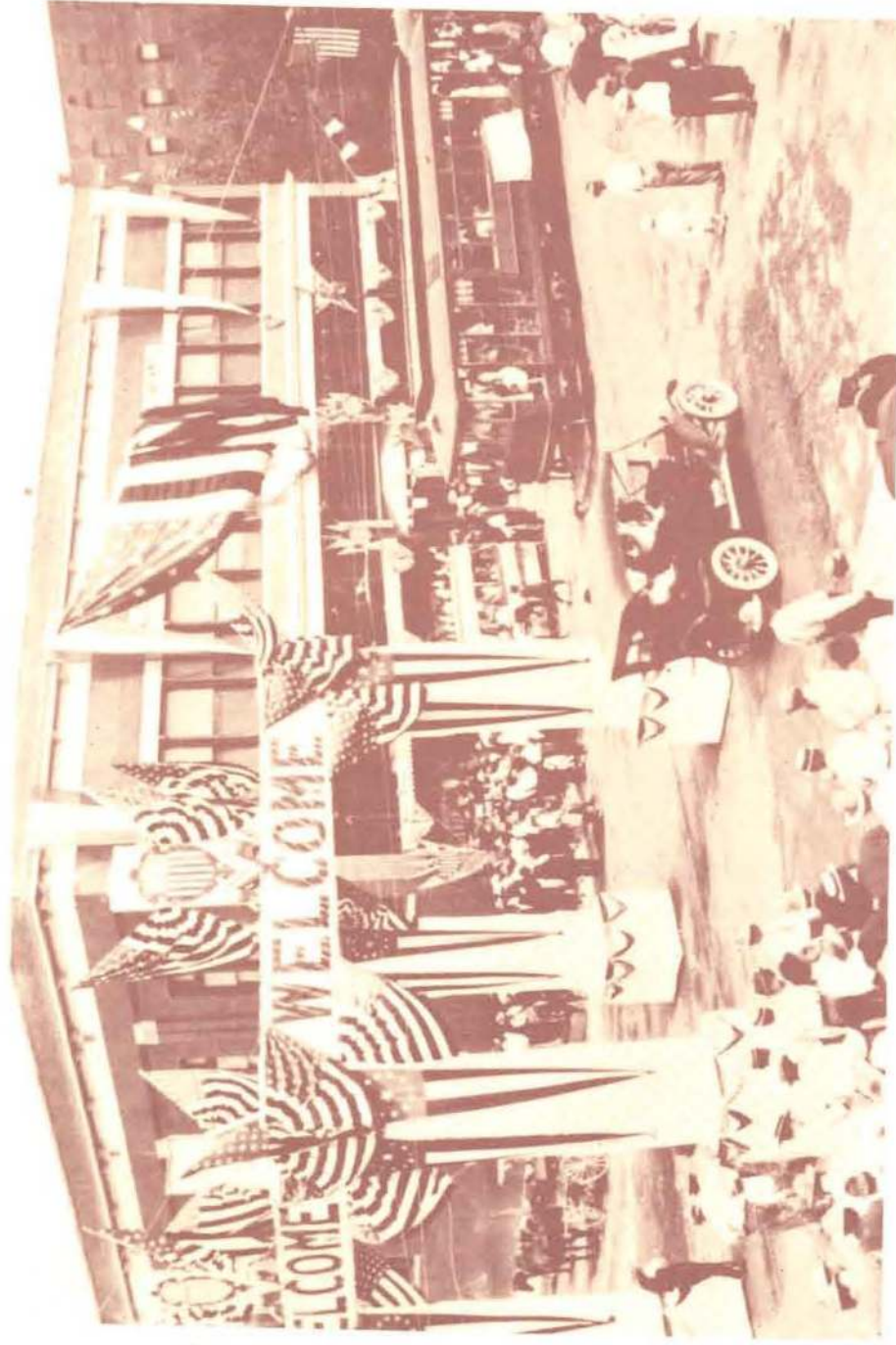


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**BORDER BOOM TOWN — DOUGLAS, ARIZONA**  
**1900-1920**

*Dedication*

*This article, which only scratches the surface of the rich and fascinating history of Douglas is affectionately dedicated to Rex McDonald, Allene Taylor, Ervin Bond, and all the dozens of friends in Douglas who helped me gather information. Many thanks.*

Diana Hadley  
May 10, 1987

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Some of the information in this article was collected for Linda Laird Associates for the historic building survey.

D. H.

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**Front Cover:** 1917 Liberty Bond Parade, 10th Street and G Avenue. (Marty-Dess Collection, Courtesy CCHAS 83.48.1).

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## **BORDER BOOM TOWN — DOUGLAS, ARIZONA 1900-1920**

Douglas is a small industrial and commercial city located on the Mexican border in Cochise County, Arizona. Founded in 1901 as a smelter town for local copper mines, Douglas quickly developed into a thriving commercial center for the large ranching and farming area to its north, and for Mexican towns to the south. Agua Prieta grew as a companion city across the border in Sonora. Officials and associates of Phelps Dodge Corporation selected the townsite, invested heavily in its development, directed the planning and construction of the city, and invested in many of its businesses. Phelps Dodge continued to dominate the economic and political activity of the town. However, since only a moderate percentage of the city's real estate and businesses were owned by the company, Douglas never became a full fledged "company town." Douglas experienced a dramatic development, growing from an uninhabited cattle holding ground in 1899 to a bustling metropolitan area of more than 10,000 ten years later. Unlike many other frontier "boom" towns, the commercial and residential sections of Douglas developed with all the amenities, as a modern, orderly, well-planned community. Until the recession which followed World War I, Douglas thrived and developers and businessmen made substantial fortunes. Promotion by "boosters" dominated the town's development. However, the town's promoters genuinely believed that Douglas had a future of unlimited expansion. The presence of large amounts of outside capital investment, the youthful population, the initial provision of social and civic necessities, and the opportunistic element of single money-seeking men led to a community spirit of boundless optimism and civic pride.

During the Progressive Era, the cooperation of corporations, labor, and civic institutions fostered the growth and prosperity of many small industrial cities like Douglas. The physical plan of Douglas, the pleasant life of the community, and the prosperity of many of the residents were examples of how well the civic-labor-corporate triad functioned. However, the combination of a heavily capitalized dominant industry, the presence of eastern elite, and a large labor force of Mexican-Americans created a socially and ethnically segregated community. Another side of Douglas lay hidden beneath the promotions of the "boomers" and "boosters."

### **EARLY HISTORY**

Douglas developed immediately east of the Whitewater Draw, the southern drainage of the 1,023 square mile Sulphur Springs Valley. Whitewater Draw, named because of caliche outcrops along its banks, is a tributary of the Yaqui River in Mexico. At the turn of the century, developers found groundwater at a relatively high level; immediately south of the international border, at Agua Prieta (Dark Water), water emerged in permanent springs which fed a large pond. Although flanked by mountains, seventy percent of the basin surrounding



Douglas is an undissected alluvial plain. In the late 17th and early 18th centuries, when the first Spanish explorers wrote their accounts, this northern section of Sonora supported scattered settlements of arroyo-farming Pima and Piman-related Indians. More recent arrivals, bands of semi-nomadic Athapaskan-speaking Apaches inhabited the nearby Chiricahua, Peloncillo, and Huachuca mountain ranges. During the three centuries of Spanish and Mexican control, both Apache Indian raiding and the great distance between water sources deterred settlement, and the valley remained beyond the rim of effective Spanish control.<sup>1</sup>

The area which is Cochise County today was then the far northern frontier of New Spain. In the 1690s the Spanish established a line of presidios (military posts) to protect the occasional frontier settlements of miners, missionaries and ranchers. The famous Camino Real (royal road), although probably nothing more than a pack mule trail, served as the main artery connecting the line of posts. The Camino Real paralleled the present day international boundary line, and connected the presidios at Janos in Nueva Viscaya and Fronteras in Sonora. The permanent water at Agua Prieta became an important *puesto de parada* (stopping place) on the trail and appeared on Spanish maps. During the late eighteenth century the Spanish military added more garrisons to the line of defense. In 1775 they established a presidio at Santa Cruz de Terrenate on the west side of the San Pedro River, seventy miles northwest of Douglas. Five miles south of Terrenate, Las Nutrias became a temporary presidio in 1780. The *paraje* at San Bernardino, eighteen miles east of Douglas, with its abundant artesian wells, became a temporary presidio between 1775 and 1779. During the last years of Spanish control, after the Bourbon reform program had been initiated, settlers enjoyed a brief lull in the constant Indian warfare, and Apaches who consented to live in *establecimientos de paz* (peace settlements) received a dole of food, arms, ammunition and firewater in exchange for desisting from their raids. When Mexicans began the War for Independence in 1810, funds for the reservation system diminished and by the 1840s the system no longer worked. Apaches resumed their warfare, the military largely withdrew, and settlers abandoned their mines, villages and ranches. Wild cattle roamed the Sulphur Springs and San Bernardino valleys. During the three decades in which Mexico controlled the area, protection from Indians and bandits, and economic conditions reached an unprecedented low. The new government had neither money, personnel, nor the political power it needed to adequately control the area.<sup>2</sup>

The first American accounts of travel through northern Sonora date from this period. Trappers, United States military expeditions, gold seekers and finally settlers passed by the future site of Douglas. Although mountainman James Ohio Pattie never specifically mentioned Agua Prieta in his somewhat confused memoir, he may have passed the springs on his 1826 trip from his trapping camp on the Gila River to California. He testified to the abundance of game in the area and the danger of the Apache. Colonel Phillip St. George Cooke, commander of the Mormon Battalion, who travelled along the old Camino Real



on his way to California during the Mexican War, spent the night with his troops east of Douglas and watered his stock at Agua Prieta. Between 1849 and the opening of the Butterfield Overland route in 1858, American travelers on their way west used this route to reach California. Historians estimate that between nine and fourteen thousand California-bound Argonauts travelled the Southern Overland Trail during the peak gold rush years of 1849 and 1850. Thousands of head of cattle and sheep from Texas and New Mexico plodded along this historic road on their way to satisfy the new demand for meat in California. Many of the early American travellers reported stopping for water at Agua Prieta, and that site along with the San Bernardino appeared in several guide books written for Forty-niners. The 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which settled the Mexican War, did not include the extreme southern portion of Arizona, and Whitewater Draw remained in Sonora. Among the many Americans familiar with the springs, John Russell Bartlett, who conducted the boundary survey, found that the creek at Agua Prieta had dried up during a drought in May of 1851. The United States acquired the area on December 30, 1853 through the Gadsden Purchase. Lieutenant William Emory surveyed the new boundary the following year and erected a survey monument near the dark water.<sup>3</sup>

Shortly after the Civil War, a few adventurous cattlemen began ranching along the border. Henry Clay Hooker established the Sierra Bonita Ranch in the early 1870s. Burdette Packard, a partner of Colonel William Greene, ranched in Sonora, southwest of Douglas. Cattlemen imported livestock from Oregon and Texas to supply nearby army posts and the new mining communities created by the 1877 mineral strikes in Tombstone and Bisbee. In 1884 John Slaughter, a former Cochise County Sheriff, purchased the San Bernardino Ranch, which at the time included thirty sections in Mexico. He and his wife Viola watered their horses at Whitewater Draw on the way to their new home. Leonard Alverson, a cowboy who worked for the Chiricahua Cattle Company, remembered Whitewater Draw as a favorite herd-holding place. After the 1881 completion of the Southern Pacific Railroad across southern Arizona and the 1886 Geronimo surrender, rural areas in Cochise County began to become populated by non-Indians. During the late 1880s the Sulphur Springs Valley filled with cattle. All the ranches in the valley, large and small, cooperated on huge biannual cattle drives, gathering the cattle in order to brand calves in the spring and to drive stock for railroad shipment to markets in the fall. Whitewater Draw quickly became one of the most popular herd holding grounds on these round-ups. Cowboy Leonard Alverson recalled branding many calves on the future site of Douglas.<sup>4</sup>

### **CREATING THE BOOM 1899-1905**

The smelter city on the border did not happen by accident. Douglas is well named since few towns owe their inception, planning, and development so directly to the inspiration of one man. Dr. James Douglas began his long and distinguished career in the mining business in Canada. Born in Quebec in 1837,



of Scottish descent, Douglas studied to become a Presbyterian minister at the seminary of the University of Edinburgh and obtained a doctorate of theology. However, because of changes in his religious convictions, he was never ordained. Although he never received any technical training, he began a highly successful career in metallurgy in 1865, through his association with his father's interest in the Harvey Hill copper mine in Canada. He gained fame in 1869 as the co-inventor of the Hunt-Douglas ore reduction process, and mining companies frequently sent him as a private consultant to inspect potential properties. From 1875 to 1881, after the failure of his father's business, Douglas worked as an engineer for the Chemical Copper Company at Phoenixville, Pennsylvania. It was during this period that Phelps Dodge Corporation, a New York based mining and smelting firm, contacted him to examine Arizona properties. In 1881, Phelps Dodge sent Dr. Douglas to Arizona, where at his urging the company purchased the Atlanta mine in Bisbee. In 1885, after several years of negotiations and gradually increasing investments, Phelps Dodge absorbed Bisbee's Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company as a wholly-owned subsidiary. Although never an officer of Phelps Dodge, Douglas became a director of the Copper Queen, and served as its president from 1907 to 1916. Under his direction, Phelps Dodge expanded even further in 1897 with its purchase of the Pilares mine at Nacozari, seventy-five miles south of the border in Sonora, from Meyer Guggenheim. A highly erudite man, Dr. Douglas published extensively in mining and metallurgical publications, received numerous honorary degrees and served as president of the American Institute of Mining Engineers. He acted consistently as a Christian philanthropist, and typical of his concern for Copper Queen employees was his 1902 personal donation of a library building to the city of Douglas. Dr. Douglas, along with his sons Walter and James, left a remarkable imprint on the city which bore his name.<sup>5</sup>

It soon became evident to Dr. Douglas that increased production in the Bisbee and Nacozari mines necessitated a larger smelter, and he began to search for a site to build the most modern smelter in the United States with an accompanying model community. Capable of smelting two thousand tons of ore a day, the new reduction works would smelt ore from other mines in Bisbee and do contract jobs for out-of-state ore as well. Before the designs for the smelter were completed Walter Douglas and H.H. Langton visited Montana copper works, iron mines in Minnesota and steel mills in Pittsburgh. The new smelter would contain five blast furnaces, four barrel-type acid-lined converters, and would have the capacity to handle an annual production of more than a hundred million pounds. In addition they planned for a fifteen mile network of standard gauge railroad tracks connecting the smelter, power houses, machine shops and foundry.<sup>6</sup>

Smelters need large amounts of water for the reduction of copper and especially for cooling. The former cattle holding ground at Whitewater Draw, only twenty-five miles southeast of Bisbee, had all the necessary qualifications for the new smelter site. It provided ample room for expansion, and since it



was in the "trough" of the Sulphur Springs Valley ground water was close to the surface. Dr. Douglas had already determined that adequate water could be obtained in the southern end of the Valley at a depth of thirty feet. In 1887 the Copper Queen had obtained a section of land about eight miles north of the border under the Desert Land Act. The company's three-year attempt at fruit farming failed, but the experiment proved the existence of more than adequate water for its smelting needs. Dr. Douglas, enthusiastic about the future prospects of the new smelter city, commented, "this magnificent valley, 120 miles long by 20 miles wide, flanked by mountain ranges on which sufficient rain falls to irrigate its fertile soil, will support a large population and a north-and-south railroad." The Copper Queen "took up land under scrip and other land was procured from the International Improvement Company" for the smelter. Water for cattle at Whitewater Draw became water for smelting copper.<sup>7</sup>

