶

The first shots of the battle attracted Americans to the border, the greater number massed near the custom house. When the rebels moved to flank the Mexican guard houses, it put the Federales' fire so it would go into the United States right where most of the spectators congregated.¹⁷ The Bisbee newspaper recorded the following:

> Telephone poles were spattered, shots dug up the sand on all sides, but the sight-seers, mad with enthusiasm of the fight stood their ground — A remarkable feature of the fight was the seeming nonchalance of Americans who stood on the battlefield, in many instances fifteen or twenty feet of the firing rebels, and federal fire returned from the town struck within a few inches of the sightseers.¹⁸

The spectators were lucky as only one or two were hit with bullets and only one U.S. soldier suffered a bullet wound. Less fortunate were two switchmen in Douglas who received mortal wounds - Robert Harrison and E. E. Crow became Arizona's frst fatalities of the Mexican revolution. Many eye witnesses claimed that just prior to the Federals' dynamiting their quartel, they elevated their guns and swept Douglas with a volley which killed the railroad men. Possibly in desperation they hoped to provoke U.S. intervention. The newspapers reported without any name given that one of fourteen Americans who assisted the Insurrectos was killed. Bullets struck as far north in Douglas as 15th Street which caused some Americans to be casualties in their own homes. Besides the two killed, eleven others received wounds. One of the wounded was a man from Bisbee who happened to be in Douglas and rushed to the border to get a first hand view and received two wounds. His fellow townsmen who had to travel to Douglas after receiving the news of the battle arrived only in time to see the surrender. The combatants suffered twenty-two killed divided about equally between the two sides and another sixty wounded. After the battle every cot in the Copper Queen Hospital and the Calumet Hospital was filled with the wounded from Mexico being brought over.19

The rebel capture of Agua Prieta hurt the Federal Government for the Diaz regime had entered into negotiations with Madero a short time before the battle, and the loss of this significant border

16. Review April 14, 15, 16, 1911. Dispatch April 14, 15, 16, 1911.

- 17. Review April 14, 1911.
- 18. Review April 14, 1911.
- 19. Review April 14, 1911.

city helped undermine Diaz's bargaining position plus encouraging the Insurrectos. All knew that the Federal Government must try to retake the city as soon as possible. While the rebels did not want to lose their prize, they hoped to hold Agua Prieta and have the United States recognize their belligerency. They applied a little pressure by closing the border to U.S. shipments and other goods, but allowed people to cross freely. Many Americans took advantage of this to go over and see firsthand the effects of the battle and to talk with the Insurrectos.²⁰

The rebels brought up their horses from the south and received reinforcements which brought their numbers to about 700. They momentarily expected more men that would double their present numbers. Lopez closed the saloons since the situation called for consolidating gains, not celebrating prematurely. The rebels made preparations for the expected battle with the Federales, who they knew must try and retake the town. The railroad trestle on the Nacozari line burned the second night after the battle, and although the rebels disclaimed any connection with the fire, it did ensure that the Federales could not use a railroad engine to ram into Agua Prieta. Douglas Mayor S. F. Meguire met with Red Lopez the day after the battle and discussed the possibility of more shooting into the United States. Red promised to fight outside of Agua Prieta. Accordingly, the rebels established a skirmish line three and a half miles outside the town, but just in case it failed, they dug trenches in town. A few Mexicans and Americans from Douglas, Pirtleville, and Bisbee crossed the border and joined the rebels. An American operated the rebels' only machine gun. The rebels held Agua Prieta more firmly than it had ever been held by the Federales. However, as will be seen, the rebels found Agua Prieta easier to take than to hold.²¹

North of the border saw a lot of activity geared to prepare Douglas from receiving any side effects of another battle. Although Mayor Meguire had the rebels promise not to fight in Agua Prieta so stray bullets could striks U.S. soil, American officials deemed this insufficient. The U.S. troops stationed at Douglas called for reinforcements, which were promised. The U.S. troops stationed in the area could not adequately patrol the border to prevent smuggling and the violation of the United States' neutrality by armed men going into Mexico from the American side. The Douglas Chamber of Commerce and Mines telegraphed President William H. Taft and asked for the full protection of the government. Taft sent word to the two Mexican factions warning them of shooting into the United States. Then the U.S. President took the unusual course of telegraphing the organization that contacted him and asked them and the local authorities to do their best to preserve American neutrality by not taking sides and by withdrawing from the area next to the battle zone. Disappointed local officials had hoped for something more material and positive than the President's

