

THE HISTORY OF CLIFTON

by

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## CLIFTON FIRSTS

1. First white man thought to have visited Clifton-1540-Coronado.
2. First white man known to have visited Clifton in 19th century - James O. Pattie trapped beaver on San Francisco River, 1825.
3. First to report mineral outcroppings in Clifton region-1856- U. S. army officers.
4. First mineral claim located in region-1872-The Arizona Central.
5. First smelting-1873-The Lesinsky Brothers.
6. First woman in Clifton-1873-Dona Jaunita came to do laundry for miners.
7. First store in Clifton-1873- The Lesinsky Brothers- Stood near the city powerhouse of today.
8. First railroad in Clifton and Arizona-1878-Operated from Clifton to Longfellow.
9. The first hotel-1881- The Clifton Hotel- Built by Jake Abrahams.
10. First school in Clifton-1882-Small adobe in Ward's Canyon.
11. First white child born in Clifton-1883-Mamie Pomeroy.
12. First newspaper in Clifton-1882-The Clifton Clarion- Published by Sayre and Fitzgerald.
13. First church in Clifton-1883-Lawyer Goodwin held services in the school building which stood near the bridge to Eastside.

14. First railroad connection with the outside world-  
December, 1884-The Arizona and New Mexico line connected  
with the Southern Pacific at Lordsburg.
15. The first concentrator for reducing ore-1892-built by  
the Arizona Copper Company.
16. The World's first extraction of copper from porphyry-  
1895-The Arizona Copper Company smelted the low grade  
sulphide ores of the Humboldt.
17. First Clifton Library-1899-Established by the Arizona  
Copper Company in the building now used for the Phelps  
Dodge store.
18. The First Clifton Bank-1900-George Hormeyer established  
the Bank of Clifton.
19. The first use of electric haulage in a mine in the  
world-1905-The Arizona Copper Company in the Humboldt  
mine.
20. The first automobile in Clifton-May 7, 1907-O. T. Cotey  
and W. S. Munday bought it to be used as a stage between  
Clifton and Morenci.
21. The first commencement exercises of Clifton High School-  
May 23, 1908.
22. First Mayor of Clifton-June 5, 1909-George Frazer won  
an exciting election from Archie Morrison.
23. First street lights in Clifton-February 24, 1910-  
Fifteen arc lights turned on using electricity furnished  
by the Arizona Copper Company.

24. First person to come to Clifton who still resides in the town-Mrs. Luz Norte-Came in 1877 and is still living in Clifton.

## DEDICATION

In grateful acknowledgement of their aid given in the writing of this thesis I wish to dedicate it to my wife who drew the maps and gave much needed advice and encouragement. I also wish to thank Mr. A. A. Anderson, Mrs. Hallie Smith, and Mr. J. M. Colquhoun who gave much of their time to recall, for my benefit, the events of Clifton in the yester-year.

## INTRODUCTION

This history of Clifton is an attempt to tell truly and clearly the whole story of life in Clifton since the coming of the white man. There will be those who will say that much has been omitted that is interesting; and it will be true, for much that is interesting, and which actually happened, was omitted because the author felt that some of this material did not contribute materially to the development of the town. Much that was included will undoubtedly seem trivial and unimportant to some, but in each case it was added to give a more true picture of those forces which have shaped the town and made it what it is.

In scope of time the story goes back 400 years to Coronado, who is believed to have led his splendidly equipped expedition up the San Francisco River and into the pine forests to the north. In breadth it tries to cover all those manifold activities by which a people live and grow and prosper. It tells of the rich, and the poor, the sinners, and at least one poor lady who was revered by her people as a saint. Happy times are shown and turbulent ones when men's hands were raised against their neighbors in industrial conflict. Floods which brought catastrophe upon the people are told as a part of the pulsating life of the people.



From the yellowed pages of musty old newspapers, from the words related by old people still living, and from the evidence of the town itself one gathers a feeling about it. That feeling can best be expressed by the word "impermanence". For Clifton has ever been the place of "the drifter", for those who come to toil for money and having gained it to go on to milder climes to enjoy it. The very nature of the town has made it such a place, for no one knew when the ever wavering veins of copper ore would completely disappear and the town's sole source of revenue go with them. All mining towns have been so. But always in Clifton there have been men of vision who saw the destiny of the town continuing on into the far distant future. They built permanently and to them should go the credit that the town is still there, for there have been times when it would have been far easier for all to have moved on. Those men of vision have been vindicated, for with modern machinery man has probed the secrets of the earth's vitals, and we now know that there is copper enough in the mountains to keep the smelter going for at least another seventy years.

The fact that Clifton has been a meeting place of the races adds much to its history, for no less than six nationalities have had a part in that history. The Mexican has been an everpresent influence. He came with the first miners and is still there, a willing worker but unassimilated. Small, yellow, slant-eyed men from far off China

came in the seventies and led a secretive, precarious existence in Clifton for fifty years but have now completely departed from the town. Probably the most progressive of all the alien people who came to Clifton were the two or three hundred Scotchmen who came to work for the Arizona Copper Company. Their influence is still felt, for many of them still reside in the town. The influence of the American Indian was of a negative type in the older days but now he provides a welcome source of labor in the pit. The Anglo-Americans and the Hebrews also have contributed their share to the town's history.

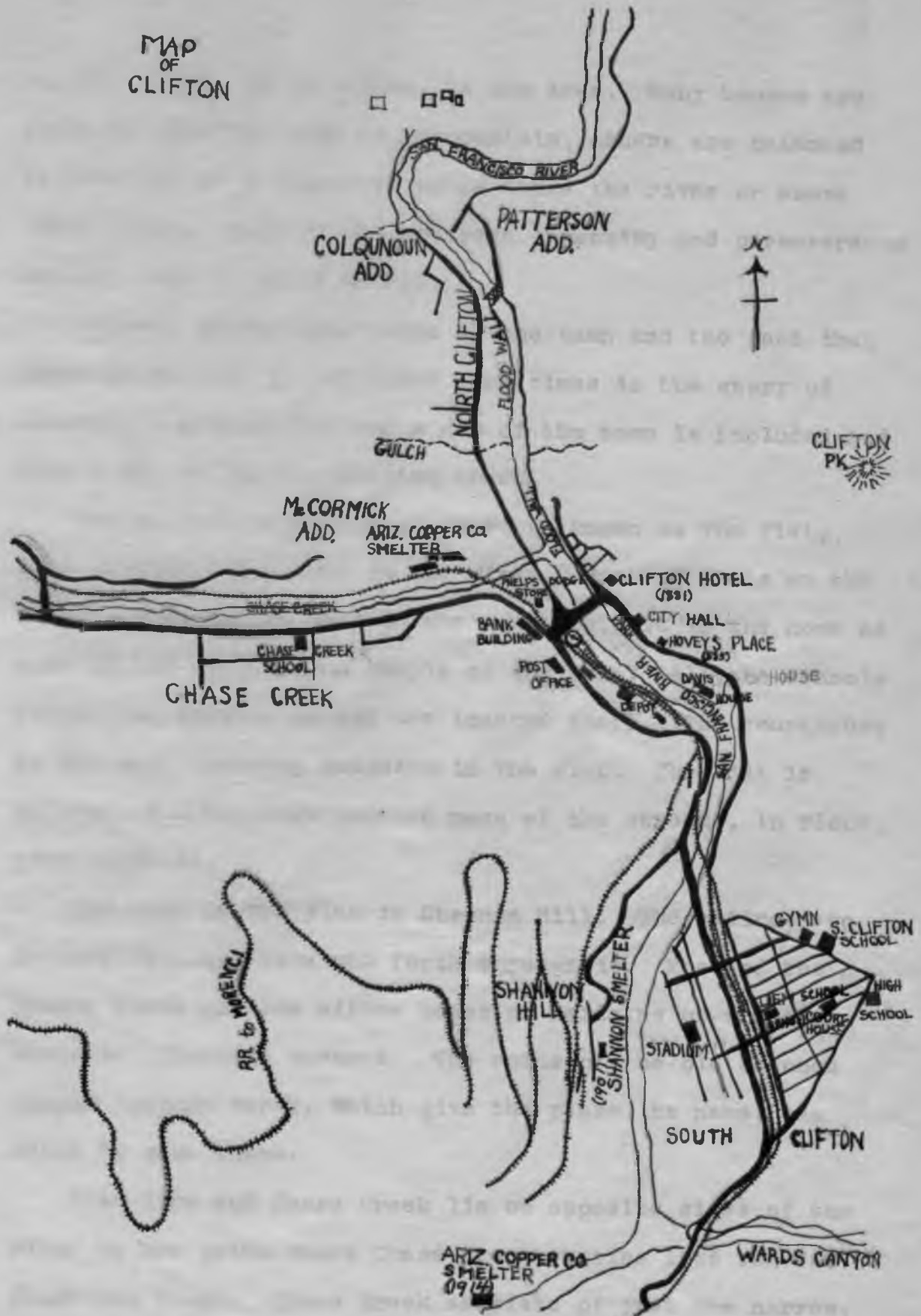
To the idealists why try to grasp "this sorry scheme of things entire" Clifton is a source of pleasure, for the town has been an integral part of a great industry. Clifton and copper grew up together. Just thirty years after the first telegraph line was put into use the first copper was smelted at Clifton. Just three years after that first copper was smelted, Bell demonstrated his telephone. The one billion eight hundred million pounds of copper which has been taken from the mountain around Clifton have aided in stretching those thousands of miles of slender wires all over our land to give us better communications and thus have contributed much to that part of our American way of life.



From the city of Clifton the casual observer would think himself to be in the midst of a wild tumble of mountains. But such is not the case. The immediate environs is a great plain which slopes northward to the Blue Mountains. In the south it is cut by the erosive action of several streams whose deep canyons give the impression of mountains. The most immediate of these canyons is the one cut by the San Francisco River which at this point runs in a general southwesterly direction. Near the center of Clifton on the north, Chase Creek flows into the San Francisco through a narrow tortuous canyon eroded a thousand feet deep through the plain. About five miles southwest of Clifton the San Francisco River flows into the Gila, which is known for being the longest river in the United States for the volume of water it carries. A few miles farther down the Gila, Eagle Creek flows into it from the north. The deep canyons of all these streams contribute to the impression that this is a mountain range rather than a great plain.

There are several picturesque peaks in the immediate vicinity of Clifton. The most noticeable of these are: Copper Mountain, American Mountain, Markeen Mountain and Clifton Peak. They rise to a height of over five thousand feet and are often capped with snow in the winter.

The city of Clifton is a hodgepodge of streets and buildings. No consistent plan was used in laying out the town, nor could one be, because there is not a whole acre



of level land, in one piece, in the area. Many houses are terraced into the side of the mountain, others are balanced on trestles or on concrete spans above the river or above Chase Creek. Only by the greatest ingenuity and perseverance could a town be built at all.

Because of the many parts of the town and the fact that those parts will be mentioned many times in the story of Clifton, a description and a map of the town is included and also a map of the surrounding area.

The southeastern part of Clifton, known as The Flat, lies adjacent to a bend in the river. Most of it is on the sloping land rising back to the mountain. It is the home of most of the Anglo-Saxon people of the town. All the schools except the Mexican school are located there. The courthouse is the most imposing building in The Flat. The Flat is popular as a homesite because none of the streams, in flood, ever reach it.

Due west of The Flat is Shannon Hill. The railroad to Morenci zig-zags back and forth through it. Most of the houses there now are either homes of Mexicans or trailer homes of itinerant workers. The ruins of the old Shannon Copper Company works, which give the place its name, can still be seen there.

East Side and Chase Creek lie on opposite sides of the river at the point where Chase Creek empties into the San Francisco River. Chase Creek consists of just one narrow,

winding street which twists its way up the Canyon. Most of the business places of the town and the homes of many Mexican families are located on this street. At the lower end of the canyon is the Old Arizona Copper Company works.

Because the valley of the river is very narrow at this point, the homes of East Side are nearly all terraced into the Mountainside. In the eighties and nineties, when Clifton was considered the second wildest camp in the West, Chase Creek and East Side were the most lawless streets in town. Even now in the twentieth century one may occasionally see, on a Saturday night, after payday, a juke box on the sidewalk; and a street dance in full swing on the streets of Chase Creek.

In writing the history of Clifton it will be necessary to write occasionally about Metcalf which is seven miles up Chase Creek and Morenci which is seven miles up the mountain. This will be true not only because of their propinquity but also because of multiple industrial contacts. Mines were in one of these towns and smelters in the other. As much as is practicable this history will confine itself to the city of Clifton.

P A R T O N E

THE COPPER INDUSTRY IN CLIFTON'



## CHAPTER I

### PIONEERS OF CLIFTON: To 1883

"The close of the Mesozoic and the opening of the Cenozoic periods saw events of major importance to the people of Arizona. Eastern and northern Arizona were covered by a shallow sea. Forces inside the earth began to raise the Colorado Plateau slowly out of the sea, and soon far above it. Around this great block of the earth's crust, that was being pushed upward, the rocks were folded, broken and tilted into mountain ridges higher than the rising plateau. Into this broken rim of the plateau, molten rock from deep in the earth was forced, and great quantities welled out and flowed over the surface, encircling the plateau with a rim of fire. Hundreds of square miles of Arizona, along the border of the plateau, were buried beneath the lava."<sup>1</sup>

From the great well of lava still left deep in the earth, vapors came to the surface. There they were condensed and the condensed materials settled in the cracks and fissures of the mountains thus forming the rich copper and other metal deposits found in the mountain ranges around the edges of the plateau and in the lesser mountains throughout the region. Thus the geologists explain the earth structure and ore formation of the Clifton area.

The first white men to be in the Clifton area were Coronado and his band. In his first letter to the Spanish crown, after he had started on his expedition, he mentions a river which must have been the San Francisco. His men

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1. B. S. Butler, "The Geology of Arizona," Arizona and Its Heritage, University of Arizona Bulletin, April, 1936, p. 15.

bathed in hot springs which were located some five miles from the mouth of the river. This would have been exactly where the Clifton hot springs are. He then describes his further journey north into extensive pine forests.<sup>2</sup> Those forests would correspond to the present pine forests of the region fifty miles north of Clifton. In 1926 an old sword of Spanish make was found on the Gila River a few miles from Duncan, Arizona. All this seems to lend credence to the belief of the Clifton people that Coronado passed that way.

Clifton has nothing to do with written history for the next three hundred years. At that time she touched on the stream of history because of hats. The wealthy men of the East developed a taste for high beaver hats. A group of intrepid trappers of the West, who became known as Mountain Men, attempted to furnish beaver fur for those hats. They combed every stream in the West in which a beaver could build a dam. In doing so they made a real contribution to the exploration of the West.

Two of the more venturesome of these Mountain Men were James Ohio Pattie and his father. During the years 1824 and 1825 they led a group of trappers down the Gila River to its mouth.<sup>3</sup> They went up the San Francisco about four miles and camped. That would have placed them in the vicinity of the old Arizona Copper Company smelter that was built in 1914.

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2. Hammond and Ray, Narratives of the Coronado Expedition, p. 186.

3. Reuben Gold Thwaites, Pattie's Personal Narratives, p. 91, Early Western Travels 1748-1846.

They killed two fat turkeys and saw a mountain sheep. That night they set their traps and caught thirty-seven beaver. They continued on up the river to its source. In all they caught two hundred and fifty beavers. They buried them near the mouth of the San Francisco before they traveled on west.

In 1846 we were engaged in a war with Mexico. Our politicians said we were fulfilling our "manifest destiny". The realists say we were engaged in our second war of conquest. General Kearney had been sent down to New Mexico. His instructions were to conquer New Mexico, then march overland to California and aid in the conquest of that rich region. On his overland march to the West he chose the Gila River route. It proved to be a poor route for an army because in the narrow mountain defiles he lost several cannon and men by their falling off the narrow trails.<sup>4</sup> He camped at the mouth of the San Francisco and his chief scout, who was the famous Kit Carson, talked with the local Indians. He could not persuade them to come into camp to talk to General Kearney because previously some white men had persuaded a group of them to gather around the rear of their covered wagon. The white men then fired a load of slugs, from a small cannon which was concealed in the wagon, into their midst. Perhaps this will help to explain why the later Apaches developed an antipathy for the white man.

Trappers always seek unexplored lands and a trapper

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4. John F. Hughes, Doniphan's Expedition, p. 81.

by the name of Weanes is said to have trapped the San Francisco River in the 1850's.<sup>5</sup>

As soon as the Civil War was over Mace Greenlee came to the region of Clifton and spent several years prospecting the canyons of the Gila and the San Francisco. Since he was interested only in the rarer and more valuable metals he paid no attention to the evidences of copper which he must have seen.<sup>6</sup>

There is much controversy concerning the discovery of the copper mines of Clifton and the naming of the town. One story has it that it was named by Charlie Shannon, who was the nephew of Bob and Jim Metcalf.<sup>7</sup> The overhanging cliffs are said to have made a great impression on him when he first came here in 1872, hence the name Clifton.

The other story is that Henry Clifton left the Hassayampa district in 1864 in the company of several other miners to prospect the San Francisco River.<sup>8</sup> They had been told that gold was so plentiful that one might scoop it up with a shovel. Clifton appointed Henry Taylor as deputy recorder of Hassayampa district before he left. In the

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5. James H. McClintock, Arizona, the Youngest State; Vol. 11, p. 420.

6. "The New County is Named Greenlee", Arizona Daily Star, March 2, 1912.

7. James Colquhoun, The History of the Clifton Morenci Mining District, p. 5.

8. Ward Adams, History of Arizona, p. 8. The Henry Clifton story as given by McClintock and Adams seems more likely since Hinton's Handbook of 1878 shows a gold mine was recorded in the "Big Bug" district in 1872.

Clifton region he found little gold, but he did find rich copper ores. Since he was the leading spirit of the party the district was named after him.

In the Civil War it quite frequently happened that a soldier returning to his home found it completely destroyed. This was the case with Bob Metcalf.<sup>9</sup> His wife was also gone. On inquiry he found that she had gone West with her parents. He did not learn the part of the West to which she was supposed to have gone, but he set out for the West anyway. He eventually found himself in Silver City, New Mexico. At this time it was a rough frontier town of about a thousand population. It had dropped somewhat from its former eminence because the silver mines, which were its reason for being, were no longer producing.

By 1870 he had been joined by his brother, Jim, and had gained enough knowledge of the surrounding country to be valuable as a scout for the army. At this time Cochise and his Apaches were on the warpath. They had raided some ranches near Silver City and Captain Chase with a squad of soldiers was setting out on their trail. He hired the two Metcalf brothers for scouts. He trailed the Apaches to the vicinity of Clifton. While encamped there he sent Bob Metcalf out to scout the surrounding country. It was while he was on this trip that Metcalf found the rich deposits of copper which later were to prove so valuable. At this time

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9. James Colquhoun, Early History of the Clifton-Morenci Mining District, p. 6 and 7.

he did not take time to put up location markers. He merely noted in his mind the general location of the outcroppings.

Two years later conditions for the peaceful pursuit of copper mining were much improved. General Howard had made peace with Cochise. The Federal mining law of 1872 had made the filing of mining claims easier, and had made the outlook for making money in mining much better. It seems evident that the Metcalfs had done some talking about the ores of the district because in that year no less than three sizeable parties were in the region.<sup>10</sup> In the first party there were eight men from Silver City, who worked individually but travelled together, because there was still some fear of the Indians. Jim Bullard and Joe Yankie were in this party; the others are not known. The second party was led by Captain Jay and I. N. Stevens. These two parties located the Montezuma, Copper Mountain, Yankie, and Arizona Central Mining claims which they soon sold to E. D. Ward, a banker from Detroit for two thousand dollars each.<sup>11</sup> The third party was led by the two Metcalfs. It was this party that located the Longfellow and Metcalf mines which were famous all over the West in a few years.

The first mines located by these early prospectors were recorded in Yavapai County, which necessitated a trip

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10. Norman Carmichael and Benjamin Keddle, "The Early Days of Clifton", Arizona Mining Journal, December 1, 1924, p. 16.

11. Graham County Transferred Record of Mining Deeds.

of over a hundred miles. In August of 1872 the miners and prospectors of the district had a joint meeting at which they organized the Copper Mountain Mining District.<sup>12</sup> Joe Yankie was chosen as the first recorder. I. N. Stevens, Stewart Brennan, Owen Roberts, John Callbell, Bill Blood, Joe Yankie, Jim Pollard, Bob Metcalf, Captain Jay, Pierce, Webb, and George Parker, a colored cook, made up the organization. The organization was a great benefit to the miners because from that time on they could record their claims in Clifton, thus saving the long journey to Prescott.

Charlie and Baylor Shannon were a couple of real southern gentlemen who lived in Silver City at this time. Charlie was editor of the "Southwest Sentinel", the pioneer newspaper of that town. Baylor later became sheriff there. In 1872 they, too, came to Clifton and prospected the region around the headwaters of Chase Creek. Charlie located the Shannon mine which later became a good producer. While he was busy on location work a large band of Apaches passed up the canyon below him. It was in the fall and, as was their custom, they were travelling to the mountains to get lodge poles. As they were at peace, they travelled by families and very slowly. Charlie Shannon, not having too much faith in their peaceful intent, and being

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12. Norman Carmichael and Benjamin Keddle, op. cit., p. 16.

alone, kept himself out of sight. He did not dare to make a fire, so for almost a week he lived on parched corn, the only cooked food he had with him.<sup>13</sup>

After Bob Metcalf had "proved up" on the Longfellow mine he found he did not have the capital necessary to operate the mine. He knew of no one in Silver City whom he thought he might interest in the mine so he took a specimen of the ore from the Longfellow and set out for Las Cruces. At this time it was a mere frontier post and a stopping place for the overland stage. The only place of business there was owned by Charles Lesinsky. When Metcalf arrived he showed the ore to Lesinsky and asked him to become his partner in the operation of the mine. Charles Lesinsky hesitated about going into so risky a venture but his brother, Henry Lesinsky, had recently arrived there from Australia where he had done some mining. He urged Charles to accept saying that he would aid in the development of the mines. The necessary papers were drawn up and the Lesinskys had the controlling interest in the Longfellow mine. They soon quarrelled with Metcalf and he sold the remainder of his interest in the mine to them. After this he located other mines near the Shannon interests on Chase Creek.

During the winter of 1872-1873 the Lesinskys made preparations for their new venture.<sup>14</sup> At this time

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13. Mrs. Jettie S. Utter, Interview, Sept. 25, 1944.

14. Copper Era, Midsummer Industrial Edition, 1909.



Swansea in Wales was the copper center of the world. In his mining operations in Australia Henry Lesinsky had shipped his ores to Swansea. This did not seem the feasible thing to do in Arizona because of the long overland haul to the coast, so he decided to smelt the ores near the mine and send the copper bullion to the refiners, thus reducing the cost of shipping the ores.

Cortez had found the Aztecs smelting copper, in a crude way, when he came to Mexico.<sup>15</sup> The Spaniards, who were noted for their metallurgy, had taught the Mexicans. As a consequence in 1872 the Mexicans were considered very skillful smelter men. Henry Lesinsky went to El Paso and Juarez where he hired Mexican workers for his mines and smelters. In the early spring of 1873 he journeyed to Clifton and set to work building a smelter and opening the mine.

The miners had a word for the type of work that they did; it was "rawhiding". It meant to do the best one could by experimentation with the materials at hand. The Lesinskys "rawhided". They built a smelter of adobe. For fuel they used charcoal made from mesquite trees. The smelter was built in Chase Creek Canyon, at a place called Stone House so as to be near the water supply. Since the mine was high up on the mountain, some method of transporting the

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15. "Greenlee County, the Wonderland of Arizona"; Chamber of Commerce Bulletin, in the Arizona Historical Society Files.

ore had to be found. The Mexicans solved this problem by using burros. Since the first smelter had a capacity of only two tons of ore per day this method proved satisfactory.

Getting an adequate fuel supply was one of the most trying problems of the early days. Charcoal made from wood proved fairly satisfactory. At first charcoal was made from the mesquite that grew in profusion on the nearby mountain-side.<sup>16</sup> Soon this supply was exhausted and they had to seek elsewhere. J. E. Solomon built charcoal pits in the Gila Valley and began to produce charcoal there for the Clifton mines. As he cut down the mesquite he placed the soil under cultivation and was soon producing enough vegetables to supply the needs of Clifton. He put up a store to supply his Mexican laborers. This was the beginning of the town of Solomonville, which later was the county seat of Graham County. The charcoal which he produced was hauled by ox carts over the mountains to Clifton. Quite frequently the carts were waylaid by Indians. Then the smelter ran low on fuel until other oxen and drivers were procured. The charcoal produced from Mesquite did not prove totally satisfactory as a fuel. It produced clean slags and good heat but caused the iron in the ore to fuse with the copper. The copper thus produced ran about twelve per cent iron.

The first smelter that Lesinsky built was capable of

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16. Arthur L. Walker, "Early Mining in Arizona", Arizona Historical Review, April 1935, p. 39.

producing from six to seven hundred pounds of copper per day. Average production probably did not run more than half that. The greatest difficulty was in preventing the great heat of the furnace from melting the adobe walls. This caused delays while the walls were being patched or rebuilt. In late 1873 Lesinsky moved his smelter down Chase Creek and built a larger one of native stone. This proved even less satisfactory than the adobe. When the stones got hot the expansion caused explosions and splitting of the rock in the walls. Lesinsky went back to using the adobe walls.

Lesinsky was selling his copper to Pope-Cole and Company whose offices were in New York and whose refineries were in Baltimore. They became interested in his smelter and sent him a German metallurgist from New York to build a furnace. He spent eight months on the job. He made firebricks of a local clay, assuring the owners all the time that it would 'astonish the natives'. The total cost was near two thousand dollars. The great day arrived to try out the new furnace. A fire was built in it; the ore was placed inside. The great bellows fanned the flames to a fierce blaze but in twenty-four hours the furnace was a smouldering ruin.<sup>17</sup> The intense heat had proven too much for the improvised firebrick.

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17. James Colquhoun, Early History of the Clifton-Morenci District, p. 37.

Lesinsky continued on with the old furnace whose bellows were simple blacksmiths' bellows made on the spot of cowhide and mesquite bows. Soon Louis Smadbach drifted into the camp. He had no peer as a furnace man or "raw-hider". He soon devised a furnace with a copper jacket inside the walls to prevent the walls being eaten away by the heat. This jacket was sprayed with water to prevent the melting. The spray ate the copper jacket away. Smadbach then devised a copper water jacket that would fit inside the furnace. This solved the problem so satisfactorily that this type of furnace was used until the great furnaces of the twentieth century.

The smelted ore which Lesinsky produced at this time he shipped by ox and mule team to Kansas City twelve hundred miles away. The ore trains went north through New Mexico and up the Santa Fe Trail. The ox drivers were Mexican, and largely from New Mexico. Quite frequently they stopped, along the way at their homes, to plant a crop or harvest before continuing on their way. Their way led through the hunting grounds of the Apaches and the Comanches, the fiercest of all the fighting tribes. Often the copper wagons were attacked; the drivers were killed and the oxen and mules driven off or killed. The Indians never bothered to take the heavy copper ingots so the next wagons along the way divided the copper among them and delivered it all to the railroads at Kansas City.

Not a single bar of copper was lost along the way.<sup>18</sup>

On the way back the wagons hauled supplies. Henry Lesinsky put up a store at Clifton from which he sold to the Mexicans and others the few necessary articles of that day. Those were trying days for the Lesinskys. Copper fell in price from twenty-five cents a pound to fifteen cents. Although production had risen to fifty tons of copper a month they lost money, but what they lost on the smelter they almost made back on the store.

By 1877 Clifton was beginning to take on the appearances of a town. Good adobe houses had been built to house the white members of the staff. Lesinsky's Store was the largest structure, but it also was of adobe. The Mexicans were housed in adobe huts of their own making. Lesinskys were afraid to have very much gold on hand because of the many desperadoes who infested the West at that time; so they used a type of script, which the Mexicans called "boletas", to pay the men. It circulated the same as money and usually found its way back to the store in payment for supplies, either liquid or solid.

By the late seventies the smelter was "out of the red" for the first time. But this placid state of affairs was not to continue for very long. Indian troubles came again. At this time the Indian leader was Victoria. He raided

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18. Norman Carmichael and Benjamin Keddle, "The Early Days of Clifton," Arizona Mining Journal, December 1, 1924.

several copper trains in succession and reduced the company's livestock to a new low. The angered miners organized a posse and trailed the raiders to the San Carlos reservation farther west on the Gila River. Army officials were notified but they refused to take the stock away from the Indians on the grounds that they might stir up another Indian war. Henry Lesinsky was almost prostrated by this new blow which came just at the time when he was beginning to make money. He was on the point of quitting when J. E. Solomon came to his assistance with a new supply of mules from his ranches at Solomonville. Lesinsky struggled on because he saw no way to get out of the discouraging business.<sup>19</sup>

But all was not sadness even at this low ebb in the fortunes of the town. When the Indian raids were at their worst many of the Mexican families left and went back to their homes in New Mexico. Don Antonio was asked by the Lesinskys to act as a recruiting agent. He was a throw-back to the old days of the vaquero, with flashing eyes and silver decorated saddle on his horse which he rode down "South of the Border" into Sonora to get married Mexican couples to work in the mines and at the smelter. His eloquence must have been of a very beguiling sort for when he came back he had quite a few couples who were not married. So Louis Smadbach who served as a doctor, and also as

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19. James Colquhoun, op. cit., p. 44.

justice of the peace, married them all en masse. Afterwards the guitars were brought out and a grand "baille" was held celebrating the occasion.

By 1880 Henry Lesinsky's health had broken under the strain. The smelter, by this time, had made a little money but nothing like the fortune he had hoped for; so he took his family and the money he had saved and went on a trip to Europe. Charles Lesinsky took over the management of the business.<sup>20</sup>

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20. James Colquhoun, op. cit., p. 52.

## CHAPTER II

### FOUR DECADES OF THE ARIZONA COPPER COMPANY

During the latter half of the nineteenth century the British empire was the greatest financial power on earth. England's financiers had long since found that it was not necessary that England own a region in order that they might reap a profit from it. British money was being used for pioneering development in China, Argentine, South Africa, Russia, Australia; in fact, in almost all parts of the world. In the United States railroads and factories had long been English owned. In view of these things it was most natural that a Scotch company should eventually find its way to far distant Arizona.

In our last chapter we left the Lesinsky and Freudenthal interests under the name of the Longfellow Mining Company struggling to make their mining interests at Clifton pay. Up to this time they had succeeded only in a modest sort of a way. They had not taken a great deal of money out of the business but they had acquired considerable holdings in the form of mines, stores, smelters, and rolling stock. In 1882 Frank L. Underwood of Kansas City made them an offer that was too tempting to refuse so on September 1, 1882 the owners of the Longfellow Mining



Company sold all their property in Clifton to Underwood for one million five hundred thousand dollars.<sup>1</sup>

Underwood was a mining speculator and not a miner. He took his documentary evidence of ownership to New York and tried to sell the mines and smelter there but the moneyed interests of that city were not interested. It was much too easy to make money in railroads at that time and not nearly so risky. So Underwood sailed for England; then to Scotland. He soon convinced the canny Scots that he had a good thing at a good price. On March 9th, 1883 a hastily organized Scotch company paid Underwood two million dollars for all the Longfellow Mining Company's former holdings, which included the Longfellow, Coronado, Crown Reef, Horseshoe Lode, Humboldt, Bassett and other mines. Underwood had proven himself a shrewd speculator for in six months time he had made a profit of one half million dollars without doing any mining at all whatever.

The Arizona Copper Company Ltd.<sup>2</sup> was organized in Edinburgh, Scotland August 5th, 1883 for the purpose, averred in its charter, of carrying on mining operations in the territory of Arizona in the United States. Its capital stock was seven hundred and fifty five thousand pounds, twenty per cent of which was issued in the

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1. Graham County Transferred Records of Mining Deeds, Vol. I, p. 267.

2. T. H. Weed, "The Arizona Copper Company", The Mines Handbook and Copper Handbook 1916, p. 168

United States. Its capital stock was seven hundred and fifty five thousand pounds, twenty per cent of which was issued in the United States and bought by American capitalists. The main offices of the company were at 29 St. Andrews Square, Edinburgh, Scotland.<sup>3</sup>

The new company started with a flourish but soon ran into trouble. The directors decided to build a railroad to Lordsburg to connect with the Southern Pacific which had reached that point in 1881. This was almost a necessity in view of the expansion which they contemplated but the cost was terrifically high. It was a three foot guage line called the Arizona and New Mexico; the last ten miles of the line were almost one continuous fill or tunnel, running the cost up to two million dollars for the seventy one miles. They also rebuilt the Coronado line up Chase Creek and extended it to Metcalf. In order to get the ores from the mines down to the railroad it was necessary to build inclines up to the various mines. The one to Coronado mine was the longest in the world at that time. The careless mining methods of the early days caused trouble in the form of a widespread mine cavein in the Longfellow mine which was their heaviest producer.

Gloom spread through the ranks of the stockholders. Many of them sold out at below par. The original four million dollars of their capital was already gone and no

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3. Note; this company was a reorganization of the earlier one which had made the purchase of the Longfellow Mining Company.

dividends were in sight. The shrewd financial sense and courage of the Scotch came to the fore. They reorganized their board of directors, borrowed one million eight hundred thousand dollars more capital and proceeded with their plans.<sup>4</sup>

4. James Colquhoun, The History of the Clifton-Morenci Mining Industry, p. 19.

James Colquhoun, to whom frequent reference is made throughout this history, was born in Chapelhall, Scotland in the year 1858. Although he came from a family of well educated people he had to secure most of his own education by self study. At an early age he went to work for the Monkland Iron and Steel Company as a bookkeeper. While working as a bookkeeper he studied chemistry, metallurgy and related subjects in a night school. At the same time he was studying the practical side of those subjects in the laboratories of the company.

In 1883 he accepted a position with the newly organized Arizona Copper Company. He was to be paid 250 pounds per annum with the understanding that he would later be given a part in the management of the company.

In Clifton he started work as a bookkeeper and assistant in metallurgy. He rose through the position of assayer and mine superintendent, to finally become head of the company in 1892.

The details of his work in Clifton are covered in chapter two but his life after he left Clifton is interesting to those who knew him.

Mr. Colquhoun retired from the company in 1907 because of ill health. After several years of retirement during which he regained his health he went to Russia to aid in the development of the copper industry in the Caucasus region. He stayed there until he was forced to flee from the country by the revolution of 1917.

