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A STUDY OF LAWLESSNESS AND IRRATIONAL VIOLENCE IN THE URBAN FRONTIER COMMUNITY OF TOMBSTONE, ARIZONA, CIRCA 1879

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About the Cover: The man who founded Tombstone, Ed Schieffelin, was well armed with pistols and a long gun when he posed for this photograph. Schieffelin discovered silver ore in the hills around Tombstone in 1878 and curbed his prospector's wanderlust long enough to serve a term on the first Tombstone City Council, elected in 1879. (This photo and all others in this issue were provided by the Tombstone Courthouse State Historical Park.)

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A STUDY OF LAWLESSNESS AND IRRATIONAL VIOLENCE IN THE URBAN FRONTIER COMMUNITY OF TOMBSTONE, ARIZONA, CIRCA 1879

by Dorothy Virginia Hershey

The Rise of Tombstone

The development of mining in Cochise County has been described as the "tail end" of an era that began with the forty-niners. This cordilleran region presented several obstacles that prospectors did not encounter in California. These were hostile Indians, poor transportation and an arid environment.

The primitive and desolate nature of Arizona Territory influenced migration in other ways. Individuals who were socially and economically content in traditional society were not drawn to this region, nor were the weak and inhibited who did not feel equal to the challenge of the rugged life style.

As a result, this frontier was comprised of men and women who lacked strong ties in traditional communities and were not dependent upon "civilized" culture. To various degrees, they represented the mavericks of society.

Ed Schieffelin was one of those restless and adventurous men. He was among the earliest to prospect in the Cochise County area that was once the homeland of the Chiricahua Apaches and was still inhabited by renegade bands. Under some protection from the U.S. military stationed at Fort Huachuca, Schieffelin persisted in his prospecting even though friends and associates considered it folly. They recommended that Schieffelin's first work should be to erect a tombstone, so that when the country became safe they could find his resting place and write his epitaph.¹

The reluctance of Schieffelin's associates was not without good reason. Three prospectors, including one of his own partners, had recently been killed at an excavation site. However, following Schieffelin's first shipment of ore from the Lucky Cuss claim in June of 1879, capitalists, prospectors and camp vendors headed for the area, fear giving way to visions of economic prosperity.²

Tombstone was the first community to emerge in the area that later became Cochise County.³ On Oct. 20, 1879, Pima County Sheriff Charles A. Shibell reported to the board of supervisors that the population in the Cochise area was 474.⁴

Within a year, the Tombstone Daily Epitaph reported that migration was becoming a problem, "20-40 individuals arriving in Tombstone daily."⁵ In June, 1880, the federal census taker reported that the population in the area was 1,783. This included the camps of Tombstone, Contention, Charleston and the military camp of Fort Bowie.⁶

The actual number, however, of unduplicated names that appears on the original census pages for Tombstone is 1,767, and at least another 500 individuals were living in neighboring camps within the Cochise County area.⁷ Therefore, it is estimated that 2,000 to 2,500 individuals were residing in the Cochise County area in 1880. By 1882, the population had exploded to 9,640.⁸

Frontiers have always attracted a younger group of individuals and the urban frontier drew an even younger group than that of rural frontiers.⁹ In Cochise, the average age was 31.¹⁰

The urban frontier was the true melting pot of the nation. The swiftness of rail travel plummeted individuals into the heart of the frontier within weeks

and, during the 19th century, many new emigrants to America took this option. The 1880 federal census of just Tombstone listed at least 65 states and 27 countries as places of birth for its residents.

The extent of foreign influence in Tombstone is better realized when looking at the birthplace of fathers of native born individuals. Forty-seven percent gave their father's birthplace as a foreign country.

According to one source, miners and prospectors of the early frontier camps preferred to congregate according to their roots.¹¹ This may have been true for small pockets of men in remote places, but in Tombstone this was not quite as dominant a pattern. Individuals appeared to congregate more from friendships formed by coming west together, meeting enroute or through employment.

Examples of several "neighborhoods" extracted from the 1880 census of Tombstone illustrate the egalitarian atmosphere of the camp. Most residents were listed on one of three streets, Allen, Fremont or Toughnut. The majority lived on Allen Street.

There was an absence of any large ethnic groupings. The exception to this would be outside the city limits where the Chinese congregated, and not necessarily by choice. Fremont Street was the only area in which a higher degree of professionals were living in the same neighborhood, but even here the class lines were not drawn rigidly.

The urban frontier represented capitalism in its most competitive form. The west had always attracted wage earners as there was a constant demand for labor by western employers who paid a better wage than most eastern cities. But the developing economy of the mining camp, in spite of all its promise, failed to distribute its riches equitably.

The simple economic base of exploitive industry towns made upward mobility difficult. A small white collar class formed at the top, followed by a relatively small middle class of management and tradesmen. The majority of job opportunities were of unskilled status and clustered at the bottom of the economic scale.

This resulted in a large lower class. Hardships resulting from poor economic conditions that were typical of the urban frontier contributed to the stress and anxiety experienced by the large number of unskilled workers. In addition, the overcrowded conditions increased the competition for jobs.

Miners may be offended by the idea that they were classified as unskilled labor. In 1880 there was a degree of expertise among miners and "seasoned" miners were in higher demand. But the technological stage of the mining industry in 1880 was still very much the job of the pick and shovel crew. The work force was comprised of a few professional engineers and foremen and a relatively large number of unskilled miners.

Miners were also disadvantaged because they were not self-sufficient as were farmers. The urban frontier population lived in hotels and was dependent on a service community, not only for themselves but for each member of their household. This probably is why miners chose to leave their families behind.

It is therefore not surprising that economic pressures existed early in development of the urban-frontier. A Dr. Doyle said in the July 24, 1880 issue of the Tombstone Epitaph that Arizona was overstocked with laboring men. Hundreds of individuals were flat broke and there was more sickness in the area than most anywhere else. He warned those who were contemplating a move to the territory to consider an alternative plan.



Mining in Tombstone's early days was certainly the work of a pick and shovel crew as this photo of the Toughnut Mine shows. Silver ore was being pursued through use of open trenches. The buildings of Tombstone are in the background.

Since the majority of the workers in Tombstone were "unseasoned" miners or individuals without financial resources, their chances of organizing and managing a profitable mining endeavor were slim. Only the more promising claims attracted large investors. Consequently, the easiest way to turn a profit was through quick sales or exchanges of claims. These claims were handed back and forth across the poker table or sold to neophytes for a low price.

Recapitalization became a major source of income for entrepreneurs and resulted in a great deal of "watered" stock that further created an unstable economy. For instance, the Contention Mine was purchased in 1879 from Schieffelin and Richard Gird for \$10,000. The new owners incorporated under the laws of California in 1880 with a recapitalization value of \$10 million and

100,000 shares were marked at \$100 a piece.

Mining claims lay adjacent to each other. According to law, a mining claim could not exceed 1,500 feet in length along the vein or lode and not more than 300 feet on each side of the middle of the vein at the surface. Disputes leading to assault and even homicide could occur if a vein or lode took an unexpected turn on to another miner's property.

Before filing on a mine, it was necessary to show performance of at least \$100 in improvements on the site. The hills were full of prospectors exploring and trying to decide which excavation sites were worth putting in \$100 worth of development time and effort.

As long as a site was not officially claimed, it was free to be worked by other miners. If these unclaimed sites began to prove promising, those who had once worked the area were eager to reclaim the site.¹²

These ambiguities led to the nefarious activities of "black cappers." These extortionists cast a cloud of doubt over the title of claims by publicly inferring that they held some prior interest in the property in question.

Black cappers would then make it known that they would give up their interest in a particular claim for a few hundred dollars, thus freeing it from any dispute.¹³ The magnitude of the problems resulting from claim disputes was evident in a report in the *Epitaph*, stating that "paranoia of claim jumping draws shotguns when a person walks over a claim."¹⁴

Development of Tombstone

In the Far West, entrepreneurs established "ragtown camps" in anticipation of a growing, service-oriented population. Development was in direct relationship to immigration. Because of the mass influx of miners, a sizeable community center developed within a few years.

Physical characteristics of camps such as Tombstone changed as easily as shifting sands in a desert windstorm. Merchants as well as miners used tent-houses that could be easily moved about. The "saloon tent" of Comstock and Brown on Allen Street was advertised on Sept. 8, 1880 in the *Epitaph* as having moved to a new location.

A few elegant hotels and saloons provided contrast to the otherwise primitive and disorderly camps. They were indicative of free flowing money, at least by some camp residents.

The Cosmopolitan Hotel of Tombstone was one of those extravagant edifices. The 60-room establishment became a landmark, as did the Crystal Palace Saloon on Allen Street.

But for the most part, miners and transients crowded into close quarters and shared meager resources. Some had so little money they were forced to seek comfort from what was referred to as a "Tucson blanket" — a bit of ground to cover the back and the sky to cover the front.¹⁵

If a cabin was built, it was often one room and easily moved to another location. When houses were abandoned, scavengers removed whatever could be carried off.

Despite the haphazard arrangement of tents and cabins, some type of planned community existed. Motivation, however, was inspired by entrepreneurism rather than long-range community planning.

On April 19, 1879, five entrepreneurs recorded the Tombstone Townsite Co. and its four named streets and 12 numbered streets. The company failed to pay the \$1.25 per acre necessary to finalize recording until a year later.

In the meantime, it sold lots without clear title. Disputes over conflicting claims is said to have been at the root of Tombstone's violence and cause of death for at least 27 men.¹⁶

The entire issue became a battlefield of retaliatory acts and counter claims. Fences were built around vacant lots to prevent squatters; then holes and gateways were cut through to allow trespassing. Houses were moved off disputed lots while their occupants were out of the city. In more than one case, the confrontation turned into an altercation sometimes involving firearms.

Careless survey and filing practices for township claims entangled the Tombstone Townsite Co. in yet another controversy. A second group of entrepreneurs recorded the township of New Boston and part of it overlapped the Tombstone Townsite property.¹⁷

The particular circumstances of urban frontier development resulted in social and cultural upheavals in the communities. A summary of the good and the bad of Tombstone's society is evident in the following observation by an eastern correspondent who visited the frontier town:

Tombstoners have a man for breakfast occasionally (refers to a man killed during the night). They lock up the dead man in jail; the murderer has better accommodations. Hundreds of men on the streets in the evening — a perfect jam, in fact. The finest saloon in Arizona, the Oriental. Every other house a saloon. Remainder restaurants. Half the population out of employment. Much building going on ... did not recognize Tombstone after a four months absence. THE EPITAPH a live daily paper, doing well. Lots of b-a-d men and women in the camp. Good ones in the majority ... streets filled with rubbish. Water supply believed to be sufficient. Two dance houses in full blast. Chinese notified to go ... Ingram and Wilkerson's opposition stage lines doing a good business. Shining marks and mining sharks in abundance. Prospects good for a big camp.¹⁸

Due to its diverse society, a ruling majority failed to dominate Tombstone. Without a dominant faction, whether traditional or otherwise, a live and let live atmosphere was fostered.

Individuals were generally accepted at face value and judged on present virtues rather than on past deeds. In a predominately male society of lower income, the traditional values of education, culture and heritage were not as important as charisma and male prowess.

In Tombstone's first few years, social groups congregated according to common interests and experiences. A social hierarchy did exist to some degree, but not with the intent of exclusion in mind. An early resident referred to the Oriental Saloon as a general meeting place for the "better class of people."¹⁹ (The *Epitaph* reported the Oriental to be the gathering place of businessmen.)²⁰ This division, however, was probably based on the ability to pay and due to friendships.

Entertainment ranged from popular plays and operas performed at Schieffelin Hall to less cultural and bawdy events at the Bird Cage Theatre. Attendance was generally higher at the latter and denoted the cultural preference of most of the population.²¹

Churches did not have a lot of support in the mining camps of the urban

frontier. The need of a church in Tombstone was expressed by one visiting clergyman, who referred to the mining camp as "the rottenness place you ever saw."²² By 1881, a half dozen denominations were in the process of constructing houses of worship for their small flocks.²³

Racism and ethnic violence varied from that expressed in eastern cities. The line was drawn primarily according to color. In the east, it was usually color and religion. Religion may not have been an issue in the camps for the simple reason that churchgoers did not represent a large faction in the competition for power.

Compatibility within the "white" class was apparent in the following article:

Irishmen from Galway, Englishmen from Cornwall, Germans from Luxemburg, Italians from the banks of the Arno, Russians from the steppes of the Oural, Scandinavians from Denmark, Sweden and Norway, and Americans from every part of this vast continent, have contributed to this heterogeneous medley.²⁴

Racism was directed primarily at the Chinese and Mexican element. There were very few Blacks in the county. Employment competition incited most expressions of racism.

Unable to penetrate the railroad and mining market, some Chinese congregated on the outskirts of camps and provided fresh produce for the miners; others established wash houses. A few were employed in restaurants and a limited number managed to own their own eating establishment. Quong Kee, who owned the famous Can Can cafe²⁵ in Tombstone is an example.

In the California gold fields, as well as in camps in Arizona, Mexican nationals consistently faced social and economic discrimination. The Tombstone census of 1880 showed some clustering of Hispanics, but never in more than two or three family groups in one place. They patronized the same restaurants and saloons as the rest of the population but almost without exception, the men were listed as laborers and the women, if employed, were housekeepers.

Economic depravity for whatever reason can cause individuals to feel socially alienated. Failure of the body politic to insure "just distribution of community resources can result in disappointment with the system and result in attitudes that range anywhere from indifference to total anarchy."²⁶

In addition, those who are disappointed or feel cheated lose their sense of identity with the community and no longer feel obligated to uphold the local social institutions and laws. Economic status can be used as a general measuring device, since the degree of economic success and opportunity is the manner in which most individuals judge whether or not they are receiving their "just distribution."

In Tombstone, the lowest class of the socioeconomic hierarchy was more apt to be part of this alienated group. In Tombstone, they represented over half of the economic group. This translated into a large potential of dissenters in the community.

Alienation appears evident by the manner in which an unusual social line was drawn in Tombstone. The social demarcation line was based on whether or not an individual was considered a "permanent" resident or a "transient."

