THE HISTORY OF TOMBSTONE TO 1887

ALICE EMILY LOVE

LIBRARY UNIV. OF ARIZONA

THE HISTORY OF TOMBSTONE TO 1887

by

Alice Emily Love

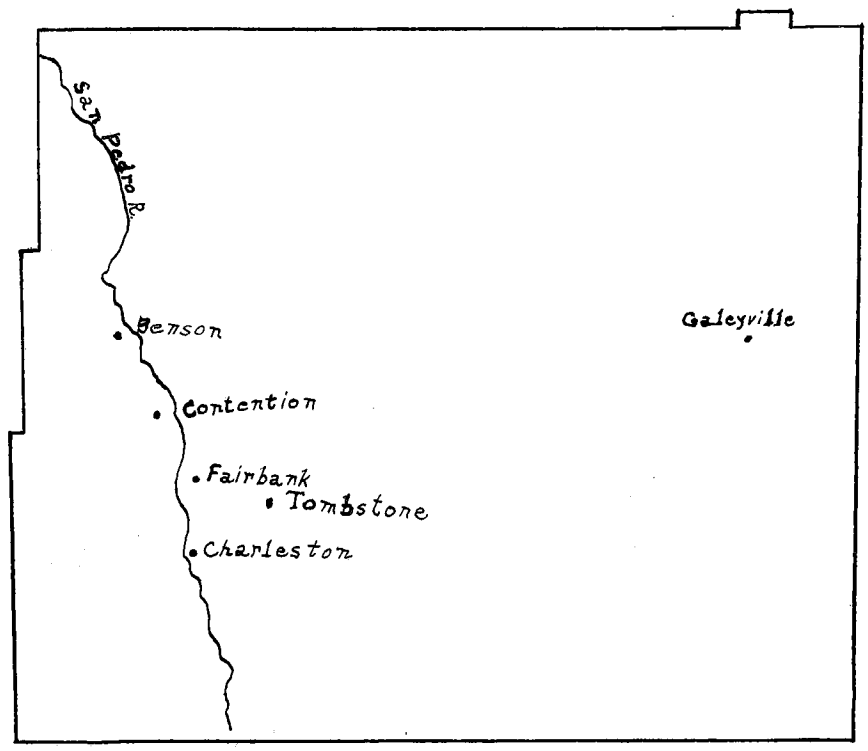
Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts
in the College of Letters, Arts, and Sciences, of the
University of Arizona

1 9 3 3

Approved: W. A. Hubbard Date: 5/10/1933
Major advisor

E9791
1935
42



Sonora

90759

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION 1

CHAPTER I. DISCOVERY OF THE TOMBSTONE MINES 4

Discovery of the mines - origin of the name - Gird - Vosburg - financing the mines - other stories of the discovery of the Tombstone mines.

CHAPTER II. SETTLEMENT AND GROWTH OF TOMBSTONE 17

Attention attracted by the mines - types of people who came to Tombstone - the settlement at Watervale - appearance and population of Tombstone in 1879 and 1880 - organization of Cochise County - Tombstone made the county seat.

CHAPTER III. DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOMBSTONE MINES 23

Sources of the capital which developed the Tombstone mines - system used - production - holdings of the various companies - litigation - working conditions in the mines - the mining companies and politics.

CHAPTER IV. CIVIC AFFAIRS 32

Lawlessness in Tombstone and Cochise County - outlaws - political rivalry in Tombstone - the Earp Clanton feud - feeling aroused in the territory.

CHAPTER V. TRANSPORTATION 54

Stage lines - telegraph and telephone - Tombstone's railroad history - means of shipping ore.

CHAPTER VI. TOMBSTONE AND TERRITORIAL POLITICS 61

Influence of the mines on territorial politics - Tombstone and the Eleventh Legislature - the fight over the creation of Cochise County -

repeal of the bullion tax bill - the Twelfth Legislature - the Thirteenth Legislature - Sierra Bonita County - lack of political influence of Tombstone after 1885.

CHAPTER VII. LIFE IN TOMBSTONE IN THE EIGHTIES 71

Early days in Tombstone - appearance of the town in the '80's - the fires of 1881 and 1882 - wages and the cost of living - social life - clubs - other amusements.

CHAPTER VIII. LEGENDARY TOMBSTONE 81

Basis of the Tombstone legends - Buckskin Frank Leslie - John Ringo - "Doc" Holliday - the Reverend Mr. Endicott Peabody - Curly Bill - Russian Bill - Cora - the others.

CHAPTER IX. DECLINE OF THE TOMBSTONE MINES..... 93

Fall in value of silver - the strike of 1884 - the miner's union - failure of the Safford Hudson Bank - effects of the strike - water in the mines - Tombstone's fall.

CONCLUSION 98

INTRODUCTION.

Fifty years ago Tombstone was one of the largest mining towns of the Southwest. Today it sleeps quietly in the sun among the hills that fringe the San Pedro valley, this little village with the gruesome name.

Its fame as a gun town has gone down in history; its very name "Tombstone" to the average Arizonian is a synonym for murder and lawlessness and violence. It conjures up a picture of a roaring bonanza mining camp where the inhabitants woke in the morning to the clatter of rifle shots and went through their daily routine of gambling, drinking, stage robbery, and murder, to the same accompaniment; Tombstone life - a medley of the click of roulette wheels, bursts of drunken song, the crash of saloon mirrors broken in tipsy brawls, and Boot Hill Cemetery waiting quietly and inexorably in the background. But of what use to try to describe that which has been already so often and so vividly depicted? All the adjectives were used up long ago and repetition is invariably wearisome.

So much for romance, but after all every town or city is composed of human beings whose lives are compounded mainly of the dull stuff of reality and Tombstone was no exception in this respect. Of a necessity, the serious business of making a living absorbed most of the time and much of the energy, of its inhabitants. Their lives were passed against a background of the usual scenes of industry, in offices, behind counters,

in the tunnels and shafts of mines. To them, banks and churches, newspapers, schools, and the high price of flour and shoes, were matters of much more immediate concern than gun battles.

Much has been written of Tombstone's fabulous mines. The famous "Million Dollar Stope" and the equally widely sung imprint of a pick in pure silver in one of the mines are renowned far and wide. But these mines were owned by mining companies and worked by miners. And mining companies frequently get themselves involved in lawsuits; such things are unpleasant and costly. Therefore mining companies if they are powers in the land - and undoubtedly they were that in Arizona - seek to have laws made beneficial to their industry. Tombstone's mining companies ran true to form; they sought with the aid of other mining companies in the state to prevent taxes from eating into their profits, to secure transportation facilities for shipping their ores to markets, and to put down lawlessness in the territory around Tombstone in order to secure stable conditions to carry on their industry.

And, as Tombstone was no Utopia, miners sometimes dared to grumble at the wages paid them. Their employers, as was quite natural, frequently disagreed with such complaints, and, as was also quite natural, strikes resulted.

These phases of Tombstone's history have hitherto remained for the most part undescribed, having been neglected for more spectacular themes. Perhaps the telling of this story will

destroy the glamour but realities need not necessarily prove less interesting than romance, and they have the uncontestable advantage of being built upon a much firmer foundation.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY OF THE TOMBSTONE MINES.

The Tombstone mines were discovered in 1877 by Edward Schieffelin who was prospecting in that section of the country while employed in doing some assessment work on the Brunckow mine. This mine at the time was the only mine known in that locality, and incidentally valueless.[1] There are in existence stories claiming that the mines were first discovered by others but these are for the most part half legendary in character, and Schieffelin's version of the story of the discovery of the Tombstone mines is accepted by most authorities as authentic.[2]

Stories are not lacking as to how Tombstone received its rather macabre appellation, and again Schieffelin is generally conceded to be the person responsible for its christening. His version of the tale runs thus; He had started out prospecting in January 1877, making Fort Huachuca his base of supplies. One of the soldiers at the fort jokingly asked him what he expected to find in the barren hills he was prospecting. Schieffelin's answer that he expected to find his fortune met with a laugh and a bantering remark to the effect that he would probably find his Tombstone instead.[4] And the number of settlers killed during that year by Indians made the prophecy seem not unlikely of fulfillment.

---

1. Mc. Clintock, Arizona the Youngest State, Vol. II, p.410.
2. Breakenridge, Mc.Clintock, and others accept Schieffelin's claim.
3. Schieffelin, History of the Discovery of Tombstone.
4. Ibid.

Ironically enough time was to prove both of them in the right. Schieffelin found there both the fortune he had so confidently expected to find and the Tombstone predicted by the soldier.

In September 1877 he filed his first claim in Tucson. He was convinced that he had made a rich strike but he really knew very little of ores, and in Tucson he was unable to get his samples assayed. Also he had a great deal of difficulty in convincing anyone that he had discovered something of value. Everyone around Tucson called him a fool for not taking up land and ranching. The general opinion there was that prospecting was wasting time.[5]

But to Schieffelin life as a rancher offered no attractions. As a boy he had run away from his home in Oregon because he found farming intolerably dull. From that time he led the usual life of a prospector in Nevada, Idaho, Colorado, and New Mexico.[6] In a letter written at the age of twenty-two he says,

"I am restless here and wish to go somewhere that has wealth for the digging of it. I can't say that I care to be rich - it isn't that. If I had a fortune I suppose I'd not keep it long, for now I think of it I can't see why I should. But I like the excitement of being right up against the earth trying to coax her gold away to scatter it..."

He goes on to say that even if he makes no strike he will "have the sport of hanging on the edge of buried millions and that will be worthwhile."[7]

---

5. Schieffelin, History of the Discovery of Tombstone.
6. Mc.Clintock, Arizona the Youngest State, Vol. II, p.411.
7. Vosburg Papers.

Once when asked about his prospecting trips about Tombstone he replied,[8]

"I wasn't looking for bullets but I felt if one happened my way it wouldn't make much difference to anyone but me, and I never could figure out that to be dead would be unpleasant, Some people seem to know all about such things but I'm a bit stupid I suppose for I've never been able to learn the alphabet of birth and death."

A description of him written about 1876 runs as follows,[9]

"He was about the queerest specimen of humanity ever seen, about 6 feet 2 inches in height, with black curly hair that hung several inches below his shoulders. His long untrimmed beard was a mass of unkempt knots and mats. His clothing was worn out and covered with patches of deerskins, corduroy, and flannel, and his old slouch hat, too, was so pieced with rabbit skin that very little of the original felt remained. Although only twenty-seven years of age he looked at least forty."

Unable to find help in Tucson he was obliged to abandon his prospecting temporarily. He had only thirty cents in his pocket so he set out in search of employment. He went first to the Mc.Cracken mine, where he supposed his brother to be, but he found the latter gone when he arrived. For a time Schieffelin remained at the Mc.Cracken mine until he had managed to save a small amount from his work there; he then set out for Signal whither he was told that his brother had gone. This time he succeeded in finding his brother and also employment at the Signal mine. His brother Al did not seem very enthusuastic when told of the discovery , but Richard Gird whom Schieffelin met at Signal proved much more helpful when he saw the samples of ore brought from the prospect.[10] Gird was at this time assayer at the Signal

---

8. Vosburg Papers.
9. Mc.Clintock, Arizona the Youngest State, VolII , p. 412.
10. Schieffelin, History of the Discovery of Tombstone.

Mill and knew something of mineralogy and geology.[11] He assayed the samples and found that one of them assayed $40 to the ton, another $600, and a sample from what was afterwards called the Graveyard Claim $2000, though the last named, contrary to expectations, did not prove very valuable.

Gird offered his aid and a partnership was formed consisting of Ed and Al Schieffelin and Gird.[11] With a team and a few supplies they left Signal February 14, 1878 to return to the location of Schieffelin's claim, a journey of between three and four hundred miles.

All this Schieffelin relates in his History of the Discovery of Tombstone. But he omits all mention of John S. Vosburg who assisted the partners in securing supplies in Tucson, even furnishing security for their credit.[12] Fortunately Vosburg's account of the affair survives. He describes the entry of the Schieffelins and Gird into his establishment - he was a gunsmith - one day early in 1878. They told him that Governor Safford had sent them, and as Vosburg and Safford had been partners in many mining deals, the latter's recommendation ensured aid from Vosburg.[13] In answer to his questions they told him that their claim was in the Chiricahua Mountains and they needed about $250 worth of provisions. Vosburg stood as security for them for that amount at Lord and Williams' store in Tucson.

---

11. Mc. Clintock, Arizona the Youngest State, Vol. II, p. 410
12. Schieffelin, History of the Discovery of Tombstone.
13. Nowhere in Schieffelin's chronicle does Vosburg's name appear, and Gird's account written much later contains no reference to him either. This is strange indeed as Vosburg played an exceedingly important part in financing and developing the mines. Lockwood in his Arizona Characters is the first writer to mention Vosburg and give him the credit due him.
14. Vosburg Papers.

Probably nothing so clearly indicates the spirit of the times as this practice of grubstaking. The mining fever seems to have smitten very nearly everyone in the territory and those who were not professional prospectors indulged their longings to search for mineral wealth vicariously whenever they could. In return for a small quantity of supplies furnished by a merchant, or a loan supplied by some benevolent business man, a prospector would agree to give a certain percentage of the proceeds of his claim if it "panned out", or he might even stake out a claim in his benefactor's name. Such arrangements were valid even if they were wholly verbal in character and were recognized as legally binding by the courts in all the western mining states.[15]

With their provisions and equipment Gird and Schieffelins reached the site of Schieffelin's prospect. The claim already staked out by Schieffelin proved rather a disappointment so they decided to prospect farther in the same neighborhood.[16] It was then that the most valuable finds were made. Some of the claims staked out proved very rich indeed; the ore was silver assaying about $5000 to the ton and carrying a great deal of gold.[17] They located mine after mine, and Gird surveyed and connected all the claims,[18] which received such designations as the Tough Nut, Lucky Cuss, Owl's Nest, and Contention, the latter being probably the most appropriately named.[19]

---

15. Sloan, Memoirs of an Arizona Judge, p. 104.
16. Schieffelin, History of the Discovery of Tombstone.
17. Ibid.
18. Lockwood, Arizona Characters, p.188.
19. See Mc.Clintock, Arizona the Youngest State, Vol.II, p. 410.

Gird then went to Tucson to record the claims, and while there he called on Vosburg and informed him that they had found something promising. He also confessed that they had purposely misinformed him as to the location of their prospect at first, but Vosburg readily forgave the deception.[20] Gird took back with him more supplies and some giant powder for blasting. He urged Vosburg to accompany him but the latter knew nothing about prospecting, so instead, rightly judging that if they had really struck something they would need funds for development, he wrote to Governor Safford, who was then in the East, for help adding that there was no time to lose. Governor Safford had connections with men of wealth and at Vosburg's request he undertook to interest capitalists in the mines.[21]

By this time news of their find had spread over the territory and prospectors and miners were thronging into that section of the country. Gird had written the news of their find to some of his friends in Signal and immediately about four fifths of the population departed for Tombstone.[22]

Charles Tozier of Tucson made an offer of $90,000 for all the mines but the transaction was cancelled[23] and, as Tozier thereby forfeited a bond of $5,000, with the $10,000 which the partners received by the sale of the Contention claim they now had a sum sufficient to carry on development work.[24]

---

20. Vosburg Papers.
21. Ibid.
22. Personal interview with Mr. J.A. Rockfellow.
23. Schieffelin, History of the Discovery of Tombstone.
24. Lockwood, Arizona Characters, p. 188.

