

MINING IN BISBEE

CHAPTER 8

THE LABOR MOVEMENT AT BISBEE

1900 - 1975

SLIDE 1

MINING AT BISBEE

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

ORGANIZED LABOR AT BISBEE

IWW MEMBERS AND
SUPPORTERS BEING
MARCHED THROUGH
LOWELL ON THE WAY TO
WARREN - 1917

PART 8



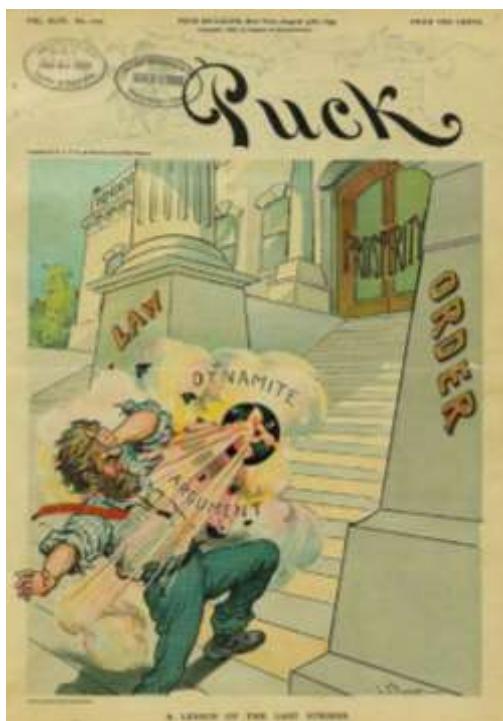
GRAEME LARKIN COLLECTION

SLIDE 2

WHY UNIONS ?

- UNIONS CAME ABOUT TO GIVE THE WORKS A COUNTER BALANCE TO THE OFTEN-MISUSED POWER OF THE EMPLOYERS
- IN THE VAST MAJORITY OF INSTANCES WHERE UNIONS WERE SUCCESSFUL IN ORGANIZING, IT WAS BECAUSE THE COMPANY DID NOT PROVIDE AN ENVIRONMENT FOR THE WORKERS THAT MET THE MOST BASIC OF CONDITIONS FOR REASONABLE EMPLOYMENT AND HAD LOW WAGES, LONG HOURS, UNHEALTHY OR UNSAFE WORK PLACES OR, IN GENERAL, A LACK OF CONCERN FOR THE EMPLOYEE
- MOST IF NOT ALL OF THESE CONDITIONS EXISTED IN THE 19TH AND EARLY 20TH CENTURY INDUSTRIAL ENVIRONMENT AND ORGANIZED LABOR IS TO BE CREDITED FOR MUCH OF THE NEEDED CHANGE WHICH OCCURRED DURING THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY
- THE CHANGE WAS DIFFICULT AS THE OWNERS OF THE FACTORIES, PLANTS AND MINES WERE NOT ABOUT TO YIELD THE ALMOST TOTAL CONTROL THEY HAD OVER THE WORKERS NOR THE FREEDOM THEY HAD TO EXERCISE THIS POWER, OFTEN FOR FINANCIAL GAIN
- THIS WAS TO BE A BATTLE WHERE BOTH OFTEN RESORTED TO FORCEFUL IF NOT VIOLENT MEANS TO GAIN AN END

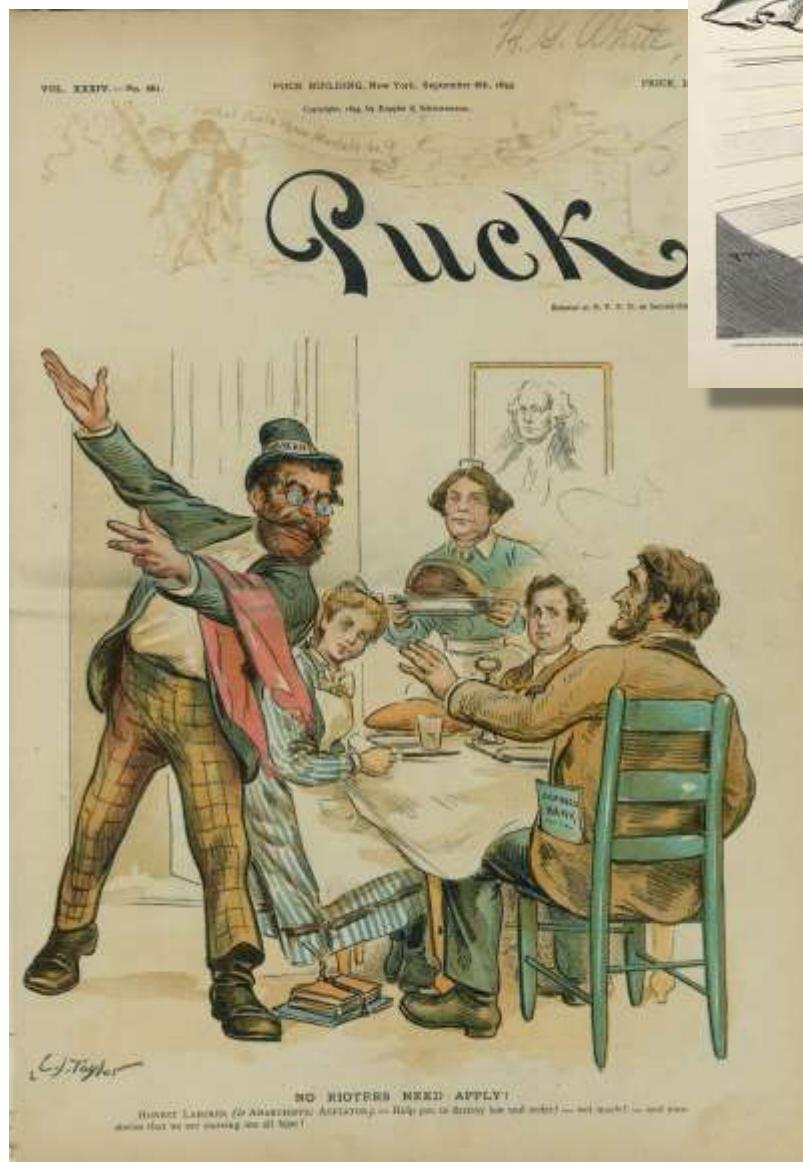
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Rightly or wrongly, during the early years of the twentieth Century, unions in general were seen as socialistic outreaches to American workers. This, in an era of socialist sponsored terrorism in the U. S. and great suspicion about the flood of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe.