The school children of Clifton have much cause to remember Mr. Colquhoun for each year at Christmas time for the last forty years he has sent them one hundred dollars to be used in the purchase of Christmas treats. In 1943 the children of the schools tried to reciprocate by contributing pennies, nickels, and dimes to purchase a handsome gold watch which was given to Mr. Colquhoun. This splendid old gentleman still lives at the ripe old age of eighty seven, at San Jose, Calif. and regards the years he spent in Clifton as being the happiest of his life.

A Mr. Russell of Edinburgh was sent over to be general manager of the company. Expert miners and metallurgists were gathered up in all parts of Scotland and sent over under contract. Many of these Scotch brought their wives or soon afterwards sent for them. Among the leading Scotch workers to come to Clifton at this time were J. G. Hopkins, who became president of the Arizona and New Mexico railroad; George Frazer and Ted Davis, smelter men; William Keddle, foreman of the leaching plant; Archie Morrison, foreman of the concentrator; James Cromb, foreman of the car shops. Many of those men or their families still reside in Clifton.

In 1883 James Colquhoun came to Clifton and was placed in charge of the newly finished smelter. This was a position of great responsibility from which he soon rose to position of general manager. For the next twenty years much of the success of the company was due to this remarkable man. His description of the trip which he made from Lordsburg to Clifton gives us a good picture of the country at that time.

"Our train was composed of a long string of freight cars laden with mill, mine, and railroad supplies with one passenger coach bringing up the rear."

It is interesting to note that now sixty years later the train is made up in exactly the same way.

"Duncan was a mere hamlet, the home of the Parks family, a hardy fearless race of natural pioneers. Seven miles north of Duncan we passed the York ranch, home of the beautiful York girls whose

father was slain by the Apaches. Nearer Guthrie was the Coronado ranch. These were the only settlements found between Lordsburg and Clifton."<sup>5</sup>

Clifton at this time had a few saloons and restaurants and four stores. There were a few dwellings mostly on the east side of the river. The offices of the company, the smelter, and a few adobe buildings were on the west side of the river. The court house, made of canvas, stood in what is now the river bed. Near it were ten or twelve adobe huts belonging to the Chinese laundrymen and vegetable men. All were washed away in a later flood.<sup>6</sup>

Clifton was a boom town. Small armies of railroad laborers, miners, drifters, and business men crowded the dusty streets. The moral tenor of the town was typical of the West at that time. Men had come here either to escape the law or to seek adventure or fortune. Most of them were not interested very much in a law abiding town. A. E. Campbell, who had succeeded Mr. Russell as company manager, and Jim Sias, the justice of peace, tried to control the lawless elements of the town but were powerless to do so. A band of desperadoes ~~wase~~ the real power in the town. Hovey's saloon, which stood about where the Spoon brothers garage now is, was the social center of the town. Its lusty German owner was at one time the local law enforcing agent. Most of the laborers at this time were Chinese. It was not a crime

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5. James Colquhoun, op. cit., p. 20.

6. Mrs. Hallie Smith, Unpublished Manuscript.

to kill a Chinaman, the men argued, since it was an injustice to the American and Mexican laborers to bring them here in the first place.

The new smelter of the Arizona Copper Company was built on the site of the old one at the mouth of Chase Creek. This was an excellent choice of location with plenty of water power available. The only drawback was that Chase Creek proved to be a slumbering giant, awakening occasionally in great floods. In the great flood of 1884 the power dam which supplied power for the smelter was washed out. Mr. Colquhoun knowing that the company was in dire financial straits asked the men to put the dam back in while the flood was still up to keep the smelter going. With Archie Morrison and George Frazer in charge the men worked heroically and accomplished the task in a short time.<sup>7</sup>

The disposal of the smelter slag had always presented a problem. Previous to this it had been drawn off in huge ladles and allowed to cool. It was then used to make fills in the low places around town. Mr. Colquhoun discovered that if the molten slag were dumped into the river it would granulate and be carried off by the stream. This method of disposal was used for many years after that at an annual saving of about twenty thousand dollars in hauling bills. In the early twentieth century when the Gila valley around Safford began to be farmed the farmers protested that the

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7. James Colquhoun, The Birth of Porphyry Copper, p. 14.

tailings ruined the water for irrigation purposes and brought suit to stop it. They won their case and the company was forced to build large settling basins to clear the water before it went on downstream from the smelter.<sup>8</sup>

In 1892 Colquhoun became general manager of the company replacing A. E. Campbell. At this time the company was still "in the red". To add to the troubles of the company the rich stores of ores that the Longfellow had always provided had run out. Instead of the rich ores of the early days which had assayed as high as twenty six per cent copper they now had to work with ores running only three or four per cent. These ores were low grade oxydized ores. The staff of metallurgists of the company sought a means of treating them which would be cheap and rapid since copper had to be produced rapidly in order to save the company, which had to make payments on its mortgage as well as running expenses. Dividends had not been paid up to now and would not be for some time. It was decided to concentrate the ore by the use of jigs; smelt this concentrate to refine it; then treat the tailings of the concentration by leaching in dilute sulphuric acid. Mr. Colquhoun's description of the method is clear and concise:<sup>9</sup>

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8. The Arizona Copper Co. vs William A. Gillespie, Appellee; Greenlee Co. Law Library, Arizona Reports, By Dunseath, V. 12, P. 190.

9. James Colquhoun, Birth of Porphyry Coppers, p. 13.

"I had already determined in a small way that concentrating in jigs would yield a rich concentrate, and I had proven--also in a small way--that the tailings could be leached in a dilute solution of sulphuric acid. I had also discovered a small vein of iron pyrites carrying copper, which, although poor in quality, might be used for making sulphuric acid.

"I had heard of an experiment made in an hexagonal wooden barrel, which gave rapid precipitation of copper ----- I decided to design and make copper barrels which would, I hoped, withstand the destructive action of the scrap iron and copper liquors ----- I decided to load our tanks by gravity from overhead bins and discharge them by powerful jets of water. For leaching I had decided upon downward percolation, the acid liquor to be pumped from the false bottom to the top of each tank, three strengths of acid and three leachings to be given to each tank. Each tank was to have its own acid proof pump to be driven from lines of shafting, which in turn were to be driven by an electric motor."

In the working of this new concentrator it was found that some of the ores were rich enough that they could be sorted out in the mines and sent directly to the smelter as had been done with all ores in the early days. By the use of this new machinery the production of copper was increased forty per cent over previous years. What was more gratifying to the owners, the copper was produced about two cents per pound cheaper than before. By 1895 the Arizona Copper Company had paid off its mortgage in full and in that year paid its first dividends. From that time on dividends were paid almost every year as long as the company operated in Arizona.<sup>10</sup>

It is not to be thought that the affairs of the company

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10. Ibid.



wentron placidly after this first payment of dividends for they were soon confronted by another problem. Only the oxide ores could be treated successfully by the method just described and the bulk of the oxides were soon exhausted. The old dependable Longfellow mine had at last been mined out and it was necessary to locate other ores.

Paul Nicholas, superintendent of mines, much earlier had begun to prospect nearby Humboldt hill, which rose five hundred feet above the town of Morenci. He drove thousands of feet of exploratory tunnels and blocked out enough ore to last the company at least five years. But the great difficulty was that these ores were low grade sulphide ores called porphyry. They ran from one to four per cent copper and by using the type of machinery then in use only about forty per cent of this copper could be recovered. It was plain that either a new method of treating this porphyry would have to be worked out or they could not use it. No other company anywhere was treating such low grade sulphides. Some producers were leaving more copper in their tailings than was in the virgin ores of the porphyry. Without trying to explain the complicated workings of the new plant we may say that in 1895 the Arizona Copper Company pioneered in the treatment of this type of ore by building a concentration mill in which the ore was crushed and enriched by wet concentration. This concentrate was then smelted.<sup>11</sup>

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11. Feature Story, The Tucson Citizen, September 29, 1917, p. 6.

These plants when completed could treat nine hundred tons of ore each day. Soon after this the company built number five concentrator at Morenci which could treat another five hundred tons per day. This immense tonnage was necessary because of the low grade of ores being used.

A recent writer<sup>12</sup> has tried to give The Utah Copper Company credit for developing the first method of treating low grade sulphides of copper, but Mr. James Colquhoun has shown conclusively by figures and by quotations from mining experts of that day that the Arizona Copper Company was producing copper in quantity from porphyry at least five years before any rival had done so.<sup>13</sup>

By 1901 the Arizona Copper Company was producing almost ten thousand tons of copper a year from copper ore which a few years before had been thought useless. From the little stream of copper which issued from those porphyry ores in 1896 was later to issue a mighty river which would not only enrich America but supply the copper which was necessary to carry on the great war. Without the abundant supply of coppers it is doubtful if the munitions could have been produced to win that war. But in the long run the development of a method of treating porphyry was to prove a boomerang to the American industry for Rhodesia had the greatest supplies of porphyry in the world and when they began to be produced

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12. A. B. Parsons, Porphyry Coppers, p. 101.

13. James Colquhoun, Birth of Porphyry Coppers, p. 23.

and poured into the markets of the world, America's place as the number one copper producing country of the world was threatened.

The Arizona Copper Company was the pathfinder of the copper industry in at least two other ways. In 1905 the company pioneered in the use of electric haulage in the mines. The long tunnels of the Humboldt and the Coronado mines made the engineers feel that gravity and mule power was not adequate, so they began experiments that finally led to the installing of electricity throughout the mines and its use both in lighting and hauling. Side dumping cars of four tons capacity were used. This type of haulage proved so satisfactory that soon all big producers were using it.<sup>14</sup>

Another bit of pioneering that should be credited to the shrewd Scotchmen who were at the head of the Arizona Copper Company was the saving of much of the copper that was in the waters in the mines. These waters contain copper which had been leached from the ores through which the water had run. The waters were run through long sluiceways in which pieces of tin had been placed. The copper adhered to the tin and could be removed by electrolysis. This proved to be the cheapest way of producing copper then in use and it produced the purest copper. Years later the Phelps Dodge Company enlarged on this plan by pumping water to the top

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14. Feature Story, The Tucson Citizen, September 29, 1917.

of the mountain and directing it downward through the old abandoned tunnels. As it percolated down through the tunnels it leached out copper. At the bottom of the tunnels the water was directed into sluiceways filled with tin and the copper precipitated.<sup>15</sup>

On Christmas night of 1897 the company received a serious setback when the oxide concentrator at Clifton burned in a fire of undetermined origin. It required several months of hard work to restore the concentrator and the company could not operate until the job was completely finished. By hard work the staff finished in ninety days and full operations were resumed.

In 1900 the number four concentrator was built. Its purpose was to extract an additional one half per cent of copper from the tailings of the other mills. Soon after this the railroad up Chase Creek was widened to a three foot guage.

Up to this time the mills and smelters had been made of wood and were the bane of all insurance companies. Several times they had caught fire but in most cases prompt work on the part of the tending crews had saved them. As noted above in 1897 a large part of the mill was burned beyond use.<sup>16</sup> Because of this the company tore down all

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15. Ibid.

16. James Colquhoun, The History of the Clifton-Morenci Mining District, p. 79.

its buildings except the new number four concentrator and reconstructed them of steel and concrete. At the same time the company tried to get rid of the smoke nuisance which had beset the people of Clifton since earliest days. A tunnel was dug straight up through the peak against which the smelter rested. It extended straight up for four hundred and fifty feet above the town. Finding that there were copper values in the smoke from the smelter the company built a huge settling chamber. The smoke was made to pass back and forth through several long concrete tunnels before being allowed to escape. The tunnel and settling chamber did not prove a complete success but it was a source of pride to the people of Clifton. Visitors were told that the peak towering above the town with smoke issuing from its peak was an active volcano. The citizens of the town still breathed sulphur smoke and Mr. Colquhoun, who was still head of the company made the best of the situation by telling the townspeople that the sulphur smoke had health giving qualities.

Clifton at the turn of the century was a picturesque and interesting looking town, albeit a very dirty one. Old pictures show the town grouped closely around the smelter as if seeking shelter from the cold in the mountains towering around. The smelter as it had been since the middle "seventies" was at the mouth of Chase Creek. An enterprising real estate man could have gotten rich by buying Chase

Creek in 1890 for it was offered for sale for three hundred dollars. By 1900 it was rapidly becoming an important part of the town, for the good citizens of East Side had driven many of the saloons with their houses of ill repute out of that part of the town and they had gone to Chase Creek. Pictures of that part of the town in 1903 show Chase Creek as nestling almost in the creek. There were no restraining walls at that time and the floods of 1905 and 1906 almost washed that part of the town away. The whole town at that time appeared to be much lower than now. The company had not made the many fills that were later made and the lack of restraining walls allowed the river to change its course frequently. This of course made the town lower. The river was an ever present source of danger.<sup>17</sup>

North Clifton was the choice residential district at that time. Its streets were tree shaded and neat. Many of the Scotch workers had their homes there. The only means of crossing the river was by means of swinging bridges. There was one about where the tennis court now is and one an eighth of a mile farther down the river. Boys are said to have amused themselves by swinging the bridges when they caught an inebriate halfway across. Since these bridges were small and intended only for foot passengers, horses and wagons had to ford the stream.<sup>18</sup>

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17. Pictorial Volume published at the expense of the Arizona Copper Company, 1903.

18. Ibid.

The town had boasted a newspaper<sup>19</sup> since 1883, but one dark night in 1899 its owner left the town and a host of debts behind and set off for greener fields. The Copper Era was established here in the same year and has continued to be the town's only newspaper up to the present. At that time, as now, the paper consisted of eight pages but they were much smaller. It had very little news and much advertising. The issue of December 28, 1899 reveals that J. D. Lea was the editor.... M. J. Egan and Charles F. Whitacre were practicing law. J. C. Jones had a photographic shop opposite the Clifton Hotel.... The Richelieu saloon was open for business, T. J. Dunagan was proprietor.... F. H. Hudson was postmaster at that time.... F. H. Weise was the town watchmaker and jeweler.... The First Chance Saloon was operated by Falcone and Nardelli.... The French Restaurant was run by a Chinaman named Sam Sing.... Quong Ching Lung had a general merchandise store on Chase Creek.... The Clifton Meat Market advertised Louisiana oysters.... The Clifton Ice and Cold Storage plant advertised ice and cold storage space for fresh meats. The Arizona and New Mexico railroad had two trains each day which is more than the town has today.

In the news items was a story of a farewell party that had been given for J. G. Hopkins who had been president of the A. & N. M. railway. The gathering was addressed by M. J. Egan and Mr. Colquhoun. Mr. Hopkins was presented

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19. Copper Era, Dec. 28, 1899.

with a gold watch from Tiffany's in New York. At the same party M. Louis Fraissenet was given a gold headed cane, also from Tiffany's, to commemorate his long service with the company as store manager. Another item told of a pretty Christmas party given by Professor Prettymen, the dancing master, at his hall in North Clifton. The town still seemed to have growing pains but was a wideawake prosperous place.

In 1904 Mr. Colquhoun had to retire from the active management of the company because of poor health. He had been one of the leaders of the work in Clifton for twenty one years and head of the operations for twelve years. Much of the success of the company had undoubtedly been due to his efforts. Alexander Veitch became manager of the company at this time and Mr. Colquhoun became president of the company. In this capacity he continued to give much valuable advice. In 1907, a complete rest and change becoming necessary, he retired completely. In the same year Mr. Norman Carmichael succeeded Mr. Veitch as manager of the company in Clifton. He remained in the position as long as the Arizona Copper Company continued to own the business in Clifton.<sup>20</sup>

During the years from 1904 to 1912 not very much was done in the way of adding new equipment. It was a period

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20. James Colquhoun, The Early History of the Clifton-Morenci Mining District, p. 187.



when the company concentrated on perfecting what had already been made. The number five concentrator gave way to a new and larger number six. The four ton trains of the original electric hauling system were scrapped and five and ten ton ones were put into use. Electricity began to be used for hauling outside of the mines, also in hauling ores from the Coronado mines to the Morenci Smelter, a distance of four miles. At the same time the Callow system of oil flotation was being used experimentally in the number six concentrator at Morenci.<sup>21</sup>

By 1912 the old reducing works of the Arizona Copper Company began to show the effects of wear and were becoming out of date. In that year the company officials decided to build a new smelter. It was decided to move from the old site because of the small amount of space available and to try to remove the smoke nuisance from the town. After long investigation and surveying it was decided to build the smelter on the east bank of the river about two miles downstream from the old one.

The new smelter, completed in 1914, was the very latest in design, materials, and workmanship. It was said to be as much superior to the old smelter as a modern ocean liner is to a sailing ship. It was designed by L. D. Rickets, one of the foremost mining engineers of that day. In order to

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21. "The Arizona Copper Company is Pathfinder of Industry," The Tucson Citizen, September 29, 1917.

be sure of its operation he saw every detail of its construction and operated it for the first six months of its production. This trial showed that it would operate substantially under its estimated operating cost. The plans for the smelter were drawn by Redpath and McGregor of Douglas, Arizona. E. Horton Jones was the engineer in charge of construction. Work was started in January of 1912 and the first copper was poured from the new smelter October 8, 1913. This was not a record for speedy construction but it was very fast considering that the job was held up several times because of lack of materials and that only one shift of workers was used. In order to make the work as speedy as possible Mr. Jones hired two efficiency experts, something new in industry in that day. One of them was to be in charge of blueprints and the ordering of materials. The other was to see that all workmen had materials at hand when they were needed.

The plant consisted of a bedding plant for receiving and mixing the ores; supplementary bins for fettling and converter ores and fluxes; a roasting plant consisting of eight Herschoff air cooled roasters, a large test chamber, three oil fired reverbatory furnaces 22 feet in diameter and one hundred feet long; seven waste heat boilers and seven auxiliary boilers with a total capacity of five thousand horsepower. The waste heat boilers took the heat from the furnaces and converted it into power to run the company's

mines and concentrators as well as the smelter itself.<sup>22</sup>

The shops and warehouses were built of hollow tile and steel. The total cost was \$2,100,000. The plant after being turned over to the company by Dr. Ricketts was placed under the supervision of F. N. Flyn, smelter superintendent. The power of the new plant was electricity which was generated in the steam engines operated by the waste heat boilers. The designers outdid themselves in finding new ways to use electricity.

In 1892 the market value of Arizona Copper Company stock was seventy five cents a share; in 1907 the value was eighty dollars per share. During the three years from 1898 to 1901 the company made a profit of \$5,000,000 over and above operating costs. The next few years were almost as good. The net earnings for 1908 were \$1,230,000 which was paid in dividends plus a surplus of \$160,385 to be carried over to the next year. Beginning in 1909 a slow decline set in. The quality of the ore was getting poorer and the price of copper had dropped. The building of the new smelter in 1912 while necessary for the treatment of the low grade ores played havoc with profits for a few years. With the coming of the first World War the company hoped to recoup its fortunes. They would have been able to do this for the price of copper increased to twenty six cents per pound, which was

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22. Richard H. Vail, "The Arizona Copper Company's New Smelter," The Engineering and Mining Journal, July 4, 1914.

the highest in recent history, but labor difficulties arose. Strikes broke out,<sup>23</sup> caused by a demand for higher wages. The company had to raise wages in order to settle the strike. Taxes went up so as to cost over half a million dollars a year in the United States alone and the company had to pay taxes in Scotland also. To add to the woes of the company there was a complete collapse of the copper market in 1920.

The Scottish owners felt that they were being discriminated against in the matter of taxation in the United States, and being in no mood to wait the many years necessary for the return of the copper market, they looked around for a customer to whom they might sell the property. Phelps Dodge had long been in the process of expansion of their copper interests in Arizona. They had bought out the Copper Queen mine at Douglas in the "eighties" and the Detroit Mining Company at Morenci in 1887. The Arizona Copper Company approached them in 1921 with a proposition for sale of all their stock. Phelps Dodge accepted and the business changed hands.<sup>24</sup>

The chief properties transferred by this sale were two hundred and twenty mining claims comprising 4000 acres of land located mostly around Morenci and Metcalf; eight producing mines including Coronado, Humboldt, Longfellow, and

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23. For a detailed discussion of these strikes see chapter three.

24. James Colquhoun, The History of the Clifton-Morenci Mining Industry, p. 98.

the Metcalf group; a standard guage railroad extending from Clifton to Lordsburg and a narrow guage extending from Clifton to Metcalf. Miscellaneous properties included a foundry and machine shop, a sawmill, a thirty ton capacity ice plant, stores at Morenci, and an electric plant which supplied the mills and the towns.<sup>25</sup>

At the time of the sale the industry was capable of producing about a million tons of ore per year and recovering about forty pounds of copper for each ton of ore.<sup>26</sup>

In closing the history of the Arizona Copper Company it would be well to review the accomplishments of the company over the period of thirty nine years (1882 to 1921) that it had functioned in Clifton. During this time it had produced four hundred and nineteen thousand eight hundred and sixty three tons of copper. As the average price of copper over that time was about twelve and one half cents a pound this represents a value of about \$105,000,000. The industry under the management of the Arizona Copper Company had grown from one that produced about one hundred tons of copper to one that produced nearly twenty five hundred tons each month. In 1882 the mills and mines were employing about three hundred workers. In 1896 they were employing six hundred and paying salaries amounting to \$400,000

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25. Greenlee County Record of Deeds to Mines, Vol. II, p. 223.

26. L. S. Weed, "The Arizona Copper Company Ltd.", The Mines Handbook and Copper Handbook (1916), p. 168.

annually.<sup>27</sup> By 1917 the company was employing more than thirty five hundred men and paying about \$3,000,000 annually in wages.<sup>28</sup> In addition to these monetary benefits the company had been a cultural and intellectual leader. The North Clifton school had been built with company funds. The company maintained a library and reading room. High company officials (Mr. Cromb and Mr. Colquhoun) aided in getting a Presbyterian church built.

To sum up the accomplishments of the company; it is doubtful if the town of Clifton could have reached the stage of development that it has without the Scotch company. Men of less determination would have given up when the company's stock went to seventy five cents per share in 1892. Men of less ability would not have had the resourcefulness to devise new means of extracting the copper from the low grade ores and keep going in competition with competitors who were using higher grade ores as they did in 1896. When the company sold out the people of Clifton lost a friend and benefactor of sterling worth. It was almost a score of years before the town recovered from the slump in which it found itself soon after the Scotch company left.

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27. Arizona--Historical and Biographical, No author named, p. 328.

28. Copper Era, Feature story, Industrial Edition of 1917.

### CHAPTER III

#### LABOR DIFFICULTIES IN THE CLIFTON DISTRICT

The labor problem in the Clifton district has always been a trying one, at first because of the difficulty of procuring laborers and later because of labor disputes. When Lesinsky first started smelting operations he used Mexican laborers because they were near at hand and knew something of metallurgy. It proved difficult to keep an adequate supply of them working at the smelter because of their habit of going back to Mexico on the slightest pretext. The Lesinskys soon found that the Chinese made excellent mine workers because they were not afraid to work at any depth and with little shoring of the roofs of the tunnels.<sup>1</sup> Also their hire was cheap and they did not quit. The Arizona Copper Company did not continue to use them after the "middle eighties" because of the antagonism aroused among the American and Mexican workers. To replace the Chinese, the Arizona Copper Company used Mexicans, Negroes, and Scotch. The Mexicans and Scotch were brought in as contract labor up to the time of the passage of the laws forbidding this practice in 1885. In the latter part of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century so many negroes came to Clifton that it was necessary to

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1. James Colquhoun, The History of the Clifton-Morenci Mining District, p. 37.

open a separate school for them. After the end of World War I nearly all soon departed. In the early twentieth century many Italians came to the district. More of them went to Morenci than to Clifton. Their families have stayed on and in many cases are solid substantial citizens of today.

Up to the time of the first world war there had been no labor disturbances of importance in the district. This probably was due to the fact that the laborers did not have organization enough to put teeth into any demands that they might make. When labor organizations began to develop in other parts of the country, Arizona had a contemporary development. The Arizona Federation of Miners and the Western Federation of Miners came into existence in the early twentieth century and operated within the state of Arizona. As was the case all over the nation, these organizations gave the laborers the power to strike effectively and the rising prices incident to the war gave them a reason. Consequently the Arizona copper industry had a series of strikes. Clifton, Miami, and Bisbee all had strikes that were of national importance during that period.

In August of 1915 Guy Miller, an organizer for the Western Federation of Miners, appeared in Clifton and soon locals were organized at Clifton, Morenci, and Metcalf.<sup>2</sup> Threats of strikes soon were heard in the district. The managers of the three Companies then operating in the

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2. Arizona Daily Star, Sept. 15, 1915.



district: Mr. Carmichael of Arizona Copper Company, Mr. Bennie of the Shannon Copper Company, and Mr. McClean of the Detroit Company, asked the recalcitrant laborers to appoint a committee of their own, to meet company officials and discuss the situation. The companies specified that the laborers' committee must not be connected with the Western Federation of Miners. The laborers refused and requested that managers meet them in conjunction with Mr. Miller, head of the union. The companies all refused, under any conditions, to deal with a union man; so on September 11th at eleven o'clock a general strike was called. Five thousand men walked out.

Heavy pickets were thrown around the plants and mines, at first. The strikers marched through the mines ejecting the watchmen. They seized the electric light plant and for three days Clifton was in darkness. Sheriff Cash ordered that the light plant be surrendered and placed under the protection of his office. The miners complied. Daily mass meetings of the miners were held throughout September. Some citizens felt compelled to leave the district, among them was Mayor Frazer of Clifton.

The Company managers continued in their refusal to treat with union officials, so on September 24th and 25th the laborers held a meeting in Clifton and Morenci at which they adopted resolutions agreeing to leave the union out of

their negotiations. Then on September 27th the managers declared that the mines would remain closed until the Western Federation of Miners was ousted from the district.<sup>3</sup>

On September 29th Governor Hunt went to Clifton to try to settle the dispute. The miners stated their demands which were: (1) A sliding scale of wages based on the price of copper and the Miami scale, (2) abolition of the hospital tax, (3) stoppage of the practice of selling jobs to the workers, (4) some sort of an organization for redress of grievances of individual workers, (5) stoppage of the practice of raffling off useless articles to the workers, by the bosses, and forcing workers to buy chances, (6) no discrimination against union men. Governor Hunt conferred with the managers who reaffirmed that the chief obstacle in the way of settlement was the presence of the Western Federation of Miners in the district. At a mass meeting of the miners in Clifton, Hunt angered the managers and called down the calumny of many state newspapers by saying that one person was as good as another and that he intended to treat them all alike and show no favorites.

The reactions of the state press to the speech that Governor Hunt made in Clifton will illustrate divergence of opinion held throughout the state concerning the strike. The Arizona Daily Star of Tucson under the caption, "Hunt

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3. Arizona Daily Star, September 22, 1915. This paper was admittedly anti Hunt.

No Good As Mediator", says,

"The speech made by Governor Hunt in Clifton recently was wholly inflammatory in its effect. He caused the strikers to spit in the face of good citizens by telling them that they were as good as anyone."

The Prescott Courier said,

"Summed up or down what the governor said at Clifton was that he intended to treat all alike; to show no favorites. He came as near saying, 'equal rights to all, special privileges to none,' as he possibly could."

Perhaps it was because of the fact that Governor Hunt was known to favor labor that his conferences in Clifton and Morenci were unavailing. The miners altered their demands slightly to ask for the same wage scale that applied in Miami. They gave up their demands for union recognition and even agreed to a non-union negotiation. According to Mr. Powell, spokesman for the Western Federation of Miners at this time, Clifton workers had a minimum wage scale of \$1.62 per day while Miami's minimum scale was \$3.50 per day.<sup>4</sup> Company officials argued that this was not a just basis for settlement because the low grade ore in the Clifton area made the cost of operations more, per pound of copper produced. Walter Douglas, General Manager of Phelps Dodge, said that the strike was an attempt of the part of the Western Federation of Miners to get political control of the state.<sup>5</sup>

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4. John A. Fitch, "Arizona's Embargo on Strike Breakers," Survey, May 6, 1916.

5. Walter Douglas, "The Arizona Copper Mines," The Outlook, Feb. 2, 1916.

The strike situation developed rapidly in Clifton throughout early October. On October 4th Governor Hunt ordered forty members of the state guard to come to Clifton. The managers said that the miners were pleased because the presence of state guards would prevent the sending of federal troops; miners would get better treatment from state guards under the control of Governor Hunt than from federal troops. On October 3rd Messrs. Bennie, Carmichael, and McClean boarded a special train, secretly, and went to El Paso.<sup>6</sup> The managers said they left because they were in danger there. The miners said that they left to create an illusion of disorder in Clifton which did not exist. October 5th the State Federation of Labor endorsed the strike and pledged financial and moral support to the miners.<sup>7</sup> The companies closed their store and ice plant. Schools were closed but almost immediately reopened. The miners tried to force everyone, even white collar workers, to join the union.

Many workers and minor officials went to Duncan where the company had established a refugee camp. This refugee camp was a tent city and at one time housed several hundred workers. The company officials pictured their tent city as a model of orderly government and behavior contrasted to conditions of disorder in Clifton. The camp was a source

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6. News Article, The Tucson Citizen, Oct. 4, 1915.

7. News Article, "Federation Gets Behind W. F. M. Campaign," Arizona Daily Star, Oct. 5, 1915.

of irritation to the miners because they thought it was being filled with strike breakers who would be led into Clifton when sufficient numbers had been gathered to break the strike.

The companies, through several state newspapers, pictured Clifton as being a scene of wild disorder. The Tucson and Phoenix papers in particular carried highly colored stories under scare headlines. The purpose of this was to create sympathy for the companies among outsiders and also to try to influence the sending of federal troops to take the place of the Hunt controlled state militia. By this time Governor Hunt was openly sympathetic to the miners and opposed to the managers.

The strikers' plan to fight this type of attack was to conduct as orderly a strike as was possible. They placed some of their own members to guard the companies' property, from strikers and from company sabotage.<sup>8</sup> Labor union officials constantly exhorted the men to remain orderly. On the whole it was a very orderly strike because only one man was killed in the five months of striking in the three towns of Clifton, Morenci, and Metcalf. There was, of course, some disorder; the city lights were forcibly turned off for three days, the pipe line to the city was blown up, but not badly damaged, a man named Dawson who was taking names of miners

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8. Governor George Hunt, "The Strike Situation Reviewed," American Federationist, January, 1916.

in a parade was forcibly made to join in the parade, miners gathered around the managers' homes and yelled until all hours of the night.<sup>9</sup> The only protection given to non-union men was for the sheriff to put them in jail or union officials frequently gave non-union men a card which said, "Do not molest this man. He has promised to leave town within twenty four hours".

Governor Hunt asked the mine managers to come to Phoenix but they refused to come on the grounds that they were not safe in Arizona. On October 16th five laborers chosen by the managers from a list of fifteen submitted went to El Paso to confer with the managers.<sup>10</sup> The miners scaled down their demands to ask for: a minimum wage scale of three dollars per day, right to continue affiliation with the Western Federation of Miners, no one to be discharged because of activity in the strike. The managers spent two days checking the credentials of the laborers' committee then one day hearing the views of the members of the committee. The managers' counter proposal was that the miners go back to work at the old scale while negotiations were carried out for settlement. The miners went back to Clifton and reported that nothing had been accomplished.

As the strike situation became more tense Governor

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9. News Article, Tucson Citizen, October 5, 1915.

10. John A. Fitch, "Arizona's Embargo on Strikebreakers," Survey, May 6, 1916

Hunt added to the original forty state guards until there were about four hundred and fifty in the district. They camped on the court house lawn at Clifton and at various places in Metcalf and Morenci. They were always on a friendly footing with the miners and never had to resort to force to restore order. At one time they engaged in a field meet with Clifton High School.

The attitudes of various state newspapers toward the strike are significant. One prominent Tucson paper of that time, The Daily Star, was particularly virulent in its attacks on the miners. On October 19th it carried a feature story of several columns made up of testimonials of miners who had been ejected for refusal to join the union. On October 21st it had a story of four hundred men surrounding a hotel in Morenci and demanding that John S. Casey, an attorney from Bisbee, leave town because he was there to get testimonials of men who had been molested by the miners. Other state papers had almost daily stories of disorder in Clifton. On the other hand the El Paso Herald on October 15th says, "Clifton is as orderly and quiet as an Epworth League meeting. The strike is the result of years of accumulated wrongs." The Five Points Herald on October 15th said, "Up to the present time Governor Hunt's treatment of strikers has been absolutely beyond criticism."

Yuma Sun, October 15, 1915,

"It is hardly fair to Governor Hunt to say that

he is a disturbing element in the strike. No one will be able to prove from his speech that he favors miners more than operators. Morenci workers are in some cases paid one dollar sixty two cents a day; yet they pay one dollar for ten pounds of beans at the company store."

Dunbar's Weekly, October 15, 1915,

"Workers receive about two dollars to two fifty per day in wages; while the company makes two hundred per cent on groceries. Wages were cut when copper was twelve cents per pound. Copper is now fifteen cents per pound and wages are less than before the cut when copper was twelve cents per pound. There was much agitation before the coming of the Western Federation of Miners but the miners had no power to do anything."

Mining Magazine of November, 1915,

"The managers of the three companies say they cannot pay the same scale as is used elsewhere because this district is the highest cost producer of copper of any place in the state. The average cost of copper in the three plants is almost thirteen cents a pound. The average sale price of copper for the last ten years has been slightly under fourteen cents a pound. The Mexican miners have been receiving from two dollars and seventy three to two dollars eighty eight cents a day; while American laborers have been getting about three dollars and seventy five cents a day. Mexican laborers are paid less because they are not as good producers."

The New Republic, Jan. 22, 1916 - This liberal magazine in an editorial praised Governor Hunt for preventing violence by not allowing strikebreakers to come into the area. Said the strike spirit was a thing of slow growth and not due to the Western Federation of Miners. The Governor did not send militia until he had sent two special investigators who reported no violence. He then sent militia to keep out strikebreakers. The managers held



themselves above criticism by refusing to negotiate until strikers had gone back to work. The magazine, approving of the strikers' methods, said that they had proven that it was possible to have a strike without disorder if strike-breakers are kept out of the area of the strike.

It will be seen from this hasty survey of publications that opinions as to the blame for the strike were divided, and any attempt to fix responsibility by opinions of the editors is difficult. But it must be remembered that many of the state newspapers were owned or controlled by the copper interests. The Copper Queen mine owners of Bisbee owned four prominent state newspapers.<sup>11</sup> It could not be expected that those local papers would give a true picture of things; when a study is made of more distant papers such as those of El Paso, it would seem that the miners were in the right. The opinions of most of the national magazines favored the miners. Since they could be assumed to have less bias, the miners would seem to have had the most right on their side. Among the people of Clifton who remember the strike, opinions seem to be divided largely along the lines of social classifications.