Ibid.
Dispatch April 5, 16, 1911. Review April 16, 1911.

suggestions. Last but not least, local citizens organized the Douglas Red Cross on April 16, 1911, which served the American and Mexican wounded during the upcoming battles and several more times during the next decade.²²

The rumor mill circulated reports of an approaching Federal army several thousand strong and the numbers grew with each retelling. By Sunday the 16th the newspapers gave some credence to the rumors reporting the army possessed machine guns, cannons, and outnumbered the rebels by two to one. The newspapers added to the scare by their bold headlines predicting a bloody battle for Sunday. Sunday morning saw hurried last minute preparation on the American side of the line. The Douglas Red Cross, after being told by the American authorities to stay on the United States side, set up a temporary hospital at G Avenue and 11th Street. Professional and lay volunteers staffed the hospital; at least five Bisbee dostors came down Sunday. A Bisbee priest came to Douglas to administer last rites of his church to any who needed it; possibly other clergymen were prepared to serve in a similar capacity. At the U.S. custom house the custom flag came down and up went a banner with the letters — "U.S. - U.S." Apparently American officials hoped that by having this banner alongside the United States flag there would be less chance of either Mexican force violating American soil as had happened in the first battle.²³

Sunday, April the 16th, came and the rebel force holding Agua **Prieta** as well as Americans north of the border expected the battle to begin at once. Early in the morning Charles McKean and a newspaper reporter left Agua Prieta in an automobile with a white flag to find and talk to the approaching Federal army. They found the army and McKean warned the commander, Colonel Reynaldo Diaz, not to shoot into the United States. Diaz promised not to violate American soil. The return of the two Americans to Douglas caused a stir among the gathering spectators as they felt the battle imminent. By noon the crowd at the border numbered several thousand and kept growing. The military and civil officials in Douglas tried to cope with the situation, but could not find a better solution than suggested by President Taft. They issued an order that all civilians must stay away from the border and remain north of 4th Street in Douglas. Those living south of 4th Street could either stay inside their homes or evacuate the area. The officers dispatched to the border to carry out the directive and move the spectators back caused a minor stampede. Apparently when the officers told the crowd to leave, those who heard the order started to leave, but others who either did not hear or understand the order and seeing some leaving felt that they were in danger. They broke into a run that precipitated others into a headlong dash away from the border, described by the newspaper as a "wild rush of automobiles, carriages, and pedestrians north." After the scare passed many of the would-be spectators moved to the new vantage

22. Dispatch April 15, 16, 17, 1911.

23. Review April 16, 1911. Dispatch April 17, 1911.

point on 4th Street and waited all day for the expected fight. Sunday evening the crowd dispersed, but many of the Cochise County residents who had filled Douglas made arrangements to stay. They knew the battle had to come and wanted to be there when it did.²⁴

The initial engagement came the next morning at 6:30 a.m. at the skirmish line some three and a half miles from Agua Prieta. Although they inflicted the heavier casualties, the rebels soon withdrew and fought a mile below the city, then finally moved and made their stand in the trenches in town. The battle raged all day, with the fierciest fighting occurring near the bullring on the east side of town. Here the Federales made three desperate charges but failed to break the rebel line. The rebel defensive position proved more than a match for the superior numbers of their enemies. Still the Federal army was determined and at sundown as the shooting stopped, the Federales reinforced their lines south and west of Agua Prieta in preparation for the next day. The rebels observed these movements and boasted that the enemy could not take the city in a hundred years.²⁵

On the American side of the border the spectators quickly gathered at 4th Street after the shooting began. Although bullets hit and mortally wounded a Gleason man and killed a Mexican staying in a residence on 7th Street plus wounding several other Americans including a newspaperman standing at 4th Street, still the cry from 4th Street complained — "can't hear, can't see anything." A few onlookers climbed to the roofs of the taller buildings in Douglas trying to gain a better vantage point. When stray bullets began hitting Douglas buildings the grammar school nearest the border dismissed all classes but thereby added to the number of spectators. The Douglas Red Cross volunteers again established their hospital and several rebel wounded received treatment in it. Mayor Meguire frantically telegraphed President Taft for protection and emphasized that Americans had again been hit by Mexican bullets and that as he sent the wire, the bullets were "raining" on Douglas.26

