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BREWERY GULCH 1904 Photo by Humphries - Beckett Collection

BISBEE'S TRANSITION YEARS, 1899 - 1918

by TOM VAUGHAN

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BISBEE'S TRANSITION YEARS: 1899-1918

by Tom Vaughan *

Introduction

Bisbee's history between the years 1899 and 1918 were years of transition from a mining camp to an industrial mining center. It was an exciting period when the population grew from about 4,000 to about 25,000. The wooden buildings of the late nineties gave way to the more permanent brick, block and stone ones of the early 1900s. Horseback and horse drawn conveyances were predominant forms of transportation when this period began but by its end, trolley cars and automobiles were competing for space on the narrow streets. The sturdy burros, bearers of water and wood for so many years were turned loose to roam the hillsides as the modern utilities of piped-in gas and water, telephones and electricity reached all points of the city.

That was a time when trains came into town four or five times a day, when capitalists arrived to invest in mining properties, when hundreds of businesses thrived in Brewery Gulch, Lowell and on Main Street, when hobos, gamblers, con men and prostitutes flocked to Bisbee to make an easy buck, when rich men lived in mansions while the poor died in cardboard shacks.

It was a time when every week there was a huge political rally, a dance, a fraternal meeting, a mining convention, a Mexican fiesta, a carnival, a theater troupe, a wild west show, a huge funeral, a grand wedding, or a dirty murder.

It was Bisbee's wild, gaudy, naughty, proud, honorable, sleazy, dusty, muddy, singing, slinging, digging, exploding, mucking, whoring, corrupt past. Bisbee was alive, Bisbee was well.

World War 1 and the deportation of 1917 ended Bisbee's exuberant period of growth and excitement. By that time laws had been passed against gambling (1908), prostitution (1910) and drinking (1915). When Sheriff Harry Wheeler forced over 1,000 miners into boxcars to be carried to the New Mexico desert he removed the radical labor element but also the dominance of the unmarried, tramp miner. The family orientated, company-dominated town was in place.

These stories are from that period, first published in the Bisbee Review under the author's column "Borderland Chronicles." They are drawn from Bisbee's early newspapers, letters, oral history interviews, photographs and documents from the archives of the Bisbee Mining and Historical Museum, the Cochise County Records office, and the Bisbee Public Library.

** Vaughan, born in Flint, Michigan, lived in Northern California, Boston, and Tucson before moving to Bisbee in 1977.*

Vaughan has worked on the assembly line of auto factories, as a gardener and a printer. He has held a variety of positions at the Bisbee Mining & Historical Museum since 1978 including janitor, curator of photography, administrator and curator of collections. Currently he is a free-lance writer and photographer.

EARLY BISBEE FLOODS

Bisbee was built in a waterway. Tombstone Canyon and Brewery Gulch are both main canyons of the Mule Mountains, the most natural place for water to flow.

When the first major flood occurred in Bisbee on July 30, 1890, it was a wonder the town survived at all. After only twenty minutes of rain, two men were swept to their deaths and fifteen cabins were smashed, leaving many residents not only homeless, but penniless, because their monthly wages had been washed away with their houses.

In part, the occupants of the town were to blame for the tragedy. A decade earlier they had stripped most of the trees and other natural vegetation from the hillside for mining and domestic purposes.

Eddie Mills and Al Stevens, both miners at the Copper Queen mine, were the two victims of the flood. Stevens' funeral procession was parading past the confluence of Tombstone Canyon and Brewery Gulch when Mills' body was found. In the **Tombstone Daily Prospector** of July 30, 1890, Mr. Brooks, a witness to the flood gave a first-hand account: "Lightning was almost a livid glare and peals of thunder were deafening . . . frantic appeals of the drowned men for the help that could not reach them were plainly audible and heart rending."

The storm brought a Mrs. McBride double bad luck. The day preceding the flood she had sold her house to the Copper Queen Mining Company. The flood washed away the house with the purchase money in it.

Fairbank, located on the San Pedro west of Tombstone, suffered greatly from the same flood. The **Tombstone Daily Prospector** proclaimed, "Town of Fairbank almost totally destroyed." The paper went on to read, ". . . adobe walls and buildings melted down like sand and left only a mound of mud and debris." All or most of the bridges on the San Pedro were destroyed by the flood. The destruction prompted a **Prospector** reporter to understate ". . . and many who prayed for rain during the dry season are beginning to think that their prayers are being answered to a greater extent than necessary."

The rainy season of July-August 1896 was a calm affair, with good rains but nothing of a violent nature. The Bisbee reporter of the **Tombstone Prospector** wrote in August, "The gulch received a thorough flushing which was badly needed."

October 1 brought an overabundance of rainfall. The **Tombstone Prospector** recorded, "The storm which has been hanging over Bisbee for the past two or three days, broke today and made things quite lively for a little while." The storm caused damages in Bisbee which included Frank Dubacher's loss of \$50 worth of beer kegs. The Can-Can restaurant lost 200 chickens to the storm and a horse belonging to Mike Medigovich was killed. The newspaper

treated the storm lightly, joking about the damages: “. . . and enough washtubs are now scattered about the valley to stock a Chinese laundry for 20 years.” And there was this jab at a political convention being held in the town at the time, “. . . it seems to be the prevailing opinion about town that the whole thing was caused by the Populist convention.”

Benson bore the brunt of the 1896 storm season. The **Prospector** editor opened his remarks on the storm by quoting the **Bible**; he then wrote, “Those who witnessed the storm yesterday say they can never more doubt the theological idea of an ancient deluge.” The storm killed six people - two women, each with two children. All six were in one house which was washed away. The description of the storm makes it sound like a tornado. “. . . many described the water spout as twisting and writhing like a snake, until finally it burst upon the little village with such terrible force that it was almost swept from the face of the earth.”

Bisbee was visited by the same storm that hit Benson. The converter pit at the Copper Queen Mining works was flooded, and the railroad was covered with debris. However, the worst damage came not from floodwaters but from hailstones. Hailstones fell on Bisbee for nearly 20 minutes that October afternoon. According to the **Prospector** some of them were, “. . . as large as hens eggs.” The hailstones broke windows, sky lights and tin roofs. Small animals were even reported as being killed by the stones. Ten minutes after the hailstorm, floodwaters roared down the canyon, sweeping away a few cabins.

August of 1908 was a month of disaster. In less than three weeks, three floods ravaged Bisbee, damaging homes and businesses and drowning animals. The post office suffered most.

The first of the floods came on August 4, and the **Bisbee Daily Review** described it:

“Bisbee was visited by a rain and cloudburst yesterday afternoon that did between \$15,000 to \$20,000 damage to property, wrecked the Post Office, swamped the stores and saloons. A cloudburst and landslide from the mountain side back of Main Street was the cause of the damage to that side of the street. Fifteen hundred to two thousand tons of rock washed behind businesses . . . The Post Office is the worst sufferer from the flood. Many letters floated away when the storm was at its worst and records of the office are covered with several feet of debris. The registered mail is also buried and many pieces floated away.”

Ore train tracks were buried by the rock washed down and the businesses of Ball and Bledsoe, The Turf, The Women's Toggery, Schwartz Brothers, and Palace Grocery at the foot of OK Street were damaged. Floodwaters flowed through the second floor of the library and water poured out onto Main Street. The third story of the library was not damaged, and this is where the temporary headquarters for the Post Office were set up.

The second flood hit less than a week later, on August 10. The top headline in the August 11 **Review** proclaimed:

"FLOOD AGAIN HITS BISBEE, POST OFFICE AGAIN DAMAGED, SECOND TIME DURING THE WEEK."

The report said: "A storm that surpassed in precipitation and in some respects fury that of last Tuesday, fell over Bisbee and the Warren district again yesterday afternoon at almost the same hour as the one last week. While the damage was not as great as that wrought by Tuesday's storm, it was very considerable. The Post Office, for the second time in less than a week, is again out of commission.

"A few minutes after the torrential rain began to fall, Brewery Gulch became a roaring river whose banks were the curbing. Scores of tin cans washed down by the water made an inconceivable din as they rattled against the brick pavement. A dog, struggling in vain against the current, was swept swiftly to a watery death."

The last of the three floods occurred on August 24. This was the most devastating, even though there was less precipitation, because the wooden "subways", built to channel rainwater, gave way. The city suffered a loss of \$10,000 and damage to businesses and homes was over \$25,000. The Post Office was spared this time. In 50 minutes, 2¼ inches of rain fell. That is almost half the average rainfall for the entire month of August which is 5 inches.

Here is an excerpt from the August 25 **Review**:

"TORRENTS POURING DOWN MOUNTAIN SIDES SWELL SUBWAY TO BURSTING POINT CAUSING IT TO GIVE WAY AND SWEEPING MAIN STREET WITH FEARFUL FLOOD."

"With a roar and velocity only attainable by a mountain torrent, the subway, meant to carry through the heart of the business section the terrific floods of the summer season, gave way yesterday afternoon about 5:00. A section of its wooden top, loaded with several tons of the surface of the street, was hurled like a barricade across Main Street, leaving a yawning gulf behind through which the torrent still flowed, and carrying with it the crest of wave that brought, within a few minutes time, damage to the amount of thousands of dollars.