Whitewater Draw also provided an ideal connecting point for the Nacozari and Bisbee railroads. The trip for loaded ore trains from both mines would be down grade. Douglas himself determined that the best route for the railroad went from Bisbee into the "Sulphur Springs Valley and thence southward in Mexico by the Agua Prieta and over the Cabullona divide into the Fronteras." By 1899 the line had been surveyed; by 1900, the southeastward extension from Bisbee reached Douglas, and from Douglas it proceeded south into Mexico, reaching Nacozari in 1904. The railroad construction initiated small settlements of workers on the future sites of both Douglas and Agua Prieta.<sup>8</sup>

The railroad preceded all other industries in Douglas; without the railroad the Douglas boom would have been impossible. Phelps Dodge entered the railroad business in 1889 with the construction of a thirty mile line, The Arizona and Southeastern, which carried ore north from Bisbee to the Santa Fe junction at Fairbank. In 1894 they extended the track north from Fairbank to the Southern Pacific junction at Benson. This line was extended to Douglas in 1900, preceding other industries in the city and facilitating the construction of the smelters. As Dr. Douglas had planned, the line continued down the Fronteras Valley to Nacozari. Incorporated under Mexican law, as the Ferrocarril de Nacozari, it reached Cos in 1901 and Nacozari in 1904. Dr. Douglas's sons acted as superintendents of the two railroads; Walter Douglas succeeded Ben Williams, a former director of the Copper Queen Mine, as superintendent of the Arizona and Southeastern, and "Rawhide Jimmy" directed the Mexican line, as well as the Moctezuma Copper Co. in Nacozari. In 1900 a conflict over freight rates with the Southern Pacific induced Phelps Dodge to expand its operations all the way to El Paso. The new line laid 215 miles of track paralleling the border northeast from Douglas and reached El Paso in 1902. The company then purchased El Paso property and constructed a terminal. Since anti-trust laws prevented industries from owning their own transportation facilities, Phelps Dodge found it necessary to divest itself of the subsidiary company. Legally the railroad interests were separated from the mining company, through the



establishment of a dummy corporation. The Arizona and Southeastern sold its stock to the new railroad for \$750,000. The El Paso and Southwestern then distributed all the shares to the Phelps Dodge stock holders as a special dividend. Although technically a public company, no shares of stock were ever sold, and the mining company was able to control the railroad. The line to El Paso began service in November 1902; the following year the EP&SW built a fifteen stall roundhouse in Douglas. By June 20, 1903 the line was completed. By 1910 the EP&SW had over 1,000 miles of track, and in 1910 an elegant new Beaux Arts style depot was built in Douglas.<sup>9</sup>



*El Paso & Southwestern Railroad Station 1913. (Photo post-card, courtesy CCHAS 80.3.18)*

Soon after Dr. Douglas selected the Whitewater Draw site, rumors about the new smelter spread. In 1900 investors and speculators, eager to obtain the potentially enormous profits from the town's construction, narrowly avoided a possible conflict over who was to develop the townsite. Early in the year, Dr. Douglas and his son, James S. Douglas, manager of Phelps Dodge's interests in Nacozari, met with a group of friends in Bisbee to incorporate the International Land and Improvement Co. for the purpose of selling real estate. On December 13, 1900, they incorporated The International Land and Improvement Company of Bisbee. At that same moment, another developer, Charles Overlock of Bisbee, on his way to purchase cattle at the San Bernardino Ranch, accidentally learned that the group of Phelps Dodge associates had staked off a section of land near the border and planned to file on it. He quickly assembled a rival group of backers and entered a claim at the Tucson Land Office on adjacent property. In January 1901, the two competing groups came to an agreement. In a move typical of the way in which Phelps Dodge would defuse dissent in the future, the groups avoided conflict through merger. The Phelps Dodge associates allowed Overlock's group to come into their land company.<sup>10</sup>



The creation of the first development company established the core group of the power elite of Douglas. The names of several Phelps Dodge employees and associates appear on the incorporation papers of all the important real estate and utility companies which developed the Douglas townsite. A half dozen private real estate and improvement companies planned, laid out and developed the site of Douglas. Unlike the mining companies and the railroads in both Arizona and Sonora, none of the real estate or utility companies was a direct subsidiary of Phelps Dodge; nevertheless, they strongly reflected the Phelps Dodge influence. The International Land and Improvement Company was the first of the companies the investors incorporated. They set the capital stock at \$50,000, divided into five hundred shares valued at \$100 a share. The original directors included William H. Brophy of the Bank of Bisbee, rancher John Slaughter, Phelps Dodge lawyer Stuart W. French, and James S. Douglas, who later became president of the development company. On December 31, less than a month after the initial incorporation, the company amended its articles in order to expand its activities. The directors intended to purchase land in order to sell lots at the junction of the two railroads; to erect dwellings and store buildings; to operate telephones, and an electric light and power plant; to manufacture and sell ice and conduct a cold storage business; to acquire and own water and water rights and to operate water works for mining, smelting, manufacturing, domestic and agricultural purposes; and to manufacture and sell gas. The organization soon added other directors, most of whom, like Walter Douglas, Ben and Lewis Williams, and L.D. Rickets, were associated with Phelps Dodge. This group of men planned and laid out the Douglas town site; they set the real estate prices; they built large commercial projects in Douglas; and provided the town with utilities.<sup>11</sup>

On June 9, 1902, several of the directors of the development company incorporated the Bank of Douglas also with a capital stock of \$50,000, divided into 500 shares worth \$100 each. The bank filled an acute need in the incipient city's business enterprises. Although not legally recognized as a branch of the Bank of Bisbee, three of the founders of the Bisbee bank acted as directors of the new bank. When the Douglas bank opened, James S. Douglas owned about forty-nine percent of the stock, and William Brophy, president of the Bank of Bisbee, owned twenty-five percent. The rest was divided among Charles O. Ellis and Elmer Pirtle, two close friends of Brophy's, and Michael J. Cunningham, manager of the Copper Queen Store. The bank opened June 19, 1902 in an elegant neo-classical brick building on the corner of Tenth Street and G Avenue. The bank and the railroad proved to be the businesses most essential to the town's development.<sup>12</sup>

The incorporations of the utility companies followed. On October 11, 1902, William H. Brophy, L.C. Shattuck, the Bisbee mine owner, S.F. Meguire and three other directors incorporated the Douglas Street Railway with a capital stock of \$50,000. On January 9, 1904 the same group organized The Douglas Improvement Company, in order to separate the utility operation from the real





*City Water Department 1917. (Present-day Little Gallery, Courtesy CCHAS 84.42.9)*

estate business. The Improvement Company would operate the telephone service, electric power, ice plant, and water works, construct dwellings and business buildings, operate ranches and raise cattle and stock, and manufacture and sell gas. The International Land and Improvement Company then concentrated on selling real estate. The board of directors of the Improvement Company included all the same names which appeared on the earlier corporations, but added that of S.F. Meguire, who became director of the utility company. Within a few years, as the services provided by the utility companies expanded, the directors separated services into smaller, more specialized corporations like the Douglas Power and Traction Company and the Douglas Gas Company. A further expansion occurred in December of 1911 when a group of eleven Portland, Maine investors organized the Douglas Investment Company for the purpose of operating utilities, selling real estate, and operating hotels and ranches in the Sulphur Springs Valley. Charles M. Drummond was president, and two other members of the Drummond family were represented on the board of directors. Capitalized with one and a half million dollars of stock, divided into 15,000 shares of 100 dollars each, the new company filed its incorporation papers with the territorial auditor of Arizona on December 11, 1911 through the Bisbee law firm of Ellinwood and Ross. It absorbed and expanded the properties and activities of the older International Land and Investment Company.<sup>13</sup>

Phelps Dodge deliberately chose not to develop Douglas as a full-fledged company town. In the true company town, the parent industry itself owned and administered most of the town property, built homes, owned businesses, and provided services. Phelps Dodge already had years of experience running mining and smelter towns throughout Arizona. Clarkdale and Morenci were full-fledged



company towns, in which Phelps Dodge owned all the real estate and most of the houses and businesses. Since Arizona's low-grade copper demanded large-scale operations with a substantial labor force, many of the Phelps Dodge towns became fairly large and enjoyed surprising longevity. Although orderly and attractive towns, none of the corporate-owned towns ever achieved Douglas's growth or its diversity of business interests. In Bisbee, Phelps Dodge followed a slightly different plan. The company owned a substantial amount of property, but many homes and most of the businesses were private.<sup>14</sup>

The model company town was an old concept in American town planning. New England industries created several successful model towns early in the nineteenth century. About twenty years before the development of Douglas began, George Pullman, the most famous proponent of the concept, designed and constructed an entirely company-owned model town near his railroad car factory in Pullman, Illinois. He believed that adequate housing and pleasant surroundings were essential for social well-being, and incorporated these concepts into his planned community. Pullman derived his theory of the "commercial value of beauty" from his business experience. Influenced by the model tenement movement, his theory stressed the concept that an "ennobling and refining" physical environment benefited the character of those who resided in it. Hard work and the pursuit of wealth presumably were noble virtues, thus an improved environment indirectly led to increased production. Dr. Douglas, who shared many of Pullman's beliefs on the benefit of good environment, frequently expressed his paternalistic concern for the welfare and satisfaction of his employees. Like Pullman, his object was efficiency as much as philanthropy. Recognizing that contented workers were more productive, Dr. Douglas was concerned to see that a pleasant, orderly community evolved near the new smelter. The plan of the town which he brought into being reflected the progressive social and economic values which he shared with Pullman. Both Pullman's and Douglas's towns were orderly and attractive with separated commercial centers and adequate civic services. In evolution, as well as conception, the two towns shared many similarities. Social and ethnic segregation quickly occurred; the population remained predominantly youthful and working class; and an unplanned section of saloons and houses of prostitution soon developed.<sup>15</sup>

The businessmen and investors who developed Douglas chose the method that was most common during the late nineteenth century. Separate private enterprises usually developed factory locations, built quarters for the workers, supplied water, collected garbage, and provided services for private profit. Phelps Dodge never intended Douglas to become a full-fledged company town. Douglas had an excellent location on the border with great potential for growth. Since so many investors appeared eager to share the benefits of developing the smelter city, and since Phelps Dodge found it easy to influence the planning, it proved unnecessary for Phelps Dodge to take on the burden of an entirely company financed and planned town. Nevertheless, Phelps Dodge discreetly



company financed and planned town. Nevertheless, Phelps Dodge discreetly directed the financing, conception and planning of Douglas, owned some of the housing and businesses, and operated a number of "paternalistic" enterprises such as the company store, and recreational facilities. The relationship between the corporation and its smelter city was complicated and subtle. Although Douglas existed largely at the initiative of its "enlightened employer," the smelter city was equally indispensable to the success of the company. This mutual dependence led to love-hate relationship between the town and its parent company, which characterized the history of Douglas.



*C & A Smelter during 1920s. (Courtesy CCHAS 85.49.2)*

## **THE BOOM**

When workers arrived from Bisbee in 1901 to start construction of the smelters, the railroad already connected Bisbee to Douglas and the townsite was well under way. The Douglas boom was on. In March 1904 the Copper Queen blew in furnace number one. In that same month, with the new Calumet & Arizona smelter in production as well (1902), the city held a huge celebration. The 1904 City Directory remarked that "the growth of Douglas is one of the marvels of rapid development of the southwest." After only three years, it ranked fourth in population in the territory, and promoters felt justified in referring to Douglas as a city rather than a town. Newspapers called Douglas the "Wonder City of the West." Typical of "booms" throughout the west, the development of Douglas was characterized by phenomenal growth, and enormous increase in real estate values, and an initial general prosperity. In



other parts of the West, developer-created "booms" left a legacy of ghost towns. Many heavily promoted boom towns flourished briefly and failed. In contrast, Douglas, supported by several major industries, the railroad, and border commerce, survived and thrived.<sup>16</sup>

Because the city's industries provided residents with an expanding job market, the Douglas population grew at a steady rate until the post World War I economic slump began. By May, 1902 the unofficial population reached 2,000 and by December 3,500. Arizona Ranger Captain Thomas Rynning recalled that when he moved the Ranger headquarters to Douglas in 1902, almost the entire town consisted of tents. An early resident remembered that, "the first restaurant in town was a crude structure on Tenth Street, built of railroad ties; a single well furnished the town's water supply and the water was sold in barrels from door to door; a solitary bathtub in a barbershop served the needs of the entire town . . . the dust was so thick that planks had to be laid across the streets." The speed with which Douglas transformed itself from a conglomeration of crude temporary structures to a substantial city amazed the territory. By 1905, Douglas passed out of its tent and shack phase. When the city incorporated as a municipality in that year, the metropolitan area, which included several "additions" outside the city limits, had a population of nearly 9,000, with a bustling business district, elegant homes and tree-lined streets and parks.<sup>17</sup>

According to the census of 1910 Douglas had a population of 6,437, which included 629 more men than women. The population consisted of 2,784 native-born whites of native parentage, 1,244 native-born whites of foreign or mixed parentage, and 2,250 foreign-born whites. Mexican-Americans were counted as "white" in this census, and constituted the vast majority of the last two categories. In 1910 Douglas reported only 138 Negroes in Douglas and one lone Asian. By 1920, the official population of the city had grown to 9,916 and males exceeded females by only forty-six, indicating that Douglas had become a more stable family town. The reported population included 4,765 native-born whites of native parentage and 4,958 whites who were either foreign born or had at least one foreign-born parent. In both 1910 and 1920 the vast majority of the latter category were Mexicans. Thus Mexicans and Mexican Americans made up at least fifty percent of the population throughout the boom period. In Douglas in 1910, 2,021 families resided in 1,858 dwellings, ten years later 2,553 families resided in 2,392 dwellings, giving Douglas, in both instances, a considerably higher percentage of single-family residences than many other Arizona towns. The preponderance of single-family residences indicates that Douglas was slightly wealthier than other Arizona towns and that the common Mexican custom of extended families residing in a single dwelling was not generally practiced.<sup>18</sup>

Official census bureau statistics consistently credit Douglas with a smaller population than that given by the city directories. City directories included a number of outlying areas which were not officially within the city limits. The



publishers of the 1917 City Directory stated that Douglas had 17,875 residents, which would make that World War I boom year the high point for Douglas's permanent population. A comparison of census statistics with the city directories indicates that census takers missed some residents. Mexican nationals who resided in Douglas frequently avoided being counted, and for a variety of reasons some Mexican-Americans and Anglos avoided their inclusion on the census roles as well.<sup>19</sup>