The local newspapers went the extra mile to cover the battle. One correspondent, Oscar Goll, rode into Agua Prieta on a horse and began interviewing the rebels during the fight. A bullet struck his horse and as he tried to mount the animal another bullet creased his right temple. Goll hustled back into the United States, lucky to be alive. The local newspapers in 1911 published their papers six days a week—Tuesday through Sunday. Mondays the newspapers rested except Monday, April 17, 1911. That day the **Bisbee Daily Review** put out two extras, while the **Douglas Daily Dispatch** came out with a "Special" Monday edition, then a 10 o'clock Extra, a 1 o'clock Extra, a 9 o'clock Extra, and a 10 o'clock Extra. Young boys were kept busy going up and down streets shouting "Extra" and giving a capsule version of the latest hap-

Review April 16, 1911.
Review April 17, 18, 1911. Dispatch April 17, 18, 1911.
Ibid.

pening across the line. The biggest sales were to the spectators gathered along 4th Stree. The record output of extras kept the the citizens who did not gather at 4th Street as well informed as those who tried to view the battle.²⁷

One of the most interesting pieces of news carried in the late extras alleged that Red Lopez had been arrested and put in the guard house by another rebel officer for being drunk and disorderly during the battle. Many Americans and Mexicans scoffed at the report, branding it as a malicious rumor, and stated their belief that the conqueror of Agua Prieta still commanded the Inrurrectos. Monday evening the full truth came into focus when two rebel officers, Colonel Juan Medina and Colonel Garcia, crossed into the United States and surrendered to American troops. Medina, nominally the commander-in-chief of the rebel forces in Agua Prieta, later told reporters that he had not come to the border to surrender, but had brought a wounded man to the border for medical attention and somehow was taken into custody. His late claim could have been an effort to restore his reputation among the rebels, who were highly upset with Medina and Garcia. Colonel Garcia stated he left the trenches Monday evening to get ammunition, but when he reached the center of town he found many of the rebel soldiers so drunk they could not return to the trenches. He described the rebels as totally disorganized with no discipline; thus, he decided the situation was hopeless and crossed into the United States to surrender. Medina's assessment of the Insurrecto position agreed with Garcia's. Both officers blamed Red Lopez for the rebel's predicament, claiming Red had been drunk most of the day and had given liquor to other Insurrectos. They issued orders to their men to shoot Red on sight, but some of Lopez's men had locked Red up when they found him passing out beer to his men. Five days earlier Red had been the hero of the Insurrectos; now all the praise vanished to be replaced by recriminations.28

The rebels experienced a crisis of leadership by the loss of their top three leaders-Medina, Garcia, and Lopez. About 1 a.m. many of the rebel troops, at least the soberest ones, moved up to the American border leaving unmanned trenches.. Colonel Shunk, the officer in charge of the U.S. troops in Douglas talked to them and asked if they could hold Agua Prieta. Their negative reply included the reason why. They had started the day with almost 800 soldiers, a few were casualties during the fight, but at nightfall some 200 deserted and half of those remaining were drunk. Shunk advised retreat to avoid annihilation and more shooting into the United States, or if they feared the attempt of withdrawing on the Mexican side of the border, they could surrender to him. The rebels rounded up most of their men and about 3 a.m. slipped eastward parallel to the border and escaped undetected by the Federales. A small party of Americans who had been helping the rebels were not informed of the retreat and when the sun arose, found them-

Review April 17, 1911. Dispatch April 17, 1911.
Review April 17, 18, 19, 1911. Dispatch April 19, 1911.

selves tho sole defenders of Agua Prieta; they scooted into the United States. They were passed by a few Americans hurrying into Mexico to grab a few souvenirs before the Federals arrived. A Bisbeeite retrieved the two rebel flags, while others searched for spent bullets and other battlefield prizes.²⁹

When the morning of April 18th dawned, the Federales were surprised to see the enemy's trenches abandoned and Agua Prieta ready to be taken. Colonel Reynaldo Diaz marched his 12,000 men in and occupied the town. The Federals found a sacked town. Curious Americans inspecting Agua Prieta were shocked at the degree of despoilage caused by the rebels for the town had been generally sympathetic to their cause. The plundering appeared to have been more than a last moment taking of supplies before leaving the town. Possibly an explanation besides drunkenness would be that a large per cent of the rebels had been bandits too long and too recently Insurrectos.³⁰