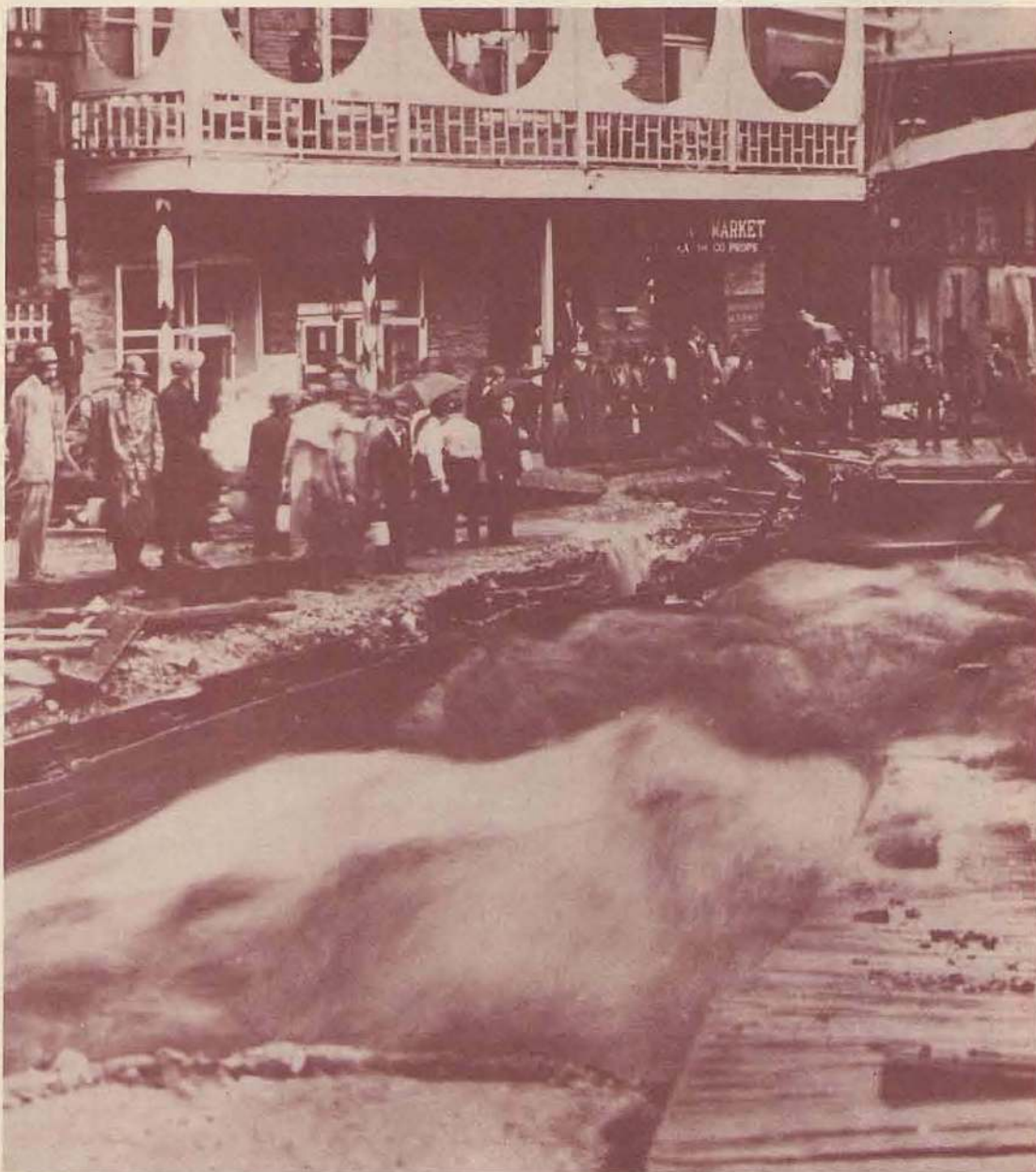
"As a long section of the street above the underground waterway began to heave and shake, men and women fled for their lives, while with pistol shots and cries they warned those below them of the impending danger."

Some levity emerged from the midst of the panic and destruction. The story from the August 24 **Review** reads:

"Leslie Gooding, who is to teach the Science Department in the Central School of Bisbee this coming session, will never forget his arrival in the city. He came yesterday afternoon at 4:30 from Wyoming and was met by Superintendent Philbrook. The water was coming down in torrents by that time, and the new arrival had not been in Bisbee the space of ten minutes until he

saw three horses borne underground beneath the subway. It was worthwhile to note his expression when a bystander, who knew of his recent arrival, casually remarked to Superintendent Philbrook, 'The flood doesn't seem as bad this year, does it?' "

The flooding continued in Bisbee year after year until the completion of "check dams" by the Works Progress Administration, a work program sponsored by the federal government during the depression years. "Check dams" were dams built in the water courses on the sides of hills leading to the main canyons, Brewery Gulch and Tombstone Canyon. The dams hold the flow of water and release it gradually, preventing water and debris from pouring into those canyons. Completed in 1936, the check dams have drastically reduced the flood problems in Bisbee.



AUGUST 1908 FLOOD IN FRONT OF GRAND HOTEL - *Burgess Collection*



DAY AFTER 1908 FIRE - *Pickrell Collection*

BISBEE FIRES

Bisbee has suffered five major fires in its 100 years of existence. Carelessness started most of them, strong winds fanned them, wooden structures fed them and inept firefighting equipment allowed them to continue. Even though large sections of Bisbee were burned or destroyed in these early fires, there were no fatalities and the mines, for the most part, went untouched in the early fires - a strong factor in the rebuilding of the town.

Bisbee's Main Street has been the scene of three major fires. The main commercial district has always been roughly located on the north and south sides of Tombstone Canyon, as it is today. In the mid 1880s, Main Street was crowded with one- and two-story wooden buildings built very close to one another.

The firefighting equipment was limited to buckets or barrels of water. One method of extinguishing fires was to place barrels filled with water on rooftops and in the event of fire, to take a gun and shoot the barrels full of holes, releasing the water. This novel form of firefighting was not very effective.

An 1885 edition of the **Tucson Daily Star** carried news of a devastating fire under the heading "Bisbee in Ashes." The fire apparently started in some trash in the alley near the A.A. Castaneda store. There was no chance to save the commercial section so all efforts went toward saving the nearby mining works. Luckily, a 70-foot gulch separated the last structure on Main Street from the mining buildings, and the mining operation was untouched.

While the loss from the fire was "estimated at \$100,000 with very light insurance", the spirit of the town was not burned out. The **Star** reported: "The people have commenced to prepare for immediate rebuilding of their houses and large orders of lumber and other building materials have been made at once." The town was rebuilt in 1885, but unfortunately, the same construction techniques were used: many one- and two-story wooden structures were built side-by-side; the only gaps between buildings were small alleys. The firefighting ability did not improve either. It was not surprising that fire visited Bisbee again.

The front page of an 1887 issue of the **Tucson Daily Citizen** read, "Bisbee In Flames" and, "the entire town of Bisbee was destroyed by fire last night. The fire originated in a restaurant. The Copper Queen works being some distance removed from town, were saved." Some residents left Bisbee after the 1887 fire. A.A. Castaneda, who had been burned out twice, was one of them. In an 1888 photograph, however, many wooden, brick and adobe structures can be seen on Main Street, many in the infancy of construction. Lessons were learned from the 1887 fire. Adobe, brick and wood became the preferred building materials for the Main Street commercial area, especially after the arrival of the railroad in 1889.

What is known as the Letson Block building got its start in adobe the year after the 1887 fire. In 1892 the first library building was bricked over; the

schoolhouse (where Central School is located today) was built of bricks. In 1891 the stone and brick Copper Queen Store was built. In 1897 the Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company general office building (now the museum) and about 1898 the dispensary (the Review office) were built of brick and steel.

On Oct. 1, 1894, Bisbee's first volunteer fire department was formed,. The headquarters for the department was a shack on Main Street, about where Penney's now stands. In 1898 a brick building was built on the north side of Main Street (about where Nelson's Jewelers now stands) and used as the fire department headquarters. A bell atop this building raised the fire alarms.

By the early 1900s many of the buildings on Main Street were brick, adobe or wood plastered over. This was the result of "good sense" and a fire ordinance adopted by the Bisbee City Council on Sept. 1, 1903. The ordinance outlined a fire district, which roughly borders today's historic district, and required buildings to be constructed of "adobe, brick or stone . . . that if any person desirous to erect a frame building within said district, the same shall be veneered with at least four inches of stone or brick." In May of 1907, fire escapes became mandatory by law in the fire district.

In June of 1907 a gas stove exploded in the kitchen of the Colorado Boarding House on Brewery Gulch at the foot of Chihuahua Hill and the red devil was back licking the hillsides of Bisbee. The **Bisbee Evening Miner** newspaper of June 29, 1907 headline read FIRE THREATENS ENTIRE CITY. The wind-whipped fire totally destroyed 76 houses and damaged another 30. Nobody was killed and the injuries sustained by humans were minor; however, there was \$200,000 worth of damage done to property.

The fire could not be brought under control by the volunteer fire department. The volunteer fire department fought valiantly but they were hampered by a shortage of hose and other equipment and the water pressure was so low that it could not effectively reach the second and third stories of buildings. Added to those problems were carriage drivers who drove over the fire hose as it lay on the street. One fireman was quoted by a **Bisbee Evening Miner** reporter, "That we even stopped the fire when we did is a matter of great wonder to me . . . With equipment entirely ineffective we, by the aid of citizens gathered to help us, managed to put out the fire. A number of buildings had to be dynamited as we had no pikes with which to pull them down; we had but one ax and insufficient amount of hose. That is what we were up against."

The miners finally stopped the raging blaze. Brought to the surface at the first alarm, the miners rigged dynamite charge inside houses north of the Pythian Castle and blew them up providing a fire break. That action not only saved the rest of Chihuahua Hill but possibly the entire town.

Not all the citizens of Bisbee were appalled by the 1907 fire. A group of south Bisbee boys enjoyed watching the fire so much that they attempted to set the south Bisbee Methodist Church on fire. They were caught, the fire put

out, and many spankings were heard in south Bisbee. Mrs. Emmanuel Anderson gained some attention as having predicted the fire and the exact time it would start. She had two witnesses to her ability but was undecided if she was going to open a fortune telling establishment.

The 1907 Chihuahua Hill fire brought a crackdown on wood frame buildings in the fire limit district. This was done by another amendment to the fire ordinance which said that any building which was not constructed of approved materials could not be repaired for more than 10% of its value, thereby making it inconvenient to repair old buildings. Five days after the fire, the City Council was approached by a group of Chihuahua Hill and Youngblood Hill residents presenting a petition to extend OK Trail along Chihuahua Hill and make it a street. These residents reasoned a street could save their home in event of fire.

In April of 1908 the City Council passed an ordinance "creating and maintaining the fire department of the City of Bisbee, Arizona . . ." The new department had about 50 volunteer firemen, a volunteer chief and three paid employees. The fire station was moved to Naco road and horses and wagons took the place of hand-pulled hose carts.

On October 14, 1908 the worst fire of all time hit Main Street. Ironically, if a fire hose had been available, the fire could have been extinguished in a few minutes. However, none was available and the fire that was started in the Grand Hotel (located on the corner of Subway and Main Street) by an exploding gas stove soon spread through the hotel and up, down and around Main Street and Clawson Hill. From the Grand Hotel it jumped across the alley to devour everything up to the Woolworth building, which acted as a fire wall and prevented the fire from going any further east on Main Street. Its flames swept across Main Street and destroyed the Angius Block but one wall of that building prevented the fire from going further east also. But the fire devoured every building going up Main Street until dynamite was used on some buildings near Castle Rock. The fire also spread up Clawson Hill destroying many homes.

The fire caused \$750,000 worth of damage to the residential and business district. In a special report to the **Review** from Globe, Arizona came this, "the light from Bisbee's burning was seen from Pinal Peak, near this city, 140 miles from Bisbee by air line."

One man was trapped on the third floor of the Grand Hotel and was "shrieking for help." "Al Stumpf showed the gathering that he could think quickly by diving into a nearby hotel and securing a blanket . . . It was brought barely in time to save the man as he jumped. He and his rescuers rolled several feet down the stairway upon which the blanket was held, but beyond a sprained back the rescued man was uninjured." There was one death the day after the fire had been put out. Ramon Juanez was passing by an adobe wall left standing after the fire of the night before when a wind toppled the wall crushing the man to death.