As unionism was an easier sell to immigrants, many chose to criticize unions in general as havens for those less than loyal to America. Anarchists -like caricatures were often used to depict organized labor as shown in the magazine cover to the left from 1899 (Source: Library of Congress).

Two 1890s era illustrations from Puck casting labor unions in a negative manner. Interestingly, the agitators are largely depicted as eastern or southern European and as socialist, indicated by the red cloth. Library of Congress



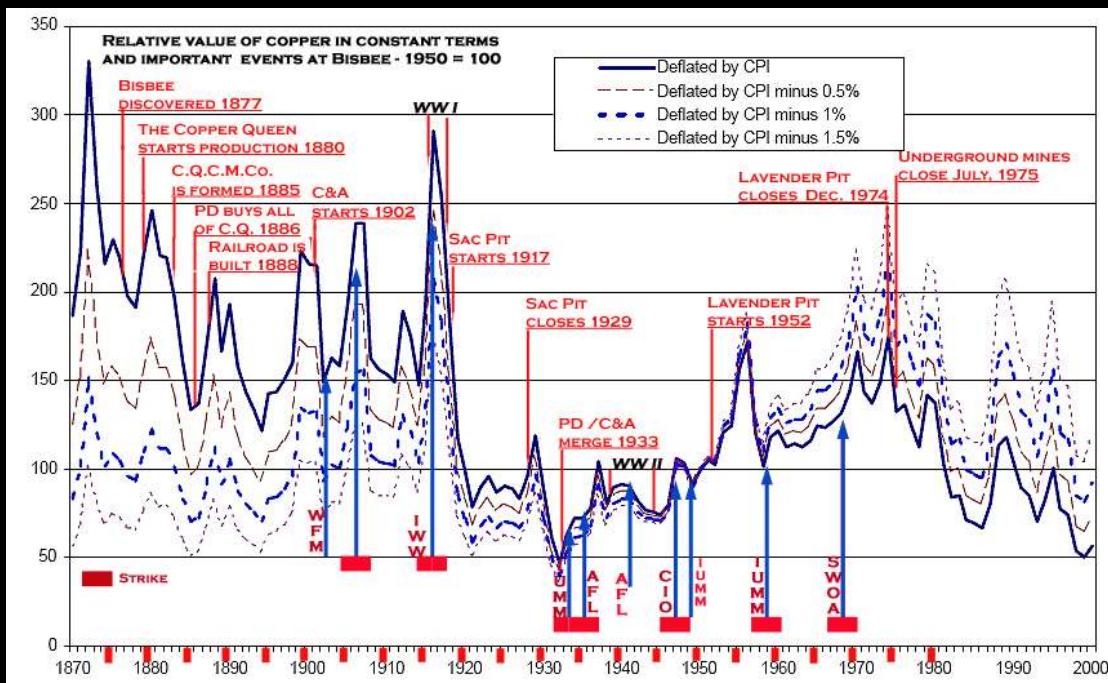


A 1903 cartoon from the very popular "Puck" weekly magazine depicting the conflict between unions and government as regards national service. Union members were threatened with expulsion if they chose to serve in the National Guard. It was misguided policies like this that furthered the belief that the union movement was socialist backed, a sentiment the industrial groups sought to exploit. Library of Congress

## SLIDE 3

### AN OVERVIEW OF IMPORTANT EVENTS AND UNION ACTIVITY

**UNION ACTIVITY AT BISBEE WAS LARGELY ASSOCIATED WITH PERIODS OF LOW COPPER PRICES AND THE ASSOCIATED WAGE REDUCTIONS AND LAYOFFS. THE IWW ACTION IN 1917 IS THE LONE EXCEPTION ~~~~~**



It would seem that the union activity at Bisbee was poorly timed. As demonstrated in the above graphic, most of the periods of activity on the part of the unions were at the time of falling or low metal prices. Of course this was also when the men working in the mines felt less secure as wages were often reduced and men laid off, something unions sought to exploit. This was also a time when the companies were the least receptive to what they perceived as outside interference, as they were trying to keep operations trimmed and cost effective.

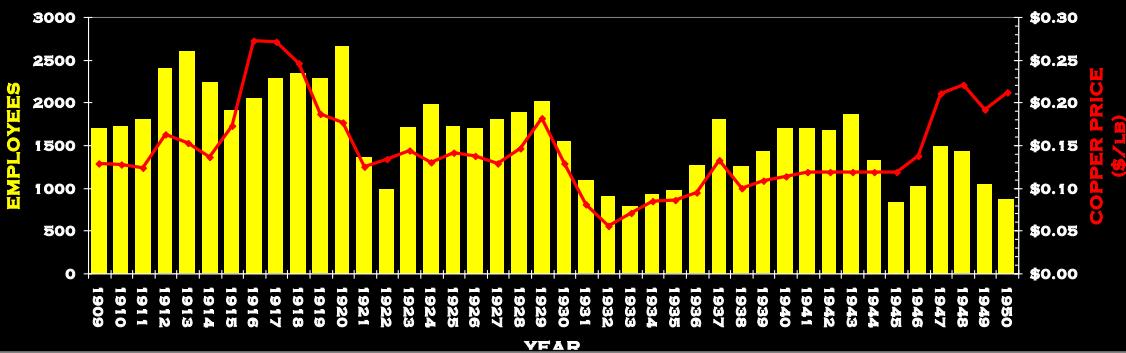
Once established, the unions at Bisbee were varied and often competing. First came the Western Federation of Miners (WFM), then the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) which was born of the radical socialist faction of the WFM. Over time, the WFM became the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (IUMM) or (IUMMSW). It was not affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Operators (CIO) or the American Federation of Labor (AFL), both of which were often competitors to represent the mine and mechanical workers. In the 1960s, the IUMM was absorbed by the United Steel Workers of America (SWOA).