Those who were not steadily employed moved about. Due to the scarcity of jobs, a large percent of the population was "transient." From analysis of the

1880 census, this class rented rooms near the saloon area of town, while the more permanent residents lived further away.²⁷

Social alienation of "transients" by more "permanent" residents was evident by the latter's indifference to their rowdy behavior. Their uncivilized actions and violent behavior along the saloon area of town was tolerated and often ignored as long as it was kept within the boundaries of the saloons and perpetrated on their own kind.²⁸

The indifference was mutual. As indicated by their rowdy behavior, transients lacked a sense of obligation to the ordinances and social values established by the more "permanent residents." In this way, both a physical and social line were drawn in the community that separated the traditional aspect of society from the untraditional.

Another circumstance that encouraged social disorder in Tombstone was the fact that only 32 percent lived with a family support system. In 1880, 50 percent of Tombstone's inhabitants were single, 14 percent were married but not living with a spouse and three percent were widowed. Only 13 percent of the population was comprised of married couples living together.

Lack of children in mining camps influenced the deportment of residents. The presence of children generally encouraged communities to provide educational and cultural amenities as well as a proper example.

In Tombstone, this was not a priority as most of its citizens were not married. Only 12 percent of the population were under 17 years of age. If those up to 20 years of age are counted, it would be 16 percent.

The earliest school in Tombstone was operated by Miss Lucas in an abandoned one-room house that had a dirt floor and mud roof. In January of 1881, a two-room adobe building was erected and Mr. M.M. Sherman took charge as principal in September of that year. Attendance for the first year was approximately 85 pupils.²⁹

As camps matured, the number of children increased. The 1881 Arizona Business Directory reported that the Tombstone public school had two teachers and 150 students. In addition, there was a private school called The Tombstone Academy under the tutelage of J.B. Patch.³⁰

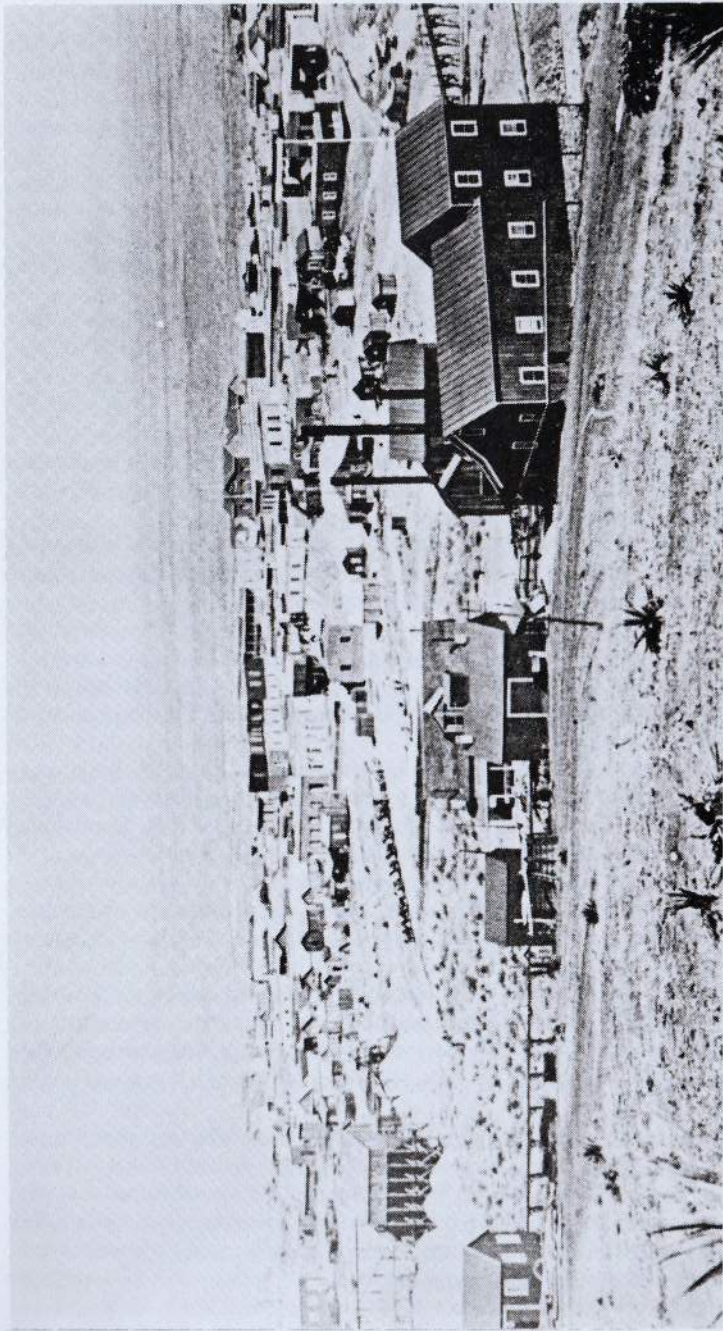
Establishing Law and Order

Perhaps the greatest challenge of any frontier is establishing law and order. The pattern of law and order in the Far West was established by the California "goldrush" experience.

In the remote and undeveloped areas, civilian courts did not exist. The U.S. military represented the only governmental agency, but commanders of outposts were too busy fighting Indian wars to provide justice courts for the scattered American population. As a result, a form of "self-rule" evolved in the small settlements.

The prospectors evoked a "rough" form of law and order and preferred a minimum of rule. They formed impromptu "alcaldes" to establish what few rules and regulations were needed,³¹ and chose to settle only disputes and infractions that affected the camp as a whole. Miners were not inclined to take time out from digging to settle someone else's problems. As a result, their sentences were often crude and hastily decided.

When camps progressed in size to that of communities, they did so spontaneously. Most miners had no intentions of making the frontier a permanent home and approached the task of establishing orderly societies



This photo of Tombstone was taken about 1881. Mine buildings are in the foreground. Careful examination reveals a large number of tents and tent buildings scattered about. The large building in the center distance is the Cosmopolitan Hotel.

halfheartedly.

The early development of a business center in Tombstone was due to the need for a patent office. The only way prospectors could protect claims was by filing for a patent. While under the jurisdiction of Pima County, miners in the Cochise area traveled 72 miles to perform this task at the county seat of Tucson.

With the propensity for claim jumping and other disputes over claims, some agent of law and order was essential. The only law in Tombstone before incorporation was a deputy sheriff, or U.S. marshal on temporary assignment, who operated without a jail or local court. All cases had to be tried in Tucson.

In 1879, John A. Allen, M. Gray, Andrew Snodgrass and 38 other miners and entrepreneurs living in the Tombstone area petitioned the Pima County board of supervisors to incorporate Tombstone.³² Following approval of the petition, the board ordered an election for municipal officers be held on Nov. 1, 1879.

In a remote area such as Tombstone, voters had to choose their political leaders from their own ranks. Expertise and experience were not always available. In lieu of experience, courage, charisma and common sense appeared to be acceptable criteria and was evident in the makeup of the first town council. William A. Harwood was elected mayor. Councilmen were Alder Randall, James M. Vizina, Ed Schieffelin and A.J. Cadwell. Fred White was elected city marshal.³³

Harwood was a 31-year-old lumber merchant from Delaware who also had mining interests. Although it's doubtful he had any previous political experience, he carried out his political and economic activities successfully.³⁴ At least his actions did not draw fire from the press. He continued to be active in local and state politics for many years.

A native of Indiana, Randall was 35 in 1882. He became mayor after Tombstone's second election held in January of 1880.³⁵ Randall's qualifications could not be determined, but it was during his term of office that the Tombstone townsite lot scandal came to a head.

The way he handled the townsite lot dilemma leads one to believe he was inexperienced and easily intimidated by political pressure. Dissatisfied citizens blamed Randall for poor leadership and a charge of "malfeasance" was brought against him.³⁶

Vizina apparently was without political qualifications and was elected on the merits of his popularity. He was listed in the 1880 census as a 28-year-old miner born in New York. He previously worked in a San Francisco billiard hall and apparently left his family there when he moved to Tombstone.³⁷

The following story was told about him by another early resident of Tombstone and reflects the "easy come, easy go" philosophy of the mining camp environment. According to Charles Liftchild, Vizina and others "grubstaked"³⁸ a prospector who located the "Vizina mine." As luck would have it, the strike was a bonanza. James sold his interest for \$100,000, and allegedly rented a building near the Oriental Saloon for \$1,000 per month.

Liftchild regarded Vizina as a reckless gambler. He said Vizina's money gradually dwindled and on one particular night Vizina announced that he had \$1,000 left, which he would risk to "break the bank" at faro, or failing, he would return to "Frisco."

For a time he had fabulous luck, but as the night waned, Vizina's prospects

grew slim. When he lost his last blue chip, he rose, invited everyone up to the bar for a farewell drink and stated he'd had a wonderful time in Tombstone and was now content to take up his old job of polishing billiard and pool tables in old "Frisco."³⁹

Schieffelin was the most notable member of the council since it was his bonanza that put Tombstone on the map. But it's doubtful that he would have been elected to political office in a more traditional community.

He was described as a large man who always wore a red shirt with his pants stuck in the top of his boots. He was "agreeable in talk, cool and unimaginable, a hard worker and slow talker."⁴⁰ When fellow miner George Parsons met Schieffelin for the first time, he described him in his diary as a "rough looking customer."⁴¹ However lacking in polish, his fearless persistence, honesty and prospecting acumen boosted him to popularity among miners.

Cadwell was a 22-year-old merchant born in California and single.⁴² Ambitious and energetic, he'd opened a merchandise store in the area when there was only a handful of prospectors there.

These men faced numerous problems in local government. One problem developed when conflict between economic interest and political office of those elected became evident or "suspect" by some of the citizens. This issue created an undercurrent of distrust and controversy.

In the first two years of Tombstone politics, 1879 and 1880, two of the five primary stockholders in the Tombstone Townsite Co. were public officials. Thomas J. Bidwell was a justice of the peace and Mike Gray also served as justice of the peace and a councilman.⁴³

There was some suggestion that these men sought office to further their economic interests or, when in office, used their position to their advantage.

While litigation regarding the Tombstone Township lots traveled the slow circuit of bureaucratic channels, citizens protested what they considered unfair practices by Gray with rallies and bonfires. Gray and other "certain parties" were threatened with "pictures of coffins, bloody hands, gallows," and even an occasional shot.⁴⁴

There is no doubt that the lack of "seasoned" politicians was to some degree responsible for some of the public disorder and violence in Tombstone. Even some of the professionals failed to behave in traditional ways.

While holding political office, Gray was bound over in court to "keep the peace" and was required to post a \$1,000 bond.⁴⁵ A few months later the Epitaph reported that the city attorney "slugged" a councilman.⁴⁶ Another councilman, "Gus" Triblolet, was arrested for assault and battery several times between 1880-1882.

On Jan. 18, 1882, the Epitaph reported that following an argument between the district attorney and the deputy clerk of the District Court, the mayor stated that he wanted a change so that "six-shooters" and "bowie knives" would not be used to settle difficulties.

Deputy Sheriff James Flynn was removed from his position for excessive violence. J.P. Rafferty, who ran for county assessor in 1882, was arrested for disturbing the peace.⁴⁷

Despite the chaos that unprofessional behavior may have caused, the egalitarian nature of frontier politics was a positive note for Tombstone. In the beginning, almost any "Anglo," regardless of birthplace or occupational status, had a good chance at the election polls. Councilman Godfrey Triblolet, who

was Swiss, and Mayor John Carr, who was Irish, as well as James Reilly, a 49-year-old lawyer who became judge and undersheriff, were first-generation Americans. Looking at occupational status, Carr was a blacksmith and Gray was a stable keeper.⁴⁸

Organizing the Law Agencies

Frontier law enforcement developed through trial and error. The system was poorly organized and procedures ill-defined. This and existing frontier conditions contributed to lawlessness and public disorder in a number of ways.

The most successful qualifications for peace officer were sociability, availability and a reasonable sense of fairness and good judgement.⁴⁹ But the office attracted a certain percentage of candidates who lacked the latter and this resulted in personnel problems.

In 1879, Wyatt Earp was appointed U. S. Marshal to the Cochise County area, still under jurisdiction of Pima County. He was soon released and John H. Behan was appointed in his stead. Their rivalry probably began over this reassignment in Cochise.

In January of 1880, Fred White became city marshal and a few months later, Earp applied for the job of peace officer. In the meantime, he filled in as "shot gun messenger" for Wells Fargo.

Eight months after White was elected, he was shot by a drunken cowboy while making an arrest. Wyatt's brother, Virgil, was appointed by the town council to fill the position until the next election.⁵⁰

A certain amount of prestige as well as power was associated with the position of peace officer. Most of the surveillance occurred along the main street, which was also the saloon area of town, and attracted those individuals who felt comfortable in the setting. For this reason, it was not surprising to find that many candidates were charismatic and felt comfortable around the cowboy and gambling element. Behan was described as a "crony of the cowboys, a good fellow," and one who enjoyed sitting around the poker table.⁵¹ Wyatt Earp also had his following.

The position was lucrative. The sheriff collected the local taxes, keeping six percent of the collection for his efforts.⁵² Behan reportedly collected at least \$40,000 in property taxes in 1881.⁵³ This aspect of the office most likely was responsible for attracting an unsavory element to the position.

Due to remoteness, it was difficult to collect taxes in the hinterlands of the county. Perhaps that's why the board of supervisors raised the rate to 10 percent — to encourage collection. This fee seems out of proportion when compared with the \$25-a-month salary paid to the professional position of district attorney.⁵⁴

The large amount of money collected for fines and taxes was a temptation to some officials. The constable and tax collector of Charleston, James Barnett, allegedly collected taxes with a shotgun to insure payment. He also was suspected of commingling funds with his personal account.⁵⁵

In January of 1882, due to protests by citizens over the 10 percent fee, newly-elected-mayor Carr announced that tax collecting would no longer be the job of law enforcement officials. This action was protested virorously by the newly elected sheriff, Dave Nagle, for obvious reasons.⁵⁶

Mining fever had a way of diverting individuals from their main responsibility. On Oct. 1, 1880, the Epitaph ran a want-ad for a constable for Tombstone, stating that the precinct was entitled to two and that at the present

time they had only one since Constable Miller was out "prospecting" in New Mexico.

An attempt was made to reconstitute the entire list of men who functioned in the county as peace officers between 1879-1883. The average age was 33; the oldest 55 and the youngest 22.⁵⁷ Many officers had been employed in some aspect of law enforcement before. Of those identified, 10 out of 23 engaged in unprofessional or illegal activity at one time or another.

The "smoking gun" deputies of some reputation were the Earp brothers, who used their cohorts "Bat" Masterson, Luke Short, Frank Leslie and "Doc" Holliday as special deputies. The Earps, Masterson and Holliday had a reputation for violence and were engaged in some form of law enforcement activity before coming to Tombstone.