The strike dragged on through October and November. An interesting sidelight on the strike was an attempt that was made in late October to recall Governor Hunt. Petitions were started in Mesa and got several hundred signers. The

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11. Ray County Democracy, Oct. 13, 1915.

attempt was started by the copper interests and was squashed when Governor Hunt showed that the companies had violated state laws by illegally hiring space in the newspapers for strike propaganda, which was published as news.<sup>12</sup>

In early November a fire in the plant destroyed the conveyor system of the plant causing a loss estimated from one hundred and fifty thousand to one half million dollars. Three of the striking miners were injured in fighting the fire. In December a federal injunction forbade strikers from interfering with laborers who were doing annual assessment work on companies' mining claims. The companies could get only fourteen men to do the work on their claims though they offered to pay them five dollars a day. The Governor gradually withdrew the militia to avoid cost of keeping them in the district. He left one hundred there to prevent disorder.<sup>13</sup>

By January the strikers were thoroughly tired of the waiting game. They were being fed through relief funds raised at Governor Hunt's request in other parts of the state and by funds raised by the State Federation of Labor and other labor organizations. A soup kitchen was maintained which fed hundreds on some days. Some families were being given a daily allotment of food. The companies were adamant in their declarations that work would not be started

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12. Editorial, The New Republic, Jan. 22, 1916.

13. News Article, Tucson Citizen, Nov. 9, 1915.

unless the miners lessened their claims.

On January 11, 1916 the miners voted to withdraw from the Western Federation of Miners and to ask the managers, who were still in El Paso, for another conference. The conference was granted and a committee of five miners went to El Paso to confer. An agreement was reached and the miners voted to return to work for fifteen days during which time a new wage scale and other agreements would be worked out. On January 31st five thousand miners returned to work. The refugees returned from Duncan. There was no hostile demonstration.

During the next two weeks meetings were held by committees of the miners and the managers of the three companies to work out an agreement for continuing work. The agreement as finally finished was as follows:

- a. The companies will recognize no unions.
- b. A sliding scale of wages will be used with a minimum of \$2.50 for laborers, \$3.41 for miners, \$5.00 for carpenters, \$5.31 for machinists and boilermakers, all based on the present price of copper.
- c. A grievance committee will meet with the managers each month and discuss and adjust grievances.<sup>14</sup>

Thus it will be seen that the miners benefitted materially from their strike but they did not get the Miami scale of

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14. "Sliding Scale Basis of Peace Agreement," Arizona Daily Star, Jan. 26, 1916, p. 1.

wages which they had asked; nor did they get the right of membership in the Western Federation of Miners. The miners did however affiliate themselves with the state Federation of Labor which the companies thought was less obnoxious.

This strike had repercussions in state politics of that day. Governor Hunt had aroused the ire of the copper interests. We have seen how an attempt was made to oust Hunt while the strike was going on by the newly created recall proceedings. "The Old Roman", as his friends affectionately called Hunt, believed that this attempt was backed by the copper interests because it occurred at the time when the companies were aroused against him for sending state militia to prevent strikebreakers from entering the district. It is probable that Hunt was mistaken about the copper interests being the instigators of this attempt since the movement started in a vote of the commercial club of Mesa. The leading figure in the movement was a man to whom Hunt had refused an appointment. The few petitions that were circulated were in the Phoenix, Mesa, Tucson area. C. H. Akers, Editor of the Phoenix Gazette, was the head of the movement. The movement got nowhere and died in a few weeks. Hunt's men got hold of a telegram to the Phoenix Gazette which showed that the Gazette was publishing anti-labor propaganda under the guise of news, and was being paid for publishing the same. Since this was a violation of state law, Hunt used a threat of prosecution of Akers to stop the recall

proceedings.

This was not the end of the political repercussions of the strike. In the gubernatorial race of 1916 Hunt's Republican opponent was Thomas E. Campbell who, Hunt said, was backed by the big business interests of the state. Hunt, as always, relied on the backing of the laboring men of the state. Campbell was backed by the copper newspapers including Ray Consolidated, The Phoenix Gazette, and The Tucson Daily Star. The race was hard fought and exciting. When the votes were in, the official count showed Campbell had won by only thirty votes. Hunt contested the election in the state courts. First the Maricopa County Superior Court declined to seat Hunt. He appealed to the State Supreme Court and a year later was seated by that body. There had been a bit of Graustarkian byplay in which both Hunt and Campbell had themselves sworn in and Hunt had refused to turn the keys to the state house over to Campbell. In the end Hunt temporarily submitted and Campbell served as a de facto governor.

The strike settlement of January, 1916 did not settle the labor troubles of the Clifton area. During the next year and a half there were no less than seventeen strikes, all of them of minor character involving only a few men.<sup>15</sup> But on the first day of July in 1917 the whole trouble

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15. Charles F. Willis, "Some Observations on Arizona Strikes", Engineering and Mining Journal, July 7, 1917.

flared up again. After two weeks of threats and warning by J. A. Wellington, president of the District Miners Grievance Committee, the miners struck.<sup>16</sup> They demanded: a grievance committee which would have real power, no discrimination against workers who refuse to sign contracts, a seniority rule to apply in the hiring and firing and advancement of men, time and one half for overtime, Sundays and holidays, and payment in accordance with the Miami wage scale.

On this occasion the company managers did not wait until real trouble had developed in the district but immediately went out of the state and remained in El Paso most of the time until the strike was over. Their attitude was that the strike was completely unjustified and that they would negotiate on none of the issues except the wage question. On July 27th federal investigator Meyers came to Clifton to investigate the situation. He called on the managers to come back to the district to try to settle the dispute; they refused on the grounds that the strike was entirely the fault of the workers, and the strikers would have to modify their demands before negotiations could be carried on.<sup>17</sup>

During this strike no state militia was sent into the district. The county was fortunate that it had a very

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16. News Article, Copper Era, July 7, 1917.

17. News Article, Copper Era, July 7, 1917.

determined sheriff, Arthur Staughter, who was able to handle the situation. He swore in many of the townspeople as deputies and prevented violence at all times.

On August 17th federal investigator Joseph Meyers again came to Clifton and asked the company managers to negotiate the strike. The company managers were indifferent. They said that the strike was caused by a few men who were foreigners and not subject to the draft and by the I.W.W.s and the labor unions. They further said that the recent law which abolished saloons was part of the cause of the strike, since the men had no place now to spend their leisure time. Again Meyers was not able to accomplish the settling of the strike.<sup>18</sup>

The strike began to affect the business life of the community seriously. In order to alleviate the situation Mayor Cotey of Clifton called a meeting of the miners and townspeople of Clifton to try to settle the strike. Almost the whole population of the district met in this mass meeting. The meeting accomplished nothing, probably because the union officials did not have the sympathy of the townspeople.

On September 24th Mr. Vargas of the Morenci local called a meeting of that local at which they agreed to return to work if their plan of arbitration were adopted. Their plan was to have a board of arbitration settle the

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18. Copper Era, August 17, 1917.

strike. This board was to consist of one man appointed by the President of the United States, one man appointed by the President of the A. F. of L., and one man appointed by the mine managers. This plan was not adopted because the managers would not agree to it.<sup>19</sup>

The next attempt to settle the strike came from the managers of the mines and was the first interest they had shown in settling the strike. They proposed that all men return to work on October 1st and allow the government to settle the wage dispute. They did not agree that other grievances were subject to negotiation. This proposal caused the miners to throw a picket around the mines and smelters. No one went to work on October the first as a result.<sup>20</sup>

On October 5th an event occurred that could have caused much bloodshed except for the presence of mind and ability of Sheriff Slaughter and his deputies. A company official at Morenci warned the sheriff that a gang of strikers from Morenci were coming down to Clifton to drive the strike-breakers from the town. He got into a car with several deputies and went up the mountain to meet the mob. He met them about halfway between Clifton and Morenci at a place called Bunkers. There were about three hundred. They were uttering threats as to what they would do to the "scabs"

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19. News Item, Copper Era, Sept. 27, 1917.

20. "Managers Propose Plan of Settlement", Copper Era, Oct. 4, 1917.



and "Gringos" at Clifton. They were almost all foreigners. The bold sheriff placed his men behind his barricaded car and halted the mob. Pretending that the mesquite hid many more deputies than the half dozen in sight, he called on the whole three hundred to surrender. Those of the mob farther away ran; those near at hand did surrender. A few of those that tried to run stopped when the sheriff and his men fired at their feet. Seventy of them were brought to Clifton and lodged in jail. Some out-of-town newspapers made the rather ridiculous statement that the miners were coming to Clifton to work and should not have been detained. Since there were no mines in Clifton this could not have been true.<sup>21</sup>

Late in October President Wilson appointed a commission to come to Clifton to study, and if possible, to settle the strikes of Arizona. This commission arrived at Clifton October 26th. It was composed of: W. B. Wilson, Secretary of Labor; V. Z. Reed, a Colorado capitalist; J. L. Spangler, a Pennsylvania coal operator; E. P. Marsh, President of the Washington state Federation of Labor; J. H. Walker, Former President of the United Mine Workers; and Felix Frankfurter, who was clerk. After two days of study and conferences they announced a settlement and that the men would go back to work November first.

The terms of settlement were: (1) Each company shall

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21. News Item, Copper Era, Oct. 5, 1917.

have a grievance committee but the District Committee shall be discontinued, (2) An United States Administrator shall be appointed who will have the power to hear complaints of laborers after the laborer has tried to settle the grievance with the employer and failed, (3) No man is to be prevented from working because he does not belong to a union, (4) Striking workmen are all to be given their jobs back if they have not made statements disloyal to the United States during the strike, Pay for Sundays, overtime, Christmas, and the Fourth of July shall be time and one half, (6) Wage question to be settled by the United States Administrator after study and shall be on the basis of the price of copper.<sup>22</sup>

Hywel Davis of Kentucky was appointed United States Administrator. After a study of the situation he gave the miners a raise amounting to an average of about fifty cents per day, which placed them near the Miami scale of wages for which they had been agitating so long.

These two strikes were most disastrous for workers and the companies, particularly the latter, because it took place when copper was selling at twenty six cents per pound. It is said to have contributed to the downfall of the Arizona Copper Company a few years later, for it was at that time that the company had hoped to make up the money lost in the hard years of 1909 to 1912 and also in the building of the

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22. Pamphlet ordered printed by the President's mediation commission, Basis of Settlement of the Clifton-Morenci-Metcalf Strike, October 31, 1917.

new smelter of 1914. Failing to make up those losses, due to the strikes, they were forced to sell out a few years later.<sup>23</sup>

While these strikes were going on much calumny was directed at the workers on the grounds that the strikes were acts of sabotage being directed by the Industrial Workers of the World and other subversive organizations. This does not seem to have been true, at least, of the first strike. At this time most impartial observers felt that the workers had just cause for striking because they were not being paid a living wage. While the Western Federation of Miners was a new organization it could not be described as subversive. It was a fledgling member of the large family of labor organizations that grew up at that time and which all later merged together to form the American Federation of Labor. In the later strike of 1917 there was some evidence of sabotage in the burning of Coronado mine. That it was real sabotage was never proven and the mine managers at that time said the fires could have been caused by faulty wiring.<sup>24</sup> Viewed from afar these strikes seem to be more another instance of labor making its power felt at a time when it had a chance; when its bargaining power was great enough to demand its just rights. Perhaps it was also an example of

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23. James Colquhoun, The History of the Clifton-Morenci Mining District, p. 97.

24. News Item, Copper Era, October 12, 1917.

the determination of entrepreneurs to keep labor under control. In other words we have been viewing a short section of the long drawn out fight between capital and labor at a time when labor was in the ascendancy.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE PHELPS DODGE CORPORATION

Most of the copper that is produced in the United States is produced by four companies. These are: the Lake Michigan group of which the Calumet and Hecla is the most important; the Anaconda group which operates in Montana; the Guggenheim interests; and the Phelps Dodge group of Arizona. The Phelps Dodge Corporation, in which this work is principally interested, has assets valued at more than \$226,000,000. It has mines and smelters located at Morenci, Ajo, Bisbee, Douglas, and Jerome in Arizona; at Tyrone, New Mexico and Nacozari, Mexico. The copper from these mines and smelters is refined in electrolytic refining plants at El Paso and Laurel Hill, New York. The refined copper is turned into finished products at six processing plants: four in the New York metropolitan area, one at Fort Wayne, Indiana, and one at Los Angeles. These are organized together under the Phelps Dodge Copper Products Corporation, a subsidiary of Phelps Dodge Corporation. In these plants everything is produced that can be made from copper, from commercial copper sulphate to copper cables and water pipes. Another subsidiary of the Phelps Dodge Corporation is the Phelps Dodge Mercantile Company which has stores at Morenci, Clifton, Bisbee, Dawson, and Douglas. In 1943 these stores

had a total sales of more than \$6,000,000.<sup>1</sup>

In 1943 the company had 23,314 stockholders and paid \$8,114,016.00 in dividends. It produced in excess of 662,000,000 pounds of copper, 5,614,753 ounces of silver, and 186,503 ounces of gold. Considerable amounts of lead and zinc were also produced. The president of this huge concern is Louis Cates.<sup>2</sup> The chief individual stockholder is Cleveland Dodge, a member of the original Phelps Dodge family.<sup>3</sup>

This company started in 1813 in New York and London. Anson Phelps ran the New York end of the business and Peck ran the London end. It was a general importing and exporting business and operated under the name of Phelps and Peck. They exported cotton, lumber, and furs from the United States and brought back China, silk, brass, copper, and iron goods. This trade took the company's ships all over the world. Later the business became more specific and localized. Cotton and lumber was exported to England; textiles and metal goods were brought to the United States.<sup>4</sup>

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1. Annual Report of Phelps Dodge Corporation to Stockholders - 1943.

2. Louis Cates for twenty years had been a highly successful mining executive for the Utah Copper Company. He had been instrumental in developing the mines at Chino and Ray. He had acquired considerable experience in strip mining at Bingham. So in 1929 the Phelps Dodge Corporation, needing an expert in that type of mining, lured him away from the Utah company to aid in the development of the Clay ore body. It was almost ten years before he was able to tackle that job due to the depression.

3. Annie M. Cox, History of Bisbee, p. 143.

4. Ibid.

In 1818 William E. Dodge's father opened a wholesale dry goods store at 113 Brookham Street, New York. The younger Dodge worked for his father for nine years. By 1827 he felt he had acquired enough capital and experience to go into a business venture of his own. He proceeded to do this in partnership with a Mr. Huntington. The business was called Huntington and Dodge and was located at 21 East Pearl Street in New York. After a few years a storage house belonging to the company collapsed killing several people. A disastrous law suit followed. It was not proven that the company was criminally negligent but they went out of business. In the meanwhile William E. Dodge had married the daughter of Anson Phelps and in 1832 the two men formed the company, Phelps Dodge and Co., which was the predecessor of the present great corporation. The company was incorporated to do a general merchandising business and dealt in importing and exporting articles of exchange common to commerce of that day. Later Mr. Phelps formed another company in England under the management of another son-in-law, Daniel James. The name of the company in England was Phelps James and Company.<sup>5</sup>

The Phelps Dodge and Company business soon became of a still more specific nature. They bought cotton in the South and sold it in England. The managers of the company

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5. Annie M. Cox, History of Bisbee, p. 145.

made many trips into the deep South to buy cotton directly from the growers. In England they bought metals, both crude and refined, and returned them to the United States.<sup>6</sup>

The copper which they purchased came mostly from Swansea in Wales. That city had for a long time been the center of the copper industry of England. At that time in the 1830's the only copper being mined in the United States was in New England and New Jersey. Needless to say, the amount mined was not nearly sufficient to supply the domestic needs. Mr. Phelps started the first manufacturing plant for copper and brass at Derby, Connecticut. Later he built the town of Ansonia which grew into a city of twenty thousand inhabitants. The name, "Ansonia", of course came from Mr. Phelps' first name. As skilled workers in metal became numerous in that locality other metal industries sprang up, such as the Ansonia Brass and Copper Company and The Ansonia Clock Company. Later the industry spread to nearby cities such as Waterbury, Naugatuck, and Shelton. Several of these businesses were later consolidated into the American Brass Company which was purchased by the Anaconda Copper Mining Company.<sup>7</sup>

The firm of Phelps Dodge and Company became important in the tin importing business and imported much pig tin and tin plates. Before the United States developed its own tin mines the firm was importing over a third of all the tin

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6. Cleveland S. Dodge, Letter of January 9, 1945.

7. Ibid.



brought into the country.<sup>8</sup>

Phelps Dodge and Company became interested in a variety of industries during the 1840's and 1850's. They became interested in the lumber business in Pennsylvania; at one time they operated the Dodge Lumber Mill of Williamsport, Pennsylvania, which was the largest in the East. Individual members of the firm also became interested in the building of railroads in various parts of the United States.<sup>9</sup>

With the coming of the telegraph in 1844 the copper business of the company grew by leaps and bounds. Phelps Dodge furnished the wire for the first transcontinental line which was completed in 1861. Since there was still but little copper being mined and smelted in this country the copper was bought in Warrington, England. After that the company began to survey the domestic field with a view to entering the mining end of the business. That phase of the business was long delayed for it was not until 1881 that the first venture in mining was made, when the company bought the business of the Atlanta Mining Company of Bisbee.<sup>10</sup>

The first entry of Phelps Dodge into the mining industry was by the advice of Dr. James Douglas.<sup>11</sup> In 1881

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8. Cleveland S. Dodge, Letter of January 9, 1945.

9. Ibid.

10. Annie M. Cox, History of Bisbee, p. 146.

11. Dr. Douglas was born at Québec, Canada in 1837. He was educated to be a doctor. He became interested in mining when his father lost a good deal of money in the game. He came to the United States and was superintendent of a smelter at Phoenixville, Pennsylvania. Later he came west and was interested in mines around

they asked him about the advisability of building a copper smelting works on Long Island. He advised them against it on the grounds that great changes were coming in the copper industry due to the new electrolysis method of refining. He advised them instead to invest in the western mining industry because of the fact that precious metals were found in connection with copper and would help to defray the costs of mining and refining the ore. Mr. Dodge was so impressed with the knowledge and earnestness of Mr. Douglas that he engaged him to survey the Copper Queen mines at Bisbee, which they soon acquired by consolidation with their own Atlanta Mining Company claims which they had previously bought.<sup>12</sup>

One day in the winter of 1881 a tall, well built, young man entered the offices of Phelps Dodge in New York. Without an introduction he asked for a loan of \$50,000, offering his copper mines and smelter at Morenci, Arizona as security. At first the company officials were taken aback by the young man's bold effrontery but his frankness and complete lack of guile impressed them, so they asked Dr. Douglas to investigate his property also. His report on this property was very favorable so the Detroit Mining Company was formed with the young man, William Church, as president and General Manager; and Phelps Dodge as half

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11. (cont.) Bisbee. After 1881 he was continuously associated with Phelps Dodge.

12. A. B. Parsons, The Porphyry Coppers, p. 104.

owner. Thus in 1881 the Phelps Dodge Company had acquired three mines in Arizona all at the suggestion of Dr. James Douglas.<sup>13</sup>

By 1887 William Church had become tired of the mining game so he sold his half of the Detroit Mining Company to Phelps Dodge. This property became the Morenci branch of the Company which is now their heaviest producer. Subsequently the company secured mines at Nacosari and Cananea in Mexico. To secure coal for their mines they bought coal mines at Dawson, New Mexico and developed a large industry there. They built a railroad from El Paso to their mines at Douglas. This line was later absorbed by the Southern Pacific.<sup>14</sup>

In 1917 the various industries and companies which were in the hands of the stockholders of Phelps Dodge were consolidated under the name of The Phelps Dodge Corporation. Since 1906 the company had not engaged in any metal business except copper, so the consolidation affected only their mines and the various properties of the company around New York. The newly organized corporation issued \$50,000,000 of capital stock. \$45,000,000 of this was to be used to reimburse the owners of the various properties which Phelps Dodge Corporation had taken over.<sup>15</sup>

After the first World War the Arizona Copper Company

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13. The Mining Journal, October 15, 1937.

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

at Clifton began to find conditions very difficult. This was because of the heavy taxation to which they were subjected. It will be recalled that this company had its headquarters in Edinburgh, Scotland, and so was subject to taxation in both the United States and Great Britain. At that time also the Arizona Copper Company found that nearly all of their ores above two per cent in copper values had been extracted. Further profits in copper at Clifton would be predicated on building new plants for extracting copper from the low grade ores. That would have meant a large expenditure, for the new plants would have to be of a capacity that would handle large volumes of the low grade ores. The company had also had some recent labor troubles which left a bad impression. It was probably a combination of all of those causes which caused them to decide to sell their properties rather than the one item of taxation as has sometimes been asserted.<sup>16</sup>

In order to see how the Phelps Dodge came to be the sole owner of mining properties in the Clifton-Morenci area, it is necessary to go back and review the history of the Shannon Copper Company.

Charlie and Baylor Shannon had been among the earliest of the pioneers to come to the Clifton area. They were nephews of Robert and Jim Metcalf and shared the adventurous spirit of those two hardy souls. Baylor Shannon was

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16. James Colquhoun, The Clifton-Morenci Mining Industry, p. 97.

more interested in the cattle business and soon acquired a ranch on Eagle Creek which he ran successfully. Charley followed in his uncle's footsteps and prospected for copper. He located some highly profitable claims on Chase Creek at a place which later came to be called Metcalf. Some of his claims, including the Coronado, he sold to the Arizona Copper Company; others he kept. He tried for twenty years to interest sufficient capital in his mines to bring them to a producing stage. It is said that he wrote a carload of letters to eastern capitalists in the effort. To keep himself going he mined an occasional carload of ore and sold it to one of the smelters in the district. He became associated with a man named Hughes and the two of them approached W. B. Thompson, a Boston financier, who saw the possibilities of the mines. He bought the interests of the two miners and organized the Shannon Copper Company. This company was organized under the laws of Delaware but had its headquarters at Boston. The company was capitalized at \$3,300,000.<sup>17</sup>

The company was organized in 1899 but it did not begin to produce copper until 1901. They bought additional claims in the vicinity of Metcalf until they owned fifty in all. The Shannon was their chief producer. The town of Metcalf soon grew up around the mines and reached a population of about four or five thousand by 1910. It had a fine two st

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17. Jo Conners, "The Shannon Copper Company", Who's Who in Arizona, p. 97.

story brick schoolhouse, theatre, stores, a bank, and a hotel. The smelter of the company was located at Clifton so as to place it in reach of the standard guage railroad which had recently been completed into Clifton. It was of 1000 ton capacity and consisted of a single blast furnace and a bricquetting plant for flue dust. The ruins of this smelter are a noticeable feature of the western side of the canyon on Shannon Hill. The tailings of this mill ran as high as one half per cent copper so they were stored and later leached to recover part of the copper.<sup>18</sup>

The Shannon mine at Metcalf was unique in having a double track mine railway which extended all of the way through the mountain. The ores of this mine were hauled to Clifton over the Coronado railroad until 1910. At that time the Shannon Company had a dispute concerning rates with the Arizona Copper Company, which owned the Coronado railway. Failing to get a reduction the Shannon Company built a standard guage railroad of their own from Clifton to Metcalf. This line cost \$600,000. The high cost was due to the fact that the narrow canyon was very difficult terrain. Many tunnels had to be built including one which was nine hundred feet long.<sup>19</sup>

In 1906 the Shannon Copper Company was producing 1,000,000 lbs. of copper monthly. By 1909 it was second

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18. Jo Conners, "The Shannon Copper Company", Who's Who in Arizona, p. 97.

19. The Copper Era, Industrial Edition of 1909.

only to the Arizona Copper Company as a producer of copper in the district. After 1915 the quality of its ore began to decline and in 1918 its holdings were all purchased by the Arizona Copper Company and it passed out of the picture as a producer of copper in Arizona.<sup>20</sup>

Thus it was that when the Phelps Dodge Corporation bought the properties of the Arizona Copper Company on October 5, 1921 they acquired all of the copper mining property of very much value in the Clifton area. The principal properties of the two companies which were merged by this sale are as follows:

Detroit Copper Company <sup>21</sup>	Arizona Copper Company
Ryerson Mine	Humboldt Mine
Yankie Mine	Longfellow Mine
Copper Mountain Mine	Clay Mine
Arizona Central Mine	
Colorado Mine	

The Phelps Dodge Corporation had contributed the largest number of mines to the merger, but the Clay Mine of the Arizona Copper Company was known to be the most valuable of them all. In return for their mining property the stockholders of the Scottish company received 50,000 shares of Phelps Dodge stock. It would be difficult to say whether

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20. The Mining Journal, October 15, 1937.

21. It will be recalled that the Detroit Copper Company had been purchased by Phelps Dodge in 1881 and 1887 (p. 75, lines - 1 to 6). So it was really a merger of the Arizona Copper Company and Phelps Dodge.

or not the Arizona Copper Company made a good bargain in thus disposing of their holdings in the area. They gave up a business which had been profitable for thirty years but which was known to be highly unpredictable in its returns. It was known at that time that huge stockpiles of copper had accumulated. As it was, the next six years were highly profitable for Phelps Dodge and the owners of their stock shared in that profit. Thus the Scotch stockholders shared in the profits of their former holdings even though they were not the sole owners. They justified the reputation of their race for monetary shrewdness by selling their stock in 1929, just prior to the market collapse, at upwards of three hundred dollars per share. Within three years the same stock was selling below seven dollars per share.<sup>22</sup>

From 1921 onward the Phelps Dodge Corporation has been the sole owner of copper holdings in the Clifton area.

In the Clifton area, as elsewhere, the exploitation of ore followed a definite pattern. In the earliest years of the district the ores ran as high as thirty five per cent copper and could be smelted just as it came from the mine. This could be considered the first cycle of operations. By 1892 the copper content of the ores had dropped below ten per cent. This was the beginning of the second cycle and entailed new smelting techniques. As we have seen,

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22. A. B. Parsons, The Porphyry Coppers, p. 109.



Colquhoun met this problem by the use of concentration jigs and sulphuric acid leaching. The second cycle of operations could be used successfully only as long as the ores were above two per cent in copper. In 1921 the Clifton area was ready to enter the third cycle of operation. This cycle called for more advanced smelting techniques and the handling of great amounts of ore. When Phelps Dodge took over in 1921 they began preparations to enter the third phase of mining on the Clay Lode.

The Clay Lode claim, patented in 1877 by the Lesinsky brothers, was one of the five original Longfellow group worked by the Longfellow Mining Company prior to 1881. They, of course, stripped off only the richer capping of the ore. The Arizona Copper Company mined successively leaner ores from the mine. During the years from 1903 to 1921 the ores ran three and four per cent copper. In 1908 miners of the Arizona Copper Company ran a crosscut from the 4664 foot level of the main Clay adit and encountered the main low grade ore body. Further exploration showed that this ore body was 1000 feet thick and carried from one and one half to two per cent copper. The engineers of the Arizona Copper Company were not particularly interested because they could not use such low grade ore at that time. Beginning in 1912 they carried out a systematic exploration of the property by churn drill operations.<sup>23</sup>

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23. Frederick R. Barr, The Copper Era, Victory Resources Number, April 21, 1943, p. 12.

There were veins throughout the low grade ore body which ran as high as seven per cent copper. It was the mining of these rich veins which supplied the capital for the further exploration of the low grade ore. In 1908 the Clay mine produced forty tons of high grade ore per day. By 1915 the output had increased to over five hundred tons per day. The total production of the Clay mine to the time of the sale in 1921 amounted to one and one half million tons.<sup>24</sup>

The final work of the Arizona Copper Company in the district was to make the old number six concentrator over into an experimental plant in which to test the ores of the Clay ore body. This was done in 1918 and they tested 61,000 tons of the low grade ore, using the new flotation method of extraction and grinding in a ball mill. These tests showed that the ore averaged about 1.28 per cent copper of which about 88 per cent could be extracted profitably by that method. These figures were used in showing the Phelps Dodge interests that the Clay ore body was a worthwhile investment, and could be profitably mined and smelted by first investing considerable capital in the proper machinery for extraction.<sup>25</sup>

At the same time that the Arizona Copper Company had been exploring the Clay ore body the Detroit Copper Company

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24. Frederick R. Barr, The Copper Era, Victory Resources Number, April 21, 1943, p. 12.

25. Ibid.

had been exploring the Colorado Hill and the Ryerson group which were nearby. During the years of 1914, 1915, and 1916 they operated four churn drills and drilled over 50,000 feet of holes. These operations did not locate the second grade ores the company had hoped for but they did block out twelve million tons of third grade ore which was about 1.34 per cent copper. In 1917 a westward extension of the Colorado tunnel located a considerable body of ore averaging 1.58 per cent. The total amount of ore located by the Detroit Copper Company was about twenty six million tons. It was significant that this ore was contiguous to the Clay ore body of the Arizona Copper Company and was, of course, a part of the same ore body.<sup>26</sup>

When the two companies merged in 1921 they had a proven total of over one billion tons of usable copper ore but it was covered by hundreds of feet of rock. The low price of copper (eleven and twelve cents) would not justify the expenditure of large sums of money necessary for its development at that time. In the years from 1923 to 1928 the company stopped its exploratory work and concentrated on extracting copper from the high grade ore remaining. To do this it was necessary to stope through the low grade ores of the Clay and Colorado group and take out the high grade veins. These veins averaged about 2.14 per cent copper. In five years the ores of that type of copper were so

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26. Frederick R. Barr, The Copper Era, Victory Resources Number, April 21, 1937.

depleted that the end of operations was in sight.<sup>27</sup>

During the twenties the price of copper gradually increased. By 1928 it had reached twenty four cents and the Phelps Dodge directors felt that the time was ripe for the development of the low grade ores, so they ordered a thorough testing program to be carried out with the object in view of beginning the third stage of operations in the Clifton area.

During 1928 and 1929 this exploratory program was carried out. Underground tunnels and adits were dug for thousands of feet, with diamond drilling up and down at four hundred foot intervals along these tunnels. Surface churn drill operations were also used. Complete drilling operations aggregated 88,000 feet from one hundred and fifty stations. One diamond drill hole was put down 1290 feet, 1000 of which was through commercial ore. These operations showed that there was a reserve of 230,000,000 tons of ore in the Clay mine alone. That, with the other ores of the contiguous mines, was the largest ore body in Arizona and the second largest in the United States. Since the Miami plant was operating on less than one per cent the Phelps Dodge engineers felt that the Clay ore body, which averaged about 1.36 per cent, would justify the expenditures necessary to engage in the third cycle of operations.<sup>28</sup>

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27. Frederick R. Barr, The Copper Era, Victory Resources Number, April 21, 1943.

28. Ibid.

The Phelps Dodge corps of engineers had two fascinating problems to work out concerning the Clay mine. One was to decide between the underground caving type of mining and the open pit mining. The other was a choice between two alternative methods of treating the ore: (1) by concentration and smelting the concentrate (2) by leaching.

On October 6, 1929 the Phelps Dodge Corporations Mining Committee met to decide between the two methods of mining. Two independent studies had been submitted to them. After long deliberation they decided to use the open pit method.

"The decision was based on lower mining costs, greater present worth in spite of heavier preliminary expenditure, less oxidation of ores, cleaner segregation of ore and waste, a greater reservoir of labor, less health hazards, and greater flexibility in operations."<sup>29</sup>

The determination to use the open pit method of mining necessitated the removal of 110,000,000 tons of waste rock from the top of the ore. Before this could be done it was necessary to carry out another vast program of exploration to find a place to dump this rock, as the company did not wish to dump the ore until they were sure there would be no valuable ore beneath the place when they were going to dump it. Considerable drilling disclosed that Fairbanks and Coronado canyons were suitable places.<sup>30</sup>

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29. Frederick R. Barr, The Copper Era, Victory Resources Number, April 21, 1943.

30. Ibid.

In making the decision between leaching and milling the ores of the Clay mine considerable experimentation was necessary. Indeed, as we have seen, that experimentation had been started ten years earlier. Leaching was being done successfully at Douglas, Tyrone, and Ajo; but, since the ores from no two mines are ever exactly the same, it had to be determined whether the Clifton ores would leach successfully. Four hundred and fifty tons of ore were sent to Douglas for a test and another carload was sent to the Minerals Separation Company at San Francisco for milling tests. Both of these tests were encouraging so the Phelps Dodge Corporation remodeled the old number six concentrator at Morenci for further milling tests and built a pilot leaching plant for further experimentation in leaching. For the next ten years both of these plants were used experimentally to determine the best method of extraction and at the same time they produced much salable copper which more than defrayed the costs of operations. It has truly been said that no expansion program was ever started with so much thorough testing behind it as the Morenci program.<sup>31</sup>

After the depression of 1929 got underway the ambitious plans of Phelps Dodge had to be again delayed. In the fall of 1930 the price of copper dropped below ten cents. The company began to curtail their already limited operations.

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31. Frederick R. Barr, The Copper Era, Victory Resources Number, April 21, 1943.

By June of 1931 the price of copper went to eight cents, the lowest in history. At a meeting of the chief copper producers of the world in Belgium in that same year it was agreed to limit the production of copper to  $26\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of estimated capacity. By this agreement Phelps Dodge of Morenci was to produce only 2,417,000 pounds per month. The facilities of the company could do that on half capacity so January 30th, 1932 the mines and mill went on a fifteen day per month schedule. During 1932 the price of copper dropped still more to slightly below five cents and the Morenci branch of Phelps Dodge closed completely June 23, 1932.<sup>32</sup>

People left the town of Clifton by the hundreds. Four hundred Mexican families were gathered up and sent back to Mexico. Phelps Dodge furnished the train on which they went. Many of these people found that they did not like the way of life in Mexico after living in the United States so they began to trickle back across the border, many of them walking four hundred miles to get back. After the advance in the price of gold in 1934 they earned a precarious living panning gold in the gravel along the San Francisco river. Many of the Americans believed that Clifton was going to become another ghost town and began to sell their real estate for any price they could get for it. Many of the town's better residences sold for three or four hundred dollars.

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32. Frederick R. Barr, The Copper Era, Victory Resources Number, April 21, 1943.