## SLIDE 4

### BISBEE WAS VERY DIFFERENT

- THE MANAGEMENT OF THE COPPER QUEEN WAS DIFFERENT, VERY DIFFERENT WHEN IT CAME TO THEIR WORKERS. THEY CARED, AND SHOWED IT IN SO MANY WAYS. THE CQ WAS TYPICALLY THE INDUSTRY LEADER IN PROVIDING FOR THE WORKERS AND THEIR FAMILIES, ALWAYS PAYING FAIR WAGES AND LISTENING TO THEM, SOMETHING RARE FOR THE TIME
- STILL, BISBEE AND ITS MINES WERE A TARGET FOR THE UNIONS AS THEY BELIEVED ANY NON-UNION MINE WAS UNACCEPTABLE NO MATTER THE ENLIGHTENED POLICY PRACTICED BY MANAGEMENT, IT WAS A THREAT
- THE UNIONS SAW THEIR CHANCE IN THE EARLY 1900S AS FOR THE FIRST TIME IN ITS HISTORY, BISBEE'S MINES WERE CHANGING THE WAY MEN WORKED. MODERNIZATION AND MECHANIZATION WERE DISPLACING SKILLED MINERS WITH MACHINES AND LOW SKILLED MEN. MANY SAW THEIR JOBS THREATENED AND IN FACT, THEY WERE THREATENED. AND TOO, THE FLUCTUATING PRICE OF COPPER CONTROLLED BOTH THEIR WAGES AND THEIR NUMBERS WITH LAYOFFS MORE COMMON ~~~~~

TOTAL EMPLOYEES VS COPPER PRICE (\$/LB)



As is intuitively obvious, workers were increased during times of high metal prices by the companies to take advantage of the good times and produce more copper, usually from lower-grade ores or those ores more difficult to extract. Conversely, when prices were low, workers were reduced in number to save on labor costs. Also, low prices or high labor cost always sent management looking for ways to improve productivity and the early 20<sup>th</sup> century provided a straight forward way to reduce cost in all industries --- modernization and mechanization. This was very much the case in labor intensive industries like mining. Bisbee began this change in the very early years of that century. This change threatened many workers security.

Hand drilling was a highly skilled occupation, but now one semi-skilled man with a pneumatic drill could do in half a day what three highly skilled men would do in two days, drill out a round for blasting. Car trammers were low skilled workers, but they too were being replaced with machines. A trolley motor could haul 100 times more cars in a day and it only needed two men. And too, skips replaced the many, many cagers and toplanders used to hoist the thousands of cars to the surface every day for dumping in the ore bins.

This lack of security was fertile ground for union organizers, fertile, but not easy as the CQ was good to its people. In September, 1903, J. T. Lewis, executive board member of WFM District

#1, on instructions from WFM President William D. Haywood, went to Douglas and Bisbee to organize the workers. He remained in the area from September 22 to October 1, but had to report: "*In view of the fact that the Copper Queen Mining Company has always met our organization with united opposition, the men that were fortunate enough to be working for them at the time absolutely refused to have anything whatever to do with a labor organization.*" However, true to their "faith" "that a union mine was a better mine," the WFM came back, again and again, looking for the right moment. Heywood believed that moment occurred in 1907.

## SLIDE 5

### ORGANIZED LABOR AT BISBEE – THE EARLY YEARS

- **THE LATE 1890S AND EARLY 1900S WERE A PERIOD OF INTENSE ACTIVITY ON THE PART OF THE WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS (WFM) TO ORGANIZE ALL MINING CAMPS, AND BISBEE WAS NO EXCEPTION, BUT TO NO AVAIL, DESPITE REPEATED EFFORTS BY THE UNION**
- **THE COPPER QUEEN HAD ALWAYS BEEN FAIR TO THEIR WORKERS, PAYING ABOVE STANDARD WAGES, AS WELL AS BEING PROGRESSIVE IN IMPROVING WORKING CONDITIONS, REDUCING WORKING HOURS AND CARING FOR THE MEN AND THEIR FAMILIES IN SO MANY WAYS. BECAUSE OF THIS ENLIGHTENED APPROACH TO WORKER RELATIONS, THE UNIONS HAD NOTHING TO OFFER THE WELL TREATED MINERS**
- **THIS DID NOT STOP THE WFM FROM TRYING – OVER AND OVER AGAIN – 1904, 1906, 1907. THE LAST EFFORT IN 1907 WAS VERY DIFFERENT AND IN MANY REGARDS, COULD BE CONSIDERED AS ALMOST SUCCESSFUL**
- **THE 1907 ACTIONS BY THE WFM WERE FINANCIALLY SUPPORTED FROM THE OUTSIDE AT THE OUTSET, BUT SOON IT HAD SUBSTANTIAL LOCAL SUPPORT**
- **THE ORGANIZATION EFFORTS BY THE WFM IN 1907 WERE MET WITH SWIFT, FIERCE RESISTANCE BY THE COMPANIES**

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The unions failed at Bisbee because those who worked at the Queen were a well-paid lot working under conditions as good as any mine anywhere, thus the unions could not offer the workers any material improvement in their conditions of employment. The Bisbee Daily Review (1903) wrote:

"... the year around, 3 shifts of men, working 8 hours per day receiving the highest wages paid in the country, go down into the Copper Queen, and rarely do the names on the payroll change, as long as good men wish to remain in the company's employ, and a more contented, money saving, industrious, sober and thrifty list of employees cannot be found anywhere upon the face of the globe."