In September Governor Safford returned from the East accompanied by two of the Corbin brothers of New Britain, Connecticut, and Professor Cox, state geologist of Indiana. They came to Tombstone, Vosburg with them, in a Concord coach, five horses, and a special driver.[25]

Professor Cox examined the Tough Nut, West Side, and Lucky Cuss claims and estimated them to be worth about $2,500,000.[26] Frank Corbin bought an interest in the Lucky Cuss series of mines which was also incorporated and called the Corbin Mill and Mining Company.[27] The Tough Nut series was incorporated under the name of the Tombstone Milling and Mining Company, and Governor Safford and Al Schieffelin went East to sell the stock, but they were only partially successful.[28] A contract was drawn up among the stockholders of the Tombstone Milling and Mining Company the provisions of which are described as follows by Vosburg,

"My agreement with the boys, Ed, Al, and Gird, was in effect that for furnishing them with money to build a 10 stamp quartz mill with all necessary appliances and equipment, to be expended under the direction of Richard Gird, not exceeding $80,000, and when the mill, etc. should be completed then "yours truly" was to have a one fourth interest in ten mining claims named, including the Tough Nut, Lucky Cuss, West Side, Owl's Nest, etc. together with the to be completed mill and all parts of the reduction

---

25. At this point there is some discrepancy between the narratives of Schieffelin and Vosburg. As has been stated Schieffelin does not mention Vosburg, and he implies that he and his partners were unacquainted with Governor Safford prior to this time. Also he speaks of Dan Gillette as associated with Governor Safford and a member of the company formed while Vosburg does not mention him in any such capacity.
26. Vosburg Papers.
27. Schieffelin, History of the Discovery of Tombstone.
28. Ibid.

works. Then the Corbins and I made an agreement in effect that they were to furnish me with $80,000, in such sums and at such times as required, not exceeding the $80,000 and at the completion of all this the Corbins were to have one half of my one fourth, as specified above. However, the half of my one fourth of the $80,000 was to be paid back to the Corbins out of the first net proceeds of said mill." 29

Vosburg continues,

"Then time pressing, the Corbins left me $1,000 on account and hied themselves away for Philadelphia from where they were to send us the money. Dick Gird took himself to San Francisco to get the mill under way, the Governor went back to his other affairs, and "yours truly" took himself out to the mill site alongside the San Pedro River where I was to superintend the planning, lying out, and work, of the foundation of the 10 stamp mill, the power to run which was to be the water from the said San Pedro River. Gird was to send a saw mill by the first ship from San Francisco down to the Pacific around Cape San Lucas, and up the Gulf of California (I think) to Yuma. There Ham Light was to take it on big wagons up to Tucson and on to the Huachuca Mountains 37- miles away, where were pine trees to make the lumber to build the quartz mill at the San Pedro River where as yet there was no dam by the mill site and no mill by a dam site." 30

The portable saw mill came and was duly installed. Vosburg says,

"By this time lots of people, mostly men had come, and things were getting lively. There were lots of miners and prospectors with their attendant burros. A town of tents and hastily made adobes had sprung up like magic on the bottom land along the side of the mill site. They named it Charleston...Ike Clanton started and ran our first boarding house in a tent and he soon had plenty of boarders." 31

But it is not as a boarding house keeper that Ike Clanton is famed in the annals of Tombstone.

The quartz mill was completed and started running June 1, 1879. By this time Tombstone's boom had fairly begun. There were hosts of independent claims belonging to the various

---

29. Vosburg Papers
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid.

prospectors who had been thronging into the camp continuously since the news of the Tombstone strike had been spread abroad.

The first bar of silver bullion when tested assayed $1864.[32] The first shipment of ore was made some time around June 17, 1879. No data seems available concerning the amount of this shipment but it must have been considerable, as Mr. J.A. Rockfellow, who was in Tucson at this time says that when it arrived it was paraded through the town of Tucson in a most imposing manner, hundreds of people turning out to view it.[33]

June 23 there was a second shipment of bullion delivered to the Safford Hudson Bank in Tucson consisting of 8 bars of bullion with a total value of $18,395.28.[34] This was the result of one week's run of ore. The mill was said to be running night and day, and visitors reported that everything about the new camp had a businesslike air.[35]

The Tucson papers of this period are full of enthusiastic reports concerning the new camp. Tucson business men took trips down there and reported great activity in the town. The Arizona Daily Star states that the road from Tucson to Tombstone was lined with conveyances of all kinds,"...from the miner with his Arizona coat of arms, the burro, to the heavy teams all bound for the new Eldorado." The description further stated that the people of Tombstone were all "too busy to sleep".[36] It also spoke of the many locations, monuments, and prospect holes in the

---

32. Vosburg Papers;
33. Personal Interview with Mr.J.A. Rockfellow.
34. Arizona Daily Star, June 26, 1879.
35. Ibid.
36. Arizona Daily Star, October 29, 1879.

Tombstone district. There were many notices in the Tucson papers at this time of the sale of several of the lesser mines in the Tombstone territory.

In February 1880 a party from Philadelphia, Disston, Corbin, Asbury, Hart, and Wright, came down to the mines in a special car to look over the Gird and Schieffelin properties. They purchased the interests of the Schieffelins in the Tough Nut Mill and Mining Company and the Corbin Mill and Mining Company for the sum of $600,000. Of this amount $50,000 was paid down on April 1, and the remainder in monthly installments of $50,000 each.[37] The original Tombstone claim was sold by Schieffelin to the same company at this time for only a few hundred dollars.

Gird still held his interests in the Tombstone Milling and Mining Company, which had succeeded the Tough Nut Mill and Mining Company, and the Corbin Mill and Mining Company. Later he sold these for $600,000, double the sum received by each of the two Schieffelins. Though he was not in the least obligated to do so, he divided the extra amount he had received with them.[38] Their whole agreement had been characterized by complete harmony from beginning to end.[39]

After disposing of his share in the mines, Schieffelin left Tombstone and for the next twenty years we have only brief glimpses of him. He married, and for a time lived in Los Angeles, but like many other prospectors he found but little happiness

---

37. Schieffelin, History of the Discovery of Tombstone.
38. Vosburg Papers.
39. Ibid.

in this sort of existence. He grew restless, sold his home in Los Angeles, and started off again on a roving career. We hear of him in Chicago, in Washington, and much later on the Yukon. There are stories to the effect that he fitted up a side wheel steamer in palatial style, and invited all the friends of his prospecting days to accompany him to the Klondike.[40]

In May 1897 he died of heart disease while prospecting in Washington. In accordance with the desires expressed in his will his body was shipped back to Tombstone for burial. It is not a matter of record that he ever returned to Tombstone after he had sold his interests there, but he must have thought of it many times in all his years of wandering in search of he knew not what. His will seems to be an expression of all this,

"... It is my wish if convenient to be buried in the dress of a prospector, my old pick and canteen with me, on top of the granite hills about 3 miles westerly from the city of Tombstone, Arizona and that a monument such as prospectors build when locating a mining claim be built over my grave and no other slab or monument be erected. And I request that none of my friends wear crape. Under no circumstances do I want to be buried in any graveyard or cemetery."[41]

He was buried according to his wishes, and a tall conical monument of cemented rock marks his grave. It is said that the site is the same where he once took shelter from an Indian attack when he was prospecting in the district before the Tombstone strike.[42]

The weight of evidence seems to indicate without question that Schieffelin was the original discoverer of the Tombstone mines; concerning any previous discovery there seems to be little

---

40. Mc.Clintock, Arizona, the Youngest State, Vol. II, p. 412.
41. Vosburg Papers.
42. Tombstone Epitaph, Nov. 28, 1897.

valid or definite information but a full discussion of the beginnings of Tombstone warrants the inclusion of these half legendary rumors. There is a report that mines were discovered in this portion of the San Pedro valley as far back as 1859 but the hostility of the Indians prevented their development. However Patrick Hamilton who makes this statement neglects to quote his authority for it.[43]

Schieffelin, in his History of the Discovery of Tombstone, tells of another report to the effect that the mines were first discovered by two other men. He says that shortly after the Tombstone mines began operations he was told by a miner from Panamint that these mines must be the same as those spoken of in a letter written by a man named Mowry to some miners in Panamint in 1877, before Schieffelin had gone into that section of the country. In this letter Mowry stated that he and his partner Johnson had made a rich strike and that there were mines enough for all, if any of his friends at Panamint cared to join him. In respomse to this invitation several of these miners had started off to join Mowry and Johnson, but on their way they had been met with the news of the deaths of both of them, so they had returned to Panamint.

There seems to be no doubt of the fact that two such men as Mowry and Johnson were in this section of the country; also the report of their deaths seems to have been well authenticated. But according to Schieffelin's statement he found no other person, save this one man, who had any knowledge of any letter

---

43. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona, 1881, p. 56

concerning mines. He himself had found a deserted cabin in the mountains, but he found no marks of any prospecting, though about a mile from the scene of his own discovery he did find a few crude markers of piled up stones such as prospectors use. His opinion was that Howry might possibly have found other mines - especially copper, as there were many copper deposits around.[44] And whatever the circumstances may have been there seems to be no actual existing evidence to dispute Schieffelin's claim.

There is some slight discrepancy between the account of the discovery of the mines given by Schieffelin and that given by Richard Gird, his partner, but this discrepancy upon examination seems to resolve itself into a mere quibble over the fact that Schieffelin's original claim was practically valueless and hence in Gird's estimation could not be considered a part of what later became the Tombstone mines. Thus he would place the date of the discovery somewhere in March 1879,[45] when he and the two Schieffelin brothers staked out claims, totally ignoring Schieffelin's (1878) original claim of 1877. At all events there seems to be little purpose to such an argument.

---

44. Schieffelin, History of the Discovery of Tombstone.
45. Gird, Account of the Discovery of the Tombstone Mines.

CHAPTER II.

SETTLEMENT AND GROWTH OF TOMBSTONE.

The discovery of the Tombstone mines had occurred at a psychological moment. The time was ripe for mining in Arizona by 1877; hitherto there had been many hindrances to the furtherance of the mining industry. Before 1877 there were no real railroads in Arizona and transportation facilities of all descriptions were uniformly poor. Then too there had been the constant menace of Indian outbreaks--the Apaches were hostile and certainly any incentive to prospecting for mineral wealth had been considerably lessened by the ever present danger of losing one's scalp. Cochise's stronghold lay very near to the Tombstone mines--indeed on very clear days it is quite possible to look from the stronghold and see every house in Tombstone. It is therefore small wonder that the district was not extensively prospected before 1877. Schieffelin relates that he and his party on their journey from Signal back to Tombstone in 1878 learned of the death of Cochise and the scattering of his band, events which made the country around Tombstone comparatively safe.[46]

The attention attracted by the mines was instant and universal.[47] The Chicago Tribune spoke of them in glowing terms,

"In a few months the discovery of Tombstone put Arizona on the map and caused a rush like that of early Nevada and Colorado days."

---

46. Schieffelin, History of the Discovery of Tombstone
47. Chicago Tribune Jan. 5, 1879
48. Rockfellow, The Three T's in 1879

This was not surprising. At that time the famous Comstock mines of Nevada were sinking, Virginia City was dead, and gold had not yet been discovered on the Klondike. So for a time Tomstone was unrivalled.

To this new Eldorado came drifting the motley assortment of adventurers who usually gravitate to Eldorados. There were outlaws, gamblers, miners, saloon keepers, and just "boomers;" there were college graduates and men who could not write their own names; many of the latter rose to fame and eminence.

Movements were early under way to incorporate Tombstone, The group who sponsored the movement were quite naturally those interested in developing their possessions there, merchants and mine owners. They represented to Pima county quite justly, that incorporation would free the county at large of a great expense in preserving the peace and good order of the town by giving the citizens immediately interested the right to enact such ordinances as might be best calculated to maintain order.[48] They carried their point and on Dec. 9, 1879 the board of supervisors of Pima county officially declared the village of Tombstone incorporated. At this meeting some effort was made to change the name of the village but the board thought as everything on the hill was called Tombstone the name should remain the same.[49]

From '80 on, everything boomed and people poured in. Hordes of miners came down from Virginia City and the Comstock mines

---

48. Arizona Weekly Star Nov. 1, 1879
49. Arizona Weekly Star Dec, 9, 1879

of Nevada and from Leadville, Colorado. This was before the era of Mexican labor in the West and most of these men were Cornishmen, familiarly known as "Cousin Jacks", though there were numerous Irishmen and many Americans, of course. Oilmen from the East came in large numbers, and were a great help in promoting the mines and in bringing money into the camp. Many of the men who came were Civil War veterans; both armies were represented, but the Union men predominated. In opinion of many of Tombstone's citizens these were a valuable addition to the community.[50]

J. A. Rockfellow says that he first heard of the Tombstone strike in Signal, from which camp Richard Gird and the Schieffelins had set out to make their famous strike. Gird was well known in Signal, and when he wrote to his friends there describing the find in glowing terms, many came to join him in response to his invitation. Mr. Rockfellow too started out at this time, but he says that he got"sidetracked" by various jobs, and it was not until January 1881 that he finally reached Tombstone. When he did he says that he found nearly four fifths of the former population of Signal there before him.[51]

The first settlement made was at Watervale, or Waterville, a few miles from the Tough Nut Mines. This settlement was made at this spot because there was running water there at that time, However this settlement was merely a temporary camp.

---

50. Personal interview with Mr. Wm. Lutley
51. Personal interview with Mr. J. A. Rockfellow

The first house in Tombstone proper was built in April 1879. By October there was a population of approximately one hundred inhabitants. And according to contemporaries the town itself "didn't look like very much." It comprised about forty houses, tents, and cabins - but more were being built.[52] Also at that time the Cosmopolitan Hotel, the most imposing building in the camp, had already been constructed.

But a year later, in 1880, the camp had about 1000 residents - a number which was soon to rise to 14,000 according to one estimate.[53] An article published in the Chicago Tribune describes Tombstone as a typical boom mining town in appearance. The principal street was lined with adobe buildings, large tents, and frame houses. Every other building was a saloon. Rough looking men thronged the streets, bums many of them. Adobe buildings were going up in every direction, and stocks of goods were arriving. There were two drugstores, three or four doctors, and two lawyers. But in spite of its newness and general topsy turvy condition the camp looked permanent.[54]

The Tombstone district really consisted of four towns in 1880; Tombstone proper, located on the site of the Tough Nut Mines; Richmond, a settlement a mile and a quarter to the south-east; Charleston, on the San Pedro River nine miles from Tombstone, where the Corbin and Tombstone Mills were situated; and Contention City, where the Contention Mill was built.[55]

---

52. Mc.Clintock, Arizona the Youngest State, Vol. II, p. 582.
53. Ibid.
54. Chicago Daily Tribune, Jan. 5, 1879.
55. Mc.Clintock, Arizona the Youngest State, Vol. II, p. 411.

There were great expectations for this district and for Arizona generally at this time. The territorial governor writes in 1881,

"Among the recent developments may be mentioned the wonderful mines of the Tombstone district. Where the city of Tombstone now stands, with a population of 7,000 was a barren waste two years ago. Today it is one of the liveliest camps on the Pacific coast and promises to become one of the greatest mining camps ever discovered." 56

Mining was not Tombstone's only industry, for in 1881 there were five saw mills in operation in Cochise County, three in the Huachucas west of Tombstone, and two in the Chiricahuas east of it. Tombstone also boasted a foundry where castings for quartz mills were manufactured.[57]

In 1881 Cochise County was organized by the territorial legislature. Up to this time it had formed part of Pima County with Tucson as the county seat. According to Mc.Clintock,

"The new county was organized despite very strong objections from Tucson. The name should have been "Cachise", but the bill was otherwise engrossed and the measure had passed under such circumstances of moral and other kinds of suasion, largely financial that its backers consoled themselves with the thought that nobody knew how to spell an Indian name anyway and let the error pass." 58

Tombstone was made the county seat of the newly organized county and was incorporated as a city about the same time.[59] The first session of the Court was held May 9, 1881 with Judge W.H. Stilwell presiding, and the first business transacted was the admission of Marcus A. Smith to practice as an attorney.[60]

---

56. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona 1881, p. 106.
57. Report of the Governor of Ariz. to the Dept. of Interior. 1881, p. 930.
58. Mc.Clintock, Arizona the Youngest State, Vol. II, p. 583.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.

It is said that the incorporation of 1881 included as a town site far more territory than the town ever actually occupied; altogether it is said to have covered a radius of some ten miles. Incidentally this town site was destined to a far more adventurous career than usually falls to the lot of town sites, but its history must be saved for another chapter.