Committees were formed to distribute food and raise funds for the fire victims as 500 people were left homeless by the fire. So much money was raised in Bisbee that donations were refused from the outside. Miners with dynamite had once again saved the entire city from being burned down. There were not adequate water sources available and the intense heat "turned water into steam."

In December of 1908 the City Council once more amended the fire code and banned the use of gasoline stoves in the fire limit district of Bisbee.

Bisbee's fire fighting ability grew from barrels and buckets of water to volunteers with hose carts to volunteers with horse drawn wagons and finally to motorized trucks. The motorized trucks first appeared in Bisbee in 1917 lowering the serious fires and the insurance rates as well.

Warren began a volunteer fire department in 1907 and remained primarily a volunteer company until the 1940s.

The Lowell fire department organized as a volunteer unit in 1907. In 1915 the members purchased a Willys-Knight chassis and a homemade body that served until 1920 when an American La France fire truck was purchased.

The year 1909 brought the only death, a fireman in the line of duty. On June 29 spontaneous combustion set fire to a boxcar-load of hydrochloric acid. Firemen responded to the call and extinguished the flames or so they thought. Fireman George Morz began to move one of the barrels of acid when flames leapt from the barrel and caused Morz to inhale the acid. The chemical had no effect on him until later that night when he began coughing. Morz died on the first of July.

Despite improvements in fire departments, disaster again hit the Warren district in October of 1920. The headlines of the **Bisbee Review** that day read RAGING FLAMES SWEEP TOWN OF LOWELL; LOSS \$750,000. The fire which started in the smoke house of the Tovrea market swept "from the lower end of Main St. to the yards of Bisbee Lumber Company at the upper end." The paper goes on to read "fire department handicapped by lack of water pressure."

Looters took to the streets as business people began tossing their valuables onto the street. From the **Review** we read "Police Arrest Ghouls", "Miserable sneaking forms, many of them were seen gliding out of the lighted areas carrying in their arms piles of loot picked up where valuables had been hastily thrown out to salvage from the flames. A number of these were arrested with the goods on them." This time most of the businesses were insured and most of them rebuilt.

As mentioned earlier, the fires that destroyed Main Street Bisbee in 1885 and 1887 were stopped before they damaged the mines. That factor alone kept Bisbee alive economically and allowed for the rebuilding of the town.

The mines did have problems with fires, however; and though they went basically unnoticed by the townspeople, they were serious for the mining companies. Phelps Dodge Annual Report for the year 1911 reports on two fires of that year, "Two fires are still smouldering, one in the Holbrook division and the other in Lowell. They originated in the gob of old sulphide stopes, through the heat generated by oxidation of the ore, and are fed by the timber buried in the waste. They have not seriously impeded production, but the cost of confining the fire and pumping the water for its extinction has added 10.7 cents per ton to the cost of ore extracted."

There are many causes of mine fires including defective electric wiring, careless use of matches, leaving candle snuffers burning, and spontaneous combustion.

"Practical Mining Course", a book published by Phelps Dodge Corporation in 1920, tells how spontaneous combustion occurs in copper mines " . . . after mining has progressed for some time, should the ground be allowed to settle or cave, the results of friction are evidenced by a constantly increasing temperature until the stope in question becomes so hot that it sets fire to the timbers. These, in turn, finally set fire to the sulphur in the ore."

The sulfide fires were almost impossible to put out. The mines could be flooded but that was expensive and did not always work as water would run through the workings and out through cracks. The next best thing would be to build concrete bulkheads or use steel doors to cut off the fire areas and let it burn itself out. But that could take years.

The Briggs shaft of the Calumet & Arizona Mining Company produced a sulfide fire in March of 1920. From the Annual Report of 1920 we read, "This was temporarily extinguished, but broke out again early in April and after being smothered for three weeks, again broke out about the first of May, when it was found necessary to cut off a portion of the mine with concrete bulkheads." In 1928 the fire was written up in the **Bisbee Daily Review**--it was still burning. In fact that fire continued until the early 1970s, and perhaps is still burning today.

At about 12:30 a.m. September 23, 1938 the Phelps Dodge Mercantile Store in Bisbee burst into flames. The Bisbee, Warren and Lowell departments were all called out but the fire was quick and thorough about the P.D. building and it was totally destroyed. The three fire departments were successful, however, in saving the P.D. warehouse about 25 feet to the east as well as the Bank of Bisbee and the dispensary which were both threatened. The fire companies were well trained; there was plenty of hose and good water pressure!

BISBEE: 'GREAT METROPOLITAN CITY'

Bisbee, a mining camp of about 4,000 people, was in her glory in November 1897. The Bisbee reporter for the **Tombstone Prospector** wrote, "Our town today, to fully describe it, is a great metropolitan city, every nook of which is crowded with humanity and still they come from far and near to swell the number . . . The crowds around the Bessemer Hotel reminds us of a scene at the 5th Ave. Hotel in New York and yet some people say, 'Oh wait until tomorrow if you want to see a crowd . . . Our street looks very much like Broadway in New York City down about where Wall Street meets it'."

The cause of all this excitement was a convention of the Grand Lodge of Arizona Free and Accepted Masons. The Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company's General Office Building was just about complete and on the second floor of that building the Masonic Order would have its meeting hall. The Masons would dedicate that hall and use a crystal cave in the Holbrook Mine as one of its meeting halls.

From the notes of Clarence Wittig: "The tunnels leading to the cave had been carefully illuminated the entire distance by candles set ten feet apart, and each crosscut was carefully guarded by Masons, who were employed in the mine at the time. A temporary door had been placed at the entrance and when this was opened, the visitors beheld a scene inexpressible in splendor and beauty . . . it had been lighted by electricity. In the east hung a brilliant letter 'G', three feet in height and studded by 35 electric lights. In the vast space overhead the lights formed a great square and compass."

Special trains brought the delegates directly from Benson to Bisbee as they attended from all over Arizona and many other states, including New Mexico, Texas, California, Kansas, Ohio, Wisconsin, New York, Michigan, Minnesota, Colorado, Indiana, Washington, Maine, Iowa, Indian Territory, Montana and Nevada. Foreign countries represented included Mexico, Guatemala, Nova Scotia and Scotland.

There was not enough room to put up all the out-of-town visitors in Bisbee at that time. The finest hotel was the Bessemer Hotel, which was crowded before the convention began. Private individuals helped put up the overflow and some even stayed at the Copper Queen Hospital.

There were many notable Arizonans in attendance, including Morris Goldwater, Sen. Mark Smith and Gov. Myron McCord. The **Prospector** wrote, "We have so many notables here that even a governor might be overlooked."

The last night in town the Masons held a banquet for over 200 people at the opera house. There were many speeches and the ones regarding the new building even compared it to the "antiquities of Rome, the mosaic works of art in Naples and the carved marble of Venice."

By Nov. 15 the train had carried away most of the visitors and Bisbee settled back to normal. The **Prospector** reported that "A shipment of cattle will leave Bisbee stockyards on the 1st."

A Mason from Globe, who also was a photographer, was given the opportunity to photograph the interior of the crystal cave during the Masonic rites. A. Miller photographed the underground scenes and the new lodge in the general office building. He probably used a magnesium flash in the cave; the newspaper reported about "flashlight pictures." One or more of those photographs was published in the **San Francisco Examiner** and the **Morning Call** as those newspapers had representatives here and acquired Miller's negatives.

Miller stayed in Bisbee about a year and then moved on to Nogales, Ariz. From Nogales he decided to try his luck at prospecting in Mexico. That decision was tragic for Miller and his companion, as the **Bisbee Daily Orb** of August 1899 reported, "Word was received here yesterday that one of the two Americans killed by the Yaquis was A. Miller, the photographer, formerly of Globe . . . Miller is quite well-known in this city, he conducted a photograph gallery here and in November of 1897, during the Grand Lodge Meet of the Masons, he took the pictures he had copyrighted and they netted him considerable return." When the two luckless prospectors' bodies were found, their hands and feet had been cut off and they had been hanged from a tree.



KNIGHT'S TEMPLAR IN COPPER QUEEN CAVE - *Douglas Collection*

BISBEE KNEW HOW TO TREAT GUESTS

On Oct. 15, 1899 a special train stopped at the depot in Bisbee. This special train contained a baggage car, a dining car and four sleepers: The "Escort," the "Wildwood," the "Convoy," and the "Maine." The train had originated in St. Louis on Sept. 17 and had been carrying members of the American Institute of Mining Engineers and their wives on a tour of Western states. The group had been inspecting mines and sightseeing in Montana, Washington, Oregon, California and were on the last leg of their journey in Arizona.

What thoughts must have gone through the minds of those "tourists" as they were directed from the train depot toward the belching, thundering, smoking smelter and into cages to be lowered 400 feet into the Copper Queen Mine. After walking half a mile, lighted partially by electricity, supplemented with candles, they were rewarded with a lunch set at wooden tables in a stope and served from miners' plates, cups and coffee pots.

After lunch the activities were optional. One could take a guided tour of the underground mine. This tour was complete with a copy of a scholarly paper on Copper Queen Mine workings written by Dr. James Douglas. Dr. Douglas led the tour personally. The other option was a visit to Naco, Son. and a chance to purchase souvenirs. On conclusion of these activities the group retired to their special cars to relax and refresh before dinner.

At 8:30 that evening, the group of approximately 70 visitors stepped from their train, crossed the mouth of Brewery Gulch, walked through the plaza and into a side entrance of the general office of the Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company (now the Bisbee Mining and Historical Museum). They were headed to the second floor, which was the Masonic Hall. Climbing the narrow stairway to the second floor their thoughts must have been on the rough, dirty smoke-filled camp that was Bisbee and must have wondered what kind of banquet could possibly be served so far from "civilization."

