The Bisbee Deportation in Words and Images

James McBride

Long before dawn, July 12, 1917, the quiet of the night was broken by the ringing of telephones in scores of houses scattered along the canyons and gulches of the city clinging to the southern edge of the Mule Mountains that was Bisbee. Within minutes men were moving through the still dark city streets to pre-arranged meeting points. At 6:25 a.m. the presses of the *Bisbee Daily Review* began running, its banner headline warning of a momentous action. As the sun slowly crept up over Gold Hill, illuminating the slowly stirring community, newsboys raced through the streets excitedly shouting the news: "ALL WOMEN AND CHILDREN KEEP OFF STREETS TODAY". Bisbee had arrived at its day of decision. Although a long time in coming, the town's progress to this point was as sure and inexorable as the geological processes that had created the reason for the community's existence.[1]

When that geological process created the rich carbonate copper deposits of southeastern Arizona its future was pre-ordained. Like many of the mines in Arizona, knowledge of mineral deposits in the Mule Mountains came from an army patrol in the area. In 1877 John Dunn, a soldier at Fort Huachuca, saw lead in an area east of the fort. He grub-staked George Warren and four of his friends. They found little lead, but did discover rich copper deposits and established the Warren Mining District and named their mine The Copper Queen.[2] Investors were quickly attracted to the district. Their $20,000.00 purchase soon paid off when they hit 20 per cent ore. Needing advice on a smelting problem, they invited Dr. James Douglas to the district and he, very impressed with its potential, persuaded Phelps Dodge Mercantile Company of New York City to buy an adjoining claim, the Atlanta. Dr. Douglas and Phelps Dodge (hereinafter PD) would become the dominant factor in shaping the future and character of Bisbee.[3] In 1885, the two companies merged, becoming the Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company.

Extremely isolated, separated from other communities by distance and rugged terrain, with primitive transportation facilities, like most mining communities during its early development Bisbee lacked most of the social amenities. In addition, the need for massive capital investment, and the changing role of the worker in the industrial revolution, led most corporations to virtually create feudal baronies.

From the beginning, Dr. Douglas set the moral and ethical tone for the district and community. He persuaded owners with mines adjacent to the Atlanta and Copper Queen to agree to using perpendicular lines for ore development rather than the law of the apex, thereby preventing the costly legal battles so common to other western mining districts. He was equally progressive in creating a community of high moral standards.

The company also paid its workers' good wages. A library was established, schools were improved, a first-rate hospital was built for the workers, and church activities were supported. To provide for social activities, elaborate YMCA and YWCA facilities were built. Explaining this support system Douglas stated, "Once the machinery of trade and commerce has been adjusted to an eight-hour day and half-holiday retrenchment, we believe the greater leisure enjoyed by the working classes will be an almost unmixed good provided always that with the curtailment of the hours of labor there will be provided means for education."[4] By the first decade of the twentieth century the only issue in Bisbee was

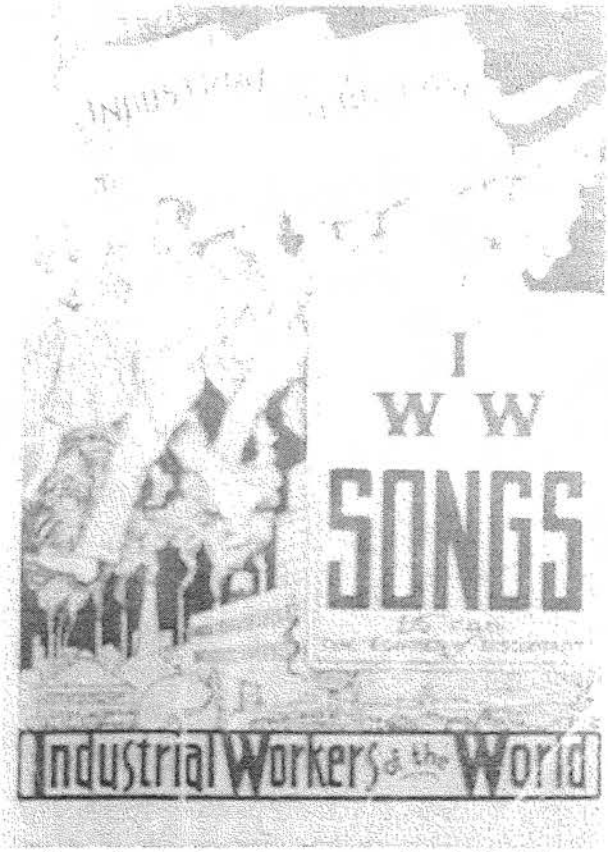
whether a union had a right to organize, and whether the company discriminated against union members.

In 1903 the Western Federation of Miners (hereinafter WFM) began efforts to organize the miners in Bisbee. J. T. Lewis, WFM District #1 Board member visited Bisbee in September and December but reported that "united opposition" from the Copper Queen Mining Company the workers refused to have any thing to do with the union. The *Mining and Engineering Journal* of March 31, 1904, wrote of organizers visiting the camp "repeatedly" but ended the article by stating "the last one (who was not identified) was given to understand forcibly that unionism was not wanted." Another attempt to introduce a WFM organizer in 1906 also met with failure. The WFM returned in 1907 and managed to establish Local #106. A six month strike failed to gain its objectives, but the union remained and slowly gained members. Phelps Dodge's position remained consistent, no recognition of union members.[5] This condition existed for the next ten years. During the same period, as a result of declining richness of ore and improving technology, the nature of the work force was changing.

Originally a Cousin Jack camp, by the turn of the century Bisbee's population was a rich mixture of Cornish, Irish, Welsh, Austrian, Slovaks, Montenegrins, Croatians, and Mexicans. Chinese were allowed in town but had to be outside the city limits by nightfall. Mexicans were allowed within the city limits and employed by the mining companies but were not allowed underground. By 1910 Bisbee was segregated by race, class, and ethnicity.[6] Tintown had the largest number of Mexicans. However, Mexicans and a few African Americans lived on Chihuahua Hill, with a small number of Mexicans on Wood Hill. The Cornish and Welsh occupied Laundry Hill. School Hill was Anglo, mostly Irish. South Bisbee had a mixture of Italian and Welsh. Brewery Gulch provided accommodations for a mixture of nationalities, usually not the best element, while Quality Hill was home to company officials and the upper class. This mixture furnished a wide range of positions, attitudes and a hotbed of emotions when World War I began in 1914.