Following the shoot-out known as the O. K. Corral shooting, the four men left in haste. Wyatt Earp, Masterson and Short returned to Kansas to serve together as part of the Dodge City Peace Commission in 1883.⁵⁸

Other peace officers in Cochise County were discharged for unprofessional behavior, but they were not of the reputation of the Earp gang. Their greatest fault appeared to be only minor indiscretions rather than outright dishonesty.

Peace officer Joe Nicholson was relieved of his position by Sheriff Ben Sippy for becoming involved in a public altercation in Tombstone.⁵⁹ Officer Bronk was fired for "excessive violence."⁶⁰ Sippy himself left the county without notice six months after taking office and was never heard from again, absconding with approximately \$1,000 of agency funds.⁶¹

Jerry Barton, constable of Charleston, was brought to court a half dozen times for manslaughter. He was eventually sentenced and sent to Yuma prison in 1887 for one such episode.⁶² Acting Marshal James Flynn was discharged for being drunk and for striking a man over the head while making an arrest.⁶³

The best way for a few officers to keep a whole town of rowdy men under control was high visibility and friendly camaraderie, but the risk was still there. White was shot "accidentally" while attempting to arrest a group of drunken cowboys.⁶⁴ Deputy Sheriff Tucker was reportedly shot by George Brown in a double-draw at a saloon in Benson.⁶⁵

Choosing Sides

In Tombstone, one source of political power was obtained from preferential treatment through alliance with peace officers. Behan and the Earps were representatives of opposing coalitions. Behan was elected county sheriff and labeled by the Epitaph as part of the "cowboy" element that stood for loose interpretation of the law. The Earps were candidates of the Republican "law and order" party.⁶⁶

The political involvement by the local press and the effect it had on the population was evident by remarks of the governor in a report he made after visiting Tombstone:

The two newspapers published in Tombstone are also censurable for the course they have pursued in relation to public and private matters. For the strife and jealousies between the sheriff and his deputies of the county and the Earp brothers of the city, the two papers have taken sides very largely through selfish motives of gain, the county printing being given to one of the papers for its hearty support, and the city patronage to the other for its support.⁶⁷

Law enforcement had social and other aspects that made it vulnerable to political pressures within a community. The same as other elected officials, peace officers were careful about offending voters on the eve of elections.

On Sept. 30, 1880, the Epitaph reported that E.L. Bradshaw and Roger King, two gunfighters who killed a man at the Headquarters Saloon a few weeks earlier, were turned loose because they both had "strong political influences."⁶⁸ King was charged with the killing of Thomas Wilson, but the case was dismissed due to "not enough evidence."⁶⁹

While law officers feuded, criminal elements took advantage of the situation. A local resident sent the following letter to the governor and it was printed in the Epitaph:

The cow-boy element at times very fully predominates, and the officers of the law are at times either unable or unwilling to control this class of outlaws, sometimes being governed by fear, at other times by a hope of reward. At Tombstone, the county seat of Cochise county, I conferred with the sheriff of said county on the subject of breaking up three bands of outlaws, and I am sorry to say he gave me but little hope of being able in his department to cope with the power of the cowboys. He represented to me that the deputy U.S. Marshal, resident of Tombstone, and the city marshal (the deputy marshal) seemed unwilling to heartily co-operate with him (the sheriff) in capturing and bringing to justice these outlaws. In conversation with deputy United States Marshal, Mr. Earp, I found precisely the same spirit of complaint existing against Mr. Behan (the sheriff) and his deputies. And back of this unfortunate fact, rivalry between civil authorities, or an unwillingness to work together in full accord in keeping the peace.⁷⁰

An attempt was made to identify any particular power groups in Tombstone. Cattle rustling was the primary illegal occupation of the area and some butchers were accused of obtaining stolen beef from known cattle rustlers.

In the 1880 election, A. Muller and Godfrey Tribolet, who "controlled the butchering interests in the town," were candidates for the council. Tribolet was elected.⁷¹ On Nov. 12, 1881, the Epitaph editorialized "the cowboys [cattle-rustlers] would be suppressed in short order if they did not have so many friends among people who claim to be respectable."⁷²

In traditional frontier communities, prestigious social groups were avenues for social and political mobility, such as "Rescue, Hook and Ladder Companies" This probably was the case in Tombstone since its Hook and Ladder Company was comprised mostly of those with white-collar occupations.

There was a strong representation of the Republican "law and order party" in the organization. Company vice president C.B. Reppy, editor of the Epitaph, was known to be an ally of the "law and order" Republican party.

In 1881, the Epitaph reported that Wyatt Earp had been made an "honorary" member of the Hook and Ladder Association.⁷³ This perhaps was a political maneuver to build a power structure.

Despite the efforts of such groups, the town council was split between conservative and loose rule and clearly gave out conflicting messages. One reason was the council was not representative of the majority of the population.

Parsons stated in his journal that only 500 to 700 individuals voted in the 1881 election because most did not meet residency requirements.⁷⁴ Deputy Sheriff Billy Breackenridge stated that the voting public was the Republican faction, who were also "the taxpayers" and represented the "law and order" party.⁷⁵

According to one study, it is a demand for illicit goods and services that allows organized crime to flourish in an area.⁷⁶ Another study notes organized crime cannot be regarded as a social problem until segments of society perceive that the cost of the services provided is too high.⁷⁷ It was these very circumstances that promoted the powerful economic structures outside the law in Cochise County.

The ready market in the county for stolen meat products was described by the governor in a letter from a citizen in Galeville, 50 miles northeast of Tombstone and the heart of the cattle rustling activity:

Citizens are dealing dishonestly, with one hand secretly behind them handling the stolen property of the "cowboys," while with the other hand openly before them they are disposing of the stolen property (mostly beef cattle) to honest citizens, afterwards dividing with the regular thieves. This class of criminals is the most difficult to reach and bring to justice. Hotels, saloons, restaurants, and etc., where the rough 'cowboy' element spend their money freely, are both weak and wicked in their sympathy for and protection of this lawless class.⁷⁸

The rustling gangs were not opposed to raiding from each other and there was little regard for life. In a letter written to the governor and printed by the Epitaph:

The gang who are known as "cowboys" are engaged in stock raising in the valleys of San Simon and Cloverdale, in the southeastern portion of Arizona, and from good authority I learn that the cattle, horses and sheep, now controlled by said cowboys had been stolen from the citizens of Sonora and Arizona and New Mexico Until recently it has been the custom to steal cattle and horses in Arizona and drive them into Sonora for sale, and on the return trip steal stock in Sonora and drive them into Arizona and New Mexico for sale; consequently quite a traffic was kept up. This practice has abated somewhat, lately, on account of the killing of four cowboys at Fronteras.⁷⁹

Dealing With Lawlessness

Lawlessness was not entirely due to political factionalism or corruption. Remoteness and poor transportation and communication capabilities created a challenge to peace officers.

Camps were filled with robust, young men whose primary pastimes were gambling and drinking. Without rigid social institutions in place, the maverick population was unpredictable. One against many were not good odds and it was foolhardy for a peace officer to try to enforce a strict behavior code.

The earliest camps did not have jails. The most common manner of incarceration was the "jail tree," to which the person was chained. Drunkenness was the most common offense.

Due to the lack of traditional courts and jails, the early "miners' code"



Although this meat market was in Tucson, it's representative of 1880s Tombstone. Butchers, such as this one, didn't ask whether the meat was from rustled animals or not. This photo obviously was taken in the winter because there are no flies on the hog carcass or beef quarters.

prevailed.⁸⁰ This meant that individuals who became a problem were discouraged from maintaining residence by a whipping or the threat of hanging. Sentences were designed to get rid of the problem or insure that such behavior would not repeat itself.

The concept of "self-rule" established by the early mining camps continued to be considered an avenue for frontier justice in Tombstone. When bureaucracy functioned too slowly, "citizen leagues" and "safety committees" were organized.

In Cochise County, both a citizens' league and safety committee were organized to "protect those who could not protect themselves."⁸¹ Parsons

recorded in his journal that another man had been killed the previous night. "This last shooter will probably be hung if caught by the boys. Something must be done. Lynch law is very effective at times — in a community like this."⁸²

When jails were built, they were relatively small. The Tombstone jail, finished in April of 1881, had only 20 square feet of space. At one time, it housed at least 18 men — the number that escaped during a reported jailbreak.⁸³

Another obstacle to law enforcement was the inadequate political and legal mechanisms of territorial government. In each new territory the federal government supplied a governor, secretary, three judges, an attorney and a marshal.

But lack of experience and professionalism in these public servants often made the judicial system one of the weakest parts of the territorial institution.

A case in point was that of B.W. Pyle, an auctioneer and commission merchant in Tombstone, who was convicted for a crime by a 12-man jury. He appealed, lost and was sentenced to the Yuma Territorial Prison. Enroute to the prison, the entourage passed through Tucson.

Pyle convinced the deputies to allow him to ask for a retrial from the district judge in Pima County. In the second trial, Pyle's former sentence was overruled and he was released.⁸⁴

Cleaning Up The County

The "law and order" conservatives of Cochise County continued to harp on the perpetual state of lawlessness. The Epitaph printed a blistering editorial on the court system:

Men are shot in the streets and the killers are turned loose because no evidence is brought before the Grand Jury to indict them ... men are found dead in various places, and a newspaper item is all that is known and no witnesses are at hand to convict. Suspicious circumstances, such as the escape of the murderer Powell.⁸⁵

Numerous suggestions were offered as to how to solve the law and order problems. Tombstone Mayor John Clum suggested that peace officers be paid \$1 for every conviction as an incentive.⁸⁶ But the problem of citizens unwilling to testify in court remained.

The reluctance of witnesses to testify was addressed by Breakenridge in his memoirs:

Ranchers were afraid to furnish any information in regard to the outlaws and cattle thieves, and it was impossible to get any help from them. If the outlaws came to a ranch, the ranchmen furnished them such assistance as they asked for, and allowed them to go their way without interference, thinking they themselves would be immune from robbery. But the outlaws soon found it was easier to steal cattle from the ranchmen and sell them to the butchers and Government beef contractors than to make the hard trip into Mexico after them, especially as the Mexicans were on the alert, ready to shoot on sight, and had killed several of them.⁸⁷

Another example of acquiescence to the outlaw, whether from fear or practicality, was when cattle agent A.M. Franklin was sent to receive 1,000 head of cattle from Mexico. As the herd reached the county, a stampede

ensued, resulting in the loss of 150 to 200 head.

Five or six sets of hoof prints led to a rustler's hideaway whose "chief" was Johnny Ringo. When asked about the cattle, Ringo did not admit to taking them, but made a generous offer to help Franklin round them up — for a price.⁸⁸

The Grand Jury report at the end of 1881 listed four indictments for murder, 15 grand larceny, eight robbery, eight assaults with deadly weapon, one forgery and 16 bills ignored dismissed due to "lack of evidence." The report noted there existed a "remarkable reluctance of witnesses to testify" and that the state of affairs in the community on this issue was deplorable.

Between the years of 1881 and 1882, Cochise County experienced a great deal of lawlessness and irrational violence. In January 1882, 18 days after taking office, Mayor John Carr announced that permits for guns would not be issued except to businessmen who lived on the outskirts of town and had to travel late at night.⁸⁹ Fines doubled and tripled for those arrested for disturbing the peace, assault and battery, and carrying a concealed weapon. Law enforcement officers were given a fixed salary and the mayor chastised public officials who behaved unprofessionally.⁹⁰

The increase of respectable women was probably the major influence that placed restraints on prostitution. On Feb. 26, 1882, Ordinance 32 was passed, making it unlawful for any person to keep a house or room of prostitution in Tombstone except in a designated area.⁹¹

It was several years before law and order was confidently established. By 1884, relative calm came to the "wild west" town of Tombstone.

This positive change was not necessarily due to rehabilitation of a maverick population. Instead it was a matter of the problem going away. More than half the population moved out of Tombstone by that year. Those that remained represented a more traditional society who lived in primary family units and planned to be permanent residents if their luck held out.

Measuring Crime and Violence

The intent of this section is to identify how serious crime and irrational violence impacted Tombstone. Who were the perpetrators and who were the victims? What was the provocation, and what were circumstances of crimes? How did Cochise County compare to other frontier communities and modern society in regard to serious crime and acts of irrational behavior?

In this study, crime and violence was divided into two major categories: premeditated "serious crime," such as robbery and theft, and "irrational violence," constituting physically reckless, aggressive or destructive behavior.⁹²

For the most part, police court and sheriff records in Cochise County are no longer extant. A substitute was found in the Epitaph. Its editors reported on most human interest events, which included acts of serious crime and irrational violence. The Epitaph also published court activities from the local up to the district level.

Approximately 50 percent of the Epitaph issues are extant for 1880 and 1881. In order to obtain a better representation of crime and violence, data for the two years was combined and averaged to give an average yearly index that represented crimes per 100,000 population.

Due to rapid immigration in the area, a population figure at one point did not give a realistic base for calculating a yearly crime index. Since an average was used for the criminal activity, it seemed appropriate to use an average for

the population base also.

The population figure was obtained by taking the average of the population in June, 1880, according to the federal census, and the population for June, 1882, according to the territorial census.

Tombstone had 1,767 people in 1880 and 5,300 in 1882.⁹³ This gave an average population base of 3,534 to represent the years 1880-1881.⁹⁴

The county-wide population figure was derived in the same manner. Cochise County had approximately 2,000 population in 1880 and 9,640 in June of 1882. This was an average population of 5,820 for the years of 1880-1881.⁹⁵

There are several reasons why both a Tombstone and a county-wide index was calculated. Homicide and serious crime, although taking place outside of Tombstone, were brought before the district court in Tombstone. For this reason, the county population was the most representative base for determining a crime index for serious crime.

Each camp had its own justice of the peace and constable to prosecute minor offenses. Consequently, acts of irrational violence reported by the Epitaph represented arrests made in Tombstone and that population figure was the more representative base. By using the population base of both Tombstone and the county, a minimum and a maximum crime index was obtained.

Homicide inquest reports provided facts about the circumstance and provocation for acts of irrational violence. The wording of verdicts however was sometimes misleading, as the coroner was deceptively "discreet" when assigning cause of death in some cases.

An example is the coroner's verdict regarding the death of John Heith, who allegedly masterminded a robbery in Bisbee in 1883. Four other individuals, who actually carried out the robbery, were sentenced to be hanged. Heith was to be sent to the Yuma Territorial Prison for a "life" sentence.