The Federales retook Agua Prieta without firing a shot on April 18th and the peace continued all day, but early on the 1th the period of grace ended. At 4:30 a.m. the Nacozari Railroad Depot caught fire. As the flames engulfed the building and several railroad cars, many rebels crawled from under the depot and made a desperate dash for safety. Federal bullets ended their hope. The Federales reconstructed what they believed happened. They felt that approximately forty rebels hid under the depot when the Federales entered town Tuesday morning. The next morning the rebels attempted to cook some food and the fire got out of control. Several rebels burned to death, the rest died as they ran to escape.³¹

Later that same morning a force of some 500 mounted men appeared west of Agua Prieta and endeavored to ride into town. The Federales opened fire on them before they were in range. The mounted men stopped momentarily, surprised and confused, then backed off to assess the situation. This force was Juan Cabral and his rebel army coming to reinforce their comrades. Cabral did not know the Federals had secured the town, but soon guessed as much after receiving a volley of shot. After several hours the rebels disappeared in the same direction as they came.³²

When Cabral's army stayed in the area for a few hours, many Agua Prieta residents feared another battle and fled into the United States. It was a repeat performance of similiar actions prior to the day long battle of April 17th. This entrance of large numbers of aliens caused American border officials a headache, but more disturbing were the overt actions of persons on United States soil aiding the rebels. Several crossed and joined the rebels in the actual fighting; more were involved in supplying the rebels with contraband. The night before the April 17th battle Douglas autho-

Review April 18, 1911.
Dispatch April 18, 19, 1911. Review April 18, 19, 1911.
Ibid.
Ibid.

rities seized 17,000 rounds of ammunition being smuggled into rebel hands. Previous to this point in time, the international border had been quite informal, but in an attempt to prevent the infringement on American neutrality, the United States tightened the crossing of persons and materials into and out of the United States.³³

In the struggle to retake Agua Prieta on April 17th at least four Americans received bullet wounds from guns fired south of the border. The 4th Street demarcation line undoubtedly kept the casualty figure down. People in Douglas should have realized that no Federal attack had any chance of success if they ensured their firing would not allow bullets to carry into the United States. Such a policy would have restricted their advance to two small skirmish lines along the border with all shooting along an east-west axis. The Federales could not do this and hope to win, so the bullets "rained" on Douglas; Americans were hit in both their homes and standing on 4th Street. A week after the last fight, the Douglas Daily Dispatch printed a little piece of satire entitled-"A Few Rules to Observe When Picnics Are Held in Front of Battles." It came in the form of a letter from President Diaz to President Taft and contained as its primary rule—"Don't run to the skirmish line and peer down the muzzle of a rifle." The satire contained good, sound advice pertinent for the next ten years, but as often as not the advice went unheeded.34

For a week Agua Prieta had been front and center in the revolutionary struggle. Even the temporary loss of the town for four days hurt the Diaz regime. In late April the main scene shifted from Agua Prieta to negotiations between President Diaz and rebel leader Francisco Madero and to the conquering of Juarez by Pascual Orozco and Pancho Villa. Madero called an armistice but when Diaz did not promptly resign, scattered fighting broke out. Orozco and Villa against or without Madero's wishes put the pressure back on Juarez and finally took it by storm on May 9, 1911.

The Federal garrison at Agua Prieta belatedly received orders to move to the relief of Juarez. At the same time the U.S. War Department instructed the U.S. commander in Douglas to return the Federales held as prisoners to Mexico. On May 6th forty-three released Mexicans joined their comrades in Agua Prieta. The following day two or three Federal officers were released. Several Insurrectos were also released, but they did not immediately reenter Mexico. The Mexican prisoners had been held at the Douglas ballpark for three weeks. The Federales left Agua Prieta on May 10, 1911—actually the day after Juarez fell. They moved west instead of east apparently going to Naco to catch the train to Hermosillo and then to Juarez. When the troops reached Naco, Sonora, on May 11th they stayed; evidently information on Juarez's capture had been received. The Federales remained in Naco among a

Review April 17, 19, 20, 1911. Dispatch April 17, 1911.
Dispatch April 18, 23, 1911.

much excited citizenry for several days, then abandoned the border and moved southward.³⁵

The day after the Federales left Agua Prieta General Jose Perfecto Lomelin, commander of the rebel forces in Sonora, reoccupied the town with a small band of rebels. In less than a month the town had changed hands four times. This time the rebels took steps to make Agua Prieta their town. They appointed new officials for the town and placed all moneys from the custom house into the rebel coffer. At Naco, Sonora, shortly after the Federales left, a band of twenty-five rebels from Cananea seized possession of the town. The first group of rebels mistook the second group as returning Federales, so Naco experienced her first battle at 2:30 a.m., May 19, 1911. The fighting left two rebels dead and three wounded. This action typified the lack of coordination the frequently plagued the Mexican Insurrectos.³⁶