The twentieth century also brought increased demand for copper. Bisbee and Arizona copper production increased each year. By 1910, Arizona was producing more copper than any place in the United States and Bisbee was the largest producer in Arizona.[7] Employment was up but skill requirements were changing. The era of the underground miner was ending, the hardrock miner was being replaced by a steam shovel and open pit mining. The mucker was replacing the skilled miner.

In 1910, there were 18,094 wage earners employed in mining, nearly 25 percent of the adult male population of Arizona. In copper mining nine companies employed over 500 wage earning employees, nearly two-thirds of all wage earners in the state's copper industry.[8] This was fertile ground for organized labor union recruiters. The WFM, active in Arizona since 1896 and in Bisbee since 1907, was not the only mine labor organization vying for members. In 1905 the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W. or Wobblies) was organized in Chicago. At its beginning the largest department of the IWW was



Poster showing the various means used by the Wobblies to promote their cause and gain membership. Courtesy of Vincent Murray.

the WFM, but within two years there was a split within the organization and the two unions, with different ideologies and fighting for survival in the same camps, became bitter enemies. Mining corporations, although hating the communists views of the IWW, quickly seized the opportunity to play one against the other.[9]

World War I had a dramatic impact on the demand for copper. Prices went from 13 cents per pound in 1914 to 18 per pound in 1915.[10] Arizona copper production soared, with much of the increased production coming from Bisbee. As the number of workers increased unions stepped up their organizing activities, as well as a demand for a share of the increased income.

Following a protracted strike in Clifton-Morenci in 1915-16 the companies began a concerted, multi-pronged, organized attack on mine labor unions. In 1914, Phelps Dodge purchased several of the state's leading newspapers, which immediately mounted an aggressive propaganda campaign against organized labor. The next year, led by John C. Greenway of the Calumet and Arizona Company and Walter Douglas of P.D., mine owners created an Arizona chapter of the American Mining Congress whose primary purpose was to lobby the state legislature for favorable legislation. The third part of the company strategy was the use of detective agencies and spies to infiltrate local unions, especially the IWW.[11]

The IWW, extremely vocal in its opposition to U.S. participation in World War I, had also stepped up its activities. Important among its tactics was a policy of "boring from within," infiltrating well-established WFM locals, gaining control and using the local to achieve Wobbly goals. This tactic was very effective in Bisbee and by July 1917 they had so much control of the union that International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, (IUMMSW). President Moyer revoked the local charter in Bisbee.[12]

Things began to move to a confrontation in Bisbee when at a June meeting of 400 to 500 miners of IUMMSW local #160 drew up the following demands:

1) six hour day
2) $6.00 day underground, $5.50 for surface worker
3) abolition of rustling card
4) no physical examination
5) no blasting during working shift.[13]

The companies' immediate reply was:

> Regardless of any question of merit in the demands, this company will never negotiate with an organization founded on principles inimical to good government in times of peace, and treasonable in times of war."[14]

On June 26, 1917, the union voted to strike.

Cochise County Sheriff Harry Wheeler immediately contacted Fort Huachuca for assistance from the U.S. Army. Wheeler, the last captain of the Arizona Rangers, and a strongly patriotic person who believed anyone who acted against the war effort was a traitor, realized the seriousness of the situation. He also knew that if any major conflict erupted, Bisbee's small police force of five men was inadequate.[15]

The Army did not agree with the gravity of the situation and stated: "everything peaceable and that troops were neither needed nor warranted under existing conditions."[16]

Like most U.S. citizens, the people of Bisbee were quickly caught up in the patriotic fervor of World War I. Britain's plight aroused strong feelings in the large Cornish and Welsh population of the camp. Bisbee's strong Serbian/Croatian element also had taken an active interest in the war in Europe long before U.S. involvement. Adding to their unrest was a long standing fear of the masses and the political struggle across the Mexico-U.S border just a few miles to the south. Mexico was in a state of turmoil with the revolutionaries in the north posing a serious threat to the U.S., especially the states of New Mexico and Arizona.

This fear of Mexico's revolution spilling over the border became dramatically possible with the release of the news of the Zimmerman Telegram in March 1917. Although at least one historian stated that the Zimmerman Telegram had no or little effect west of the Mississippi River, knowledge of its contents does seem to have generated concern in Bisbee, According to Arizona historian Marshall Trimble, "That really did inflame passions in Arizona. All of a sudden the war became very real."[17]

That seems to have been a decisive factor in

Wheeler's decision to support the companies' efforts to end the strike. When interviewed by a reporter after the deportation, he said what troubled him the most was the likelihood

> that the Mexicans in Bisbee and along the border would take advantage of the disturbed conditions of the strike and start an uprising, destroying the mines and murdering American women and children . . . . What would you have said . . . if, knowing as I do how all Mexicans hate Americans, I had waited until some American citizens-American women and children-had been murdered.[18]

As tensions mounted during June, the citizens of Bisbee mobilized, both in support of the war effort and to protect the home front against perceived threats. At the same time, Bisbee's newspapers daily carried headlines like "strikers helping Kaiser." Organized at the direction of John C. Greenway, superintendent of the Calumet and Arizona Mining Company, the Citizen's Protective League, composed of businessmen and local citizens, soon had more than a thousand members and was a major factor in Bisbee affairs during the coming confrontation.[19]

At the same time, the Miner's Union began a campaign for increased benefits for mine workers. Following several days of discussion, a meeting at the Miner's Union Hall on June 26, formulated the following demands:

First – The Abolition of the physical examination,

Second – Two men to work all machines,

Third – Two men to work on all raises,

Fourth – To discontinue all blasting during shifts,

Fifth – The abolition of all bonus and contract work,

Sixth – To abolish all the sliding scale. All men underground a minimum flat rate of $6.00 per shift. Top men $5.50 per shift.

Seventh – No discrimination to be shown against members of any

organization.