Poorer ones sold for one hundred and fifty dollars. Business houses closed and a feeling of impending doom hung over all who stayed. The population, which had at one time been over five thousand, dropped to thirteen hundred. Old timers who were determined to stay in Clifton regardless of conditions quietly bought up the real estate bargains. A few years later they collected a nice profit in rents when the town was crowded with construction workers.<sup>33</sup>

In conformity with the general trend of businesses, of the United States, to become larger and larger, Phelps Dodge in July of 1931 carried out a gigantic merger with the Calumet and Arizona Copper Company of Bisbee. Phelps Dodge had plants at Clifton, Morenci, Bisbee, Nacozari, Globe, and coal mines at Dawson, New Mexico. Calumet and Arizona had holdings at Douglas, Bisbee, and Ajo. The basis of the merger, as worked out by the directors, was that the stockholders of Calumet and Arizona were to get three and one half shares of Phelps Dodge stock in exchange for one of Calumet and Arizona. In addition they were to get a cash dividend of \$2.50 for each share held. This agreement would seem to have favored the Calumet and Arizona stockholders but it was approved by the stockholders of both companies. After this merger the combined assets of both companies were valued at \$370,000,000. This new organization, which was known as Phelps Dodge Corporation, was one

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33. Mrs. George Utter, Interview, September 25, 1944.



of the truly large copper companies of the world.<sup>34</sup>

By 1937 the copper industry had begun to recover from the effects of the prolonged depression. Copper prices rose above thirteen cents for the first time in six years. This recovery was no doubt aided by the four cent tariff on copper which congress had enacted in 1932. The copper industry was direly in need of protection; for cheap copper was flooding the country from South America and South Africa, where newly discovered mines were still in the high grade ore stage and where labor was cheap. With this belated return of prosperity Phelps Dodge dusted off their long delayed plans for expansion in the Morenci branch.<sup>35</sup>

Phelps Dodge's long range plans at that time called for the expenditure of about forty one million dollars in all of the plants. About thirty five million of this was to be spent in the Morenci branch of the company. To finance this enormous plan Phelps Dodge offered \$20,285,000 worth of 3½ per cent convertible debentures to the public. These were quickly sold. The remainder of the project was to be financed by profits which would accrue from the operation of the Phelps Dodge plants.<sup>36</sup>

The decision to use strip mining made necessary the removal of all the earth and rock on top of the Clay ore

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34. "Mine Consolidation Terms Announced", The Copper Era, July 18, 1931.

35. Cleveland E. Dodge, "History and Financing of the Morenci Development", Mining and Metallurgy, May 1942.

36. Ibid.

body. This capping had an average thickness of 216 feet. It had a maximum length of five thousand eight hundred feet and a maximum width of four thousand nine hundred feet. The ore to be mined laid vertically between four thousand two hundred feet and five thousand five hundred feet elevation.<sup>37</sup>

Actual stripping began in August, 1937. After the initial work had been done heavy machinery was brought in. There were  $22\frac{1}{2}$  ton trucks which by using heavy duty equipment actually hauled 42 tons;  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ton electric shovels loaded these huge trucks; and 20 ton bulldozers levelled the pit and dumps. In all 230 million tons of waste material was removed. This was an average of almost one ton of waste for each ton of ore which will be mined from the Clay pit. The final excavations will cover an area of 350 acres and will make Morenci one of the great strip mines along with Utah and Ajo.<sup>38</sup>

In March of 1937 two hundred men returned to work on the Morenci project. In May this number had reached three hundred and fifty. By September there were seven hundred with the number increasing daily. A year later there were twelve hundred and the towns of Clifton and Morenci were assuming the looks of boom towns again. By 1942 the population of Morenci was more than seven thousand while Clifton

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37. Cleveland E. Dodge, "History and Financing of the Morenci Development", Mining and Metallurgy, May 1942.

38. John A. Curry, "Phelps Dodge \$35,000,000 Program Nears End of First Year With Big Achievement", Copper Era, September 28, 1938.

was more than five thousand.<sup>39</sup> At the height of the boom when the mine was being stripped, a new housing project was being completed, and a new smelter built; housing in the two towns was at a premium and restaurants had waiting lines for their customers. Every empty lot became a trailer camp; the federal government sent more than three hundred trailers to ease the situation.

After ten years of intermittent but very thorough testing of methods of reducing ores the Phelps Dodge corps of engineers decided on the flotation method of reduction.

The story of the discovery of the flotation process of extraction of copper from ore is another illustration of the fact that many of our most useful discoverers are not rewarded for their efforts. Carrie Jane Billings married a doctor named William Knight Everson in Chicago. He was a successful doctor but he became interested in mining and lost a large sum of money in an ill fated mining venture. Mrs. Everson, hoping to retrieve some of her husband's fortune, experimented in the chemistry of mining. While her husband was absent on a health seeking trip in Mexico she discovered the affinity of oils for mineral particles. When her husband returned he helped her experiment on that idea for metal recovery, and on August 4, 1886 Mrs. Everson was granted a patent on a process of copper extraction based on that idea.<sup>40</sup>

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39. These figures on population are an estimate based on sugar rationing and are not official.

40. Watson Davis, The Story of Copper, p. 109.

That Mrs. Everson did not make a fortune from her discovery is probably due to the fact that ores of that day were self fluxing and no concentration was necessary. It was also a fact that the low prices of copper at that time would not justify the use of low grade ores by any process. Mrs. Everson's husband died in Denver where they had moved and she had to return to her former position as a nurse to support herself and her small son. She continued her experiments in flotation. Charles Hebron, a chemist, joined her in the work and they took out a joint patent on an improved process, but this venture was no more successful than the first one. Later her son, who had grown to manhood, worked on the process along with Thomas Criley. They used the process on a large scale in Colorado but other mining engineers were still not interested in it.<sup>41</sup>

Mrs. Everson, grown old, moved to California where she lived in comparative poverty and soon died. Industry was becoming interested in her process and rival claimants to her discovery squandered thousands trying to prove their rights to her discovery. By 1915 her process had become valuable and was being used in plants costing millions, but others instead of Mrs. Everson reaped the monetary reward.<sup>42</sup>

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41. Watson Davis, The Story of Copper, p. 109.

42. The Copper Era of March 6, 1926 had a story claiming that the flotation method of extracting copper was discovered by Mrs. Everson when she washed some ore sacks from her brother's assay office and discovered copper floating on top of the suds later. Mr. Davis'

Dr. Ricketts had been one of the early experimenters with flotation at Globe. When he was hired to design the new plant for Arizona Copper Company in 1914 at Clifton he installed the Callow system of oil flotation in an experimental unit.

It was a sad blow to the people of Clifton when the company decided to locate the new reduction works on the mountain near Morenci rather than at Clifton. This decision was made partly because the mill would then be nearer to the mine and would so entail a much shorter haulage of ore than if it were located at Clifton. Many people, however, thought that the move was due to the long standing dispute between the Clifton City officials and the company officials over taxation of the company's smelter. The city council had extended the corporation limits of the city so as to include the site soon after the building of the smelter in 1914. A large portion of the city's taxes had subsequently been paid by the Arizona Copper Company. When Phelps Dodge took over the property of the Scotch company they had objected to the taxation on the grounds that it was excessive. They appealed to the equalization board for reduction but were unsuccessful. During depression years Phelps Dodge refused to pay the taxes for several years and in 1937 Joe Conway, state attorney general, ordered the

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42. (cont.) version of the discovery has more the ring of truth because it seems to be based on research at the patent office and elsewhere.

seizure and sale of Phelps Dodge property in Arizona for the delinquent taxes. On February 12, 1937 the company paid the state of Arizona almost a million dollars in back taxes. The city of Clifton received \$100,261.83 which put it "out of the red" for the first time in many years. Later when the decision was made to build the smelter at Morenci rather than at Clifton many people lamented that the city officials had not lowered the taxes.<sup>43</sup>

The work on the new reduction works started in 1937 but progressed slowly because of the difficulty in obtaining skilled men and materials. In 1940 the new shop, change rooms, and time offices were put into use. The work of erecting the huge steel and concrete mill and smelter went on spectacularly and it was finished and ready for use January 30, 1942.<sup>44</sup>

The mill and smelter at Morenci were designed to treat 25,000 tons of ore per day. That would have meant a production of 500,000 pounds of copper. Later the plant was enlarged to double the capacity. The enlarging was done by the Defense Plant Corporation, a government subsidiary, and the plant was leased to the Phelps Dodge Corporation for operations during the war. After the war Phelps Dodge will take the plant over, under terms which are to be arranged later. The new plant is the very latest in design and

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43. "City Collects Back Taxes", Copper Era, February 13, 1937.

44. Mining and Metallurgy, May 1942.



PHELPS DODGE'S SMELTER



OPEN PIT MINING AT MORENCI

construction and is noteworthy for its economical use of space. William Jurdeen was borrowed from Anaconda Copper Company to be the chief designer and construction engineer. The plans were worked out in New York City and the steel was fabricated in Kansas City.<sup>45</sup>

Features of special economy in the new plant are: the saving of the water used in flotation and washing processes by the fettling tanks from which it is drawn off and brought back for reuse; the heat which is produced in the furnaces is carried off to waste heat boilers, where it operates steam engines which produce electric power for the whole plant; in the waste heat boilers and in the main flue, copper is recovered from the dust and smoke. These features, along with the gold and silver which are recovered from the flotation machines, make the Morenci plant one of the most economical of the world's copper mills to operate.<sup>46</sup>

Some of the cheapest copper that is produced at the Morenci plant is secured from the leaching plant. In the operation of this process water is released in the old mining tunnels and permitted to filter downward to a pool deep in the earth. On its way downward oxidized copper is leached into the water. This water is pumped back to the surface and into leaching tanks. These tanks have tin and

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45. Louis S. Cates, "Foreward" to Mining and Metallurgy, May 1942.

46. Frederick R. Barr, The Copper Era, Victory Resources Edition, April 21, 1943.



dilute sulphuric acid in them. The tin and acid in the tanks causes the copper to precipitate and it falls to the bottom of the tanks as a sludge. This sludge which is ninety five per cent pure copper is taken to the smelter where it is purified by one simple smelting process.<sup>47</sup>

The tin which is used in this process is secured from the garbage dumps of Los Angeles. Before it can be used it must be burned in an incinerator to remove the labels, grease, etc. It is then put through a shredding machine which cuts it into narrow strips. These are baled and sent to Clifton where they help to add to the world's supply of copper.<sup>48</sup>

The Morenci pit as it was finally finished is a model of cheap mining procedure. It is sloped evenly on a forty five degree angle and has benches every fifty feet of elevation. In the mining of the ore nine inch holes are drilled every sixty feet and loaded with four hundred pounds of explosives. The whole length of one bench is blasted at the same time by setting off the charges electrically. Sometimes additional blasts are necessary to break up the loosened ore. The ore is hauled to the reduction plant in forty ton electric cars. These cars are fitted with both trolley and battery power. The batteries are for use in the pit where

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47. John A. Curry, "Phelps Dodge's \$35,000,000 Program Nears End of First Year With Big Achievement", Copper Era, April 21, 1943.

48. Ibid.

the trolley does not extend. The cars are loaded by the use of five ton electric shovels.<sup>49</sup>

The management and the workers of the Morenci plant were made very proud when in 1943 the army and navy recognized the outstanding work of the plant in a work of vital nature to the war effort by awarding it the army and navy "E" for excellence.<sup>50</sup>

When the Phelps Dodge Corporation became the sole owner of mining property in the Clifton area many local people looked upon the move with disfavor because of their fear of "big business". Their fears have been proven false by the tolerant attitude of the company toward the interests of the people and the company's wholehearted support of all local civic movements. Indeed it is difficult to see how the town could have survived without Phelps Dodge, for in 1921 the mining industry in the community had reached a stage of development which made necessary the expenditure of a great amount of capital in order to continue. Only a great corporation such as Phelps Dodge could finance such development. The work of the corporation has had a great stabilizing effect on the community for people now feel that the town will continue indefinitely, because the company could not afford to let a plant which involves so much of

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49, Cleveland E. Dodge, "Open Pit Development on Clay Mountain", Mining and Metallurgy, May 1942.

50. The Copper Era, Victory Resources Number, April 21, 1943.

a capital expenditure to lie idle.

The thorough development and exploratory work of Phelps Dodge in their mining industry has given the future of the Clifton-Morenci area a roseate hue. In 1939 the explored reserves of the company were known to be about 450,000,000 tons of ore. In addition to that there are known to be reserves at Metcalf lying contiguous to the high grade ore which was mined by the Shannon Copper Company from 1901 to 1918. The extent of these is not known but some observers think that there is as much ore there as in the Clay ore body. This would make the total reserve around one million tons. With these facts in mind the people of the area think that Walter Douglas was correct when he said in 1921,<sup>51</sup>

"The Clifton-Morenci district will continue to be a steady producer of copper long after other copper producing districts of the state have been exhausted."

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51. The Copper Era, Victory Resources Number, April 21, 1943.

P A R T   T W O

LIFE AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS  
IN CLIFTON SINCE 1872

## CHAPTER V

### THE PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL GROWTH OF CLIFTON

The City of Clifton started with a few houses which were built around the mouth of Chase Creek where the early smelter was located. These early buildings were adobe. The most imposing of them was the store built by Lesinsky which also served as a postoffice. As nearly all the people in the camp were men, the early houses were of the most rudimentary type. As the population increased the town expanded across the river to the part of the town which is now called Eastside. Most of the business houses came to be located there. North Clifton, which was west of the river and upriver from the smelter, soon came to be the choice residential section of the town. Until nineteen hundred North Clifton and Eastside comprised all of Clifton that was at all thickly inhabited. Since the population was almost as great then as now, the houses of necessity had to be close together. Mexicans burrowed into the sides of the mountains to build their houses. This was partly to save space and partly to have cooler homes.

Chase Creek, which extends westward from the main center of the town, and Metz's Flat began to fill up at about the same time, around nineteen hundred. At first a few Mexicans began to build homes on Chase Creek because



EASTSIDE IN CLIFTON LOOKING NORTH,  
NORTH CLIFTON IN DISTANCE.



SOUTH CLIFTON AS IT IS TODAY

the land was cheap and was near the smelter where they worked. O. A. Risdon had been waging a one man war against the bawdy houses on Eastside. After 1900 he secured the aid of Judge McCalister, who found an old law which said that no house of ill repute could be within one hundred feet of a highway. He issued an eviction order July 27, 1905, forbidding women in the saloons of Conglomerate Avenue. All the houses of ill repute moved to Chase Creek. By 1903 several business houses were located there and by 1910 a majority of the business houses of Clifton were on Chase Creek.<sup>1</sup>

In 1900 present day South Clifton was known as Metz's Flat and was used by the Chinese for a vegetable garden. Henry Hill built a fine brick residence there in 1901 which was the only really good home in that section of the town. Soon after that the few Mormons living there built a small brick church. Baylor Shannon built a substantial residence there a little later. Henry Hill, who owned the whole flat and had for many years operated a livery stable there, divided much of the Flat into lots which he sold for three hundred dollars each. By 1905 that section of the town had become the choice residential section. The growth of South Clifton was greatly aided by the building of the Shannon Copper Company smelter in 1901.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Interview, Harriet Sweeting, April 24, 1945.

2. Jo Conners, Who's Who in Arizona, p. 141.

With the building of the Shannon Smelter the Mexicans began to build homes on Shannon Hill near the smelter. Soon Shannon Hill was one of the more populous parts of the town. By 1909 a schoolhouse was located there and Saint Michael's Catholic Church was built there by Father Timmermans to supply the religious needs of that teeming community.

Thus it was that by 1910 Clifton had reached its maximum in area and population. Its population at that time was 4,874.<sup>3</sup> This figure included only the people within the corporation limits. The population would have been much greater except that the census did not include all those who lived in the nearby canyons outside of the city limits. Old people of Clifton say that the population of the town was nearer seven thousand than five thousand at that time. The following table will give a picture of the decline in population of Clifton after 1910:

1910	4,874 <sup>4</sup>
1920	4,163
1930	2,305
1940	2,668

This table does not show the population during the depths of the depression when it is said that the population went down to twelve or thirteen hundred. The census of 1940 shows a slight upward trend which was continued until 1943 when the sugar rationing program gave an unofficial figure

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3. United States Census Report of 1910

4. United States Census Reports of years 1910 - 1940.



of about forty five hundred. Because the building boom is over the population is now on the decline. It is not likely that the population of the town will ever be very large again because the smelter has been moved to Morenci. Also the fact that mining operations can be carried on with much fewer men than formerly will mean a smaller population for the whole district. However, as long as Clifton has the courthouse it is unlikely to lose out entirely in the long continued rivalry with Morenci. It is also true that many people who work at Morenci prefer to live in "the Banana Belt", as the people of Morenci facetiously refer to Clifton.

The greatest building boom of Clifton's history was in 1912 and 1913. At that time the Chase Creek, Shannon Hill, and High School buildings were built, and Mrs. Reardon had the fine little hotel constructed in South Clifton which was soon to replace the Clifton Hotel as the town's leading hostelry. The Arizona Copper Company at that time decided to replace the cottage-like homes of their officials, which had nestled against the mountain south of the old smelter, with something more substantial. They chose the site of the old circus grounds on Eastside for the location. It was low, so a ten foot levee was built and the ground filled in behind it to the top of the wall. On this site they constructed a beautiful English style mansion with large, high, ceilinged rooms and broad porticos. At great cost they

brought earth from the mountains<sup>5</sup> and landscaped the grounds beautifully with grass and flowers, oleanders, and palms, so that it looks like a small bit of the tropics brought to Clifton. The people of Clifton are very proud of this house which still is the town's only mansion. It is always known by the name of the incumbent manager of the company. At first it was called the Carmichael House; at present it is known as the Davis House. On the same grounds and at the same time a house for the company doctor and the store manager was constructed.<sup>6</sup> In 1913 on Chase Creek a great fire had wiped out a block and a half of the business district and the present day business houses of that section were being built. Cascarelli built a large business house with apartments overhead. Spezia had another substantial structure erected. I. B. English built a small building for his tailoring establishment. In 1912 the postoffice moved from its old quarters in the company store to the newly constructed building on Coronado Boulevard in which it is still located. In the same year the Southern Pacific Railway Company built a fine new passenger and freight station. This building was made large enough for a town of twenty thousand people in anticipation of a large growth in population. Since that growth never materialized the station

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5. The earth in the town of Clifton is so impregnated with chemicals that it is necessary to do this before plants will grow.

6. "New Construction in Clifton", Copper Era, August 28, 1913.

was too large. During the depression the railway company found that the small freight station was large enough for both passengers and freight, so the large passenger station was leased and became the Coronado Inn.

Because of the unprecedented amount of building the city council on April 23, 1913 created the office of building inspector. Mr. Tunis was the town's first, and only, building inspector since building dropped off and it was not found necessary to continue the office. He reported that from May 1 to August 11, 1913, \$144,275 worth of buildings were completed.<sup>7</sup>

Duncan McNeil was a personable young architect who had settled in Clifton at that time. Many of the buildings of the town, including the three school buildings, Cascarelli's, and Spezia's were planned by him.<sup>8</sup> Cotey and Black was the most active Construction Company of that period. They built most of the buildings mentioned above.

One of the fundamental needs of any town is an adequate transportation and communication connection with the remainder of the world. In that respect Clifton has always been lacking. There seem to have been some among the leaders of Clifton in the past who recognized this lack and tried to correct it but none ever adequately succeeded.

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7. "New Town Official", Copper Era, April 25, 1913.

8. "Many Buildings Being Constructed", Copper Era, April 20, 1913.

In the very earliest days of Clifton, i.e. in the 1870's, the town had two connections with the outside world. One of these was a stage road to Solomonville forty five miles down the river. There was another stage road to Silver City, New Mexico a hundred miles to the southeast. These roads were typical of the western roads of that day in that they were made by merely cutting down the mesquite bushes and other desert plants. There were no bridges or culverts so a heavy rain made them impassable. During the eighties the road to Solomonville was made a toll road by Graham county, after which there was constant conflict between the people of Clifton and the county officials concerning rates.<sup>9</sup> During the eighties and nineties Wells Fargo operated a stage and freighting business into Clifton from Solomonville.<sup>10</sup>

The completion of the three foot guage railroad into Clifton in 1884 by the Arizona Copper Company aided materially in improving communication with the outside world but the isolation was still so complete that as one writer has stated: "If Clifton were to disappear from the earth the outside world would hardly note the fact". This three foot guage had two trains each day to and from Lordsburg. Each train was made up of a long string of freight cars with one passenger car on the rear.<sup>11</sup>

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9. "County Profits From Toll Road", Copper Era, Jan. 8, 1903  
 10. Mrs. O. J. Cotey, Interview, January 4, 1945.  
 11. Norman Carmichael, "Development of Mine Transportation of Clifton-Morenci District", Copper Era, January 2, 1925

In 1901 the Arizona Copper Company gave H. J. Simmons a contract to widen the thirty six inch guage to standard guage. In six months' time the task was completed and Clifton's connection with the outside world was materially strengthened. At the same time the Coronado line from Clifton to Metcalf was changed from a twenty inch guage to a three foot guage. The rails and rolling stock which had been used on the Arizona and New Mexico line were used in doing this. After the widening of the track three locomotives were in constant use between Metcalf and Clifton to feed the smelters of the Arizona Copper Company and the Shannon Copper Company at Clifton. About one hundred men were employed constantly in keeping the locomotives and tracks in condition.<sup>12</sup>

The task of getting the ore from the openings of the various mines which were near the tops of the mountains down to the railroads which were in the bottoms of the canyons was accomplished by the use of inclines. These were double track and had a long cable looped over a pulley at the top and fastened to a loaded car on one track and an empty one on the other. In this way the loaded car coming down was made to pull the empty one up to the mine.<sup>13</sup>

The use of inclines was the cause of an appalling

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12. James Colquhoun, The History of the Clifton-Morenci Mining District, p. 73.

13. "Arizona Copper Company is Pathfinder of Industry", The Tucson Citizen, Sept. 29, 1917.

tragedy at Metcalf in 1913. It was the custom of the men to ride the ore cars up and down the inclines to and from work. On August 15, 1913 sixteen men got on a car to come down the incline from work. Near the top of the incline, which was sixteen hundred feet long, the drawbar broke. The car went down the incline at great speed. Seven of the men on the car jumped off before it had gathered very much speed. They escaped with minor injuries. The remaining nine were mangled badly and killed when the car dashed against the opposite side of the mountain at the foot of the incline.<sup>14</sup>

As early as the turn of the century a few visionary men began to see that Clifton's greatest need was for better transportation. Among these was Dell Potter.<sup>15</sup> He was a

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14. Copper Era, August 15, 1913.

15. Dell Potter came to Silver City from Canton, Ohio in year 1880. At that time he was only eighteen years old. In 1881 he visited Clifton on a prospecting trip and located claims on the San Francisco near the place where he later built his home. Soon after that he moved permanently to Clifton where he lived during the remainder of his life.

He was always interested in civic affairs, and always helped the improvement of the town through public works. Early in the twentieth century he had a beautiful home built on his ranch two miles above Clifton. He sent to Los Angeles and had an architect draw up plans for it. The design was a mixture of Spanish and southern plantation. When complete it was the show place of Clifton and one of the finest residences in Arizona. It had hardwood floors and running water. A broad verandah extended around two sides of it. The grounds were beautified with fruit trees and shrubbery. The water supply was pumped by an ingenious pumping device, which utilized a large amount of water from the river to furnish power to pump a small amount to a tank high on the side of

public spirited citizen who lived about two miles above Clifton on the river. He first began to advocate better roads in 1901 when most of his fellow townsmen were more

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15. (cont.) the mountain from which it flowed onto his fields and orchards. He planted an acre of mulberry trees and sodded the ground with fine grass. Anyone who wished could go there for picnics under the mulberry trees free of charge.

In order to get his ore to the smelter at Clifton and to the railroad for shipping (in the case of gold ore) he built a twenty inch gauge railroad up the river to his ranch. He had only ore cars which were pulled by mules. He called his line the Clifton and Northern and since there were other miners up the river who also shipped ore on the line, he had it incorporated. He had elaborately embossed passes printed for the Clifton and Northern line and sent them to the presidents of several large national railway companies. They reciprocated by sending him passes on their lines. When he was doing much of his travelling in 1911 and 1912 it was on these passes. (This story has been vouched for by several reliable people and the author believes it to be true.)

He was said to have had more cases in court than any other person in Arizona. Probably because he was more experienced and employed only shrewd lawyers, he won many of his cases. As an example of his court technique we may cite the instance of his case against Phelps Dodge. He lost his ranch to them during the twenties. They took up the rails from his railroad and sold them for junk. He sued for recovery of his railroad on the grounds that it was not real estate and could not be included in a real estate mortgage. Phelps Dodge compromised by paying him a good price to settle out of court.

Many people have cast aspersions at Mr. Potter because he became a gentlemanly sort of panhandler in his old age, but he was of the stuff of which empire builders are made. That he did not become one is probably due as much to inscrutable fate as any other element. Had just one of his many ventures succeeded he could have become another Bill Greene or Anson Phelps. No one ever questioned the broadness of his vision or the incomparable energy with which he carried, as far as his financial limitations would permit him to carry, his ventures. In his favor let it be said that he spread the name of the little city on the San Francisco River far and wide. He had the

interested in making money from the growth of the real estate or mines in the town itself. At that time he was advocating a state road across Arizona from East to West which would go through Clifton. By 1911 he had gotten a broader vision and was advocating an ocean to ocean highway through Clifton. He organized a state Ocean to Ocean Highway Association of which he became president. In 1912 he made trips to Atlantic City, Los Angeles, Raleigh and other places in the interests of good roads. In 1912 also he made a trip from Los Angeles to New York with a party sponsored by the Los Angeles Times, who were supposed to find the most feasible route for an ocean to ocean highway. Potter persuaded them to come through Clifton. For awhile he thought he had them convinced that a route through Phoenix, Globe, Fort Thomas, Clifton, and on to Silver City via Mule Creek was practicable. He sent jubilant telegrams from New York City saying that Clifton was assured of being on the trans-continental route. Later, when one of the State's trans-continental routes went a hundred miles north of Clifton through Springerville and another thirty miles south through Duncan, Potter lugubriously admitted that there "really was only one good route for a highway through Clifton and the San Francisco River got it first".<sup>16</sup>

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15. (cont.) correct vision of the one thing which might have made Clifton a flourishing city, better transportation facilities by location on a national highway.

16. Copper Era, June 13, 1913.



After Dell Potter failed to get Clifton on a trans-continental highway in 1911, 1912, and 1913, Clifton's civic minded business men turned their attention to local roads. In 1913 the county supervisors were persuaded to build a first class road to Metcalf at a cost of fifteen thousand dollars. At the same time Cotey and Black graded a tortuous, winding road up the hill to Morenci. The Morenci people worried about what they were going to do with automobiles and other vehicles as they had no streets and no parking places. New routes were being surveyed for a road to Duncan. Road bonds were sold and a road constructed to Blue River. In 1917 a bond issue for \$160,000 was voted on and carried 158 to 15. This money was to be used for a road north, into the ranch country.<sup>17</sup>

The supervisors of Greenlee county had long been planning a road to extend northward from Clifton to Springer-ville. In September of 1916 the district forest supervisor came to Clifton to study plans for taking the road through the Crook National Forest which was on the proposed route. He approved the plans and made a favorable report to the federal government. February 16, 1917 the Secretary of Agriculture approved plans for his department to spend \$400,000 on the road. At the same time the county was to spend \$275,000 and the forestry service \$230,000. Due to delays of the usual type, the work on that road was not

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<sup>17</sup>. Copper Era, September 16, 1917.

finished until late in the year 1925. Since the road is closed during the winter due to snow, it was decided to hold a grand opening celebration May 19, 1926. Five thousand people gathered at Hannagan's Meadow for the two day celebration. Six steers and two bears were barbecued. A delegation of Apaches from nearby San Carlos attended and their chief, Al-Cha-Say, made a speech. Governor Hunt also spoke as did several highway officials. It was a most momentous day, for Clifton had at last secured a federal road.<sup>18</sup>

That road, which was named The Coronado Trail because it lies along the supposed route of Coronado, did not become the vital communications link that Clifton people hoped it would, because it ran north and south instead of east and west. It did open up the northern part of Greenlee County to the people of the state as a vacation land and as time goes on the people of Clifton hope that it will become more important. There is no reason why it should not, for the Coronado Trail country is undoubtedly one of the finest vacation spots in the state.

On October 6, 1917 a new highway was opened to Solomonville. This road became necessary because the old toll road had been a wagon road only. By 1917 the automobile was becoming an important factor in transportation. As Clifton at that time had no automobile road to the remainder of the

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18. "Coronado Trail is Dedicated Today", Copper Era, June 19, 1926.

state, the Solomonville road was a necessity. That it did not become an important artery of commerce is probably due to the fact that it was built through a wild, precipitous country where a good road could not be built.<sup>19</sup>

Up to 1914 the road to Duncan had been merely an old fashioned wagon road. At that time, surveys were started to determine the best route to build a road. For the next sixteen years the county worked on the Duncan road intermittently but it remained a poor road. In 1932 the state took over the Clifton-Duncan highway but they did little to improve it. Clifton had the negative distinction of being the only county seat in the state which did not have a paved road connection with the remainder of the state. In 1938 the Duncan road was made a part of the Federal Aid system of roads. The federal government changed the routing along part of the way and made it a hard surfaced road, so that Clifton at last had adequate highway connections with the outside world.<sup>20</sup>

Within the town of Clifton the streets had always been a problem because the town was built on both sides of the river. In the early days pedestrians crossed the river on swinging bridges. One of these was located near the old smelter in the middle of town; another connected the lower end of Eastside with the part of town that was called

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19. "Great Highway Now Open", Copper Era, October 6, 1918

20. Copper Era, May 28, 1932 and May 7, 1938.

South Clifton at that time. Horses and wagons had to ford the river. In 1906 a wagon bridge was built across the river from Eastside to the smelter. In 1918 the city fathers hired the Midland Bridge Construction Company of Kansas City to build two bridges: One was to replace the old one to Eastside which had become too small, the other to connect South Clifton and Coronado Boulevard. The two bridges cost \$79,000 but have proven very serviceable as both of them are still in use.<sup>21</sup>

The town continued as an unpaved city until 1936. At that time the town officials took advantage of the opportunity to get federal aid through W.P.A. and paved the streets. They also had sidewalks built and the sewage system improved. This work continued through 1938, and when it was completed Clifton was justly proud of her streets, which are well laid out and constructed.<sup>22</sup>

The greatest paradox to one who visits Clifton are the city's floodwalls. They extend up and down the river for a mile and a half and for a half mile up Chase creek. In a country which has only about ten inches of annual rainfall they would seem to be useless; yet few towns, certainly none in Arizona, have suffered so much from floods as Clifton. These floods have seemed to come in cycles which recur about

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21. Copper Era, February 22 and September 13, 1918

22. "W.P.A. Projects Making Progress in This County,"  
Copper Era, February 22, 1936 and  
 "Paving Well Under Way in Clifton", Copper Era,  
 March 12, 1938.

every ten years. The Lesinskys were troubled by floods in the early seventies and again in 1880. There was a bad flood in 1891 and from 1903 to 1906 no less than five bad floods swept the town. In 1916 the last damaging flood hit the town.

The flood of 1891 was very damaging. The water covered the whole town from mountain to mountain. It washed away many buildings and moved the railroad track, twisting the rails so that no trains could run for several days. It also occasioned a treasure hunt. Wells Fargo had one of the few safes in town at that time and acted as a bank. Many people left their cash and other valuables with Wells Fargo for safe keeping. Their office was near the present postoffice, on low ground. The flood wrecked it and took it away. The safe was washed away also and was never found. The flood, as usual, had deposited many feet of silt in places while taking it away in other places. It was thought that the safe which had many thousands of dollars worth of valuables in it was buried in this silt. For some time afterward people of Clifton spent much time and effort hunting treasure.<sup>23</sup>

The most disastrous flood in Clifton's history, at least up to that time, was in 1903. There was a dangerous strike at Morenci and twelve hundred men were said to be getting ready to come to Clifton to force their demands on

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23. Mrs. O. T. Cotey, Interview, January 4, 1945.

the company officials who lived at Clifton. During the afternoon of June 9th ominous clouds gathered in the sky and rain began to fall. Telephone messages came from Morenci warning the people to be ready for floods, for it was raining more at Morenci than Clifton. J. A. McWilliams was delivering groceries at the upper end of Chase Creek when he looked up the canyon and saw a wall of water eight feet high coming. The dam used by the Arizona Copper Company to impound their tailing had broken. McWilliams raced back down Chase Creek, shouting to the people to save themselves. Almost no one heeded him. The water struck the flimsy walled houses which were almost in the creek. They crumpled like matchwood. At the same time the storm broke in Clifton. Rain came down in sheets and hailstones as large as walnuts peppered the people as they sought shelter. The storm was over in an hour but it took months to repair the damages. Thirteen bodies were found and it was known that several other people had been drowned. A meeting was held at Library Hall at which claims were made for well over \$100,000 in damages. The people thought the company should pay the damages since it was their dam that had caused most of the damage. The company and the bank consented to pay ten thousand dollars to the losers; all other aid was refused by the proud citizens of Clifton. The greatest loser had been the Bazaar Store which lost twenty

thousand dollars.<sup>24</sup>

After this flood the Arizona Copper Company built a rugged stone wall ten feet high along Chase Creek to protect their property from flood damage. The citizens of Chase Creek who were located on the south side of the creek and opposite the company's wall, waisted a popular subscription of \$600 and with the aid of city and county funds (\$2400) built a wall on the other side.

In this flood the Arizona Copper Company was a great loser for the water washed several feet of silt into the mill, greatly damaging the machinery. The Catholic church on Chase Creek was washed away and had to be rebuilt. At the time the storm came down the canyon, the train was going up on the Coronado Railroad toward Metcalf. It had several passengers. The engineer had stopped to remove some rocks from the track when he saw the wall of water coming. He warned the passengers who got off and went up the side of the mountain. The train was derailed and damaged.<sup>25</sup>

A Chinaman was outside his store when he saw the water coming. He ran into his store and secured a bag which had three thousand dollars in gold in it. When he came out the flood caught him and the weight of the bag of gold carried him under the water. He was drowned. His body was found but the gold was not.<sup>26</sup>

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24. "Unprecedented Disaster", Copper Era, June 11, 1903

25. "After the Flood", Copper Era, June 16, 1903.