By 1881 Tombstone had definitely grown out of the village class and had attained a population of nearly 7,000.[61] It was one of the most active towns on the Pacific slope; new buildings were going up, new discoveries were being made in the mineral belt, and it had a large and growing trade with the adjacent mining camps and Sonora. Its future growth and prosperity seemed assured.[62]

---

61. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona, 1881. p. 27.
62. Report of the Governor of Arizona to the Dept. of Interior 1881, p. 930.

CHAPTER III.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOMBSTONE MINES. 1880-1883.

The Tombstone mines in 1881 had developed into something very different from the mines of 1879. At first there had been only one or two organized mining companies; most of the holdings had been small ones owned either by prospectors or investors with small capital at their disposal. But the purchase of the Gird and Schieffelin interests by Philadelphia capitalists may be said to have inaugurated a new era in the development of the Tombstone mines. Other investments by outside capitalists followed, and during the period from 1879 to 1881, a large part of the small mines were bought up, companies were organized, and large scale mining operations instituted. There were still a few independent holdings and prospects but the large companies controlled by far the greatest number, and the richest of the mines.

Most of the capital which developed the Tombstone mines came from the East, largely from New York and Philadelphia, but investors from Los Angèles and San Francisco were numerous. There seems to have been but little Arizona capital invested in the mines, but the reason for this may lie in the fact that there were very few wealthy people in the territory at this time. It followed naturally that most of the money yielded by the mines did not remain in the territory, but went back to the East or to California.

The system under which the majority of the Tombstone mines were operated differed markedly from that practiced in California and Nevada.[63] Since the early days of mining in these states the assessment plan had been in general use, while most of the mining companies of Tombstone were non assessable. On the whole the system used in Tombstone worked very well, but many of the mine officials were of the opinion that if the assessment plan had been used in Tombstone production would have run into millions instead of hundreds of thousands for the various mines and investments would have kept pace with the increased production.[64]

The mineral belt of Tombstone extends nearly eight miles east and west, and about five miles to the north and south.[65] A notable feature of the mines is the size of the veins and the ease with which the ore is reduced. Patrick Hamilton, writing in 1881 said that nowhere in the United States, outside of Virginia City and Leadville, had such deposits of precious metals been found and bodies of silver ore so large and so free from base combinations had seldom been met with. According to Hamilton the cheapness of working the Tombstone mines was one of their biggest advantages, and the facilities for wood and water to be found in the Tombstone district were an added attraction.[66]

In 1881 over 3000 locations had been made in the Tombstone district, and fourteen of the leading mines were equipped with complete hoisting works. The output of bullion, from 140 stamps,

---

63. Tombstone Epitaph, Jan. 9, 1882.
64. Ibid.
65. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona 1881, p. 36.
66. Ibid., p. 45.

at $500,000 a month, and there were confident expectations that the bullion yield for 1881 would amount to $7,000,000;[67] these expectation were verified, as the yield for 1881 actually did approximate $7,000,000.

The three leading groups of mines were the Contention Consolidated, Grand Central, and Tombstone Mill and Mining Company.[68] Many of the mines were quite famous individually, of these the Tough Nut, Head Center, Vizinia, and Contention, were all renowned.

The Contention, the property of the Contention Consolidated Company, was the leading mine in the camp, and it also led in the bullion production of the territory.[69] By 1883 the company had produced over $5,000,000. It was first incorporated in 1880 as the Western Mining Company, but about the close of 1881 it consolidated with the Flora Morrison Mine, and 600 feet of the Sulphuret, and the name was changed to the Contention Consolidated Company. In 1882 the company extracted a total of 25,017 tons of ore and produced 632 bars of bullion valued at $1,676,795.96. Its workings extended over twenty miles, and it employed on an average 110 men.[70]

The Grand Central Company of Youngstown,Ohio, owned and controlled the Grand Central, the Leviathan, Naumkeag, South Extension, Emerald, Moonlight, Grand Dipper, and other mines. By March 1881 it had produced $2, 893,742.65 in gold and silver.[71]

---

67. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona 1881, p. 36.
68. Blake, Tombstone and its Mines, p. 64.
69. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona 1883, p. 76.
70. Ibid., p. 77.
71. Ibid.

The Tombstone Mill and Mining Company owned eleven claims. It had begun mining in Jume, 1878 and milling in June 1879. By 1883 its mines had produced $2,870,787.12 and had paid out in dividends $1,650,000.[72]

Other mines were the Vizinia, a New York corporation, the Arizona Queen, a Boston incorporation, the Lima Consolidated Mining Company of San Francisco, the Boston and Arizona, the Mountain Maid, a San Francisco Company, and the Bunker Hill, Mammoth, and Rattlesnake, south of the Grand Central, owned by a Chicago company.[73]

From the very first the mines paid dividends, some running into millions. Almost immediately after the opening of the mill, the Tombstone Milling and Mining Company began paying dividends. The first one paid was was $50,000 the first month, and for twenty-seven consecutive months this was continued.[74] Of this group of mines the Tough Nut furnished more than a million dollars in dividends.[75]

It is difficult indeed to obtain accurate facts and figures on the early mining production before 1900,[76] Hamilton estimates the total value of the output of the Tombstone district at $25,000,000 during the first four years,[77] but it is probable that this figure is too high as Blake computes the production of Tombstone up to January 1882 at $7,359,000 and the dividends as

---

72. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona 1883, p. 78.
73. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona 1882, p. 82.
74. Vosburg Papers.
75. Blake, Tombstone and its Mines, p. 65.
76. Sloan, History of Arizona, vol.I., p. 504.
77. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona 1883, p. 75.

amounting to over $3,000,000.[78]

By 1881 there were enough different mining interests in Tombstone to make conflicts inevitable and from the latter part of 1880 until 1885 the dockets of the courts were almost always covered with mining suits. Litigation continued even after 1885, but the great bulk of it seems to have occurred in 1881 - 1882. Every foot of ground in these mines was valuable, so it is hardly to be wondered at that in the complexities of crossing ore veins, irregular locations, fractional claims, and all the other contingencies dealt with by mining law, differences arose which could be settled only by the courts.[79]

The results of all this litigation were varied and far reaching. Its first great effect was to bring many members

---

78. These amounts were distributed among the following mines and mills:

Production	
Tombstone Mill and Mining Company	$2,704,936.33
Contention Consolidated	2,703,144.39
Grand Central	1,050,875.30
Head Center	1,191,520.52
Vizinia	526,716.98
Ingersoll	15,000.00
Sunset	15,000.00
Corbin Mill	40,000.00
Boston Mill	112,007.83
Dividends	
Tombstone Mill and Mining Company	$1,100,000.00
Contention Consolidated	1,375,000.00
Grand Central	600,000.00
Vizinia	80,000.00

Blake, Tombstone and its Mines, p. 63.

79. Ibid, p. 21.

of the legal fraternity to Tombstone; some came from the East, others from California, but almost all of them were men of ability. The retaining fees paid by the Tombstone mining companies were generous for those days; they usually consisted of ten percent of the amount involved.[80]

Also most of these suits were of such a nature as to require careful and expert underground surveys. This necessitated the employment of experts in mining and mineral deposits.[81] These came and remained. They did their work well, and probably there are few mines which are so thorougly mapped as the Tombstone group. Every foot and inch of the workings, cross cuts, and galleries were charted.[82]

Of course lawsuits were not confined to the big companies. There were scores of small claims, and small companies who got themselves involved in just as many legal difficulties as their larger neighbors. Charges of fraud and claim jumping were common. The smaller companies were always getting into debt; one of them especially, the Gilded Age Mining Company , seems to have been perpetually engaged in litigation. It got itself sued for everything from non payment of its grocery bills to boundary claims. Many of these small suits were settled out of court.

Of the more important suits in 1881-1882, there were two which were typical of their kind. In the latter part of 1881 the Way Up Mining Co. entered a suit against the Goodenough Mine,

---

80. Personal interview with Mr. J. A. Rockfellow.
81. Blake, Tombstone and its Mines P. 61.
82. Ibid.

owned by the Tombstone Milling and Mining Co.[83] The suit seems to have dragged on for three years,[84] before it was finally settled.

The next year the Head Center Mine entered suit against the Grand Central. This suit, if one may believe the Tombstone Epitaph, brought together the largest and most brilliant array of legal talent ever seen in Arizona.[85] There were numerous geological experts retained as well as lawyers. One interesting feature of the trial was the use of only eleven jurors. It seems that one of them entered the courtroom in a state of intoxication, the second day of the trial. The judge fined him $100 and sentenced him to two days in jail. No successor was chosen and the trial proceeded minus one juror.[86]

The famous "Million Dollar Stope" discovered in 1881 was also the bone of contention in a hard fought legal battle. For six years the suit dragged on between the Tough Nut and the Goodenough for its possession, the former finally winning the suit.

Working conditions in the Tombstone mines were probably much the same as in silver mines in other sections of the country. The average wage for miners was four dollars a day,[87] good money for those days; shaft men got six dollars,

---

83. Weekly Epitaph Dec. 19, 1881.
84. Hamilton in his Resources of Ariz. 1883, p. 76 mentions the fact that these mines were not being worked because of the suit.
85. Weekly Epitaph Jan. 16, 1882.
86. Weekly Epitaph Jan. 23, 1882.
87. Hamilton, Resources of Ariz. 1881, p. 104.

their work being much more dangerous. Certainly they earned their wages; mines in those days were rather unpleasant places and the work was arduous. All mine machinery, of which however, except the hoists, there was very little, ran by steam, and the mines were almost intolerably hot--blowers and air circulating systems were as yet unthought of. The only light came from candles; carbide lamps had not yet been invented. However, accidents were surprisingly few, and these few were mainly from the hoists which were exceedingly dangerous. In those days there were no workmen's compensation laws, or workmen's insurance. The companies therefore were not liable, but in most cases did pay damages to the families of the miners who perished in the mines.

On the whole relations between the miners and their employers seem to have been friendly. Certainly at first the mine owners were not regarded as the oppressors of the masses, and the miners do not appear to have been dissatisfied with the treatment accorded them.

Obviously the mines were responsible for Tombstone's growth and prosperity. The town's whole existence was dependent on the mines; they were responsible for its settlement, the growth of its trade, and the systems of communication established between it and the outside world--its telegraph lines, stages, and railroads. But as to just how far the mining companies controlled, or sought to control, local affairs, opinions differ.

The fact that Tombstone was never a one company town, in the opinion of many, exerted a marked influence on its history.[88]

---

88. Personal interview with Mr. J. A, Rockfellow.

At any rate one company was never able to control the local politics, and the general weight of evidence seems to bear out the contention that the mining companies never ran things in Tombstone with the high hand that they used in other mining towns. Just why they did not is hard to determine. Perhaps the rivalry between them was too intense; at any rate the balance seems to have been fairly evenly maintained between the four or five larger ones. This division of interests helped Tombstone in other ways as well; each of the different companies maintained large staffs of officials, as well as other employees, larger crews of miners necessarily were employed than would have been the case had the companies been under one management; this contributed largely to Tombstone's growth.

Relations between the mining companies and the townspeople seem to have been harmonious. The officials of the mining companies were well liked personally, and the general opinion seems to have been that they were men of ability. It is said by some that the mining companies did not concern themselves very much with local politics, except in cases where their interests were threatened.[89] If this is true, it would seem to indicate a state of affairs unique in the annals of mining camps, especially in Arizona.

---

89. Personal interview with Mr. James Marrs.

CHAPTER IV.

CIVIC AFFAIRS.

The period from '79 to '81 which marked the transition of Tombstone from mining claim through settlement to county seat produced the characteristic phenomena incident to the growth of a bonanza mining camp into a town. At first Tombstone like a all boom mining camps attracted rather more than its share of the lawless element and the first outlaws seem to have attracted others, fugitives from justice from all parts of the United States.[90] In 1878 when the Tombstone mines first opened there were only eight of these desperadoes in this section of the country, but their number steadily grew and before the end of 1882 they numbered not less than one hundred seventy-four. It is quite probable that conditions in Tombstone were merely a reflection of conditions prevailing throughout the territory. In 1880 the governor wrote despairingly that crime was frequent and appalling; there were numerous stage robberies and all the outlaws of the East seemed to be flocking to Arizona as a sort of happy hunting ground.[91]

These outlaws did not specialize in any particular branch of crime; they did anything that came to hand - cattle rustling, horse stealing, stage robbing, they were almost equally proficient in all of these types of work. The San Pedro valley in which Tombstone was situated was especially infested with these. It was near the border, and hence convenient for

---

90. Breakenridge, Helldorado, p. 101.
91. Tucson Weekly Citizen, May 15, 1882.

rustling and smuggling. Also it furnished a convenient point of attack for the stage lines which before long were running into the new camp. Much of the bullion from the mines was shipped by stage and as these shipments were usually of considerable value stage robbing was a renumerative profession. This state of affairs had been going on all during the time that Tombstone had been a part of Pima County and there was no immediate change when Cochise County was created. Indeed the name of Cochise County soon became a byword. Probably at that time no other county in the territory received so much notoriety in regard to its affairs.

It was inevitable that the ill fame of the county should be reflected upon the county seat and Tombstone gained much undeserved - and undesirable - publicity thereby. Tombstone's early days may well have been uproarious ones; mining camps, especially boom mining camps, are apt to be a bit rough. The general consensus of opinion seems to agree that anyone hunting trouble could find it without a very prolonged search, but citizens who desired only to attend to their own affairs could do so in comparative peace. The regular headquarters of the outlaw group were at Galeyville on the rim of the San Simon valley, and at Charleston, nine miles from Tombstone. Doubtless this was one reason why Tombstone's law and order problem was not more acute. At Charleston the outlaws could hold high carnival undisturbed by such minor annoyances as peace officers.[92] This group was generally known as the Cow Boy Party, as many of them owned ranches

92. Breakenridge, Helldorado, p. 102.

which they used as strongholds for the storage of stolen cattle or smuggled goods.

It was charged, whether justly or not that John H. Behan, deputy sheriff of Pima county, whose headquarters were at Tombstone was rather more than merely tolerant of the cowboys. Opinions differ- some even maintain that he shared in the proceeds from their crimes;[93] at any rate he did little to check disorder outside of Tombstone. Perhaps that is not entirely to his discredit- matters had reached such a stage that it would have required considerably more than the efforts of one man to wipe out the gang.

The creation of Cochise county made it necessary to appoint certain county officers, especially a sheriff. At this time Tombstone was strongly Republican, especially the taxpayers. The miners and merchants were paying most of the taxes at this time and as they expressed it they wanted a two gun man for sheriff of the new county. Therefore they asked Governor Fremont to appoint Wyatt Earp to the position. As Fremont was also a Republican, Earp had every reason to believe that he would be appointed.[94]

---

93. Behan's record seems to verify this contention. The Tucson Daily Citizen of Feb. 2, 1882 carries an anecdote, supposedly authentic, that charged with perjury in swearing to certain bills presented to the Board of Supervisors, Behan replied that the Clerk of the Board was not authorized to issue oaths and falsehood before the said clerk did not constitute perjury.
94. Breakenridge, Helldorado, p. 102.

The former deputy sheriff of Pima County, Behan, a Democrat, was also an aspirant for the office and had a strong backing throughout the territory. Just exactly why is unknown but Behan and not Earp, was the successful candidate. And here according to many letters and writers began the bitter enmity of the Earps to Sheriff Behan;[95] an enmity destined to have far reaching results, which converted Tombstone for a time into something which amply justified some of the uncomplimentary descriptions written of it. The office of sheriff was worth $40,000 a year, as the sheriff was also the assessor and tax-collector and the board of supervisors allowed him ten percent of the collections.[96] It is little cause for wonder that Wyatt Earp did not dismiss the matter lightly.