BEN WEBB, Chairman,
W.H. Davis
M.C. Sullivan
John Payne
A. S. Embree[20]

The mining companies immediately rejected these demands. At a meeting of several hundred miners at City Park that evening the organizers announced a strike for the next morning. The open meeting union members met at the Union Hall on O.K. Street and appointed pickets for the next morning.[21]

The following day the Citizen's Protective League placed a front page advertisement of their resolution "condemning" the action. The *Bisbee Daily Review* went further, calling the action "nothing short of treason, incipient and terrible."[22]

It is not clear how effective the strike action was because of conflicting numbers reported by the opposing sides. Copper Queen and Calumet and Arizona officials said .76 percent and .675 percent respectively of their workers were on the job, while IWW headquarters stated only 20 to 25 percent of the workers were on the job.[23]

From his office in Tombstone, Cochise County Sheriff Harry Wheeler said he would "perform his full duty" and protect constitutional rights of individuals and their public and private property. He also stated that any action to hinder copper production would be a direct blow to the federal government and he would "deputize . . . every able-bodied loyal American in Cochise county to assist me in preserving law and order," and if necessary "demand aid and assistance form both state and federal governments".[24]

The strike started peacefully. Although many men refused to cross the picket line little violence occurred and conditions in Bisbee were actually much more orderly than normal. Wobbly leaders warned their men to avoid law braking activities and set up tight control of bootleggers and the use of whiskey.

At the same time, the Citizen's Protective League called for the support of all citizens in breaking this "uncalled for" action and "treason to the government" and urged all "loyal American Citizens of the District, and all liberty loving and law, abiding inhabitants" to "join in an earnest effort to stop the strike".[25]

Wheeler initially refused Greenway's offer to ap-

point men to help him, but when convinced by Greenway that the strike was not to help miners but would "embarrass the country in its efforts to prepare for war," he accepted company help.

Two days later Sheriff Wheeler, following IWW violation of their pledge to keep pickets off company property, deputized two hundred citizens. That same day Mayor Jacob Erickson issued a proclamation making any collection into bodies or groups "for unlawful purpose, or any purpose, to the annoyance or disturbance of citizens or travelers . . . shall be severally deemed guilty of having committed a misdemeanor" and would be fined or jailed, or both.[26]

As the strike continued, the local newspapers published a steady barrage of news of German support for the Wobblies and large amounts of German money coming in to support their efforts. Reports of German activity and influence in the eastern part of the United States was front page news virtually every day from June 6 to July 3rd, 1917.[27]

Conditions did not improve much during the early part of July. Employment gradually improved in the mines but it was matched by a commensurate increase in Wobbly irritation and agitation. On July 2 the *Bisbee Ore* reported that Charles Moyer had telegraphed Governor Thomas Campbell that the WFM did not support or condone the strike. On July 6 Moyer, stating that IWW elements had infiltrated and taken control of the union, revoked its charter. Without a charter, the document which authorized it to function as an IUMMSW local, it ceased to exist.[28] During the same period each side was claiming success. The companies reported more miners crossing the picket lines. The Wobblies, on the other hand, boasted of growing strength. Despite the claims by both sides, it was clear that miners, both union and non-union were leaving the camp. New, unskilled workers were coming in. Tension was definitely increasing between the two sides. During a 4th of July parade and demonstration by the Loyalty League, tempers flared on both sides.[29] Reports of abuse, threats, and mistreatment of non-striker's families increased. Despite the lack of overt action a growing feeling of unrest was apparent.

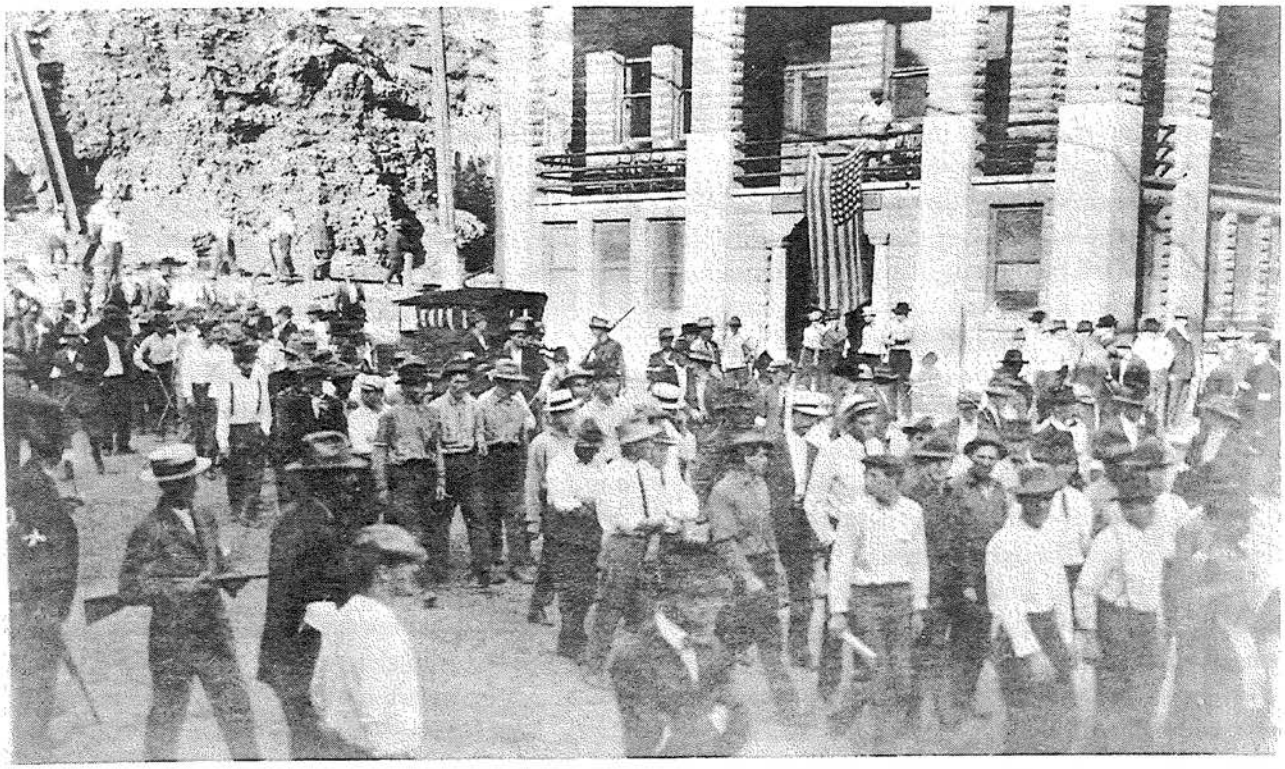
Bisbee was not the only mining camp in Arizona with labor problems. The Wobbly activity there was part of a wide-spread effort throughout the West. Arizona, with a number of major copper producing districts, received the most attention. Strikes were in progress at a number of camps. Military troops and federal mediators were keeping peace in Globe. In Jerome conditions were very similar to those in Bisbee and on July 10 the citizens of Jerome organized, rounded up eighty-six Wobblies, put them on a train, and shipped them to California.[30]