This contentment, while good for the company and the employees was most nettlesome for the unions. The late 1890's and early 1900's saw effort after effort by the Western Federation of Miners (WFM) to organize the workers in Bisbee. In 1904, The Engineering and Mining Journal noted that:

"This camp is one of a very few in the West that has never witnessed a strike, or any serious disagreement between the company and the miners—a record equally creditable to both parties. It is also remarkable from the fact that it is not unionized and cannot be persuaded into joining the union. It goes without saying that the labor leaders have long regarded this camp with covetous eyes and have put forth every effort to convert it from its infidelity"

A later issue of the same magazine noted:

"Labor leaders have long covetously eyed Bisbee and put forth every effort -- yet not a dollar finds its' way into the pockets of the union leaders. [This] comes from a mutual confidence between employer and employee and is full of a significance that scarcely be bought by union propaganda' (Engineering and Mining Journal, 1904).

In 1906, the WFM tried again and spent three months seeking to enlist men into the union using every tactic available, included intimidation (Raymant, 1906). Of the approximately 4,000 men employed at the mines, 2,700 voted in an election in which the union received a scant 15% (Engineering and Mining Journal, 1906). The financial panic of 1907 caused copper to drop in price and wages were reduced. This looked like an opportunity to the WFM, but the mining companies moved quickly to control the strike called by the union and it soon died. The humiliation was enough; the union officially gave up at Bisbee. That is until 1916 when another failed effort was tried (Mills, 1958).



Under Walter Douglas the company continued its long held policy of paying fair wages, now tied to the price of copper, and constantly sought to improve working conditions. Benefits new to all such as a retirement program and an association to provide for wage continuation in the case of accident or illnesses were put in place by the younger Douglas (Mills, 1958). A safety department was established in 1912 (Cox, 1938) in a real effort to protect workers as well as educate them to protect themselves. In spite of his progressive approach to employee relations, history has not necessarily been too kind to him. Most recently, he was vilified by Byrkit (1982) in his cleverly crafted "Forging the Copper Collar" a most unfair treatment.

The above is excerpted from:

A History of the Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company and its employees by Richard W. Graeme 1999

SLIDE 6

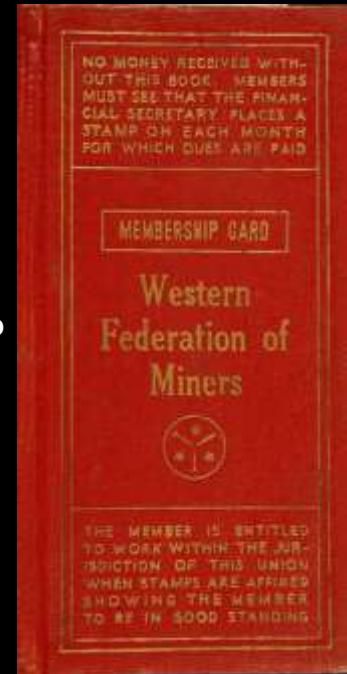
UNIONS COME TO BISBEE, BUT ARE RESISTED BY THE COMPANIES

THE LITTLE RED MEMBERSHIP BOOKLET OF THE WFM WAS, TO JAMES AND WALTER DOUGLAS, LIKE THE PROVERBIAL RED FLAG TO A BULL. THEY HAD BUT ONE DESIRER — RID THE DISTRICT OF THIS MENACE. ANY AND ALL MEANS TO DO SO WERE TO BE EMPLOYED AT ANY COST.

ANY MINER WHO BECAME A UNION MEMBER WAS IMMEDIATELY DISMISSED. ANYONE WITH SUSPECTED PRO-UNION SYMPATHY WAS DROPPED FROM THE PAYROLL AND A MINER SEEN ANYWHERE NEAR THE UNION HALL OR WITH KNOW ORGANIZERS WAS VERY MUCH AT RISK. THERE WAS NO SHORTAGE OF PEOPLE TO REPORT SUCH “MISGUIDED” BEHAVIOR. THE COMPANY HAD EYES EVERYWHERE. IT WAS NOT WISE TO BE UNION, IF YOU WORKED IN BISBEE

THE COMPANY PAPER, *THE BISBEE DAILY REVIEW*, CARRIED OUT AN AGGRESSIVE PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN ON ALMOST A DAILY BASIS

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GRAEME LARKIN COLLECTION  
WFM MEMBERSHIP BOOKLET  
1903

Bisbee was one of the largest mining camps in the Territory of Arizona and had steadfastly remained non-union. The WFM now decided to direct its efforts toward bringing miners there into the fold for any non-union mine was viewed as an unacceptable threat to the WFM. As noted above, the miners were reluctant to join, in spite of the efforts of the organizers. To be sure, the undeniable fact that the miners were fairly paid and well treated made this task ever more difficult for the union organizers, but there was more.

This reluctance to become union members on the part of the workers was no accident nor was it simply because they were so well treated that there was no possible benefit to be gained. The companies knew when the organizers were in town did not sit idly by or take an indifferent attitude to the organizing efforts of the WFM. James Douglas believed that “*co-operation under corporate control would solve the legitimate grievances of labor.*” His son and General Manager of the Copper Queen, Walter Douglas, stated that “*...the Western Federation of Miners should never organize at Bisbee, and rather than see such a calamity occur, the mines would shut down.*”

Every bit of the considerable resources the companies had were directed at stopping the spread of a socialistic union cancer in Bisbee. Thus little took place after the 1903 with the exception of a brief visit by WFM organizer Marion W. Moor in September of 1905, nothing further was done to unite Bisbee workers until January of 1906. The WFM came into town in force with a number of paid organizers and experienced modest success in signing up new members, but the union issue did get considerable attention from the miners, to the point that it was widely debated among the men.