The original Douglas townsite plan expressed the Progressive Era vision of the model city held by Douglas city planners and company officials. In concept and development Douglas was strikingly different from older western industrial cities. The Douglas plan employed a spacious grid pattern with parks and civic sections reminiscent of midwestern towns. Engineer E.G. Howe, mapped and designed the Douglas townsite; Joseph P. Sexton, an investor in the development company, did much of the initial surveying. The streets were "wide enough that twenty-mule teams could turn around in the middle of the block." They laid out the townsite, approximately three miles east of the proposed smelter site, on a north-south axis perpendicular to the United States-Mexico border. The plan, consistent with the model company town concept, provided for a company store and hospital, parks and places for entertainment, a library, and a special section set aside for churches. The townsite contained one hundred and forty-five blocks arranged in a rectangular pattern of eighteen by eight blocks, cut diagonally on the west and north by the proposed railroad. The north-south avenues received letter names beginning at the east with A and ending with J. The east-west streets received numbers.<sup>20</sup>

The city carefully separated the commercial center from three distinct residential sections. In the commercial section, the blocks through which the main north-south streets F and G ran were designed in an H shape with three alleys to allow delivery of goods at the rear of the potential commercial structures. The blocks on either side of this core were laid out in a T shape to service buildings facing the commercial blocks. Larger houses constructed on several lots clustered in the neighborhood directly east of the commercial center. The second residential section, a Mexican *barrio* with many Sonoran style row houses grew up on the south side adjacent to the unfenced international border. The third section on the southwest side of town rapidly developed into an unplanned red light district. Throughout the townsite lots were amazingly small, many measuring only thirty feet in width. The blocks intended for residential development contained thirty-six of these narrow lots, and each block had an east-west alley. The developers anticipated either an incredibly dense population or an enormously handsome profit.<sup>21</sup>

When F.S. Meguire, manager of the townsite office, began operations in February 1901, lots sold for between \$25 and \$250. By March they sold for \$150 to \$300. Company directors held back a large number of choice lots, not offering them for sale. In December 1901, when the Calumet & Arizona Co.



announced that it would build a smelter next to the Copper Queen site, real estate prices increased over one hundred percent. After fourteen months, the development company which had capitalized at \$50,000 with 500 shares of \$100 stock had done \$750,000 worth of business. And by 1905 lots in the best residential section sold for \$10,000.<sup>22</sup>

During 1905 over \$200,000 worth of building was constructed. The real estate salesmen and builders quickly realized a high return from their investment and could well afford to donate some land for community functions. The company planners set aside one block for a school, on which the Seventh Street School (Sarah Marley School at 745 Seventh Street) was built in 1902, and they reserved another block for a city square or plaza, today's Castro Park. Another block would later contain the library, post office, Phelps Dodge Hospital and Phelps Dodge guest houses. In 1901 the company donated the block north of the park for the building of Protestant churches. Library Hall, built by Dr. Douglas in 1902, served as meeting place, church and civic center, until others were built.<sup>23</sup>

The Douglas International American reported in 1905 that "the music of the saw and hammer is heard on every side . . . Every carpenter in Douglas is now employed, as are the painters, paper hangers and finishers." Joseph P. Lewis, a Mormon pioneer who arrived in 1902 and became one of the numerous tent-dwelling construction workers, remembered "a regular clatter of hammers in all directions, and it was a very easy matter to get work, especially for mechanics, carpenters, bricklayers or shinglers. Anyone who could use a hammer could find work."<sup>24</sup>

Douglas businessmen profited from the phenomenal growth of the city. With the exception of the largest commercial projects most of the building was financed by local capital. Douglas contractors and laborers did the construction work, and purchased their materials from local lumber yards and hardware stores. Both mining companies and the railroad engaged in substantial building programs. They hired resident contractors to do all but the biggest construction jobs. Although real estate developers like Elmo Pirtle, Samuel Applewhite, William Adamson and Charles Overlock financed most of the large house building projects, many individual residents built houses for investment on a smaller scale, realizing high profits through resale and rental. In 1904 the Douglas Dispatch even gave away a house and lot in a city-wide contest. Rental units proved profitable as well. In 1904 Frans T. Parker sold two adobe dwellings on the corner of Thirteenth and B Avenue, for a consideration of \$1,800. The newspaper reported proudly that the buildings rented for \$500 per year, and realized the owner a return of thirty percent per year, which proves "that Douglas realty is a pretty good speculation." By 1904, 7,500 people lived within three miles of Douglas, many of them in the thirteen subdivided additions, others on homesteads in the Sulphur Springs Valley. The assessors office estimated that the Douglas area contained real estate valued at one million dollars or more.<sup>25</sup>

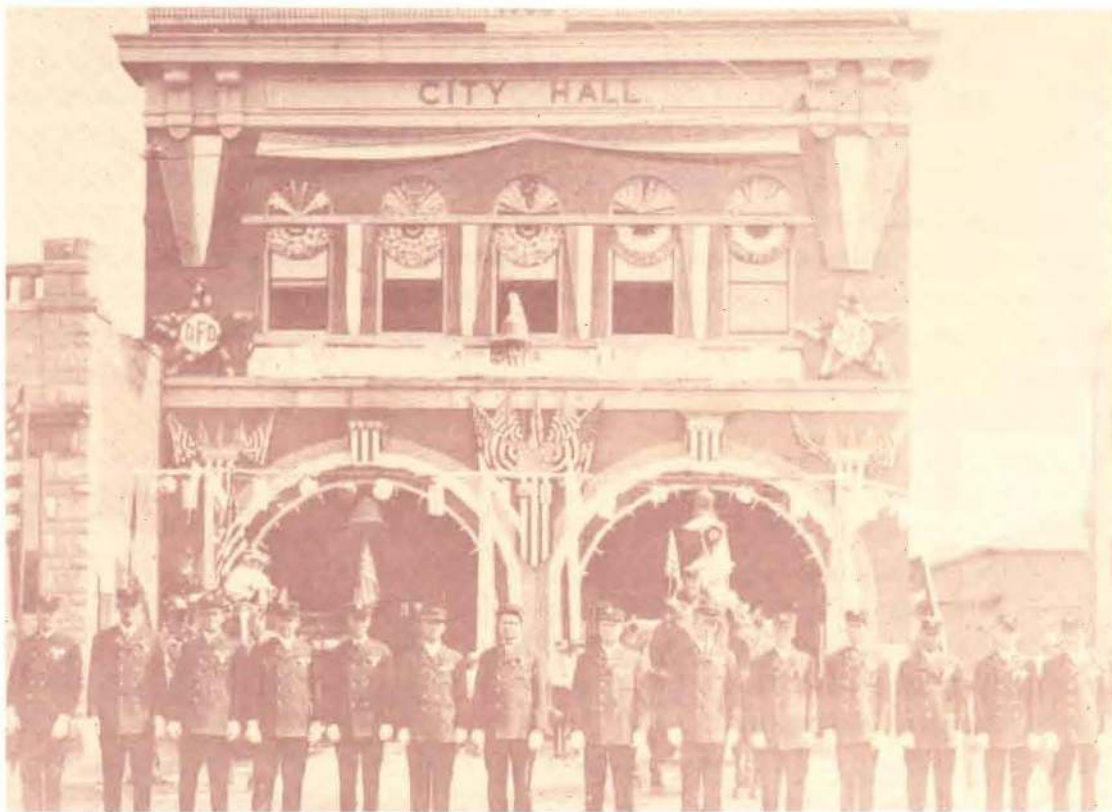


During the initial boom years the utility companies made a noble effort to keep up with the building rate. The Improvement Company drilled wells on Eleventh Street, and by the end of 1902 over 200 customers received piped water. However, until 1906 the water supply remained inadequate and unsanitary. Doctors who lived and worked at the Copper Queen Dispensary, 743 Ninth Street, were forced to carry buckets upstairs and share their morning bath water. Before 1906 many residents maintained small private wells. Frequently shallow, these wells were contaminated by open cess pools and caused health problems. In 1905 the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Gomez, who resided in "Ragtown" between First Street and the international line, drowned in one of the uncovered wells. In 1906 the Improvement Company opened new deeper wells on 15th Street and solved the problem. The same year Douglas provided for a city sewer system and expanded the volunteer fire department.<sup>26</sup>

The inadequate water supply created an additional fire hazard. Although fires were common in Douglas throughout its first two decades, they were particularly destructive during the initial construction boom when many of the temporary buildings were made of wood. In 1902 a single fire destroyed The Cowboy's Home Saloon and Restaurant, The Fashion Saloon, The Elite Restaurant, The Copper Belt Theater and several other buildings. The fire broke out when a prostitute who lived in a back room of the saloon threw a kerosene lamp at her lover. Fire fighters arrived and attached a hose to the hydrant but for a full twenty minutes water failed to arrive. Only one roulette wheel was saved. Newspaper articles constantly complained about the inadequacy of fire protection, remarking that Douglas, like other Arizona towns, suffered from the "annual burning of the tent and shack section." Even after Douglas improved its water supply and organized a volunteer fire department, costly fires continued. As late as 1917 a fire quickly consumed the Franklin Rooms, a "colored" boarding house owned by Laura Lee, 333 Eighth Street. It forced many of the lady residents to flee into the street in "distinctly negligee costumes."<sup>27</sup>

Telephones and electricity accompanied most of the 1,526 homes built by 1902. The Douglas Traction and Light Company, managed by Joseph P. Sexton, who surveyed the original townsite, installed a Featherstone steam engine in 1902 and began delivering electric service to residents of the section close to the down-town area. The Douglas Street Railway Company began to lay track in 1902 to connect the smelters with the city. Before the electric street car had been in operation for a month, the company added a one mile extension, and by 1912 it had ten miles of track. When Douglas incorporated as a municipality on May 15, 1905, the town already had many of the amenities, including the C & A hospital, two newspapers, fifty saloons, and a chugging, noisy, narrow-gauge steam engine street car. All of this had been accomplished without the benefit of city government.<sup>28</sup>





*Douglas Firemen in front of Fire Dept.-City Hall. (Douglas Fire Dept. Collection, Courtesy CCHAS 83.50.4)*

## DOING BUSINESS IN THE BOOM TOWN

The commercial interests of Douglas fully recognized their dependence on the mining interests, the railroad, the surrounding rural area of ranches and farms, and on the border trade. After the smelters, the railroad proved to be the second most important industry to the Douglas economy. Although eighty-four percent of the freight tonnage consisted of mining products, the line carried cattle and provided passenger service east and west from stations at Douglas, Chiricahua and San Bernardino. By January 1903, nineteen freight trains and twelve passenger trains offered daily service to Douglas. Locally referred to as "milk runs" or "drummers' specials" the passenger trains gave easy public access to Douglas. The rail connection to El Paso had a formative influence on the business history of both Douglas and Bisbee. After 1903, the *Douglas Dispatch* printed a weekly El Paso business directory. Referred to as "El Paso's new tributary section," Douglas invited a large group of El Paso wholesalers to visit the new city in 1902. El Paso building materials arrived at low company rates, and local developers hired El Paso architects and contractors, like the famous Henry A. Trost, for some of their larger projects. Since Douglas offered east and west coast rail connections to Sonoran mining districts and to the Pacific coast of Mexico, it quickly became a convenient congregation point for investors and mining men with interests in Mexico. Although plans never materialized, entrepreneurs proposed building a railroad to connect Douglas with Chihuahua.<sup>29</sup>



Douglas increasingly profited from trade with cattle ranchers and the rapidly extending area of farms in the Sulphur Springs Valley. By 1907 settlers had taken up over 100 square miles in the Sulphur Springs Valley under the Homestead Act, the Desert Land Act and through scrip. Cattlemen traded in Douglas, and the town supported a large number of feed and livestock stores. Huge shipments of Mexican cattle crossed through Douglas. An inspection station had preceded the establishment of the town, and now moved to Douglas from La Mora, a border crossing west of Douglas. In 1903 the EP & SW offered special rates for ranchers to attend the Cattleman's convention in El Paso. The railroad provided loading chutes at stations in Sulphur Springs and San Bernardino valleys.<sup>30</sup>

The central business district with its street railway, sidewalks, and gas lamps literally teemed with activity. The location of two banks and the company store at the intersection at G Avenue and Tenth Street established the "heart of the city." The intersection was characterized by substantial Neo-classical brick buildings, which gave Douglas an air of substance and permanence. Among the many retail businesses which lined G Avenue, the company store was by far the largest. Newspapers billed the three-story Copper Queen Store, built in 1902 at a cost of \$125,000, as the "largest in Arizona." Its warehouses in the rear had access to railroad sidings. A complete department store, it carried everything from groceries to jewelry. Next in size, Levy's Department Store at 918 G Avenue and Mose Klein's Douglas Furniture and Outfitting Co. at 818 G Avenue sold general dry goods. Because of the building boom in Douglas, the town supported three resident architects and a large number of contractors. Seventeen building contractors were listed in the 1917 City Directory. Several lumber yards operated in Douglas, and William Adamson processed three styles of pressed gypsum block, all stamped with "Douglas," at his Arizona Gypsum Plaster Co. A small brick yard north of the city produced low quality pressed red clay bricks, but ceased operating after the railroad began importing brick from El Paso.<sup>31</sup>

Because of its active role in business, its large population of single working men, and its placement on the border, Douglas contained a large number of hotels. Bachelors frequently resided in one of the many small hotels while they worked in the construction of World War I boom in Douglas. Three hotels on the same block catered to smelter workers, railroaders and miners. The Sampson Hotel, the Cottage Hotel, and the Avenue Hotel, were all three constructed before 1904 and served as headquarters for the railroad men who worked for the El Paso and Southwestern. The Gadsden was by far the most imposing hotel in town. The original building, constructed in 1906 at a cost of \$180,000 by the Douglas Improvement Company, was destroyed by fire in 1928. Designed by Trost and Trost of El Paso, local contractor Otto Krueger oversaw its construction. The new 1929 structure, which stands on the original site but facing G Avenue rather than Eleventh Street, was also designed by Henry C. Trost. Of reinforced concrete in the Sullivanesque style, its beautiful Tiffany stained





*G Avenue, Douglas, with original Gadsden Hotel on right. (Courtesy CCHAS 84.42.3)*



*Exterior view of entrance Grand Theater 1920s. (Xalis Collection, Courtesy CCHAS 87.18.10)*



glass windows, gold leaf ornamentation and marble stairwell make it one of the most important historic buildings in the state. The Watts Hotel, 516 Eighth Street, built for Frank Watts in 1906 by architect and builder Jacques Ardisson, is made of locally produced cast stone. Ardisson, a resident contractor employed French motifs in several of his Douglas buildings. A number of small hotels within the Mexican neighborhood catered strictly to Mexican clientele.<sup>32</sup>

Entertainment figured importantly in the commercial life of Douglas. The 1907 Orpheum served as a skating rink, prize fight arena, dance hall and theater, Touring dramatic companies presented plays almost every week. By 1917 Douglas had four theaters, The Airdome, designed by Trost and Trost, at 555 Tenth Street, the Columbia at 538 Tenth Street, the Lyric at 817 G Avenue, and the Royal at 712 G Avenue. Most impressive of the local theaters was the Grand, designed by architect Eugene Durfee of Santa Monica and built in 1919 at a cost of \$170,000. Raised by James N. Xalis, one of the owners of the Lyric Amusement Co., this 1,600 seat theater was constructed with pipe organ, tea room, and vaudeville stage. The first "talkie" shown in Douglas appeared on the Grand's screen, and famous entertainers like Anna Pavlova, Ethel Barrymore, John Philip Sousa and Paul Whiteman played on its stage.<sup>33</sup>

## **PROMOTING THE BOOM TOWN**

Douglas's rapid growth engendered a "booster spirit." Expressed frequently in newspaper articles, Douglas boosterism was typical of the self-promotional rhetoric which pervaded small-town America at the turn of the century. Boosters confused actual accomplishments with expectations, employing what historian Daniel Boorstin labelled the language of anticipation. "Optimism, enthusiasm and vagueness of line between fact and hope, between what had actually happened and what ought to have happened," characterized the promotional articles. Boorstin distinguished between "boomers," and "boosters." Boomers were speculators who grabbed the benefits of the boom they helped to engineer and moved on, while boosters were residents of the boom town who had a genuine stake in its future prosperity. The boosters, "undaunted, or even stimulated, by the crudity . . . of the community he was praising," was a resident community builder, loyal to his town, and a "true believer" in his own promotional rhetoric. Fortunately Douglas had more boosters than boomers; most of its promoters worked hard to develop the town, prospered from the boom, and remained in Douglas to enjoy the fruits of their labor.<sup>34</sup>

Boosters in Douglas chose to overlook and minimize town problems; they focused on Douglas's growth, its modernity, and on the profits which investors had realized. The boosters stressed civic loyalty, patriotism, cohesion, conformity, and community spirit. They consistently referred to Douglas as a city, rather than a town, inserting that expectation into the reality. Albert Beveridge inadvertently became a Douglas booster when on his official senatorial inspection tour in 1902, he visited Douglas and praised all aspects of the town.