On July 11 a joint meeting of the Loyalty League and The Citizen's Protective League was held at the Copper Queen Dispensary. Sheriff Harry Wheeler presided but a number of company managers and officials were in attendance. The district was divided into ten areas. John C. Greenway suggested sending the strikers to Columbus, New Mexico. Greenway and G.H. Dowell got the El Paso & Southwestern Railroad (a subsidiary of Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company) to provide cars. Sheriff Wheeler was put in charge of a posse of 1,000 men.[31]

At 4:30 the next morning, July 12, the calls to gather began going out. Men hurried through the dark streets and quickly formed into their designated groups. When organized, members of the posse tied white handkerchiefs around their arms, took control of the streets, closed the town, warned the women and children to stay off the streets, and swept through the streets of Bisbee rounding up Wobblies.

The *Bisbee Daily Review* published an extra with banner headlines saying, "All women and children keep off streets today."[32] The Telegraph company was ordered to refuse telephone service to anyone trying to make an out-of-town call. Led by Sheriff Wheeler, the members of the posse quickly began rounding up men on the streets and in the restaurants of the still quiet community. While that phase of the roundup progressed, other sections of the posse began a systemic search of the boarding houses and residences. Because of the early hour most men were either still in bed or just beginning to have breakfast. Men seized were asked one question, "Are you working?" If the response was no, they were arrested. Those arrested were normally only given time to grab a few articles of clothing.[33]

Briefed by Sheriff Wheeler and Greenway that the way to avoid trouble was to be organized and in greater number than the individuals being arrested, the deputies met with little serious resistance. A number of brief scuffles, often with the wives of workers, occurred but few serious injuries resulted. In



Initially those who were rounded were marched to and held in the post office plaza in the center of Bisbee. Those with the white cloths tied around the left arm are posse members. Courtesy of Bisbee Mining and Historical Museum, Sandquist Collection. #76.91.27y

a report made to the Arizona State attorney general, Ruza Delja related how she was pushed aside and her husband beaten until he agreed to accompany the deputies. Mrs. John Conner, operator of a boarding house, told a similar story of being threatened with a rifle if she did not step aside. One of the most poignant accounts is that of young Matt Hanhila. Asleep in the front room of his home, he was awakened by armed deputies pounding on the front door. When his father opened the door to confront them, Matt recalled his father looking at the gun he had above the door, considering the odds, and deciding not to use the gun. Matt wished his father had grabbed the gun and fought it out. Anna Payne, although she did not use a gun, forced her way into the Warren ballpark, berated and threatened a deputy, admonished Dr. Bledsoe for his participation, and chastised Sheriff Wheeler, then removed her two sons from the roundup.[34]

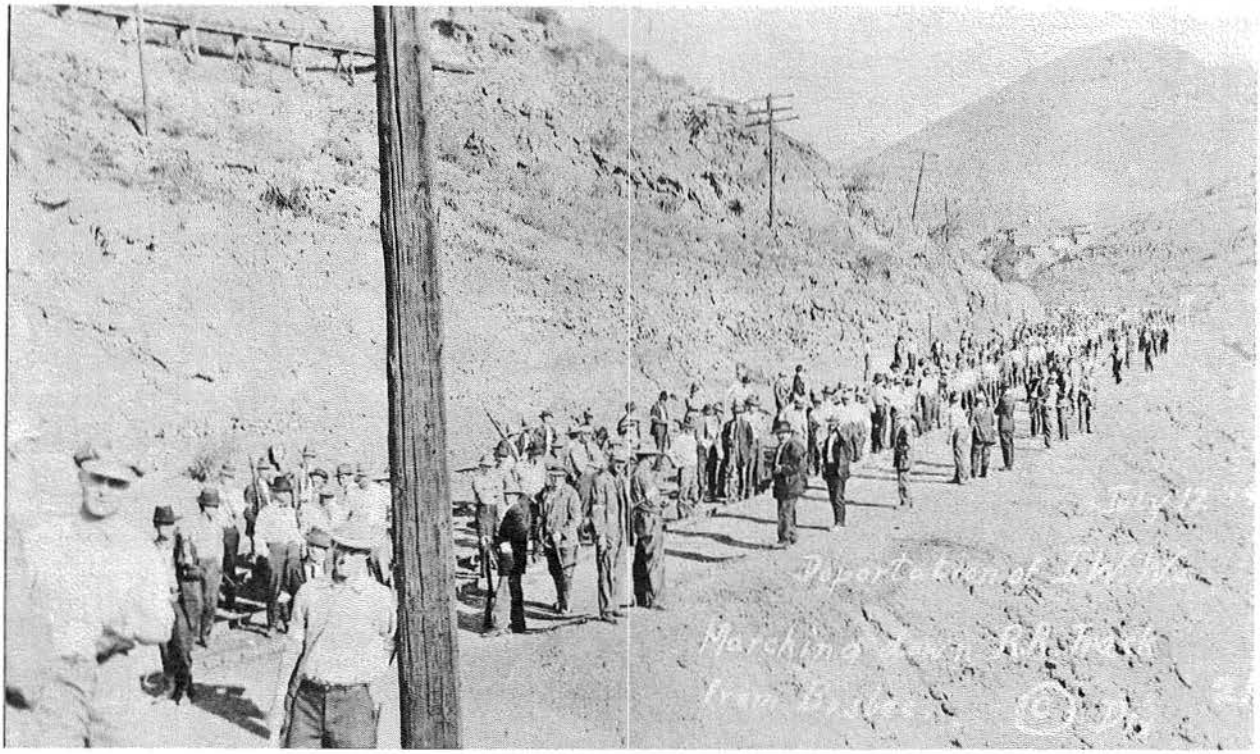
One case of deadly violence occurred when deputy Orson P. McRae broke through the screen door onto the porch where James Brew was sleeping. Brew grabbed his pistol and shot McRae, killing him. The other members of McRae's group returned fire and killed Brew.[35]