The news in early May of the fall of Juarez carried a postscript that Red Lopez was in that city under arrest by his fellow rebels. In the meantime a rebel officer visited Bisbee, Arizona, and claimed that Red had 'sold out" at the second battle of Agua Prieta and predicted that Red's career would be short. On May 17th Red arrived in Agua Prieta and had free run of the town. He imbibed too much alcohol and in Douglas and Agua Prieta he cited in no uncertain terms his low opinion of rebel leader Madero. The rebel officials arrested Red and sentenced him to thirty days in jail for being drunk and disorderly. They incarcerated Red in a railroad box car which served as his jail. A week later Red faced a military tribunal which courtmartialed him for desertion and supplying liquor to his troops when they were trying to hold Agua Prieta in mid-April.³⁷ Red received his sentence on May 27th, the day after President Diaz resigned, thus paving the way for Madero to become the President of Mexico. The local newspaper covered the event as follows:

> Arturo "Red" Lopez, while an idol of the Insurrectos and poser-in-chief for bloodthirsty post card pictures was sentenced to serve eight years in the federal penitentiary at Hermosillo at hard labor.³⁸

Early in June of 1911 Red and a guard started for Hermosillo but never arrived at their destination. Instead Red got a bullet in the back. His guards claimed he tried to escape and they shot him as he attempted to flee. Whether true or not, thus ended the career of one of the rebels' most colorful characters. His revolutionary activities lasted less than ninety days, during which time he showed daring and ingenuity. His biggest weakness—liquor—overclouded his positive points and resulted in his fall from leadership and his premature death.³⁹

35. Dispatch May 7, 10, 11, 1911. Review May 10, 11, 1911.
36. Dispatch May 11, 1911. Review May 13, 19, 20, 1911.
37. Dispatch May 18, 19, 1911. Review May 13, 18, 1911.
38. Dispatch May 27, 1911.
39. Dispatch June 11, 1911.

The first phase of the Twentieth Century Mexican Revolution ended on May 26, 1911, when President Diaz resigned and left Mexico. The internal strife had hurt Mexico, but now new heroes and leaders promised greater things for their country. The biggest hero was Francisco Madero who in November of 1911 was elected President of Mexico. Now the Insurrectos of the past months had the power and opportunity to reform Mexico as they had promised. Only time would tell if they could achieve their objectives. The evil omen that some had seen in Halley's Comet had proven true for Mexico in late 1910 and early 1911, but was it over or just the beginning?

PIONEER JUDGMENT

By Sally Powers Klump

Back in the 1880's in Cochise County, there was not much official law, so the pioneers relied on their own judgment. One of the most striking incidents of this type of justice took place in Riggs Settlement.

A Mormon named Fife had a homestead on Fife Creek in the foothills of the Chiricahua Mountains, where he lived with his wife and daughter. One day, while Mr. Fife was away, a Mexican came by the house and wanted a meal. Mrs. Fife gave him some food, which he ate; and when he had finished, he pulled out a gun and shot her to death. Her daughter escaped from the scene and went for help.

When the story was told, word was sent throughout the Sulphur Springs Valley to be on the lookout for this murderer. And he was not long in being found.

One of the settlers in the vicinity was a man known as "Italian Joe". He had a vegetable and fruit ranch not far from the Riggs Home Ranch and sold his produce at Fort Bowie. Near dawn, he loaded his wagon and started across the flat toward the mountains, anticipating only his usual trip to the Fort. But, suddenly, he saw a man up ahead—on foot and trying to conceal himself in the brush. Highly suspicious and with no one to call upon but himself, Joe unhitched one of the horses from his wagon and chased after the man. He quickly caught him and, by force, took him to the Riggs Home Ranch. Joe was a citizen who became involved.

As some of the neighbors gathered at the ranch, there was quite a discussion as to what should be done with the fugitive. Someone said, "We ought to hang him". B. K. Riggs, the youngest son of Brannick Riggs and at that time a small boy, said, "Why don't we hang him from these trees right here?" Pioneer judgment was a reality to those of all ages.

It was finally decided to take the Mexican over to the Fife place and see if he could be identified. When the party arrived at the homestead, Mrs. Fife's daughter was asked, "Is this the man who killed your mother?" She said he was. And that was all the judgment it took. The murderer was hanged from a tree by the road.