On February 26, 1906, a conference of leading miners from throughout the district decided to hold a mass meeting for discussion of the union question. A number of those who spoke against organizing the camp admitted having been WFM members but accused the union of not knowing how conditions were in Bisbee. Several charged the union with playing politics. When all had been given the opportunity to speak, a motion was passed that called for an Australian vote on March 5, 1906. Every man currently employed would be allowed to cast a secret ballot for a union to a non-union camp. The election was held as scheduled with the vote of 2288 against the union and 428 votes in favor of the union. The defeat received wide attention in the *Tucson Arizona Daily Star*, which called it “an important decision” and expressed the hope that the question was settled once and for all.

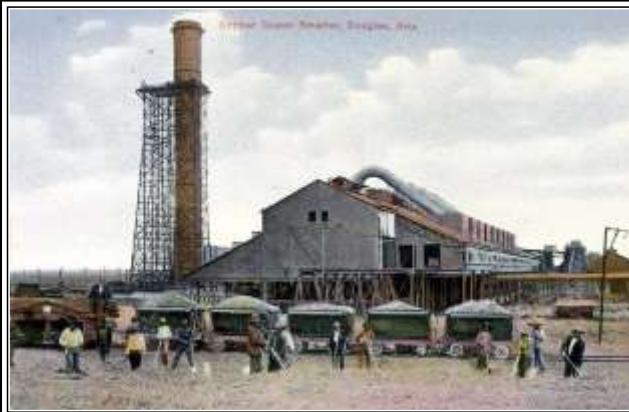
Of course, the question had not been settled, at least in the minds of the union leadership. A patient and determined lot, they would return time and time again to await the moment that the cozy relationship between the workers and the mine management was strained.

## SLIDE 7

### THE STRIKE OF 1907

**THE WFM CAME BACK TO BISBEE AT THE BEGINNING OF 1907 AS THINGS HAD CHANGED WITH MODERNIZATION. THIS BROUGHT IN LOWER SKILLED MEN AND LAYOFFS HAD OCCURRED FOR SOME. THE WFM BROUGHT IN THE BEST THEY HAD TO ORGANIZE THE WAYWARD FLOCK. IN A FEW MONTHS, SOME 1200 MEN HAD SIGNED UP AS MEMBERS. THE MINING COMPANIES RESISTED IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE INCLUDING FIRINGS TO INTIMIDATE AND PAY RAISES TO ENCOURAGE THE FAITHFUL. A STRIKE WAS CALLED BY THE WFM IN APRIL, THOUGH IT WAS ONLY PARTIALLY EFFECTIVE AS THE MINES WERE NEVER FULL CLOSED. THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT IT IMPACTED PRODUCTION. HOWEVER THE CQ HAD STOCKPILED MONTHS OF ORE AT ITS SMELTER TO WITHSTAND A STRIKE AT THE MINES. THE BATTLE FOR THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF THE MINERS WAGED ON THE STREETS OF BISBEE WAS UNCEASING**

**THE FINANCIAL COLLAPSE OF THE COPPER MARKET LATE IN THE YEAR ENDED THE STRIKE IN DECEMBER, BUT THE WFM WAS NOW HERE.**



GRAEME LARKIN COLLECTION  
SOME OF THE ORE STOCKPILED AT THE SMELTER AT DOUGLAS C - 1905

In January of 1907 the WFM came back to Bisbee with the financial support of the unions at other mining camps. This was to be a full, frontal attack on this, the lone holdout among Arizona's mining camps. Every effort was to be used, every effort no matter what the WFM was going to organize Bisbee. The players involved for the union were the best of the era

On February 20, Mary "Mother" Jones arrived in Bisbee. A colorful zealot, "Mother" Jones had taken up labor's cause in Chicago during the violent Haymarket era, but she soon adopted the struggle of America's miners as her special crusade. The fervor and oratorical skill of the fiery little Irishwoman quickly won the hearts of the miners as she urged them to "pray for the dead and fight like hell for the living!" She spoke to the Bisbee workers that night in an open-air street meeting in her customary dynamic manner, a speech powerful enough to elicit praise even from the anti-union *Bisbee Daily Review*.

By the end of April, the local had enrolled 1224 members, 700 of them joining for the first time and the remaining 524 either old or reinstated members. The mines continued to fire men who were or might be affiliated with the union and by March 5 the *Bisbee Daily Review* reprinted an article from *El Paso Times* in which Dr. Robert Ferguson, the assistant surgeon of the Copper Queen hospital, reported that only enough men were working to keep the shafts from being ruined. The Copper Queen was said to have enough ore on ground to keep its Douglas smelter running for three months and ended by stating, "The Company will never recognize the WFM."

The reports of how many responded to the strike call vary, with the companies reporting seventy percent at work, the union saying sixty-five percent were out on strike, while the rumors about town said no more than forty to fifty percent were out. On April 12, the mechanics at the mines voted not to support the union effort. While very important, it is difficult to call it the crucial point in the strike as did the *Bisbee Daily Review* of April 14.

Possibly the greatest factor in the struggle between the union and Phelps Dodge was occurring not in southeastern Arizona but in the banks and trust companies of the East. Unsettled financial conditions throughout most of 1907, culminating in the panic in October and November of that year, did more to aid the large copper corporations than any direct action taken by the companies. As the Supply of money tightened, the price of copper began to fall. By October copper had fallen from its March high of twenty-five cents to thirteen cents per pound. In November wages were cut to \$3.50 per shift and the companies began to lay off men.