A vivid description of what met their eyes as they topped the stairs and entered the hall was written in the **Tombstone Prospector** on Oct. 16:

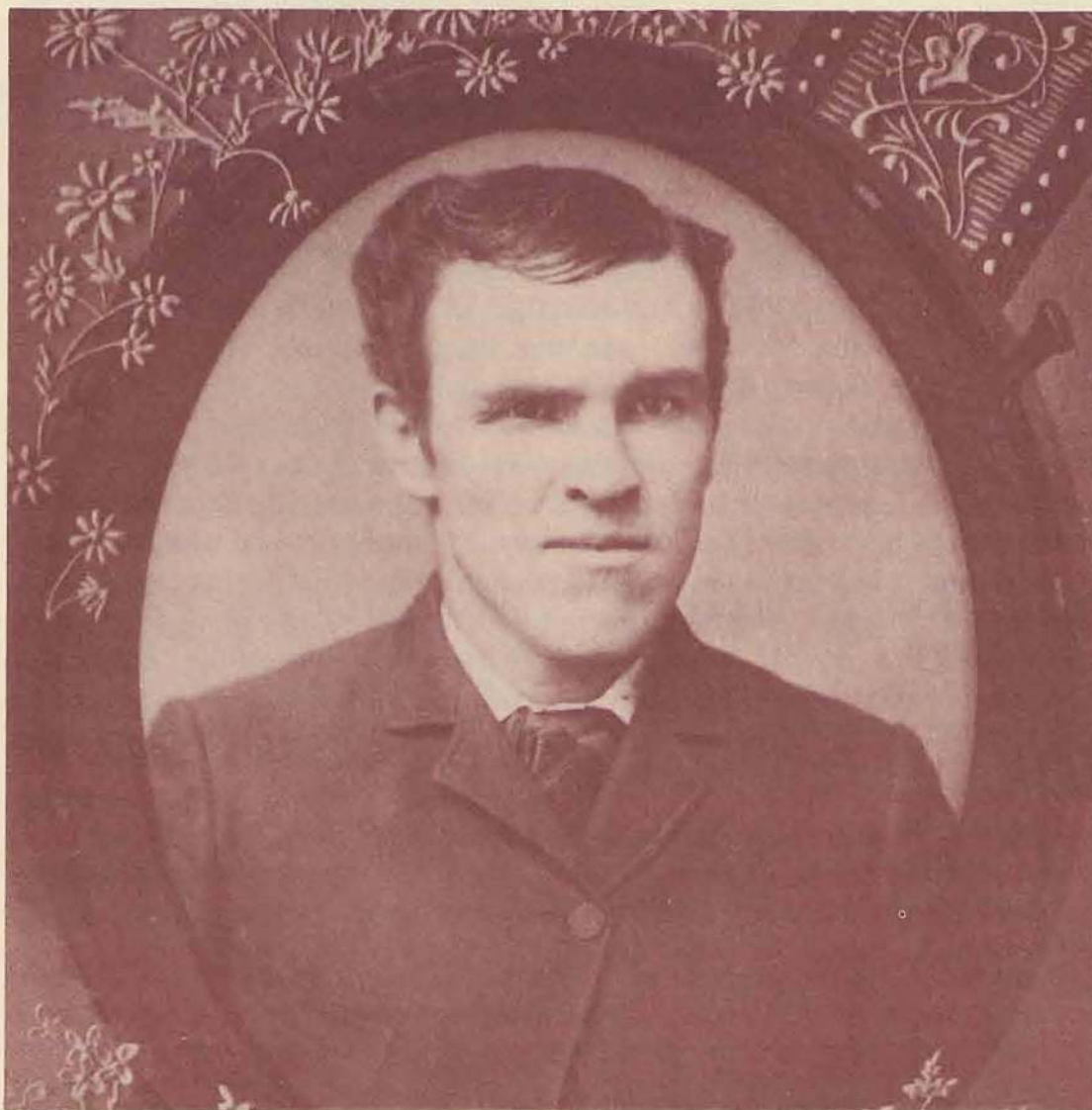
"The long tables, on which covers were laid for one hundred, were arranged in the form of the letter A, the initial letter of the name of territory. The cross piece was surrounded by banks of flowers, chrysanthemums and carnations, while from the pendant electric globes hung vines of smilax. Interspersed between were blocks of ice, in fitting designs, in the hearts of which were frozen clusters of flowers or miniature picks and spades, etc. On the snowy linen glittered ensemble of glass and china scintillating with reflections of starry light above, while an ingenious arrangement of candelabra, made from miners' candles and candlesticks, (was) placed at regular distances on the tables. Even the cakes, of which a large number ornamented the board, bore the design of hammer and drill and pick and spade. Before each plate was placed a menu card, hand sketched and printed. The walls were covered with fan palms and bunting."

Just prior to dinner the Bisbee Brass Band performed in the plaza below and during dinner a local stringed orchestra, concealed behind bunting at the end of the hall "discoursed sweet music."

The menu "worthy of Delmonicos," wrote the mining journal **Transactions**, was prepared by Harry Rudder, proprietor of the cafe "Bohemia" in San Diego, Calif. The waiters, foremen and employees of the mines, were offered special thanks from the guests. **Transactions** wrote: "Material supplies can be easily secured by telegraph and railroad. Efficient table service is not so easily improvised."

Appropriate speeches were made by Dr. Douglas and several other officials, including the Rev. Pritchard and Dr. Sweet of Bisbee. At last, at a late hour, the guests retired to their train. They then proceeded to Flagstaff and the Grand Canyon.

THE CODE OF THE GUNMEN



DAYTON GRAHAM c.1895 - Power Collection

May 16, 1903 — “Tom Vaughn is Shot To Death”*

Tom Vaughn registered to vote in this county for the first time in 1890. His residence at that time was Bisbee and his occupation was carpenter. In 1892 he listed his occupation as saloonkeeper. Cochise County Sheriff Scott White appointed Vaughn as deputy in 1897 and 1899. By 1903 he was deputy constable of Douglas.

Under the above headline the story continues in the Bisbee Daily Review “At 9:50 this evening Deputy Constable Thomas Vaughn was instantly killed and Constable Graham received two bullet wounds in an attempt to arrest an unknown white man. The shooting was done with lightning-like quickness, neither of the officers succeeding in drawing their guns before they were shot. It is supposed that the murderer’s name was Smith.”

Dayton Graham came to Bisbee in the early 1800s, taking a job as a freighter, hauling ore to Fairbank. In 1895 he was appointed a deputy under Cochise County Sheriff C.S. Fly.

In 1901, Graham was appointed as a sergeant in the Arizona Rangers by Governor Murphy. When Bisbee was incorporated in 1902, Graham was chosen by the City Council as Bisbee’s first city marshal. He held that post for less than four months as Graham, a Republican, was defeated by a Democrat in the first city election.

The day after the election, Graham was appointed as a lieutenant in the Arizona Rangers. By 1903, he was described as the constable of Douglas, but according to Burton Mossman, one-time Ranger captain, Graham was an Arizona Ranger. He may have been working undercover for that organization. That night in 1903, the two officers were told of a suspicious man behind a store. This is how the **Review** describes what happened next: “The man must have been an adept with a six-shooter, even allowing for the unexpected suddenness of his assault, for Date Graham is conceded to be without a peer in the southwest as a man of rapid action in tight places. His courage is a known quantity in this region. And the murdered Vaughn was equally game. Had either been forewarned, or even suspicious of the nature of the man they attempted to arrest, no such result could have occurred.” Over \$6,000 in reward money was offered for conviction of the murderer. For about two months, while Graham recuperated, the reward went untouched.

During that period, according to Burton Mossman in a 1947 interview with the **Arizona Daily Star**, a deputy named “Long Shorty” began spreading rumors that Graham was staying in bed because he was afraid. The first day Graham was back on the street he found a man named Ephraim Schmidt in a saloon and killed him with two shots. The following is Graham’s own testimony to the coroners jury;

** The author has seen this headline several times in the last five years. Due to the similarity in names he finally researched the event and characters. That led him to a number of shootings and a new understanding of the code of gunmen.*

“ . . . and walked up to Schmidt and said ‘You are under arrest.’ I did not look to see whether he threw up his hands or not, but just commenced shooting. I went there to kill him and did so,” said Graham, “for I knew that he was the man who killed Tom Vaughn and shot me, and I was avenged.”

There were many witnesses who claimed that the man did not resist and even though he had a gun on him, his hands remained on the table in front of him. The coroner’s jury exonerated Graham. The grand jury, however, indicted Graham at which time he was released on \$1,000 bail and allowed to resume his duties as constable of Douglas.

According to Mossman, immediately after Graham shot Schmidt, he hunted down “Long Shorty” and demanded a public apology, which he quickly got.

Now, a man named Walton had told Graham about the “Long Shorty” lies. So “Long Shorty” went after Walton and attempted to shoot him in the back, but Walton managed to draw his own gun and kill “Long Shorty.”

Dayton Graham’s murder trial did not open for over two years, but finally both sides were ready on June 20, 1905. Two days later Dayton Graham was acquitted of murder.

BUILDINGS AND THEIR BUILDERS

In 1901 there was a building boom in Bisbee. Land was being cleared of houses for the Gymnasium Club (known later as the YMCA and today as the Rec Center) and the Bank of Bisbee; work was in progress on the Copper Queen Hotel, the Presbyterian Church and the Medigovich Building in Brewery Gulch. The Jake Schmidt Building on Brewery Gulch and Jacks and Chisholm three-story brick building on Main Street were completed in that year.

F.C. Perkins was an architect for the Copper Queen Mining Company from about 1901 to about 1903. He seems to have been a field architect or an on-site architect because he did not actually design many of the buildings he was responsible for. But he was at the construction sites to supervise for the Copper Queen Company.

The plans for the Copper Queen Hotel were drawn in New York by a firm by the name of Vlick and Goldsmith; the building was to be Romanesque in style. When and if they ever came to Bisbee is not known, but on April 16, 1900, the **Review** reported: “The plans for the company’s new hotel have been approved, the old buildings on the site have been torn down and work will commence at once.”

The Copper Queen Hotel was completed in February of 1902. The total expense was upwards of \$75,000. The **Review** described it as “beautifully furnished with California Redwood and attractively paneled . . . The ladies parlor to the right occupying a very sightly position is exceptionally fine and tastefully arranged in mahogany with rich green silk plush and

satins . . . Beyond the parlor and leading into the office is a large and commodious billiard parlor substantially arranged with tables and chairs and other equipments. Beyond this is a buffet, a barber shop, wash rooms, bath room, etc. all thoroughly finished and up to date . . ."

The dining room seated 78 people; the private dining rooms 36. The china and silverware all bore monograms of the Copper Queen Hotel. The pantry had modern equipment, "including steam dishwashing equipment and 'Burton' improved bake oven selected from Boston Street Range company of Cincinnati, Ohio." The original hotel had 44 rooms with brass beds and box-spring mattresses. The carpeting and draperies came from Marshall Field of Chicago. The furniture was made in Grand Rapids, Mich., and shipped to Bisbee by rail. The first manager of the hotel was Charles Rouzer of Indianapolis, Ind., and he selected his staff from Los Angeles. The first meal was served on Feb. 10, 1902.

As the hotel construction progressed, Perkins was also busy with another project, the Gymnasium Club, a building built by the Copper Queen Company for the enjoyment of its employees.

In February 1901 this small note appeared in the **Review**: "The house occupied by J.G. Pritchard during his long residence in Bisbee is being removed this week and the ground made ready for the erection of the gymnasium building." The work did not go smoothly however. Architect Perkins and the contractor did not get along and there was a work stoppage. Finally in December 1901 the work resumed. By November 1902 the inside work was nearly finished and the **Review** wrote of the "elegant ceiling and wood work." The paper described the steam boiler and also wrote: "The company was offered second hand campaign hot-air machines, but declined with thanks."