When a deputy from Tombstone came to investigate the matter, he was advised to ride up the road. He did so, paused a moment at the foot of a certain tree, and then rode on. Justice had been done.

Since that time, there has been much speculation as to the real motive for the murder, and substantial rumors are still talked about. But this is not recorded history.

Lillian Erickson Riggs of Faraway Ranch, who first told me the story, said: "I can't help but think that these pioneers were better off than we are today. They did not have clogged prisons and lengthy court proceedings and guilty people going scot free. Pioneer judgment was fair and quick, and I think they were right."

Note: This account is a blending of the story told to me by Lillian Erickson and the story as told by John Rockfellow in his Log Of An Arizona Trailblazer, Arizona Silhouettes (1955), pp. 96-97.

EDITOR'S NOTE

Since the publication of the last Quarterly concerning education in Cochise County two brief biographies have come to the attention of the Quarterly Staff, which warrant publication. Both of these pioneer teachers were mentioned in the previous edition, but here we get a greater insight into the lives and accomplishments of these two ladies.

We are continually looking for worthwhile information for future quarterlies and are grateful when it comes to our attention. Are there more of you who can contribute? Please send material to Quarterly headquarters, Box 818, Douglas, AZ 85607.

ELSIE TOLES

First Woman State Superintendent of Schools of Arizona

The story of Elsie Toles has been prepared for Delta Kappa Gamma's record of pioneer teachers because she is the first, and to date (1956) the only, woman that has been elected to the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction in Arizona.

At the time of her birth, September 19, 1888, in the mining camp of Bisbee, the Territory of Arizona was still part of the frontier. Both of her parents had come to Bisbee by stage coach in the days when Apaches were still on the warpath. Among the future superintendent's most vivid memories are the tales told by her parents and grandparents of life in the early days of the camp — of Apache signal fires on the mountain tops above the little settlement, of alarms when the women and children were gathered in the mine workings, while the men stood guard against the threatened raid, of stage holdups and bad men.

But by the time she was ready for school, a good school by the standards of the time, was well established. Edith Stowe, whose story is already in the society's archives, was her first teacher, and like all those who came under that gentle sway, Elsie remembers her with deep affection.

Twelve years later Elsie was a member of the pioneer graduating class—four girls—of the Bisbee High School. Then followed a year at Pomona College, California, at the end of which the death of her mother and consequent family duties temporarily ended her college course. Instead, she went to the State Normal School at San Jose, California and secured her teaching credential. She returned to her home town of Bisbee where she taught two years, then interrupted her teaching to take a year of work at the University of Michigan. Returning to Bisbee, she taught there another year, followed by two years in the nearby smelter town of Douglas.

It was after this that she became a candidate for the elective office of county superintendent of schools. Her entry into politics was entirely unpremeditated, and certainly naive. Cochise County was then, as now, the strongest Democratic county in a strongly Democratic state, but Elsie, although a native, had somehow strayed from the fold and registered as a Republican. When her perennially hopeful and perennially unsuccessful party was on its usual search for sacrificial lambs to fill the ticket—not a single Republican had been elected to county office for many years—it persuaded her to enter what promised to be the usual hopeless race. Politically speaking she was the woolliest and most innocent of the sacrificial lambs, having not only no idea of the odds against her, but even of the steps to take in overcoming them.

But by a fortunate combination of circumstances, of which the loyalty of "old timers" to a daughter of one of their number, was probobly the most fortunate, she was elected—the only Republican who was. She was also re-elected the following term, the Democrats refusing to place a candidate in the field against her. She thus had four years of work with rural schools.

It was pioneer work in many ways. This was the period when almost the last of government land was being taken up by homesteaders trying to make dry farms on land that had only sufficient rainfall for cattle grazing. Of course the experiment failed, but while it was in progress, little one-room schools sprang up everywhere. There were about ninety of them scattered over the nearly 6000 square miles of Cochise County.

They were as poverty stricken as the struggling homesteaders they served, but poor as they were, they represented the sacrifice and toil of parents, who, whatever their own hardships were, were determined that their children should have an education. Usually the buildings were bare little frame shacks, unpainted, with windows on both sides. Their only equipment, aside from the texts furnished by the state, consisted of old fashioned stationary desks, a heating stove, and drinking fountain, the water for which often was brought to the school from miles away. Many of the teachers were poorly prepared. Frequently they were the wives of homesteaders who had taken the county examinations, demanding little more than an eighth grade education, to secure a position that would relieve the homesteaders' strained means.