The above are excerpts, with some modification from:

**Gaining a Foothold in the Paradise of Capitalism  
The Western Federation of Miners and The Unionization of Bisbee  
By James D. McBride**

# BISBEE DAILY REVIEW

REGULAR MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

## SITUATION IS IMPROVING STEADILY

Each Succeeding Day Sees More and More Miners Reporting for Work at Various Shafts of District.

Strike Forces Are Being Depleted By Men Leaving City. Union Pickets Have No Success in Solicting.

The strike situation is daily improving. This is apparent to the casual observer, as well as the worker after news about the various shafts.

Yesterday the Calumet & Arizona and Superior & Pittsburg companies made a gain of forty-eight men over the day previous, and at the Standard & Arizona and Dearborn, twenty more men were back to work on yesterday's shift. At the Queen, probably small gains were reported at each shift.

It is the consensus of opinion most in the camp that the strength of the strikers has been manifested and from now on the situation should improve, so far as the number of men employed in the district is concerned.

At union headquarters no statement is being given out of the number of men on strike, since the issuance of Bulletin No. 1 on Saturday last, at which time the claim was not toward that thirty-five per cent of the men were out.

No less than two thousand men were at work in the district yesterday and at the present rate it will not be many days until the mines are working their normal output again.

The morning train leaving Bisbee yesterday carried seventy-five miners who left for other mining camps and the afternoon train carried at least forty more. These were men who drew their time from the companies and were not day laborers or miners who have been laying off in Bisbee waiting to see the final results before deciding to leave the camp.

Each succeeding day sees the arrival in the camp of miners from the smaller districts, such as the mine near Nogales, Mexico, who have learned that the majority of miners are not on strike in Bisbee and who have come here looking for employment on account of the more favorable wages and shorter hours than are to be obtained in the smaller districts.

## STRUGGLE IS NOW ON

### UNION ORDERS MINERS TO STRIKE

On Account of Being Relused Recognition Western Federation Committee Calls On Men to Quit Work.

Uncertainty Prevails As to How Many Will obey Order—is Believed That Six Majority Will Remain at Work.

The company-owned Bisbee Daily Review headlines of April 10, 11, 12 and 17, 1907 covering the WFM action at Bisbee. Within a few days, things had returned to normal and the strike simply faded away over the next few weeks.

# BISBEE DAILY REVIEW

REGULAR MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

## MINERS REFUSE TO QUIT WORK

### 70 PER CENT OF MEN DISREGARD COMMAND

When Time Arrives For Union Order to Go Into Effect, It is Found That Vast Majority of Miners in District Are Satisfied with Conditions and Go to Work the Same as Usual—Old Timers and Men of Families Almost Generally Refuse Obeyance to Dictations of Organizers.

Managers Issue Statement to Effect That Organization Will Not Be Allowed in District—Maintain That Policies of Fairness Always Maintained Towards Men Will Be Followed the Same As in Past—Express Confidence in Men Who Remained at Work—Rawling Issues Statement on Behalf of Union.

# BISBEE DAILY REVIEW

REGULAR MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.

## MECHANICS UNANIMOUS AGAINST STRIKE!

### NO DISSENTING VOICE IS HEARD IN MEETING

After Having Vainly Endeavored to Hold Meeting Wherein Only Mechanics Would Have Voices, Because of Rough Tactics by Other Men, Men of Various Trades Finally Got Together in Tannery Hall, Draft Resolutions Declaring Fact That Part of Miners Have Been Hit to Strike, and Expressing Their Intention of Staying at Work.

Number of Men Who Have Left Is Placed at 524, According to Pay Rolls of Companies—Men Go to Work Same as Usual, Disregarding Far-Fetched and Unwarranted Arguments of Union Pickets—Situation is Very Peaceful—Local Union Receives Assurance of Support From Western Federation of Miners, Parent Organization.

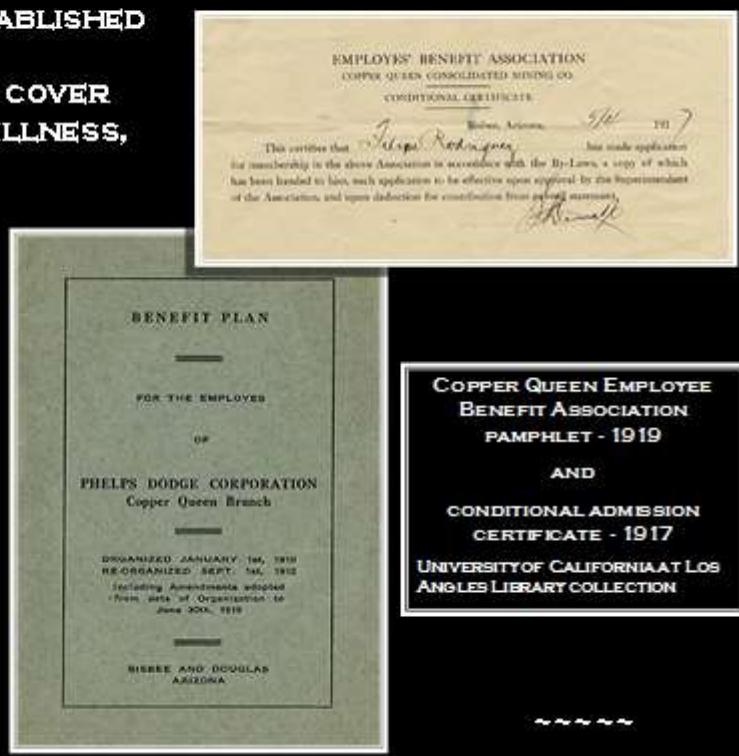


While the strike of 1907 gradually faded away, the union was in Bisbee to stay, albeit in a minor way. To the left is a 1914 announcement for the Seventh Anniversary Ball in benefit of the striking miners in Michigan. Seventh anniversary as the Bisbee local had been established in 1907.