In 1903 an article praising Douglas's "remarkable growth" and civic attractiveness appeared in three Hearst newspapers. Another article maintained that smuggling was no worse in Douglas than anywhere else along the border. In 1902 Douglas boasted that the new \$125,000 Copper Queen was the "largest store in Arizona." In January 1903 an editorial proclaimed that investors expected Douglas to become a second Denver. A 1904 article boasted that although Douglas was only four years old, the town contained the largest smelter in the world, eight churches, two "colored" churches, a \$15,000 opera house, a \$37,000 school system, a cast stone manufactory, the roundhouses and mechanical headquarters of the El Paso and Southwestern Railroad, and the \$50,000 Copper State Brewery. Almost weekly, lengthy articles appeared on the great future of Sonora. The articles pictured Douglas as the gateway to one of the greatest underdeveloped mining districts on earth. Promoters also expected Douglas to become the railroad center of the southwest. A 1907 article predicted that by 1912 Douglas would have a population of 25,000.<sup>35</sup>

## **LIFE IN THE BOOM TOWN**

Throughout the boom period Douglas was a festive town. In addition to self-promoting articles, Douglas boosters devised a number of more concrete methods to express their civic enthusiasm. They gave city-wide celebrations, organized clubs, put on public and private entertainments, and held sports events. The agents of the community spirit were social clubs, the chamber of commerce, and the community sports teams. The town seemed to take every opportunity possible to hold a party. In 1902, after the November 15th completion of the EP&SW railroad, Douglas staged a huge celebration. A proposed inauguration party for the Calumet and Arizona smelter, which blew in that same day, had to be postponed because all the rooms in town were full. The city celebrated the 4th of July, 1903, with a balloon ascension, a roping contest, a bull fight in Agua Prieta, a baseball game and cow pony races. By 1903, Douglas had a bowling alley, a gun club, a tennis club, a dancing school, an epicurean club, a business college, and three private schools. While the city was still in its tent and shack phase, construction workers and cowboys held daily horse races on Railroad Avenue (today's Pan American); in later years the races moved north of the city. In 1902 bachelors in Douglas organized the Thirteen Club, to provide the city with social activities, and in 1903 the Chiricahua Stag Club began giving dances. The Thirteen Club had a mandolin orchestra which played for private dances. After the 1903 organization of a brass the city offered Sunday night concerts in the "dance pavilion" in Tenth Street Park; in later years an all-Mexican band gave concerts; and during World War I, the regimental band played for Douglas residents. After 1907 the city had several theaters and The Orpheum, a skating rink, which doubled as a dance hall and prize fight arena. Circuses and carnivals frequently stopped in both Douglas and Agua Prieta.<sup>36</sup>



The city's sports activities reflected its prosperity, optimistic attitude, and the youth and vitality of the residents. Football enthusiasts set up an association as early as November 1902; bowling teams, basketball teams, and baseball teams followed soon after. Tennis buffs organized the Douglas Tennis Court Club in 1902 and the courts predated most of the buildings in town. The 1907 Douglas Country Club, located on what is now the 1500 block of Twelfth Street, was one of the first in Arizona. Its graceful frame building was surrounded by a veranda, tennis courts, and a nine-hole golf course designed by J.P. Sexton. Beginning in 1907, John Adams, a Chicago golf pro wintered in Douglas. An indoor swimming pool, The Natatorium on Eighth Street and G Avenue, provided winter swimming, until shortly before 1920, when an epidemic caused its closing.<sup>37</sup>

Members of the Elks Club started raising money for their Lodge on Tenth Street and E Avenue in 1905. The building at 650 10th Street was completed in 1916 in time to host the state convention. Designed by Lescher and Kibbey and constructed by Paul Michaelson of Globe, the \$40,000 Lodge had a cornerstone of solid copper, donated by the C & A Smelter. The cornerstone contains a message from Governor Hunt, and weighs nearly half a ton. For many years a gardener kept the silhouette of an elk trimmed into the lawn in front of the club. Membership in the Elks Club defined the elite of Douglas. Although the organization had several members whose mothers were Mexicans, the Elks Club surprisingly has had no members with a Hispanic surname. In addition to the Elks, other civic organizations abounded, many of which had integrated membership. The 1917 *City Directory* listed thirteen social clubs, eight Masonic organizations and eleven secret societies.<sup>38</sup>

Douglas residents expressed their civic enthusiasm in 1905 when they quickly doubled the expected subscription to complete the Y.M.C.A. building which had been initiated as a community project through donations from the El Paso & Southwestern, the Calumet & Arizona, and the Copper Queen. Townspeople and local companies demonstrated their civic pride when the Y.M.C.A. quickly received almost double its requested subscription of \$5,000. It offered housing, a gymnasium and library to the single men of Douglas. In 1916 Phelps Dodge wives organized a Y.W.C.A. Mrs. Cleveland Dodge, whose husband had been active in establishing Y's on a world-wide basis, served on the local board. Mrs. Stuart French, wife of Phelps Dodge general manager, acted as president. The Y.W.C.A. building, which still stands on 1085 F Avenue, provided dancing lessons, first aid instructions, and Spanish classes. The organization sent local children to summer camp at near-by Cave Creek for \$7 a week.<sup>39</sup>

Agua Prieta contributed to Douglas's exuberant social and sports life through activities at Henry Beumler's bull ring, built in 1902, and later at the Club Social de Agua Prieta, organized shortly before World War I. American membership increased dramatically in 1916 when Arizona went dry. The large Spanish-style building on Second Avenue, one block south of the international



border, provided gambling, dancing, along with fine food and liquor. Dancers paid the orchestra by tossing coins into a hat on the bandstand.<sup>40</sup>



## THE DOUGLAS THE BOOSTERS OVERLOOKED

Self-promoting articles claimed that Douglas was morally and socially respectable and “in all respects an ideal place for homemakers.” But the boosters exaggerated, and like all other new towns, Douglas had its share of problems. No rain fell between September 1903 and July 1904. Even though a horse-drawn Studebaker Dust Annihilator sprinkled down the streets on a daily basis, a cloud of yellow dust hung over the city, so dense that it could be seen from the Bisbee hill. Dr. Lynn Tuttle recalled that surgery had to be scheduled for 6:00 a.m., before the city traffic stirred up the streets. An epidemic of “black heart” pneumonia raged throughout southern Arizona that year; smallpox was common. Many Douglas residents contracted typhoid fever, perhaps because open cesspools contaminated the original shallow wells. Dr. Tuttle believed that the “superstitious reluctance” of Mexican nationals, who resided in the city, to come to the clinics for treatment contributed to the spread of infectious diseases. During the rainy season, which finally returned in 1905 after a prolonged drought, enterprising boys made bridges out of planks and ferried pedestrians across G Avenue on doors. Mosquitoes swarmed around the wells and open cesspools. Douglas provided for pavement through an inefficient method in which each section of blocks paid for its own street paving and sidewalks. Most neighborhoods procrastinated. As late as 1940, an aerial photograph reveals only a few paved streets.<sup>41</sup>

Situated directly on the border, with a large number of single men working in construction and at the smelters, Douglas attracted a large underworld element, and a “tenderloin” district complete with saloons and houses of prostitution developed. Newspaper articles and the testimony of early residents indicate that Douglas had an unusually high crime rate. As early as 1904 Douglas boasted fifty saloons (approximately one saloon for every one hundred and twenty-five residents). Dr. E.W. Adamson recalled Douglas’s raw, dangerous frontier atmosphere. In 1905 the town had “few trees and lawns . . . wind and dust were ever present. The saloons and bars provided twenty-four hour service. Many of them had no fronts so the constant clink of metal money and poker chips could be heard.” Adamson frequently treated gun shot wounds at the Calumet Hospital. Almost as soon as the town began in 1902, Douglas had a race track opposite the freight depot, where races were run on a daily basis. Only four years old, Douglas already paid the county \$12,000 per year for saloon and gambling licenses. A 1904 newspaper editorial complained that all the city had received from the county in return for its large tax payments was an inadequate \$1,900 jail, “from which the prisoners escape at their convenience.” Constables frequently herded the prisoners around city streets or handcuffed them to park benches for lack of other accommodation.<sup>42</sup>



A tent city, or “ragtown,” grew up on the north side of the railroad tracks, where people lived in tents or in their wagons until they earned money or could obtain housing. The “ragtown” persisted despite the booster’s efforts to make Douglas appear entirely prosperous. As the initial tent phase of the city’s development moved into the past, county officials in Douglas began an effort to make the town more respectable and law-abiding. Douglas residents voiced frequent complaints about the number of vagrants in the city, and considered protection against this undesirable element inadequate. In February, 1903, Judge Johnson began to wage his “Hobo Crusade” to run the “thugs, bums, hold-ups, drunks, prostitutes and other objectionable characters out of town.” He particularly objected to the hobos’ practice of begging in the streets. He intended to clean up the Sixth Street tenderloin district and to arrest anyone unable to show proof of legitimate employment. He threatened that the unemployed would be “put on the chain gang and made to help clean up the town.” In 1912 citizens were still protesting inadequate police protection, maintaining that the reduction of the city’s night patrol to two policemen led to a wholesale increase in burglaries and holdups.<sup>43</sup>

Before Douglas incorporated as a municipality, county and federal law enforcement officials protected the respectable residents from the large, disorderly border crowd. Shortly after Thomas H. Rynning became captain of the Arizona Rangers in September 1902, he moved the Ranger headquarters from Bisbee to Douglas. The law enforcement group, similar to the famous Texas Rangers, was secret and organized along para-military lines. The territorial government intended it to alleviate problems of livestock rustling and to patrol the international border. The rampant smuggling and frequent shootings in Douglas provided ample opportunity for the Rangers to prove their abilities as law enforcement agents. Rynning, who thought it inconsistent with the Ranger image to have their headquarters in anything other than a law-abiding town, immediately began a “clean-up.” In his memoirs he recalled,

“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 . . . Cattle thieves, murderers, all the worst hombres of the United States and Mexico made their headquarters there. The dance-halls were the worst I’ve ever seen on any frontier.”

In Rynning’s estimation the saloons operated by killer-cowboy Walker Bush were the worst. The Cowboy Saloon and the Coney Islands Number One and Number Two, were the hang-outs of a “gang of killers who’d been run out of Texas.” In a 1902 shooting, typical of many which occurred in Douglas, Arizona Ranger W.W. Webb killed a “monte” dealer named Lorenzo Bass in the Cowboy’s Home Saloon on Douglas’s infamous Sixth Street. Although Webb claimed self-defense, he was arrested, tried for murder, and after a four day trial in Tombstone, acquitted. Before the trial was completed, the saloon and the neighboring Copper Belt Theater burned to the ground, destroying all of the physical evidence in the case.<sup>44</sup>



The list of crimes reported in the newspapers in 1902 and 1903 reads like a dime novel. In a fairly typical incident in October 1903, "Douglas was shot-up by a group of unknown cowboys." The Abbey Saloon was robbed twice that year, both times by men who escaped into Mexico. In June two masked men held up the roulette game in the Cattle Exchange Saloon. In March, Captain Rynning's saddle was stolen off his horse's back in front of the Roy Hotel on the main street of town. Even more embarrassing, the famous ranger was unable to recover his property. During that same month Special Night Officer Scarborough was fined \$10.00 for disturbing the peace. In March 1904 Constable Date Graham found a hole in the jail wall and all of the prisoners gone. The frustrated constable resigned after two years service because he was tired of the constant complaints about his service. The attempted respectability appeared unsuccessful and Douglas residents began a campaign to incorporate the town, in the hope that municipal status would provide better protection.<sup>45</sup>

As early as 1903, residents of the respectable section of town successfully opposed the establishment of a saloon in their neighborhood. They made no attempt to eliminate saloons altogether, only to restrict their migration out of the "tenderloin" district. In 1905, seventy-five saloons in the central business district seemed enough and residents attempted to reduce the number of licenses issued for bars and pool halls and to restrict their hours. Saloon-owners who opposed the suggested restriction were so indignant they wanted to dissolve the city charter and reincorporate. The anti-saloon campaign in Douglas had limited success; after 1905, pool halls could only remain open for eighteen hours, from 6:00 a.m. to 12:00 midnight.<sup>46</sup>

In a city inhabited by so many single men, prostitution thrived. Estimates were that between one and three hundred women worked as prostitutes in Douglas's red light district. Respectable residents of the town saw to it that their activities were restricted to a four-block section west of H Avenue on Sixth Street. The intersection of Sixth and H became the heart of the tenderloin district. On the west end of Sixth, women lived in flats or row houses, several to an apartment. The prostitutes were fairly well organized under different madams and "gentlemen," frequently the owners of saloons. In 1904, two "hotels" at this intersection had women proprietresses, indicating that some of the prostitution businesses were owned and operated by the women themselves. Articles in local newspapers frankly reported the escapades of prostitutes. In 1904 Josey Grey, "better known in underworld circles as 'Hun' ", attempted suicide, which reported the incident clearly expressed the prevailing resentment of the prostitutes; its title was, "She Didn't Take Enough." The following year, Thomas Rynning, who also acted as United States marshal, arrested Ed Wettergreen, the proprietor of the Linwood Hotel, "a Sixth Street resort," for importing women into the United States for immoral purposes. He also arrested two women, who were Mexican nationals, and the bartender in the hotel, a former peace officer at Paradise, Arizona. Dr. Adamson, who regularly treated several prostitutes as patients, described an incident in which one of the madams



invited all of her rivals and their gentlemen callers to an outdoor “block party”. She provided quantities of punch, spiked with something that “induced an immediate and dangerous unconsciousness.” In the middle of the night the doctor received a frantic phone call from his patient, the Madam. He rushed to Sixth Street and found victims of the punch passed out all over the street. He described that night, which he spent in the street pumping stomachs, as the “hardest day’s work of his entire practice.”<sup>47</sup>