Wyatt Earp had come to Tombstone from Prescott in December 1879, it is stated by some, himself among them, that he came in response to an invitation from one of the local business men, who proffered him the appointment of Deputy United States marshall, which he received shortly after his arrival in Tombstone. His brothers, James, Virgil, Morgan, and Warren followed him soon after. "Doc" Holliday, a two gun man noted as a killer came about the same time.[97]

Fred White had been elected town marshal shortly after the incorporation of Tombstone in 1879, but January 6, 1880, he was

---

95. Breakenridge, Hellorado , p. 102.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid, p. 100.

killed in an attempt to arrest the notorious Curly Bill for disturbing the peace. Bill claimed that his gun had been discharged quite by accident and he was acquitted at his trial in Tucson. Virgil Earp, brother to Wyatt Earp was then appointed in White's place,[98] to fill the unexpired term for which White had been elected. Also about this time Morgan Earp was appointed chief of police of Tombstone. This had occurred before the contest for the appointment of sheriff, and at the time Behan and Earp had not yet become enemies- and indeed if stories are true the Earps and the cowboys and rustlers with whom Behan supposedly was lined up, were not unfriendly.

For the first eight months Wyatt Earp had worked as a shotgun messenger for Wells Fargo and Company. After his disappointment in the sheriff's office he had been offered a partnership in the Oriental saloon, which he accepted. In his Memoirs he refers to the Oriental as the largest saloon in Tombstone, which it may well have been, but some do not hesitate to assert that its reputation was rather questionable; it was said that the games were crooked, while the Crystal Palace, its rival, enjoyed a spotless and unblemished fame as being "on the square."[99]

The exact condition of Tombstone politics at this time is difficult to describe accurately; contemporaries invariably sum it up under the phrase "pretty crooked", but they disagree as

---

98. Breakenridge, Helldorado, p. 101.
99. J. C. Hancock, Memoirs.

to the degree of crookedness, some maintaining it to be in the superlative, others insisting that it was merely in the comparative state. The former stoutly declare that both the Earps and Behan were leagued with the outlaw element, and not only protected them, but even assisted in their exploits at times. There are also rumors that the merchants, and even the mining companies were obliged to pay blackmail to the outlaws in order to ship their goods out of Tombstone in comparative safety.[100] In the opinion of others, it was the merchants and mining companies who maintained the Earps in power, in order to keep the outlaws sufficiently in check to permit their industries to be carried on unmolested.[101] It seems fairly certain that it was these business interests which were responsible for bringing the Earps into the town. At any rate whatever the Earps were and whatever they did, they certainly kept order. Tombstone at this time may have been corrupt, but it could hardly have been disorderly - for its time. There are some who maintain that the Earps abused their position - that they were guilty upon more than one occasion of taking a life unnecessarily merely to gain a reputation as being bad themselves. But this seems to have been a not uncommon practice among frontier peace officers.[102]

---

100. Tucson Weekly Citizen, May 14, 1882.
101. Interview with Mr. J.A. Rockfellow.
102. Hancock, Memoirs.

The Earps like Behan seemed little disposed to interfere with the cowboys outside of Tombstone.

Just exactly how it happened can not be ascertained, but by the spring of 1881, the Earps were definitely and openly hostile to Behan and the cowboys. Probably this state of affairs came about as the result of an accumulation of little known and quickly forgotten incidents, quite unimportant if taken singly; Behan's appointment to the sheriff's office may or may not have been the sole responsibility. There are some who maintain that it was merely a case of thieves falling out with each other, probably over a failure to divide the loot evenly from some venture. However, whatever the cause, the two factions were now definitely lined up against one another. The Earp faction included the four Earp brothers, "Doc" Holliday, "Mysterious" Johnson, and later, Sherman Mc.Masters.[103] The Clanton party consisted of the two Mc.Lowry brothers, John Ringo, Ike, Finn, Billy, and "Old Man, Clanton, Frank Stilwell, Spence, Crane, Head, Leonard, and according to some, Sheriff Behan.

The Clantons had a ranch a few miles above Charleston on the San Pedro River. They looked after the rustlers' interests on the San Pedro, as a lot of stolen stock was brought from

---

103. "Mysterious" Johnson fully deserved his sobriquet as practically nothing is known of him.

Mexico down the river and there was no one watching the line for smugglers.[104]

The Mc.Lowrys had a ranch in the Sulphur Springs Valley twenty-five miles east of Tombstone. They looked after the stock brought up by rustlers from Mexico through Agua Prieta where Douglas now stands.[105]

In ~~May~~ March 1881 occurred the attempt to rob the stage running between Tombstone and Benson, which ended not in robbery, but in murder, as the driver Bud Philpot, was killed and the horses ran away with the stage, the robbers getting nothing. This attempt had been made by four masked men, of whom the identities of three were strongly suspected,[106] though that of the fourth remained a mystery. Sheriff Behan and Wyatt Earp set out almost immediately at the head of a large posse, but the fugitives had gained far too much ground to be caught. However they did arrest Luther King who was suspected of complicity in the affair though he had not taken an active part in it.[107]

The whole affair had aroused widespread indignation--Wells Fargo offered a reward of ~~$300~~ for each of the robbers apprehended, and the governor added an additional $300 each, making a total of $2400 for the four robbers.[108]

The sheriff and his men accompanied by the Earp group came back empty handed after a long and arduous hunt, of which various conflicting descriptions are in evidence. But if

---

104. Breakenridge, Helldorado, p. 104.
105. Ibid, p. 103
106. Arizona Weekly Star, May 24, 1881.
107. Ibid.
108. Ibid.

rumor spoke truly, the Sheriff and the Earps returned from this pursuit much more openly hostile to each other than they had formerly been.

Shortly afterward Luther King who had been imprisoned in the jail at Tombstone escaped, and as he had possessed much valuable information concerning the robbery, the loss was a serious one. His escape occasioned a great deal of comment, and the suspicion that he had been aided by officers, since, as a Tucson newspaper remarked, he had merely walked out of the jail door about seven o'clock one night, when no one was around.[109]

The next episode was a dramatic one. The Clantons publicly accused "Doc" Holliday, an avowed partisan of the Earps, of being the hitherto unidentified fourth bandit of the stage robbery. The charge does not seem to have been entirely without foundation. Holliday's mistress, Kate Elder, commonly known as Big Nose Kate, unfortunately seems to have had a weakness for liquor, and the story goes that the Clantons succeeded in getting her drunk one evening after she and Holliday had a quarrel - not an uncommon occurence as they were a quarrelsome pair.[110] They persuaded her to sign an affidavit to the effect that Holliday had admitted to her that he had taken part in the robbery. He was arrested, but no one could be found to testify as witnesses.[111] Kate seems to have repented of

---

109. Arizona Weekly Star, Mar. 31, 1881
110. San Francisco Weekly Examiner Aug. 6, 1896
111. Tombstone Nugget, July 6, 1881

her rashness and declared the affidavit false. The case was dismissed for lack of evidence,[112] but Holliday's alibi was far from unshakable, as he admitted having been absent from Tombstone at the time of the stage hold up, claiming that he had ridden over to Charleston to visit a friend. At any rate he was taking no chances, and promptly sent Kate away from Tombstone; the story goes that he gave her $1000 upon her departure, but whether this was intended as hush money or merely a parting gift, none venture to say.

This charge against Holliday brought by the Clantons, had roused the anger of the Earps to such an extent that it is a wonder that the feud did not break forth in violence then and there,[113] but for a time nothing happened.

In September there was another stage robbery, this time a successful one. The Hereford stage en route from Tombstone to Hereford, was robbed. Suspicion fastened on Frank Stilwell and Pete Spence, members of the cowboy faction and reputed to be friendly with Behan.[114] They were arrested by Wyatt Earp as United States marshal and though they were released because of lack of evidence, they and their friends the Mc.Lowrys swore vengeance on the Earps.

Matters were fast approaching a climax, but much that follows is buried in obscurity as far as definite details are

---

112. Tombstone Nugget July 10, 1881
113. Earp claims the charge against Holliday to have been the whole cause of the feud, and not just an incident in it.
114. Breakenridge, Helldorado p. 139

concerned. The bandits who had murdered Bud Philpot were still at large, but by this time more or less definite information as to their identity had been obtained; if this information was correct the bandits were Leonard, Head, and Crane, who had formerly been part of the outlaw gang in the vicinity. The reward was still being offered for their capture. Wyatt Earp went to Ike Clanton and offered to hand over to him the entire reward if he would arrange to deliver the three into his possession.[115] And Clanton seems to have accepted the proposition. He knew where the bandits were hiding in New Mexico, and he agreed to decoy them back to Tombstone where they could be captured by the promise of a stage robbery. To this end he agreed to dispatch one of his relatives to the outlaws. He stipulated that if there were any fighting and the bandits were killed, he should collect the reward just the same. In his memoirs Wyatt Earp claims the total reward to have been $6000,[116] but evidence shows that it could not have been more than $1800; evidently Ike did not value his former friends very highly.

Unhappily the affair leaked out. Marshal Williams, a friend of the Earps suspected something, and getting drunk one night, babbled his version abroad and thus broke faith; this meant the end for them,[117] for if word of their treachery reached the outlaws it meant death.[117] Their one hope was to insure the

---

115. Tombstone Nugget, Nov. 6, 1881.
116. San Francisco Examiner, Aug. 6, 1896.
117. As a matter of fact all three of the outlaws were already dead, having been killed in Hachita, New Mexico by some cowafter the reward. Breakenridge, Helldorado, p. 139.

permanent silence of the Earps regarding the affair. Clearly it was a case of kill or be killed.

This is said to have occurred October 25; within twenty-four hours followed the street battle famous in Tombstone history as the Earp Clanton fight. There are numerous versions both of the fight and the events immediately preceding it, versions chiefly remarkable for their lack of agreement. A repetition of the details would be tedious, so suffice it to say that in the early afternoon of October 26, at the O. K. Corral on Allen Street, Wyatt, Virgil, and Morgan Earp, and "Doc" Holliday encountered certain members of the Clanton party Ike, Finn, and Billy Clanton, and Frank and Tom Mc.Lowry. Sheriff Behan also was present, but took no part in the encounter. There seems to be no question that the first shot was fired by the Earp party, probably by Holliday.[118] Ike Clanton departed in haste when the shooting started. The whole affair was over in less than sixty seconds, and ended in the deaths of young Billy Clantone and the two Mc. Lowrys.

The greater weight of evidence seems to uphold the contention that the affair was premeditated by the Earps.[119] Obviously the Clanton party were preparing to leave town and indeed they were mounting their horses when the Earps approached the corral.[120] Also the opinion held by many that most of the

---

118. Tombstone Nugget, Nov. 1, 1881.
119. Breakenridge and J.C.Hancock hold this opinion.
120. Robert M. Boller, Breakenridge and many others areoof this opinion.

members of the Clanton party were unarmed seems to have some foundation. It is difficult to prove or disprove either version; no other affair in Tombstone ever occasioned the bitterness which this feud engendered, and even today traces of it remain.[121]

The trial, or rather the preliminary examination of the Earps and Holliday which began October 29, lasted twenty two days, and the testimonies taken were exhaustive.[122] Public opinion was wrought to a high pitch; sympathy at first seemed to have been with the Earps, but before long it veered the other way.[123] Six witnesses swore that the McLowrys and Clanton held up their hands as directed by the Earps before they fired, three swore they did not see them do this; four witnesses swore they heard City Marshal Virgil Earp tell the sheriff before the battle took place that he did not intend to arrest the Clantons but to kill them on sight.[124]

Justice Wells Spicer before whom the case was tried was regarded as a partisan of the Earps and in spite of the foregoing testimony dismissed the case saying that the Earps had acted in self defense.[125]

---

121. Arizona Weekly Star, Nov. 1, 1881.
122. Lawyers were: Prosecution: Goodrich and Goodrich, Smith Earll Campbell & Robinson, Smith & Colby, J. M. Murphy and District Attorney Price.
Tombstone Nugget Nov. 1, 1881
Defense: Howard & Street, T. A. Drew and Thos. Fitch.
123. Tombstone Nugget Nov. 1, 1881.
124. Tombstone Nugget Nov. 6, 1881.
125. Breakenridge, Helldorado. p. 151

Only one paper published a detailed account, the Tombstone Nugget; its rival the Epitaph, stated in its columns that the trial was held behind closed doors, and representatives of the press were permitted to be present only on condition that they published no direct testimony. The Nugget boasts that attempts, from sources which it does not state, were made to suppress the testimony,[126] but how it managed to elude such attempts it does not inform its readers. At any rate the transcript of the evidence in the trial published by the Nugget gives some insight into the forces at work behind the affair, although of definite proof there is none. It is rather noteworthy that most of the witnesses declined to answer when asked searching questions concerning their private lives. Perhaps it is unfortunate that legal rules concerning the admissibility of evidence are so rigid, as much of the testimony that the Law ordered stricken from the record might have shed some light on the mystery surrounding many of the details of the Benson stage robbery and other events of a similar nature. Unhappily the Law was concerned at this time only with the details of the Earp Clanton battle, and its deplorable lack of interest with regard to previous crimes was perhaps only natural.

Altogether Tombstone gained quite a lot of undesirable publicity, and subsequent events made matters even worse. The period which followed is very nearly impossible to describe owing to the superabundance of description already existing.

---

126. Tombstone Nugget, Nov. 1, 1881.

The Tucson Citizen insists vehemently that Tombstone went through a Reign of Terror at this time,[127] and the Tombstone Nugget violently denounces its rival the Epitaph for daring to hint that conditions in the town were even slightly disturbed.[128] However it seems hardly likely that untroubled calm and peace were the distinguishing characteristics of the atmosphere of Tombstone at this time. Hostility between the two conflicting parties threatened to burst forth into violence at any moment; the Clantons burned for revenge and they were hardly men to sit back in helpless wrath while their enemies carried matters with a high hand. Both factions went heavily armed and Tombstone fairly held its breath when two members of opposite affiliations met in the street.

It was about this time that John Ringo, one of the strongest partisans of the Clantons, offered to fight a duel with "Doc" Holliday, one of the staunchest supporters of the Earps. Ringo declared that such a conflict would settle the matter once and for all, but his suggestion did not meet with the approval of the Earps. The sheriff fearing trouble took Ringo's pistols away from him, but on Ringo's plaint that he would last about as long as the proverbial snowball if the Earps should find him unarmed, they were restored to him.[129]

---

127. Tucson Weekly Citizen, May 14, 1882.
128. Tombstone Nugget, Nov. 29, 1881.
129. Breakenridge, Helldorado, p. 127.

One stormy night in December Virgil Earp was ambushed by several persons unknown; he was badly wounded but he did not die.[130] No one was arrested for the deed and it would probably have been quite impossible to prove anything but no one was deceived as to the identity of those responsible. From this time on the Earp party always consisted of from five to eight men, heavily armed.[131] Wyatt Earp as deputy United States marshal asserted they were a posse under him and that they were looking for mail robbers.

It was at this time that Tombstone acquired most of the notoriety which ever since has made its name a byword. Probably an over enthusiastic territorial press embellished matters a trifle to make them more colorful and more entertaining as reading matter, but exaggerated or not these newspaper accounts spread the fame of Tombstone far and wide.

One of the accounts published by a New York paper runs as follows:

"Tombstone, Arizona seems well named. Few people there die in their beds. Between cowboys and other desperadoes life is rendered extremely uncertain. A man with good luck and extraordinary vitality may manage to keep out of the tomb long enough to become a citizen but such instances are rare. Deputy United States Marshal Earp was found with nineteen bullets in his body and he is still alive; he seems the right sort of man for the place."[133]

An editorial in a Tucson paper of a somewhat earlier date scathingly denounces the Sacramento Record Union:

---

130. Arizona Daily Star Dec. 29, 1881.
131. Breakenridge, Helldorado, p. 126.
132. Arizona Daily Star Feb. 2, 1882.
133. Tucson Daily Citizen Jan. 7, 1882.

..."the blundering ignorance of California editors who insist upon confounding Tucson with Tombstone and advertising this city as the seat of lawlessness and anarchy..."