By mid-morning over one thousand men had been rounded up. Initially held near the post office, as the number grew they were taken to the railroad station and then marched three miles to Warren, where they were held in the ballpark. Gradually the number increased until approximately 2,000 were inside the ballpark, filling the stands and spilling out on to the baseball field. During the day, those arrested were given the opportunity to prove they were not Wobblies and were working and should not be deported. Those who were successful were released.[36]

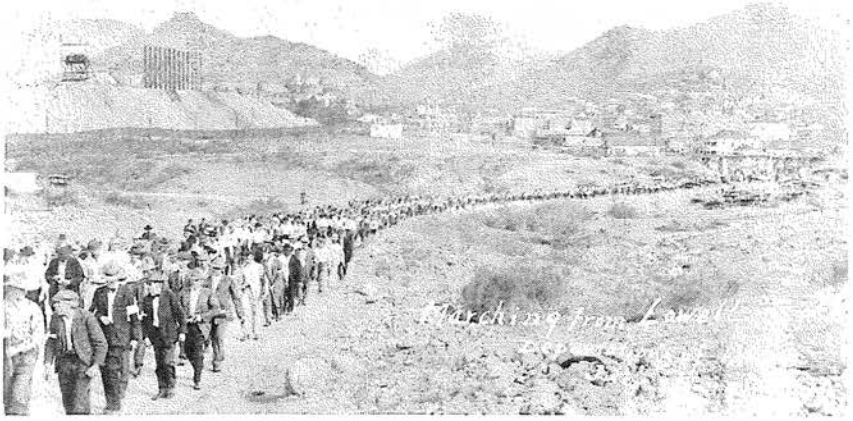
Shortly before noon twenty-three El Paso and Southwestern Railroad cattle and box cars rolled on the track beside the ballpark. The deputies quickly formed lines and began loading the men onto the recently emptied cars, fifty men to a car. Even as they were loading, a few men were pulled out of line. Finally 1,186 men were on the cars. Guards took positions on top of the train and it started east for New Mexico.[37]

Two brief stops were made so the engine could

A line of deportees being marched along rail cars out of Bisbee toward Lowell. Courtesy of Jeremy Rowe.



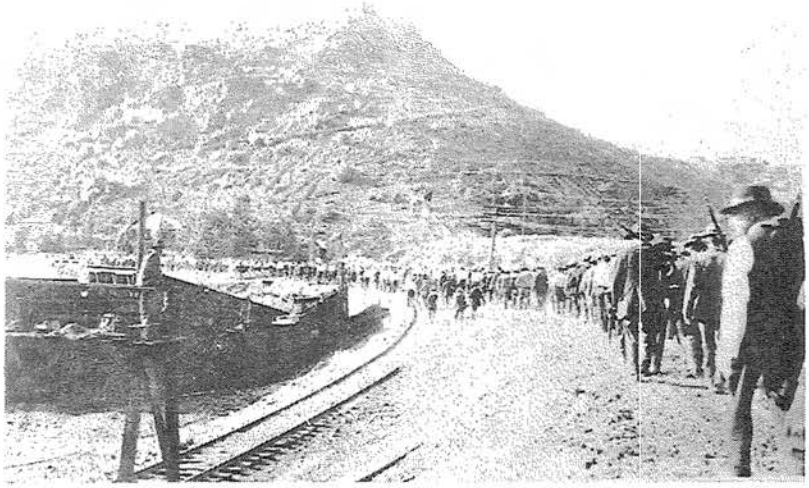
Line of deportees being held under guard on the way out of Bisbee. Courtesy of Jeremy Rowe.



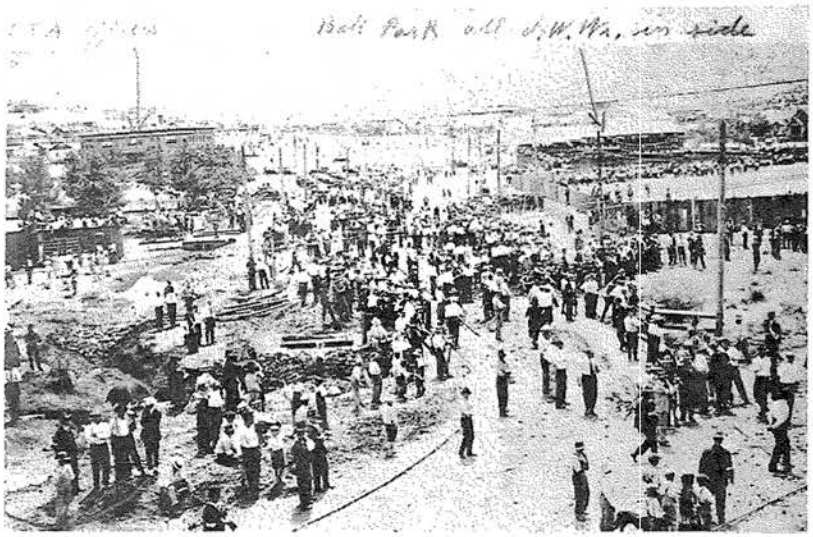
Deportees being marched under guard from Lowell toward Warren. Courtesy of Bisbee Mining and Historical Museum, Bendixon Collection. #74.41.5A

Deportees marching between Lowell and Bakersville. Courtesy of Vincent Murray.

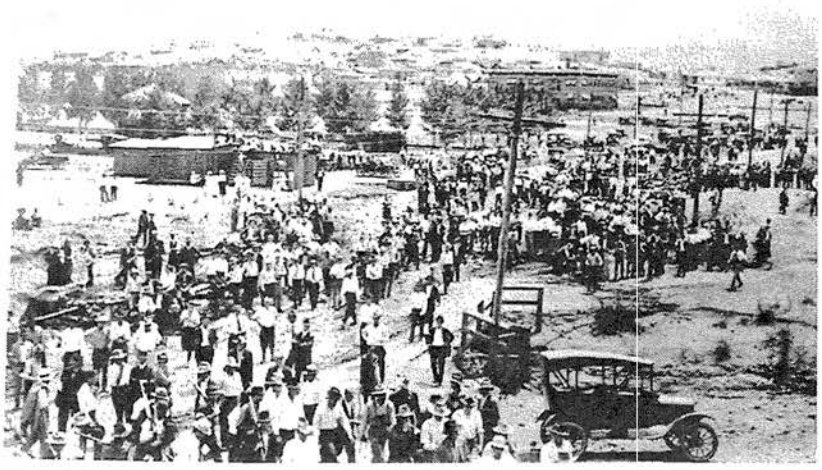
A closer photograph of the deportees being marched under heavy guard between Lowell and Bakersville. Courtesy of Vincent Murray.