At the inquest of Heith, who died shortly after sentencing, Dr. John E. Goodfellow, having examined the body, reported that Heith came to his death "from emphysema ... it might have been caused by strangulation ... sometimes produced from the effects of a high altitude."⁹⁶

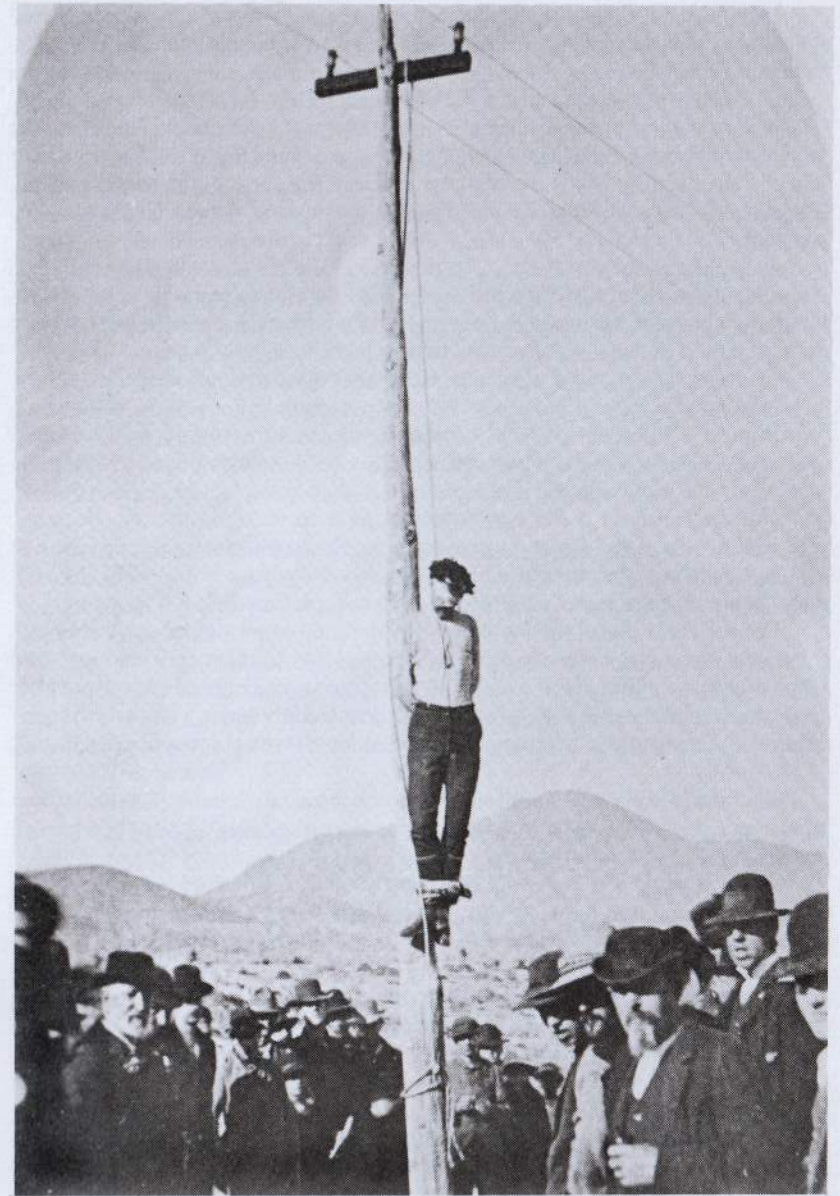
While incarcerated in the Tombstone jail awaiting transfer to the Yuma Territorial Prison, a Bisbee mob, whose opinion of the verdict differed from that of the judge, removed Heith from jail and hanged him. Since Heith was hoisted to the top of the nearest telegraph pole, one might say that the deceased did indeed terminate his life at a relatively high altitude.

This type of reporting also was used when assigning cause of death in cases of suicide and overdose. The coroner's decision was not always indicative of the facts provided in the various testimonies at the inquest. There was a tendency to under-report rather than over-report suicide. In some cases, however, it was difficult to differentiate between deaths due to accidental overdose and those done with intent to commit suicide.

The first step in evaluating the nature and degree of crime and violence in Cochise County was to look at the overall arrest rate and compare it to other societies.

In 1880-1881, at least 561 acts that were subject to arrest were reported by the Epitaph. According to the Epitaph, 445 of this number resulted in formal charges.

The general crime index for 1880-1881, using the county population, is 5,785. If Tombstone's population base is used, the index is 8,474.⁹⁷



John Heith, alleged mastermind of a robbery in Bisbee, was hung in Tombstone in 1884 by a mob from Bisbee. The robbery of the Goldwater-Castanada store had gone awry and four people were killed, including a woman. Less than a month after Heith was hung, four other men convicted of the robbery were hung by law enforcement officers.

These are not unusually high levels of general criminal activity compared to modern society. In 1984, the reported general crime index for San Francisco was 8,370 and 8,473 in New York City. Santa Rosa, Calif., representing a relatively low-crime area, had a 7,288 figure.⁹⁸

When comparing Cochise County with other late-19th century societies, the area did not have a significantly higher arrest rate than New York City or Silver City, Col., during 1880. Tombstone's arrest rate was eight percent of the population; New York City's was six percent and Silver City's was 10 percent.⁹⁹

According to these statistics, Tombstone in the "wild west" did not have a significantly higher ratio of arrests than other late-19th century cities or modern society. This fact becomes even more evident when differentiating between acts regarded as serious crime and those of irrational violence.

Cochise County had less serious crime than that of modern society. (Homicide was classified as an act of irrational violence). Serious crime constituted 26 percent of total crimes known to be reported in the county between 1880 and 1881. The robbery index for the county was 312; if state robberies are included, the figure rises to 520.

Serious crime is a much greater problem in modern society. Douglas, according to the 1984 Uniform Crime Report, had a burglary-robbery index of 1,736, which is higher than Cochise County in the years of 1880-1881. Miami, Fla., had a robbery index of 4,090 and New York City 2,905.¹⁰⁰

These figures dispel the myth that robbery, and in particular stage robbery, occurred frequently in the "wild west" days. Some "old timers" who gathered for Tombstone's first "Helldorado" celebration in 1929 could only remember one stage robbery that took place in Cochise County during its early frontier period.¹⁰¹ The Epitaph, however, reported at least three stage robberies during 1880 and 1881.

Cochise County had few train robberies. This is probably due to the fact that there were so few railroads in the area in the early 1880s. The two of record happened in later years.

The first, in 1885, was more of a theft than an armed robbery. Five "well-known citizens" stole some government supplies from a waiting train near Fort Huachuca.¹⁰² The other occurred in 1899 near the town of Willcox by two ex-deputies, Alvord and Stiles.¹⁰³

Tombstone residents were relatively safe from wanton acts of theft considering that most people lived in shelters that could not be secured with locks. The primary motivation for petty theft was survival, as the most frequently stolen items were firewood, clothing, milk and chickens.¹⁰⁴ The theft index for Tombstone was 462.

For the most part, the urban frontier population was decidedly more honest when compared to that of modern society. When all types of theft are added together that describe any activity in which illegal possession of property existed or intent to obtain property or money by deception, the index was 2,660 for Tombstone's population, and 1,820 based on the county population.

It was difficult to obtain a meaningful comparison for theft and robbery with modern society because of the different categories recorded in the Uniform Crime Report. In 1984, the larceny-theft index, which doesn't include auto theft, burglary or robbery, was 6,174 for Miami; 4,381 for San Francisco, and 3,499 for New York City. Douglas and Santa Rosa had an index of 4,572

and 4,667.¹⁰⁵

The 1880-1881 homicide index, however, was much higher in Cochise County than all other areas with which it was compared. There were at least 20 homicides in 1880 and 55 in 1881.

This gives a yearly county index of 975 for those combined years. Most homicides took place in Tombstone and if that population base is used, the index rises to 1,425.

In 1882, using the territorial census of that year for the population base, the index for the county was 622 and for Tombstone 1,132. In 1883, the total number of homicides declined to 34. If the population count was the same as 1882, the index drops to 353 for the county and 642 for Tombstone.

By comparison, the highest number of homicides in the cattle towns of Ellsworth and Dodge City, Kan., was five, which occurred in Dodge City in 1875. Ford County, of which Dodge City is a part, had a population of 3,122 in 1880. This gives an index of about 160.¹⁰⁶ Between 1880 and 1882, Boston, Mass., had an index of just under four.¹⁰⁷

In 1984, the homicide index was 42 in Miami, 20 in New York City, 10 in San Francisco and seven in both Santa Rosa and Douglas.¹⁰⁸

1880s Homicide

An examination of the circumstances and provocation of early-1800s Cochise County homicides was made. This inquiry indicated that the stressful conditions of the urban frontier were responsible for much of the violence that led to homicide.

Irrational violence was the major cause of homicides that occurred between 1880 and 1883 in Cochise County. Thirty-seven percent of homicides were the result of an argument between a partner or acquaintance. Few homicides involved spouses or relatives because most residents didn't have family with them in Tombstone.

Between 1880 and 1883, only two reported homicides involved a relative. In 1881, a Mr. Earl was charged with murdering his wife (details unknown);¹⁰⁹ and in 1883, J.B. Jarvis, while intoxicated, shot his brother during an argument.¹¹⁰

In modern society, 57 percent of homicides were acts of irrational violence against close relatives and 48 percent of those cases involved a spouse killing a spouse.¹¹¹

Indians were the alleged perpetrators of 16 percent of the homicides in early 1880s Cochise County. In April, 1882, the military reported that at least a dozen bodies of prospectors and packers were discovered near Willcox and were victims of "Indian attack."¹¹²

In some instances, Indians were not the guilty party. In the same month, the Epitaph reported that some of the recent "Indian" killings were faked by four "white" men.¹¹³

It was difficult to determine if foul play had occurred when the body of the victim was not discovered before it began to decompose. An example is the death of John P. Thompson, whose body was found some distance from Tombstone; the Epitaph reported that cause was undetermined due to "exposure to weather."¹¹⁴ Unknown deaths constituted four percent of the deaths reported by the coroner.

Lack of confidence in the law and order system raised the homicide rate in the county 11 percent. These homicides occurred when a citizen felt justified

in taking the law into his own hands. Coroner juries determined whether or not a homicide was justified and there were enough instances to indicate that a great deal of tolerance existed towards the concept of self-rule.

In December, 1880, Mr. Cowley attempted to persuade S.M. Burrows to sign a petition by holding a pistol on him. Barrows ducked behind the counter of his store, grabbed his shotgun and, after chasing Cowley over a fence, shot and killed him. Despite the fact that Barrows was no longer in danger when Cowley fled and that it was Mr. Barrows who was the pursuer, the case never came to trial.¹¹⁵

In another instance, a conductor shot and killed a "Chinaman" who allegedly forced entry on a train. There was no mention of any attempt to deal with the problem in any other manner. The conductor was not brought to trial.¹¹⁶

Peace officers were at greater risk in a society in which the population indulged itself excessively in alcohol and carried firearms at the same time. Five percent of the homicides were officers who were shot while making an arrest. In almost every instance, those arrested were either drunk or had been drinking.

Law officers were responsible for 10 percent of homicides. In the majority of the cases in which individuals were shot by peace officers during arrest, the individual was drinking and armed.

In a few instances, the arrested was not armed but the officer thought otherwise and acted in self-defense. There were some officers who lacked good judgement in this respect and seemed to be of the opinion that it was better to be safe than sorry.

Another difference between the urban frontier and modern society is the location of crime and violence. The frontier population lived in tents and cabins and spent most free time in saloons and billiard halls that were open around the clock. As a result, many homicides occurred in or near a saloon and the most frequent time was between 5 p.m. and 5 a.m.¹¹⁷

A number of homicides occurred in the street in front of saloons because belligerents were thrown out but not disarmed. Perhaps it was not easily determined which individuals were likely to carry out deadly threats and some of the violence came from the "respectable" citizens of town as well as ruffians. Or, there was a lack of concern for individuals whom the permanent residents regarded as transients and ruffians.

Firearms were the primary weapon used in modern and frontier society. In 1884, firearms were used in 60 percent of the homicides. In Cochise County in 1880, firearms were used in all homicides, and in the next two years were to be used in 87 percent of homicides.

Liquor, Drugs and Prostitution

Seventy-four percent of all reported crime in 1880-1881 Cochise County came under the category of irrational violence, which includes homicides. In 18 percent of the cases, drunkenness was cited. Drunkenness comprised 26 percent of those crimes classified as irrational violence.

The debilitating effect of drinking is evident in George Parsons' commentary regarding one of his roommates:

John O'Connell kept us awake coming in drunk several times tonight. Am sorry for John. He's a good man — but whiskey is beating him. He spent in 3 days or 4 I've forgotten which

about \$500 ... on drink — his earnings for a long time and period of hard & dangerous work.¹¹⁸

A few days later, Parsons was prompted to address the subject again, "Some of the boys will have to be boxed up and sent home yet if they don't behave themselves. Faro-whiskey [and] bad women will beat anyone."¹¹⁹

The degree to which liquor was a predisposing factor in so many instances of irrational violence attests to the fact that the frontier was stressful and this gave rise to a drinking population. Drunken behavior, if charged, cost the miners a day or two of pay.¹²⁰ Between 1880 and 1881, the fine was \$5-10. In a few cases, the fine was as high as \$17. It appears that the greater the nuisance factor, the steeper the fine.

If drunkenness was a major influence in the number of homicides and acts of irrational violence in the western camps, does this mean that there were more saloons on the frontier than in traditional communities? In 1881, Tombstone had 43 businesses that sold liquor; 28 were specifically saloons. Tombstone had about the same number of saloons as New York City, per capita, but fewer than San Francisco.

Who were the perpetrators of crime and violence? The two conditions of the frontier most likely to move men to desperation were stress from economic depravity and the lack of a family support system. Sixty-four percent of those arrested came from the unskilled working class. They were involved in the greatest number of murders, robberies and suicides. This group was also responsible for most of the acts of irrational violence.¹²¹

This is not to say that those in the higher economic classes were not arrested nor subject to stress. Thirty-three percent of identified offenders were in the merchant and tradesman class.

The majority of these offenders were arrested for drunkenness, fighting and carrying a concealed weapon. The lack of serious crime in this economic group, or white-collar class, supports the hypothesis that economic stress was a major cause of crime and violence.