In February 1903 the Gymnasium Club was ready for business. Over 2,000 people turned out to tour the building with its bowling alley and its gym, which had handball and basketball courts and a swimming pool. The official Gymnasium Club suit consisted of a red jersey, grey trousers and elk-soled shoes. The hours were 9 a.m. to 10 p.m., six days a week, with afternoon hours on Sundays. On Tuesday afternoons, the women could take a course in physical culture. The Gymnasium Club had a 300-member limit. Within a year, however, the company turned the building over to the YMCA.

The foundation for the Presbyterian Church was taking shape by April 1902. More than \$1,000 worth of cement was used for the front foundation alone. The deepest part of the foundation was 21 feet. Perkins said that "nothing short of bedrock would answer for a church edifice."

The church was built by the Cooper Queen Company and the plans drawn by Parish and Schroeder of New York. The story goes that Mrs. Dodge saw a Dutch Reformed church that she liked and had the Bisbee church designed to duplicate it. No one seems to know if the original church was in Holland

or Mrs. Dodge's home state of New York. The church was completed in 1903 at a cost of about \$25,000.

The Architecture of Henry C. Trost

The architecture of Henry C. Trost is astounding. The man was a superb draftsman and ornamental craftsman who was sensitive to the environment, which he incorporated into his designs. Trost designed over 1,000 buildings in his lifetime, but only about 100 or less have survived. Cochise County is fortunate to have a few of those buildings.

Trost's first commission in Bisbee was not to design a building but to expand on one already built. The Bank of Bisbee had been completed and occupied by 1902. It is interesting to note that the columns at the entrance of the building come from the quarry near Fort Bowie and the stone foundation comes from the quarry near Bisbee. In 1906 Trost drew the plans to expand the bank, a proposition that included the demolition of the adjacent adobe fire station.

In 1906 Trost was commissioned to design the Hotel Gadsden in Douglas, a luxury hotel of 100 rooms that was erected at a cost of \$185,000. It opened in 1907. Trost's skill as an artist was apparent in the detailed pencil sketches for the ornaments in the hotel lobby. The hotel was destroyed by fire in 1928 and it was Trost who was called upon to design the second hotel. In the second version he duplicated much of his original ornamental work.

In 1907 Trost drew plans for three Bisbee Main Street buildings, the Hanniger-Johnson Building (known most recently as the Woolworth building) and its neighbor to the west, the Costello Building (now housing the Tavern Cabaret). The Loretto Academy, near St. Patrick's church, and a residence on Higgins Hill were also designed and built in 1907.

The 1906-07 period also included two or maybe three residences in Warren: the J.F. Curry house (now owned by John Timbers), the E. Tovrea residence (now owned by Rob Boucher) and, possibly the Walter Douglas residence (now the Loma Linda, owned by Marc McIntyre). The Walter Douglas residence was known as the finest in the Territory when it was completed in 1908, but the architect still has not been positively identified. Architect F.C. Hurst and Trost were both working in the area at the time.

A recent discovery of the architectural sculptor, L.A. Perino, complicates the question. Perino did the ornamental plastering on the Douglas house but he worked for both Hurst and Trost — for Trost on the Gadsden Hotel and Hurst on the Orpheum Theater in Bisbee.

When the Hanniger-Johnson Building was built, it used hydraulically pressed brick, which was as hard as granite and could stand as much pressure as stone. It was the first time this brick was ever used in Arizona; it was brought from St. Louis. The adjacent Costello building is built of the same brick, is the same height and, while construction began a few months after the Hanniger-

Johnson Building, it is similar in style. In fact, the two buildings almost have a mutual roof line and, at first glance, may appear to be one building.

The St. Louis pressed brick proved itself in 1908 and again in 1910: When the 1908 Main Street fire was raging, it was stopped on the south side of Main Street by the walls of the Costello Building, even though many other brick buildings were destroyed.

Then, in 1910, an arsonist set fire in a building east of the Hanniger-Johnson Building and although three buildings — including the one next to it — were destroyed, the Hanniger-Johnson Building held.

The Calumet & Arizona Mining Company's general office building in Warren (City Hall) was probably designed by Trost. The building was completed in 1909 and has a striking resemblance to the Old Main Building at the School of Mines at the University of Texas at El Paso, which was designed by Trost.

The last building known to have been designed by Trost in Bisbee was the Citizens Bank (now the Palace Cafe), completed in 1910 at a cost of \$18,000. That building has a huge arched front and is constructed of concrete.

Note: Much of the material for this section came from an excellent book titled "Henry C. Trost; Architect of the Southwest" by Lloyd C. and June-Marie F. Engelbrecht. Rob Boucher also provided helpful information.

Trost did not have formal architectural training. He was born in Toledo, Ohio, in 1860 to a father who worked as a contractor. It was from his father that Trost gained much of his knowledge of buildings and structures. Trost attended art school in Toledo and became a draftsman for an architecture firm.

In early 1899 Trost moved to Tucson. While in Tucson he designed homes for the wealthy and important people of that city, including Marcus Aurelius Smith, former Tombstone lawyer and U.S. Senator and Fred and Lupe Ronstadt. He also designed the Owl Club, later to become the Steinfeld residence. Other public buildings he designed include the Tucson Public Library and the Santa Rita Hotel.

In early 1900 Trost designed his first building in Cochise County, the Willcox Public School. In 1902 Trost was commissioned by the Territory of Arizona to design the territorial reform school in Benson. The \$25,000 Benson building was two stories high and Romanesque in style. The reform school was built of sandstone quarried from Gold Gulch, just south of Bisbee.

Trost moved to El Paso in 1903, where he lived until his death in 1933. But from El Paso he traveled throughout West Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and Mexico to design and build buildings. Although many terms were used to describe his work, Trost used the term "arid America style" to describe his architecture, with which he attempted to present "the perfect adjustment to the environment."

Hurst's Impact On Bisbee's Look

If there is one man most responsible for the way Old Bisbee looks, it is architect Frederick C. Hurst. Hurst drew the plans for at least 14 of the present-day buildings in downtown Bisbee and was responsible for three that have been destroyed. He also designed many of the houses on School Hill and in Warren.

Hurst came to Bisbee from Winnipeg, Canada, in about 1902 to work as an architect for the Copper Queen Mining Co. Late in 1902 he may have helped



HURST DESIGNED COPPER QUEEN HOSPITAL 1906 - *Brophy Collection*

his predecessor, F.C. Perkins, design the Bisbee Woman's Club building; the record is not clear because the club's history states that the architectural firm of Perkins, Heart and Bonlin designed the building. But in a 1902 **Bisbee Review** article, the club offers thanks to Perkins only, shortly after the completion of the building.

Hurst started his first big project in 1903 when he drew plans for a Colonial-style hospital for the Copper Queen Company. It was the company's third hospital — not including the Glory Hole which served as a hospital in the mining camp's early days — and was by far the grandest. The steam-heated building was two stories high and the latest medical equipment could serve over 50 patients.

Hurst also included some unique features. The **Review** reported, "There will not be a square corner in the entire building; all the corners of the rooms and halls will be rounded as a means of preventing any possibility of dust accumulating anywhere about the place." The hospital was located at the base of the Sacramento Hill, where the pit is today. About 1909, underground mining began to disturb the foundation so the building was cut in two and moved to Upper Lowell, where it remained until the start of the Lavender Pit in the early '50s.

In 1905 the offices for the Bisbee Improvement Company were completed from plans drawn by Hurst. The BIC, formed in 1902, provided gas, electricity, telephones and ice for the city. The principal officers were Copper Queen Mining men. The BIC building (which now houses the Chamber of Commerce, KVXL radio, Arizona Public Service and the Unique Shoppe) was built of locally made concrete block and cut stone. The year 1905 saw the Bauer (Lemke Realty) building on OK Street completed from Hurst's plans.

Central School was also completed that year from Hurst plans, for a cost of \$52,000. The lumber for the building was shipped by schooner from Oregon to San Francisco and by rail to Arizona. The gypsum block, two-story building was constructed on the same location as the 1883 adobe schoolhouse, Bisbee's first permanent school building. The square, Italian-style belfry holds the bell — cast in Michigan — made for the 1883 school.

In December 1905 this announcement appeared in the **Review**: “. . . F.C. Hurst, architect for the Copper Queen Company, has tendered his resignation to take effect on January 1, (1906). Mr. Hurst, after that date, will open offices in the Muheim block (building).”

Leaving the Copper Queen Company did not endanger Hurst's ability to make a comfortable living as an architect. If anything, it enhanced his career.

Hurst and Henry C. Trost collaborated on plans for the Bisbee Opera House in 1906. A July 1906 issue of the **Review** carried a front-page drawing of a two-story, pueblo-style building. The building was to be located south of the present site of the library; access was to be had via the plaza in front of the Bank of Bisbee. Prominent capitalists were backing the project, which was to have resulted in the finest opera house in the Territory, and probably the southwest. Sadly, it was never constructed.

In 1906 Hurst designed the Antlers Building, home of Reinhart's Drugs (at the present site of St. Elmo's Saloon). Hurst also produced plans for the Palace Stable Building, the Copper Queen Library and the combination City Hall and fire station. (The fire station's doors have been bricked in and the building now serves as the police station.) The belfry of that building is similar to central School's.

In 1907 Hurst's most beautiful creation was completed at the mouth of Brewery Gulch, the Orpheum Theater. The rectangular theater had many recessed archways in the sides of the building and ornamental plasterwork inside and out by L.A. Perino of Warren. Motion pictures and vaudeville performances were attractions at the Orpheum until its conversion to a garage in the early '30s.

Hurst was busy in 1908 in the newly designed townsite of Warren; plans were completed on the Warren School and some six homes.

He drew and donated the plans for Bisbee's first country club, which was located south of Warren. The club had a large dancing room, two dressing

rooms, a kitchen and was surrounded by porches on three sides. The streetcar line was extended to the club so residents could enjoy such recreation as tennis, golf and rifle contests.

The 1908 fire, which destroyed most of the buildings on Main Street, meant more work for Hurst. Almost immediately after the fire he was put to work to design six large brick buildings and about six houses that had been destroyed in the fire. In 1909 the Johnson block (today Dragonfly Stained Glass and Community Food Bank) and Costello building (Music Box) were completed. In 1910 the Elks Club (Shepherds Inn), the Masonic Hall, Kline, Leston and Marks block (Golden Hotel), the Royal theater (Old Friends) and the Brophy Building (housing the Prospector and Brehm's Jewelry) were completed. In that year Hurst also made improvements and additions to the Copper Queen Hotel.

Note: In early 1911 Hurst moved to Phoenix and worked for the architectural firm of L.D. Knipe, whose designs included the Tempe City Hall and the First National Bank of Tempe. In 1922 Hurst became the Phoenix building inspector.

On the night of Sept. 22, 1923, Hurst was struck and killed by a car as he crossed the intersection of First and Washington Streets in Phoenix.

My thanks to Mrs. Alice Metz of Bisbee, whose notes the author used as a key to the old *Review* articles.