**SLIDE 8**

**THE COPPER QUEEN TRIES TO STOP UNIONS BEFORE THEY START**

**THE COPPER QUEEN ESTABLISHED AN EMPLOYEE BENEFIT ASSOCIATION IN 1910 TO COVER LOST WAGES IN CASE OF ILLNESS, ACCIDENT OR DEATH. THIS WAS FUNDED BY CONTRIBUTIONS FROM BOTH THE EMPLOYEE AND THE COMPANY. THIS UNUSUAL, COMPANY SPONSORED ASSOCIATION ALLOWED ALL WORKERS, INCLUDING MEXICAN WORKERS, TO BELONG, SOMETHING QUITE RARE IN EARLY AMERICA AND IT HELPED SLOW THE ORGANIZATION OF THESE HARD WORKERS**



The mining companies learned that unions could now be successful in Bisbee if nothing was done. To be sure, both PD and the C & A were well ahead of their time in providing for their employee's welfare, but more had to be done. Company sponsored "unions" were initiated which give the employees defined channels for communicating with management. Perhaps the most significant effort was the establishment by both companies of insurance schemes for the workers to cover wages lost due to illness or injury, work related or otherwise as well as life insurance for the worker. There were no other such programs around to help out in the case of such event. Workers compensation laws were being considered, but were still a few years away and these would not cover non-work related events.

The programs were voluntary, member workers made monthly contributions and the company also helped fund the program with the funding level based on membership levels, but with the commitment to keep the program solvent. Early on, just over 60% of the employees became members, but soon, more than 85% of all employees belonged. One remarkable feature of the program was that it accepted Mexican employees as well.

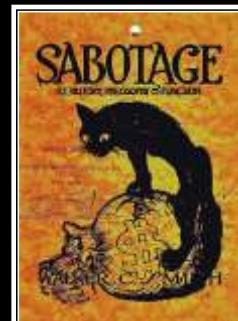
This was unusual for the era as Mexican workers were treated very different than American or Europeans by both the company and the non-Mexicans. In the context of today this is difficult to

understand, but at the time it was not only accepted as appropriate, it was enforced by the non-Mexican workers who refused to allow these capable men to work underground at Bisbee.

## SLIDE 9

### THEN CAME THE IWW

- **THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW) OR “WOBBLIES” AS THEY WERE CALLED, WERE A RADICAL BUNCH BY ANY STANDARD WHEN THEY CAME TO BISBEE IN 1917 AND BEGIN TO TRY AND ORGANIZE THE MINERS USING HALF TRUTHS AND INTIMIDATION**
- **THE WFM QUICKLY DISTANCED ITSELF FROM THE IWW EVERYWHERE, INCLUDING AT BISBEE**
- **TO THE IWW, ANY MEANS JUSTIFIED THE END, INDEED SABOTAGE WAS WIDELY PREACHED**
- **THE WHOLE PHILOSOPHY OF THIS GROUP WAS VERY MUCH AT ODDS WITH MOST IN BISBEE AND THE US AS A WHOLE. THE US HAD JUST ENTERED THE “GREAT WAR IN EUROPE”, A WAR THE IWW OPPOSED IN SUCH A WAY THAT IT APPEARED TO BE DECIDEDLY ANTI-AMERICAN AND PRO-GERMAN, IF NOT GERMAN FINANCED**
- **THROUGHOUT THE US, THE IWW WAS DISRUPTING INDUSTRIES VITAL TO THE WAR EFFORT — METAL MINING, TIMBER AND MANUFACTURING WITH STRIKES, INCLUDING OTHER ARIZONA MINING AREAS**
- **AFTER SEVERAL DIFFICULT MONTHS OF THE IWW INSISTING IT BE RECOGNIZED BY THE COMPANIES, A LIST OF DEMANDS WAS SUBMITTED, ALL OF WHICH WERE TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO ANY OF THE MINING COMPANIES WHO STILL REFUSED TO EVEN TALK TO THE IWW, MUCH LESS ACCEDDE TO THE DEMANDS ~~~~~~**



U OF A COLLECTION  
IWW BOOKLET - 1917



IWW AS A “HUN”  
(GERMAN SOLDIER)  
NEW YORK TIMES  
JULY 3, 1917

The IWW was founded in 1905 by individuals who held Socialist beliefs and its “doctrine” was inspired by organizations which “espoused anarchist and syndicalist ideals. Believing “workers and owners had no interest in common and class war was inevitable,” the ultimate goal of the IWW was to produce a “new society” in which wage labor and capitalism would not exist. Within the organization’s vision, workers themselves would control companies, not capitalists. Knowing of the IWW’s desires, the Bisbee Daily Review wondered why the union had not founded a community based upon such ideals. The paper stated that “There [were] plenty of mining prospects” and that the IWW should pull its funds together to start the type of venture they advocated instead of using their resources to strike.

A report from the Arizona Chapter of the Mining Congress, a trade association, stated, “The strike call was irregular and illegal under all rules and laws governing recognized union labor organizations and was subsequently denounced and disavowed by the Western Federation of Miners, the American Federation of Labor and other organizations of recognized Union standing.”[1]

[1] "Deportations From Bisbee and a Resume of Other Troubles in Arizona," *Arizona Chapter of the American Mining Congress*.