Homeowners east of G Avenue on Sixth Street became increasingly embarrassed by the reputation of their street. By 1914, they had changed the name of the respectable portion of Sixth Street to Greene. In 1907 and again in 1917, a series of city ordinances attempted to reduce and restrict the number of prostitutes working in Douglas. The 1917 ordinance contained nine sections which strictly prohibited prostitution, solicitation for prostitution, or transportation to a brothel. The ordinance, although not employed to eliminate prostitution, enabled city policy to limit the area in which prostitutes worked and to restrict their methods of solicitation. Police rounded up the prostitutes on a bi-monthly basis, hauled them into city court and fined them. City police eventually required all houses of prostitution to place red lights above their doors.<sup>48</sup>

World War I, with its great influx of soldiers and single laborers in Douglas, marked the high-point for prostitution in the city. Although the Sixth Street prostitutes included women of every racial and ethnic background, a large number of Negro women began to work in the district after the army stationed several units of “all colored” troops at Camp Harry J. Jones. Two of these women prospered and remained in business in Douglas for several decades. The proprietress of a hotel at 346 Seventh Street, Maudie Gilmore, eventually owned properties all over town. In her capacity as a landlady, she made frequent purchases in Douglas business establishments. Not believing in banks, she always paid cash, which she carried rolled in her stockings. When the James Douglas family moved away from Douglas, she purchased their Cadillac and kept it conspicuously parked in front of her hotel. Another well-known Negro lady of the night, “Roxie,” resided at 307 Sixth Street. Old-timers remember her as a tiny woman with almost white skin, well liked for her kindness and generosity, in spite of her trade.<sup>49</sup>

In addition to the saloons and prostitutes, several more respectable businesses in Douglas catered to the needs of single men. Builders constructed numerous small hotels, rooming houses, and two-room apartments or flats. The Copper State Brewery distributed bottled beer all over the state. The Brewery’s convenient location on West Ninth Street allowed smelter workers to stop by on their way home from work and fill their empty lunch pails with beer. Several other beer companies had bottling facilities in Douglas. The Douglas Cigar Factory, operated by a Mexican entrepreneur from Nogalas, provided the city with hand-rolled cigars of the finest Mexican tobacco.<sup>50</sup>



## THE CORPORATE CIVIC LABOR TRIANGLE

The same businessmen who comprised the interlocking directorships of Douglas's development and utility companies became prominent in city government, on the school board, and in civic organizations. When the school trustees took office in 1903, they represented the same group of Douglas business entrepreneurs. Charles A. Overlock, one of the original townsite developers, and E.R. Pirtle, developer of the Pirtleville "addition," both served on the first board of education. Charles A. Overlock became president of the Chamber of Commerce when it opened on March 10, 1904. He also acted as the city's first mayor the following year. When Douglas incorporated as a city on May 15, 1905, all the city council members represented the commercial sector of Douglas's economy.<sup>51</sup>

The incorporation of Douglas as a municipality occurred long after all of the basic infrastructure for the fast-growing community was well in place. Nevertheless, residents felt the need to become an official municipality, anticipating that services would improve with elected officials directing the city. A lengthy newspaper campaign describing the need for a city sanitation department, better garbage collection, a health inspector, and better police and fire protection preceded the incorporation. The newspapers expressed concern that although smallpox cases had been reported, the city had no health officials. Editorials in 1905 complained that Douglas, with a population of nearly 7,000, was one of the largest cities in the United States still unincorporated. In addition, the town was still without a garbage wagon, and rotting vegetable matter had piled up in many back yards. Two committees, one formed by the Chamber of Commerce and the other representing the Douglas Businessman's Association, spearheaded the drive for incorporation. Phelps Dodge opposed the proposed city limits and delayed the incorporation briefly. At the company's insistence the railroad yards and smelter area remained outside the city limits. With the controversy resolved, the Cochise County Supervisors accepted the slate of city officers recommended by the Douglas committees. The new city officials, solid Douglas businessmen, took office on May 15. They included Charles A. Overlock as mayor, and as aldermen, William Adamson, D.T. Dunlap, Homer Pickett, Fred Haas, and A.O. Curry. After the first meeting of the City Council on May 20th, the group retired to the Haas Cafe for a big banquet. For the next two decades the elected mayors and councils represented Douglas businessmen.<sup>52</sup>

The mayor and council immediately began the work of cleaning up Douglas by appointing a "city marshal" and a "supervisor of streets." They adopted Ordinance Number Six for the regulation of the tenderloin district, defining the district as the lots fronting on Fifth and Sixth Streets between the alley which ran from G to H Avenue to the city limits. No prostitution was to be allowed outside of this area. A licensing ordinance, which would only allow gambling in one or two places, and which charged high fees for the sale of liquor, met



with immediate protest from the city's saloon keepers. An unsuccessful petition circulated by bar owners complained that since they sold nickle beers they should not have to pay high license fees. Aside from minor reforms Douglas's new municipal status actually changed the town very little. The same group of businessmen who had directed the city's development already ran the school board and now served as Douglas's mayor and city council.<sup>53</sup>

The business elite who constituted the civic branch of the Douglas triad were well aware that the commercial activities of the city depended on the industrial corporations and the laborers who worked for them. They expressed a healthy respect for both the corporations and the huge payrolls which left the smelters and the railroad yards. Initially a cooperative atmosphere existed between the business community, the corporations, and the working men of the community. During the 1905 controversy over the inclusion of the railroad yards within the city limits, a *Dispatch* statement by a "representative citizen" from the business community denied charges of antagonism toward the Copper Queen, stating,

"I believe that politics is behind everything that has been said derogatory to the Copper Queen in Douglas, but when it comes to a business proposition, every citizen of the town, who has its welfare at heart, is with the company heart and soul. Douglas wants all good things we can get."<sup>54</sup>



*Douglas Daily International Newspaper office and newsboys. (Courtesy CCHAS 80.18.2)*



In 1903 the newspapers, which voiced the opinions of business, recognized the importance of the labor element to the Douglas economy, proudly announcing that the Labor Day parade “literally packed the streets with men of toil.” The unions marched in a spirit of boosterism, giving their enthusiastic support to the new town, more than to express worker solidarity. Following the mounted Arizona Rangers came thirty-five brick masons clad in white overalls, sixty members of the Carpenter’s Union wearing regulation aprons, 125 members of the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, machinists, boilermakers, electrical workers, and a few members of the Western Federation of Miners, who “made up with enthusiasm” what they “lacked in numbers.”<sup>55</sup>

Labor activism was never strong during the initial boom period in Douglas. However, after an initial “honeymoon,” labor began to make a few demands. Douglas employers often took action to reach settlements quickly. When linemen and wiremen working for the Douglas Improvement Company in 1903 called a work stoppage, attempting to raise their wages from \$3.00 to \$3.50 a day, Mr. Sexton fired them and published their names in the newspapers. When members of the typographical union walked out of the *Dispatch* office in 1904, the newspaper fired them all. Increased labor agitation accompanied the 1907 recession. In February, Mother Jones spoke at the Woodman’s Hall, and the *International American* reluctantly admitted that although she had socialist ideas, she was a “good talker.” In March, the bricklayers and carpenters walked off the job, bringing construction of the Immaculate Heart church to a halt. In Bisbee, the mines laid off 800 laborers ostensibly because of a fuel shortage; but the lay-off occurred one week after the Western Federation of Miners organized its first local in the district. In July the Western Federation of Miners moved into Douglas and attempted to organize the smelter. The businessmen of Douglas immediately responded to what they perceived as a major threat to the smooth operation of their city. In a set of resolutions printed on the front page of the newspapers, the business community denounced the Western Federation as an organization which used deplorable methods, concentrated on politicizing previously contented laborers, and disrupted communities. They labelled the union a “gang of agitating socialists.” In a statement which revealed how much the civic branch of the triad depended on the corporations maintaining a complacent labor force, the businessmen stated, “the welfare of working men in Douglas means the welfare of the businessmen here.” The resolution was accompanied by a list of all the men at the smelters who had signed up for the proposed local. An editorial urged the smeltermen now employed in Douglas not to be deceived by “the honeyed words of the Western Federation.” In 1907 the corporations, supported by Douglas’s civic-commercial group, won the struggle and the union’s efforts to organize Douglas failed.<sup>56</sup>

The biggest labor issue in Cochise County occurred during the war in July, 1917, when county law enforcement agents and mining officials organized a group of vigilantes and deported nearly 2,000 striking miners from Bisbee. The International Workers of the World became active in Bisbee early in 1917.



Patriotism and fear of German sabotage inspired a string of anti-strike reactions. Over 300 company sympathizers followed Deputy Percy Bowden in a pre-dawn car caravan from Douglas to Bisbee to join the vigilantes. Although company officials feared a supportive demonstration for the strikers in Douglas, the deportation train, loaded with striking miners, sped past the Douglas depot, and Douglas labor had no opportunity to express its solidarity.<sup>57</sup>

The year 1907 marked a slight change of course in the development of Douglas. Although building slowed, the 1907 panic had only a minor effect on local business. In 1907, the Arizona territorial legislature took a giant step towards respectability. After Easter Day, gambling “and kindred immoral practices” became illegal. The law, by stipulating that women could not remain in saloons or places where liquor were sold, made prostitution slightly more difficult. The Cochise County Sheriff anticipated problems since most Douglas saloon-keepers had already stated that they did not intend to comply. However, in spite of the recalcitrance of the saloon-keepers, the forces of respectability gradually won out in Douglas and in the rest of the territory. By 1910, Douglas had moved into a more staid phase of its development.<sup>58</sup>

## **BORDERTOWN**

The physical location of Douglas, on the international boundary with Mexico, and the connection with Mexican business and culture shaped the city’s physical appearance, social structure and commercial activity. From the inception of the city, business with Mexico proved to be one of the most important sources of commercial revenue. Mexicans came from all over northern Sonora to make purchases in Douglas. During his thirty years in office, Mexican President Porfirio Diaz had created a favorable foreign investment climate, and large American corporations as well as individuals with small amounts of capital were heavily invested in nearby Sonora and Chihuahua. The web of economic interdependency was intricate. Residents of Douglas owned mines, businesses and hardware stores in the villages of northern Sonora. Several Arizona cattlemen, like John Slaughter, Marion Williams, Walter Hewitt, and “Daddy” Packard owned ranches in Sonora, and a number of Mexican ranchers lived part of the year in Douglas. Douglas became a major crossing point for Mexican cattle, and cattle brokers like Elias and Justiani maintained offices in Douglas.<sup>59</sup>

The railroad connections to Nacozari and Guaymas stimulated the development of Douglas as a supply point for prospectors and mining and real estate investors. Mexico maintained a consulate in Douglas. The International Law Office of Gregg and Viesca, which specialized in Mexican land law, mining law and water rights, had offices in the Pirtle-Douglas building. A regular newspaper column reported on business investments in Sonoran natural resources. As early as 1903, six Sonoran mining companies maintained offices in Douglas. Although the majority of Mexican mining companies in Douglas were owned by Americans, Mexican entrepreneurs like Emiliano Corella, owner



of the Mexico Exploration and Mines Company, promoted American investment in Mexican mines. Mexican real estate firms advertised “good buys” in Agua Prieta to Douglas investors. The Mining Exchange promoted Sonoran mines, and after March 11, 1904, The Douglas Stock Exchange sold stocks in many Sonoran companies. Mexican mining companies advertised the sale of stock issues in Douglas papers, and directors of the companies held their meetings in Douglas. In February 1904, a group of entrepreneurs representing Jay Gould’s interests visited Douglas to investigate the exploitation of Sonoran and Chihuahuan minerals and lumber. In 1904, the United States and Mexico Development Company, capitalized at one and a half million dollars by eastern investors, established its main offices in Douglas. Interpreters and general agents, like Carlos Loaiza of Agua Prieta advertised in the Douglas papers. Customs brokers did a thriving business. Residents of Douglas took advantage of the opportunity for entertainment in Agua Prieta. In 1903 Henry C. Beumler, president of the Atlas Mining Bureau, built a bull ring in Agua Prieta with a seating capacity of 10,000. Its entertainments included bull fights, bull and dog fights, cock fights, boxing matches, and rodeos. After 1904 Douglas residents could ride the street car directly to the bull ring.<sup>60</sup>

The growth of Agua Prieta largely followed that of its companion city north of the border. When construction of the Ferrocarril de Nacozari began in 1899 a small settlement grew up just south of the international border near the Agua Prieta springs in a grove of stately mesquite trees. Appropriately, the ruins of an ancient Spanish smelter stood just north of the village site. Most of the railroad construction workers lived in tents or brush *jacales* (shacks); as late as 1902 Agua Prieta had only eight or ten adobe houses with tin roofs. By 1903, there were about fifty houses in the vicinity. In that year, Tomas Fregoso designed a town plan, and A. Mendoza surveyed the site in order to incorporate the *fondo legal* (municipality) under Mexican law. Douglas newspapers announced that American citizens could now purchase property and obtain a legal title. The railroad, which had reached the small settlement at Cos as early as 1900, was completed to Nacozari in 1904. With the railroad in place and both smelters in operation in 1904, laborers began to move to Agua Prieta from surrounding Sonoran towns. Many Mexican nationals crossed the line to work in the smelters and on Douglas construction jobs. Other Mexican nationals lived in Douglas’s “Ragtown” area close to the international line.<sup>61</sup>

Agua Prieta’s population increased slowly and steadily until 1910 when the dislocation caused by the Mexican Revolution forced thousands of refugees to flee to the border. In 1910 Francisco Madero revolted against Mexican dictator Porfirio Diaz. The insecure situation slowed border transactions, but indirectly stimulated the Douglas economy by bringing in a large number of U.S. military personnel. In November, 1910, one hundred members of the First Cavalry began patrolling the border to see that neutrality laws were maintained, and in 1911 the Justice Department sent special investigators to Douglas to look into gun



Actual battles close to Douglas began in March and April 1911, when revolutionary troops under General Jose Blanco captured the El Tigre Mine and revolutionary armies attacked the Federal garrison in Agua Prieta. On April 13, after a pitched battle, General "Red" Lopez defeated federal forces in Agua Prieta, while in Douglas, a cheering crowd of 5,000 enthusiastic pro-rebel on-lookers gathered to watch the battle from roof-tops, railroad cars and hotel windows. Stray bullets crossed the border, wounded over a dozen people, and killed a railroad switchman. Numerous bullets hit the "colored" Second Street School building. "Rawhide" Jimmy Douglas, caught in the Agua Prieta train depot, took refuge behind a large safe. After the battle, Douglas and Elmo Pirtle drove many Mexican wounded into Douglas for treatment.<sup>64</sup>

When the Mexican Revolution began in 1910, many Mormon families lived in Chihuahua and Sonora. Most of the Mormons, former residents of Utah, were refugees from United States laws which required the breaking up of polygamous families. In Sonora since the late 1800s, Mormons had established substantial ranches and farms and operated feed and grocery businesses and flour mills at Colonia Oaxaca and Colonia Morelos, a two-day ride south of the border at Douglas. In September 1912, Douglas was already crowded with refugees from the Revolution, and during that month nearly three hundred Mormons arrived by wagon from the Colonias. Many of them expected to return shortly to Mexico and left most of their possessions behind. The American government assisted the Mormons in their relocation, setting up a temporary tent camp in the Fifteenth Street Park, near the army camp where the cavalry stabled their horses. During the next few years the political situation in Mexico worsened and many of the Mormon refugees decided to give up polygamy and settle permanently in the town.<sup>65</sup>