26. Ibid.

There were two floods in 1905. The first one caused the loss of five lives and much damage to the town. Most of the damage was to the company's property. The last flood of 1905 was in December and was not very destructive because the people had built their houses on higher ground after the earlier flood. This flood filled the walls that had been built on Chase Creek to the brim with sand and gravel. It was necessary to dredge them before Chase Creek was again safe. This flood was in both Chase Creek and the San Francisco River and most of the damage was in North Clifton where Becker Franz Mercantile Company was the largest loser.<sup>27</sup>

The greatest flood in Clifton's history was the one of December 4, 1906. It had rained for thirty hours so the people had ample warnings of danger. Most of them went to high ground on the mountain of Eastside to be out of danger. Some did not. Again a tailings dam broke and the flood came down Chase Creek with tremendous power. Chase Creek's principal street was almost a complete loss. Because of the great amount of water which had fallen up the river, both the San Francisco River and Chase Creek flooded at this time. Eighteen people were known to have lost their lives. Two were Americans and the remainder Mexican. The estimated damage was one million dollars. The Arizona Copper Company was the greatest loser in the loss of their tailings dam,

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27. "As to the Future", Editorial, Copper Era,  
December 19, 1905.



damage to their store, damage to the railroad track, and in the mill, which was flooded to a depth of several feet. The Becker Franz store in North Clifton was the greatest loser among individuals in the town; their stock was damaged to the extent of \$10,000. Ten dwelling houses and twelve other houses were completely washed away. Many others were badly damaged. Many Mexican adobe buildings melted down and were washed away. In the flooded section only one adobe building did not go down. Many Mexicans moved into it. For many years afterwards it was called "La Arca de Noe" by the Mexicans.<sup>28</sup>

The flood damage in this case was so great that there was much talk of abandoning the town. After the flood went down the town leaders got together and determined to rebuild better than before and to construct a flood wall which would protect their houses and places of business from further loss. That was done. The Arizona Copper Company bore most of the expense. Floodwalls were built along the river banks to supplement the ones already along Chase Creek. They were constructed of slag which was mortared together and were sixteen inches thick.<sup>29</sup>

An aftermath of this flood which caused much bitterness in Clifton for the next six years was the suit brought by nineteen citizens who were damaged by the flood. The

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28. "Clifton Flood", Arizona Daily Star, December 6, 1906  
 "La Arca de Noe" means "the Ark of Noah".

29. Mrs. O. T. Cotey, Interview, January 4, 1945

defendant in the suit was the Arizona Copper Company which was charged with negligence in allowing the tailings dam to break. The suit brought by Ivan Hoefeldt was fought as a trial case. The company managed to delay the suit until 1912 at which time they agreed to settle the case out of court. That was done and the litigants who had sued for \$89,000 were paid only \$5,000.<sup>30</sup>

There were no more floods after 1906 until 1916. At that time the river got so high that it went over the top of the floodwalls. It did considerable damage around the town but not as much as in the earlier, big floods. After the flood went down the people of Clifton voted a \$160,000 bond issue which was used to raise the flood walls and additional two feet. Since that time Clifton has not been damaged by floods.<sup>31</sup>

Clifton has had two really serious fires. April 11, 1913 a Mexican started to build a fire in a shack which stood back of the Royal Theatre. The stove got too hot and caused the building to catch on fire. It spread to other buildings and raged for three hours, destroying a block and a half of buildings. A favorable wind finally aided the volunteer fire department in putting out the flames. Two men were killed by this fire; a Chinaman was hit by a falling transformer and a Mexican, Francisco Provencio,

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30. News Item, Copper Era, December 6, 1912.

31. News Item, Copper Era, January 19, 1917.

was crushed by the falling wall of the old Clifton Theatre. The principal buildings destroyed by this fire were: the Greenlee Hotel, Cascarelli's, the Manila Hotel, the Bazaar Store, and the Royal and Clifton Theatres.<sup>32</sup>

The second fire was August 24, 1917. An oil stove in a Mexican home behind the Chase Creek school became overheated and the house caught fire. Before the volunteer fire department got the fire put out, fourteen houses had been destroyed. In this fire the fire department used, for the first time, chemical fire fighting equipment. They found it inadequate and finally put out the fire with a bucket brigade and hose.<sup>33</sup>

Fire protection in Clifton has been of haphazard growth. Prior to 1906, bucket brigades served to defend the town against the menace of fire. Perhaps it was because there was a rather serious fire on Eastside during that year, which burned out nearly all the buildings around the end of the bridge, that the people began to plan better methods of fire protection. Since Clifton was not incorporated at that time, the plans were disunited and worked out piecemeal. South Clifton was the first in line. That section of the town organized a fire department in June 1906.<sup>34</sup> \$2,000 was raised by popular subscription and spent for fire plugs

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32. "Chase Creek Fire", Copper Era, April 11, 1913

33. "Fire on Chase Creek Destroys Fourteen Houses",  
Copper Era, August 24, 1917

34. News Item, Copper Era, June 14, 1906

and hose. Chase Creek and Eastside soon followed suit, so that the town had three fire departments for a few years. The first City council in 1909 authorized Mayor Frazer to organize a citywide fire department and install fifteen new plugs.<sup>35</sup> From then until 1930, Clifton's fire department was on a volunteer basis. The fire department became a much debated issue in Clifton for several years after that. Some of the citizens objected to the city paying for the water used at twenty five dollars per plug for each year. Then it became a much mooted question whether or not the fire department should be paid or be on a voluntary basis. Those who advocated a paid fire department were accused of wanting a soft city job. Finally in 1930, the present system of fire protection was organized in which the fire chief is a paid city employee while the remainder of the department is paid on the basis of the number and type of fires they fight each month.<sup>36</sup>

Clifton was for many years probably the largest unincorporated town in the state. That it was not incorporated was due to the fact that many people feared the cost of city government. In the early years of the twentieth century there was much typhus and malaria in the town which lead many to advocate incorporation as a health measure. Mr. Colquhoun, general manager of the Arizona Copper

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35. "Fire Protection Assured", Copper Era, October 14, 1909

36. "Fire Department is Organized", Copper Era,  
January 24, 1930.

Company, was the leader in this movement. The opposition was too strong to be overcome, so a compromise was reached whereby the town was to be divided into two sanitary districts. Each district was to hire a man whose duty was to sprinkle the streets in summer and keep them clean. He was to see that sanitary toilets were built and to collect levies from the people to finance the program. A health officer was to be hired to oversee the general health situation in the city.<sup>37</sup>

From 1903 to 1909 there was continuous agitation for incorporation but the forces against it were too strong. In 1909 events moved rapidly toward incorporation. The City Fathers met and discussed the question in February. This was at the time when the formation of the new county was being pushed through the territorial legislature and the people saw that the town would have no chance to become the county seat if it were not an incorporated city. On March 11, 1909 an election was held to determine whether or not Clifton should incorporate. The results were ninety votes for incorporation and forty against. The first election was set for June 5, 1909. At that election George Frazer and Archie Morrison were the opponents for Mayor. Frazer won, 282 votes to 209. The first council was C. B. Dunn, C. O. Billingsley, G. A. Franz. That first election

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37. "Sanitary Measures to Be Adopted", Copper Era, May 21, 1903.

had all the old time fireworks of a hotly contested presidential election with bands, rallies, and fireworks. When it was over the opponents shook hands and became friends again.<sup>38</sup>

At the first meeting of the city council R. R. Ball was appointed as City Clerk, G. S. Crawford became the first constable, and W. J. Riley was appointed as the town's first treasurer.<sup>39</sup>

The city council voted funds to build a city hall in 1913 but the building was not finally completed until 1918.

Clifton has been extremely fortunate in always having strong financial institutions. Clifton's first bank was established by George Hormeyer<sup>40</sup> in 1900. It was called the Bank of Clifton. Hormeyer died in October of 1900 and his widow disposed of the bank to the Lowden banking interests of El Paso. They changed the name of the bank to the First

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38. "George Frazer to Be First Mayor", Copper Era, June 10, 1909

39. "First Town Meeting, Copper Era, June 17, 1909

40. Hormeyer came to Clifton in 1889 from Texas. He established a small stamp mill, for extracting gold, on Chase Creek about three miles above town. By hard work and sound business practices he had soon saved enough money to go into business for himself. He established an office in Clifton and became a broker and money lender. His office served as the town's only bank. It is said that he carried his money and records to and from his office in a black bag which the shady characters around town eyed with greed. After he died his wife ran the Central Hotel in Clifton.

National Bank of Clifton and it became a part of the national banking system. Its capital stock was \$30,000.<sup>41</sup>

December 26, 1901 J. N. Porter of Globe bought the controlling interest in the bank but the Lowden interests still had a large block of stock. The bank prospered during the next few years and by 1909 had a surplus of \$20,000 and deposits totaling \$220,000. The bank continued to prosper until the hard years following the first world war. By that time the competition of other banks in Clifton had become very brisk and the First National Bank went out of business February 21, 1923. It paid 17 per cent to all depositors.

In 1902 the Gila Valley Bank and Trust Company of Solomonville established a branch bank in Clifton and Morenci. At first the two banks were under the management of Mr. A. G. Smith who devoted about half of his time to each of the banks. By 1909 the Gila Valley Bank and Trust Company of Clifton had become by far the strongest bank in Clifton, a position it has held to the present. Its total resources at that time were over two million dollars. This bank, strengthened by its affiliation with the Valley Bank chain of banks, has weathered all financial storms and is at present the only bank in Clifton.<sup>42</sup>

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41. "First National Bank of Clifton", Copper Era, May 19, 1909

42. The Valley Bank with its many branches all over Arizona had its start in the little town of Solomonville in the year 1899. The founders had a meeting on November 4 of that year at which they discussed the advisability of a bank. On December 15, 1899 the

In 1917 there was an attempt to establish a third bank in Clifton. This ill fated attempt was probably instrumental

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42. (cont.) articles of incorporation were drawn up by a young lawyer, C. L. Rawlins, who is still a stockholder. The articles of incorporation provided that the name should be the Gila Valley Bank, the capital stock \$25,000. D. W. Wickersham was the first president; I. E. Solomon, Vice President; A. G. Smith, Cashier. By 1902 the bank was ready to expand and opened offices in Clifton and Morenci. The capital stock was increased to \$50,000.

In 1905 the capital stock was increased to \$75,000 and the Globe branch opened. In subsequent years the operation spread further to Ray (1910), Miami (1910), Hayden (1912), Gila Bend (1916).

In 1914 the Valley Bank of Phoenix became in dire financial straits and had to close its doors. It was at that time the largest bank in Arizona. The directors of the Gila Valley Bank and Trust Company saw their chance and merged with the Valley Bank to save that institution. They managed to pay the depositors ninety per cent on their deposits and the bank became statewide in its activities under the name of the Valley Bank.

Some of the leading figures in the growth of the Valley Bank were: L. D. Ricketts, the great mining expert who became a stockholder in 1905; Mr. E. M. Hurd who was the first general manager in 1910; Mr. Mills, another mining engineer, who became affiliated with the bank at Morenci in 1908.

The highlights in the development of the Valley Bank were the great merger of the Gila Valley Bank and Trust Company and the Valley Bank in 1914, becoming a member of the Federal Reserve system in 1918, and the purchase of the Consolidated National Bank of Tucson in 1935.



in causing two of the town's three banks to become bankrupt. This bank was called the Peoples Bank and Trust Company. It was established with several of the town's leading officials as stockholders and directors. O. J. Cotey, mayor of the town, was president; A. H. Slaughter, sheriff, was vice president. The bank had \$50,000 of capital stock. The directors had a fine little building built on Chase Creek. Competition, however, proved to be too strong and after about four years the bank went out of business.<sup>43</sup>

The first newspaper of Clifton was called The Clarion. It was started in 1882. Like most small town newspapers it had a very eventful life. The plant on which it was first printed was one that had been used to publish the Graham County News, the County's first newspaper, at Fort Thomas in 1881. J. T. Fitzgerald and D. L. Sayre bought the plant and brought it to Clifton. Fitzgerald, Sayre, and W. W. Jones alternated at the job of editing the paper for the next three years. In 1885 a political upheaval, in which The Clarion had backed the wrong faction, broke the paper. The presses were taken to Solomonville and later used to publish the Solomonville Bulletin.

The people of Clifton had grown accustomed to the idea of a newspaper so several of the leaders aided Mr. Sayre in purchasing new presses. For the next ten years The Clarion

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43. "New Bank to Open Doors in Clifton", Copper Era, August 3, 1917.

had comparatively smooth sailing. The paper was well edited, and one of the leading papers of the territory. When the copper market slumped in the 1890's and copper went to a new low price of ten cents per pound the population of Clifton had one of its concomitant slumps. The Clarion suffered also. Advertizing dropped and circulation became almost non-existent. A young lady compositor brought suit for back wages and the paper gave up the fight and went out of existence in 1897. It is said that the editor left town on a dark night to escape payment of his debts.<sup>44</sup>

The Clarion had not been entirely without opposition during the fifteen years of its existence for in 1882 The Arizona Bulletin which had been established in Safford came to Clifton. It was published at Clifton until 1889 when it was removed to Solomonville where it remained during the remainder of its career.<sup>45</sup>

The present Clifton newspaper, The Copper Era, began in the spring of 1899 when C. E. Bull came to Clifton as editor. In November of 1899 he acquired a partner in the person of J. D. Lea. At the same time the size of the paper was increased from 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 11" to a standard size newspaper. At that time it was a Democratic paper and fought the presidential campaign of 1900 with great vigor. In 1900

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44. W. W. Jones, "Letter From Editor of First Newspaper in Graham Co.", Copper Era, February 6, 1925.

45. The Arizona Bulletin, Special Souvenir Edition of 1903

Lea left the paper and Bull and Leonard became the publishers.<sup>46</sup>

In 1902 Bull and Leonard sold out to the Era Publishing Company and the paper changed from a Democratic to a Republican organ. The editors protested that they were not selling out the party but were forced by necessity. The great flood of 1906 flooded The Copper Era office with six feet of water. The paper had to be published in Morenci for the next week.<sup>47</sup>

The Clifton Herald had appeared in 1903 as a competitor of The Copper Era. It was a democratic paper and fought The Copper Era on all issues except county division. The building in which The Herald was published was destroyed by the flood of 1906. The next week The Copper Era cheerfully announced that The Herald had gone out of business.<sup>48</sup>

W. B. Kelly of an old Arizona newspaper family purchased The Copper Era in 1911. He bought The Morenci Leader also and combined the two; at the same he changed the size from four pages seven columns to eight pages and six columns. In the next issue he asked the support of all for an independent, Democratic paper. The Copper Era remained the property of W. B. Kelly until 1944 when it was purchased by

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46. "Half a Century of Service", Copper Era, May 20, 1939

47. W. B. Kelly, "A Review of the Record of a Newspaper's Life", Copper Era, April 21, 1943.

48. "Worst Flood in Town's History Visits Town", Copper Era, December 6, 1906.

a group of Safford professional and business men who are still publishing it.<sup>49</sup>

Probably the proudest day in the life of W. B. Kelly was January 1, 1915 for on that day The Copper Era was chosen as one of the fifty two best newspapers in the nation. His saddest day was probably March 28, 1933 when The Copper Era plant was destroyed by fire, causing a loss of twenty thousand dollars. The fire also caused a loss of all the files of the paper before 1911.

In Clifton more than most towns the social life assumes a place of importance because its extremely isolated position has made many of the diversions found in other places very difficult. Until recent years the people have made their own social life. They must have succeeded pretty well for most of the old people speak of the old days with nostalgic yearnings.

Clifton has always been noted for many fine dances. After Metcalf became a city the people of Clifton and Metcalf frequently exchanged dances. Picnics were held at Coronado, and at Potter's ranch. After Mr. Colquhoun became head of the company in 1892 he started the custom of inviting all his department heads to a smoker once each year. These suppers were held in Library Hall and, since he invited many who were not in the company, his guest list

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49. W. B. Kelly, "A Review of the Life of a Newspaper", Copper Era, April 21, 1943.

was usually over a hundred. The Scotch and English have long been noted in America for dressing to meet the occasion. At Mr. Colquhoun's dinner for 1901 the Scotchmen gathered in full evening dress at Library Hall. It was lighted with electric lights which had just come into use in Clifton. The table was set with the beautiful China belonging to Mrs. Colquhoun and other ladies of the Company. The catering was done by a firm from San Francisco. The total cost of the dinner was said to have been over a thousand dollars.<sup>50</sup>

The program took the form of old fashioned toasts and responses. Colonel Egan was toastmaster and it was said that there was no better in Arizona. Toasts and responses were made by Mr. Colquhoun, Dr. James Douglas, J. G. Hopkins, Mr. E. M. Williams and others. Old timers of Clifton still speak of it as a most notable occasion.

Probably the most noted of these parties, by Mr. Colquhoun, was the one of 1904. Sir William Menzies, who was one of the directors of the Company, came to Clifton to inspect the property of the Arizona Copper Company. Mr. Colquhoun made Sir William's visit the occasion for the annual smoker. Two hundred guests were invited including Governor Brodie and Dr. James Douglas, the noted scientist. Toasts were drunk to the President of the United States, the king of England, to the company, and to Arizona. After the meal

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50. "Colquhoun Dinner", Copper Era, January 17, 1901

there was dancing for all.<sup>51</sup>

In 1902 a Mr. Prettyman built an opera house in North Clifton. This materially improved the social life of the town because after that, traveling theatrical groups frequently stopped at Clifton to show. In 1905 one such company put on a program called "The Deserted Bride" and the next night "The Man From Mexico". Both of them were highly lauded.<sup>52</sup> In 1910 Ellen Beach Yaw, who was hailed as the world's greatest soprano, gave a concert in Prettyman's Hall.<sup>53</sup> In 1912 the evils of the city were depicted in a lurid show called "The City". "The Prisoner of Zenda" was shown as a movie at the Armory in 1906.

In South Clifton a large hall which was called the Armory was built in 1906. It was used as a gymnasium, a moving picture theatre, a concert hall, and as a drilling place for the Clifton National Guards.<sup>54</sup>

An event which old timers like to recall was the visit of William Jennings Bryan to Clifton in 1909. LaMarr Cobb was a local Democratic leader who contacted Mr. Bryan and arranged for him to visit Clifton after making a talk in Phoenix. A special train met the "Great Commoner" at Coronado and brought him to Clifton. He was escorted through the city by a cheering mob from all the surrounding

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51. "The Colquhoun Smoker", Copper Era, April 21, 1904

52. Copper Era, November 9, 1905

53. "Miss Yaw A Wonder", Copper Era, February 10, 1910

54. Copper Era, June 4, 1909

country. At the station he was presented with a copper "Key to the City". He made his famous "Prince of Peace" talk at the Armory before fifteen hundred people. That evening he was given a dinner at Prettyman's Opera House. This dinner was of a political nature. Mr. Bryan consented to talk for half an hour but held his audience spellbound for two hours. The next day he was taken on a tour of the district on another special train.<sup>55</sup>

Another noted dinner was given on the occasion of Governor Kibbey's visit to Clifton in 1908. This dinner was given in the dining room of the Clifton Hotel. Mr. Egan<sup>56</sup> was the toastmaster and the dinner was given under

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55. "William J. Bryan", Copper Era, November 25, 1909

56. Mark J. Egan was originally from Brooklyn but came to the West to seek his fortune as soon as he had finished his education and had been admitted to the bar. His first position was at Lordsburg where he served as counsel for the Southern Pacific Railroad which was being built through that city at that time. He came to Clifton in 1882 and became chief counsel for the Arizona Copper Company. He held that position for thirty years, until 1912. His legal papers are models of clarity and legal correctness. He was considered a fine parlor orator, after dinner speaker, and toastmaster. He was a patron of the arts and literature and often took time from his busy career to instruct the young people of the town in good literature. In his house high above the San Francisco embankment he entertained many noted visitors. Governor Kibbey was frequently there. The Ambassador from Mexico once spent some time there. Each visitor was requested to write or draw a picture on the wall of his study. When the present occupant, Mrs. Stanton, was redecorating that room a few years ago she found it covered with a collection of famous names and some fine drawings.

When the Southern Pacific reached Tucson a great celebration was held and dignitaries from all over

the auspices of the Clifton Commercial Club, a newly organized group which was the antecedent of a chamber of commerce.

The first moving picture theatre in Clifton built exclusively for that purpose was the Empire, which was on Eastside and later on Chase Creek. It was built in 1909.

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56. (cont.) the territory were invited to the city. Mark Egan was there to make a speech. A part of the celebration consisted in sending telegrams to people of note everywhere. (The telegraph was an innovation also.) Telegrams were sent to the President, mayors of various cities, and finally to the Pope at Rome. The one to the Pope recalled to him that the city was likely to become a great Catholic stronghold since it was largely Mexican and asked his benediction. When Mr. Egan was making his talk to the Tucson citizens he received a telegram which was, at first, thought to be the reply of the Pope. In a very brief message the Pope expressed his appreciation then laconically asked "----but where the-----is Tucson?" Egan had arranged with the telegraph company to fake the telegram.

Colonel Egan came by his title honestly. It was when the famous chief, Cochise, was on the warpath that the governor of the territory ordered Egan to organize a militia company. He did so and received the rank of Colonel.

Mr. Egan was always a friend of education. He made the commencement talk for the North Clifton Schools for several years. The proudest achievement of his life was when he was made a member of the Board of Regents of the University of Arizona in 1903.

On July 5, 1912 about forty friends gathered in the dining room of the Clifton Hotel to say farewell to Mr. Egan at a dinner. He was given a gold watch as a memento of his thirty years service. The mayor of Clifton made a speech, as did Mr. Carmichael, the manager of the company. It was said that when Mr. Egan finished his fine eulogy to the town many men had tears in their eyes.

After his retirement in 1912 Mark Egan went back to Brooklyn where he stayed a short time; then to San Diego. He died there in 1913 and was given a Masonic burial at the Mount Hope Cemetery.



On July 4, 1909 Frank Martin opened his first theatre, the Princess, by the railroad bridge in South Clifton. He has operated a theatre in Clifton continuously since that date and claims to be one of the oldest operators in the nation in point of continuous service.

In the very earliest days of Clifton the people were very much interested in sports of all kinds. A part of the fourth of July celebration of 1885 was acrobatic stunts, boxing, foot racing, and a jumping contest. It was not until after 1900 that Clifton had organized sports. In 1901 Clifton had an organized baseball team. Mit Simms who ran a dry cleaning establishment was manager. LaMarr Cobb was one of his stars. On July 4th of that year Clifton and Morenci played for a \$100 prize. Clifton won by a score of 9 to 4.

From 1901 to 1909 Clifton played as an independent team and scheduled such teams as El Paso, Las Cruces, Morenci, Globe, Miami, and Tucson. Most of the players were college boys from Texas colleges or from Colorado. They were given jobs in the Company store or mills. Usually they left during the winter months. Probably the best remembered of these old time stars was Chief Meyers who later played for the New York Giants.<sup>57</sup> Some of the baseball players settled down in Clifton and are leading citizens today. Mr. Brubaker, who is county treasurer, came as a baseball player

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57. Copper Era, June 22, 1905

as did Mr. Anderson of the Board of Supervisors. Peter Riley who was once Mayor of Clifton played shortstop and outfield on the teams of 1906 and 1907. In 1910 Clifton entered the Cactus League with Morenci, Bisbee, El Paso, Douglas, and Cannanea.<sup>58</sup> At that time Clifton sports were willing to bet much money on their team. It is said that sometimes \$10,000 changed hands across the bar of the Gem Saloon as a result of a single game.

Early in the twentieth Century Clifton also played the English games of Rugby and cricket. These games were played because of the many English and Scotch who came with the Arizona Copper Company which was from Scotland. In 1907 a cricket team from Clifton went to Santa Monica to play the team from that city a three game series. The Clifton team was defeated in all three games the Santa Monica team had professionals. Mr. Bennie who was general manager of the Shannon Copper Company was a star cricket player.<sup>59</sup>

As early as 1908 Clifton had an independent basketball team. They played in the Armory and their chief opponent was Morenci. The players were: Fehrman, Mason, Ramey, Garwood, Ghizoni. The Clifton High School boys were playing preliminary games at that time.<sup>60</sup>

For a short time wrestling became an important sport

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58. Copper Era, June 3, 1910

59. Copper Era, July 15, 1907

60. Copper Era, November 19, 1908

in Clifton. That was during the time when Al Wasem was in town. He was the world's lightweight champion. He came to wrestle Young Hall from California for the world's lightweight championship. He defeated Hall and retained his championship and won a three thousand dollar purse. He stayed in Clifton for several years and clerked in Becker Franz' store. While here he wrestled many noted men among them Eddie Sandow who was known far and wide as the world's strongest man. Probably because Sandow was not a wrestler, Wasem beat him. The people of Clifton were proud to have a world champion living in town.<sup>61</sup>

On the whole sports have had a very beneficial effect on Clifton because they have helped to relieve the monotony brought on by the isolation.

It would be impossible to review all of the lodges and clubs which have existed in Clifton but since they had had a profound effect on the lives of the people it is necessary to devote some space to them. According to one writer Clifton had a Y.M.C.A. as early as 1885 but that seems doubtful.<sup>62</sup> The modern Clifton Y.M.C.A. began in Clifton in 1917 when Mr. Carmichael, manager of the Arizona Copper Company, gave the old "Big House" to the town for a Y.M.C.A. building. The building was equipped with showers, reading room,

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61. Copper Era, December 19, 1913

62. This information comes from Anton Mazzanovich who romanticized his work too much for it to be regarded as completely authentic.

games, and a library. The leading spirits in the organization of that Y.M.C.A. were Mr. Carmichael and Mr. K. E. Silvey. Mr. F. N. Whitaker was made secretary of the Y.M.C.A. and he started a drive for one hundred members. The Y.M.C.A. did not flourish in Clifton and after a few years it quit functioning.<sup>63</sup>

The town had a hilarious organization in 1905 called the "Summer Widowers". It was an organization of husbands whose wives had gone to cooler climes for the summer. The averred purpose of the organization was to keep the husbands on the 'straight and narrow' while their wives were away. Offenses against virtue were punished by the offender having to buy a round of drinks or a box of cigars for the club. When reports of the hilarious time of the club reached the wives many of them came back to Clifton.<sup>64</sup>

The Elks Lodge has always been a strong organization in Clifton. The Clifton chapter of the Elks, No. 1174, was organized in 1909. It has always contributed much to charity. In order to raise money the Elks have given one or two charity balls each year and in recent years they have had a carnival each spring.<sup>65</sup>

The Clifton Mess was an eating and social club which functioned in Clifton for twenty years. It was started by

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63. "Clifton Plans for a Y.M.C.A.", Copper Era, April 6, 1917.

64. "The Summer Widowers", Copper Era, July 25, 1905.

65. "Elks Celebrate Thirtieth Anniversary", Copper Era, October 14, 1939.

Roy Wayland in 1905. He rented a commodious building on Railroad Avenue and hired a Chinese cook, then invited his friends to come and eat with him and share in the expense. The Mess was very successful because there have always been many young men around Clifton who have to eat out. Their cook was Fang Oong for whom the members developed a great affection. He cooked American dishes of incomparable quality every day of the year except on New Year's, when he cooked a Chinese meal at his own expense. When the organization broke up in 1925 it was estimated that over one thousand members had eaten there at different times throughout the years.

Beginning in 1912 Clifton had a short lived Chamber of Commerce. L. A. W. Burtch was the first president. Clifton and Morenci organized a dual Rotary in 1937 which has been of great benefit to the two towns and still functions as the leading civic organization.

This chapter would not be complete without mention of the great celebration held in 1940 called the "Entrada". This was a celebration of the supposed passage of Coronado up the San Francisco River. The men of the town prepared for it for months by allowing their beards to grow. On the gala day they gave a pageant portraying the activities of the great explorer. All Clifton turned out to watch.

The region of Clifton has always been noted for its hot springs. In more than one place the water has come to

the surface. In other places people who have tried to drill wells have been disgusted at striking hot salt water. In fact when the Clifton Water Company was organized in 1909 it was necessary for them to go up the river three miles to drill wells which would not be salty and warm. Coronado is said to have mentioned these wells in his report to the king in 1540. The United States army reports, as early as 1800, mentioned the mineralized springs in the Clifton area. Clifton people tried to commercialize the springs at various times. A Clifton barber built a crude house over the springs which come to the surface within the city before the turn of the century and made a good income giving hot baths at twenty five cents a bath.<sup>66</sup>

In 1917 Dell Potter was a leading spirit in organizing the Aztec Hot Springs Company. This company planned to build a hotel, bath, and country club on the Potter ranch where there are hot springs which come to the surface. He interested O. J. Cotey, and other leading men in the project and had an architect draw up elaborate plans which he advertised in the paper but he could not sell enough stock and the project fell through.<sup>67</sup>

During the 1920's when Clifton was in one of her periodic slumps due to the low price of copper, twenty men met

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66. Tucson Citizen, November 28, 1928 and January 6, 1929

67. "Organize Aztec Hot Springs Company", Copper Era, June 25, 1917

at the Old Y.M.C.A. building to discuss ways of reviving the town. The scheme they decided on was to make the city a tourist attraction and a health resort. They organized the Clifton Improvement Company to further these plans. They cleaned out the old stone jail which had been filled with mud for twenty years. They hired an enterprising young writer by the name of Forrest Doucette, who seemed to have made all the people of the town angry but who spread literature about the town in all the southwestern magazines.<sup>68</sup>

The Clifton Improvement Company sold stock to raise money to build a swimming pool and bath house both of which were to use water from the hot springs. The pool was completed in 1927 and the bath house in 1928. It cannot be said that either of them was a complete success. That is especially true of the bath house. Chemical analysis shows that the water undoubtedly has high curative qualities, but people did not come to Clifton to be treated in sufficient numbers to make the project a success. Everyone seemed to have a different reason why it was not a success but the real reason probably was that Clifton in simply too isolated.<sup>69</sup>

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68. "Take First Steps in Bringing the Town Back", Copper Era, May 8, 1925

69. Tucson Citizen, November 18, 1928

## CHAPTER VI

### WILD WEST DAYS IN CLIFTON

While Clifton was advancing from the "Copper Camp" stage to a real city it passed through the "Wild West" stage as did most of the cities of the West. One author<sup>1</sup> has said that Clifton was never as turbulent as Bisbee or Tombstone. People who lived here at that time would never admit that this was true, and a perusal of the facts would seem to bear out their contention that Clifton was at least the second wildest camp in the West in the eighties. Since this violence was a part of the daily life of the people it must be included in the history of the town in order to complete the story.

The earliest years of Clifton were comparatively quiet. There were only a few men here and they were almost all Mexican. The Lesinskys who operated the smelter at that time ruled the town and they would permit no one to stay who was not law abiding. Jim Smith, a negro cook of earlier days, performed good service as constable. Louis Smadbeck, the smelter builder, was an ex officio justice of peace.<sup>2</sup>

In the middle seventies Sammy Freudenthal came from

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1. Ira Joralemon, Romantic Copper, p. 202.

2. James Colquhoun, The Early History of the Clifton-Morenci District, p. 63.



Germany via New York to help his uncles, the Lesinskys, in the copper business. He soon became a jack-of-all-trades. Having some small knowledge of law, he was elected justice of the peace and drew up most of the early legal documents of the town. Since the nearest Padre was a hundred miles away at Silver City, New Mexico he had many marriages to perform. He charged five dollars in boletas for this service. It was a remunerative business because many of the Mexican families came back for a divorce for which he charged the same fee. On Saturday nights he had bachelor dinners in which he combined his memory of German cookery with his own version of Mexican Enchiladas. He was very popular and continued to be elected for many terms.<sup>3</sup>

By 1878 Clifton began to need a jail. Prior to this time Sammy Freudenthal had punished evildoers by sentencing them to work in the mines. Many of them escaped before their term was finished and left the country. The Lesinskys decided to have a jail built in the interest of better law enforcement in the growing town. There was a Mexican stone worker in town, Margarito Varela, who was given the contract to build it. A spot was chosen in the face of the cliff a hundred yards south of the smelter. Varela worked away at the face of the cliff with pick and drill and blasting powder. He made a small cell in which to place the more

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3. T. E. Farrish, Unpublished Manuscript, Hassayampa Stories

dangerous criminals; then a larger one about eight feet wide and twenty feet long to serve as a "bullpen" for the less dangerous. He fitted both of the cells with massive iron bars two inches wide and three quarters of an inch thick. The doors were of the same materials and pivoted on two inch solid iron rods. The two windows of the jail were ten feet above the floor. It was a job to be proud of, and it is said that no man ever escaped from the jail.<sup>4</sup>

The remainder of the story of the building of the jail sounds very much like fiction; and may be; but everyone who has written about the jail tells it as the truth. They say that when Varela collected his money on the contract for the jail he retired to Hovey's saloon and got drunk. He then proceeded to imitate the cowpunchers by drawing his six-shooters and shooting it wildly into the air, punctuating his shots with a few choice oaths and yells. John Hovey, the proprietor of the saloon, who was also a deputy sheriff, arrested him and he became the first inmate of the jail he had built.<sup>5</sup>

This old jail functioned for many years as the town's Bastille. Many of the West's real badmen were incarcerated in it at one time or another. When the jail was first built it was higher than the town so that it was necessary to go up the mountain a little to enter it, but the floodwalls and

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4. Unsigned Article, "Jail Blasted From Rock", Phoenix Republic, June 26, 1929

5. Ibid.

fills gradually raised the town so that the jail seemed lower.<sup>6</sup> The great flood of 1906 flooded the jail to a great depth. The prisoners who were in it at the time had to be taken out by ropes through the small window high up in the roof. After this the jail was not used and soon became filled with mud. It remained that way until 1929 when Peter Riley, mayor of Clifton, realizing the importance of the old jail as a tourist attraction, started a movement which finally led to the restoration of the old landmark.