SANITATION MESS PLAGUED BISBEE

On Jan. 9, 1902 in Tombstone, Arizona Territory, by order of Cochise County Board of Supervisors, Bisbee, Arizona Territory, became an incorporated town. The Board of Supervisors appointed the first City Council; L.C. Shattuck, T.M. Shearer, J.B. Angius, Ed Scott, James Letson, and Otto Gosenhofer. Shearer and Gosenhofer declined the honor and were replaced by E.G. Ord and Josiah S. Muirhead. Muirhead was elected mayor by the Council and in April of that year he was elected mayor in the general election.

The *Bisbee Daily Review*, which had been editorializing in favor of incorporation because of the poor existing sanitary conditions and in hopes of "securing a good and substantial supply of water," applauded the act. A report made by Mr. F.W. Farquhar of New York City, who visited Bisbee in November of 1896 to study the cause of a typhoid epidemic that year, gives a glimpse into the sanitary conditions that existed in Bisbee.

In 1896 more than half of the population of Bisbee (about 3,000, mostly males) was supplied from pipelines of Mr. E.B. Mason, who owned the Bisbee Water Company. Some of Mr. Mason's customers received their water from canvas sacks carried on the backs of burros but the water was drawn from the same wells. Mr. Mason's two wells were located up Main Gulch (today known as Tombstone Canyon). Mr. Farquhar included with the report a detailed map featuring Mr. Mason's wells, the gulch, surrounding stables and privies. The map showed clearly that the Bisbee Water Company's wells were downhill from privies and stables, some privies as close as 100 feet.

A Mr. Angens owned a water delivery business which supplied 700 to 1000 customers. Mr. Angens' customers were supplied by burros and a tank wagon with water drawn from two wells. One of his wells was located in Brewery Gulch about 20 feet below the cemetery (now City Park) and just below a number of privies. Mr. Angen's second well was located across from Castle Rock and was known as the "Old Company Well." A sketch of the well and surrounding terrain shows the well was downhill from two privies within one hundred feet.

Farquhar went on to describe the privies: "Excrement drops on the ground and urine sometimes runs downhill from it . . . (some residents) have no privies, and excrement is distributed all over yards, often along side walls . . . slops and garbage are also thrown anywhere that may involve the least exertion to get it outdoors." There was a garbage wagon in town at the time but it was a disaster on wheels. "The garbage wagon is of weak, roughly lined metal and drips liquid filth all along its course," Farquhar wrote. The better homes had plumbing even in 1896 but "were provided with waste pipes discharging into the roads and gullies down which can be traced a saturated streak in some cases passing close to neighboring houses." Farquhar ends this section of his report by stating that he made his report in November, "after the heavy rains of the previous month had washed away buried or scattered filth. This being the case the condition in midsummer dry season must be indescribably bad."

The report concluded that disease is transmitted in two ways: first, by the contamination of the water used for drinking; and, second, by direct transmission from fecal matter scattered over the surface of the ground and conveyed from this to articles of food by feet of flies and other insects. The only prevention recommended was to clean the fecal matter from the streets, bring in good quality water and install a sewer system.

By January 1902 the city had about 8,000 citizens. Bisbee must not have improved much. The day after the city was incorporated the **Bisbee Daily Review** wrote: "No one can pass up one of our thoroughfares in the business portion of the City without at once feeling that there is entirely too much neglect in general cleanliness of the streets, while many of the side streets or alleys are evidently used as dumping ground and every manner offal is allowed to accumulate."

The **Review** editor continued on about sidewalk repair and ended: "But if the city secures a good and substantial supply of water, her citizens will be vastly benefited and repaid a hundredfold for any expenditures or special tax levy."

The city fathers' first act, however, had little to do with clean streets and fresh water. Bisbee's first ordinance banned all women from saloons! The ordinance read, in part; "It shall be unlawful for any woman within the limits of the Town of Bisbee, in any saloon or in any room or apartment adjacent to such saloon or connected therewith either for hire or otherwise, to sing, dance, recite, or play any musical instrument, give any theatrical performance or other

exhibition, serve as waitress or bar maid, or engage or take part, either as employee or otherwise, in any game of chance or amusement played in any saloon or room or apartment . . . ”

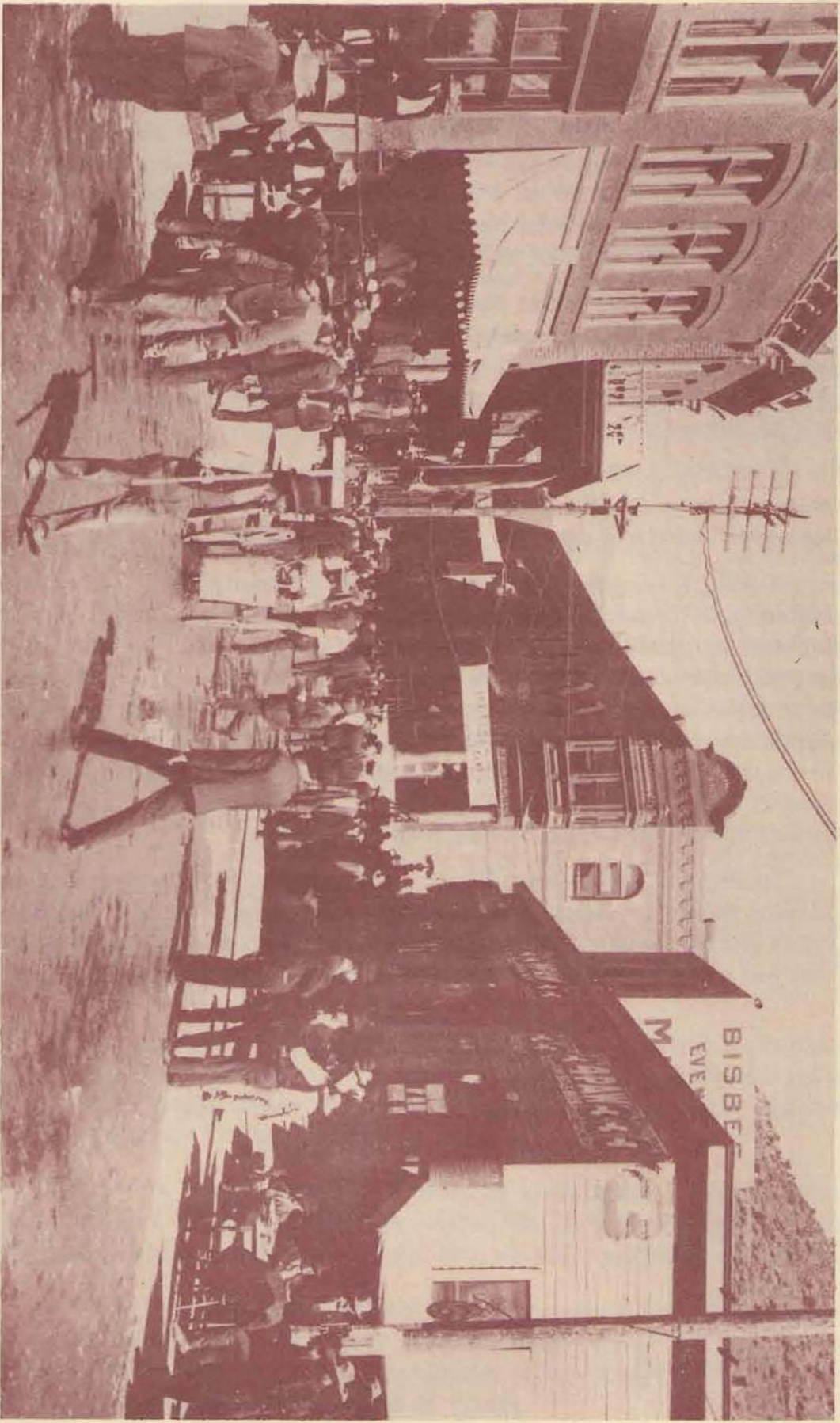
At that same meeting, however, the council formed a committee to look into the sanitary conditions of the town. By its Jan. 29 meeting the council had found a suitable location for a “pest house” (a quarantine hospital). The pest house was needed soon after, as in the month of February of 1902, eight cases of smallpox were reported, though none was fatal.

Next, an ordinance was passed to have the streets and alleys cleaned and a jail sentence to those who didn’t heed this ordinance. On Feb. 4 an ordinance was passed making it unlawful for livestock to run at large and a committee was appointed to supply sufficient scavenger wagons to keep streets in order and to have them kept in sanitary condition.

The council was on track by that time and, on Feb. 12, an ordinance was passed that required the posting of a yellow flag outside each residence where a smallpox case had occurred. The flag was to remain for 10 days.

Despite the above ordinances and others, a **Tucson Citizen** reporter visiting Bisbee in 1905 made these observations regarding Brewery Gulch: “The street is somewhat frightful from a sanitary point of view. It is covered with slime several inches deep and about four feet wide, from which comes a nauseating odor. Someday Bisbee may have a sewage system and Brewery Gulch will be clean and wholesome and will not smell to heaven. As it is it remains a disgrace to the city. You smell it when you step off the train, its vile odor is still in the nostrils when you have traveled far from the city out on the cool and refreshing plains where Don Luis and Naco lie in the breeze.”

In 1904 the Bisbee-Naco Water Company formed, took over some wells at Naco from the Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company, laid pipe and began the first supply of uncontaminated water into Bisbee. A sewage system was put in and by 1919 water was being piped to all districts of Bisbee.



BREWERY GULCH ABOUT 1906 - Crockett Collection

BISBEE'S YOUTHFUL HISTORY CONSISTS OF CREATIVE, MERRY PRANKSTERS

Carl Nelson, a resident of Bisbee since 1904, died at the age of 91. Nelson began working for Calumet & Arizona Mining Company in 1911 as a machinist apprentice. Four years later he became a "full-fledged machinist", served in the Navy four years during World War I, returned to Bisbee after his discharge and was given his old job back. He transferred to Phelps Dodge when Calumet & Arizona was sold and retired from the company in 1960.

Nelson made a series of oral-history tape recordings for the Bisbee Mining and Historical Museum before his death. This is a report on "pranks" that the kids in Bisbee carried out in the early 1900s as told by Carl Nelson.

"Like youngsters everywhere, we looked forward to Halloween too. The only difference here was that the larger boys would plan a major project, then pass orders to us small fry telling us what part we were to play in the project, and we always faithfully followed their orders."

One such "project" occurred when the wood for the construction of Central School had been purchased and stacked near the YMCA. The older boys in town thought it would be fun to remove all the wood to the cemetery in Brewery Gulch (where the city park is located today). The call went out and about 100 boys responded, meeting in a nearby alley. The school administration, realizing the vulnerability of the wood, posted a couple of janitors as guards at night. To thwart the guards the youth leaders had the younger boys stage a gang fight, "just push each other around and make nasty remarks." The janitor-guards were completely taken in and amused themselves watching the fight.