The county superintendent was supposed to visit and supervise the instruction of these schools, a formidable task that meant driving considerable distances over dirt roads in a Model T. in which she had to carry not only the tools to repair and inflate a flat tire, but also a five-gallon can of gas as an emergency supply. Service stations were few and far between in those days.

One school was perched atou a mountain at the end of a winding road so steep the Model T couldn't make the climb. When the car pointed its nose up the steep slope, the gas tank, being under the front seat, was then lower than the carburetor, and couldn't feed into it. The ingenious tricky solution therefore, was to reverse the little car, and with its hood and engine pointing downhill, **back** up the three miles of winding road. To visit another school, a remote little goat-raising community in the mountains, the superintendent had to drive thirty miles to a ranch, park her car, borrow a horse and ride twelve miles to the school.

Under such conditions, any consistent personal supervision of classroom instruction was physically impossible. The only practical solution was to educate the school patrons, themselves to recognise what they should expect and demand in the way of teachers, teaching procedures and school conditions. To that end, the superintendent held meetings with teachers, trustees, and parents, wrote articles, prepared pamphlets, enlisted the aid of county agents and home demonstration agents from the State University. She persuaded many trustees to entrust the selection of the teachers to her, and by securing normal and college trained women, made gradual improvement in the type of instruction.

One of her most important innovation was the establishment of a school health service. In this, she had the wise and efficient help of the county health officer, Dr. R.B. Durfee. Since then, the rural schools of Cochise County have had an excellent health program.

During her second term of office, the governor appointed Elsie Toles to the State Board of Education. She also served as a member of the Board of Regents of the State University, and of the two State Colleges at Tempe and Flagstaff.

At the end of her second term as county superintendent, she became a candidate for the office of state superintendent of public instruction. By this time she had become well known in the state. Also, other circumstances were more favorable than usual to the Republican cause, with the result that in 1920, Elsie Toles became the first woman state superintendent of schools in Arizona. Ever since Arizona had become a state, that office had been conducted chiefly as a clerical and certification bureau, with more emphasis on politics than on educational leadership. But now, with the backing of the governor, a number of forward-looking legislators and leading educators of the state, a number of improvements were made. School support was increased, teachers' institutes were placed under the direction of the state office, made more efficient and at reduced cost, and a long range program of raising certification standards inaugurated. County examinations were soon discontinued, and definite dates set for successive up-grading of the requirements for securing a certificate.

Two measures however, were defeated—the effort to secure legislation providing for a continuing, non-political State Board of Education, which would have the duty of appointing a professionally trained superintendent, and a similar measure providing for the same method of selecting the county superintendent of schools. At the date of this writing (1956) these still have not been accepted by the electorate, with the result that both offices are sitll subject to the hazards of politics.

One aspect of the state work was extremely trying. By a unique law, the state superintendent of schools in Arizona is also a member of the Board of Paroles and Pardons of the state penitentiary. There was opposition in the beginning to the idea of a woman's serving on such a board. Many people, men especially, feared that a woman would be "too sentimental" in dealing with male offenders. Apparently this failed to prove justified, for once the board was in operation, such comment was no longer heard.

At the end of the two-year term of office, Arizona had reverted to its normal political condition, and the few Republicans who had been elected the previous election, found themselves swept out of office by the usual 6 to 1 Democratic majority. This included the state superintendent.

This terminated the political career of Elsie Toles. She had enjoyed many of its aspects, and had acquired a lasting conviction that politics and participation in the affairs of government at every level, is an essential duty and a valuable, but all too often neglected, privilege of American citizens. She was deeply appreciative therefore, when many years later, in 1956, the Republican party, in recognition of the fact that she was its only woman member who had ever been elected to state office, selected her for the honorary position of presidential elector.

Her chief interest, however, had remained education. As soon as she was out of office, she returned to the University of Michigan to complete the remaining one semester of work she needed, and had been too busy to get, to secure her A.B. Degree. Then followed a year, then three years as demonstration teacher in the University of California's demonstration school at Berkeley. She then became professor of education and teacher training at San Jose State College at San Jose, California, a position she held for seventeen years. During this time, she was in charge of the supervision of student teachers in rural schools. She also did part time supervision in the schools of South San Francisco, as a reading consultant.