The upper white-collar class had the most number of "malfeasance" charges against them. Some of these charges evolved out of the controversy over the Tombstone townsite lots.

The majority of those arrested during 1880-1881 could not be identified from either the 1880 or 1882 census list, the index to mining claims, voter's registration or the plat map of Tombstone.¹²² This represents a large percentage of offenders who either had little or no economic investment in the area or who were transients or individuals who did not want their identity known.¹²³

How much crime was perpetrated by the "cowboy" element? Some cowboys were actually ranch hands but the majority were part of a pseudo-cowboy cult who adopted the legendary image of the Westerner. These particular "cowboys" played the big shot, brandished weapons, engaged in a large dose of braggadocio and committed a fair share of chaos around the saloon area of town. One, Dick Floyd, repeatedly rode his horse into saloons before a citizen decided enough was enough and shot him.¹²⁴

In 1884 this breed had dwindled. The governor reported to Congress that the number of cowboy cattle thieves in Cochise County was no more than 50 and, with the organization of safety committees, the worst of the "cowboys" had left the vicinity, fearing that they would be "lynched" or stretched by the neck without judge or jury.¹²⁵



These men are about to go on shift at the Bunker Hill Mine. It's easy to tell they're about to start work because their faces and hands are clean and they're carrying their lunch pails. After work, most of these men probably had no family to go home to and instead went to a saloon.

Ethnic violence was a part of the American scene in almost every region and period of this country's history. The extent of this type of violence in Cochise County could not sufficiently be determined.

Mexicans were not granted equal opportunity in both economic and social circumstances in the Far West. In Cochise County, there is an obvious absence of Hispanic names in the records of the early mining claims of the county, suggestive of exclusion practices.¹²⁶

There are examples of opposition to Chinese laborers. On July 25, 1880, an anti-Chinese meeting was held in Tombstone by some residents; the message was, "the Chinese must go."¹²⁷

In September, 1880, Charles Crow was arrested for "beating a member of the Flower Kingdom" and fined \$10. In April, 1881, a few law officers attempted to demand money from "eight Chinamen," who refused to pay and reported the incident to Marshal Sipply, who dismissed the officers.¹²⁸

Suicide is another indication of stress in a society, and was generally higher on the frontier than in traditional urban societies.¹²⁹ Parsons thought it a serious problem in Tombstone, stating that men were shot, stabbed and victims of suicide on a regular basis.¹³⁰

The year with the most deaths indicative of some form of self-destruction was 1881; there were three suicides, one attempt and five deaths from alcohol and overdose. The index for these combined deaths was 172.

To what degree did a drug culture exist in Tombstone and how extensively did it contribute to serious crime and irrational violence? Opium dens operated within the county and in October of 1880 and September of 1881, two "Chinamen" were arrested for smoking opium and fined \$15.¹³¹

The Chinese were not the only ones that participated in the vice. In February of 1882, three "Chinamen" and two "Americans" were charged with using the drug. The former were arrested and the latter two were discharged.¹³²

Chloral hydrate, laudanum (an opium derivative) and morphine were frequently prescribed by physicians and were the primary drug in most cases of suicide and overdose.

A number of facts relating to the frontier drug culture can be found in the inquest proceedings of Sam Bass, who died of an overdose in 1898. First was the fact that drugs were used and sold and there was some secrecy associated with it.

Bass obtained an injection from a monte dealer in Bisbee, Samuel E. Roberts, who also used the drug. The suggestion of secrecy comes from the fact that when Bass knocked on Roberts' door, he did not readily answer, stating in the inquest that he did not want anyone to see him giving himself an injection.

The evidence that a drug culture existed on the frontier comes from Bass's boasting that he could take "more morphine than any man in the territory," and that he was going to "order a layout for smoking [opium] tomorrow." In bragging, Bass wanted Roberts to give him a 2-3 grain dose of morphine, when "one-quarter grain" was the usual dose, according to Roberts.

Following the injection, Sam said he "felt queer and it was very dark." Later that evening after wandering from saloon to saloon, Bass went to a friend's house. He laid down to a sleep from which he never awoke.

The jury dismissed the case against Roberts, determining the death of Bass was the result of an overdose of morphine but "without criminal intent."¹³³

This was not an isolated case of habitual drug use. Ira Bartlett, age 50 and a native of Massachusetts, shot himself in 1893. At the inquest, it was stated that "the deceased had used opium."¹³⁴ Thomas Jennings, a 45-year-old native of England, died from opium poisoning and also had the "morphine habit;" his death was determined to be of "suicidal intent."¹³⁵

Prostitution was not a crime in early 1880s Cochise County, but its presence contributed to irrational violence. The businesses were licensed along with saloons and gambling places in order to collect revenue.

The most common complaint and cause of arrest of these women was "drunk and disorderly conduct," in conjunction with "profane and filthy language." Quite often their assault and battery charges included a fine for carrying a concealed weapon.¹³⁶

These women led a hard life. The Epitaph reported as a suicide the death of one of the "native women who hangs around the Diana [dance hall]." She allegedly "shot herself in the back of the neck with the intent of ending a miserable life."¹³⁷

Frontier society placed little value on their lives. Saloon owner Ike Levy was only "fined for killing an ill-famed maiden over price."¹³⁸

When crime and violence are measured for 1880s Cochise County, the findings demonstrate several significant ways in which the urban frontier differed from previous frontiers that were rural and traditional, as well as that of modern society. The frontier has always been associated with violence and appealed to mavericks who prefer to live on the fringe of traditional society. The development of the urban frontier in the last half of the 19th century added a new dimension to the term, "frontier violence;" it was more violent when compared to that of the rural frontier in both irrational violence and serious crime. From this perspective, the "wild west" was a reality.

Although the overall arrest rate in Cochise County was on a parity with both urban and traditional societies of the late-19th and 20th century when compared, the "wild west" towns were less lawless than their reputation. The one exception is the number of homicides; in this, Cochise County had a much higher rate. But only a small portion of these homicides was a direct consequence of serious crime.

Another variation was the site of crime and violence. In modern society, the residential area is the scene of serious crime in the form of theft, robbery and burglary and probably the site of most domestic crime due to the traditional family unit mode of modern society.

The residential area of the frontier was seldom the site of serious crime or violence. Most illegal acts were that of irrational violence in the saloon environment and serious crime occurred more frequently on the streets and remote areas. Frontier citizens could avoid a lot of violence and crime by avoiding the rowdy element, drinking and gambling.

The majority of perpetrators of irrational violence in 1880s Cochise County were first-time offenders. Only a few were arrested more than four times between 1880 and 1882. Some of these individuals were habitual drunks but most serious crime was perpetrated primarily by the 50 or so men known as cowboys. For the most part, they were also responsible for the stage robberies and cattle rustling.

Gun Culture of Cochise County

Guns, in particular revolvers, were an important aspect of 19th century frontier culture. The literary development of the gun-toting Westerner made him a monument of the Far West frontier and a legend in his own time.¹³⁹

In this section, two areas of inquiry are conducted. First is the question of the gun culture itself. What evidence is there that one existed in Cochise County and to what degree?

Thus far, several aspects of frontier development have been examined to explain the degree of crime and violence that occurred in Cochise County. These conclusions, however, did not provide an adequate explanation for the unusually high homicide rate in Cochise County when compared to another urban frontier community, Dodge City, Kan.

Handguns, especially revolvers, came into greatest use and popularity during the first part of the 1880s, the time when law and order in Cochise County were at lowest ebb. Therefore, the second area of inquiry is an examination of the technological development of the revolver which occurred at the same time that Cochise County was experiencing its most anarchic stage of community development.

In July, 1880, less than a year after Schieffelin's first big shipment of ore, two gunsmiths set up shop in Tombstone. S.L. Hart advertised his establishment as the place with the sign of "the big revolver." G.F. Spangenberg, in his advertisement, mentioned "many of our frontier boys carry firearms" and that his guns were assembled on the premises.¹⁴⁰

That same month Editor Clum of the Epitaph reported that Tombstone was void of any criminal element. A month later he changed his mind: "Lots of b-a-d men and women in the camp."¹⁴¹

Parsons also observed that a gun culture was on the rise. In February, 1880, Parsons recorded, "Shooting this a.m. and two fellows in afternoon attempted to go for one another with guns and six-shooters — but friends interposed."¹⁴² By July, Parsons' concern for public safety and social disorder increased: "another man killed night before last. Too much loose pistol practice." By August, Parsons noted: "men killed, shot, stabbed, suiciding every day or two. This thing must be stopped."¹⁴³

Some use of firearms on the frontier was justified. Fear of outlaw or Indian attack on the isolated roads motivated the majority of travelers to keep some type of weapon handy. Evidence of a gun culture can be established by the numerous references that are made in the records indicating that men traveled armed, or "heeled," as was the term.

Was there a "gun and holster" cult in Cochise County? There is some evidence to show that holsters and guns were worn by some men while in town, regardless of existing laws that prohibited such actions.¹⁴⁴

Parsons noted shortly after arriving in Tombstone that "six-shooters [were] part of a man's dress here."¹⁴⁵ The Epitaph had a personal ad for a citizen who hoped to retrieve a "gun and holster" that he had left in the water closet behind a saloon.¹⁴⁶ A cowboy by the name of Jim Johnson reportedly shot himself in the leg while practicing "the fast draw."¹⁴⁷

The following scenario that occurred in a Tombstone saloon not only demonstrates that guns and holsters were worn by citizens in public places, but the degree of laxness with which peace officers enforced firearm ordinances within the city limits and the general reluctance of juries to prosecute such

cases brought before them.

In 1883, Mike Smith accidentally dropped his gun out of the holster while buckling on his gunbelt in a saloon. The stray bullet hit another man who was playing cards at a table nearby. According to the bartender's testimony:

Directly after defendant [Mike Smith] entered [the saloon] and asked me if Danny McCann had left a pistol, scabbard, belt, overcoat.... He took the belt and pistol and was in the act of buckling them on, then directly afterwards I heard the report of a pistol. The deceased [Richard Scott] after an interval of five seconds hollered, oh oh I'm shot.

Other testimony at the inquest reported that Smith was drunk when he came into the saloon for the gun and holster. This lack of sobriety was evidently a determining factor since the inquest jury decided the shooting was accidental. There was "no intent to do bodily harm or malice aforethought,"¹⁴⁸ the jury said.

The inquest of Jack Elmer provides yet another example of tolerance toward display of guns in public. Elmer was in a saloon, drunk. According to the bartender, Elmer and another man were agitating the crowd by snapping their Winchester rifles. Eventually the bartender took the firearms away from Elmer and his friend.

When Harry S. McKinney came into the saloon, Elmer picked a quarrel about ownership of a certain gun.¹⁴⁹ McKinney attempted to pacify Elmer by saying, "I don't want any gunfight in here and I don't want to fight you." But both men reportedly "reached around the bar to obtain revolvers." The bartender testified both men were "heeled" when the shooting started.¹⁵⁰

The custom of removing firearms and placing them in the care of the bartender was evident in the testimonies at the inquest of Scott and Elmer. It was also evident in the inquest of W. M. Hill.

Hill was sitting quietly at the end of a bar when L. D. Lawrence, who had been drinking with a group of men, assaulted a soldier. Lawrence knocked the soldier under the billiard table and when the soldier got to his feet, Lawrence knocked him down again.

Hill sprang at Lawrence and clasped him. They scuffled for a few minutes and then separated. Lawrence retired a few steps and pulled his pistol.

Hill, seeing this, ran behind the bar to grab a shotgun. Before the saloon was brought to order, Lawrence had wounded a soldier and killed Hill by shooting him in the back with his "six-shooter."¹⁵¹

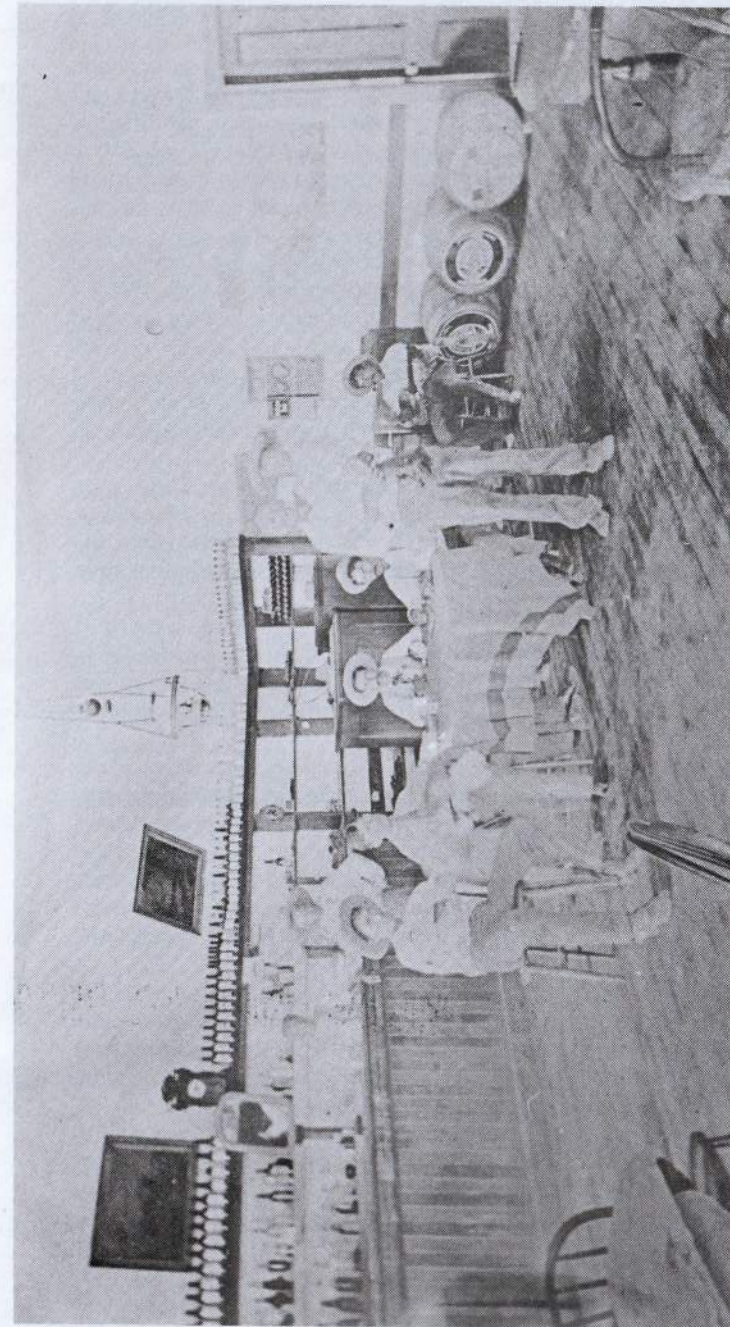
Whether or not a "gun and holster" society existed, gun violations contributed significantly to arrests reported by the *Epitaph* during 1880 and 1881. At least 38 percent of charges were gun-related.