In the meantime the rest of the gang was carrying the lumber to the cemetery. When most of the wood was hauled away the "gang fight" broke up and they all went home. The next day the neighbors near the cemetery called the police to tell them the cemetery was loaded with wood. When notified of the whereabouts of the missing lumber, superintendent of schools Philbrook ordered all the boys in school to carry the lumber back.

"Well, the night before we could carry a couple of boards on the run, but the next day it took two boys to carry one board and then we would have to stop to rest on the way," said Nelson.

"One year the major project was to put an ice wagon on top of the newly built Lowell School . . . The wagons were parked at the ice company stables, across the road from school. The boys oiled every nut and bolt on a wagon a couple of days before the event. The day of the night the project was to occur two boys hid in the broom closet so they could open the doors and have access to the roof. That night, piece by piece, the wagon was carried through the school and to the roof where it was reassembled. The next morning a wagon could be seen straddling the ridge of the Lowell School.

“Well, the next morning the ice-plant crew missed the wagon and notified their superiors, who ordered a couple to go out on horseback and find it, none ever thinking of looking up on the school roof . . . ” The teachers arriving for classes, however, saw it right away and notified the ice plant. “It took them three days to take it down, as they took it down in one piece and did not want to damage the school roof.”

One Halloween, the stagecoaches used between Lowell and Bisbee were the target of a prank. Again, about a hundred boys assembled in an alley in Lowell near the Brophy Corral. The boys divided into two groups and each tied a hundred foot rope to the tongue of a stage. Other boys were selected to crawl up to the stage and release the brakes. One of the leaders snuck up to make sure all the orders were carried out properly. He carried a small pistol to fire at the given time.

The corral guards had been sitting on the rear steps of the stages with a small fire between them. When the pistol was fired the guards “sprang to their feet and the stage starting off with a jerk, they fell to the ground.” The boys hid the stages so well “it was almost noon the next day before they were found and put into service.”

One year the authorities hit upon a scheme to put a stop to all of the usual pranks by rounding up every boy they saw on the street and locking him up in the old county jail. The old jail located in subway alley had been partially destroyed by fire and was not used anymore. The roof had holes in it so the bigger boys would boost the others through and they would easily escape, “back down the street to be picked up again and brought back, the officers never noticing that they were bringing in the same boys all the time.”

The officers were quite surprised at about 11 o'clock that evening “on opening the old jail they only found about a dozen larger boys who had a good laugh at the officers for not finding anymore.” Nelson added, “all the authorities accomplished was to delay the usual pranks that night.”

RANGER KIDDER SPILLED BLOOD ON THE BORDER

The individual members of the Arizona Rangers, a state police force formed in 1901, were reputed to be trackers equal to the Indians, with skills in roping, shooting and riding. They had to be able to pass a rigid physical examination.

Jeff Kidder joined the Arizona Rangers in April 1903 as a private. Kidder had worked briefly for the Copper Queen Mine in Bisbee before enlisting in the rangers. Kidder possessed all the above Ranger qualities—he was tough and was said to be one of the best gunmen among the Rangers, second only to Ranger Capt. Harry Wheeler. But the citizens of Bisbee had a description of their own for Kidder: brutal.

One July evening in 1904, Kidder beat two men in separate incidents. One man was standing in front of the Turf Saloon on Main Street when Kidder told

him to move off the sidewalk. When the man refused, Kidder smashed him in the face with his .45. Later that evening, while he was making an arrest, Kidder again hit a man in the face with his revolver. A third man walked into the Orient Saloon, his face streaked with blood, and accused Kidder of the act.

The **Bisbee Daily Review** ran front-page stories and editorials for about a week following Kidder's assaults. The **Review** editor wrote: "Has it come to this, that thug officers are ready to beat men up with guns?" And, "Who gave this man Kidder, wearing an Arizona Ranger badge, the extraordinary powers warranting him to cut men's heads open with the butt end of a .45?" Another sentence read, "Who sent this Ranger in here with his pistol to beat up men on the streets of Bisbee?" Feelings against Kidder ran high, and the **Review** claimed there was talk of lynching him.

On July 19, 1904, Kidder was convicted of a charge of assault and battery on a man named Fagan. The second case was dropped due to lack of witnesses for the prosecution. The third case was transferred to Pima County. (This author could find no results.)

In 1902 the Arizona Ranger headquarters was moved from Bisbee to Douglas by the new Captain Tom Rynning. Rynning was quoted in his biography as saying, "I've been in many a tough town in my day, but from Deadwood to Tombstone I've never met up with a harder formation than Douglas was when we made the Arizona Rangers home corral there in 1902 . . . Cattle thieves, murders, all the worst hombres of the United States made their headquarters there . . . It wasn't noways safe even for an officer of the law to walk along Tenth Street or Sixth after dark. Robberies were going on everywhere. People were being killed even in the hotels, and at least half the deputy sheriff's were blackleg gamblers and killers."

In spite of the new Ranger headquarters in Douglas, things were still wild in that town in late 1906. One evening in December Kidder was patrolling just off Sixth Street near the railroad yards, when he noticed a man. He called to the man, telling him he was an officer of the law and ordering him to halt. The man began to flee and Kidder fired a shot over his head.

The **Review** reported, "At this the suspect turned, and drew from his hip pocket a six-shooter, and fired three shots at the Ranger, none of which took effect. Kidder, who is one of the crack shots of the Ranger force, drew down on the fellow and the first shot passed through his head."

Kidder requested a murder warrant be sworn out against himself as he wanted a full investigation. Kidder was given a hearing in Douglas and, after several witnesses testified, Kidder was discharged. The court found that Kidder killed the man in proper discharge of his duty.

In April 1908 Jeff Kidder was in Naco, Son. He had been stationed in Nogales, Ariz. for a year, but his enlistment had expired and he had ridden over to the Ranger office at Naco, Ariz. to re-enlist. After learning that Capt.

Wheeler was in the Chiricahua Mountains looking for a cattle thief, Kidder decided to go to Naco to relax. Kidder visited a saloon in Naco, had a few drinks and visited a woman who had a room in the saloon. After leaving the woman's room, Kidder noticed a dollar missing from his pocket so he returned to her room to claim it. The woman, Chia, began yelling for the police when Kidder returned and two Mexican officers responded.

Kidder told the Mexican officers to throw up their hands. But one of the men shot Kidder in the stomach and Kidder fell to the floor. While on the floor, Kidder shot and wounded both officers and struggled to the street in an attempt to make it back across the border. Out on the street, a running battle took place between Kidder, who had only his revolver with six bullets, and about eight Mexican line riders and officers, some carrying Winchester rifles.

Kidder never made it to the border. He ran out of bullets and told the Mexican officers to come and get him. Kidder was hit over the head with a six-shooter and dragged to jail. He received no medical attention until the next morning, when he was taken to a private residence in Naco, Son., and treated by Dr. Shine of Bisbee. Kidder died that afternoon in Naco.

Soon after his death, an investigation began into Kidder's killing on both sides of the border. No one was brought to trial for Kidder's death, but 20 policemen and line riders were fired and all the saloons were closed in Naco. People on the American side of the border were bitter, but no violence was reported. Kidder was given a funeral by the Elks of Bisbee and his body was shipped to his family home in California.

The actual cause of the shootout is still a mystery. One Ranger, Fred Rankin, was sure that Kidder was set up by smugglers he had been harrassing. According to Rankin, "Kidder was constantly on the trail of the smugglers, who had the Mexican officers and line riders at Naco buffaloed and carried on their smuggling as they pleased." Another theory was that one of the policemen had a run-in with Kidder some weeks before the shootout, and was seeking revenge.

An unconfirmed story still circulates about Lt. Billy Old resigning from the Arizona Rangers and traveling to Mexico after Kidder's death. Old was a good friend of Kidder's and had named his child after Kidder. While in Mexico, Old was supposed to have killed every former policeman involved in Kidder's death. Old never admitted to it, but friends of his were sure it was true.

Captain Wheeler had this to say about Kidder: "We not only lost a true friend and a well-loved member of the force, but Arizona lost a faithful American who was fearless in upholding her laws."

Note: The sources for this section were a book titled "Gun Notches" by Capt. Thomas H. Rynning as told to Al Cohn and Joe Chisholm; "The Arizona Rangers," edited by Joseph Miller; and the papers in special collections at the University of Arizona Library.

THE SHORT, HAPPY LIFE OF FRANK D. HALL

Frank DeWitte Hall was born at Pullman, W.Va. on Sept. 20, 1888. He passed a state examination and received a certificate to teach at 17 years of age. He taught school for four terms, then entered Wesleyan College and graduated in 1910. After college he was a reporter for the Wheeling News for a couple of months before going to work for a lumber company in Elkins, W.Va. for about 18 months. He left for Douglas in December 1912 after hearing about a bank position opening in Douglas.

The bank position fell through, but the 24-year-old Hall landed a position with the Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company as bookkeeper, stenographer and private secretary to the Assistant General Manager, Grant H. Dowell.

In a letter to his mother, Hall seemed quite satisfied with himself. He wrote: "With one exception, this is the best stenographic job in town. The other pays \$125 per month, but I hope to land that much before many months."

Halls letters are well-written and his training as a reporter is apparent as he writes about the daily happenings in the border town of Douglas and nearby Mexico. His letters also reveal a young man quite content with himself, disciplined but lively all at the same time.

In February 1913, Hall wrote about the Mexican Revolution: "There is great excitement here today. The report reached the city today that the deposed Mexican president, Madero, and the vice president, had been shot to death, and the papers are getting out extras every two hours . . . Most of the people here are in favor of intervention by the United States. I think they figure on the United States taking over about three of the most northern states of the Mexican Republic . . . Nacozari and Cananea, the two main towns, are almost as much American as Tucson or Douglas on this side of the line."

Hall had a good job, played tennis after work, was the president of a literary club, was thinking of joining the country club ("Back east that would sound very aristocratic and exclusive, but it isn't the case down here."), and although he contended to his mother that he missed about one-third of the social activities, he seemed to have been very active and popular. He even conceded, "there is no doubt about it, things move down here."

In another letter he stated: "The first two months we were here we did not get acquainted, socially speaking, very much, with the girls, I mean but we have started now, and it is hard to tell where we will stop. I started on St. Patrick's day, my girl just at present being an Irish girl."

Women were demonstrating for their rights as the suffrage movement was in full swing across the U.S. But in Arizona, as Hall wrote, "the women have ther right to vote. The legislature has been having quite a time deciding whether the women must tell their exact age when they register, and they finally decided they need only say that they were over 21."

In a June letter to his mother, he wrote: "The talking pictures begin here tomorrow night . . . Douglas is right up-to-date in getting them, as the invention* was only perfected in February."

Hall liked Douglas well enough, but was planning staying only a year or so. He did not like the desert and he did not think things were up to the standards of back home.

"The nice houses are simply bungalows and nobody has much room," he wrote. "As one old man who had just landed here the other day said, he never saw a country with as much room out-of-doors and as little indoors."