That law enforcement was often brutal is shown by stories told by those still living who witnessed events of that day. It is said that John Hovey, who doubled his duties by serving as a deputy sheriff and a saloon operator, was taking two inebriates to the old stone jail. He half carried, half dragged them across the swinging bridge and up the bank to the jail. When he arrived he found that he had forgotten his keys. Not wishing to take the two back across the bridge to his place of business to get the keys, the burly Hovey simply clipped each of them over the head with the butt of his sixshooter and left them unconscious while he went to get the keys.<sup>7</sup>

Another reputable witness tells of the ingenious methods of saving the county money in making arrests. George Stevens was sheriff of Graham county at that time. The

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6. Hy Combs, Personal Interview, January 17, 1945

7. Eugene Schwab, Interview, December 4, 1944

Mexicans called him "Estivanico", the literal translation of Little Steve. He well understood the longstanding enmity between the Texans and Mexicans. If a Mexican were suspected of a crime Little Steve sent a Texan posse, knowing that there would be a fight and some Mexicans, probably guilty, would be killed. The same principal was applied if a Tejano were suspected. As no well reared Texan would allow himself to be arrested by a Mexican, the sheriff got rid of a great number of bad men on both sides in this way.<sup>8</sup>

In 1882 the Arizona Copper Company started operations in Clifton which involved building a new railroad and smelter. This brought gangs of workers to Clifton. Like vultures gathering around a dead carcass the sporting element came in their wake. They set up saloons about every twenty miles along the right of way from Lordsburg to Clifton to provide a quick way for the construction men to spend their money.<sup>9</sup> To make things even easier they used and accepted boletas in lieu of money. In Clifton, itself, Hovey's place on Eastside about where Scott's garage now stands, was the town's chief social center. Here saints and sinners met in social concourse. No one was lowered socially by stopping in for an evening drink "to cut the smelter smoke from his throat". In addition to Hovey's place there was the

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8. Dr. John Miller, Unpublished Manuscript, Early Days in Clifton.

9. Ibid.

"Richelieu", which stood about where the City Hall now is, the "Blue Goose" across the street, "The Gem", "The Midway", and the "Office Saloon"; all were along Conglomerate Avenue, the only street on Eastside.<sup>10</sup>

The first gang of strongarm men to operate in Clifton was led by a desperate character called Kid Louis. He was a fine figure of a man, fully six feet tall and fearless. During the day he slept and drank in the saloons along Conglomerate Avenue; at night he robbed and stole from anyone who was unwise enough to have valuables available. After awhile he was bold enough to hold up men in broad daylight on the streets.

Kid Louis and his men were pastmasters in the use of the six gun. Sometimes an irate townsman would forget that fact and try to shoot it out with the desperadoes. These bold citizens usually paid the penalty with their life. It has been said that there was a period of three months when killings averaged one each day.<sup>11</sup> Dr. Miller, the company doctor who was in a position to know, said he remembered no time when there were more than three killings in a week.<sup>12</sup>

It would naturally occur to people of today to ask why the law did not take a hand and prosecute the killers. The answer is that the law tried but was not successful. When

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10. Eugene Schwab, Interview, December 14, 1944

11. James Colquhoun, Clifton-Morenci Mining Industry, p. 26

12. John Miller, Unpublished Manuscript, Early Days in Clifton.

Kid Louis or any of his gang was brought to trial the remainder of the gang strode into the courtroom armed to the teeth and lined up on the opposite side of the room from the jury. It was a bold jurymen indeed who cast a vote for "guilty".

In only one case was Kid Louis ever faced down by the law. Judge Boelyn was on the bench when the Kid was brought to trial for a minor digression from the law. Louis, as usual, intimidated the jury. The doughty judge stood up and looked the outlaw in the eye and in fiery words denounced him and every member of his gang. Louis showed that he was not wholly bad by not allowing any of his men to molest the judge for his audacity.<sup>13</sup>

By 1882 Kid Louis' career had begun to run its course. In rapid succession he and his men held up the company store, Jim Yankie's store, and Fraisenette's store. He, with his gang, then went to the Detroit Copper Company's office two miles down the river and beat William Church, the manager, over the head with their revolvers until he opened the safe. They got a rich haul and began to celebrate. In a drunken frenzy Louis shot the girl he was living with. She did not die and he sent for Dr. Miller, the Company doctor. The doctor was on another case and refused to go. The girl died during the night and Kid Louis went gunning

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13. James Colquhoun, The Early History of the Clifton-Morenci Mining District, p. 26.

for the doctor. He swore to kill him on sight. The doctor prepared to leave the country.<sup>14</sup>

This turned out to be one of those cases when the Lord was definitely on the side of the right for Kid Louis was cornered in Ward's Canyon by some Mexicans who were looking for cattle thieves. They were not sure that he had stolen the cattle but a fight ensued. He was surrounded and outnumbered. He pulled both of his guns and rode at the surrounding horsemen with his guns blazing. He hoped to disconcert their aim and ride through. They riddled him with shot and he fell dead.<sup>15</sup>

This ended the Louis gang but others soon came in its place. Tex Yorkey, Red Sample, Dan Dowd, John Heath, and Billy Delaney are the best remembered of this second gang of outlaws. Heath, the leader, opened a saloon and ran it successfully. The rest of the gang gambled, and when they ran out of money, staged a holdup. They robbed every safe in town except those in gambling halls and the one in the old Clifton Hotel.<sup>16</sup>

Billy Delaney is described as being, not bad at heart, but a fine boy who let one bad deed and some erring companions lead him astray.<sup>17</sup>

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14. Ibid.

15. Ibid.

16. Chas. M. Clark, "Clifton Memories", Phoenix Republic, June 16, 1929

17. Dr. John Miller, "Early Days in Clifton", Unpublished Manuscript.

This gang came to an end in 1883 also by violent means. Heath, Sample, Dowd, and Delaney, seeking greener fields, went to Bisbee where they held up the Goldwater and Casteneda's store. They had hoped to get a payroll which should have been in the safe of the store at that time but they got only about a thousand dollars in money and jewelry. In a street fight accompanying the robbery five townspeople were killed. After the robbery the gang escaped into the mountains to the north. Heath, who did not take part in the holdup, stayed behind and tried to mislead the officers. The remainder of the gang scattered.<sup>18</sup>

Eventually they were all captured and brought to justice. Delaney went "South of the Border" three hundred miles but with the assistance of the Mexican officials was captured and brought back to Tombstone. A rancher disclosed that Heath had stopped at his ranch with the rest of the gang some time before the holdup and had seemed to be the leader of the gang in planning the holdup. After the holdup Heath remained in Bisbee and prepared to open a saloon in a vacant building. His preparations were stopped by his arrest and incarceration in the Tombstone jail.<sup>19</sup>

Owen Sample and James Howard came to Clifton where Sample had a sweetheart among the dance hall girls. They

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18. Annie Cox, "History of Bisbee", Master's Thesis, University of Arizona Library, p. 56.

19. Ibid.



camped on the river south of Clifton and Sample slipped into town secretly to see his paramour. Unknown to him she had transferred her affections to another, a fellow named Bush. Sample did not disclose all that had taken place to her but he gave her a watch to keep for him and told her that he had to hide out for awhile. The girl showed the watch, which was of a fine and distinctive make, to Bush. He recognized it from the handbills which had been printed describing the outlaws and their loot. He went to his friend, John Hovey, and revealed all that he had discovered.<sup>20</sup>

Hovey was a suave type of person and enjoyed the confidence of both the lawless and lawabiding elements of the town. With a posse accompanying him he went down and surrounded the outlaw camp and persuaded them that since their identity was known and a fight might mean their death anyway they should surrender. They did surrender and both being positively identified as having participated in the holdup they were extradited to the authorities of Cochise county.<sup>21</sup>

Dan Dowd was also arrested in Mexico. He went to

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20. Ibid.

21. Dr. John Miller, "Early Days in Clifton", Unpublished Manuscript. Mrs. Cox in her thesis asserts that the officers went down to the outlaw camp and found them with their guns apart and so were easily able to capture them. It seems to me that this is too coincidental to be true and since Dr. Miller lived here at the time and was in a position to know, I prefer to accept his story.

Chihuahua and tried to settle down to a peaceful life as a miner but a deputy from Bisbee trailed him and eventually arrested him at the mine. He was smuggled out of Mexico and brought to trial with the remainder of the gang.<sup>22</sup>

At the trial all of the gang were convicted and sentenced to be hanged, except Heath. He was given life imprisonment. The citizens of Bisbee and Tombstone, feeling that justice had miscarried, took him from the jail and lynched him. The others all paid the supreme penalty on the gallows. Thus was the John Heath gang eliminated from the Clifton scene. Although many of the gang still lived in Clifton, without this nucleus they were not nearly so troublesome.<sup>23</sup>

By 1883 times in Clifton were at their best; correspondingly crime was rampant. Cal Fair had a reputation for being an honest man and was given a contract by the Arizona Copper Company to supply beef for their eating houses where the workmen were fed. Fair was manager of the Coronado Ranch down on the river toward Duncan. He had as tough a crew of cowboys as could be found anywhere. Many of them had been driven out of Texas. As long as his own cattle lasted, Fair supplied the beef from his own herds. When these were gone his men gathered up strays and sold them to the company. When strays became scarce the cowboys stole

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22. Annie Cox, "History of Bisbee", Master's Thesis, University of Arizona Library, p. 64

23. Ibid.

from neighboring ranches. The Sierra Bonita ranch across the mountains from the Coronado was the real source of many of the cattle which Fair sold to the Arizona Copper Company. The Sierra Bonita cowboys trailed some of their lost cattle and found that the trails all led to the same place, the Coronado Ranch.<sup>24</sup>

Mr. Hooker, the owner of Sierra Bonita, complained to Mr. Russell, who was manager of the Arizona Copper Company at this time. Russell disclaimed any knowledge of the stolen cattle. Mr. Hooker replied, "Well you are using some of my cattle hides with the brands still on them for the covering of the ore buckets at your mines". Other hard words followed and Hooker went back to his ranch in anger.<sup>25</sup>

In a short time ten or twelve of the hard riding Sierra Bonita cowboys came into Clifton armed with carbines and revolvers. They vowed they were going to hang the manager and clean up the town. Word of their coming had preceded the cowboys into town and the manager had armed the miners and smelter workers. Several of them were barricaded in the streets facing the cowboys. It was a moment pregnant with possibilities of tragedy. Judge Sias and many of the town officials were crouched in the town hall, which was a plank and canvas building in the river bed. They could hear the inflamed cowpunchers and miners cocking their revolvers.

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24. John Miller, "Early Days in Clifton", Unpublished Manuscript, p. 2.

25. Ibid.

At this point George Olney, a deputy sheriff from Texas, showed the courage for which citizens of his state are famous by walking between the opposing forces with his revolver in his hand and vowing he would shoot the first man to fire. This display of courage diverted the cowpunchers from their purpose and cooler heads prevailed on them to go back to their ranch.<sup>26</sup>

During the periods of labor shortages in the seventies, when the Indian raids were costing the lives of so many of the workers of the Longfellow Copper Company that many Mexican laborers left the district and went back to Mexico, the company imported many Chinese laborers under contract. They were good workers but they enhanced the local racial problems. When the Arizona Copper Company took over in 1883 they gradually eliminated the Chinese until only Ah Tong, their leader, and fifteen or twenty laborers were left. By incredible penury these, as was the custom of their race, had accumulated considerable cash. They decided to go back to China. To save as much money as was possible they hired an ordinary freight wagon to take them to Lordsburg. When they got to Ward's Canyon which was about a mile out of town, Ah Tong, having a premonition that all was not well, got off and walked back to Clifton. The wagon continued on its way. When it had reached the more level mesa country

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26. Ibid.

of the foothill region between Clifton and Duncan the wagon was suddenly surrounded by highwaymen. One of the Chinese foolishly pulled a revolver and fired at the bandits. They fired a volley in return and several Chinese fell. One of them was killed outright and several wounded. The highwaymen then robbed the dead and living. Their haul was rich, as no Chinese was ready to return home until he had accumulated at least a thousand dollars.<sup>27</sup>

In the meanwhile Ah Tong had gone straight to Doctor Miller and asked his advice. Doctor Miller secured the services of a trustworthy Mexican who had two horses and told the Chinaman to leave late at night. This was done and Ah Tong reached Lordsburg safely. As a token of his appreciation he sent back to the man who had assisted him a valuable gold ring.<sup>28</sup>

Although the Chinese had been discharged from the plant many of them stayed on in Clifton as house servants, gardeners, laundrymen, and restaurant keepers. In 1899 there were about fifty of them here. They lived like troglodytes in houses pitched together on the river bank where the city park is now. Under these houses was a veritable network of caves and tunnels where the Celestials were wont to retire

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27. James Colquhoun, "Early Customs in Clifton, Arizona",  
Letter written February 20, 1945.

28. Ibid.

for a peaceful opium smoke.<sup>29</sup> The Chinese living thus separated from the rest of the town took on an air of mystery. People frightened their children by telling them that the Chinese would get them.

The Chinese had two rival tongs which vied for control of the town. Their political meetings were held in a joss house which stood between the Valley National Bank and the Postoffice. One of the chief leaders of the Chinese was a young intellectual whom the Americans called Young Hem. One day he told Billie Hamilton, the town constable, that the Chinese were having an election that night and that members of a rival, "bad", tong was going to be armed and might cause trouble. He gave the constable the names of the rival tong members and asked that they be searched to prevent trouble.<sup>30</sup>

That night Mr. Hamilton was on hand when the Chinamen began to arrive for the meeting. He searched them all instead of the ones belonging to one tong. He found many guns and knives but most of them were on the persons of the "good" tong members.<sup>31</sup>

A Chinaman had a restaurant on Eastside just below the

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29. Mrs. O. T. Cotey, Interview, January 4, 1945

In the 1930's when the city park was being built the workmen found these old tunnels, several hundred feet of them, still intact, with many mementos of the former occupants still there.

30. A. A. Anderson, Letter, February 6, 1945.

31. Ibid.

bridge. One day a hobo came in and tried to get away with all the bread, butter, milk, and sugar from one table without paying for it. The Chinese ran out into the street and knocked him flat with one blow of his fist. He then triumphantly gathered up his food and returned to his place of business. That was just after Jack Sharkey had won the heavyweight boxing championship of the world so from that time on the Chinaman was called Sharkey. Later two Mexicans, Juan Medina and Vicente Rascon, held up Sharkey's restaurant. He was in the rear and came rushing to the front with a meat cleaver in his hand threateningly. One of the Mexicans shot him dead. It is illustrative of the treatment accorded to the Chinese in our courts of that time that the two Mexicans were acquitted.<sup>32</sup>

Jim Mammon was a wealthy, young Chinese who owned several restaurants in Clifton. He was married to a Chinese woman but he became enamoured of a woman of the saloons. She was part Cherokee and was said to have been beautiful. Jim left his wife and went to live with this woman who came to be known as China Dot. He bought her five thousand dollars worth of jewelry and provided her with sumptuous living quarters but she soon grew tired of him. She fled the town in the company of a young gambler named Al Garland. Poor Jim Mammon in the imperturbable way of the Chinese

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32. A. A. Anderson, Letter, February 6, 1945.

went back to his wife. Later Dot and Garland came back to Clifton. Her fickle nature asserted itself again and she gathered up the jewelry, some of which the gambler had been wearing, and prepared to leave him. Garland shot her and then turned the gun on himself. When the police got there they were both dead but the diamonds and any money which they may have had were gone. Either Jim Mammon or some of Garland's underworld friends had gotten there first.<sup>33</sup>

The Chinese had a garden on the east side of the railroad where the main part of South Clifton is now. There was another big garden up the river on the Wells ranch. It was a common sight to see the Chinese vegetable men, carrying their vegetables in two huge baskets slung from their shoulders by a yoke, crying their wares on the streets. Charley Wing was the owner of the garden at the Wells Ranch. Several men lived at the ranch and worked for him. He lived in a house with a stone front, the back part of which, was a cavern in the hill. The other Chinese lived in a frame house out front. Charley had made his fortune; so he sold out for a thousand dollars and planned to leave for China the next day. During the night a charge of dynamite was exploded under the frame house. Charley came out to see what the trouble was. As he came out of the door he was shot and killed. A wild shooting melee followed in which

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33. A. A. Anderson, Letter, February 6, 1945.



the Mexicans who had dynamited the house were put to flight by the surviving Chinese. A dwarf wood packer called Hunpie was shot in the hand and was trailed to Clifton by the blood dripping from it. That was the day following the attempted robbery and murder and Hunpie had completely disappeared. A week or so later another Mexican named Manuel Gonzalez, who had been identified as one of the perpetrators of the heinous crime, was reported to be hiding out in North Clifton. A posse composed of Bill Moore, Bill Spaw, deputy sheriff Dave Arzate, constable W. H. Mason, Lou Kynnette, and C. F. Pascoe went after him. The law was making a real effort to apprehend the murderers in this case because Charley had been a good friend of many Americans through his vegetable business. The posse reached the shack where Gonzalez was reported to be and stopped behind a slight embankment. Gonzalez, who had been forewarned by a little Mexican girl, came out with a Winchester and a revolver. He opened fire on the officers but none of the shots took effect. His rifle jammed and he dropped to one knee drawing his revolver. The officers fired, several at the same time, and Gonzalez went down with several shots in his body.<sup>34</sup>

From the foregoing narrative it can be seen that the Chinese of early day Clifton were not highly regarded. Their persecution was severe and they gradually found other

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34. "A Frightful Crime", Copper Era, January 7, 1904

places to live where Chinamen had a better chance for equality. The Wong family was the last of that race to reside in Clifton. They did not leave until 1940. Joe Wong was a member of the Clifton high school class of 1939 and led his class in scholastic achievements.

Today the Phelps Dodge company hires Indians, both Navajos and Apaches, to work in the pit. They are recruited on the reservations by agents of the company; they come and work three weeks or perhaps a month. On Saturdays they come to Clifton; sit on the stone walls along Chase Creek, and dream of their far off flocks and hogans. Soon they go back to the reservations and others have to be recruited. While here they are, very independent; but, efficient workers.

The ancestors of these same Indians had an influence of an entirely different sort on the life of the Clifton district. No history of the region would be complete that did not devote some space to these people who were an ever present source of worry to the earlier inhabitants of the town. No trip could be made; no work that was not within the town itself could be done without considering the Indians and their whereabouts. The earlier pioneers literally worked with a pick in one hand and a gun in the other. It is interesting to remember that the first discovery of ore was made in the region by soldiers who were pursuing a band of marauding Apaches. When the first railroad in Arizona was built at Clifton in 1878 one of the prime

considerations was to make it safer to bring ore from Longfellow down to Clifton, because Indians could not successfully attack a train.

The Apaches are supposed to have migrated to the area of eastern Arizona and western New Mexico about the beginning of the seventeenth century, the exact date is not known. They were not a unified tribe, at that time, but were said to be outcasts from six tribes of the plains Indians. They are thought to have come from the region of southern Oklahoma or northern Texas. If so, they may have been related to the Comanches. They resembled the Comanches in their love for a roving life and their fierceness.<sup>35</sup>

The first explorers and traders who came through found the Indians not unfriendly. Later as more settlers came clashes were precipitated, and Indians, particularly the Apaches, became fierce and implacable. Much has been written to show that this was due to the venality of the white men. Perhaps it was in part; but more likely, it was unavoidable. It was inevitable that the white men would advance: the Indian, being what he was, could do no other than resist that advance.

During the years immediately following the Civil War the strife became particularly damaging to the white man. Many families were coming to the West and they did not wish

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35. Frank C. Lockwood, The Apache Indians, p. 5.

to pass on, as the earlier "forty niners" had, but to settle. They began to take up ranches and mines. The Indians roamed far and wide attacking the settlers. The federal government sent troops here under a succession of leaders, but never enough. It would have taken a sizable army to bring the Apaches under control, for they were the most mobile people ever known. It was not uncommon for them to travel a hundred miles in a day. No army of soldiers, even cavalry, could move so fast. When the Apaches were hard pressed they would go across the border into Mexico.

In the seventies the government started a policy of placing the Indians on reservations hoping to keep them away from the white settlements in this way. One of these reservations for the Apaches, the San Carlos, was just west of Clifton and extended to within a few miles of the town. When the Indians became tired of their reservation life they left the reservations and raided the settlements.<sup>36</sup>

The Indians never did attack the settlement of Clifton but in each of the Indian wars of the seventies and eighties the skulking savages lurked outside the town and killed any unwary settler who ventured out alone or in too small a group. Since brutal torture was in store for all prisoners, most settlers would rather be killed than captured.

At the time when the miners first came to Clifton,

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36. Frank C. Lockwood, The Apacher Indians, p. 194.

Cochise was on the warpath. His warriors gave Lesinsky and his associates great difficulty by raiding their copper trains going out of Clifton and the supply trains coming in. At one time Lesinsky was ready to give up because the Indians had reduced his hauling stock so low that he could not operate. Peace was finally made with Cochise and he retired to his beautiful mountain home near Bisbee and gave the white man no more trouble.<sup>37</sup>

In 1880 Victoria, who was of an entirely different sort than the noble Cochise, went on the warpath. In April of that year Mr. Sam Freudenthal started on a trip to Lordsburg from Clifton by stage coach. When the coach got about a mile outside of Clifton in Ward's canyon it was met by a Mexican on a foam flecked horse. He told the driver that the Indians had attacked a wagon train farther up the canyon. The stage went back to Clifton and secured an escort of twenty five men, then proceeded up Ward's canyon, and found the wagon train. The five Mexicans in charge proudly exhibited an Indian's scalp saying they had been attacked by fifteen of the savages and had killed one of the number and scalped him.<sup>38</sup>

Late in 1880 Victoria was killed and his braves placed back on the reservation but not before he had spread terror

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37. James Colquhoun, The Early History of the Clifton-Morenci District, p. 72.

38. Ibid.

and pillage over much of eastern Arizona and western New Mexico.<sup>39</sup>

By far the worst Indian outbreak for Clifton was that of Geronimo. He left the reservation in the spring of 1882 with some two hundred young warriors. He was of the same wily, cunning, untrustworthy type as Victoria. He was not even a real chief in his tribe but a sort of politician who seized the power. For the next four years he raided over an area more than five hundred miles in diameter. Soon after this outbreak started, a band of men left Clifton for Gold Gulch northwest from the town. They were attacked by the Apaches and four of them were killed: Captain Slawson, J. R. Risque, and two more unnamed. Captain Frink who was with the party escaped by falling and rolling under some mesquite bushes. The others were scalped and mutilated.<sup>40</sup>

On the same day an ore train from Morenci to the Detroit Company's smelter two miles below Clifton on the river was attacked by the savages. They killed the drivers and took the mules, then proceeded down the river to the smelter, and attacked it. The smelter men returned the fire of the Indians and the braves retired after firing a few shots at Mr. Church's house.<sup>41</sup>

The next morning after the attack on the smelter a

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39. Frank C. Lockwood, The Apache Indians, p. 233.

40. James Colquhoun, The Early History of the Clifton-Morenci Mining District, p. 73.

41. Ibid.

wagon train was returning from the long trip to Lordsburg. They were loaded with flour and other supplies for the store at Clifton. They had camped at Guthrie twelve miles from Clifton on the Gila. The Apaches rode up as they were breaking camp and told the Mexicans that they were scouts. The Mexicans, not knowing that an Indian war had broken out, were careless enough to let the Indians get between them and their guns. The ensuing massacre was soon finished. Only one Mexican, who was out rounding up their mules, escaped. The Indians took the food, ammunition, guns, and mules and went on up the Gila valley. At the York ranch they made an attack but York and his cowboys stood them off. The Apaches, not caring for an attack that was not quickly won by surprise, rode off toward Carlisle but left some of their number lurking nearby. York rode out to trail some of his horses that the Indians had driven off and was ambushed in Doubtful canyon and killed.

A troop of United States calvary appeared in Clifton at this time but, as was usually true, by that time the Indians were a hundred miles away at Silver City raiding the outlying ranches there.<sup>42</sup>

A count made at this time showed that twenty five people had been killed within a fifteen mile radius of Clifton. Although Geronimo raided for four more years

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42. William Sparks, The Apache Kid and Other True Stories of the Old West, pp. 15-49.

over the two states of Arizona and New Mexico, he did not again make any prolonged stay in the vicinity of Clifton. In 1886 he was persuaded to surrender by Lieutenant Gatewood and was sent to Florida.

Although Geronimo's band was the last of the marauding bands of Indians it was not the last of Indian troubles. There were a few individual Indians who became outlaws and harassed the whites. The worst of these was an Indian from the San Carlos reservation called "The Kid". He had lived with the whites and learned their ways. He had worked as an Indian Scout for the famous Al Sieber. He became involved in a drunken spree with other Indians and was sentenced to a year at the Yuma Penitentiary. On the way to Yuma he escaped and killed the man who was taking him. After this he became an outlaw, living part of the time in Mexico, but making many trips back to the United States. On these trips he was known to have killed at least a dozen white men. They were mostly ranchers who lived alone or who were traveling alone at the time he killed them. His murders were usually for the purpose of securing food or ammunition.<sup>43</sup>

Among the men he was known to have killed for cartridges and food was an old guide and packer who lived on Blue River on the trail between Clifton and Springerville.

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43. Ibid.



The old man was found dead, half inside and half outside his cabin. The trail of "The Kid" was found nearby and followed to the reservation where he had killed an Indian and stolen a squaw. "The Kid" was never captured by the Americans but a story came up from Mexico that he had been killed by the Rurales in Sonora. This was in 1891 and "The Kid" was never seen again in these parts.

Perhaps no killing in the early days of Clifton aroused so much feeling as that of John McCormack. He was a young Irishman who had worked in his early days in the mines of Cornwall. Later he had drifted to Arizona and worked at Globe. Being a fine type of young man and a good mixer he was elected as one of Gila county's first legislators when that county was first established. Later he came to Clifton and, at first, worked in the mines. Later John Hovey offered him a job as manager of the famous Hovey saloon. It is said that when Hovey built the place he threw the key, with appropriate ceremonies, into the river. It never closed its doors.<sup>44</sup>

McCormack was a good manager and became very popular. He married and, although he worked behind the bar, was highly respected as was his boss, John Hovey.<sup>45</sup>

Alvino Aguirre was a Mexican tin horn gambler. He had been drinking and gambling all day at Hovey's when about

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44. Chas. M. Clark, "Pioneers Tell of Early Days When Clifton was Wild", Copper Era, April 24, 1925

45. Ibid.

nine o'clock P.M. he lost his last dollar at faro. He went to McCormack to borrow twenty dollars saying he had the money at home and would go home and get it and repay it before he went to bed "if he lost". McCormack replied that he would loan the money but that he would have to have it back that night as he was taking it from the till and would have to have it in the till when he went off shift. With this understanding he loaned Aguirre the money.<sup>46</sup>

Aguirre's luck changed and he won considerable in chips. He cashed it in and left for another saloon without repaying the loan. When McCormack went off shift Aguirre had not repaid the loan. He had gone to another saloon where he drank and gambled all night. He lost all of his earlier winnings. He then went home and got all of his own reserve roll and lost it. When McCormack came back into the saloon in the afternoon Aguirre was in the saloon. McCormack called him over and asked about the loan of the night before. Aguirre said, "I promised to repay you before I went to bed. Well, I have not been to bed."<sup>47</sup>

"I don't like your way of doing things," McCormack answered him, "Your word's no good."

Aguirre pulled his gun. McCormack vaulted to the top of the bar intending to close with the gambler. Aguirre fired. His bullet took effect in McCormack's groin and he

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46. Chas. M. Clark, "Pioneers Tell of Early Days When Clifton Was Wild", Copper Era, April 24, 1925

47. Ibid.

fell to the floor. A bystander grabbed the gun from Aguirre and clubbed him over the head with it. The jar of the blow caused the gun to go off. Aguirre fell to the floor bleeding horribly and everyone thought he was shot and paid no more attention to him for the time.<sup>48</sup>

McCormack was carried into the back room. Hovey came and McCormack dictated a couple of letters to him to his folks in Ireland. He gave Hovey a few instructions concerning business, then died. He was buried in Ward's cemetery. It is said that every white person in town attended the funeral.<sup>49</sup>

After the death of McCormack Hovey looked for the Mexican who had shot him. He found that Aguirre had not been shot but that the hammer of the revolver had cut a deep gash in his head which had bled profusely. He had been carried off by his Mexican friends. Hovey searched all of the Mexican hovels but could not find the man.<sup>50</sup>

Hovey had a big sign painted on his mirror which said, "One thousand dollars reward for Alvino Aguirre, dead or alive. Signed, John Hovey."

Six weeks passed and no one came to claim the reward. One day Hovey told his new manager that he was going to Solomonville for a few days. He saddled his best horse and

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48. Chas. M. Clark, "Pioneers Tell of Early Days When Clifton Was Wild", Copper Era, April 24, 1925

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid.

left. A few days later another note came back from Hovey saying that he had heard of a gold strike near the border and that he was going to it.<sup>51</sup>

About ten days later Hovey returned. He ordered the reward sign removed from the mirror. He sat around the place watching the games. Later in the day Ben Crawford, sheriff of Graham County, came in and asked why the sign had been taken down. Hovey said that Aguirre had died down in Sonora. "Are you sure?" Crawford asked.

"Yes," Hovey laconically replied, "I saw his grave".<sup>52</sup>

There is one instance on record in which Little George Stevens' method of sending Mexicans to serve on posses was proven to be ill advised. He sent Nicolas Holguin and four other Mexicans into the mountains to arrest some cattle rustlers. They came upon some prospectors and shot them by mistake. The Mexicans were arrested and brought to trial. The town boasted two justices of the peace at this time. James Sias had the better office but George Musgrave seemed to be the more courageous of the two. Sias offered to loan Musgrave his office if Musgrave would hold the trial. Musgrave agreed. The office was a canvas affair. The judge's desk was a dry goods packing box.<sup>53</sup>

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51. Chas. M. Clark, "Pioneers Tell of Early Days When Clifton Was Wild", Copper Era, April 24, 1925

52. Ibid.

53. George Gamble, "Early Justice in Clifton", Copper Era, June 26, 1921

Excitement ran high because of the racial aspects of the case. All the town attended; and all were armed. "Judge" Musgrave surveyed the opposing groups of Mexicans and Americans and ordered all to take off their guns and place them in a pile outside before the trial could proceed. After some hesitation all complied. A deputy was placed to guard the guns and the trial continued without incident. The Mexicans were sentenced to five years each in the Yuma penitentiary.<sup>54</sup>

Tony Dalton was a commonplace figure in Clifton in the middle eighties. His was the adventurous type of life so commonplace in America of that day. He had come to America at an early age from Hungary. He claimed that he was the youngest man ever to have served in the regular army, having enlisted at the age of nine when he was a bugler. After having fought the Apaches all over eastern Arizona he left the army and eventually found his way to Clifton as a railroad worker. At Clifton he left the railroad employ and became a saloon entertainer. He had a melancholy voice which was particularly suited to singing the sad songs of that day. He worked in Hovey's place and several other of the saloons in Clifton. After a few years he wandered on to other camps in the west. Eventually he settled in Hollywood. Using his true name of Anton Mazzanovitch,

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54. George Gamble, "Early Justice in Clifton", Copper Era, June 26, 1921

he became an actor and a writer of western adventure. His connection with the history of Clifton is that many of his stories have their setting in Clifton.<sup>55</sup>

Although it is true that copper mining is Clifton's chief reason for being, the cattle industry has exerted a powerful influence on its growth and development. The newcomer to Clifton on looking at the barren mountains and mesas of the surrounding countryside usually thinks of them as being useless and unproductive. Yet it is one of the finest cattle regions of the entire state. The best cattle ranches are those which have at least part of their range in the mountains of the Coronado Trail region. For here the water supply never fails and the liveoak and al filleree provide feed when the plains regions are made unusable by drought.

In this region as elsewhere in the West the cattle industry started with the efforts of small producers who often had to fight rustlers and Indians for their holdings. By eighteen ninety five the industry had become big business. Either by accessions to the stronger ranches of the region, or by outside capitalists investing in the business as a means of rapid money making, the ranches became huge. In the early twenties this process reversed itself. This was probably due to the fact that big money could no longer be

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55. Anton Mazzanovitch, "Old Clifton", Copper Era, October 3, 1931

made in the cattle industry, and due also to the fact that the Indians, from whom much of the range was being leased, quit leasing their range and got into the cattle business themselves. Most of the Clifton ranches of the twenties and thirties were of the three hundred to one thousand head size. Recently there seems to be some tendency to return to the bigger holdings of earlier days.