By October, 1915, the battles in northern Mexico increased in brutality and destructiveness, and Douglas residents lost some of their revolutionary enthusiasm. Expecting Pancho Villa to attack the Federal forces which guarded Agua Prieta, General Plutarcho Elias Calles reinforced the town with elaborate trenches, six three-inch field guns and thirty machine guns. The United States Army stationed 6,000 troops from the Ninth Cavalry, and the Sixth Field Artillery in Douglas. The army reinforced the border with a series of protective trenches. A few days before Villa's expected attack, the United States permitted over 3,000 Federal troops to be transported on the El Paso and Southwestern Railroad from Mexican towns on the Texas border. The Federal troops disembarked at the new Douglas depot and marched down Pan American Avenue to the border to fight. Villa's attack began before dawn on November 1 and continued for three horrible days and nights. Huge spotlights illuminated the battle field at night with electricity supplied by Douglas Traction and Light Co. Some authors have claimed that the spotlights belonged to the United States and were actually stationed on American soil. Many Villistas, who were pinned down under heavy fire, became crazed with thirst, and in their desperation drank from the poisonous ditch water which drained from the smelter vats. The Federal



forces soundly defeated Villa's troops, and during the night of November 3, the Villistas crept away defeated.<sup>66</sup>

Although Villa's troops attempted not to fire toward the United States side of the border, wild shots hit many Douglas buildings. Corporal Harry J. Jones, for whom the Douglas army camp was later named, died from a wound received while guarding an ammunition wagon behind the American trenches. Douglas officials set up a refugee camp at Pirtleville northwest of Douglas, and the hospital treated many wounded Mexicans. Old-timers in Douglas still remember watching the fight and carrying food and water to the wounded and dying during lulls in the battle.<sup>67</sup>

The threat to Douglas citizens from revolutionary activity in Mexico affected a change in the attitude of Douglas residents toward Mexico. As the revolution proceeded, the American investment climate changed radically. Mexican revolutionary groups nationalized American mines, threatened the lives of small miners and businessmen, and drove most of the American residents out of northern Sonora. With the advent of World War I, the tone of optimism expressed in the newspapers changed to one of fear. American residents of the border were well aware that German propagandists had been active in northern Mexico and feared both infiltration and actual sabotage of border industry. They believed the copper industry, essential to the war effort, to be particularly vulnerable to attack. Border residents began to perceive their proximity to Mexico as a threat rather than an advantage. Although Mexican citizens continued to trade in Douglas, American investment in Mexico diminished radically. The tone of solicitousness and optimism toward Mexico which prevailed among Douglas businessmen before the revolution never returned.<sup>68</sup>



*Arthur House, 1212 Ninth Street. Note the recent paving and new trees. (Eleanor Arthur Gardiner Collection, courtesy CCHAS 81.32.18)*



## NEIGHBORHOODS AND ETHNIC ENCLAVES

A series of socially segregated neighborhoods developed in Douglas. The neighborhoods followed a pattern of ethnic and class segregation, and exhibited a building style which reflected the culture of the group that resided in the area. The Douglas "400" lived in the area between Eighth and Fifteenth Streets and between D and Carmelita Avenues. The "400," a designation which the group facetiously applied to themselves, made reference to the wealthiest 400 residents of New York City. Executives of the mining and railroad companies, lawyers, doctors, contractors, real estate developers, undertakers, cattle buyers, saloon owners and ranchers who maintained houses in town, resided in this elegant neighborhood. By 1906, Douglas had solved many of its civic engineering problems. Some of the streets in the elite neighborhood were paved and had sidewalks. Drainage ditches prevented flooding. The park had trees and grass, and the city had provided water and sewage systems. Some of the streets even had lamps. Residents of the "400" enjoyed a comfortable life in a gracious and orderly setting. The neighborhood remained almost exclusively Anglo; only a few wealthy Mexicans and Jewish merchants found admittance inside its invisible barriers.



*P.G. Beckett's Home (later Phelps Dodge Guest House). (Edith Sharpe Collection, courtesy CCHAS 83.35.4A)*

Within this neighborhood, on the streets surrounding Tenth Street Park, the Copper Queen, Calumet & Arizona and El Paso & Southwestern constructed large elegant houses for their executives and guests. The life styles of many of the residents of the "400" were sumptuous, and reflected eastern and even European tastes. When Phelps Dodge Vice President P.G. Beckett, an Englishman with a bent for elegant entertaining, lived in one of the Copper Queen's executive houses, he maintained two servants, and a game room complete with palm trees, ping pong and pool tables for his friends. "Rawhide" Jimmy Douglas, a friend of United States presidents, also maintained a number of servants and gave elaborate entertainments for foreign dignitaries, diplomats, and many international celebrities.<sup>69</sup>



Residents of the “Four Hundred” neighborhood made every effort to keep it respectable. A petition with over one hundred signatures immediately stopped an attempt to open a saloon at Fifteenth Street and F Avenue. It stated that, “since the first building was commenced in Douglas, the International Improvement Company has endeavored to keep the saloons in one part of town and the residents in another.” Restrictions incorporated in deeds prevented unwholesome and immoral uses of property. The deed which transferred the residence at 905 D Avenue from the Copper Queen Mining Co. (Stuart French, attorney) to Former Mayor William Adamson in 1916 explicitly stated:

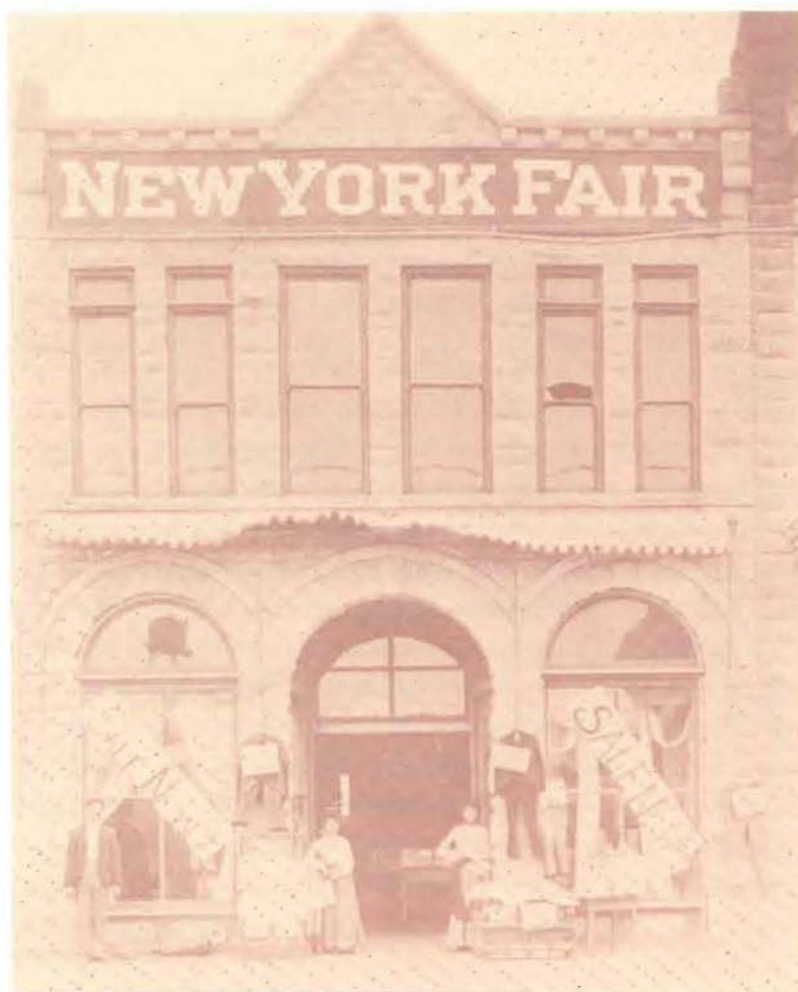
the premises or any part thereof [could not be used] for the purposes of slaughter house, cow stable, hog pen, storing hides, or other noxious, unwholesome or offensive trade, calling or business . . . , and [owners] shall not use or occupy . . . said premises . . . for the assemblage of men and women for lewd or immoral purposes, or for public places or saloons where women are allowed to sing or dance or, to indulge in serving or drinking wine, beer or spiritous liquors.<sup>70</sup>

Jewish merchants arrived in Douglas only a few years after the town began. The Dispatch reported February 28, 1912 that Douglas’s “large Hebrew community” was attempting to raise money to build a synagogue. Although the Jewish community in Douglas became large enough to have a minyon, i.e., the ten men required to create a formal congregation, and to bring in a rabbi, the Jews of Douglas failed to build the proposed synagogue. The Jewish residents of Douglas made immediate successes of their dry goods, clothing and general merchandise businesses. William Kline was a prominent contractor and constructed one of Douglas’s most important business buildings, the Kline Block on Tenth Street. Most outstanding of Douglas’s Jews were the Levy brothers who arrived from Connecticut in 1902. They opened a small dry goods store, The Red Star, on Eighth Street. Within a few years it grew into a thriving business, Levy Brothers Dry goods at 916 G Avenue. The “Douglas 400” accepted the wealthiest of the Jewish merchants into their neighborhood, and several became part of the Douglas power elite.<sup>71</sup>

Ranchers and cattle traders who could afford it maintained houses in Douglas in order to send their children to school and to do business in town. Many prominent Mexican cattlemen had second homes in Douglas so that their children could obtain a bi-lingual education. Most of the wealthy Mexican ranchers resided within the “400”, although a few lived at the northern edge of the Mexican barrio in substantially larger houses than were the norm for that neighborhood.<sup>72</sup>

Although no specific Mormon neighborhood developed in Douglas, members of the large families tended to settle in family groups. By 1917, Douglas had two churches of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. The main church was an adobe structure on the southeast corner of C Avenue and Twenty-first Street





*New York Fair Store Going Out of Business Sale. (Barbara Meloy Collection, courtesy CCHAS 80.1.5)*

and a second “Reorganized” church existed briefly at the corner of Seventeenth and C Avenue. Among the important Mormon families, several members of the Haymore family lived on Eighth Street; the Haynie families lived close to the Mormon church on Sixteenth and Seventeenth Streets; and Lorenzo Huish built so many houses for his extensive family that an area on Fifth Street became known as Huishville.<sup>73</sup>

During Douglas’s boom years, several separate areas received the name “Ragtown.” The original Ragtown was the tent city on Railroad Avenue which housed construction workers during the initial housing shortage. Eventually, it moved farther north, across the railroad tracks north of Sixteenth Street outside the city limits. It persisted long after respectable residents of the town thought suitable. As late as 1907, newcomers still lived in their wagons or in improvised shelters until they had enough money to obtain better housing. Other tent cities grew up during the Mexican Revolution for both Mormon and Mexican refugees, but they were of a more temporary nature and did not provoke criticism from Douglas residents. The main area where the derogatory name persisted was the Ragtown immediately north of the international border,



between First and Fourth Streets. With no fence to separate the two countries, many Mexican nationals crowded into the southern part of Douglas. In this neighborhood, houses were smaller, crowded, frequently made of adobe, and the standard of living was considerably lower than in the rest of Douglas. The city delayed in providing services for this neighborhood. Residents maintained their own wells rather than connecting to the municipal water system; the area had outhouses longer than any other part of town; "Ragtown" was one of the last parts of the city to have paved streets. The 1904 City Directory gives Ragtown as an official address; the majority of residents had Hispanic names and were listed as laborers.<sup>74</sup>

The Mexican-American neighborhood incorporated Ragtown and extended as far north as Sixth Street. Only an occasional wealthy Hispanic family resided north of an invisible dividing line at Seventh Street. Douglas had few middle class Mexicans, and most of the Mexican-owned businesses in the city were small and catered to Mexican clientele. Although a few wealthy Mexican nationals maintained residences in Douglas, the vast majority of the Mexican-American population were laborers, many of whom worked in the smelters. While the power elite of Douglas interacted socially with their counterparts in northern Sonoran towns, and Douglas newspapers even reported the charity balls and social events held in Agua Prieta, Douglas's middle class and lower class Anglo residents remained aloof from the Mexican population. The social segregation extended to an exclusion from political participation. Until the early 1950s no Mexican served as city councilman, even from wards which were dominantly Mexican in population.<sup>75</sup>

The Mexican neighborhood exhibited a distinctly Mexican style of architecture. Houses were placed closer together and nearer to the street, allowing room for larger back yards or patios. There were many row houses, and adobe was the predominant building material. The Seventh Street School, now named Sarah Marley for its principal of many years, had an almost entirely Mexican enrollment. Although school officials and teachers punished children for speaking Spanish on the school grounds, many old-timers in Douglas, both Hispanic and Anglo, believe that the school provided excellent education for its students. In 1910, the illiteracy rate for Douglas was ten percent for the general population, but twenty percent for foreign-born whites, most of whom were Mexican. In 1920, 610 of the 7,625 residents of the city over ten years of age were illiterate; 560 of the illiterates were foreign born.<sup>76</sup>

The pattern of neighborhood segregation followed the discriminatory practices of the smelters, which were typical of industry in the southwest during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Mexican immigrants and Mexican-Americans comprised fifty to sixty percent of the industrial labor force of the southwestern corporate giants, Phelps Dodge, ASARCO, and Anaconda. Throughout the Southwest, Hispanic labor was subjected to "pervasive social and economic discrimination. Housing, education, and recreation typically were



segregated.” Although Mexican laborers in Douglas established a branch of the Sociedad Mutualista de Obreros Mexicanos at 406 Eighth Street in 1901, the organization aimed at mutual self-help rather than at union-style action, and was ineffective at combatting local company discrimination. Phelps Dodge employed a long established unofficial policy of segregating employees into “Mexican gangs;” they used a dual wage rate and discriminated against Mexicans in assignment and promotion. Companies employed the leasing or contract system in which selected workers were given a portion of a mine to work and hired their own crews and paid their wages. Under this system miners received as little as \$1.62 per day. Many Mexican nationals, accustomed to receiving a lower wage, lived in Agua Prieta and either walked or rode the street car to work. After 1910 the dislocation and unemployment which occurred during the Mexican Revolution drove many refugees into Douglas and other border cities and increased the already ample supply of Mexican laborers. Anxious to obtain jobs, Mexicans tolerated the discriminatory management practices with only occasional organized opposition. During the 1920s, competition for jobs led to severe wage differentials; for identical work, Anglos received \$4.40 per day, while Mexicans were paid \$2.75.<sup>77</sup>