On Nov. 9, 1913, Hall and six Douglas male friends took a drive on the road to Bisbee. They had intended on going only about 10 miles before returning to Douglas. However, they were enjoying themselves so much that they continued on to Bisbee. They stopped at the Maze Cafe on Main Street (located in the Woolworth building). As the group of young men sat at the counter eating their supper, gunfire erupted from the booth behind them. Frank Hall was hit by a stray bullet and died instantly.

The shot that killed Hall came from the gun of a man named Roy Haigler. Haigler had been sitting with Anna Johnson when her former suitor John Wall approached. Haigler drew his gun and fired, killing John Wall, Frank Hall and wounding another of the Douglas party in the leg.

Frank Hall's body was sent back to Ohio to his grieving parents and family.

Grant Dowell took charge of a memorial service held for Hall at the Douglas YMCA, and wrote to Hall's mother: "Frank was a prime favorite among the people of this town, especially the younger crowd of respectable boys and girls with whom he associated . . . Honest, capable, painstaking and industrious, the place made vacant by his untimely death will, of course, be hard to fill . . . Would we had more of his type here."

Roy Haigler pleaded self-defense in the murder of John Wall and was acquitted on April 27, 1914. The **Bisbee Review** reported: "Haigler's acquittal was secured through the testimony of Anna Johnson, who swore that she saw Wall reach as if to draw a gun . . . Haigler must also have seen this move and thought that Wall was reaching for a gun."

After this acquittal, the prosecutor said there would be little hope of securing a guilty verdict in the death of Frank Hall. He was right, as on June 26, 1917, the second murder charge against Haigler was dismissed.

Note: Dr. Daniel Hall of Columbus, Ohio visited the museum a few months ago to do some research on his uncle Frank Hall. The information was found in the museum library. Hall mentioned that he had letters written by Frank Hall from Douglas in 1913. This article is written with assistance from those letters.

** Author's Note: This was an early form of "talking picture", which is corroborated by both Douglas and Bisbee newspaper accounts of that era.*

THE RADICALIZATION OF W. B. CLEARY

On July 12, 1917, over 1,200 striking miners were forced into boxcars at gunpoint and shipped out of Bisbee. That action, sponsored by Phelps Dodge, Calumet & Arizona, and Shattuck-Denn mining companies and legalized by Sheriff of Cochise County, Harry Wheeler, has become known as the Bisbee Deportation.

Among the men crammed into the manure-lined boxcars, sweating in the July heat, was former Arizona Water Company general manager, street-corner orator and criminal lawyer William B. Cleary. Cleary had actually escaped the early morning roundup of striking miners, Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) card-holders and innocent bystanders. He commandeered a car and raced to Naco to telegraph ex-governor George W. P. Hunt. Cleary sent the telegram from Naco because the Bisbee and Lowell Western Union officers were censored by the vigilantes. Completing that mission, Cleary returned to Bisbee and the Warren ballfield, to take his place with over 2,000 men held prisoner there.

William Cleary was born in Washington, D.C., in 1871. He attended a private school and St. John's Institute from which he graduated. He attended Georgetown College for two years but left that school to study law at the National University in Washington, D.C., graduating with a law degree in 1894. He practiced law in New York for the next three years.

In 1897 he traveled to Alaska to access mining claims owned by one of his eastern clients. During that trip, he traveled by dog sled over the Chilkoot Pass, built his own boat and floated down the Yukon River, shipped out from there as an able-bodied seaman, was shipwrecked on the coast of Siberia but finally made his way to Seattle and from there returned to New York and reported to his clients. Upon his return to New York, Cleary accepted a position as corporation counsel with the Arizona Water Company and arrived in Phoenix in 1898. The following year he was appointed general manager of that company.

Cleary had the education, experience and position to be a success in the corporate world, but instead he became a radical labor lawyer eventually run out of the state by those very corporations. Cleary first visited Bisbee in October of 1905, and by January of the following year he had located here and began practicing law. He was accepted by the local establishment; his opinion being often quoted in the **Bisbee Review** on territorial politics. When the Western Federation of Miners attempted to organize in 1906, for instance, the **Review** wrote "Mr. Cleary captured the good feelings of the crowd from the start, and for 15 minutes appealed to the men to let well-enough alone." "When the time comes", shouted Cleary, "that it becomes necessary in this camp for the working men to organize, in order that they may secure fair treatment at the hands of the employing companies, I will be the first man in Bisbee to take up your cause and lead the fight." The miners voted on unionism and rejected the idea by an overwhelming majority.

Bisbee's first mining strike occurred in April of 1907. After 10 long, bitter months, the Western Federation of Miners called off the strike and Bisbee remained a non-union camp. Cleary apparently mellowed toward the union, however, as indicated by this report from the Arizona Labor Journal of 1913: "Throughout this strike the men were subjected to arrest for vagrancy, illegal assembly and many other trumped-up offenses, but owing to the fact that at least two attorneys, William B. Cleary and A.A. Worsley, threw in their fortunes with the strikers, not a single conviction was finally secured."

It was during that strike that Cleary began speaking on the street corners for the working man and defending them in the courtroom, actions that were not to win him approval in the local press as this small article from the 1908 **Bisbee Review** illustrates: "W.B. Cleary is about all that remains in Cochise County of the bunch of agitators who tried to bring the Warren Mining district under the domination of the Western Federation Miners. 'Windy Bill' never worked and never will."

His popularity with the local establishment fell a bit with his successful defense of workers during and after the futile 1907 strike. Cleary continued to be active in the Democratic Party, however, and by 1912 he was giving the keynote address for state and local Democrats in Lowell. The **Bisbee Review** article was headed "Democrats Cheer As Cleary Flays The Bull Moose."

The **Review** reports further "W.B. Cleary made what many consider the political speech of his career as an orator. It was a 'fighting speech' but it was well filled with facts and figures, dates and names of persons, that gave his remarks a broadside effect . . ."

Later that year, the Bisbee City Council passed an ordinance banning street speaking. There is little doubt that it was aimed at Cleary, as we read in the **Review** of Sept. 5, 1914: "William B. Cleary, well known political speaker, who for the past two years has been denied the right to speak on the street corners by the City Council, held down the lid last evening in front of the Orpheum Theatre for a full three hours. In the meantime he addressed a changing crowd averaging at all times between three and four hundred persons . . . He was interestingly heard by perhaps 1,000 persons during the course of the evening, and his address drew a heavier crowd than have any of the former street orations of the present campaign." Among those whom Cleary supported was Harry Wheeler for sheriff of Cochise County, the man who was to lead the deportation of 1917.

Cleary was also well known as a defense attorney of radicals and their causes. On May 12, 1909, Mexican Revolutionary leaders Flores Magon, Librado Rivera and Antonio Villarreal were put on trial in Tombstone on four counts of conspiring to violate the neutrality laws. Cleary was their lawyer. The defendants were popular with the people, especially the women who daily brought them flowers. According to Thomas C. Langham, in his book "Border Trials," "The testimony presented during the three days of trial convinced the

liberals that they would be acquitted, but the jury after twelve hours of deliberation on the 15th of May found them guilty." Though they were sentenced to 18 months in the federal penitentiary, Cleary was able to save them from what would be certain death, extradition to Mexico.

Cleary was well known as a criminal lawyer and this is illustrated by the story of a man named Ravovich who shot a man at one of the mines. Ravovich sought out a friend of his and asked what he should do. The friend told him to hunt up attorney Cleary.

Then there was the case of Roy Haigler who shot and killed two men and wounded another in the Maze Cafe. With Cleary as his lawyer, he pleaded self defense. It seems one of the men he killed had made a threat to his life. At the time of the shooting the man approached Haigler's table at the cafe with his hand in his pocket. Haigler, thinking the man had a gun, drew his own gun and shot him. The jury was convinced and Haigler got off the murder charge.

How about the other dead man and the wounded man? Cleary proved that while Haigler killed the one man in self defense, the other two were shot accidentally. All charges were dropped.

This article appears in the July 13, 1917 edition of the **Bisbee Daily Review**:
"Among the prominent residents of the Warren District to be included in the departing I.W.W.'s was W.B. Cleary, a local attorney. Cleary succeeded in evading the clutches of the dragnet in Bisbee but was caught in Warren later in the morning and was taken out of the community on car number 5 of the train."

Alice Campbell Juliff, wife of a C & A mining official and sister of then Gov. Tom Campbell, wrote this of Cleary as he was marched to the boxcars, in her poem titled "Things I Can Never Forget":

"Bill Cleary, the aristocrat,
Turned bitter because of real and fancied wrongs
At the C.Q. Hands
Made one think of his peers
Of the French Revolution
On the way to the guillotine.
Head high, an occasional glance
Toward his erstwhile friends and neighbors
Among the guards . . ."

Cleary became the spokesman for the men held in detention at Columbus, N.M., and "counciled the men to make the best of the situation." He hoped to bring the miners back under protection of federal troops. His efforts failed and the men drifted away, many ironically to enlist in the army and fight in Europe, the war they had been driven out of Bisbee for not supporting.

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*Note: Cleary was prominent in the state and local Democratic Party. In 1903, before his arrival in Bisbee, Cleary had written the eight hour work day into the plank of that party. As early as 1905, he was interviewed in the **Review** on his thoughts on the likelihood of Arizona becoming a state.*

The last learned about Cleary was that he was attending the Democratic convention in San Francisco in 1920. The report said he was extremely pessimistic about the future outlook of the United States and that he expected bread lines to form in the next six months. He was talking about more than the weather when he stated that he found the climate of San Francisco far healthier than that of Bisbee.



STRIKERS FORCED INTO BOXCARS DURING 1917 DEPORTATION - Sandquist Collection

“DO NOT SHIMMY, DO NOT DANCE CHEEK TO CHEEK”

In January of 1917 the Copper Queen Mining Company began stripping the vegetation and rock from one of Bisbee's landmarks, Sacramento Hill. The blasting and shoveling on that mountain marked the beginning of a new industrial period for Bisbee. Modern technology enabled the company to mine low grade ore buried beneath the useless “overburden.” To reach that ore the steam shovel and steam engine were the tools, retiring the mules and miners. The ore was depleted by 1929 and the mountain became Sacramento Pit.

With prohibition forbidding the sale of alcohol, and the local ordinances passed against gambling and prostitution, Bisbee quieted down. There was an occasional poker game raided in a backroom on Brewery Gulch or a “still” smashed in the hills around Bisbee, but most of the action was taking place “across the line” in Naco, Sonora.

Bisbee became a quiet, moderate community, town where baseball, dancing and church-going were the main social activities. A sign that hung on the Vista in Warren near the bandstand in the 1930s exemplifies this new period. It read: “Do not shimmy, do not dance cheek to cheek.”



DANCE ON THE VISTA IN WARREN, 1919 - *Ramquist Collection*