First and foremost of the ranches of the area, and indeed one of the truly great outfits of the West, was the Double Circle. As the name indicates the brand of this ranch was a small circle within a larger one. This ranch was located on Eagle Creek about forty miles north of Clifton. Its range extended over parts of Graham, Greenlee, and Apache counties. The range averaged thirty miles wide and forty miles long. Much of it was leased from the San Carlos and Apache Indian reservations. Eagle Creek is small but like many of the mountain streams it never goes dry; this was ideal for a range. The mountains in that region are covered with timber. No better range could be found in the southwest.<sup>56</sup>

The Double Circle was started in the late seventies by George H. Stevens as a sheep ranch. In 1884 it was bought by Joseph H. Hampson, builder of the Santa Fe and other railroads of the West. He immediately sold the sheep and

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56. "Double Circle Ranch Owner Has High Position",  
Copper Era, March 9, 1917

started importing blooded Hereford and Durham cattle from Texas, Kansas, and Colorado. He was thus one of the first to see that blooded stock could be made profitable on the rough terrain of Arizona. In 1908 Hampson sold a half interest in the ranch to Wilson and Drum of Kansas City. In 1909 these same interests organized the Double Circle Cattle Company, thus letting some of their friends of Kansas City in on the profitable business. In 1912 this company bought out the remaining half of the Hampson interests. In the meantime they had been adding to their holdings by buying out the smaller ranches of the neighborhood. In 1914 they bought the adjacent holding of Cromb and Wilson called the "Ten of Diamonds" for \$130,000. In July of 1914 they bought Baylor Shannon's "Four Drag" outfit which was also adjacent to their ranch. After these two purchases the "Double Circle" was at its greatest area covering some twelve hundred square miles. They were grazing more than twenty three thousand head of stock. It required three carloads of rock-salt annually for the stock. Although their employees ran into the hundreds it required six weeks for the roundup because of the rugged nature of the range.<sup>57</sup>

The "Double Circle" was never a show place and had nothing of the "Dude ranch" about it. The ranch home was never pretentious and visiting by the Kansas City relatives

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57. "Cromb and Wilson Sell the Ten of Diamonds",  
Copper Era, May 22, 1914



and friends was not encouraged. There was not a good road to the ranch so all the supplies had to be packed in.<sup>58</sup>

Abner Wilson who was part owner and for many years manager of the Double Circle was a big man in the cattleman's organizations of the West. In 1917 he was elected president of the Southwestern Cattleman's Association. At the same time he was also president of the Pan Handle and Southwestern Association.<sup>59</sup>

In 1917 Wilson and Cromb and their associates sold seven eighths of the stock in the Double Circle to the Landergin Bros. of Amarillo, Texas, Crocker Bros. of Bazaar, Kansas, and M. L. McClure of Kansas City. These owners directed the ranch through the remainder of its existence. The 1920's were hard on most of the large ranches and the Double Circle was no exception. The depression brought low beef prices and the Double Circle had to cut its stock drastically. The final blow that finished the great ranch was in 1936 when the San Carlos Indians refused to renew the lease on their range land which the Double Circle had been holding for almost fifty years.<sup>60</sup>

The closing down of the great ranch caused a scene to be reenacted which had once been familiar all over the West. That was the roundup of twenty eight hundred head of cattle

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58. "Double Circle Owner Elected to High Position",  
Copper Era, March 9, 1917.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid.

and driving them forty miles west of Safford to the railroad siding at Calva. Hollywood newsreel cameramen and oldtimers from far and near gathered to see the scene which has become rare indeed in these days of small ranches. This last big herd of the Double Circle was shipped to the cattle company's holdings at Marfa, Texas. After that the Double Circle owners operated their comparatively small holdings for another two years, then sold out completely to the Butler interests of Safford.<sup>61</sup>

The Triangle Bar was another famous ranch of the Clifton region. It was situated about twenty two miles northeast of Clifton on Dix Creek. This ranch was started by T. L. Stockton in the early eighties. He started in the days when there was little competition and gradually enlarged his holdings until he had a veritable kingdom. In the lush years of the early twentieth century he had fifteen thousand head of cattle.<sup>62</sup>

In 1904 Mrs. Stockton became tired of the small unpretentious ranch house which Stockton had built when he first came to Arizona. She demanded a better one, threatening to leave the ranch unless a better one were built. Mr. Stockton finally acquiesced and had an architect come from El Paso to draw plans to build a huge house from the native

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61. "Double Circle Owner Elected to High Position",  
Copper Era, March 9, 1917

62. "Famous Ranch is Sold by Bank Receiver", Copper Era,  
April 17, 1931

stone of the canyon. It had hot and cold, running, water, hardwood floors, broad verandas, fine pictures, and rugs. Around it he had lawn grass and shrubbery planted and a twelve acre orchard of apples, plums, and peaches. It was the show place of the whole region and Mrs. Stockton had many lovely parties to which she invited her envious neighbor ranchwomen.<sup>63</sup>

Stockton had the good judgment, or good luck, to sell out when prices were at their best in 1915. He moved to Los Angeles where his socially inclined wife could find a broader scope for her ambitions. His fine home now has fallen into decay and the orchard has largely died from lack of care. His career is illustrative of the way many cow people lived when they had the good fortune to make a great deal of money.<sup>64</sup>

The Cospers family is one of the important ranching families of the Clifton area. It was 1869 when James G. Cospers left his home in Alabama following the debacle of the Civil War. He was a married man and had six children, four of whom were boys. He stopped in Texas for about a dozen years and then came on to Arizona. He arrived at Clifton in 1886 and established a ranch on Blue River about forty miles from the town. It was a beautiful ranch country but wild and inaccessible. Nevertheless the Cospers

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63. "Famous Ranch is Sold by Bank Receiver", Copper Era, April 17, 1931

64. Ibid.

established a fine ranch there which some of the family owned and operated until the trying times of the thirties. In Greenlee County there are now about one hundred and fifty of the original James Cospers' descendants.<sup>65</sup>

James G. Cospers passed on but three of his sons: Ed, Tolls, and John kept the ranch going. Tolls was the kind of colorful figure that abounded in the West of the early days. He inherited the more productive part of the home ranch and made great profits from it. He spent his money with typical western liberality. Cattlemen still tell of the parties he gave at the big hotels in Phoenix and El Paso for which he would rent a whole suite and hire an orchestra out of his own pocket.

At his home ranch Tolls kept a cowboy musician who was said to be the most proficient in the West and who later performed in the movies. At the ranch his only duties were to play for the amusement of the owner and his guests. When Tolls finally passed on to his reward the people of Clifton felt that an era had passed with him--an era in which the virtues of liberality, hospitality, and courtliness exceeded the penuriousness of a later age.<sup>66</sup>

The Fritz ranching family of Clifton has maintained a ranch on the Blue River since the eighteen and eighties. They have never been big landholders but their activities

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65. "Cospers Family Reunion May 10 at Apache Grove",  
Copper Era, May 16, 1936

66. Ibid.

have been of the steadily progressing type that has led to considerable holdings at the present time.<sup>67</sup>

After the turbulent days of the eighteen eighties Clifton became a quiet lawabiding town. This was due to the fact that the county officials at Solomonville and later Safford saw that they would have to provide better law enforcement in order to prevent the people of Clifton, Morenci and Metcalf from setting up a separate county of their own, which they had threatened to do many times. As a matter of fact, many of the sheriffs of Graham county of these later years were residents of the mining district. The bad men of the district of later years were largely of a different sort, that is, bad check artists, jailbreakers, and petty thieves.

Climax Jim was one of that type who came to Clifton during the eighteen nineties. No one knew just where he came from but he had no peer anywhere as a small time crook. Somewhere he had become an accomplished lock expert. S. J. Forbes was a merchant on Chase Creek whose store was robbed several times. Climax Jim was suspected and accused. Forbes got a new safe which he thought to be burglar proof. Jim was at the depot when the safe came in. He sat down and worked at the lock for thirty minutes and opened it.<sup>68</sup>

The most celebrated case in which Climax Jim was involved in Clifton was called the case of "The Missing Check".

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67. Mrs. Geo. Utter, Interview, Dec. 28, 1944

68. A. A. Anderson, Letter of June 20, 1944

The Arizona Copper Company paid their employees with checks on the Gila Valley Bank and Trust Company of Clifton. This bank also operated a branch in Morenci. After the checks were paid by the Morenci branch they were stamped paid by the Morenci branch and mailed to the Clifton bank where they were turned over to the company at the end of the month.

In December of 1906 it was found that someone had been removing the paid stamp from the face of the checks with ink remover and cashing them again. The bank made a list of the checks which were missing at that time and asked the businessmen around town to be on the lookout for the crook. Climax Jim went into the company store and presented a check in payment for a hat which he had just bought. The clerk recognized it as one of the missing checks and called the manager. They asked Jim where he had gotten the check. He pointed to a Mexican just inside the door and said, "I got it from him". Jim's pointed finger seemed to have been a signal because the Mexican went out the door and disappeared before anyone could get to him.<sup>69</sup>

Jim was arrested and brought to trial for fraud. The case was tried in Solomonville. No other checks had been found in Jim's possession but it was found that over ten thousand dollars in checks had disappeared. It was believed that Jim had opened the bank's lock box at the postoffice and taken the checks. The only evidence against Jim was

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69. A. A. Anderson, Letter of June 20, 1944

the check which he had presented to pay for the hat.<sup>70</sup>

Wiley Jones was Jim's lawyer. He had been county attorney a couple of times and was familiar with the safe in the Clerk of Court's office. He came to the Clerk's office and asked permission to look over some other papers which were on file there pertaining to another case on which he was retained. Judge Shirley who was acting county attorney at this time in the absence of the regular judge, Judge Chambers; who had gone to Illinois to bring his family to Arizona, did not trust Jones but he permitted him to go over the papers on file. Shirley was unfamiliar with the files and could not go over them himself.<sup>71</sup>

After a long delay occasioned by Jim, who claimed he had to get two witnesses who had left Clifton, the trial came up. It was then found that the check which had been in the Clerk of Court's files had disappeared. The court officials were virtually sure that Wiley Jones had stolen the check but nothing could be proven and Jim went free.<sup>72</sup>

Jim was in Clifton in the early nineties when the Sanitary Law was passed requiring that all brands had to be

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70. A. A. Anderson, Letter of June 20, 1944

71. Ibid.

72. Ibid.

In another version of this same story which was printed in the Copper Era of August 7, 1926 it is claimed that Wiley Jones placed the check on the table near Jim during the trial but before it had been presented as evidence. While no one was looking Jim ate it. Since Mr. Anderson was county sheriff at that time and is widely known for his veracity and

recorded and a brand tax paid. The C.C.C. Cattle Company which operated northwest of Clifton did not conform to this law. Jim saw a chance to make some money so he had a brand of his own recorded. It was the "Dollar Sign" and was made thus S S S. It was soon found that Jim was stealing cattle from the C.C.C. and burning the brand over into a S S S. He was arrested and taken to St. John for trial since the crime had been committed in Apache county. The state presented its evidence. Jim's lawyer then asked for a receipt showing that the C.C.C. Company had paid a brand tax. They could not present such evidence since they had not recorded their brand, therefore they did not legally own any cattle in Arizona. Jim was acquitted.<sup>73</sup>

After many other escapades in Clifton, which the old-timers in Clifton still like to relate in full sympathy with Jim, he sold his homestead in Clifton and went to San Diego. While he was blasting a well out in hard rock he dropped a bottle of nitroglycerin and was killed.<sup>74</sup>

One case which occurred at Clifton during the twentieth century which was reminiscent of the old West was the train robbery which occurred at York in 1922. Railroad crossties were piled on the track to stop the train. Three robbers boarded the train and while one of them kept the crew

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72.(Cont.) good memory I prefer to accept his version of the story.

73. A. A. Anderson, Letter of June 20, 1944

74. Ibid.



covered the other two took the mail sacks. The locks to the mail sacks were later found in the ashes of a campfire, indicating that the sacks had been burned. The company pay roll should have been on that train but it was not, so the robbers got almost nothing.<sup>75</sup>

The robbery of the mail made this a federal case and soon a federal agent came secretly to Clifton and hired out as a cowhand in the vicinity of the holdup to gather evidence. John Bradbury, sheriff of Greenlee County, also was working on the case.<sup>76</sup>

About a month after the robbery Bate and Mark Bradbury, who were brothers of the sheriff, had a bloody gun battle with Sid and John Fulcher. Bate Bradbury and John Fulcher were killed in that fight. The fight was supposed to have been caused by quarrels over cattle, for the two families operated neighboring cattle ranches on the border between Arizona and New Mexico, but there was no real cause for a fight and it looked as if the Fulchers had deliberately picked a quarrel.

The case dragged on with no arrests being made until 1926. At that time Syd Fulcher and Tom Fulcher were arrested and charged with the robbery. At the trial the evidence showed that one of the person who did the robbing

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75. "Fulcher Robbery Trial Begins Next Week", Copper Era, March 27, 1926

76. Ibid.

had ridden away from the scene of the crime on a horse which had a disfigured foot. Syd Fulcher was well known to have had a race horse with such a foot. A blacksmith at Clifton who had often shod the horse was put on the witness stand to tell that Syd Fulcher rode such a horse. It was further brought out that on the trail leading away from the robbery were found several short pieces of cigarette paper about three quarters of an inch long. Tom Fulcher was known to have the habit of rolling a "short smoke" by tearing his cigarette papers. The brakeman on the train, O. E. Spaw, was placed on the stand and swore that one of the voices of the masked bandits was that of Tom Fulcher. It was further brought out at the trial that a whiskey bottle found near the scene of the robbery, at a place where the trail of the robbers showed that they had lain in wait for the train, had finger prints of Syd Fulcher on it. Everett Hagan swore that he had heard John Fulcher say that he was going to stop the Bradburys' "snooping around" his place. That was just prior to the gun fight in which Bate Bradbury and John Fulcher had been killed.<sup>77</sup>

This evidence, most of which was circumstantial, had been gathered by the special federal agent who had spent almost a year in Clifton. The jury deliberated only an

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77. "Tom and Sid Fulcher on Trial in Tucson on York Train Robbing Count", Copper Era, April 3, 1926

hour and forty five minutes before pronouncing the Fulchers guilty. They were sentenced to twenty five years at Leavenworth. They appealed the case but were again pronounced guilty and served the time.<sup>78</sup>

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78. "Fulchers Convicted", Copper Era, April 10, 1926

## CHAPTER VII

### INTELLECTUAL AND RELIGIOUS ADVANCEMENT IN CLIFTON

From the time of the beginning of the town in 1872 down to 1882 there were no schools in Clifton. This was not due so much to any indifference to education on the part of the inhabitants as it was due to the fact that there was no one to be taught. In 1881 the present Mrs. Hallie Smith and her sister came to Clifton. They were the only white children here at that time, and as such were the favorites of the grizzled cowpunchers, prospectors, and even occasional desperadoes who came to town. By 1882 other white children arrived and a need was felt for education. Accordingly a school was set up at the mouth of Ward's Canyon. The building was a small adobe with a mud roof. There were no desks, only long benches for the children to sit on. Most of the writing was done on slates as there was no blackboard. The children were not divided into grades but each was allowed to advance as rapidly as he could in whatever books were at hand. The three R's were the principal subject matter. The teacher was small, old, and bewhiskered. He was from California but no one can recall his name. We do not have a complete list of the pupils of this school but we know the four Ward children: Johnnie, Angelita, Hattie, and Emma were among them. Jessie Pomeroy,

Mamie Abrams, and the present Hallie Smith also attended. It was a subscription school and since Mr. Ward's children constituted a large part of the enrollment he paid most of the expenses of the school and furnished the building.<sup>1</sup>

By 1883 Clifton had acquired a few more children of school age and her intellectual ambitions had advanced to the point where a better school was deemed essential. It was established in an adobe building that stood in Eastside on the opposite side of the river from where the postoffice now stands. This would seem to us now to be a most unhappy choice of location; for Eastside, in the eighties, was almost a solid row of saloons. The women, who were a part of the salable merchandise of the saloons, lived in rooms above or around the saloon. It was not infrequent that the ribald shouts of the bedizened harlots were directed at the school children at play on the school ground. However our predecessors of that era were somewhat less prudish than we of today, and the school continued there for about fifteen years. The older folks aver that the moral tenor of school life did not seem to be noticeably affected by the surroundings. The founders of this school did make one compromise with morality. They turned the adobe building so that it faced the river and away from the red light district.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Mrs. Hallie Smith, Personal Interview, Oct. 15, 1944

2. Marian Beck, "The History of Clifton Schools", unpublished manuscript of the State Library.

This second school was financed by subscriptions also. Among the subscribers were: Isaac Stevens, Bere Crawford, and Mr. Jake Abrahams. They, with others, organized district number three which still functions in Clifton. At that time its somewhat ambiguous territory included: Guthrie, Morenci, Metcalf, and the Blue River district. The building was just one room but it boasted of desks and a blackboard. No records of this school are now extant but oldtimers<sup>3</sup> recall that most of the students were Mexicans. Among the American students attending were: Jessie Pomeroy, Sadie Ramsdell, Lula Cobb, Sena Moore, Willie Moore, Emma Moore, Carlos and Frank Alvedras, Tomas and Ramon Baines. Mamie Abrams and Hallie Abrams attended for one year, then were sent to Los Angeles to finish their education.<sup>4</sup>

The teachers of this school are spoken of as being of exceptional quality, as a whole. Boston was still considered at that time the educational center of the United States and several of these teachers came from there. Fred Stowell, who was very scholarly and gentlemanly, tried to combine teaching and journalism by editing the Clarion, Clifton's only newspaper. Al Brewer, who still resides in Phoenix, is spoken of as being very proficient in mathematics. Addie Adair brought a broad New England accent to mingle with the Hispano-Americanisms of her pupils. Mr. Smart was a teacher of the late nineties. He left Clifton

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3. Mrs. Hallie Smith, Personal Interview, Oct. 15, 1944

4. Ibid.

to become a correspondent in the Spanish American war. Clifton could not have attracted so many high class teachers except for the fact that business was booming and the parents, feeling that nothing was too good for their children, were willing to pay high salaries.<sup>5</sup>

This school, on Eastside, was abandoned in 1898 because more room was needed. It went away in the flood of 1905. A parking lot now occupies the space where it stood.<sup>6</sup>

By 1898 the Arizona Copper Company began to take an interest in education. This was due to several reasons: first, their manager at this time was Mr. J. M. Colquhoun. His broad humanitarianism caused him to feel an interest in the well being of everyone around him. Second, the company began to see that if they were to hold their workmen they must provide all the essentials of happy homes including schools, churches, lighting, etc. Third, the work in the smelters was becoming more technical so that educated workmen were more desired. Due at least in part to these things the Company in 1898 built a new school for the town. It was located where the railroad turntable now stands.<sup>7</sup> It was a two room building constructed of wood. There were about thirty pupils mostly Mexican. One of the first teachers was Miss Welch of Safford. In two years the

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5. J. T. Quinn, "Progress of the Clifton Public Schools as Remembered by J. T. Quinn", Unpublished Article of May 26, 1936.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

enrollment of the school grew to one hundred. Miss Maude Goldecker who later became Mrs. John (Hard Times) Parks, and Mrs. Brown taught in 1899. In 1900 Mr. Joe Williams and Miss Meaker were the teachers. The school was overcrowded, ungraded, and short of equipment.<sup>8</sup>

In 1901 the Arizona Copper Company again came to the aid of the struggling school board and built a new and larger school building in the space that is now called The Plaza in front of the Phelps Dodge store. This building was of wood, had three rooms, and better school equipment, including a small library made up of books contributed by patrons. At this time Mr. James Cromb arrived in Clifton from Scotland and became the leader for educational improvement in Clifton. He served on the Board of Education most of the time for the next twenty years and was also a church leader. In 1901 the enrollment of the school was 224 and the school began to have some semblance of gradation. A small room was rented in North Clifton across the street from where Hagan's place now is located. It was a primary school, and included about what we would consider the first two grades. In the main building at the mouth of Chase Creek Professor Joe Williams, Miss Smedecker, and Miss Fleming taught. Mr. Williams was principal; he is still remembered as a very good teacher.<sup>9</sup>

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8. A. A. Anderson, Letter of June 20, 1944

9. J. T. Quinn, "Progress of the Clifton Public Schools as Remembered by J. T. Quinn", Unpublished Article of May 26, 1936.



In the year 1902 Mr. James Colquhoun, the company manager, prevailed on the Arizona Copper Company directors to build a new school building. It was built in North Clifton, a fine brick building which stood until 1942. It cost \$15,630 and was paid for entirely by the Arizona Copper Company. The contractor was W. A. Pitt and Mr. James Cromb was the guiding influence behind its construction and maintenance. This school had four teachers: a Mrs. R. M. Guild, Miss M. E. Bunker, Mrs. Anna Fleming, and Miss Smedecker. Mrs. Guild stated that her biggest job was trying to get the North Clifton school graded.<sup>10</sup>

At this same time Hills Flat, which is now the main part of the town was filling up. The people who lived there had established a subscription school in 1901. They began to ask for a legal subdivision and a tax supported school of their own. Mr. Cromb opposed the subdivision but a school election was held and the subdivision was carried. The new district which was established was known as district number thirty eight in the early days. This district included all of Hill's Flat, Shannon Hill, and part of Chase Creek.<sup>11</sup>

In 1903 Professor Colbank was principal of the North Clifton school which started with an enrollment of 170. In 1904 Mr. Reese took over the job and the school board rented

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10. Marian Beck, "The History of Clifton Schools", unpublished manuscript of the State Library.

11. Ibid.

a small building about a quarter mile up Chase Creek to be used as a Chase Creek school. Only one teacher taught there as most of the students were attending the new building in North Clifton.<sup>12</sup>

By 1903 the school enrollment of the South Clifton schools had reached the one hundred mark, so the trustees of District thirty eight held a special election in which a \$10,000 bond issue was voted. Seven lots were purchased from Henry Hill at a price of \$2,100. They were located on the river bank near where the City Garage now stands. The contract was let to have Mr. W. A. Pitt construct a new brick building on these lots to cost eight thousand dollars. The next part of the story of education in Clifton sounds like a comic opera but it is verified by competent witnesses. A man named Jesse Yoacum claimed that the election for location of the school had not been legally advertized. His protagonist on the board, Mr. A. A. Anderson, agreed to a new election, but the date was set on a day when a circus was in town; so only a few people voted. The original location was verified. Mr. Pitt got busy on the preparatory work for the building. Mr. Anderson was told to check the cement work on the foundations carefully. He did so and found that Mr. Pitt put only one sack of cement in the whole foundation. Mr. Anderson refused to sign the warrant to pay the contractor but after a law suit and after Mr.

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12. News Item, Copper Era, April 11, 1903.

Anderson had withdrawn from the board the whole bill was paid.<sup>13</sup>

The new South Clifton building was destined to have a short existence. School was started in the building in 1904. Clifton's first high school was there in one of the rooms. Professor Olaf Halverson was principal and the only high school teacher. The average attendance of the whole school that first year was one hundred. School at this building started early and lasted only six months, so, many of the students went there for six months and then to North Clifton for two or three months longer.<sup>14</sup> Some of the students in this first high school class were: Mary Liles, Mary Terrel, Frank Crowley, S. R. Jones, Calder Emerson, Morgan Leonard, Charlotte Smith, Etta Martin, Clarence Bennett, and Dot Bennie.

The first semester in the new building was finished without mishap but on January 10, 1905 disaster struck. The largest flood since 1891 came down the Canyon. It may have been partly due to the weak foundation, but more probably because of the location adjacent to the river, that the school building was washed away. For the remainder of that year school was continued in makeshift buildings nearby: the old Mormon church, now the home of Vernon Martin, was

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13. A. A. Anderson, Letter of June 20, 1944

14. Felix Brutinel, Personal Interview, Nov. 24, 1944

Olaf Halverson later became a millionaire through oil investments in California.

used as a grade school; the high school was held in the servant's quarters of the Henry Hill home; some students were taught in a tent that stood about where Maud's Place now is. Needless to say not very much advancement was made in education. Much time was lost because of rains, winds, etc.<sup>15</sup>

During the school year of 1905 and 1906 the South Clifton School was held in the Santa Teresa building. It was a large two story adobe which stood near the east side of the stadium. There were two high school rooms and six grade school rooms. Mr. Halverson continued in the high school and Miss Holmsley came to assist him. Miss Bell Gaddis started the year as a teacher in the grade school but was married during the year and Miss Bilby took her place. Miss Knight also taught in grade school that year. The two districts had been joined together after a long continued fight in which Mr. Colquhoun was accused of working against consolidation. The Chase Creek school had been temporarily discontinued and the children were sent to the other two schools. The parents of Chase Creek were asking for a school of their own.

In the North Clifton school two more rooms were finished and there were four teachers there instead of the two

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15. J. T. Quinn, "Progress of the Clifton Public Schools as Remembered by J. T. Quinn", Unpublished Article of May 26, 1936.

in 1902. A one room school had been started on Shannon Hill. There were three schools with twelve teachers and about six hundred and fifty pupils.<sup>16</sup>

In 1905 and 1906 the people of South Clifton were in dire need of a new school building but they did not feel that they could burden themselves with the indebtedness necessary for another one while they were still in debt for the one which had washed away, so they asked the territorial legislature for aid. The legislature responded with a grant of \$3,000. The combined school districts then voted a special levy of \$5,000 to put the school system in good order. At a mass meeting of the patrons of the school it was decided to build an entirely new school rather than to try to rebuild the old one which had been almost completely washed away by the flood. It was built on a lot contributed by Henry Hill and so it became known as the Hill School. The contractor was George Williams and the building cost thirteen thousand eight hundred eighty eight dollars and was described by the paper of that time as being one of the finest in Arizona. This building is the concrete block building still used in South Clifton for a grade school building. During this first summer only the downstairs part of it was finished. The South Clifton grade school children used this building while the high school continued in

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16. Marian Beck, "History of the Clifton Schools", Unpublished Manuscript of the State Library of Phoenix.

the Santa Teresa building.<sup>17</sup>

The first commencement exercises of the Clifton High School were May 23, 1908. There were only three graduates: Mary Liles, Mary Terrel, and Henrietta Martin. The graduation was held in Prettyman's Opera House. As a part of the exercises Mary Liles read a History of Clifton, and Mary Terrel gave a history and prophecy of the class. The commencement address was given by Dr. K. C. Babcock, president of the University of Arizona. His subject was "Higher Education and Citizenship".<sup>18</sup>

There was no graduating class in 1909 but in 1910 there were four graduates: Emil Apodaca, Christiana Cromb, Maude Terrel, and Ettie Young. In 1909 Clifton High School first had organized sports. Professor Jamison had been added to the faculty that year as a teacher and he also took over the duties of coaching. Clifton was defeated three times that year in football, twice by Douglas and once by Bisbee.<sup>19</sup> The high school also competed in baseball and basketball, but since there was no nearby high school playing those sports their games were against town organizations. Basketball games were played in the Armory.<sup>20</sup>

A summary of the Clifton schools of 1910 shows that Clifton had four schools: a large one in North Clifton,

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17. "The South Clifton School", Copper Era, Mar. 16, 1905

18. "First Commencement Exercises of Clifton High School",  
Copper Era, May 28, 1908

19. The Comet, Clifton High School Annual of 1910

20. News Item, Copper Era, November 19, 1909

a large combination grade school and high school in South Clifton, a small one on Shannon Hill, and a small one on Chase Creek. There were three high school and sixteen grade school teachers. The average attendance was about eight hundred and twenty five pupils.<sup>21</sup>

In 1912 Clifton schools had their greatest growth in physical equipment. A new high school was built costing twenty three thousand dollars and consisting of ten rooms which were equipped in the most modern and up to date manner. The lower floor was used mostly for domestic science and manual training rooms. The second floor had most of the class rooms while the third floor was a large auditorium. On Chase Creek a fine brick building of four rooms was constructed for the children of the Mexican families who had recently filled the canyon with their residences. On Shannon Hill another building almost identical to this one but not quite so large was built. The cost of both these grade school buildings was seventeen thousand dollars.<sup>22</sup>

In 1912 the Clifton Schools had a new principal, Mr. R. M. Shreve, who was a P.H.D. from Harvard. A record number of over one thousand enrolled in September and the largest graduating class up to that time, nine, received their diplomas in the spring of 1912. These were:

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21. Marian Beck, "History of the Clifton Schools", Unpublished Manuscript of the State Library of Phoenix.

22. "Schools Overcrowded", Copper Era, May 11, 1912.

Marguerite Jones, Edna Kline, Beatrice Awalt, Flossie Whipple, Ailene Awalt, Arthur Smith, Arthur Goolsby, Allan Jones, and Hallie Martin. Hallie Martin was colored. She made the salutatory address and later taught in the Clifton colored school on Chase Creek. In this year also Mr. Shreves conducted a night school for adults.<sup>23</sup>

In 1914 the graduating class again dropped down to five: Doris Cotey, Erma Springer, Willard Sidebotham, Diamond Christy, and Stanley Beck. In the fall of 1914 Clifton schools were organized under one head and Mr. H. C. Williams became the first City Superintendent of Schools. He was a scholarly man who had graduated from Emory and Henry College in Virginia. He later served with the army in France as a lieutenant and was killed in action. At this time there were thirty six teachers in the system, six in high school and thirty in grades. The enrollment had grown to over twelve hundred. A colored school had been established on Chase Creek to care for the children of the many colored people who had come in to work in the mines. This school building stood just back of the present Chase Creek school building and is now used as a residence.<sup>24</sup>

The years after 1915 were times of lush growth in the Clifton school system due to the war boom in the copper industry. In 1915 Henry Clay Williams left his job as

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23. "High School Class Largest on Record", Copper Era, May 24, 1912

24. "Five Students Graduate from High School", Copper Era, May 15, 1914



superintendent to join the army. Mr. J. H. Davis became superintendent in his place and continued until 1918. His salary was two hundred and eight dollars a month, which was very good for a town the size of Clifton. In 1917 the town again placed itself in debt to improve the school system by voting twenty thousand dollars bonded indebtedness, to enlarge the Chase Creek school, and build a new gymnasium. Seven rooms were added to the Chase Creek school by adding four rooms to the rear and placing a basement underneath. The gymnasium was built adjacent to the Hill School and was considered very fine. However since that time it has been found necessary to enlarge it. In that year Clifton High School had a good football team, going undefeated through a schedule of six games. Mr. Pierson, a mine employee from Missouri, was coach. They claimed the state championship but had to share it with Phoenix who was also undefeated. The enrollment of the school in 1917 was thirteen hundred and sixty five.<sup>25</sup>

In 1918 Mr. W. D. Baker, a graduate of the University of Michigan, became superintendent. He was an old fashioned type of scholar well grounded in Greek, Latin, and classical literature. The year of 1919-1920 saw the schools reach their greatest development. There were fifty three teachers, eleven in high school and forty two in the grade schools. Enrollment was over fourteen hundred.<sup>26</sup>

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25. The Copper Era, April 6, 1917

26. The Copper Era, May 26, 1920

After 1920 there was a steady decline in enrollment and in the number of teaching personnel of the Clifton school system. This was due, of course, to the slump in the copper market. By 1922 the colored school was closed because nearly all the negroes had moved away. In 1923 the Shannon Hill school was closed never to be reopened. This was caused by the fact that the Shannon smelter had been closed when Phelps Dodge took over. In the four years from 1920 to 1925 the number of teachers dropped from fifty three to thirty three.<sup>27</sup>

In 1925 H. A. Liem came to the Clifton school system as coach and mathematics teacher. In 1928 he replaced Mr. Baker as superintendent and has remained in that position to the present. After the depression of 1929 the Clifton schools continued to drop in enrollment. In 1933 the North Clifton school was discontinued after thirty years of use. In that year there were only twenty three teachers in the whole system. Clifton was threatening to become a ghost town; the smelter had closed down and people were leaving daily. It was with a fine faith in the future that Mr. Liem in 1936 took advantage of the WPA program to enlarge the schools' athletic plant. He secured twenty one thousand five hundred and forty three dollars from the national government and the city furnished an additional seven thousand

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27. Greenlee County Teachers' Register, Office of the Superintendent of Schools.

nine hundred fifty five dollars with which a fine new stadium was built. The gymnasium and auditorium was enlarged so that it is now one of the finest in the state among the smaller schools. Mr. Liem was criticized for investing so heavily in what appeared to be a coming ghost town but his judgment was amply justified when Clifton's schools again went over one thousand enrollment in 1942.<sup>28</sup>

In closing the story of the Clifton schools it would be well to summarize briefly the accomplishments of the system. In sixty one years the system grew from a small one room adobe school with some fifteen students to six large two and three story brick buildings, which housed some fifteen hundred students. It has now dropped back to an

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28. "Additional \$10,000 Granted by Federal Government", Copper Era, May 28, 1936.

H. A. Liem has probably had as much influence on the town of Clifton as anyone connected with its history. He came from Minnesota where he was educated in Carlton College. When he first came to Clifton in 1925 he was coach and mathematics teacher. His basketball team the second year he coached almost won the Eastern Conference championship. After his second year in the system he became superintendent of schools and held the position for eighteen years until 1945. While teaching in Clifton he went to summer school at Southern California where he secured his Master's degree. He was superintendent of the Clifton schools during all of the depression and performed the difficult feat of having the schools in better condition at the end of it than at the beginning. The last major bit of work he did while in the Clifton schools was to secure a federal grant to build a new primary building in South Clifton. By popular acclaim the building has been named the Liem Building. Beginning in 1945 Mr. Liem will be principal of the Washington School in Phoenix.

enrollment of about eight hundred students and has five good buildings. All of these buildings have been built at an amazingly low cost, the original cost of all of them being under seventy five thousand dollars. While the town's educational system has never turned out any noted scholars, those who leave her schools for higher education have usually had the necessary background to continue their education and many of the town's present business men were educated in the schools of Clifton.

The first church in Clifton was a Catholic church which stood on the site of the present Catholic church. That was in 1882. At that time Clifton was a part of the Cathedral parish of Tucson and was attended by visiting priests from there. The building on Chase Creek was of wood and was destroyed by fire. A second church was then built of adobe a little farther east than the first. This one was destroyed by a flood in 1890.<sup>29</sup> The third church was built in North Clifton and was also destroyed by flood in 1891. This was the huge flood that played havoc with all the town. No new building was built for the next few years. Services were held in private homes. In 1895 another church was built on Chase Creek again on the site of the present one. This one went out in the flood of 1905.<sup>30</sup> After that

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29. Mrs. Luz Norte, Personal Interview, February 24, 1945

30. "Churches of Clifton", Copper Era, Industrial Edition of 1909.

Father Timmermans built a wooden church on the same site. When the present church was built it was constructed around the wooden one which was then torn down.<sup>31</sup>

The first priests who came to Clifton came about once a year from Tucson. That was during the eighteen eighties. Father Pedro and Father Augustine Juvenceau are remembered as visiting Clifton briefly during that time. In 1888 Solomonville became a parish with missions at Clifton and Morenci. Reverend J. Gheldof was pastor and visited Clifton more frequently than had been possible before that. In 1891 Reverend M. Vandermaesen became pastor of the Solomonville, Clifton, Morenci parish and remained until 1894. At that time Father Timmermans came to Clifton and in 1899 Clifton became a parish with Morenci and Metcalf as missions.<sup>32</sup> Father Timmermans stayed in Clifton until June of 1909 when ill health forced him to leave. During his stay here he accomplished much good among the poor Mexicans. He built a church in Clifton, one in Morenci, and one in Metcalf. Reverend Joseph Carnet came to Clifton to succeed Father Timmermans in 1909. He built another church on Shannon Hill so that for a few years Clifton had two Catholic churches.<sup>33</sup> In 1915 Father Carnet left to go to the first world war and Reverend J. M. Mele succeeded him.

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31. Father Peter Timmermans, Letter of March 3, 1945

32. "Churches of Clifton", Copper Era, Industrial Edition of 1909

33. Copper Era, Jan. 16, 1912

Father Mele stayed in Clifton for almost thirty years. He combined the qualities of a businessman and priest admirably so that the Clifton church prospered tremendously under his tutelage.<sup>34</sup>

Santa Teresa de Cabora or "The Saint of Cabora" was such a remarkable person and had such a great effect on hundreds of people in Clifton that some mention must be made of her in the story of the Catholic church of Clifton. She was born in the state of Sinaloa, Mexico in 1872.<sup>35</sup> She was an illegitimate child. Her father, Thomas Urrea, was a wealthy rancher with many fields and herdsmen. Her mother was a Yaqui Indian named Callitana Chavez. When she was sixteen years old her father sent for her to come and live at his house, which she did. Her father had an old woman servant named Maria who taught Teresa to read. She claimed she learned to write by herself. After she went to her father's house she went into a partial trance which lasted three months and eighteen days. While she was in this trance she cured Maria, her teacher, of paralysis by rubbing her gently with her hands. Others came and she cured them. She talked strange things about God and religion. When she came out of the trance she had the power of healing people, which she

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34. "New Catholic Church is Dedicated", Copper Era, March 12, 1917

35. "Santa Teresa", Copper Era, February 7, 1901. This is Santa Teresa's own story of her life up to that time as told to a reporter.

never lost. About that time her father moved from Sinaloa to a small place called Cabora in Sonora.