Much of the Mexican business activity took place in “Oro Y Plata,” near Third Street and Railroad Avenue, so named because transactions could be done in either American (*oro*, gold) or Mexican (*plata*, silver) currency. The prevailing Anglo opinion in Douglas was that “anything went” in this “free and easy” neighborhood. However, the “Oro Y Plata” district, although close in proximity, remained distinct from the Sixth Street section of saloons. The newspapers reported few arrests in the area. The majority of Mexican-owned businesses in Douglas were located in this neighborhood and consisted of small businesses and grocery stores. Outside of this neighborhood, Mexican proprietors owned only two substantial enterprises. In 1904, one of the few Mexican businesses which advertised in the newspaper belonged to A. Aguirre. Billed as a “Mexican Grocery Store” it operated at the corner of 15th Street and D Avenue, beyond the limits of the barrio. H. Rivera’s wholesale grocery was the largest Hispanic-owned business in Douglas during this period. His building at 316 Tenth Street still bears the Rivera name prominently outlined in brick. Mr. Rivera’s family resided on Eleventh Street, in one of the largest houses in Douglas, well inside “the 400.” A small group of immigrants from Spain lived on First Street, adjacent to the international boundary in “Ragtown.” Dr. E.W. Adamson recalled that, “the Spanish were very clannish, especially as to Mexicans with whom they would have no traffic.”<sup>78</sup>

Lebanese immigrants created another neighborhood which formed a bridge between the Mexican area and the business district. Several Lebanese families arrived with the first settlers of the town. They established themselves in the area near Ninth Street and H Avenue, operating wholesale grocery, produce and feed businesses. Situated between the Mexican, Anglo, “red light,” and business districts, the Arabic-speaking Christian Lebanese quickly learned both



Spanish and English. Their H Avenue neighborhood area evolved into one of the few integrated neighborhoods in Douglas. A distinctive feature of the H Avenue neighborhood was the proliferation of “flats,” or single-story row apartment buildings, and small businesses. “Chino Arabe”, Rafael Salem, arrived in Douglas in 1901 and worked as a cook and dishwasher in the Railroad Avenue tent city. After a variety of menial jobs which included selling vegetables from a two-wheeled cart, painting the stacks on the smelter, operating a food stand on Ninth and G Avenue, he eventually went into the wholesale grocery and vegetable business and established Salem and Piper at 806 G Avenue. The company used the former G Avenue Natatorium as a warehouse, covering the swimming pool with wood. Mike Simon, another Lebanese immigrant, operated feed stores, and other members of his family had groceries. In contrast to Rafael Salem, who did not believe in owning property, the Simons invested extensively in real estate. Members of the family lived on the south side of Ninth Street between H and I, and owned rental units and business properties on both the south and north sides of the street. Mike Simon built the “flats” at 349 Seventh Street, and owned other flats in the 700 block of H Avenue, and on the north side of Sixth Street west of H Avenue and the south side of Sixth Street and H Avenue.<sup>79</sup>

Although census figures reported only fifty-two Negroes in 1910 and 171 in 1920, the total number of Blacks in Douglas was possibly two or three times greater since many resided in the Railroad and Settlers Addition outside the city limits. During World War I, Douglas had a substantial Black population. Blacks came to work in Douglas industries, and some of the soldiers from all Black units stationed at Camp Harry J. Jones remained in Douglas after their tour of duty terminated. Douglas was a segregated town, and provided two “Colored” elementary schools for Black children, one at Fifth Street and F Avenue and another single classroom in the Second Street School at C Avenue. Blacks established three churches before the war. The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church (now torn down) at 529 Greene Street, and the Mt. Olive Colored Baptist Church at 529 Fifth Street, were both erected in 1904. The St. James African Methodist Episcopal Church at 833 Sixteenth Street was built later. Douglas had two Black hotels or rooming houses, one on Seventeenth Street near the railroad, another on Eleventh Street and H Avenue. The International Hotel on Eighth and H Avenue operated as an integrated hotel in later years.<sup>80</sup>

Although more than one hundred Black families lived scattered all over Douglas, small Black enclaves developed on the south side of town near the school and two churches, and on Sixteenth and Seventeenth Streets near the railroad tracks. Douglas integrated its school system before the federal government requirement, but for many years Black children who wanted to attend high school had to be transported to Bisbee. The Ku Klux Klan, active in Douglas through the 1920s, burned several crosses on Chevrolet Hill, east of town, and demonstrated in front of the Immaculate Conception Church.



According to the accountant who maintained their books, the Klan had over one hundred members during its peak years and charged dues of \$5 per quarter. During the Depression, the Klan died out, because "folks in those days couldn't even afford to buy the sheet." With the dwindling of industry in Douglas many Blacks left town.<sup>81</sup>

## THE END OF THE BOOM

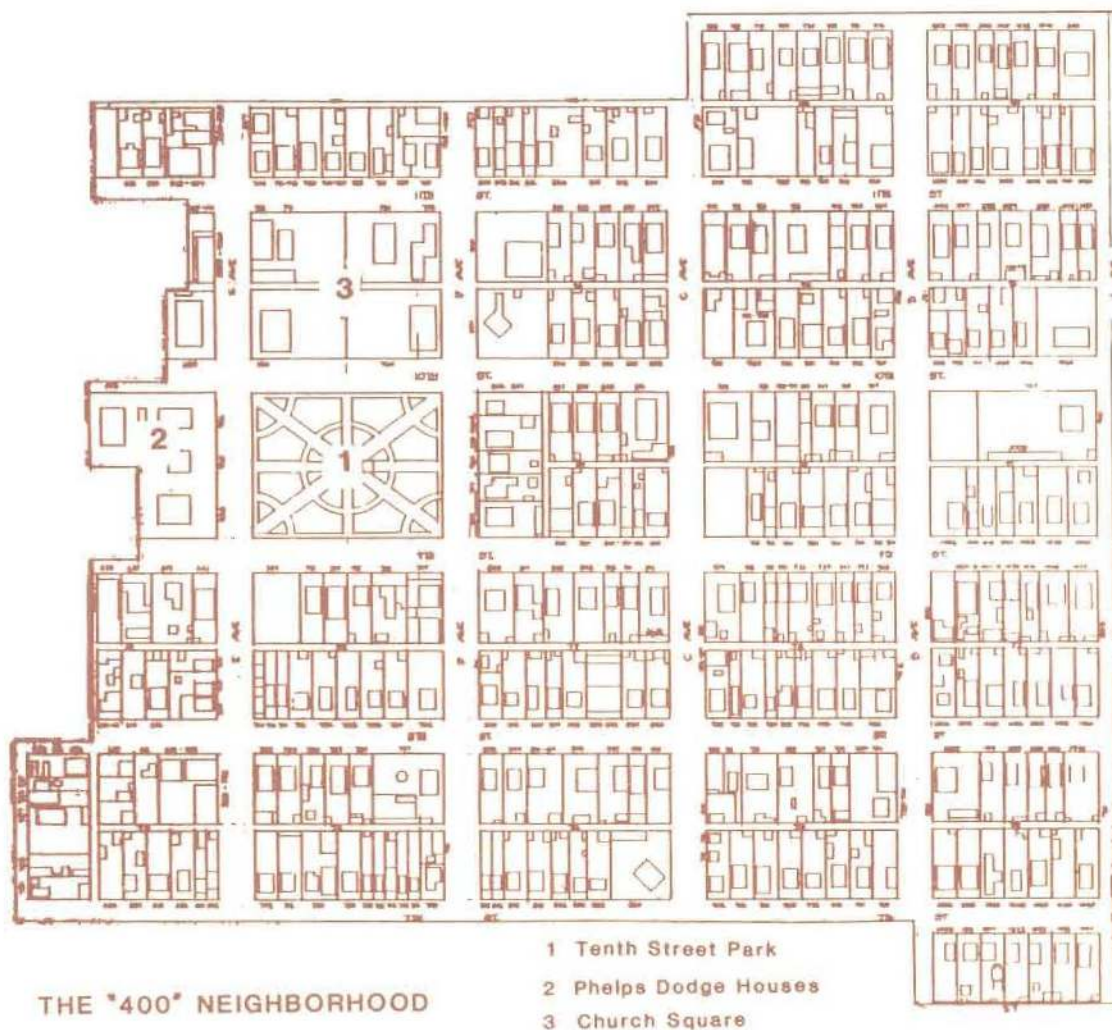
The high point of the Douglas boom came during World War I. Indispensable to the war effort, copper bars poured out of both smelters in unprecedented numbers; the railroad shipped record amounts of freight, and the Douglas population swelled with over 20,000 National Guardsmen and regular army troops stationed at Camp Harry J. Jones. In 1918 the Copper Queen Smelter employed 1,600 men, the Calumet & Arizona smelter employed 700, and the El Paso & Southwestern Railroad 600. The customs house on the border stayed busy with the increased importation of Mexican cattle and illegal liquor. Arizona had gone "dry" on December 6, 1916, several years before New Mexico and the rest of the nation. Night clubs, bars and private social clubs blossoming all over Agua Prieta, became very popular with Douglas residents, and brought tourists from all over the state. In 1919 Cochise County and Phelps Dodge cooperated on paving the road to Bisbee. During that year over \$300,000 worth of building was completed in Douglas.<sup>82</sup>

But the boom only lasted as long as the war. As soon as the war ended, the demand for copper dropped; many of Douglas's laborers found themselves unemployed and the town's commercial activity slowed. By April 15, 1921 both smelters closed and remained inactive for nine months. In the days before unemployment insurance, the Salvation Army provided most of the relief. The Copper Queen found temporary employment for some of its Mexican laborers in the cotton fields, and attempted to sustain others with credit. But many former Phelps Dodge employees moved away to find work. After smelter operations resumed in 1922, production increased gradually, another brief boom occurred during the late 1920s, but ended abruptly with the 1929 crash. Another blow to Douglas's economy came when the Southern Pacific absorbed the El Paso & Southwestern in 1924. The larger railroads initiated an increasingly disadvantageous freight rate and contributed to Douglas's post-war decline. The economic recession which followed World War I dealt a heavy blow to the economy of Douglas. Although periodically the copper industry revived, Douglas never again enjoyed the phenomenal growth or prosperity of its first two decades.<sup>83</sup>

The copper industry dominated the history of Douglas during its twenty-year boom period. Compared to other single industry towns, a fairly large variety of commercial activists flourished in Douglas. Nevertheless, the highly capitalized mining corporations and their subsidiary enterprises determined the economic life of the town. The presence of a large elite class of corporate executives and



professionals during the town's formative years shaped its social life and contributed to the exclusion of Mexican-Americans, the majority of the town's population, from social organizations and subsequently from political participation. Douglas contained several distinct and separate neighborhoods that presented a contrast in appearance, architectural style, and culture which could normally only be found in a much larger city. Although Douglas's ethnically segregated neighborhoods were typical of border towns during the first two decades of the century, the absence of a commercially and politically active Mexican-American middle class was unusual. The corporate civic labor triad worked efficiently together to produce a physically pleasant, prosperous community in which the majority of the residents pursued "the good life" with vigor and optimism. However, the benefits of the boom were not equitably distributed, and power within the cooperating triad was heavily balanced on the corporate side. As soon as the copper industry faltered, the boom was over, and the civic and labor branches of the triangle bore the burden of the end of the boom.







#### MEXICO/UNITED STATES BORDER

DOUGLAS NEIGHBORHOODS      1 Douglas Commercial District      2 H Avenue District  
 3 The "400" District      4 "Ragtown" & "Oro Y Plata"

#### ENDNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Ronald U. Cooke and Richard W. Reeves, *Arroyos and Environmental Change in the American Southwest* (London: Oxford University Press, 1976) 37-39; Jay J. Waggoner, *Early Arizona, Prehistory to Civil War*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1975) part 1.

<sup>2</sup> Janet R. Fireman, *The Spanish Royal Corps of Engineers in the Western Borderlands, 1764 to 1815* (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1977) 53-55; Max L. Moorhead, *The Presidio, Bastion of the Spanish Borderlands* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975) chs. 1 and 4; Herbert Eugene Bolton *Coronado, Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., and University of New Mexico Press, 1949) ch. 9; Waggoner, *Early Arizona*, parts 1-4.

<sup>3</sup> James Ohio Pattie, *The Personal Narrative of James Ohio Pattie of Kentucky*, ed. Timothy Flint (reprint 1831 ed. Chicago, R.R. Donnelley, 1930); General Phillip St. George Cooke, "Journal of the March of the Mormon Battalion, 1846-1848," *Exploring Southwestern Trails*, ed. Ralph P. Bieber, 7 (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1938); John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora and Chihuahua* (Chicago: The Rio Grande Press, 1956, reprint of 1845 ed.); William H. Emory, *Lieutenant Emory Reports* (reprint of *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance*, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1951); Michael Erskine, *The Diary of Michael Erskine* ed. J. Evetts Haley (Midland, Texas: The Nita Stewart Haley Memorial Library, 1979). The Erskine diary tells of driving cattle to California by this route.

<sup>4</sup> Allen E. Erwin, *The Southwest of John Horton Slaughter* (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark, 1965) 161-63; Leonard Alverson, "True Experiences," (unpublished ms., Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, 1938) 2.

<sup>5</sup> H.H. Langdon, *James Douglas, A Memoir* (Toronto, Canada: The University of Toronto Press, privately printed, 1940) chs. 4, 5, 6; James Douglas, "Notes on the Development of Phelps, Dodge and Co.'s Copper and Railroad Interests," (January, 1906, privately printed) n.p.



<sup>6</sup> Robert Glass Cleland, *A History of Phelps Dodge, 1834-1950* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952) ch. 6; H.H. Langdon, *James Douglas*, ch. 9; and James Douglas, "Notes," n.p.

<sup>7</sup> Douglas, "Notes" n.p.

<sup>8</sup> Douglas, "Notes," n.p.

<sup>9</sup> Cleland, *A History of Phelps Dodge*, 141-150; Robert F. Jeffrey, "The History of Douglas, Arizona," M.A. thesis, University of Arizona, 1951) 18-22. The 1913 depot cost \$75,000; it was beautifully landscaped with fountains and gardens designed by an Italian landscape architect.

<sup>10</sup> Cleland, *A History of Phelps Dodge*, 135-137; Robert F. Jeffrey, "The History of Douglas, Arizona," 8-10. Members of the Overlock group included S.K. Williams, J.E. Brock, Lemuel Shattuck, P.H. Whitney and Alfred Paul, most of whom later became directors of the International Land and Improvement Co.

<sup>11</sup> Cleland, *A History of Phelps Dodge*, ch 8; Jeffrey, "Douglas," 8. Articles of Incorporation of The International Land and Improvement Company, Cochise County Recorder, *Book of Incorporations*, Book I, Bisbee, Arizona. C.L. Beckwith, S.W. Clawson, and M.J. Cunningham were also directors of the original company. Their names appeared on a number of the other corporations as well.

<sup>12</sup> Larry Schweikart, *A History of Banking in Arizona* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1982) 34-35; *Douglas Daily Dispatch* 8 November 1902

<sup>13</sup> Articles of Incorporation of The International Land and Improvement Company, Articles of Incorporation of The Bank of Douglas, Articles of Incorporation of The Douglas Street Railway Company, Articles of Incorporation of The Douglas Improvement Company, Articles of Incorporation of The Douglas Investment Company, Cochise County Recorder, *Book of Incorporations*, Book I, Bisbee, Arizona. The directors of the Douglas Improvement Company were M.J. Brophy, W.H. Brophy, S.W. French, J.S. Douglas, C.L. Beckwith, M.J. Cunningham, and S.F. Meguire.

<sup>14</sup> James B. Allen, *The Company Town in the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966) 33, 48-49, 146-47; Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities*, (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1938) 393. The first major western land boom occurred in southern California during the 1880s; it became a prototype for later booms. Based on a mining hoax, southern California real estate prices skyrocketed and subdivisions proliferated. Developers employed imaginative advertising to disguise whatever might be lacking in the land or in the services they provided. Although the boom in southern California left behind a legacy of ghost towns, it also left Los Angeles.