Early in February the Earps and Holliday were rearrested, This time on a charge of murdering Billy Clanton.[134] The hearing did not take place in Tombstone but in Charleston,[135] before Judge J. H. Lucas. The hearing ended abruptly with the discharge of the Earps and Holliday on a writ of habeas corpus.[136]

But the drama had not yet been played to a finish. One night in March about eleven o'clock Morgan Earp who was playing pool in Bob Hatch's saloon was shot in the back and killed. The shot had been fired through the glass upper part of the back door of the saloon.

Each side seemed bent on completely exterminate the other. Wyatt and Virgil Earp set out on the train for Colton, California, with their brother's body. At Tucson Stilwell and Ike Clanton lay in wait for the train hoping to assassinate them as they passed. But the Earps were taking no chances; they were heavily armed and on the lookout. Ike Clanton departed from the neighborhood of the depot in haste, but Frank Stilwell went around to the rear of the train. This proved his undoing - the Earps sighted him and shot - and they didn't miss.[137] The opinion of most was that in killing Stilwell the Earps had killed the right man, for Stilwell's alibi had been that he was in Tucson when Morgan Earp was

---

134. Wyatt Earp Memoirs.
135. Tombstone Epitaph, Feb. 20, 1882.
136. Ibid
137. Tucson Daily Citizen, Mar. 21, 1881.

killed. So he was - the morning after, but he had ridden all night to get there.[138]

Wyatt Earp and his followers got off the train and started back on foot. Hailing a passing freight they managed to reach the town before news of Stilwell's murder had arrived, and they began making preparations to leave Tombstone. Before they had completeed their arrangements, warrants were issued for their arrests, but upon Behan's attempts to serve the warrants they refused to be arrested. That same day they departed from Tombstone with all the honors of war; not until the next day did the sheriff and his men set out in pursuit. This rather leisurely pursuit proved unsuccessful; the Earps escaped into Colorado, and the governor of that state refused extradition.

The Earps had gone but apparently the forces whatever they may have been which were back of the Earp Clanton feud were still active. Just what caused the subsequent uproar is indeterminate, but early in May of 1882, the newspapers of the territory, very nearly simultaneously launched forth into an outburst against the shocking conditions prevailing in Tombstone. They quite impartially abused one another and the citizens and officials of Tombstone by turns. Their warfare was quite avowedly political this time, as indeed much of the whole affair from the very beginning may have been, but on the other hand these tirades may have been merely election propaganda. Tritle, the new

---

138. Tucson Daily Citizen, Mar. 21, 1881

governor was a Republican; at about this time he visited Tombstone and apparently one look was enough, for he hastily sent an appeal for help to Washington. The Tucson Citizen was Republican, the Star Democratic, so just how much of the content of their caustic editorials was mere local political rivalry is difficult to determine. Probably such tirades as the following which appeared in the Tucson Citizen are a trifle exaggerated but it may well have had some foundation.

"Statements sent by the Tombstone associated press agent and the papers of that city to the effect that no lawlessness exists in Cochise county are simply presuming upon the ignorance of a public who have been treated to an almost daily dose of horrors from the same source. Officers in Tombstone will not or cannot arrest and there is a Reign of Terror there. Jails will not hold their inmates and juries dare not convict. It is a well established fact that stage lines, express companies ranch men, and miners find themselves forced to purchase immunity from robbery.... The attempts of the Democratic press of the Territory in attempting to curry favor with the cowboys for political purposes is disgraceful. The Democratic press has changed its front and now cries that there is no lawlessness and the governor has the fair fame of the territory in calling for aid. The Editor of the Tombstone Epitaph changed after he received intimations from the party leaders that all efforts against the lawless class weakened the party - he changed his policy and protested that all was quiet and peaceful and the governor's interference unwarrantable ..." 139

As has been stated Governor Tritle had visited Tombstone though whether as the Citizen says it was in response to the demand of the law abiding citizens of Tombstone cannot be authoritatively ascertained. After an investigation he organized a small band of rangers under Deputy United States Marshal Jackson and placed them in the field. He also wired to President Arthur requesting an appropriation of $150,000 to maintain a

---

139. Arizona Weekly Citizen, May 7, 1882.
140.

force on the border to suppress lawlessness and smuggling and to take in marauding bands of Indians.[140]

The President felt that the Senate would not make the appropriation and after consulting with the judiciary committee he issued his proclamatton of May 4, 1882 commanding the outlaws to cease their depredations by May 15, and threatening to proclaim martial law if the proclamation were not heeded.

Indignation meetings were held in Tombstone and local patriotism violently denounced the proclamation as an outrage and an infringement of the rights of local governments.[141] But it difficult to determine whether this represented the majority of public opinion or not.

But the president's proclamation accomplished something. In its issue of May 21, 1882 the Tucson Citizen states,

"... The outlaws remain but are quiet and crime which has run riot in Cochise County for two years has made way for peace and quiet..."

Breakenridge says that from this time on Cochise County forsook the wild days of its youth and settled down into peaceful respectability.

"A lot of the rustlers had been killed off by the Mexicans in rustling stock and in quarrels among themselves when they were drinking. The stockmen had organized for self protection and and the rustlers got out of the country as fast as possible. With With most of the bad men run off there was no more trouble and no more cattle rustling than there is today."[142]

---

140. Arizona Weekly Citizen, May 7, 1882.
141. Ibid.
142. Breakenridge, Helldorado, p. 141.

A more refined, but equally enlightening commentary on Tombstone politics of the period is found in the career of the Tombstone Town-site Company. The patent of the Tombstone townsite site had been registered in the territorial land office May 9, 1880. According to congressional statutes covering the granting of townsites the deed was registered in the name of the mayor by whom it was to be held in trust [143].

Alder Randall, then Mayor of Tombstone, sold the townsite to the organization known as the Tombstone Townsite Company, of which J.S. Clark was head. The transaction was legal as to letter if not in spirit as the deeds were duly signed and conveyed to the Townsite Company.[144] Great was the consternation in Tombstone when the affair became known. The mayor resigned under the fire of public opinion but the Town-site Company still held the title ot the town-site. The Council declared that it could do nothing though it did seek legal advice as to what was to be done.

Randall's successor got himself elected on promises to redeem the town-site, but after his election if one may believe the scathing letters which appeared in the local newspapers he displayed little enthusiasm for pushing the matter any farther.[145] The Town-site Company seemed to hold the upper hand and many citizens fearing to lose the title to their lots bought them again from the Town-site Company. Others contested the title in the courts, but the latter process in the long run proved as expensive as the former.

143. Brief, Tombstone Town-site.
144. Ibid.
145. Tombstone Commercial Advertiser, May 20, 1882.

expensive as the former. Suit after suit dragged on through the courts for months before Tombstone's citizens were able to obtain clear titles to their land,[146] and the turmoil subsided. Naturally the mayor and councilmen came in for much unsparing denunciation by the populace; in fact charges of corruption were brought against Mayor Carr but they were later dismissed and he was exonerated.[147]

Such were Tombstone's political and civic affairs, and though the notion that the town knew no law but that of the six shooter is an erroneous one, it may easily be seen that the local politicians and their henchmen were quite capable of accomplishing their ends without engaging in anything so crude as gun battles. And it must be granted that at least the outward semblances of law and order were maintained. A former mayor of Tombstone says,

"... I can recall only one deadly street battle and one lynching during the entire fifty years of Tombstone's existence. Only three men met violent deaths within the city limits during the 365 days of 1881, barring the three killed in the street battle." 148

---

146. There seems to be no connected account of the town-site controversy in existence and the few available records are rather fragmentary. The question seems to have been settled by a series of individual lawsuits in which the citizens won out.
147. Arizona Herald, May 24, 1883.
148. Clum, Helldorado, 1879-1929..

CHAPTER V.

TRANSPORTATION.

In 1878 when the first Tombstone mines had begun operations there had been a stage line running but the few companies then operating were obliged to ship their bullion to Tucson by team. By November 1, 1879, however, they had made arrangements with the stage lines to carry it.[149]

In 1879 there were two stage lines operating between Tucson and Tombstone, the Kinnear line and the Tucson and Tombstone Stage Company owned by Ohnesorgen and Walker. The stages of the Kinnear line left Tucson on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays; those of the Tucson and Tombstone Stage Company on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays.[150] This line carried the United States mail. However on November 10, 1879 the Tucson and Tombstone Company began making daily trips to Tombstone as by this time the latter camp had grown to considerable size and importance.[151]

At first the stage journey from Tucson to Tombstone took thirteen hours, but as the roads improved the time was cut considerably. There was keen rivalry between the stage lines and each strove to better the other's record in point of time. The Kinnear line first succeeded in shortening the time to nine hours.[152] It is said by contemporaries that these stages were comfortable and even luxurious; four or six horse coaches were used and the average number of passengers was fourteen.

---

149. Schieffelin, History of the Discovery of Tombstone.
150. Arizona Daily Star, Nov. 12, 1879.
151. Arizona Daily Star, Nov. 10, 1879.
152. Ibid.

For a time the rivalry between the two lines was manifested in a price war which must have proved rather profitable to the passengers. The exact fare originally charged cannot be ascertained but on November 2, 1879 the Tucson and Tombstone Stage Company cut their fare to seven dollars each way. Then for a time stage fares fell with a dizzying rapidity. On December 4, the Kinnear line reduced their fare to Tombstone to four dollars, exceedingly cheap for those days. The Tucson and Tombstone Stage Company cut their fare to this figure and the Kinnear line thereupon cut to three dollars. But this ideal era for stage passengers was brought to a close on December 26, 1879 when the two lines ended their warfare in a compromise and the fare was established at seven dollars each way.[153]

By 1881 there were also two daily lines of six horse coaches from Tombstone to Benson, carrying mails and passengers, There was a tri-weekly mail from Tombstone to Harshaw, passing by Camp Huachuca, and a daily mail line from Tombstone to Charleston. Also there was another tri-weekly line to Bisbee.[154]

Agitation for a telegraph line began very early.[155] By 1881 the Western Union Telegraph Company had a line through the territory along the track of the Southern Pacific Railroad and connecting at Yuma, Tucson, and Tombstone with all points east and west.[156]

---

153. Arizona Daily Star, Dec. 26, 1879.
154. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona 1881, p. 96.
155. Arizona Daily Star, Nov. 7, 1879.
156. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona, 1883, p. 220.

By 1883 the telephone had been introduced into the territory of Arizona and was in general use in Tombstone and Tucson; it connected the principal mines, their reduction works, and offices, in all parts of the territory.[157]

Wells Fargo established an office in Tombstone quite early in the camp's existence. It is the opinion of many that it materially aided in Tombstone's development as it had aided many other mining camps in the West. It provided the mining companies with a sure and safe means of shipping their bullion which had hitherto been lacking. The Wells Fargo Company carried on their express business by using the stage lines as a means of transporting bullion but every time one of these shipments of bullion was expressed out of Tombstone a heavily armed "shot gun messenger" accompanied the stage driver. These men were regular employees of the company, chosen especially for their fearlessness and the accuracy of their aim. But even with such precautions stage robberies were frequent.

Tombstone's railroad history seems to have been a very strange one. Little definite information is available for the earlier years, as the railroad history of the whole territory in the '80's is rather fragmentary, but from the newspapers of the time it may be gathered that railroad after railroad planned to route its line through Tombstone , but in each case something happened to prevent this.

---

157. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona 1883, p. 220.

As early as 1879 the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe planned a road through to the San Pedro, but apparently the project found little favor in the eyes of Tucson which feared for its trade which might thus be diverted to Tombstone.[158]

In 1880 a survey was made by the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe to Tombstone and Tucson where it was to connect with the branch then building from Guaymas through the state of Sonora. The opening of this railroad was designed to give Southern Arizona direct rail connection with the Gulf of California.[159] In 1881 the Governor of Arizona wrote that considerable work had already been accomplished and laborers in large numbers were engaged in building the road bed.[160] But the railroad never reached Tombstone. It is said that the combination of the Southern Pacific and the Texas Pacific caused a change of plans.[161]

In 1883 Tombstone was still railroadless though by then Arizona had two transcontinental railroads. However it was still confidently expected that Tombstone would acquire one in the near future. An article written at the time runs as follows:

"It is expected that the Atchison Topeka and Santa Fe Company who are now running over the Southern Pacific from Deming to Benson will soon commence the building of a line from the former point to connect at Fairbanks with the road running into Sonora. This road will pass by Tombstone and place that flourishing camp in the line of a transcontinental railroad."

---

158. Arizona Daily Star, Nov. 26, 1879.
159. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona 1881, p. 95.
160. Report of the Governor of Arizona to the Dept. of Interior. 1881, p. 930.
161. Arizona Daily Star, Dec. 12, 1879.

Also in 1883 Phoenix, casting about for a market for her hay, grain, and other products, found the San Pedro valley a promising one. With this end in view a railroad was to be constructed to Tombstone.[162] Naturally Tucson opposed the road. Had this railroad been built Tombstone's history might have been a very different one, but unfortunately the plans were never carried out.

The Arizona and New Mexico Railroad seems to have planned at one time to include Tombstone in their route.[163] But the New Mexico and Arizona never got nearer to Tombstone than Benson, twenty-eight miles away.

Not until 1902 when the Murphy Gage interests purchased most of the holdings in the Tombstone mines did Tombstone get a railroad. It is said that the Murphy Gage interests were responsible for the extension of the El Paso and Southwestern Railroad from Benson to Tombstone at that time.

Travellers desiring to reach Tombstone in the '80's and '90's travelled by rail as far as Benson where they changed cars for Fairbanks. The journey from Fairbanks to Tombstone, a distance of nine miles was made by stage.[164]

The need for railroad transportation in Tombstone would seem to have been an urgent one because of the mines. But Tombstone's transportation problem was lessened by one

---

162. Arizona Herald, May 24, 1883.
163. Tombstone Epitaph, Jan. 16, 1882.
164. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona 1883, p. 218.

factor. The ore produced at the Tombstone mines was of two kinds, milling ores and those best adapted to smelting. The former, could be reduced to bullion of comparatively small bulk and expressed by stage. Much of the ore taken from the Tombstone mines was of this type and most of the larger companies owned their own stamp mills.

As regards the smelting ores though there were no smelters in the town of Tombstone there were several small ones at near by points. The San Diego mine owned by the Woronoco Mining Company had a smelter two miles east of Tombstone, and the Boston Smelting and Reduction Company owned a smelter about ten miles from Tombstone.[166] There was also a smelter at Benson. However most of the larger companies shipped their smelting ore to the East.

Fairbanks, nine miles away was the shipping point of Tombstone.[167] All bullion and ore shipped had to be hauled from the mines by wagon. These wagons were enormous affairs half as big as a Pullman car and drawn by sixteen mule teams.[168] This furnished employment for scores of teamsters and the profession was well represented around Tombstone.

A discussion of just how much the opposition of Tucson was responsible for Tombstone's lack of a railroad, has no place here, but it may well have been a factor in the

---

166. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona 1885, p. 82.
167. Ibid. p. 161.
168. Personal Interview with Mr. James Marrs.

situation. From the first Tucson seemed to have feared that her Sonora trade would be diverted to Tombstone, and her fears were by no means groundless. A newspaper article written in 1879 says:

"Tombstone will grow. It is nearer to Sonora than Tucson by seventy-five miles and is bound to receive a portion of the Sonora trade which is now worth about $2,000,000 annually." 169

Similar opinions are expressed in many of the writings of the time concerning Tombstone and Tucson feared that a railroad to Tombstone might bring about this catastrophe. But whether or not Tucson's opposition was the sole cause of Tombstone's lack of railroad facilities it seems incredible that the leading mining camp of the territory should have no railroad connections nearer than twenty-eight miles. However such was the state of affairs which continued all through the '80's and '90's.

---

169. Chicago Daily Tribune Jan. 5, 1879.

CHAPTER VI.