After her trance many people who were ill came to her and she was said to have cured them. She did not claim she could cure anyone who came to her. If they did not believe in her she told them frankly that she could not cure them. She mixed her strange healing power with religion, telling people who came to her, that God was the spirit of love. She preached against the Catholic Church which, she said, took their money under false pretenses. Soon her followers numbered in the hundreds, many of them coming from Hermisillo and Tomachic. A priest named Manual Costello condemned her from his pulpit.<sup>36</sup>

At that time Diaz was dictator of Mexico and was giving full support to the Catholic Church. He sent a troop of soldiers to arrest "La Nina de Cabora" as she was called at that time. The followers of Santa Teresa ambushed the regulars near Cabora. The Yaquis were poorly armed so could inflict small casualties on the regulars but they did drive them back. This led to the so called "Tomachic War" in which the Yaquis fought against the government troops. Santa Teresa was finally arrested and taken to Guaymas where she was kept under surveillance. A delegation of Yaquis went to Guaymas and asked for her release. The government released her and she went back to Cabora where she

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36. Jose Urrea, Interview, April 12, 1945

continued her activities. There was constant bickering between her and the priests. Government officials finally ordered her to leave Mexico.<sup>37</sup>

She crossed the border at Nogales in the year 1893. Her whole family accompanied her and took up their residence near the old mission of Tumacacori. They stayed there only a year when they moved on to Solomonville. They stayed at Solomonville a short time then went to El Paso. The church authorities in Sonora made life unpleasant for her at El Paso so she moved to Clifton. That was about 1897. She lived in Clifton for the next four years. The Mexicans at Clifton looked upon her as a saint also and went to her with their ills. She cured many and never made a charge for her work unless the person had wealth.<sup>38</sup>

While she was in Clifton she married a Yaqui Indian named Guadalupe Rodriguez. She had known him only eight months. The next day after they were married he tried to kill her. He was disarmed, tried, and pronounced insane. He was sent to an insane asylum. Later she married a man named John Vanoder who was half German and half Cherokee Indian. She had two daughters, one of whom is still alive. Her house in South Clifton was used as a county hospital, as a school, and as a church after she died.

While she was in Clifton there was a man named Charles Rosecrans who was manager of the First National Bank living

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37. "Santa Teresa", Copper Era, February 7, 1901

38. Jose Urrea, Interview, April 12, 1945



here also. He had a small daughter whom the local doctors had said could not be cured. Mr. Rosecrans took the girl to Santa Teresa, who soon cured her. Later Rosecrans went to Los Angeles and took Santa Teresa with him. While she was there Charley Shannon induced many of his wealthy friends to allow her to treat them. Her fame spread. A medical company was being made up in Los Angeles to make a tour of the United States and Europe. They induced Santa Teresa to join them saying they would pay her ten thousand dollars for the trip. On her trip she aroused much speculation as to the source of her powers. She always said she got her powers from God. Others speculated that she was the dwelling place of some strange astral spirit which had supernatural powers. Others said her powers were purely nervous and physical brought about by attacks of epilepsy.<sup>39</sup>

She came back to Clifton in 1904 and used the money she had saved on the trip to build a large two story building in South Clifton which she used as a hospital. After she had been returned to Clifton about eighteen months she died peacefully and quietly in her bed with a smile on her lips. The doctors said she died of tuberculosis. The Mexicans thought she had worn her spirit out in the service of her people.<sup>40</sup>

Talk concerning her usually leads to the question of

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39. Letter from A. A. Anderson, February 6, 1945

40. "Santa Teresa Dead", Copper Era, January 18, 1906

whether or not she was a faker. The truth of the matter probably is that she shared the quality, be it spiritual, psychological, or physical, which all faith healers have to make her patients feel that they were well. She was successful as all of her kind are because there are always people who are ill only in their minds but think they are ill physically. Be that as it may she was a good woman and richly deserved to be called "The Saint of Cabora".

In the spring of 1904 Father Timmermans left Clifton to visit his old home in Belgium. While he was gone his parish at Clifton became involved in one of the most notorious escapades in the history of Arizona. While he was gone a young priest named Father Mandin was placed in charge of the parish. He was contacted by The New York Foundling Hospital to see if he would try to place some of their children in homes in the Clifton parish. Father Mandin talked with his parishioners and they agreed to take the children. He had them sign papers saying they would take the children and outlining the procedures under which they were to take them. He then wrote to the hospital telling them to send him the children and to send only those of fair complexion if possible.<sup>41</sup>

The children, forty of them, arrived in Clifton

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41. "Case of New York Foundling Hospital Vs William Norton",  
Report of Cases Argued and Determined in the  
Supreme Court of the Territory of Arizona,  
 Volume 9, p. 105

October first in the care of an agent named Swayne, Sister Anna Michella, and two other sisters. The children were from eighteen months to five years old. They had tags fastened to them telling to whom they were going, their name, and birthday. The consignees of the children were to fill out a paper giving their own name, address, and various other data. These were to be sent back to the hospital in New York.<sup>42</sup>

When the children arrived in Clifton they were met at the station by the local priest and the Mexican people who were to get them. The agent and priest proceeded to distribute the children. The sisters in charge protested that the children were not to be given out until the prospective homes had been investigated. The agent and priest overruled them and distributed fifteen of the children in Clifton. Each family who got a child had to pay for the clothes the children brought with them, and something on the children's fare. This amounted to thirty or forty dollars and later led to accusations that the children had been sold. A large crowd gathered and grew excited when they saw that the children were all being given to Mexican families.

That evening, October second, a crowd of three hundred Americans gathered in downtown Clifton. A posse was formed

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42. "Case of New York Foundling Hospital Vs William Norton", Report of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of the Territory of Arizona, Volume 9, p. 105

which went to the Mexican homes where the children had been placed and got them. Some of the Mexicans refused to give up the children without an "order". Many of the Americans were armed. They shoved a six gun under the noses of the Mexicans saying, "Here's the order". They got all of the children in Clifton and brought them to the Clifton Hotel. It was raining and the crowd had swollen and they were in an angry mood. There was talk of hanging the priest and the agent who had brought the children. The agent who was at Morenci heard of the mood of the people and during the night walked the seven miles to Guthrie where he caught the train the next day.<sup>43</sup>

The children who had been brought back downtown were in a pitiable condition. They were sick from the unfamiliar Mexican food which consisted largely of chili, beans, and tortillas. Some of them had been given beer. The children's own clothes which had been beautifully stitched by the "Sister of Charity" at the New York Hospital had been taken away and given to the Mexican children; while the dirty rags of the Mexican children had been placed on the orphans.<sup>44</sup>

The American mothers who were at the hotel asked permission to take the children home and many did so. Most of those same people later adopted the children. The families in Clifton who got orphans were: George High, John Kelley,

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43. A. A. Anderson, Letter, February 6, 1945

44. "Babies Sold Like Sheep", Los Angeles Examiner,  
October 6, 1945

Hugh Quinn, Sam Abrahams, Jeff Dunagan, Harry Wright, C. F. Pascoe, George Frazer, G. C. Gatti, G. C. Tyler, Henry Hill, Charles Freeman, Harry Laskey, and Doctor Davis of Morenci. None of the children are now living in Clifton but many of them are still living.<sup>45</sup>

When the New York Foundling Hospital learned what had happened they brought suit for the recovery of the children. The case was tried in the District Court at Solomonville and that court ruled that the American families in Clifton who had the children were entitled to keep them. The orphanage appealed the case to the Supreme Court of the Territory of Arizona. That court upheld the judgment of the District Court on the grounds that at the time of the action involving the children, neither the Hospital nor the Americans at Clifton had a right to the children. The Hospital did not have the right to them because their charter in New York only gave them the right to care for the children and not to dispose of them. The Supreme Court further ruled that the new parents were at present the legal owners of the children since they all had adopted them since the time of taking them.<sup>46</sup>

The orphanage after being defeated in the courts of Arizona appealed the case to the Supreme Court of the

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45. A. A. Anderson, Letter, February 6, 1945

46. "Case of the New York Foundling Hospital Vs William Norton", Report of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of the Territory of Arizona, Volume 9, p. 105.

United States. They could do that because of the interstate aspects of the case. William Norton, who had been adopted by G. C. Gatti, was made a test case. Henry Hill, being the wealthiest parent of the children, furnished much of the money to fight the case. Gatti and Hill made a trip to Washington to the hearing of the case. The Supreme Court of the land upheld the judgment of the Arizona Courts and the parents of the children were permitted to keep them.

This litigation ended in November of 1907 after three years of legal battling and thousands of dollars being spent. The Copper Era attributed the real cause of the trouble to be the fact that the Catholic Church was in the habit of sending priests to Clifton who were foreign and did not understand local conditions.

The winter of 1916 and 1917 was a momentous one for the Catholics of Clifton. For a good many years they had been planning a new church. During that winter Father Mele, with those of his parishioners who had some skill with rocks and tools, had labored long laying up the stones of a new church. Using the old wooden building for a frame and support they fitted the stones together with great skill. The work when completed was worthy of their efforts for their church was the finest one in Clifton. The work had taken almost a year but because most of the labor had been done by Father Mele and his parishioners it had cost only \$7,531.00. On March 7, 1917 the building was dedicated. Many Catholic

dignitaries including Bishop Grandjon of Tucson, and Martin Portella, Vicar General of Sonora, were present. A solemn pontifical mass and dedication was held at 9:30. Later in the day a dinner was given for the visiting churchmen by Mr. Carmichael, who was general manager of the company at that time. That church of which they were so proud still functions in Clifton and is still one of the finest churches in the city.<sup>47</sup>

The first protestant church in Clifton was a Presbyterian church, but before there was a church there was a lawyer named J. L. B. Goodwin who conducted services by reading a chapter from the Bible and then making a talk. He was here as early as 1885 and officiated at funerals. He was not particularly religious but he thought something should be done of a religious nature in Clifton. He held those services in the schoolhouse which stood at the north end of the city park of today.<sup>48</sup>

In 1899 church was being held in the schoolhouse which stood in the plaza in front of Phelps Dodge's store. There was an old Scotchman named John Mordy who came to Clifton occasionally and preached but Mr. James Cromb<sup>49</sup> conducted

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47. "New Catholic Church is Dedicated", Copper Era,  
March 12, 1917

48. Mrs. Hallie Smith, Interview, October 15, 1944

49. James Sommerville Cromb was one of the most splendid citizens that the town of Clifton ever had. He was born in Sharnotshields, Scotland March 25, 1848. He was always interested in the church and served as an elder in the church of Holytown parish in Scotland before he came to America. He came to Clifton

Sunday school every Sunday. He seemed to have been almost the only Protestant who was very much interested in religion. At these Sunday school gatherings he swept out the building, built fires, paid for leaflets, and was superintendent. Others who attended this church were: Mr. Cromb's two daughters; Mrs. John MacCleay, Mrs. John Sturgeon; A. A. Anderson, George Bowman, and D. A. Peters. Mr. Colquhoun helped to pay the expenses of these services but there is no record that he attended.<sup>50</sup>

In 1900 Rev. Meeker came from Las Cruces and preached in Clifton for over a year. Clifton still did not have a real church. In 1901 Mr. Cromb and the synodical missionary went down to Tombstone, which at that time was almost a dead camp, and took down a church which had been abandoned and brought it to Clifton. They rebuilt it in North Clifton across the street from the schoolhouse which at that time

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49. (cont.) in 1888 at the age of forty. For twenty six years after he came here he worked in the foundry of the Arizona Copper Company as a carpenter and foreman. His private life in Clifton was unimpeachable. He organized a Sunday school and was always a willing church worker. Always interested in education he served for many years on the board of education of district number three. While he was in Clifton he became important in lodge work and held many important offices in the Masons. He built a nice home in a beautiful little canyon in North Clifton. Later when his two daughters married they also had homes in the same canyon making it a place of beauty. Mr. Cromb died in 1935 at the age of eighty seven. Few men have been of more solid worth to Clifton than Mr. Cromb.

50. A. A. Anderson, Letter in Copper Era of August 28, 1945.



was in the course of construction. This building was the only Presbyterian Church until 1914.

In 1902 Reverend Curry Love came to Clifton to minister to the struggling Presbyterian Church and for the next twenty years, except for a short time spent in the army in 1917, he was the heart and soul of the church movement of the town.<sup>51</sup> Not satisfied with the small wooden church which, it was claimed, had been stolen from Tombstone, he labored for years to raise funds for a new church. Aided by a generous gift from Arizona Copper Company the Presbyterians were able to build a new substantial structure on Eastside in 1914. The contract was let to Mr. Westerman of El Paso but Mr. Love was constantly on the job and much of the workmanship was the work of his hands. The walls are of stone, overlaid with stucco. The total cost was nine thousand dollars. After thirty years of use the building looks almost new today.<sup>52</sup>

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51. A. A. Anderson, Letter in Copper Era of August 28, 1945

52. Copper Era, June 14, 1914

Mr. Love came from Pennsylvania and brought his wife, Belle, with him. The church could not pay him a very large salary so to make a living for himself and family he was forced to take a job as librarian in the library which the Arizona Copper Company had recently established. In Pennsylvania he had been a coal miner so he understood the problems of the miners and got along well with them. After about ten years here Mrs. Love became despondent because of the death of her daughter and went back to Pennsylvania where she soon died. Reverend Love stayed in Clifton for twenty years then went to Oregon to preach. Later he preached in Casa Grande where he retired on a little farm. When the first World War broke out he served as a chaplain in

The Baptist Church of Clifton was organized in 1905. That church had no building, no money, and only a few members. Church meetings were held in the Santa Teresa building part of the time, in a tent nearby, and in Library Hall part of the time.<sup>53</sup> About 1906 the members of the Baptist congregation managed to get enough money together to buy the lot where the present church is located. Seven women from the church congregation cleared the mesquite from the lot. In 1907 some of the men from the congregation contributed their labor and the foundation was built.<sup>54</sup> It appeared for a while as if the town might not have a Baptist Church, for the organization did not have enough money to build. With a fine display of determination the congregation labored to raise the money and by 1914 they had enough money to build the church. For an unknown reason the Baptists thought it necessary to incorporate their church. Their articles of incorporation were published in The Copper Era June 14, 1914. The articles were signed by E. D. Wilson, P. B. Greer, and George Frazer. Frazer was mayor of the town at that time. Reverend I. D. Cross was the Baptist

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52. (cont.) Texas. After this he came back to Clifton for a short time then retired again to his farm at Casa Grande. He lived at Casa Grande until 1944 when he passed away. Those who knew him well say that he died of overwork for he was the type who must keep busy. Few men in the history of Clifton earned the lasting respect and love of so many men as Reverend Curry H. Love.

53. News Item, Copper Era, June 8, 1907

54. Reverend Joseph Smith, Interview, January 2, 1945

minister and under his jurisdiction the present church was built.<sup>55</sup>

Reverend W. J. Gordon was one of the earlier Baptist ministers of Clifton. Reverend Earl Simms was in Clifton as a church "invigorator" in 1924 to reopen the church which had gone into a decline. He remodeled the church building and got the church back on its feet, then turned it over to Reverend V. A. Vanderhof. Reverend Fred Pulliam served the church in the early thirties and until the present minister, Reverend Joseph Smith, came in 1938.<sup>56</sup>

Although the Methodists do not have a church in Clifton at the present time there was a time when that denomination was quite active. In 1908 Reverend Lawton and Reverend Clay Morgan were serving the Methodist congregations in Clifton.<sup>57</sup> They were using the South Clifton school building for a church. By 1912 they had built up enough of a following to justify a church. They built a nice brick church near the Brutinel apartments of today. Not very much is known about their work in Clifton except that they had a minister who "prayed for an automobile and got it" in 1928. The same minister once preached a sermon entitled "Cowboys and Other Liars". By 1933 the Methodist influence had declined to the extent that a building was no longer needed, so it was torn

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55. Copper Era, June 14, 1914

56. V. A. Vanderhof, Letter of March 13, 1945

57. "Methodist Church to Organize", Copper Era, April 9, 1908.

down and the bricks used in building an apartment house.<sup>58</sup>

The Episcopalian Church had its start in Clifton in 1901 when the Reverend F. S. Eastman of Globe held meetings in Clifton every three months. In October of 1901 the Right Reverend John Mills Kendrick, Bishop of Arizona and New Mexico, visited Clifton. By 1902 Clifton had ten communicants. Church was being held in Library Hall. In 1913 Clifton and Morenci were organized as a mission; the same minister served both towns. In 1916 Archdeacon J. R. Jenkins was holding regular monthly services. Charles J. Brooks was Warden of Clifton's St. Phillips; Earl Lynde, Lewis Burch, and Albert Vine were members of the vestry. In 1917 the Episcopalians were having church in the Princess theatre and trying to devise means of raising money to build a church. They gave a dance to raise money to buy the lot and remodelled a dwelling house to make a church.<sup>59</sup> The Reverend Guy Bruce was appointed vicar of the dual churches in 1923 and continued in that position until 1938. In that year he died and Reverend E. C. Tuthill was appointed vicar. Reverend O. W. Nickle was appointed vicar in 1941 and has continued to the present.<sup>60</sup>

In addition to these well organized churches there have been sporadic attempts to start other churches, usually by itinerant preachers who gave up after a few months of trying

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58. Mrs. O. T. Cotey, Interview, Jan. 4, 1945

59. News Item, Copper Era, April 6, 1917

60. Materials gathered by Reverend O. W. Nickle.

to influence the inattentive miners. The Christian Scientists once had church in the Armory building. The Mormons were quite well established at one time and built a small brick church in South Clifton which is now being used as a dwelling house. The Church of Christ has almost always maintained a church in Clifton but have not built their own building.

Since the turn of the century Clifton has always had a library. It was first established in a building built for it by the Arizona Copper Company just south of the smelter. That building was quite commodious, being used for public meetings, dances, dinners, etc. It came to be known as Library Hall and was later rebuilt to be used for the company store in which capacity it still serves. The library at that time was a popular place having all the latest periodicals and out of state newspapers.

In 1917 the library was taken over by the Y.M.C.A. and the books were moved to the Casa Grande building. When the Y.M.C.A. ceased to operate in Clifton the library was moved to the North Clifton School where it occupied one room. It stayed there until the middle thirties when it was moved to the present location in the old office buildings of the Arizona Copper Company.

It cannot be said that the Clifton library has ever been a good one. The books are poor in selection and few

in number. At present it is being operated by the Clifton Woman's Club and an attempt is being made to build it up but since very little money is available it is likely Clifton will not have a first class library in the near future.

## CHAPTER VIII

### THE CREATION OF GREENLEE COUNTY

The territory in which Clifton is situated has been under the jurisdiction of several counties. When the first mining locations were made in 1872, they were recorded in Prescott, which is the county seat of Yavapai county. The miners soon overcame the handicap of the long trip by establishing the Copper Mountain Mining District.<sup>1</sup> Records were made on the grounds but had to be recorded at intervals in Prescott. Later the territory was placed under the jurisdiction of Apache county. In 1881 Graham county was created by the eleventh territorial legislature from parts of Apache and Pima counties. Clifton was in the part of Apache county that was ceded to Graham county. This greatly benefited the Clifton populace because their county seat was now only about forty five miles away at Solomonville. At that time Clifton was a wild mining town and not very much interested in government or they would have made a fight for the county seat, as Clifton was far more populous than Solomonville.

By the turn of the century the people of Clifton and environs began to agitate for the establishment of a new

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1. Graham County Transferred Records of Mining Locations.  
(They had been transferred from Yavapai and Apache counties).

county which would include the mining districts of the eastern parts of Graham county. The town of Clifton and Morenci had grown to a combined population of about ten thousand while Safford and Solomonville could boast of only about half that number. The assessed valuation of the mining district of Graham county was about six million dollars while the valley section of the county was only about two million. Since most of the county officers were being chosen by the political machine at Safford, the people of the mountain area felt that it was the old story of taxation without representation all over again.<sup>2</sup>

In 1900 when the agitation for a new county reached serious proportions it was proposed to call the new county Colquhoun in honor of James Colquhoun, the doughty Scotchman who was general manager of the Arizona Copper Company.<sup>3</sup>

The Copper Era in an editorial of January 10, 1901 stated that the schools of Solomonville and Safford, which were in the valley part of the county, were costing \$16,500 per year while their share of the school taxes was only \$8,500. At the same time Clifton had only two teachers and Morenci one. Thus Clifton and Morenci were paying for the schools of the Gila Valley.<sup>4</sup>

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2. W. B. Kelly, "History of the Creation of Greenlee County", The Copper Era, April 21, 1943

3. The Copper Era, December 27, 1899

4. "The Proposed New County", The Copper Era, January 10, 1901



On January 17, 1901 a large mass meeting was held in Library hall in Clifton to devise means of securing county division. Neil Munro was chairman. Dan Lynch, a prominent citizen, said that criminality was too common in Clifton because court action was too difficult because of the distance to Solomonville. He said, "Give us our county and we will handle our own criminals."

Wiley Jones, a lawyer from Solomonville, proposed that the territorial government be asked to pass a special law allowing the people of Graham county to vote on the establishment of a new county. That seems to have been an attempt to hedge on the issue. Mr. Charlie Shannon, who was a member of the territorial legislature, promised to support the measure.<sup>5</sup>

An editorial in The Copper Era of January 10, 1901 asserted that the Arizona Copper Company (\$17,709.28), The Detroit Copper Company (\$13,223.87), and the Arizona New Mexico Railway Company (\$5,129.88) pay more than one third of the county's taxes of \$103,725. It used this as an argument for county division.<sup>6</sup>

At the same time Editor Kelly of The Solomonville Bulletin argued that the mining companies might suspend

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5. "For County Division", The Copper Era, January 17, 1901

6. "The Proposed New County", The Copper Era, January 10, 1901.

operations in the future because of a lack of ore. That would leave the new county without dividends with which to function. The Copper Era said that the possibility was too remote to consider.<sup>7</sup>

In 1901 it became necessary to build a new courthouse in Graham county as the old one was inadequate for the needs of the growing county. Safford fought to have the new courthouse built in Safford rather than in Solomonville. Clifton renewed the fight for county division hoping to get action before the building of the new courthouse. Safford proposed that the building of a new courthouse in Safford should satisfy the mining section's desire for county division.<sup>8</sup>

By 1904 Morenci had begun to advocate county division also. They proposed that the new county should be called Douglas in honor of Dr. James Douglas, who was superintendent of the Detroit Copper Company of Morenci. The Morenci people asked that a new county seat be established at New Town, a part of Morenci, and that it be named Longfellow. This proposal caused the Clifton leaders to give up their own proposed name of Colquhoun and substitute Lincoln instead.<sup>9</sup>

By the year 1905 the agitation for a new county had

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7. Editorial, The Copper Era, February 7, 1901

8. Editorial, The Copper Era, March 7, 1901

9. "County Division", The Morenci Standard, December 4, 1904

begun to reach the organized stage. The managers of the three major mining companies in the area; the Arizona Copper Company, the Detroit Copper Company, and the Shannon Mining Company, had taken up the fight. They sent John R. Hampton who was young, able, and a lawyer for the Shannon Copper Company, to the state legislature. It was he who organized the fight at the territorial capital which eventually led to the establishment of Greenlee County.<sup>10</sup>

Before the convening of the twenty fifth legislature in 1909 the stage was set to make a determined fight for the new county. The citizens of Clifton, Morenci, and Metcalf got together in a large mass meeting and organized "A League for the Establishment of Lincoln County". Mr. Hampton wrote, and the league adopted a solemn document entitled "Articles of Faith". It was modelled after the Declaration of Independence of the United States, and like it, was a statement of the grievances of the people against the government from which they sought to separate themselves. It read:<sup>11</sup>

"Whereas, the people of the proposed county of Lincoln pay school tax enough to pay for an unsurpassed system, yet their schools are perennially short of funds.

"Our annual payments to the road funds should have been sufficient to have macadamized the roads

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10. The Copper Era, December 1911

11. W. B. Kelly, "History of the Creation of Greenlee County", The Copper Era, April 21, 1943.

(or road) of the district, yet we are denied even the poor substitute of a few public trails, neither is there a county road or trail to the county seat.

"We are required, in order to reach the county seat, to make a railroad journey of over one hundred and fifty miles, over three or four lines of road---- the alternative being a railroad trip over one or two railroads and a stage trip of thirty five miles of toll road-----.

"Our public officers are far removed, and our official records, by the distance and difficulties of travel, are practically unavailable to our people who constitute the great majority of the residents of the county.

"Our citizens are called away, and held for long intervals, at great expense of time and money, on jury duty and court services, whereas such services and duty might be performed with comparatively little loss to the citizens if the courts were located at the center of population.

"The criminal cases arising in a populous district ordinarily involve a host of indigent witnesses, these because of the distant location of the county seat in Graham county, must be transported, housed and fed at public expense. The mileage and expenses for officers, witnesses, and prisoners, for this reason, is rendered enormously excessive.

"All this great and utterly useless waste of the public's money-----could be saved entirely had each section a county government of its own.

"Therefore, we who lie east of the Peloncillo range,-----are seeking a county government of our own and a separation from a district distant and dissimilar community, from which we are now separated by the natural boundary of forty miles of mountain range and desert.

"And whereas the building of a new court house is imperative on account of the inadequate size and poor condition of the present county court house, we therefore consider this an opportune time for the division of the county.

"Therefore, we the undersigned citizens of the proposed county of Lincoln, believing the attainment of a county government of our own to be an economic condition paramount to all others, have joined ourselves together in the Lincoln County League and faithfully agree to set aside every political obligation and consideration, binding ourselves to oppose the political aspirations of every individual or organization that opposes these just demands."

A copy of this document was sent to J. J. Birdno, editor of the Graham County Guardian of Safford. That worthy individual evidently took the name of his paper for a personal motto for he immediately took up his pen in opposition to the division of the county. In an editorial of February 9, 1909 he accused the copper companies of starting the movement for their own selfish ends. Petitions were circulated and signed by those who opposed county division.

At Clifton and Morenci meetings were held by the leaders of the movement in the company offices, thus bringing the companies openly into the fight. Mr. Hampton was sent to Phoenix at the expense of the companies. He returned to Clifton and more meetings were held at which all the heads of the three companies were present. It was decided to send a large delegation of local men to Phoenix to lobby for division when the legislature convened. Sixteen men went and their expenses were paid by the copper companies.<sup>12</sup>

In Safford and Solomonville the fight against county

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12. Graham County Guardian, February 19, 1909

division was led by Charles Solomon, pioneer merchant and banker of Solomonville, and J. J. Birdno. Their chief argument against division was that it was a move to evade helping to build a new court house which was necessary because the old one had been worn out partly by the people of the proposed new county. It was easy enough for them to show that the creation of a new county would mean higher taxation for the older section, so they got enthusiastic support from the farmers and townspeople of the Gila Valley around Safford. When the bill to create the new county came before the legislature, during the latter part of the twenty fifth territorial legislature, many of them made the trip to Phoenix to lobby against it. The bill when finally introduced was sponsored by John R. Hampton, councilman from Graham county. Its chief opponent was Brady O'Neil of Gila county.<sup>13</sup>

The bill was introduced February 25, 1909 as council bill 94. It passed by a majority of ten to one. The one was Mr. O'Neil. The bill went to the house where it was passed with an amendment which changed the name from Lincoln to Greenlee.<sup>14</sup> The vote to concur on the amendment was lost

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13. "Contention over Division of Graham County",  
Arizona Daily Star, February 26, 1909.

14. Mason Greenlee, after whom Greenlee County was named, was born in Virginia. He came to Denver, Colorado soon after the close of the Civil War when that city was only a mining camp. He soon became interested in mining and organized a company which prospected the Big Horn country. He located

in the council by a vote of five to four. A conference committee was appointed which reported back favorably.

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14. (cont.) several gold claims in Colorado. One of these was the "Wheel of Fortune" which made him wealthy.

In 1871 J. H. Holbrook organized a party in Pueblo, Colorado to prospect the Gila River Valley. Greenlee joined the party. This party, which consisted of twenty one men, many of whom were old soldiers, was soon in the vicinity of Clifton and Morenci.

(Neither of those towns existed at that time.) They stayed in the vicinity most of the winter but the Indians became troublesome so they left to go back to Colorado. Greenlee was very much impressed with the gold prospects which he saw and determined to come back. He sold his valuable mine, "The Wheel of Fortune", and returned to Clifton in 1878. With him came Loyd Tevis who remained his partner until Greenlee died. They associated themselves with several other miners to establish the Greenlee Gold Mountain Mining District. It was located on the San Francisco River several miles above Clifton.

The remainder of Greenlee's life follows a tragic pattern common among the early day prospectors. His efforts to locate a rich strike slowly ate up the sizable fortune which Greenlee had brought with him from Colorado. During the nineties Greenlee and Tevis consolidated their holdings with Hank Dorsey and Albert Williams. They believed they had a rich strike but the gold was not found.

In 1898 Greenlee's health began to fail due to the hard work he had done. The winter of 1902 and 1903 he spent in Clifton at the home of Ike Stevens who was an old friend and an old pioneer also. Greenlee died April 10, 1903 after an illness of three weeks which followed a collapse. He was buried in an unmarked grave at public expense. In recent years the citizens of Clifton have honored the memory of Greenlee by erecting a large monument at his grave.

Greenlee was described as being a tall man, quite thin and tireless. He was fearless, living by himself when the Indians were on the warpath. Despite the fact that his hearing was impaired he loved to talk and joke. He seemed to have been one of those fortunate people who was well liked by all who knew him.

It is quite unlikely that the name of Greenlee would have been adopted as the name of the county had it not been that the Arizona Copper Company

Councilman O'Neil presented the minority report for the conference committee. The question was brought before the council again and, after a long filibuster led by Mr. O'Neil which lasted far into the night of February 25th, was passed.<sup>15</sup>

The amendment to change the name was introduced by Mr. Bailey of Cochise county. Mr. O'Neil seized on the change of name to delay the final passage of the bill. During the afternoon and night of February 25th Mr. Mills, general Manager of the Detroit Copper Company at Morenci, made a trade with the Safford opponents whereby final division would be delayed for two years. This agreement and the assumption of all Graham county debts, which were \$146,000, by the new county, appeased the Safford delegation so completely that nearly all opposition in the legislature ceased and the bill passed the next day by a vote of seven to two in the Council.<sup>16</sup>

An interesting sidelight on this bit of legislative

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14. (cont.) wished to name the county after Mr. Colquhoun, who was head of that company; and the Detroit Copper Company wished to name it in honor of Dr. Douglas, who was in charge of that company. Not being able to agree they decided to name the county after an old pioneer. Greenlee had died a few years previously and was well remembered at that time.

(The foregoing biography was taken from the Copper Era, April 16, 1903 and the "Reminiscences of John L. Bachelder" as told to Mrs. Geo. Kitt.)

15. Journal of the Twenty Fifth Legislature.

16. Arizona Daily Star, February 26, 1909.



history was that John Hampton, who represented Graham county in the Council, but was an employee of the Shannon Copper Mining Company of Clifton, refused to support the amended bill in the Council until the opposition of the Graham county farmers was removed by the deal which Mr. Mills negotiated.<sup>17</sup> This seeming anomaly was explained the next year when Mr. Hampton tried to secure the Democratic nomination to the House of Representatives.<sup>18</sup>

The bill to create the new county was approved March 10, 1909 by Governor Joseph H. Kibbey. The new county was to start functioning January 1, 1911 and was to include the territory east of the Peloncillo Mountains. It was one of the smaller counties, being only about one hundred and twenty miles long and about twenty miles wide. It contained only 1,037,713 acres and had four populated towns. The new county had an estimated population of twelve or thirteen thousand.

Having been successful in securing a new county the people of Greenlee County began to get ready for county government. Clifton and Duncan both tried to secure the location of the county seat. Duncan citizens argued that since Duncan was the county's outlet to the rest of the world, and far more accessible to the rest of the world, it should become the County seat. Clifton had a far

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17. Arizona Daily Star, February 26, 1909.

18. The Copper Era, July 17, 1910

better argument in that the town was nearer the geographical center of the county and also nearer the population centers of Morenci and Metcalf.<sup>19</sup> Clifton won the fight and the county seat was located there.

There was considerable controversy also concerning the location of the courthouse in Clifton. Henry Hill and others wanted it to be placed in South Clifton arguing that it would always be above floods there. Jim Hagan, S. F. Awalt, and O. A. Risdon wanted the courthouse in Eastside because that was the most important part of the town at that time. Those who wanted it in South Clifton were said to have won the election to decide on location by promising to give the ground on which the house was to be built to the County. Later when Henry Hill sold the lots to the board of supervisors A. T. Thompson got an injunction to stop the building alleging that Hill had promised to give the lots to the County. The suit was dismissed on the grounds that such a verbal agreement had no standing in the eyes of the law.

Since the new county did not have a courthouse the first meetings of the county officials were held in temporary offices at various places around over the town of Clifton. The first session of the Greenlee county court

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19. "Greenlee County the Wonderland of Arizona",  
Chamber of Commerce Bulletin.

was held Friday, April 21, 1911 in the old Armory Building.<sup>20</sup>

The courthouse was built on the five lots sold to the county by Henry Hill. F. C. Heck was the architect and the contractor was Otto P. Kroeger. The plans originally called for a fifty thousand dollar building but it ran slightly more than that. It is of fine yellow brick and has two floors and a roomy basement which is used for offices. The building was started on January 1, 1911 and the new county officers moved into it September 1, 1912 although it was not quite finished.<sup>21</sup>

The first county election in Greenlee county was held in 1910. The men elected were all Democrats except Charlie Spamm, who was elected county recorder.

The first county officers were E. W. Horton, county attorney; I. B. English, sheriff; James H. Kerby, assessor; B. F. Billingsley, George Webster, and J. H. T. Cospers, supervisors; John M. Webster, Treasurer; J. W. Akers, Superintendent of Schools; S. F. Awalt, Superintendent of Roads; and H. O. Tunis, county surveyor.<sup>22</sup>

In the organization and administration of the new county, strange to say, the prominent members of the County

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20. "First Session of County Court", The Copper Era, April 27, 1911

21. "New Court House", The Copper Era, October 6, 1911

22. "Greenlee County the Wonderland of Arizona", Bulletin of the Greenlee County Chamber of Commerce.

Division League were left out in the cold. This seeming paradox is explained by the fact that most of the leaders in the movement for county division were company employees and, as such, were not interested in county offices.

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