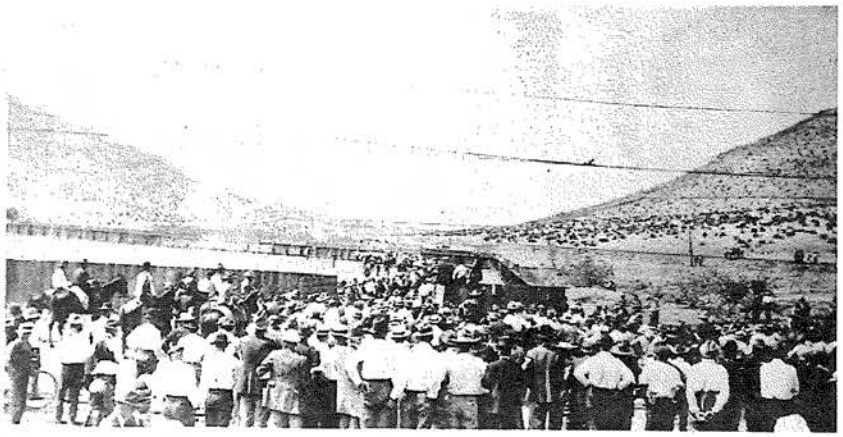
The line of deportees marching along the railroad track beside the ballpark in Warren. They were held in the ballpark until loaded onto the train for shipment to New Mexico. Courtesy of Vincent Murray.



View of Warren and ballpark. The large building on the left is the C & A office. Courtesy of Vincent Murray.



General scene of the crowd in Warren when the deportees arrived from Bisbee. Courtesy of Vincent Murray.

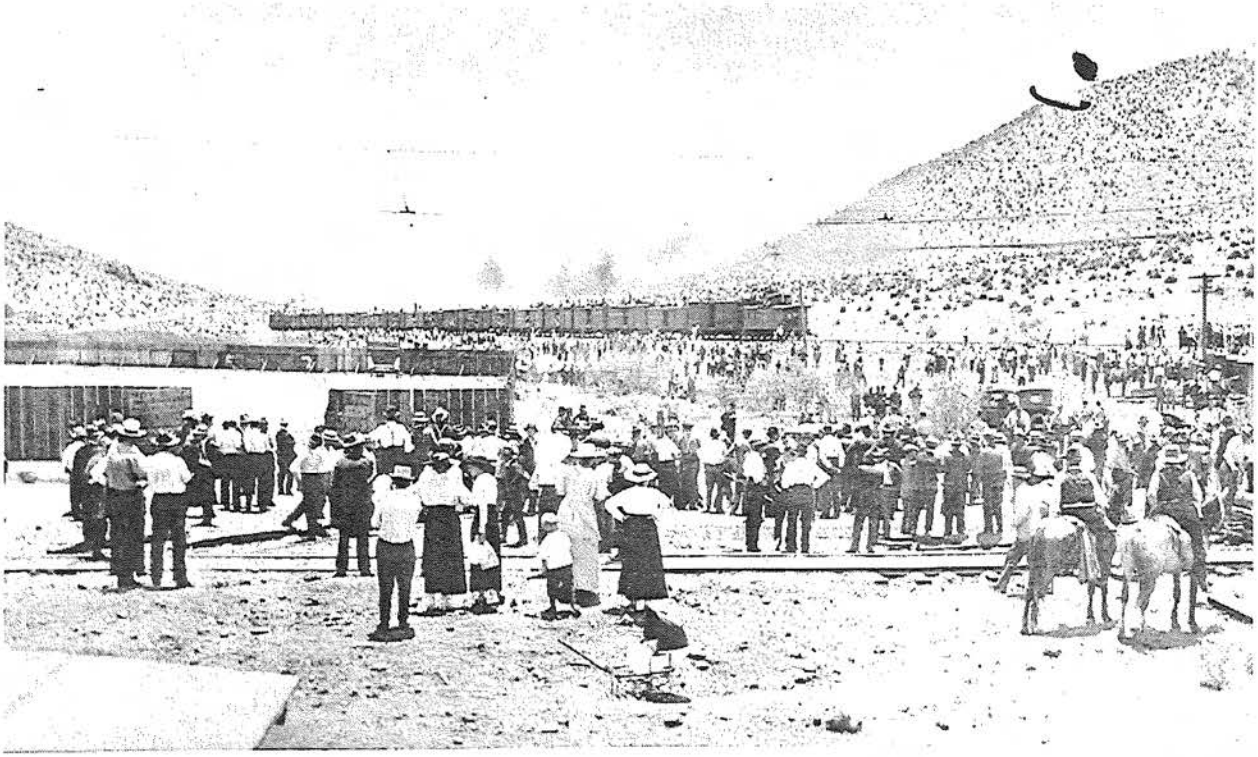


Crowd outside of Warren ballpark as deportees were being moved into the ballpark. Courtesy of Vincent Murray.

Warren ballpark. C & A office on the left. Deportees are being held in front of the bleachers while being questioned about their status. Those who could prove they were not Wobblies or agitators were released. Courtesy of Vincent Murray.

By noon a recently unloaded train of cattle cars was in position and Wobblies were being loaded onto the cars. By this time a large crowd of spectators, including women and children, were watching the deportation. Courtesy of Vincent Murray.

As the loading of Wobblies proceeded armed guards were placed on top of the cars. They would travel with the train, by this time called "The Wobbly Special", when it left for New Mexico. Courtesy of Vincent Murray.



The train departing for New Mexico. Guards remained on top until it arrived at the its destination, Columbus, New Mexico. While most of the crowd watching its departure were members of the posse it also included a number of women and children and at least one baby. Courtesy of Bisbee Mining and Historical Museum, Brophy Collection. #74.115.28

take on water, during which the deportees were allowed to get out of the cars and stretch their legs. Arriving at Columbus, New Mexico that evening the local sheriff, on orders from New Mexico Governor W.E. Lindsey, arrested those in charge of the deportation and ordered the train to return to Arizona. When the train reached Columbus, New Mexico, its original destination, the citizens there refused to allow the deportees to be unloaded. The train backtracked to Los Hermanas where the guards abandoned the cars.[38]

Realizing the plight and desperate need of the men, the U.S. government quickly moved to have the army provide tents and food.