TOMBSTONE AND TERRITORIAL POLITICS

Before 1879, the influence of the mines on the policies of the territorial government does not seem to have been very great. But from 1877 on, mining development proceeded very rapidly, soon becoming the territory's main industry, and the influence it exercised in politics became correspondingly greater.

There are several reasons for the slowness of development of the mines in Arizona. Paramount among them was the danger from hostile Indians. This tended to discourage prospecting and many a prospector met his death at the hands of the Indians.

Also transportation facilities were notable for their absence. It was late before branch stage lines were extended and no railroads were constructed before 1877. These conditions were hardly conducive to the investment of outside capital, and the few important mines which had been discovered remained to a great extent undeveloped.

But by 1877, most of the hostile Indians were living on reservations, railroads were entering the territory, stage lines were being operated, and eastern capitalists were beginning slowly to turn their attention to Arizona's possibilities.[170]

---

170. Kelly, Legislative History of Arizona, p. 73

It was at this time that the Tombstone mines were discovered, and it was owing largely to these improved conditions that these mines were developed as rapidly as they were. From 1878 to 1881 it underwent an evolution from bonanza camp to an organized mining town, and by the latter date it had developed into the leading mining town in the state[171] with an influence correspondingly great.

The Eleventh Territorial Legislature of 1881, was the first session of the legislature in which Tombstone played a part of any importance. The legislature met only every two years, and Tombstone had not yet grown completely out of the village stage by 1879, when the Tenth Legislature was in session. But by 1881 it had become large enough and important enough to make its influence felt.

The Eleventh Legislature exercised an important influence in Tombstone's development, for it was at this session that Cochise county was created. The town of Tombstone had been founded in 1879, though the mines had begun production in 1878, and up until 1881, had formed part of Pima County, of which Tucson was the county seat.

This state of affairs was not satisfactory to Tombstone; its population by now equalled Tucson's,[172] and the subordinate position it was forced to occupy was irksome, to say the least. And in those days of poor roads and meagre travelling

---

171. Hamilton, Arizona , p. 45.
172. Tucson's population at this time was 10,000. No definite figures are obtainable for the population at this particular period, but it approximated this figure according to reports. Hamilton says it was 7,000 butthis figure is probably too low.

accomodations, it was obviously inconvenient to be obliged to travel all the way to Tucson to record deeds, mining claims, and transact other legal business.

Also most of the political offices were held by Tucsonians and there was no lack of ambitious men in Tombstone who were not only ready but anxious to fill such offices themselves.[173]

The first attempt to remedy these conditions seems to have been the announcement made by Meade of Tombstone to the legislature, of his intention to introduce a bill removing the county seat of Pima County from Tucson to Tombstone.[174] However this bill was never actually introduced, and no further information regarding its fate is obtainable.

Incidentally the Eleventh Territorial Legislature seems to have been the scene of more than one battle waged for the purpose of shifting the county seats of various counties, and the territorial capital as well. Tubac too was endeavoring to have the county seat of Pima County removed from Tucson, with the idea of having Tubac made the county seat instead. And Tucson meanwhile was busily plotting to get the territorial capital moved from Prescott to Tucson.

The attempt to shift the county seat of Pima county to Tombstone having come to nothing, on January 7, 1881, Woods of Tombstone, introduced a bill for the creation of Cochise County in the House of Representatives. The bill was referred

---

173. Breakenridge, Helldorado, p. 101.
174. Journals of Territorial Legislature, 1881 .

to the committee on counties and county boundaries.[175]

January 11, 1881, Rollins of Tombstone introduced a similar bill in the Council. This bill was also referred to the committee on county boundaries.[176]

January 12, Rollins presented the following petition:[177]

"To the Honorable the Council and House of Representatives of the Territory of Arizona.

"The undersigned residents of Pima County respectfully represent,

"That by reason of the great distance from Tucson, the county seat of Pima County, the residents of the eastern portion of said county suffer great hardships, especially in all matters in litigation before the courts; that it is the general desire of the residents of that portion of the county hereinafter specified, that a new county be established within said limits. That your petitioners respectfully ask that your Honorable Body set aside and establish a new county within the following limits, to wit; all that part of Pima County lying east of a line drawn from the south-east corner of Pinal County to the southerly line of Arizona, said line running near the western watershed of the San Pedro River."

This petition was signed by 1000 petitioners.

The bills had a stormy history, to say the least. It is difficult if not impossible to ascertain just what went on behind the scenes, and there was so much else going on which may possibly have had some influence on the affair, that a clear cut analysis of the forces which brought about its final passage seems unobtainable. Mc.Clintock sums up the matter thus,

"On hand provided with a well stuffed "sack" was a large representation of the citizenship of Tombstone, who after a couple of failures, managed to secure the creation of the county of Cochise. This was fought by Tucson, which had been doing

---

175. Journals of the Territorial Legislature, 1881 p. 98.
176. Ibid. p. 101.
1771. Ibid. p. 108

very well indeed as a supply point for the new mining camp, wherefrom had been coming as high as a hundred mining claim notices a day for recording and wherefrom the sheriff had been drawing fees said to have run up to $25,000 a year..." 172

Probably the "sack" referred to by Mc. Clintock was largely responsible for the passage of the bill, as Tucson's opposition was very bitter. There were other factors besides those mentioned by Mc. Clintock which may have had something to do with Tucson's reluctance to the creation of the new county. Pima County derived a goodly portion of its revenue from the Tombstone mines and quite naturally was not anxious to lose it.

Time and again the bill was brought up in both the House and Council, only to be indefinitely postponed. Its opposers seem to have done everything in their power to prevent its being brought to a vote. Eventually it passed the House, but then it was all to do over again in the Council.

At approximately the same time the fight to move the territorial capital from Prescott to Tucson was going on. It failed with a vote of seven to five in the Council. The seven consisted of a combination of Prescott and Tombstone against Tucson. 173

Possibly this may have been in the nature of a trade. It is difficult to tell, but most of the representatives of

---

172. McClintock, Arizona, the Youngest State, Vol. II p. 332.
173. Journals of the Territorial Legislature, 1881 p. 169.

Yavapai county, in which Prescott was situated, were for the Cochise county bill. And it seems not unlikely that the combination between Tombstone and Prescott was a fairly permanent one. On several bills they voted together very obviously. Certainly their common interests, as they were both mining towns would seem to indicate an alliance.

Finally the bill passed and its backers heaved a sigh of relief. A bill making Tombstone the county seat of the new county was passed with but little trouble, as there would seem to have been no point in any further opposition.

There were other important measures occupying the attention of the Eleventh Legislature. The governor's message had stressed the importance of friendly relations with Mexico. That part of the message which dealt with the subject ran as follows:

> "In our intimate connection with Mexico and its opening trade, I think it important to make the intercourse as easy and investment of capital as favorable as possible." All measures tending to these ends on this side of the border will naturally induce corresponding measures on the other and operate greatly to the general advantage of both." 174

In another part of his message he stressed the fact that by the new railroads then under construction, Arizona would be directly connected with the rich trade of Mexico.

Probably the action of the legislature which roused most comment was the repeal of the Bullion Tax Law. There does not seem to have been any noteworthy attempt to prevent its

---

174. Kelly, Legislative History of Arizona, p.92

the passage of the repeal bill and Mc. Clintock says of it,

"Both parties had declared against repeal and it may be said that every partisan legislator was pledged to let the law stand. But the repeal bill slid through both houses in some mysterious fashion. Attending on the session were a couple of prosperous looking gentlemen who, on the evidence of an old resident of Tombstone, left that camp with $25,000 in greenbacks for which they were to render no accounting. The investment was a good one - for the mining companies. Yet the price was high, for President C.P. Huntington of the Southern Pacific a few years later publicly set the price of an Arizona Legislature at around $4,000." 175

However its passage once accomplished, it was the object of much heated discussion, both in the territory and out of it. The San Francisco Bulletin expressed astonishment that the measure should have passed, as the bill deprived the territory of revenue from some ten million dollars worth of gold and silver. It went on to criticize the mine owners for their selfishness, and pointed out that most of the mine owners were not residents of the territory, anyway, and hence were little interested in its progress. 176

The Bullion Tax Bill had been passed in 1875, before 177 the mining corporations had become a power in the land, but since they had grown in size, wealth, and importance, and it is small wonder that they had been able to obtain the repeal of the bill. The San Francisco Bulletin's surprise that the governor had not vetoed the bill, ignores the fact that the Governor's message to the legislature had very pointedly requested the repeal of the law in order to encourage the

---

175. Mc.Clintock, Arizona, the Youngest State, Vol. II p.333.
176. Kelly, Legislative History of Arizona p. 96.
177. Ibid p. 65.

investment of foreign capital in the mines. At any rate the bill had passed, and all efforts to pass a measure restoring the Bullion Tax law, failed quite naturally.

One other bill passed deserves some attention though so far as is known it never had any results. This was a memorial introduced to establish a branch mint at Tombstone or Tucson.[178]

The Twelfth Territorial legislature which met in 1883, seems to have spent a goodly portion of its time on Cochise County 's affairs, which were undoubtedly in a rather bad way. The matter seems to have ended with the despatch of a company of rangers to the disturbed area.[179]

There was another highly mysterious bill dealing with the Tombstone Fire Department,[180] which seems never to have passed. The bill was introduced by a representative from Tombstone, but shortly thereafter another representative from Tombstone introduced a petition requesting that the bill be thrown out. At any rate the bill vanished into thin air, after a few debates, and indefinite postponements, and no further mention of it may be found.

The Thirteenth Territorial Legislature of 1885 was probably more noteworthy for its extravagance than for anything else.[181] The newspapers denounced it scathingly, and at least two federal grand juries which were sitting at the time

---

178. Journals of Territorial Legislature, 1881 p. 365.
179. Journals of Territorial Legislature, 1883 p. 383. The situation in Cochise County and in Tombstone at this period has already been discussed in Chapter IV.
180. Ibid, pp. 125, 369.
181. Kelly, Legislative History of Arizona, p. 113.

published criticisms of it. The legislature exceeded its appropriation by $46,744.59.

This was the legislature which put through appropriations for a State University ($25,000), State Teacher's college at Tempe, and the State Insane Asylum at Phoenix. The last being productive of some very heated discussion.[182]

There was at least one interesting measure in which Cochise County was mixed up; this was the attempt to create the county of Sierra Bonita, taking a strip from southern Graham County, including Aravaipa Canyon.[183] Wilcox was to be the county seat of the newly created county.[184] But the measure for the creation of Sierra Bonita County perished by one vote. Cochise County representatives under the leadership of M. J. Egan, attorney for the Arizona Copper Company at Clifton, allied with the Maricopa representatives to kill this bill and pass the Insane Asylum appropriation bill.[185]

The influence of the mines on territorial affairs is quite apparent in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth legislatures. The messages of the governors to those legislatures sound as though the mining interests had dictated them word for word, and the great bulk of the legislation dealt with mines and mining law, even more than it did with railroads.

---

182. Kelly, Legislative History of Arizona, p. 113.
183. Ibid.
184. Mc.Clintock, Arizona, the Youngest State, Vol. II p. 334.
185. Kelly, Legislative History of Arizona, p. 114

It is hardly logical to suppose that Tombstone influenced territorial politics to any great degree after 1885. By that date its mines had already begun to close, and by 1886, its production was practically at a standstill. The new mines, Bisbee and the other copper mining towns undoubtedly dominated state politics, and quite probably the Tombstone interests allied with them, but independently they were in no position to wield much influence.

CHAPTER VII.

LIFE IN TOMBSTONE IN THE EIGHTIES.

In 1879 and even in the earlier months of 1880, Tombstone's population had been composed mainly of prospectors, miners, gamblers, saloon keepers, and "bad men;" there were few women in the camp, as at first not many of the men had brought their families. But as Tombstone grew from a camp to an organized town, lawyers, doctors, and men of other professions came and established themselves in the town; they brought their families, and life in Tombstone assumed a different character.

By 1882, four years after the discovery of the first claim the town had become almost metropolitan. Its population had come from all parts of the country, and included very nearly all classes of society, though Tombstone seems never to have numbered any resident millionaires among its citizens. Its aristocracy was composed of professional men, doctors, lawyers, bankers, mining company officials, geologists and mineralogists. Next in the social scale ranked the smaller merchants, saloon keepers, and gamblers; the latter were respected members of society - they were reputed to pass their free evenings quietly at home with their families, and they contributed largely to churches and charities.[186]

Tombstone in 1881 was a busy, thriving town of over 7000 people; a year later it attained an even greater population,

---

186. Breakenridge, Helldorado, p. 122

reaching, according to some a total of 15,000.[187] It boasted several fine public buildings, many comfortable homes, and numerous flourishing business houses. The court house was built in 1882 and when completed was one of the largest structures in the territory. It was two stories in height, with an ornamental tower and had been constructed at a cost of of $50,000. The City Hall, where the offices of the city officials were located, was built of brick and stone and was also a handsome building.[188]

Allen Street, the main thoroughfare was lined with shops and saloons; indeed saloons seem to have taken up most of the space on the business streets, and in 1881 there were 110 liquor licenses paid in Tombstone. However this did not necessarily imply the existence of 110 saloons as liquor was sold in most of the stores. Incidentally there was a great deal of scandal over the collection of the aforesaid county liquor and mercantile licenses. It is stated by some that as much as $200,000 disappeared on its way to the treasurer during the boom period of the camp. But nobody cared - those were the days of easy money.[189] Next to mining the chief industry was gambling - there were fourteen faro banks which never closed.

Tombstone's stores did a thriving business. They carried large stocks, imported mostly from San Francisco, and clothes of the latest fashion could be obtained in them. There were two banks in Tombstone, a branch of the Safford Hudson Bank

---

187. Mc. Clintock, Arizona the Youngest State, Vol. II, p. 582.
188. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona, 1886, p. 47.
189. Mc. Clintock, Arizona the Youngest State, Vol. II, p. 582.

was located there and the Cochise County Bank was also established in Tombstone.

There were several hotels and restaurants most of them reputed to be excellent. The Cosmopolitan Hotel had been constructed in 1879 and the Grand Hotel had been built shortly afterwards; these were the largest in the town but there were several others. There was an excellent reataurant in the Grand Hotel, and the Maison Doree and Russ House were also well known.

In 1882 Tombstone had four churches, Catholic, Episcopal, Methodist and Congregational.[190] The Episcopal church is said to be the oldest Protestant church in Arizona. Before it was built, its services were held in the court room on Fremont Street, and printed announcements of the services were sent out by the Rev. Mr. Endicott Peabody, Rector, cordially inviting the public to attend. At this time Tombstone had both a public school and a private academy; the latter received generous patronage.[191] It also boasted two newspapers, the Nugget, first published in the fall of 1879, and the Epitaph first issued May 1, 1880.[192]

A fire in June 1881 had destroyed nearly half the city, and no sooner had it been rebuilt when in May 1882 a still more disastrous fire laid waste nearly all the business section of the city and much of the residential section. When

---

190. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona 1881, p. 27.
191. Ibid.
192. Mc.Clintock, Arizona the Youngest State, Vol. II, p. 505.

the town was rebuilt most of the buildings were made of adobe. The houses were nearly all of one story , and the streets were wide and smooth. There were wooden sidewalks and the saloons and business houses had wooden arcades overhanging the sidewalks.[194]

Municipal improvements developed at the same time. At first water had been brought to the town in iron pipes from the Dragoon Mountains, sixteen miles away.[195] Later water was piped from the springs of the Huachucas, twenty-one miles away. According to Hamilton with the exception of Virginia, Nevada, Tombstone had the finest system of water works of any town on the coast.[196] The streets were lit by gas lamps installed sometime in 1881; later the houses were illuminated by the same means. There were three companies of volunteer firemen who did noble service in the fires of 1881 and 1882, However after the newwater system was installed, facilities for fighting fire were greatly improved and the disasters of '81 and '82 were not repeated.[197]

Wages in Tombstone at this time were much the same as in the rest of the territory. Miners received four dollars a day, and other skilled labor was paid much the same wages. Teamsters received forty to sixty dollars a month and board, clerks were paid fifty to one hundred dollars a month and board. Day laborers received two dollars and a half to three

---

194. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona 1883, p. 51.
195. Ibid.
196. Ibid.
197. Ibid.

dollars and a half a day.[198]

Similarly the cost of living in Tombstone varied little from that in other large towns in the territory. It was on the whole reasonable considering that nearly everything, with the exception of meat, vegetables, and some of the flour, was brought in from the distant markets of the East and West.[199] Board ranged from eight to ten dollars a week, and rent from twenty to thirty dollars a month. The usual price charged by restaurants was fifty cents for dinner, less for other meals; prices at some of the smaller restaurants were even cheaper. The rates charged by the Grand Hotel for rooms were from two to three and a half dollars a day.[200]

Groceries were not unreasonably priced; sugar and coffee were twenty cents a pound, tea from fifty cents to one dollar a pound, bacon twelve and one half cents, beef ten to twenty cents, mutton eight to twelve cents, and potatoes two to five cents; flour was five dollars per hundredweight.[201]

Furniture and hardware were all imported from California and the East so the price of such articles was rather high.[202] However lumber was cheap and adobe still cheaper and a comfortable home could be built at a cost of from four to six hundred dollars.[203]

---

198. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona 1883. p. 208.
199. Ibid.
200. Tombstone Commercial Advertiser, April 20, 1882.
201. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona, 1883, p. 209.
202. Ibid.
203. Ibid.