When World War II began, at the request of the California State Department of Education, she secured leave from San Jose to help establish child care centers for the children of mothers employed in the ship yards and war plants.

Since her retirement, she has lived on her ranch at Portal, Arizona, writing occasional articles, and with her sister, Myriam Toles, has had published a reading text which has been sufficiently successful that it has been revised and reissued.

Author Unknown

MISS EDITH STOWE Pioneer Arizona Teacher 1889-1905 by Gladys Woods

Mention the name of Edith Stowe to gray haired men and women still living in southeastern Arizona, and their eyes light up with something more than the remembered affection for a beloved first teacher. For this rather plain little woman concealed under a sedate exterior a memorable personality, marked by a gift for attracting friendship, courage that would shame a husky male, and a feminine charm that brought her many suitors, all of whom however, she gently but inflexibly sent on their way.

Edith Sowe was the daughter of pineers. She was born in the copper mining camp of Nevada City, Nevada, May 27, 1872. When she was seven, the price of copper having dropped, her parents and grandmother set forth for Arizona and the silver mines of Tombstone,

They lived first in Charleston, where the ore from the Tombstone mines was milled. Edith went to school there and in Tombstone until she was seventeen. She wanted to teach, but being too young to secure a public school credential, she taught for a year in a private school in Tombstone. There is no record that she ever had any training for teaching: As was the custom of that time and place, as soon as she reached the age of eighteen, she took the county teacher's examinations and went to work.

Her teaching service was not long, altogether about sixteen years. She taught first in Charleston, then Fairbank, both small towns near Tombstone, and then in the copper mining town of Bisbee, Arizona. Small and slender, her chief beauties her fine gray eyes and shy smile, gentle of voice and even of temper, it was inevitable that she should be a teacher of beginners. No doubt, by modern standards her teaching was very formal. Her pupils were taught to sit still, forbidden to whisper, and given sums to do as soon as they could make figures. But they learned to read and learned to work, and no one recalls her voice ever raised in anger or that any of her small charges was unhappy under her firm and kindly rule. During these years her parents and her grandmother died, leaving her alone in the world. More than one of the young men of her aquaintance tried to remedy this condition but each time she refused to take the final step. Then, with her usual quiet decision she did renounce teaching, but not for matrimony. She went to live on the famous San Bernardino Ranch which held thousands of acres bounded on the south by the Mexican border. John Slaughter, who owned it, was the famous early day sheriff of Tombstone, and an old friend of Edith and her parents.

Edith, affectionately known as DeeDee to the family, cowboys, and Mexican retainers of the ranch, had many but unspecified responsibilities. She acted as companion, assistant hostess, and often chauffeur to Mrs. Slaughter, bookkeeper and business helper to John Slaughter, and storekeeper in "La Tienda" as the Mexicans called the building where supplies were kept for the ranch family and for sale to employees.

The years Miss Stowe lived with the Slaughters included the period of revolution and banditry that accompanied the ousting of the Mexican president and dictator, Porferio Diaz. The San Bernardino Ranch suffered some depredations, largely thefts of cattle by bandits making forays across the line. Finally however, there was a bold effort at robbery of La Tienda.

Hearing a noise and seeing a light in the building, the ranch foreman, Jeff Fisher and Miss Stowe went out to investigate, without waiting for Mr. Slaughter who had gone to get his gun. When Fisher called in Spanish "What do you want?" he was answered by a shot that killed him instantly. The Mexicans fled and were lost in the darkness. Instead of cowering in the house, Miss Stowe and Mrs. Slaughter, flashlights in band, joined Mr. Slaughter in searching the outlying corrals and ranch buildings, without success however, although later the robbers were captured and punished by the Arizona authorities.

The most notable instance of Miss Stowe's courage and decision occurred one day when she was alone on the ranch except for the foreman. Suddenly she heard coming from the corral a man's shouts and the angry bellow of a bull. She ran and saw that a Hereford bull had attacked the foreman. Without an instant's hesitation, Miss Stowe threw herself at the enraged animal and seized it by the horns. Grimly she hung on as the bull tossed her back and forth, and the foreman, who had been knocked down, struggled to his feet. There must have been amazing strength in her small frame, for she stuck it out until the foreman came racing back from his house with a gun and killed the bull. Although she had undoubtedly saved the man's life, she never afterward referred to her courageous exploit.

Miss Stowe remained with the Slaughters until her death, November 4, 1938, at the age of sixty-six. With those who had the privilege of knowing her she left a cherished memory of character, charm, and goodness.