The ethnic make-up of those deported was:

80 percent of those deported were immigrants
33 percent of those being Mexican
28 percent Slovaks
12 percent Russian, and Finns, and
27 percent a mix of other Europeans. In terms of union affiliation the deportees were evenly divided: 33 percent of those deported were Wobblies, 33 percent were American Federation of Labor (AFL) members and 33 percent were non union.[39]

The Army census at Los Hermanas listed 199 native born Americans and 468 naturalized Americans among the deportees. The foreign-born deportees included 141 British, 179 Slavs, and 82 Serbians. The same census indicated the following union memberships: IWW 426, AFL 381, and 361 with no affiliation. Also, of those deported, five hundred owned property in Bisbee.

Of the 571 deputies used in the deportation, none had Mexican surnames. Bisbee's 1910 population mix was 24 percent Mexican, and five percent Slavic.[40]

Life in the camp, although austere, was not harsh. A letter of one deportee said, "Never had it so good. Government feeding me and the town taking care of my family."[41] Not all felt the same way. Many deportees immediately began leaving the camp, many of them wanting to return to families in Bisbee. However, this effort was blocked by the guards placed on the roads and rail lines leading into the city. For months anyone attempting to enter Bisbee had to prove they were not deportees. Some had legal reasons for returning. Several had orders to report to the medical center for induction physicals. Those apprehended were taken before a judge, tried, and ordered to leave town.[42]

When word of the deportation leaked out, President Woodrow Wilson, in an effort to determine whether citizen's rights had been violated, quickly appointed an investigating (mediation) committee. Composed of business and labor leaders, it also included, as secretary, a young lawyer, Felix Frankfurter. Following a series of hearings in a number of cities and mining camps, the commission determined there was no need for such drastic action. But it also said, "grievance not such a nature as to have justified a strike."[43]

However, after six months' preparation, two federal prosecutors were able to get a federal indictment from the grand jury in Tucson and brought charges against twenty-one leading Bisbee citizens. Harry Wheeler, John C. Greenway, James Douglas, and W. H. Brophy were on active duty in France and were not charged.

Saturday, May 15, 1918, indictments were issued in Tucson. Despite Wheeler being overseas, the case was officially identified as *United States v. Wheeler et al.* Included in the indictment were twenty-one other Bisbee residents and officials. The indictment charged them with "conspiracy to injure, oppress, threaten and intimidate citizens in the exercise of the right to peacefully reside in the state of Arizona."[44]

Wheeler cabled from France:

> assuming all responsibility for deportation. Would do it again under same circumstances. No traitors or I.W.W. sympathizers over here, only American soldiers. My country needs me here, but when I can be spared, if still alive you will find me ready to go home and stand with my friends and fellow Americans to undergo any tribulations the politicians, I.W.W. sympathizers and other traitors can inflict."[45]

E. E. Ellinwood filed a demurrer that no federal laws had been violated and the case should be held in a state court. In December, the federal court in San Francisco ruled in his favor. The U.S. Justice Department then appealed his ruling to the U.S. Su-

preme Court and it, in November of 1920, with one dissenting vote, upheld the lower court ruling.

Civil suits were filed by 968 individuals against Phelps Dodge, Phelps Dodge Mercantile, Calumet and Arizona Copper Company, and El Paso and Southwest Railroad. Of those bringing suit only ten had Hispanic surnames. Phelps Dodge responded by agreeing to pay $1,250 to married men with children, $1,000 to married men, and $500 to single men. Later, when the criminal suit was thrown out, the company backed off on paying.[46]

On February 7, 1920, 210 Bisbee citizens were arraigned in the Tombstone courthouse on kidnapping charges. Wheeler, now back in the U.S., was too popular to be the principal being charged. So the prosecutor pressured Judge Samuel J. Pattee into identifying Harry E. Wootton, a Phelps Dodge employee, Loyalty League member, and deputy, as the principal defendant.

Those indicted were brought to trial, which was held in the county seat in Tombstone. Charged with "conspiracy to injure, oppress, threaten, and intimidate citizens in the exercise of the right to peaceably reside in the state of Arizona." The plaintiffs pleaded, "Law of Necessity," which is the right of a community to defend itself against a perceived threat.[47]

The trial lasted three months. The strong feelings of those involved was indicated by the number who, under oath in the witness chair, claimed responsibility for organizing the deportation. Wheeler, on the stand, took full responsibility. Miles Merrill also claimed he was the author of the plan.

After three months the case went to the jury. Wooton, after sixteen minutes of deliberation, was acquitted on the first ballot. No one was convicted.[48]

Although the deportation occurred almost a century ago, the memory of the event still generates strong feelings in Bisbee. One cannot spend much time there without encountering someone whose family was involved, on one side or the other. Walking the streets of Tombstone Canyon or Brewery Gulch or standing in Warren ballpark, one has a sense that 1917 still lives in Bisbee.

Notes

1. *Bisbee Daily Review*, July 12, 1917.
2. Dunning, Charles, *Rock to Riches: The Story of American Mining . . Past. Present. and Future. as reflected in the colorful History of Mining in Arizona. The Nation's Greatest Bonanza* (Phoenix, Arizona: Southwest Publishing Company, Inc., 1959), 70-72. Warren, in a drunken moment, bet his share of the Copper Queen in a footrace against a horse. A race he lost. He sank deeper into alcoholism and was reduced to peonage in Mexico. Rescued by friends he spent the remainder of his days in Bisbee, dying a pauper in 1892. Although generally regarded as a failure, the citizens of Bisbee regarded him highly enough to erect a striking monument over his grave in the Bisbee Cemetery and it is generally accepted that he is the image of the miner on the Great Seal of Arizona.
3. James Douglas Collection, Special Collections, University of Arizona Library, University of Arizona, Tucson..
4. Ibid. James Douglas Collection, Bisbee Mining and Mineral Museum, Bisbee, Arizona. Explaining his actions in his memoirs, Dr. Douglas said, "I started my industrial career with a general education, a license to preach, a considerable knowledge of medicine & surgery and an acquaintance from childhood with the crazy side of humanity - not a bad branch of the education of a mining engineer."
5. McBride, James, "Establishing a Foothold in the Paradise of Capitalism" *Journal of Arizona History*, Volume 23, No. 3, (Autumn, 1982), 299-316.
6. O'Neill, Colleen, "A Community Divided: A Social History of the Bisbee Deportation," M.A. Thesis, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, 1989, 69.
7. Hyde, Charles K. *Copper For America: The United States Copper Industry From Colonial Times to The 1990s.* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press 1998), 81, 136.
8. U.S. Department of Commerce. Bureau of the Census, Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Volume XI, Mines and Quarries, 1909. General Report and Analysis, 48.
9. Dubofsky, Melvyn. *We Shall Be All: A History of the IWW. The Industrial Workers of the World.* (Chicago, Quadrangle Books, 1969), 115-118. Jensen, Vernon. *Heritage of Conflict: Labor Relations in the Nonferrous Metals Industry Up To 1930*, (Ithaca, NY, Cornell University Press, 1950), 193.
10. Navin, Thomas R. *Copper Mining and Management*, (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1978), 400.
11. Byrkit, James. Forging the *Copper Collar: Arizona's Labor*