Of social life there was plenty, even in the camp's earliest days. At first it was mostly of the variety covered by the term "club life." Certainly there were clubs aplenty - social ones mostly - and for the first year or two these furnished very nearly the only organized attempts at society. These included the Tombstone Social Club, the Masonic Order, the Knights of Pythias, Tombstone Practice Dance Club, Tombstone Turn Verein Club, the Irish Land League and others. The Tombstone Club which had its headquarters at the Grand Hotel, was evidently an exclusive organization; visitors' cards were issued for a period of two weeks and the visitor must be introduced by a member in good standing.

All of these organizations gave periodical balls or other entertainments. Old invitations and programs still survive; from one such collection it is possible to construct a tentative social calendar for Tombstone for a part of the social season of 1881-82.[204]

Thanksgiving Day, November 25, 1880, the Methodist Church gave a benefit dinner in the afternoon. In the evening, the Tombstone Social Club gave a Thanksgiving party, which seems to have been a ball (at the Grand Hotel.) Tuesday, December 14, the Nellie Boyd Opera Company (a Tucson Company) gave a benefit performance for the Tombstone Hose Company, Number one. Friday, December 31, a New Year's Ball was held at the new school house. February 22, 1881 a Marthat Washington Reception was given at the Grand Hotel. Some of the social events of

---

204. Practically all the material for the following pages in this chapter was obtained from a scrap book in the possession of Mr. Harry Hasselgreen.

the summer and early fall of 1881 were; Grand Ball of the Irish Land League, June 17, 1881. The Grand Ball of the Tombstone Engine Company, number one, on July 4, and the second Grand Ball of the Tombstone Turn Verein Club. Thursday September 15, a benefit performance was given in Schieffelin Hall for the purchase of a fire alarm bell. Thursday, October 6, the Tombstone Turn Verein Club gave its third Grand Ball. Attendance at almost all of these was by invitation. At these balls lancers, quadrille, schottische, mazurka, polka, and waltz were danced. And it is not surprising to find that the Blue Danube was most in demand.

Music lovers in Tombstone also did not lack entertainment. There was a Musical Society, several of whose members had sung in opera. In 1881 they put on the comic opera Pinafore, and in spite of the high cost of staging the production, as costumes had to be imported from San Francisco, the Society cleared $250 . This sum was turned over to the building fund of the Episcopal Church.[205] There was also an Italian band and the Tombstone City Band which gave frequent concerts.

Society seemed to have been pretty well stratified in Tombstone. The various classes came into contact very little with each other socially, but on the whole relations between the different social groups were harmonious. The miners lived in a separate quarter of the town and had their own society.[206] The scene of most of their social activities was the Miner's Union Hall.

---

205. Breakenridge, Helldorado, p. 127
206. Personal interview with Mr. Wm. Lutley

There were of course other amusements of a more informal character. Rifle tournaments at the Tombstone Shooting Gallery, and raffles were popular. For the men there was gambling of an assorted variety - mostly faro- and its complement drinking was also freely indulged in.

A very popular sport indulged in by gentlemen of the younger set, was betting on the stages. The two stage companies operating between Tucson and Tombstone were bitter rivals, and nowhere was their rivalry more keen than in the field of speed. They left Tucson daily at approximately the same time, and daily they raced between Tucson and Tombstone. What the passengers thought of this procedure is not a matter of record; perhaps their sporting blood was aroused and they thoroughly enjoyed it - and then again, perhaps not. A citizen of Tombstone relates that he once saw one such race in which one of the stages crashed into the wooden awnings overhanging the sidewalks on Allen Street., removing one entire section of them in the process.[207]

Stage driving in those days was indeed a heroic profession. Handling six or eight mettlesome horses called for nerve and skill, and the stage drivers were regarded as veritable nabobs by the small boys of the town, many of whom doubtless hoped to emulate their heroes by becoming stage drivers themselves when they grew up.

No description of Tombstone's social life would be complete

---

207. Personal interview with Mr. J. A. Rockfellow.

without some mention of the Bird Cage Theatre. It was built in 1881, and from then until late in 1885 there were performances every night, during which the house was almost invariably crowded. As to what sort of histrionic talent was found there, accounts differ; some claim that is was of the best, others that it was of mediocre quality.[208] There seems to be no specific evidence on either side, but the theatre itself merits description. Boxes lined the walls, crudely built it is true, but nevertheless undeniably boxes. In the back of the theatre was a well stocked bar equipped with a dumb waiter to serve the upper tier of boxes. Admission was twenty-five cents.

However the Bird Cage was not Tombstone's only theatre, contrary to the generally accepted notion; it was more of a variety theatre, while Schieffelin Hall staged performances of a slightly more elevated character.[209] The larger stock companies and light opera companies which came to Tombstone seem to have played at Schieffelin Hall. Here the admission usually ranged around one dollar and fifty cents, and most of the theatre's patronage seems to have come from the town's elite. Benefit performances were frequently given here.

After 1882 Tombstone society seems to have undergone some slight change; probably this was due to the fact that cliques became more definitely established. There were more small private entertainments, and fewer semi-public and other social events.

---

208. J. C. Hancock says that actors and plays were quite ordinary, Personal interview with Mr. James Marrs.
209. Personal interview with Mr. James Marrs.

Probably Tombstone society of the period of the eighties was a very creditable imitation of that of the larger cities. The prevailing tendency of the period in general seems to have shown a marked French influence. Especially was this true of the cities of the western coast, and Tombstone seems to have come in for its full share of this. Soirees took the place of receptions, menus were printed in French, and shops as a matter of course advertised their stock as French; many of the restaurants had French names, for instance, the Maison Doree. Probably Tombstone prided itself on being up to date, and certainly its society seems to have been capable of sustaining a very favorable comparison with that of much larger towns. It was well organized, congenial, not overly ostentatious, and seemingly the events it sponsored were of a thoroughly enjoyable nature. Above all it seems to have been well-balanced- each group had its own pleasures and the lack of friction between the various elements set a standard that was probably more representative of the Nineteenth century than it is in the twentieth.

CHAPTER VIII

LEGENDARY TOMBSTONE

Perhaps it is to be deplored in the name of romance that this legendary Tombstone, wherein life was one long and uproarious carouse, albeit a carouse liable to be terminated at any moment by a sudden and violent ending, did not exist... or at anyrate it existed only in the imagination of its creators...writers such as Walter Noble Burns and Stuart Lake who were much more interested in the sales value than the authenticity of their stories.

But it is hardly fair to blame the writers too severely, for exaggerated as they are, most of these legends are built upon a somewhat more solid foundation than mere fancy. Practically all of the characters whose deed have been told and retold so often, actually lived at one time or another, but it is to be doubted that they existed in any such heroic mold as their biographers would have the world believe. Similarly most of the exploits credited to these men are highly magnified views of actual happenings. In many cases time has completely effaced all record of the original story so that is is often quite impossible to separate truth from fiction, and in fairness it must be admitted that not all of these heroes of romance were commonplace or sordid; some of them fully deserve to be remembered and glorified. At any rate no history of Tombstone would be complete without including at least the more well known legends and some account of the town's more famous characters.

In Tombstone's Hall of Fame we find represented every walk of life from the Reverend Mr. Endicott Peabody, young Episcopal rector from staid old Boston, to the notorious Curly Bill, robber, smuggler, and cut throat. Here in Tombstone their paths converged.

Perhaps the least attractive character of any of them was Tombstone's Don Juan, Buckskin Frank Leslie. From all accounts he was a handsome fellow. His name was derived from his favorite dress of buckskin leather. His adventures were many and varied, and mostly disreputable. An acquaintance says of him that he was cruel, shifty and treacherous, even when it would gain him nothing.[210] Probably of all the episodes of his career the most famous is his killing of Mike Galeen which was followed by his marriage to Galeen's widow. Their domestic bliss was short lived however, as Mary Galeen Leslie divorced him within six months. Rumor said that she objected to his favorite pastime of shooting the dishes from her hand when she was carrying them from the kitchen to the dining room. Buckskin Frank's subsequent matrimonial adventures were rather hectic but they have been so often written of that repetition would be tedious. Suffice it to say that he eventually landed in the territorial prison at Yuma for a particularly sordid and scandalous murder. He was under life sentence but by some means he managed to interest a wealthy San Francisco woman in his case. She procured his pardon and later married him,

---

210. Hancock, Memoirs.

only to divorce him shortly afterwards. How he ended his career is not known, and Burns' story of the tottering old derelict who limped into a Tombstone saloon many years later and announced he was Buckskin Frank is probably as near the truth as any.

Two characters who were oddly alike, though they hated each other bitterly, were John Ringo and the cynical "Doc" Holliday. They were ranged on opposite sides in the famous Earp Clanton fight, and some claim that they had a great deal more to do with causing the fight than is commonly known.

John Ringo was Tombstone's "Hamlet" if one may borrow from Burns' description of him. He was a mysterious and melencholy figure; none knew exactly from whence he came, or what his real name was. He was chiefly noted for his scholarly attainments and his steady and persistent drinking.[211] It was commonly supposed that he drank to forget his past life. He was one of the chiefs of the rustlers around Galeyville and had great authority among them, but though he was their leader on raids into Mexico after cattle, he kept aloof after they returned to Galeyville.[212] He was known as a bad man and was deadly when he had been drinking, but he was invariably chivalrous in manner toward women of all classes. His death was as mysterious as his life had been . He was found dead seated beneath a tree on the road some miles away

---

211. Mr. Wm. Lutley who knew him describes him as "tough but a very nice fellow."
212. Breakenridge, Helldorado, p. 134.

from Tombstone, shot through the head. Both his boots were gone and he had evidently walked som distance without them. The mystery of his death is still unsolved but it was commonly believed that he had committed suicide.[213] However various legends grew up around his death. One version of the story ran that the Earp party had killed him in their flight from Tombstone, which occurred at this time. Still another story said that he had been killed by Buckskin Frank Leslie who had come upon him asleep and shot him. The two were bitter enemies,[214] which lent plausibility to the tale.

"Doc" Holliday was the black sheep of an old Georgia family. He had run away from home, some said because of a shooting and since then had been famed as a gun man; he was known to have killed several men. His nickname of "Doc" came from his profession of dentistry which he had practiced for a brief time, forsaking it for gambling. Holliday was a strong partisan of the Earps, and was suspected along with them of being in league with the outlaws of the region. His sarcastic wit and the deadly accuracy of his aim were famous in Tombstone, and consumption had left him so emaciated that , as he declared there wasn't enough of him to make a good target for bullets. He accompanied the Earps in their flight from Tombstone and shortly afterward died of consumption in Colorado.

---

213. Robert M. Boller one of the men who found Ringo's body is of this opinion.
214. Judge Hancock believes that Leslie killed Ringo. Hancock, Memoirs.

One of the most spectacular characters around Tombstone was Curly Bill. He went by the name of William Brocius but he did not know what his real name was. He was the acknowledged leader of the gang of smugglers, cattle thieves, and cutthroats which infested the San Pedro valley and made Cochise County notorious as an outlaw's stronghold. His headquarters were at Charleston but he often paid Tombstone a visit and was quite well known in the town. He fully deserved his reputation as a bad man, but was usually good humored and easily amused. It is almost impossible that he should have been the star actor in all of the exploits credited to him, but a few of the more noteworthy of these deserve mention. The most famous incident of his career is the Skeleton Canyon Massacre in which he and his band ambushed and slaughtered a band of Mexican smugglers in order to gain possession of their goods.[215]

Another of his escapades was carried on in a slightly more humorous vein. He and his band of outlaws entered a church in Charleston one Sunday night for a lark. The congregation left hurriedly but Bill forced the minister to remain and preach a sermon, to which all the outlaws listened attentively. The next morning the local justice of the peace hunted up Bill and fined him $25 for disturbing the peace; he paid the fine but declared his intention of eschewing church attendance for the future as it was too expensive.[216]

---

215. There is some disagreement as to the authenticity of this story, but many old citizens of Tombstone declare it to be true. Mr. Jeff Milton is of the opinion that the story is authentic.
216. Breakenridge, Helldorado, p. 119.

A character with whom fiction has taken few liberties is the Reverend Mr. Endicott Peabody who arrived in Tombstone in 1881 to take up his duties as rector of the Episcopal Church. A product of Boston and Cambridge, Tombstone must have been something until now quite outside his experience. However the town liked him at once. He was a good athlete and very fond of horse races.[217] His sermons were always well attended and he was thoroughly popular with all classes. It was owing to his efforts that the Episcopal congregation acquired a church; this structure, built in 1881, is said to be the oldest Protestant church in Arizona. Many amusing stories are told of the young minister's efforts to raise money for the building fund of this church. According to popular report he once invaded a poker game, consisting of E. B. Gage one of the mine superintendents and several other mining company officials, and requested a donation of Gage who was an Episcopalian. Gage contributed $50 and the rest of the party followed his example, greatly to the surprise and delight of the enthusiastic minster.[218] The Reverend Mr. Peabody remained in Tombstone only six months; he was then transferred to another congregation and Tombstone saw his departure with regret.

In at least one instance writers of romance have neglected to make the most of their opportunities. Probably the most tragic and romantic figure in all Tombstone's history is Russian Bill. Much of his story is shrouded in mystery, but the little of it available sounds as though surely a novelist

---

217. Breakenridge, Helldorado, p. 126.
218. Ibid.

had written it. Burns has told the story of Russian Bill but his creation is overdrawn, exaggerated, and faintly ridiculous. Years have passed and definite details are so hard to obtain that perhaps one version of the story is as good as another. At any rate there was such a character - that much may be ascertained from contemporaries and newspapers.[219]

It seems that sometime in 1880, somewhere in Russia, perhaps it was in Moscow, perhaps in St. Petersburg, or even in some little garrison town, a young Russian nobleman, lieutenant in the Imperial White Hussars began to find life in the Russian army dull and without savour. Why nobody knows - perhaps an unhappy love affair caused the sudden distaste for worldly existence- perhaps it was merely the revolt of an adventurous spirit against the monotony of army life - and he was very young and perhaps had been reading lurid romances of life in the far west of America. At any rate he applied for a long leave and got it, and for a time nothing more is heard of him.