Gun and Holster Cult?

Inquest records showed guns to be the overwhelming choice of weapon by assailants and greatest cause of homicide. Very few episodes of knife fights resulted in death in cases of irrational violence.

But it's doubtful that most of the population was part of a "gun and holster" cult. Statistical information on holster manufacturing could not be found in local records. Holsters (scabbards) were not advertised as feature items. In 1881, the business directory of Tombstone did not list a leather shop other than shoemakers.¹⁵²

The most common place to carry a handgun, according to reports of gun-



This photo of the interior of Larabee's Saloon in Fairbank shows a typical facility of its kind and time. Since none of the men seem to have on firearms, they may have given them to the bartender who put them behind his bar. Fairbank is west of Tombstone and was one of several satellite communities which sprang up around the mining camp.

related incidents in both the newspaper and in inquests, was the hip pocket, belt or inside pocket of the jacket. The Epitaph reported a shooting incident in which a man was carrying his gun in his waistband.¹⁵³

On another occasion, it was reported that a gun belonging to a saloon worker accidentally dropped from the back pocket of his "pantaloons" and discharged.¹⁵⁴ Some individuals wore a shoulder holster and were identified as card players or professionals known as "sporting men."

Were "six-shooters" or "revolvers" the most common type of firearm used? Almost without exception, the answer is yes. The terms pistol, revolver and six shooter were used interchangeably in the records.

In order to determine the type of handgun most frequently used, single shot or revolver, inquest and newspaper reports of shootings were studied. If the gun was fired in rapid succession without enough time for reloading between shots, then it was determined to be a revolver.

An examination of the 1883 homicides of Cochise County shows most victims were not killed by the first bullet. Between three and five shots were usually fired. Therefore fatalities resulting from more than one shot might have been avoided if the revolver was not available.

The saloon area of town was where most shootings took place. The second most common site was at the camp of either miners or cowboys. In these places where personal property was close-by, the rifle was used as frequently as the revolver. The choice was most likely a matter of convenience rather than preference.

The public, as well as peace officers, tolerated a considerable amount of public display of firearms. Legal action took place only in those instances in which life and property were threatened. For example, a patron in a saloon was accidentally shot by a man who was at the bar "doing tricks" with his revolver when it accidentally discharged.¹⁵⁵

Frank Stahle was shot in a Bisbee saloon by a stray shot from the revolver of William Anderson, who was reported to have been "brandishing the six-shooter while drinking."¹⁵⁶ Each individual was arrested, but had been allowed to brandish a firearm until someone was wounded.

Which individuals most often carried firearms and were prone to use them on other individuals? It has already been established that crime and violence was perpetrated by individuals experiencing the greatest amount of economic and social stress.

There were, however, individuals from the merchant class and white-collar class who were fined for carrying a concealed weapon if they were responsible for public disorder. Most perpetrators were identified by the Epitaph as a "notorious cowboy" or "drunken miner."¹⁵⁷ Individuals having some reputation were labeled "tough customers" or, in the case of John Archer, a "ruffian."¹⁵⁸

Gamblers were frequently involved in shootings. Such is the case of T.J. Waters, who was shot by E.L. Bradshaw, a "sporting man."¹⁵⁹ Almost without exception, drunkenness and the availability of handguns were the primary predisposing factors that precipitated acts of irrational violence that in many cases led to homicide.

There was a relatively small number of ranchers and cowboys but these men did wear firearms, although they lived in the more remote areas of the county. Evidence of this practice was noted in the following item reported in the Epitaph in 1907: "Justice court holds that cattlemen and miners may continue

to wear guns lawfully for two hours after arrival in town."¹⁶⁰ The late date of the decree demonstrates that this was the practice long after the early stage of frontier development in the county had passed.

It was difficult to distinguish between working cowboys and individuals who were cattle thieves and pseudo-cowboys, who merely adapted "cowboy" dress and manners. After G.N. Taylor was arrested for shooting in the streets of Tombstone, Judge Wallace announced his determination to put a stop "to this ridiculous and insane practice of playing badmen."¹⁶¹ Although individuals of the cowboy cult received the greater amount of notoriety and attention, only a small percentage of the total number in the community were involved in illegal gun-related activities.

A number of "John Does" were among those who were arrested. This practice appears to be a means of protecting the reputation of some of "upright" citizens who occasionally lost control while under the influence of liquor and did not want their indiscretion made public.

But there was another possible incentive for anonymous reporting, that of intimidation. Editor John Clum discreetly reported the activities of a well-known cattle rustler, but avoided using his name: "a very wicked ... excessively badman shot out light at Diana Dance Hall last week ... repeated performance and defied whole police force."¹⁶² (This was probably William Broschious, alias Curly Bill.)

By January of 1881, the official beginning for Cochise County, gun violence was a major issue. Parsons questioned law enforcement's ability to keep the peace: "Cowboys (at it) again. All of us awakened by shots. Town unsafe — some decisive steps should be taken."¹⁶³

Parsons was not the only one to question the ability of those who were appointed to keep the peace. With exasperation over the amount of gun violence in Tombstone, Clum noted there seemed to be a great differing of opinion as to the meaning of the city ordinance regarding the carrying of concealed weapons, quoting the ordinance:

That it should be unlawful to carry in the Village of Tombstone any fire-arm, knife, or other dangerous weapons without permission from mayor. Fine not to exceed \$50 nor more than 30 days (in jail), passed April 12, 1880.¹⁶⁴

Irrational violence was more frequently the cause of homicide in the late 19th century than of serious crime.¹⁶⁵ Consequently, fatalities were the result of a deadly combination — agitation, liquor and the revolver.

The disputes and agitations occurred for numerous reasons. Contractual agreements among miners were seldom written down, and as a result misunderstandings occurred. Mark Ellis was shot and killed by a laborer named Lewis in 1881. Ellis threatened to take a horse back from Lewis after deciding that Lewis had not fulfilled an agreement. Lewis thought otherwise and shot Ellis in a fit of anger.¹⁶⁶

Drunkenness distorted judgment and this resulted in quite flimsy excuses for shooting another individual. Charles Helm was killed by his partner in a dispute over how fast to drive the horse team; both were drunk at the time.¹⁶⁷

Some shootings represented the "last straw" in a long list of minor irritations, as was probably the case in the shooting of Mike Anglin. James Van, referred to as a "nice man" in the inquest, was sitting in a saloon in Tombstone when Anglin came in the door drunk. Anglin approached Van,

accused him of stealing his "handkerchief," then took a handkerchief out of Van's vest pocket and blew his nose on it. Van came back with a pistol and shot Anglin. The jury presented a verdict of justifiable homicide and declared a trial was unnecessary.¹⁶⁸

Life on the frontier was strenuous; the struggle to earn a living and endure the primitive nature of camp life without a family support system placed both psychological and physical demands on the frontier population. Parsons recognized this challenge:

Hard-hard work. I use to think the laboring man's a hard life at the cost — but their work is child's play along side of this ... shovelling dirt, making mortar ... holding the drill is something not easily acquired to do ... The terribly cramped and strained positions at times and strength required to manage a hole in soft ground enforces a great physical strain and much nerve when the swinger of the heavy sledge hammer has to aim over and draw in to prevent hitting you and sometimes will graze the edge of your moustache in striking a hundred pound blow upon a piece of steel 3/4 of an inch in diameter ... My hands and arms are in a terrible state. I suffer much but grin and bear it. Have to push myself along. This is a trial I'll venture to say that very-very few of my condition in life have ever experienced. The physical test is the severest that could be imposed I verily believe. Hands, arms, and bodies used up ... Kenney [his boss] says he don't want to discourage me but is afraid I won't be able to stand it. I laugh. I'll show him.¹⁶⁹

As already mentioned, 84 percent of the population was living outside a family support system. Most men lived in dreary and crowded tents. Even those few who could afford small cabins lived in crowded conditions. Parsons described the cabin he shared with several other men:

Rough house — simply roof and sides with openings all over through which wind came freely — mile and one-quarter from town ... no floor to house—so slept on ground and the rats ran about us all night making a great racket.¹⁷⁰

These frontier conditions were, in a sense, violent and precipitated violent reactions to life's many irritations. George Everetts, a 25-year-old miner from Missouri, was shot by a roommate named Peter Devaux. Everetts roomed in a tent with a half-dozen other men and habitually came in drunk at various late hours, much to the agitation of his fellow roommates.

At one a.m. on April 13, 1883, Everetts' roommates made it clear he was no longer welcome and should look for quarters elsewhere. Being drunk, Everetts acknowledged this eviction notice with a few random shots into the tent. Devaux saw this as the last straw and shot Everetts. The inquest jury determined the death to be justifiable homicide.¹⁷¹

The Gun Culture

While the circumstances and conditions of the urban frontier provided for a high level of stress, there was another significant factor that brought about the high Tombstone homicide rate. It was the technological development of the revolver that occurred at the same time as Cochise County was experiencing its first and most anarchic stage of frontier development.

Some form of pistol was in use throughout the country since 1830. But the

casing of early pistols was poor and the ammunition poorly designed. As a result, the accuracy of these early revolvers was mediocre and misfirings were frequent.

In 1831, Colt's pistol factory was on the verge of bankruptcy because of lack of interest. Then the Texas Rangers expressed a need for a light and reliable rapid-firing pistol. This interest sparked life back into Colt's gun company and he accepted the challenge of creating an improved handgun. The advent of the Mexican war provided the necessary government contracts to pay for experimentation and further development.¹⁷²

The technology of interchangeable parts was introduced for the pistol by Colt in 1851. By 1860, Colt produced a pistol body made of "Silver Spring Steel" that was rated three times stronger and tougher than the best cast steel made at the time.¹⁷³

By the late 1870s, the ready-made bullet increased the revolver's lethality and diminished the number of misfirings. In 1877, Colt's new double action .45 calibre revolving pistol was put on the market. In 1884, Colt's further improved six-shooter sold for \$20.¹⁷⁴

As has already been established, acts of irrational violence were on the rise in the late-19th century and serious crime was on the decrease.¹⁷⁵ The growing



Cowboy "wannabes" posed for this photo, pretending to be branding a steer. The jacket and tie one man is wearing seems out of place as do gun belts on the other two men. Note the man on the right already has lost several cartridges from his gun belt in the dirt of the corral.

use of handguns in acts of irrational violence matched the increasing socioeconomic stress in urban societies, which in turn perpetuated more violence.

Handguns were more dangerous because they could be concealed and provided an element of surprise over that of the rifle. There was no warning of imminent danger, especially when the irritabilities of the moment seemed trivial. In most cases of homicide in Cochise County, the weapon was drawn from a concealed location on the person.

The revolver was also more dangerous since the assailant had as many as six chances to kill his victim. With a single-shot pistol, the victim, if not seriously wounded, could retaliate or flee or bystanders could intervene before reloading was accomplished.

The prevalence of guns and lax attitude towards their presence did not entirely originate in the west. The urbanized east had some evidence of a gun culture as early as 1850. In 1866, the New York Times reported:

Hundreds of shooting cases have been reported in our columns within the last few months, and it is safe to say that scarcely a dozen of them would have occurred had not the parties implicated been armed at the moment of excitement. Deliberate, premeditated murder does not occur in the City more than once or twice a year. Yet sudden passion and ready pistols lead to homicides almost innumerable.¹⁷⁶

The extensive use of guns during the 1880s in the east and the west coincided with Cochise County's first stage of frontier development. The increase of firearm use began in 1860, peaked in 1880 and began to decline in 1890. These figures are peacetime use as there were not any major wars between 1870 and 1890.

A gun culture was evident in the traditional and urban frontier societies of the 19th century. The urban frontier societies, however, had a higher homicide rate because of the "self-rule" philosophy. The open display and acceptability of handguns on this frontier had a profound impact upon the individual, predisposing him to gun violence.

Although the "cowboy" element of western folklore was responsible for some frontier town violence, it wasn't the primary cause. The fact that most of the assailants were in the lower economic class, living outside a family network and were inebriated at the time of the shooting denotes the extent of socioeconomic stress of this particular frontier as well as the social group most prone to irrational violence.

Cochise County's high level of homicides was in part due to the revolver's great popularity during the most unstable period of its frontier development in the late 1880s. The decrease of gun manufacturing in 1890 clearly marks the time in which the American gun culture came to a temporary end as a national phenomenon.

Close of the Frontier

The frontier era for Cochise County lasted approximately a quarter of a century. During this time three distinct phases of the frontier are evident, when the homicide index is used as an instrument of measurement.

The first phase occurred between 1879-1884 when the highest level of homicide existed. In 1885, a second phase was marked by a significant decline in the homicide index which lasted until 1901. During this phase, a temporary

rise in the homicide index occurred between 1898-1901.

This short interim, however, did not at any time exceed the homicide rate in the first phase. The nature of this intermittent period will be discussed later.

From 1902 until 1915, the homicide index continued to decline and was lower than that of the first and the second phase, including the short peak between the years of 1898-1901. This constitutes the third phase.

The first phase has already been discussed. The years 1879-1884 were the most lawless and violent years. By 1884, Tombstone ceased to be a bright star on the horizon. The miners moved about the county in search of employment; some migrated to Bisbee.

The migration from Tombstone had a dramatic effect. On June 20, 1885, the Epitaph reported there was so little activity it was reprinting articles about gunfights from other places.¹⁷⁷ In search of interesting news items, the Epitaph reported on the activities and whereabouts of former residents.

Buckskin Frank Leslie was reported to still be alive. Ike Clanton reportedly "died with his boots on" in a neighboring county; he was shot while resisting arrest following his involvement in the Papago Train robbery.¹⁷⁸

The more notorious of the "cowboy element" had faded from the local scene. In 1882, Johnny Ringo was found dead at Turkey Creek. Curly Bill who accidentally shot Sheriff White in 1880 while drunk, left the area. Luke Short, Wyatt Earp and Bat Masterson exited the county in 1882. "Doc" Holliday moved to Colorado and reportedly died in a sanitarium there in 1887.¹⁷⁹

In the late 1870s and 1880s, "wild west" gunfighters and cowboys throughout the Far West experienced untimely deaths, imprisonment or just faded from sight. This phenomenon may not have been a coincidence but a sign that law and order was being established.