Management War. 1901-1921, (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1982), 86-88, 104-106; Kluger, James. *The Clifton Morenci Strike. Labor Difficulty in Arizona. 1915-1916*, (Tucson, University of Arizona Press, 1970), passim.

12. Jensen, *Heritage of Conflict*; In 1916, the WFM, reflecting the changing role of its workers in an evolving industry, changed its name to International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers, hereinafter IUMMSW.
13. *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 27, 1917, 1, 3.
14. *Bisbee Ore*, March 24, 1917, 2.
15. Cleland, *Phelps Dodge*, 180.
16. Ibid.; Byrkit, *Copper Collar*. 385;
17. Letter, Lt. Col. James J. Hornbrook to War Department, Department of Justice Files, Record Group 60.
18. Tuchman, Barbara. *The Zimmerman Telegram*, (New York, Viking Press, 1958), 199-200; Phoenix Arizona, *Arizona Republic*, March 2, 1997, A1,7.
19. *Bisbee Ore*, April 7, 1917, 1.
20. Ibid., April 28, 1917, l; *Bisbee Ore* June 28, 1917, 1.
21. *Bisbee Ore*, June 26, 1917, 1; *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 27, 1917, 1.
22. *Bisbee Ore*, June 27, 1917, 1
23. Ibid.; *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 27, 1917, 4; Editorial "High treason".
24. Ibid.
25. Ibid.
26. *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 28, 1917, 1; Wayne State University, IWW Collection, Series V, Box 117, folder 5, 11878-11879. Detroit, Michigan.
27. *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 29, 1917, 1; June 30, 1917, 1.
28. *Bisbee Daily Review*, Passim. Surprisingly, despite the steady reporting of German backing and monetary support for the IWW effort the papers carried little mention of the Zimmerman Telegram at this time.
29. *Bisbee Ore*, July 2, 1917, 1; *Bisbee Daily Review*, July 6, 1917, 1.
30. *Bisbee Ore*, July 5, 1917, 1. A Wobbly who refused to remove his hat when the American flag went by was attacked and beaten by parade participants who forced him to kiss the flag and then ran him out of town.
31. Jensen, *Heritage of Conflict*, 440; Byrkit, *Copper Collar*, 168-173.
32. Bledsoe File, Bisbee Deportation, July 12, 1917, 1. Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona.
33. *Bisbee Daily Review*, July 12, 1917, 1.
34. I.W.W. Trial transcript, August 1918, Chicago, 12135 - 12212 in Box 118, Folder 1, Collections of Archives & Urban Affairs, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan.
35. Byrkit, *Copper Collar*. 194. *Bisbee Daily Review*, July 13, 1917, 2; July 15, 1, Editorial, 4; July 17, 1, 2. *Bisbee Ore*, July 14, 1917, 1; July 16, 1. McRae, 33 years old and a Bisbee resident for 15 years, was made into a hero by the local press. The papers eulogized him as "one of the best known and best liked." The *Bisbee Ore* described him as a "respected, upright loyal citizen," who gave his life "for a principle." His funeral was held in the Post Office Plaza and the body lay in state on the porch of the Phelps-Dodge Mercantile Company's store building. Citizens were asked to contribute to a subscription for a memorial in honor of him. Although each person was only asked to donate from 10 to 25 cents, by July 18 local papers were reporting that the monument would be fully funded by Saturday. The plan was to cast a bronze monument which would be placed in Post Office Plaza as a "Fitting memorial to the greatest day in the history of the camp."
36. Byrkit, *Copper Collar*, 205; Beeman, William. "History of the Bisbee Deportations," 10-11, Ephemera File, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson.
37. Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, 386; Jensen, *Heritage of Conflict*, 406; Watson, Frederick, "A Deportee Deposition" Bisbee Arizona, August 30, 1970. Statement of Fredereick Watson regarding the "Deportation" of Bisbee Workmen in 1917, no pagination in Hanson, "The Great Bisbee Deportation of July 12, 1917." Sources conflict on how much water and food was provided to each car, ranging from none to one barrel of water per car. Regardless of the amount, there is general agreement that it was not sufficient for the number of men per car and the length of the journey across the hot, dry desert.
38. Byrkit, *Cooper Collar*, 210-214; Jensen, *Heritage of Conflict*, 406.
39. Major Ben H. Dorcy, Cavalry Intelligence Officer, Report to Army Intelligence Office New Mexico August 5, 1917, Archives Division, Department of Library, Archives' and Public Records, State of Arizona, Governor George W.P. Hunt Private Papers, Box 8, Special Subjects, Bisbee Files 1917-1918.
40. Ibid.
41. Archives Division Department of Library, Archives' and Public Records, State of Arizona. RG 107, Maricopa County SG8 Superior Court, Exhibits 1905 - 1919, Box 1, Folder 5, Letter, Jack Norman to George Maddox, August 7, 1917.
42. Watson, Deportee Deposition in Hansen, "The Great Bisbee Deportation," no pagination.
43. *President's Mediation Commission* Report, 3-4.
44. *United States v. Wheeler*, 254 U.S. 381, 65 L.F. 270
45. Byrkit, *Copper Collar*, 289.
46. "The High Cost of Deporting", *Survey*, Vol. 42, No. 12, June 21, 1919, 457.
47. *State of Arizona v. H.E. Wooten*, Case Number 2685.
48. Byrkit, *Copper Collar*, 292-293.