Months afterward there appeared in Tombstone a mysterious and dashing figure - young and handsome. He dressed like a stage outlaw and his manners would have done credit to Lord Chesterfield. His status was indeterminate - he was not a gambler, but if he were the outlaw he claimed to be, he was indeed an unusual one. Few of the local banditti were versed

---

219. J.C. Hancock says that there is no doubt that the story told by Burns is true in the main but highly exaggerated. He says there is no doubt but that Russian Bill belonged to the nobility of Russia.

in literature and astronomy; music and philosophy were as sealed books to them. But they were tolerant souls and did not dispute his right to discourse of Wagner and Strauss or to quote Nietzsche or Shakespeare. He sought his associates among the lawless element of the town - he drank with them, talked with them, and let it be known that he was one of their number. And then, his prowess in crime not yet proven, he joined the band of that storied villain Curly Bill.

It was a strange combination but the friendship flourished - Russian Bill withdrew to Curly Bill's stronghold in the hills, but he seems never to have accompanied the outlaw troop on their raids.

But one day, feeling the need of diversion, Russian Bill rode out on a foray with Sandy King, one of Curly Bill's henchmen. The two crossed into New Mexico, intending to help themselves to a few horses from the ranches near by.

Unfortunately the two were caught near the little town of Shakespeare with several horses, obviously stolen, in their possession, and immediately taken into town and put in jail. But Shakespeare was exceedingly tough- so tough in fact that the citizenry frequently dispensed with such official red tape as trials. They did so in this case, and took the two and hanged them to the nearest tree with scant ceremony. One of them protested - he evidently had something he urgently wished to say, but at the jeers of "yellow" flung at him from all sides he lapsed into stoical silence and offered no further

resistance.[220]

Months passed and in Tombstone Russian Bill was almost forgotten . Tombstone had other things to occupy its attention. An Indian outbreak in the surrounding country menaced and a company of rangers set out on pursuit of the hostiles. A feud broke out between two opposing factions in the town which in Tombstone's opinion caused that of the Montagues and Capulets to look like a mere child's game. But at last the company of rangers disbanded, the Indian menace having vanished for a time; three of the participants of the feud were laid to rest in Boot Hill Cemetery and Tombstone knew the others no more. The town settled into comparative peace. Then like an exploding bombshell came a letter from the Russian consul general to the mayor of Tombstone - a letter which, as soon as its true import dawned upon him - literally stunned that dignitary and his associates. It requested his assistance in obtaining information concerning the whereabouts of Lieutenat William Tattenbaum of the Czar's Imperial White Hussars. The lieutenant had disappeared while travelling in America, some months ago, and his mother the Countess Telfrin, lady in waiting to the Czarita, was exceedingly anxious for news of him. A description and portrait of the young lieutenant were enclosed, and it probably did not take much inquiry to convince the mayor of the appalling truth.

---

220. Burns says that he made no effort to inform his captors of his identity but the Tombstone Epitaph states that the outlaw called Russian Bill did try to say something before he was hanged, but his captors refused to listen. Tombstone Epitaph, Nov. 17, 1881

What was to be done? Inform the countess that her son had died at the hands of a lawless mob as a common thief, and probably bring down a Russian hornet's nest about the State Department at Washington?

Probably the mayor spent a few sleepless nights, but after much brain racking he composed a letter informing the consul that the Lieutenant had indeed come to Tombstone, and while there had met his death by an unhappy accident. The mayor sent his condolences and heart felt sympathy to the bereaved mother.

This communication was received as truth, and the countess seems never to have learned of her scape grace son's unhappy end, fortunately for all concerned.

But there were so very many others. Men and women of whom we catch only passing glimpses - a name on a tombstone, a notice in a time yellowed newspaper; a visiting card or a name written on a dance program pasted into an old scrap book. One old invitation reads thus:

Tombstone, January 1, 1881.

To------

The pleasure of your company and friends are solicited to attend a Social Party given by me at No. 13 Tough Nut St.

On New Years' evening

January 1, 1881

Josephine Harcourt.

It is not difficult to surmise Josephine's probable vocation but all the same one wonders what her story was and what her appearance.

And who were such women as Kittie Devaney and Miss Birdie Parker? Whether they ultimately came to rest in Boot Hill Cemetery or pushed on to more flourishing locations when disaster overtook the town can only be guessed. But once they formed part of the gay life of Tombstone in the days of its glory.

And in the chronicling the careers of light ladies one must not omit Cora, who has been comparatively unsung, but who was certainly a very real and popular personage if report says true. Her house no longer stands, but in the 1880's it was a much frequented institution, and remarkable of its kind.[221] Cora Davis she called herself, but it was generally understood that this was not her real name. She was a fine looking woman of about thirty-five years of age, when she came to Tombstone, and of a decorous manner and bearing. The girls of her house were above the common run - many of them were accomplished musicians. Probably the most unique feature of the establishment was her extreme solicitude for the reputation for honesty of her house. When a gentleman visiting her establishment showed signs of becoming inebriated, while he was still sober enough to know what was going on, his valuables were taken from him and put in the safe, first being listed in duplicate. One copy was given to him and the other copy kept by his hostess. When he was ready to leave his belongings were returned to him, and he was obliged to compare them with the list he kept.[222]

---

221. Hancock, Memoirs.
222. Ibid.

Another character nameless, but no less interesting, who has left her description if nothing else, is the dark haired girl who sometimes used to come into the Crystal Palace of an afternoon and deal for a gambler called Napa Nick who had a faro layout of his own. A description of her runs as follows:

"She was a handsome girl - seemed by her manner to have come from a good family. She was always well dressed but nothing flashy, and wore magnificent diamonds. She and Nick were living together- some said they were married, but in those days it was nothing to comment on or attract attention - it was considered your own personal affair, and no one else's." 223

Doubtless there were many others like her, but she is probably the only one of all the numerous girls of her position who is described as an individual.

Indeed a few of the towns older citizenry, perhaps out of local patriotism, who can say, maintain that even Tombstone's prostitutes were superior in upbringing and accomplishments to those of less respectable towns. One finds accounts of their charity, their comeliness, the decorum of their manners and their honesty. Their names have been long since forgotten - only a very few will be remembered, and perhaps it is just as well, for it is said, whether authentically or not, that many of them married and settled down into ultra respectable domesticity.

---

223. Hancock, Memoirs.

CHAPTER IX

DECLINE OF THE TOMBSTONE MINES

In the Tombstone of 1883 few would have recognized the Tombstone of 1879. It had started as a camp of less than 100 people, in 1883 its population numbered according to various estimates somewhere between 7,000 and 12,000. Its trade was flourishing, its mines were producing around $7,000,000 worth of gold and silver a year and its continued prosperity was held to be a certainty.

The reasons given for the decline of Tombstone vary. No single cause wholly accounts for it, but events which taken singly would have been merely misfortunes of varying gravity, collectively resulted in complete disaster for Tombstone.

Probably the cause underlying the whole was the depreciation of the value of silver. Since the passage of the Bland Allison Act in 1877 silver bullion had been steadily falling in value, and the fight for free silver was proving a losing one. Tombstone's existence depended on its mines, and with silver at such low prices the mines could not hope to operate at a profit. It was this fall of the value of silver which brought about the immediate cause of Tombstone's downfall.

Tombstone had always been known as a $4 a day camp - even when miners in the rest of the territory were being paid less, Tombstone had maintained its $4 standard. But in 1884 the fall in value of silver made it impossible for the mining

companies to continue paying such wages.[224] They announced a cut to $3 a day, giving as their reason the low price of silver and the general lowering of miners' wages in the territory, claiming that they were operating their business at a loss.

There was a miner's union in Tombstone at this time, and according to the general opinion it was to blame for all the trouble which followed; indeed, many do not hesitate to say that its leaders were a bunch of grafters. Representing to the miners that the wage cut had originated in Tombstone and not in the home offices of the companies concerned, the union called a strike.[225] The companies offered to compromise on $3.50 a day but the union held out for $4. The companies flatly refused and on May 1, the mines closed.

Daily the attitude of the miners grew more threatening. Stevens, the president of the miner's union declared that he was not answerable for violence if the $4 a day were refused but he hoped for a peaceful settlement. The miners declared they could not possibly work for less. This strike had thrown four hundred miners out of work and the loss of trade in the community was considerable.

To make matters much worse, on May 10 the Safford Hudson Bank failed.[226] The main branch of the bank was in Tucson and the Tucson branch blamed the mining companies of Tombstone for the failure and the Tombstone branch in turned blamed it on

---

224. Breakenridge, Helldorado, p. 191.
225. Arizona Weekly Star, May 15, 1884.
226. Ibid.

speculation by the Tucson branch.[227] Whoever was to blame the bank had failed and indignation was intense. Many of the miners had lost the very little they had left and for a time it looked as though there would be a riot.

However the danger was averted for the time being by the intervention of the federal judge and other influential citizens. A company of soldiers arrived from Fort Huachuca and the sheriff swore in a hundred deputies to aid in maintaining order.[228]

The miners threatened the destruction of the hoisting works and other property of the mining companies and for a while Tombstone was a very unpleasant place indeed. At first it seemed as though the union would win out - the miner's unions of Bodie, California, Virginia City, Nevada, and other places sent word of their support and even supplied funds to enable the workmen to hold out.[229]

The attitude of the miners had become so hostile that they forced the Contention which had not cut its wages when the others had, to close down also. Guards were maintained at the mines night and day.

But in the presence of the soldiers the excitement began to cool down. The miner's union dissolved and the strike was over. However most of the larger mines did not reopen and the strike had created so much unpleasantness that many people had left the camp. With most of the mines closed

---

227. Arizona Weekly Star, May 15, 1884.
228. Ibid
229. Hamilton, Resources of Arizona, 1884, p. 156.

the miners were unable to find work and many of them left the camp.

Still another factor helped to bring about Tombstone's eventual downfall. This was the water in the mines. At first the camp had been a dry one and the companies were obliged to locate their mills on the river about eight or ten miles away. There was little in the appearance of the land around the camp to suggest the existence of water, so when it was struck in the Sulphuret shaft at the comparatively shallow depth of 560 feet it was a surprise to all.[230] Other shafts, including the Contention, Grand Central, West Side, and Head Center struck water soon after, due to the fact that the water was to be found at almost the same level throughout the district. The seriousness of the problem was not at once apparent and the companies were confident that the water could be easily pumped out.

The Grand Central Company installed steam pumps with a capacity of 500,000 gallons in twenty-four hours, but these pumps had little effect.[231] The Contention Company then put in Cornish pumps capable of raising 1,000,000 gallons in twenty-four hours but still their combined capacity proved inadequate. The Grand Central then put in fourteen inch Cornish pumps at a cost of nearly $200,000.[232]

However the gravity of the situation had not been realized until too late, the mines had gone on paying

---

230. Blake, Tombstone and Its Mines, p. 17.
231. Ibid.
232. Ibid.

dividends without retaining an adequate reserve. Furthermore difficulties arose, the Grand Central and Contention were draining the district with their pumps while the other companies refused to pay part of the expense. However, it had been demonstrated that there was very rich ore below the water and that the latter could be controlled when the Grand Central Hoisting works and pumping machinery was destroyed by fire.[233] Also at this time the differences between the companies on the question of pumping expenditures was taken to the courts for settlement; in the meantime the Contention pumps were stopped[234] until the lawsuit was decided, and the shafts were allowed to fill. The final disaster occurred when through the carelessness of a watchman the Contention plant took fire and was completely destroyed.[235] The low price of silver did not justify the rebuilding of the machinery and[236] the Tombstone mines lay idle, the lower workings flooded with water.

According to some it was at this time that Tombstone really began to disintegrate.[237] Populations drifted to other camps and nine-tenths of the buildings were deserted--hundreds of frame houses were town down and the lumber transported to nearby mining camps. Tombstone was dead - and though destined to revive twice again, it never again attained its former glory.

---

233. Blake, Tombstone and Its Mines, p. 17.
234. Ibid, p. 18.
235. Mc.Clintock, Arizona, the Youngest State, Vol. II, p. 411
236. Historical and Biographical Record of the Territory of Arizona, p. 307
237. Mc,Clintock, Arizona the Youngest State, Vol. II, p. 307

CONCLUSION

The offices of the mining companies on Fremont Street closed up one by one. Miners and their families drifted away to other fields. New Mining camps opened up, Pearce with its gold and Bisbee with its copper.

However not for a long time did Tombstone sink into the village class. Old citizens say that in 1888 the town, though nothing like it had been was still flourishing. It had two more booms, one in 1902 when the Murphy Gage interests bought the main mines, and again in 1916 when the Phelps Dodge Company bought in the same mines at a receiver's sale. But at best these were but feeble and half hearted compared with the first great boom.

It was inevitable that the fate which sooner or later awaits most mining towns should befall Tombstone. In 1929 occurred the crowning humiliation when the court house and county seat were moved to Bisbee. The battle was a bitter one but Tombstone's failure was a foregone conclusion.

Today Tombstone lives in the past and dreams that some day its glory will return, but the dream is wearing threadbare with the years. Tombstone's rich ore bodies still remain but the elements - and the money market - are against its revival.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Blake, W.P., Tombstone and its Mines, Cheltenham Press, N.Y., 1902.

Breakenridge, W.M., Helldorado, Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston and N.Y., 1928.

Hamilton, Patrick, Arizona, Phoenix, Ariz., 1886.

Hamilton, Patrick, Resources of Arizona 1881, compiled under authority of the Legislature, Prescott, Ariz., 1881.

Hamilton, Patrick, Resources of Arizona 1883, A.L. Bancroft and Co. Printers, San Francisco, 1883.

Hamilton, Patrick, Resources of Arizona 1884, A.L. Bancroft and Co. Printers, San Francisco, 1884.

Historical and Biographical Record of the Territory of Arizona, Mc.Farland and Poole, Chicago, 1896.

Kelly, G.H., Legislative History of Arizona, Phoenix, Ariz., 1926.

Lockwood, F.C., Arizona Characters, Times Mirror Press, Los Angeles, 1928.

Lockwood, F.C., Pioneer Days in Arizona, MacMillan Co., N.Y., 1932.

Mc.Clintock, J.H., Arizona the Youngest State, Vol. II, S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., Chicago, 1916.

Sloan, R.E., History of Arizona, Vol. I., Record Publishing Co., Phoenix, Ariz., 1930.

Sloan, R.E., Memories of an Arizona Judge, Stanford University Press, Stanford University, 1932.

90759

Documents

Court Documents of Cochise County in the possession of the Arizona Pioneers Society, Tucson, Arizona.

Journals of the Legislative Assemblies of the Territory of Arizona, 1879 to 1885 inclusive.

Reports of the Governors of Arizona, 1879 to 1896 inclusive.

Newspapers

Arizona Daily Star, Tucson, 1879, 1882.

Arizona Weekly Star, Tucson, 1881-1884.

Arizona Herald, Phoenix, May 24, 1883.

Arizona Weekly Citizen, Tucson, 1881-1882.

Chicago Daily Tribune, Chicago, Jan. 5, 1879.

Commercial Advertiser, Tombstone, 1882, (in the possession of Mr. Harry Hasselgreen of Tombstone)

San Francisco Weekly Examiner, San Francisco, Aug. 6, 1896.

The Epitaph, Tombstone, 1881, 1882.

The Nugget, Tombstone, 1881.

Miscellaneous

Boller, Robert M., Reminiscences (in the possession of the Arizona Pioneers Society, Tucson).

Clum, John P., Helldorado 1879-1929 (in the possession of the Arizona Pioneers Society, Tucson).

Gird, Richard, Account of the Finding of the Tombstone Mines (in the possession of the Arizona Pioneers Society, Tucson).

Hancock, J.C., Memoirs (in the possession of Dr, F.C. Lockwood of Tucson).

Rockfellow, J.A., The Three "T's" in 1879.

Schieffelin, Edward, History of the Discovery of Tombstone (in the possession of the Arizona Pioneers Society, Tucson).

Scrapbook in the possession of Mr. Harry Hasselgreen of Tombstone.

Vosburg, J.S., Papers (in the possession of Dr. F.C. Lockwood of Tucson).

Personal Interviews

Lutley, Wm., Tombstone.

Marrs, James, Tombstone.

Milton, Jeff, Tombstone.

Rockfellow, J.A., Tombstone.

Gardner, Wm., Tombstone.

Watts, Sam, Tombstone.