The second phase of the frontier period, between 1885-1901, was less lawless than the first. The homicide index, which peaked in 1881 at 1,556, decreased to 642 in 1884.

The county population declined from 9,640 in July, 1882, to 6,938 in 1890. In the latter year, the homicide index dropped to 43.

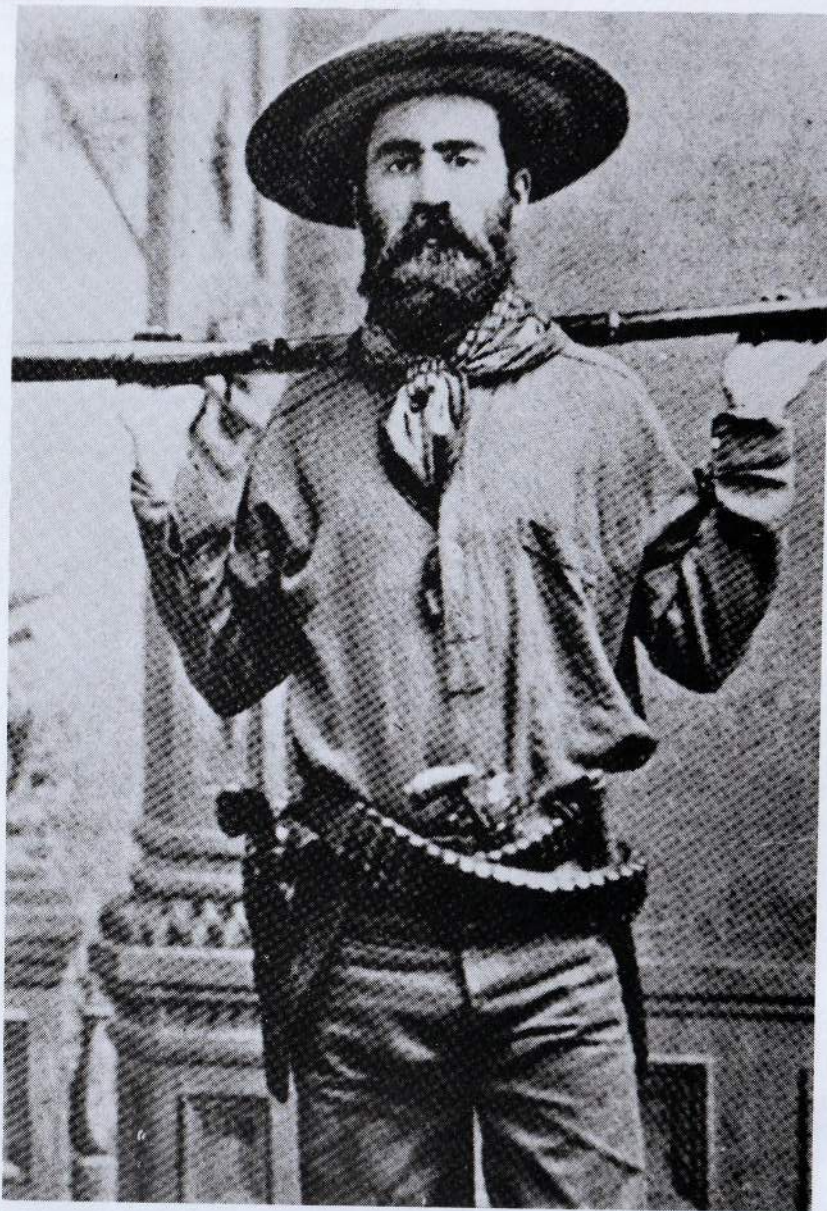
The highest number of homicides for the second phase occurred in 1897. Using an average population figure produces a homicide index of 96, lower than any of the years in the first phase.¹⁸⁰

The decrease of population and consequent decrease in unemployment had a stabilizing affect on the county. Also during the second phase, the communities became more traditional in several ways.

There was a growing parity between males and females, who were now living primarily in single family units. The number of permanent residents began to outnumber transients.

The camps that developed after Tombstone did so more slowly. An example is Bisbee. In July, 1880, Bisbee had a population of only 100.¹⁸¹ In 1882, when Tombstone had 5,300 citizens, Bisbee and its immediate vicinity had no more than 410.¹⁸² In 1890, Bisbee had a population of 1,535.¹⁸³ In 1900, it still had less than 2,500 people.¹⁸⁴ Growth did not occur until after corporate mining was established at the turn of the century. In 1910, the population was 9,165.¹⁸⁵

The demise of Tombstone was due to internal and external factors. During the last two decades of the 19th century, the silver industry struggled for survival in a declining market. A nationwide financial depression in the 1890s made matters even worse.



Although George Parsons' diary written in Tombstone's early days contains many passages in which he expresses concern about the use of firearms, when it came time to take a photo of himself Parsons was the same as everyone else and posed with several weapons: pistols, a knife and a long gun.

The final blow to Tombstone came when the mines began to flood. Attempts were made to drain them, but it was not cost effective due to the low price of silver.¹⁸⁶

At the turn of the century, signs of acute social stress were again evident. Beginning with 1898, the homicide rate rose and remained elevated until 1901.¹⁸⁷

During urbanization, individuals in the lower economic class most vulnerable to socioeconomic pressure were responsible for the greatest number of episodes of irrational violence in Cochise County between 1880-1882. Industrialization affected the class just above that of skilled and semiskilled laborers.

In the last decade of the century a form of industrialization emerged in Cochise County. On June 8, 1887, the Epitaph reported a "Copper Boom in Bisbee."¹⁸⁸ Silver mining had become less lucrative due to silver's low price.

Technological advances associated with industrialization in the mid-19th century created a market for copper. A low grade ore, it had to be mined in large quantities and only large corporations could afford to undertake this type of mining.

Improvements in mining technology made the workplace similar to the factory environment with its close supervision and division of labor. Agitation and dissatisfaction with corporate management was evident by the increase in "labor talk" as early as June of 1886.

Another indication of stress had to do with the new work environment. During the urbanization process, frustrations were manifested in homicide and suicide but with more emphasis on aggressive behavior in the form of homicide. In industrialization, some of that frustration and anger turned inward and the suicide rate showed an increase over that expressed during urbanization. There also was an increase in deaths due to overdose and alcoholism.¹⁸⁹

Between 1880-1884, the Cochise County coroner recorded four suicides a year. The urbanization process slowed between 1885-1891. Both the homicide and suicide rate dropped accordingly with only one suicide a year reported.

With the arrival of corporate mining, the suicide index rose. In 1895, five individuals committed suicide; between 1897-1898 the number was seven. Between 1900-1908, there were 34 suicides, 24 overdose victims and 15 who died of alcoholism.

By 1902, the third and final phase of the frontier was evident. The homicide rate started into another decline. Between 1900-1907, 111 were due to homicide, which included death at the hands of peace officers. This translates into a yearly homicide index of 63 for the eight-year period.

Between 1908-1915, homicides were recorded in two separate categories, justifiable homicide and murder. There were 65 justifiable homicides and 28 murders for an average index of 20, indicating law and order was established and the frontier stage was coming to a close.¹⁹⁰

The homicide index continued to decline between 1916-1924.¹⁹¹ During this period, the population reached a more traditional parity between males and females.

Living arrangements also changed. Tents and tent-houses with dirt floors were replaced by permanent dwellings. In 1900, Cochise County had 2,882 families, of which 2,664 were "private families."¹⁹²

In the transition, one of the positive aspects of the frontier was lost. The egalitarian aspects of frontier politics began to fade and it became increasingly difficult for nonprofessionals to run for office and win.

An increase in re-elected public officials resulted in a more entrenched political elite. Examples are the first mayor of Tombstone, W.A. Harwood, who served as county representative in the state legislative council in 1885.¹⁹³ Mike Gray, justice of the peace in 1881, was elected a territorial representative in 1887.¹⁹⁴

The average age of political candidates in the second and third phase of the frontier was older than that in the first phase. Between 1879 and 1884, most candidates were in their 30s. By 1902, ages ranged from 42 to 63.¹⁹⁵

Another change occurred in the economy. In 1885, an economic shift occurred that put ranching almost on par with mining. For the first time, newspaper advertisements aimed at the ranching market and merchants were reported to be "trying to capture the cattleman's trade."¹⁹⁶ T.W. White, a cattleman, was chairman of the board of supervisors.¹⁹⁷

Ranching is credited with being a "taming" force that put the "cowboy" (rustler) element out of business. Ranchers concerned about cattle-rustling influenced the election of sheriff in 1886.

Ex-Texas Ranger and cattleman John Slaughter was persuaded to run after his own herd was rustled. He took office in 1887. Slaughter promised to "clean up" the county and was good to his word. An unprecedented number of outlaws and rustlers were eliminated.

There were other signs that the frontier was closing. Between 1880-1881, firearms were used in at least 38 percent of arrests. In 1900, according to the Bisbee court docket, firearms were used in approximately six percent of total arrests.¹⁹⁸

What element of society was responsible for lawlessness and violence during the third phase of the frontier? Those arrested in 1900 appear to represent the same element of society as those arrested between 1880-1881. They were individuals who had not been socialized into the community for one reason or another and usually appeared at the bottom of the economic scale.

The age, occupation and ethnic background were examined for individuals arrested in 1900.¹⁹⁹ Of the first 25 names on the sheriff's register, only 12 could be found on the 1900 federal census. Five of the 12 gave a foreign country as their birthplace.

Racial bias continued to be a deterrent to social and economic mobility. All but 12 of the first 59 individuals arrested were of Hispanic origin. Minorities were identified on the census as "day laborers" or "wood packers," while arrested "Anglos" were at least "miners."²⁰⁰

Cochise County experienced a more elevated level of violence than the whole country at the time and did not have any dramatic incidents of group violence. Urban frontier violence was primarily personal violence and uncontrolled behavior.

What were the most significant influences that brought about a traditional law and order society? There was a difference between newly developing communities in the heart of the isolated frontier and those on the fringe of civilization.

In the latter, a "frontier" stage was never experienced due to the influence of established socioeconomic institutions close by. A settlement must be

remote to be considered "frontier" in every sense.

This type of population was comprised of those attracted by the anticipation of abundant resources. Consequently, there was no commonality to provide a homogeneous base for the community. The primary force at work was competition. The community began without established law and order, which included the lack of political leadership, and the population made a transition from a state of cohabitation to that of community.

How significant was the modernization process in bringing about a traditional law and order society on the urban frontier? Remoteness created vulnerability and was a deterrent to establishment of law and order. Peace officers are more effective when they respond to calls in a timely manner.

For this reason, modernization of communication and transportation had some impact upon the service of law and order agencies. But it must be kept in mind that frontiers before the 19th century had law and order without the benefits of modern technology. Modernization cannot be a primary fact that brought about traditional law and order.

By 1908, Arizona had pulled itself together and brought the unruly population under more rigid social controls. The era of all-night saloons ended and drinking establishments were closed by two a.m.²⁰¹ The effect this had on the rowdiness and irrational violence is evident in an article that appeared in the Bisbee Daily Review just a few years after the change:

A year or two ago when gambling was in vogue, this district was about the busiest place in the camp. Gamblers after a big killing immediately never closed, the music of a dozen orchestras was eight-hour shifts, hundreds of dollars were going night and day, musicians relieving each other squandered, robberies were frequent and drunken brawls, with an occasional stabbing affair.²⁰²

The transition of Cochise County from frontier to traditional society occurred primarily when the majority of the population worked together to achieve law and order. When the majority of people were satisfied with the distribution of resources within the community and that the political elite represented the interests of the majority, they demonstrated their confidence in the political and legal system by obeying the prevailing laws and ordinances.

In summary, Cochise County experienced three distinct levels of violence. During the first stage, 1879-1884, the population experienced the greatest amount of social stress in the urbanization process. During this period, Tombstone was indeed a "wild west" town.

From 1885 to 1901, a decline in the homicide index indicates a second phase. The exception is a few years at the turn of the century when the homicide rate peaked temporarily. After 1902, the homicide rate continued to decline and stabilized by the year 1915.

Nineteenth century America was characterized by a national urbanization process that resulted in an increase in irrational violence in urbanized areas. Individuals on the urban frontier fell victim to both these pressures as well as the peculiarities of the urban frontier.

In an environment of few social controls and a heterogeneous society, individualism became more pronounced. This made it easy for individuals to accept the frontier value system and conform to the status quo.

The remoteness of the area and the lack of established law and order made

self-rule acceptable. The advent of the revolver merely added an extra dimension to the degree of violence expressed. Once homogeneity was achieved, however, frontier residents set about constructing traditional societies similar to those form which they migrated.

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Endnotes

1. Arizona Business Directory, 1881, p. 59.
2. Mining and Scientific Press, (San Francisco) June 21, 1879.
3. Cochise County created from Pima in January, 1881.
4. Calendar of Letters, Petitions, and Reports to the Pima County Board of Supervisors, Vol. 17 (Pima County File), Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson.
5. September 15, 1880.
6. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Statistics of the United States at the Tenth Census, 1880, Part V (Wash: GPO, 1883), p. 99.
7. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1880, Pima County, "Tombstone." Hereinafter cited Census of Population, 1880, "Tombstone."
8. Arizona Territory Census Records, 1882, "Cochise County," microfilm 224.1.1, Arizona State Archives, Phoenix, Arizona.
9. James E. Davis, Frontier America (Glendale, Calif: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1977), pp. 168-169.
10. Calculations based on population of Tombstone. United States Census of Population: 1880, "Tombstone."
11. Robert Hine, Community on the Frontier, Separate But Not Alone (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), p. 76. Hereinafter cited Hine, Community on the Frontier.
12. William M. McKinney, compl., "Mineral Lands, Mines, and Mining, The Federal Statutes Annotated, Vol. V. Section 2320 (Northport, NY: Edward Thompson Co., 1905), p. 8.
13. Epitaph, July 17, 1880.
14. Ibid., Sept. 18, 1880.
15. Epitaph, Dec. 31, 1881.
16. Henry P. Walker, "Arizona Land Fraud," Arizona and the West, Vol. 21, September, 1979, pp. 9, 19. Hereinafter cited as Walker, "Arizona Land Fraud."
17. Walker, "Arizona Land Fraud," p. 14.
18. Epitaph, Aug. 8, 1880.
19. Charles Liftchild File, Reminiscences, MSS Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, p. 3.
20. Oct. 28, 1881.
21. Odie B. Faulk, Tombstone (NY: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 116. Hereinafter cited Faulk, Tombstone.
22. J. Wallace, "How Episcopal Church Came to Arizona," Journal of Arizona History, (Autumn 1965), quoted by Faulk, Tombstone, p. 106.
23. Arizona Business Directory, 1881 (San Francisco: Bacon and Company Printers), p. 174.
24. Epitaph, May 25, 1882.
25. Arizona Daily Star January 13, 1938.
26. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 1973), pp. 97-98.
27. Analysis based on U.S. Census of Population, 1880, "Tombstone."
28. One example of this attitude was expressed in the report of a gunfight between two known cattle rustlers at Galeyville, Tucson, Arizona Weekly Star, May 26, 1881, quoted by William N. Breckenridge, Helldorado, Bringing the Law to the Mesquite (Glorietta, New Mexico: The Rio Grande Press), p. 170. Hereinafter cited Breckenridge, Helldorado.
29. Matta M. Burk, "The Beginnings of the Tombstone School," Arizona and the West, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Tucson: University of Arizona, September 1959), p. 249.
30. Arizona Business Directory, 1881, p. 174.
31. Informal court with judiciary powers agreed upon by the members of the camp. Rodman W. Paul, Mining Frontiers of the Far West (N.Y.: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963),

p. 23. Hereinafter cited Paul, Mining Frontiers.