<sup>15</sup> Lewis Mumford, *The City in History* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1961) 454; Stanley Buder, *Pullman, An Experiment in Industrial Order and Community Planning, 1880-1930* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967) 42-45, 53-54; Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* 393; Langdon, *James Douglas* 113-115. According to H.H. Langton, Dr. Douglas's close friend and biographer, the mining executive was a Christian optimist and an adherent of the theories found in Wallace's *Social Environment and Moral Progress*. He believed that the application of Christian ethical standards along with the introduction of education would lead to the improvement of the laboring classes.

<sup>16</sup> Lawrence H. Larsen, *The Urban West at the End of the Frontier* (Lawrence: The Regents Press of Kansas, 1978) 51; *Douglas City Directory for 1904* (El Paso: Buck's City Directory, Co., May 1904). Original Douglas Townsite Map, 1901, City Hall, Douglas, Arizona; Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, 1904, 1909, 1914.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas H. Rynning, *Gun Notches, the Life Story of a Cowboy-Soldier* (New York: A.L. Burt Co., 1931) 206-222; Dr. E.W. Adamson, "The Dean's Tale," reprint, *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, 30 December 1939.

<sup>18</sup> Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910* (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1913); Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1920*, vol. III "Population" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1922); *Douglas 1917 City Directory*, Douglas City Directory Co., May 1, 1917.

<sup>19</sup> Bureau of the Census, 1910, 1920.

<sup>20</sup> Glenn S. Dumke, "Douglas, Border Town," *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 23, no. 3 (August



1948) 287 ff; Original Townsite Map; Sanborn Maps.

<sup>21</sup> Dumke, "Douglas" 287; Cleland, *A History of Phelps Dodge*, 137; Jeffrey, "A History of Douglas," ch. 1; *Douglas Pioneer Newspaper*, 8 June 1904; *Daily International American*, 8 May 1905; *Douglas Daily Dispatch* 4 October 1909.

<sup>22</sup> Dumke, "Douglas, Border Town," p. 287.

<sup>23</sup> Jeffrey, "A History of Douglas," ch. 1.

<sup>24</sup> *International American*, 1905; Joseph P. Lewis, "Memoirs," (unpublished ms., nd., in possession of Lewis family, Douglas, Arizona).

<sup>25</sup> *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, 18 March 1904. Residents made every effort to see that their town was a pleasant place to live. In 1907 a nurseryman arrived with 2,000 trees most of which had already been ordered by private citizens. Both mining companies attempted to create an atmosphere in which their employees and families would thrive. In March 1904, the Copper Queen planted 250 trees around Library Hall and the assay office.

<sup>26</sup> Ervin Bond, *Douglas Arizona*; Dr. Lynn Tuttle, "Douglas History as Recalled Back in 1936," reprint in *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, 3 February 1960; *Douglas Daily Dispatch* 7 September 1905.

<sup>27</sup> Joseph Miller, ed., *The Arizona Rangers*, 58-60; *Douglas Daily Dispatch* 14 February 1903, 24 January 1903, 26 April 1917.

<sup>28</sup> *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, 31 October 1975; *Douglas Pioneer Newspaper* 18 September 1905.

<sup>29</sup> Jeffrey, "History of Douglas," 18-21; Clara Barfoot Eades, personal interview, in possession of the author, 25 May 1985; *Douglas Daily Dispatch* 20 December, 13 December 1902. Frank Murphy of the Development Corporation of America planned a railroad from Douglas to Chihuahua to exploit the timber rich Sierra Madres.

<sup>30</sup> *Douglas Daily Dispatch* 14 February, 11 July, 1903; *Douglas Daily International* 18 February 1907.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Eugene Verdugo, Douglas, Arizona, 25 May 1985, in possession of the author; *Douglas City Directories* 1904, 1917.

<sup>32</sup> *Douglas City Directory*, 1917; Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, Dr. Lynn Tuttle "Douglas History;" *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, 3 February 1960; Englebrecht, Lloyd C. and June-Marie F. *Henry C. Trost; Architect of the Southwest*, (El Paso: El Paso Public Library Association, 1981); National Register of Historic Places Inventory-Nomination Form, "Architectural-History Survey of Douglas, Arizona," United States Department of the Interior, 1984.

<sup>33</sup> *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, 2 February, 8 February 1906, and Fiftieth Anniversary Edition, 1952.

<sup>34</sup> Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans, The National Experience* (New York: Random House, 1965) 296, 389; Robert S. and Hellen Merrell Lynd, *Middletown, A Study in American Culture* (New York: Harcourt Brace and Co., 1929) 484-489, 220-222; Richard Lingerman, *Small Town America, A Narrative History, 1620 to The Present* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1980).

<sup>35</sup> *Douglas Daily Dispatch* 8 November, 20 December 1902, 8 November 1903, 22 November 1904; *Douglas International American*, 20 September 1904, 26 March 1907.

<sup>36</sup> *Douglas Daily Dispatch* 22 November 1902, 6 December 1902, April 2, September 19, 1903.

<sup>37</sup> *Douglas Daily Dispatch* October 10, 1975.

<sup>38</sup> *Douglas City Directory* 1917; Records of the Benevolent Paternal Order of Elks, Douglas, Arizona.

<sup>39</sup> *Douglas International American*, 8 May 1905.

<sup>40</sup> Interview with Marjorie Dawe, Douglas, Arizona, 18 May 1985, in possession of the author.

<sup>41</sup> Dr. Lynn Tuttle, "Douglas History" *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, 3 February 1960.

<sup>42</sup> *Douglas Daily Dispatch* 17 December 1902, 27 September 1903, 15 February 1912; "Red" Hasty, personal interview, in possession of the author, May 20, 1985; *Douglas Pioneer Newspaper*, 1904; Dr. E.W. Adamson, "The Dean's Tale."

<sup>43</sup> "The Vags of Douglas Must Go." *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, 17 September 1903. A mounted security guard continued to patrol the city until the 1940s.

<sup>44</sup> Thomas H. Rynning, *Gun Notches* 206-222; Miller, *The Arizona Rangers* 58-60.



- <sup>45</sup> *Douglas Daily Dispatch* 7 March, 13 June, 17 October, 23 October, 1903; 6 March, 23 March, 12 April 1904.
- <sup>46</sup> *Douglas Daily Dispatch* 3 June 1903, 10 March 1905. Even after Arizona went dry in 1916 and the liquor traffic moved across the border to Agua Prieta, the town still catered to its single men. Twenty-seven billiard parlors remain listed in the 1917 city directory.
- <sup>47</sup> Ervin Bond, *Douglas, Arizona*; *Douglas Daily Dispatch* 16 August 1904, 18 August 1905; Dr. E.W. Adamson, "The Dean's Tale," n.p.
- <sup>48</sup> Douglas City Ordinances, 1917, Ordinance Number 177; *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, 9 February 1936.
- <sup>49</sup> Personal interview with Benone Huish, Douglas, May 19, 1985; *Douglas City Directory*, 1917.
- <sup>50</sup> *Douglas Daily Dispatch* 25 May 1907. The 1917 city directory listed forty-three establishments offering "furnished rooms" to single men who stayed in Douglas on a temporary basis.
- <sup>51</sup> *Douglas Daily Dispatch* 10 March 1904, 31 October 1975.
- <sup>52</sup> *Douglas Daily Dispatch* 26 March, 27 March, 1904, 11 May 1905. The two committees included Charles A. Overlock, S.F. Meguire, D.H. Johnson, W.R. Henry, Ben Goldman, and J.A. Miller. The mayors for the next thirty years included Charles A. Overlock, May 1905 to April 1906; William M. Adamson, April 1905 to May 1908; William A. Greene, May 1908 to May 1910; Howard J. Wright, May 1910 to February 1911; Sam F. Meguire, February to August 1911; Frank Ramsey, August 1911 to April 1912; Sheldon Dowell, April to June 1912; James H. Baker, June to November 1912; M Clay Hankins, November 1912 to June 1914; Charles O. Ellis, June 1914 to June 1916; William M. Adamson, June 1916 to April 1919; Charles A. Overlock, April 1919 to June 1920; Arthur E. Hinton, June 1920 to June 1928; and Millard Haymore, June 1928 to September 1929.
- <sup>53</sup> Douglas City Ordinances 1907.
- <sup>54</sup> *Douglas Daily Dispatch* 20 May, 30 May 1905.
- <sup>55</sup> *Douglas Daily Dispatch* 8 September, 22 September 1903.
- <sup>56</sup> *Douglas International American* 6 March, 7 March 1907, 5 July, 8 July, 9 July 1907.
- <sup>57</sup> James Burkit, *Forging the Copper Collar* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982) 180-200.
- <sup>58</sup> *Douglas Daily International* 6 March, 30 March 1907.
- <sup>59</sup> Interview with Rex McDonald, Douglas, Arizona, 30 May 1985.
- <sup>60</sup> *Douglas Daily Dispatch* 28 February 1903, 5 February, 27 February, 15 March, 6 April, 4 May 1904. The exchange carried stocks of the Santa Rosa, El Tigre, Esmeralda, Providencial and Sonora River mines.
- <sup>61</sup> *Douglas Daily Dispatch* 13 April 1919; Mauel Sandomingo, *Historia de Agua Prieta, Resumen Historico en su Primer Cincuentenario* (Agua Prieta, Sonora: Imprenta Sandomingo, 1951) 55-58; *Douglas Daily International*, 19 September 1903.
- <sup>62</sup> Jeffrey, "The History of Douglas," 56-68; Sandomingo, *Historia de Agua Prieta* 133 ff.
- <sup>63</sup> *Douglas International American* 1-12 July 1907; Manuel Sarabia, "How I Was Kidnapped, Story of My Escape from the Rurales and Hermosillo Penitentiary," *The Border* vol. 1, no. 2 (Dec., 1908).
- <sup>64</sup> Jeffrey, "History of Douglas, 54-70; Sandomingo, *Historia de Agua Prieta*, 129-136.
- <sup>65</sup> Interview with Leonard Haymore, Douglas, Arizona, 21 May 1985, in possession of the author; Interview with Hiram Bingham, Douglas, Arizona, 28 May 1985, in possession of the author; Sandomingo, "Historia de Agua Prieta," 127-129; Millard Haymore, "Family History" in possession of the Haymore family, Douglas, Arizona. Several prominent Mormon families, or members of the family, remained in Mexico to continue in business. The Lillywhites stayed on in Colonia Morelos to operate the flour mill. The Huish family remained in the general merchandise business in Colonia Morelos, and the Haymores operated another "sucursal" in Nacozari, a flour mill in Agua Prieta, and did business throughout northern Sonora. When General Rojas attacked Agua Prieta in 1912, Mexican Federal troops used the Haymore mill for defense. The bullet holes from the battle can still be seen in the building one block west of Pan American at Fifth Street in Agua Prieta.
- <sup>66</sup> Jeffrey, "History of Douglas," 76-86; Sandomingo, *Historia de Agua Prieta* 169-175; *Douglas Daily Dispatch* 27 October-4 November 1915; Carl H. Cole, "Douglas Under Fire, An Account



of Villa's Battle for Agua Prieta," *Cochise Quarterly* vol. 14, no. 3 (Fall, 1984). Years later, when Lorenzo Huish built the drainage ditch system along A Avenue and International Street, he conveniently incorporated the old army trenches, portions of which can still be seen today.

<sup>67</sup> Interview with Rex McDonald, Douglas, Arizona 30 May 1985, in possession of the author; Jeffrey, "History of Douglas," 80.

<sup>68</sup> Michael Meyer and William Sherman, *The Course of Mexican History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979) After the appearance of the Zimmerman Note on March 1, 1917 the *Dispatch* printed frequent editorials which expressed the fear that German instigated saboteurs might attempt to incapacitate border industries.

<sup>69</sup> Teresa Williams Irvin, *Let the Tail Go with the Hide, the Story of Ben F. Williams* (El Paso: Mangan Books, 1984) 111-13.

<sup>70</sup> Deed of Conveyance 1916, 905 D Avenue, Douglas, Arizona, Office of the Recorder, Bisbee, Arizona.

<sup>71</sup> *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, 28 February 1912. The meeting to plan for the establishment of a synagogue was presided over by N. Cohen; other officers were S. Greenberg, M.G. Zeitlin, Jake Levy, L. Silverman, Joe Kline, and A. Aaronwold. Interview with Sam Levy, Douglas, Arizona 27 May 1985, in possession of author.

<sup>72</sup> *Douglas City Directory*, 1917.

<sup>73</sup> Interview with Benone Huish, Douglas, Arizona 19 May 1985, in possession of the author; Interview with Leonard Haymore, *Douglas City Directory*, 1917.

<sup>74</sup> *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, 7 September 1905; *Douglas City Directory*, 1904. A few windmill towers can still be seen standing in this area.

<sup>75</sup> Bond, *Douglas, Arizona*; Personal interview with Ervin Bond, in possession of the author, Douglas, Arizona 24 May 1985. Mr. Bond who delivered groceries when he first moved to Douglas in 1926 recalled that only three Mexican families lived north of the dividing line.

<sup>76</sup> Personal interview with Ignacio Castro, Douglas, Arizona 20 May 1985, in possession of the author. Bureau of the Census, 1910 and 1920.

<sup>77</sup> D.H. Dinwoodie, "The Rise of the Mine-Mill Union in Southwestern Copper," in James C. Foster, ed., *American Labor in the Southwest* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1982) 46-55; Michael E. Parrish. *Mexican Workers, Progressives, and Copper: The Failure of Industrial Democracy in Arizona During the Wilson Years* (La Jolla, California: Chicano Research Publications, University of California San Diego, 1979) 10, 47. In 1916 Mexicans and Mexican-Americans struck in Clifton, Morenci, and Metcalf, enduring strike conditions which Anglo laborers might not have endured. In 1917 Mexicans formed a coalition with Italians and Slavs at Globe, and began to organize Mexican locals throughout Arizona. It was not until the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers targeted the southwestern copper industry for union expansion in 1941 that some of these practices began to diminish. Even the union, while not ignoring ethnic discrimination, found it difficult to popularize work force integration and equality issues among Anglo workers, many of whom were recent arrivals from the segregation belt in Texas.

<sup>78</sup> Advertisements in the 1904 *Douglas Daily Dispatch*; *Douglas City Directory*, 1917; Dr. E.W. Adamson, "The Dean's Tale." Prominent among the Spanish families were the Cabargas and Roquenis.

<sup>79</sup> Personal interview with Ralph Salem, Douglas, Arizona 19 May 1985, in possession of the author; Personal interview with Mrs. George Salem, Douglas, Arizona, 21 May 1985, in possession of the author.

<sup>80</sup> Personal interview with Reverend R.E. Wilson, Douglas, Arizona, 20 May 1985, in possession of the author.

<sup>81</sup> Personal interview Reverend Wilson; Personal interview Sadie Rogers, Douglas, Arizona 15 May 1985; *Douglas City Directory*, 1917.

<sup>82</sup> Jeffrey, "Douglas, Arizona," ch. 4.

<sup>83</sup> Jeffrey, "Douglas, Arizona," ch. 4.