32. Petition to incorporate town of Tombstone, 1879, Pima County Folder, File 17, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson.
33. Walker, "Arizona Land Fraud," pp. 11-12.
34. Arizona Territorial Census Records, 1882, "Cochise County," microfilm 224.1.1, Arizona State Archives, Phoenix.
35. Walker, "Arizona Land Fraud," pp. 11-12.
36. Epitaph, May 29, 1881.
37. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1880, "Tombstone," p. 167.
38. Furnished provisions for a prospector on condition that he would share the profits of his discoveries.
39. Charles Liftchild File, Reminiscence, MSS Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, p. 6.
40. Arizona Daily Star, Aug. 12, 1879.
41. George Parsons File, Journal, MSS Collection, AHS, Tucson, p. 113. Hereinafter cited Parsons, Journal.
42. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1880, "Tombstone," p. 162.
43. Walker, "Arizona Land Fraud," pp. 8, 24.
44. Ibid., p. 24.
45. Epitaph, April 30, 1881.
46. Ibid., June 21, 1881.
47. Ibid., June 21, 1881; May 6, 1881; Nov. 3, 1881.
48. Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1880, p. 170, 172, 180.
49. T. C. Esselstyn, "The Social Role of a County Sheriff," Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science, 44, 1953, p. 179.
50. Epitaph, July 28, 29, 1880.
51. Faulk, Tombstone, p. 137.
52. Epitaph, Aug. 13, 1881.
53. Ibid., Feb. 20, 1881.
54. Board of Supervisors' Ordinance No. 21, reported by the Epitaph, July 20, 1881.
55. Ibid., Feb. 13, 1882.
56. Breckenridge, Helldorado, p. 119.
57. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Census of Population: 1880, "Tombstone. (Additional information on "The Greater Register, 1881," County Recorder's Office, Bisbee.)
58. Odie Faulk, Dodge City, The Most Western town of All (NY: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 173. Hereinafter cited Faulk, Dodge City.
59. Epitaph, March 22, 1881.
60. Ibid., Sept. 15, 1881. (Full name was not given in report.)
61. Ibid., June 10, 22, 1881.
62. Roster of Sentences to Yuma Prison from Cochise County, 1876-1895, Secretary of State's Archive Collection, Arizona State Library, Phoenix.
63. Epitaph, Nov. 3, 1881.
64. Ibid., Oct. 28, 1880.
65. Ibid., Oct. 20, 1881.
66. Ibid., Nov. 6, 1880.
67. U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, "Lawlessness in Parts of Arizona." Doc. No. 58, p. 3. Hereinafter cited U.S. Congress, "Lawlessness in Arizona."
68. Epitaph, Aug. 3, 1880; Sept. 30, 1880.
69. Ibid., Aug. 3, 1880.
70. Ibid., Dec. 9, 1881.
71. Ibid., Nov. 8, 1880.
72. Ibid., Nov. 12, 1881.
73. June 3, 1881.
74. Parsons, Journal, p. 230.
75. John H. Behan File, MSS Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson.
76. Manuel Lopez-Rey, Crime: An Analytical Appraisal (NY: Praeger Publishers, 1970), p.

37. Hereinafter cited as Lopez-Rey, Crime.
77. Donald Cressy, "Methodological Problems in the Study of Organized Crime as a Social Problem," quoted by Lopez-Rey, Crime, p. 37.
78. Epitaph, Dec. 9, 1881.
79. Ibid.
80. Refers to the rough brand of "self-rule" in the camps.
81. Epitaph, Dec. 1, 1880.
82. Parsons, Journal, p. 183.
83. Epitaph, Oct. 25, 1881.
84. Ibid., July 14, 1881.
85. Ibid., Nov. 8, 1880.
86. Ibid., May 26, 1881.
87. Breckenridge, Hell'dorado, p. 110.
88. A.M. Franklin File, "Story of Ringo and the Cattle Thieves," Special Collections, University of Arizona Library, Tucson.
89. Epitaph, Jan. 18, 1882.
90. Ibid., Jan. 18, 1882.
91. Ibid., Feb. 26, 1882.
92. This study used the definition of irrational violence in Roger Lane, Violent Death in the City: Suicide, Accident and Murder in Nineteenth Century Philadelphia. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), introduction, p. 9.
93. The figure of 1,767 represented the number of unduplicated names of individuals listed on the 1880 federal census for the village of Tombstone.
94. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1880, Arizona, microfilm, National Records Center, San Bruno, Calif. Territorial Cesus Records of Arizona, 1882, microfilm 24.1.1, Arizona State Library, Phoenix.
95. The number of individuals listed in these towns in the Cochise County area according to the federal census was 1,783. The actual number was closer to 2,500; the figure 2,000 was used as a compromise. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Statistics of Population of the United States for the Tenth Census, 1880, Part 1 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1883), p. 99.
96. Doctor John E. Goodfellow File, "Coroner's List," MSS Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, n.p.
97. The arrest rate was determined on the number of probable arrest figure of 445.
98. Federal Bureau of Investigation, Uniform Crime Report for the U.S., 1984, (Wash: GPO, 1985), pp. 64, 67, 92. Hereinafter cited Uniform Crime Report, 1984.
99. Frank R. Prassel, The Western Peace Officer, (Norman: University Oklahoma Press, 1937), p. 260.
100. Uniform Crime Report, 1984, pp. 63, 71, 92.
101. Faulk, Tombstone, p. 201.
102. Epitaph, Sept. 4, 1885.
103. C. L. Sonnichsen, Billy King's Tombstone, Private Life of an Arizona Town (Tucson: University of Arizona, 1972), p. 79.
104. Information obtained from various arrest reports in the Epitaph, 1880-1882.
105. Uniform Crime Report, 1984, pp. 63, 64, 67, 71, 92.
106. Robert R. Dykstra, The Cattle Towns (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1968), p. 144.
107. Theodore N. Ferdinand, "Criminal Patterns of Boston since 1849," American Journal of Sociology, 73 (July 1967), p. 93, quoted by McGrath, Gunfighters, pp. 40-44. (The low index was either indicative of low arrest rate, or that crime existed in concentrated areas and does not seem high when based on the total population of the city.)
108. Uniform Crime Report, 1984, pp. 64, 67, 71, 92.
109. Epitaph, Nov. 15, 1881.
110. Coroner Inquest, J.B. Jarvis, No. 112, dated Sept. 16, 1883.
111. Uniform Crime Report, 1984, p. 11.
112. Epitaph, April 21, 1882.
113. Ibid., April 15, 1882.
114. Ibid., Dec. 9, 1880.
115. Ibid., Dec. 18, 1880.
116. Ibid., Oct. 19, 1880.
117. Calculations were based on those cases in which the time was given.
118. Parsons, Journal, p. 189.
119. Ibid., p. 190.
120. Ibid., p. 153.
121. These percentages were not adjusted to the ratio of economic classes.
122. Bureau of the Census, U.S. Census of Population: 1880, Arizona; Territorial Census Records of Arizona, 1882; Cochise County Index to Mining Claims; The Great Register, 1880-1882, County Recorder's Office, Bisbee, Arizona; Plat Map of Tombstone, 1883, MSS Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson.
123. Out of a crime base of 487, 180 individuals were identified.
124. Epitaph, March 9, 1881.
125. Report of the Governor of Arizona to Secretary of the Interior for the year 1879 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1879), pp. 4, 7.
126. Cochise County Mining Claim Index, Cochise County Recorder's Office, Bisbee, Arizona.
127. Epitaph, July 28-29, 1880.
128. Ibid., April 6, 1881.
129. Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Gurr, Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives, Vol. 2 (National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, June 1969), pp. 390-395.
130. Parsons, Journal, p. 173.
131. Epitaph, Oct. 15, 1880; Sept. 23, 1881.
132. Ibid., Feb. 26, 1882.
133. County Coroner Inquest, Sam Bass, No. 376, dated Oct. 14, 1898.
134. Ibid., Ira Bartlett, No. 280, dated Dec. 13, 1893.
135. Ibid., Thomas Jennings, No. 240, dated March 11, 1889.
136. Epitaph, Aug. 3, 7, 13, 1880; Oct. 29, 1880.
137. Ibid., June 8, 1881.
138. Ibid., Aug. 11, 1881.
139. Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land (Mass.: Harvard University, 1950, 3rd edition, 1970), p. 103.
140. Epitaph, May 1, 1880.
141. Ibid., July 22, 1880; Aug. 8, 1880.
142. Parsons, Journal, p. 113.
143. Ibid., p. 170.
144. City Ordinance making it unlawful to carry firearms, knives, or other weapons within the city limits without permits, April 12, 1880, quoted by Epitaph, Aug. 14, 1880.
145. Parsons, Journal, p. 113.
146. Epitaph, June 30, 1881.
147. Ibid., Aug. 26, 1880.
148. County Coroner Inquest, Richard Scott, No. 191, dated Aug. 1, 1883.
149. Jack Elmer named as a stage robber in the Coroner's Inquest of Charles Hensley, No. 109, dated Oct. 3, 1883.
150. County Coroner Inquest, Jack Elmer, No. 74, dated Oct. 4, 1883.
151. Ibid., W. M. Hill, No. 104, dated Nov. 22, 1883.
152. Arizona Business Directory, pp. 174-183.
153. Epitaph, Sept. 18, 1880.
154. Ibid., Jan. 11, 1882.
155. Ibid., July 29, 1882.
156. Ibid., May 9, 1882.
157. Ibid., March 10, 1881.
158. Ibid., Aug. 4, 1880.
159. Ibid., July 22, 1880.
160. Tucson Daily Citizen, Feb. 20, 1907.
161. Epitaph, April 6, 1881.
162. Ibid., March 11, 1881; March 30, 1881.

163. Parsons, Journal, p. 236.
164. Epitaph, Aug. 14, 1880.
165. Roger Lane, "Urban Homicide in the Nineteenth Century," History and Crime, eds. James Inciardi and Charles Faupel, (Beverly Hills, Sage Publications, 1980), p. 93.
166. Coroner Inquest, Mark Ellis, No. 67, dated Oct. 1, 1881.
167. Epitaph, July 6, 1882.
168. Coroner Inquest, Mark Ellis, No. 67, dated Oct. 1, 1881.
169. Parsons, Journal, p. 131.
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171. Coroner Inquest, George Everetts, No. 65, dated April 19, 1883.
172. A.W.F. Taylerson, "Cartridge Revolver Down to 1918," Pollard's History of Firearms (NY: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1983), pp. 226-227.
173. Charles T. Haven and Frank A. Belden, A History of the Colt Revolver (NY: Bonanza Books, 1940), p. 387.
174. Ibid., pp. 401-406.
175. Lane, "Urban Homicide in the Nineteenth Century," p. 93.
176. Aug. 16, 1866.
177. June 20, 1885.
178. June 10, 1887.
179. Ibid., p. 191.
180. Population for the year of 1890 was 6,938, and 9,251 for the year of 1900. United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Compendium of the Eleventh Population Census of the United States: 1890, Part 1, Population (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1893), p. 58; Census Reports of the Twelfth Population Census of the United States: 1900, Part 11 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1904), p. 622. Homicide statistics: Epitaph, 1880-1882 and Cochise County Coroner's Journal, 1880-1915, Bisbee.
181. Epitaph, July 28, 1880.
182. Ibid., July 15, 1882.
183. United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Compendium of the Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890, Part 1, Population, p. 558.
184. The exact population count for Bisbee in 1900 was not available; however, the fact that it was not listed individually in the Abstracts meant that it had less than 2,500 population. United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Abstract of the Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1904), p. 136.
185. United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Compendium for the Population Statistics for the Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, Vol. 1 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1912), p. 103.
186. Faulk, Tombstone, p. 173.
187. Epitaph, 1880-1882; Cochise County Coroner's Journal, 1880-1915.
188. June 8, 1887.
189. Eric Monkkonen, "The Quantitative Historical Study of Crime and Criminal Justice," ed. J. Inciardi, History and Crime, p. 67.
190. Cochise County had 34,951 population in 1910. Bureau of the Census, Compendium of Population Statistics for the Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, p. 71.
191. Homicide and suicide statistics. Epitaph, 1880-1882; County Coroner's Journals, 1880-1915.
192. Bureau of the Census, Census Reports of the Twelfth Census of the United States: 1900, Vol. 2, p. 622.
193. Jay J. Wagoner, Arizona Territory 1863-1912 (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970), p. 517.
194. Ibid., p. 518.
195. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, United States Census of Population: 1880, Arizona, National Records Center, San Bruno, Calif.: Great Register of Arizona, 1902, Cochise County Recorder's Office, Bisbee.
196. Epitaph, May 29, 1887.
197. Ibid., April 7, 1887; Great Register, 1902.
198. Justice Court Book 1, District 2, Year of 1900, MSS Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson.
199. Ibid.

200. Background information on those arrested obtained from the census. U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Population Census of the United States: 1900, microfilm, National Records Center, San Bruno, Calif.
201. Tucson Daily Citizen, Jan. 8, 1908.
202. Bisbee Daily Review, March 18, 1910.