Much more radical than its counterparts of the era, the IWW encouraged its members to employ such tactics as "slowdowns and sabotage" within the work place. In the eyes of the union, such strategy could be implemented "when conventional strikes failed," and were viewed as "on-the-job [strikes]." In a pamphlet distributed in 1917 by the IWW, these feelings were plainly stated and instructed the reader on what sabotage entailed:

*"Sabotage is the destruction of profits to gain a definite, revolutionary, economic end. It has many forms. It may mean the damaging of raw materials destined for a scab, factory or shop. It may mean the spoiling of a finished product. It may mean the displacement of parts of machinery or the disarrangement of a whole machine where that machine is the one upon which the other machines are dependent for material. It may mean working slow. It may mean poor work. It may mean missending packages. [sic] giving overweight to customers, pointing out defects in goods, using the best of materials where the employer desires adulteration and also the telling of trade secrets. In fact, it has as many variations as there are different lines of work."*

The pamphlet went further to state:

*"Note this important point, however. Sabotage does not seek nor desire to take human life. Neither is it directed against the consumer except where wide publicity has been given to the fact that the sabotaged product is under the ban. A boycotted product is at all times a fit subject for sabotage. The aim is to hit the employer in his vital spot, his heart and soul, in other words, his pocketbook. The consumer is struck only when he interposes himself between the two combatants."*

Because of the words and actions of the IWW, It was widely believed that the group was financed by German money in order to undermine the US war effort. It was insinuated by other unions that the IWW was financed with German funds when Charles Moyer, president of the IUMMSW (the successor to the WFM) reportedly said, "*The Industrial Workers of the World has had no money in its treasury. It seems to have plenty of money now. Where it got it I cannot say. The public may speculate [about] it*". Unlike Moyer, Phelps Dodge President Walter Douglas was more direct about suspicion regarding the origin of the union's funding. Douglas stated, "*The organizers spend money like drunken sailors and there is a general belief it is German money.*"

In defense of such accusations, James Chapman, a representative of Bisbee's IWW branch proclaimed "*that there was no German influence or revolutionary propaganda behind the IWW movement.*" Bill Haywood, the Secretary Treasurer of the IWW also denied that German funds financed the organization's strikes. "*Outrage Say Haywood, IWW Official Denies That Union Is Backed by German Money*" *New York Times*, 13 July.

In any event, it was clear that many strongly believed in the IWW/Germany connection. To be sure, it met the mining companies needs to further this belief and they undoubtedly did so as they refused to engage the IWW directly. However, the company said it would continue to deal directly with their employees. The Copper Queen manager Dowell stated, Phelps Dodge would “never negotiate with an organization founded on principles inimical to good government in times of peace, and treasonable in times of war.” Dowell did not believe that the union represented the opinion of Phelps Dodge’s employees, who he thought were “loyal American citizens,” while the IWW was “doing everything in its power to paralyze the industries in [the] state and nation” during a time of war. In addition, when the President of the Phelps Dodge Corporation, Walter Douglas, son of Dr. James Douglas, was asked about meeting the demands of the strikers he made it clear the company would not negotiate. Douglas stated, “There will be no compromise because you cannot compromise with a rattlesnake.” Lastly, when the superintendent of the Copper Queen, Gerald Sherman, received a copy of the IWW’s demands he promptly tore the paper and “threw the pieces in [a] wastebasket.”

John Greenway, the general manager of the Calumet and Arizona Mining Company, said the requests of the IWW were “impossible” to meet and “declined” to engage in any negotiations whatsoever with the union. Greenway stated this was because he felt the labor “organization [was] apparently engaged in a nationwide conspiracy to close down the copper mines of the United States which would cripple and greatly imperil the government of the United States in the Great War it [had] entered.” Moreover, he argued that Bisbee was the “highest paid [mining] camp in the world and conduct of its mines is proverbially clean and high grade.”

Finally, the general manager of Bisbee’s Shattuck Arizona Copper Company, Lemuel Shattuck, echoed the thoughts of his counterparts, Dowell and Greenway. He too thought the strike was no more than an effort to “cut off the copper output required to prosecute the war.” Furthermore, the general manager said the Shattuck Arizona Copper Company made “continual progress” in the areas of improved “working conditions and management” for the business. Lastly, Shattuck claimed the “working conditions in Bisbee [were] better than anywhere in the world,” and reiterated Greenway’s argument that the town was “the highest paid wage camp in the United States.”

Most of the above has been directly excerpted from:

DIGGING UP THE PAST:

MINING, LABOR AND THE DEPORTATION OF 1917 IN BISBEE, ARIZONA

By Cherry Anne Graeme Larkin



Undated cartoon showing Uncle Sam rounding up traitors, including the IWW. Library of Congress

SLIDE 10

THE IWW DEMANDS WERE NEVER TRULY ABOUT WAGES

THE MINERS AT BISBEE WERE  
ALREADY PAID AS MUCH OR MORE  
THAN THE IWW WAS ASKING FOR.  
THE STATED GOAL OF THE IWW  
WAS TO DESTROY THE COMPANIES  
AND LITTLE ELSE. FEW MINERS

SHARED THIS GOAL

| COPPER<br>PRICE ¢ | MINER<br>\$/DAY | MUCKER<br>\$/DAY |
|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 15                | 4.00            | 3.75             |
| 16                | 4.10            | 3.85             |
| 17                | 4.25            | 4.00             |
| 18                | 4.35            | 4.10             |
| 19                | 4.50            | 4.25             |
| 20                | 4.60            | 4.35             |
| 21                | 4.75            | 4.50             |
| 22                | 4.85            | 4.60             |
| 23                | 5.00            | 4.75             |
| 24                | 5.10            | 4.85             |
| 25                | 5.25            | 5.00             |
| 26                | 5.35            | 5.10             |
| 27                | 5.50            | 5.25             |
| 28                | 5.60            | 5.35             |
| 29                | 5.75            | 5.50             |
| 30                | 5.85            | 5.60             |
| 31                | 6.00            | 5.75             |
| 32                | 6.10            | 5.85             |
| 33                | 6.25            | 6.00             |
| 34                | 6.35            | 6.10             |
| 35                | 6.50            | 6.25             |

| 1917 | MUCKER | MINER |
|------|--------|-------|
| JAN. | 5.75   | 6.00  |
| FEB. | 5.35   | 5.60  |
| MAR. | 5.75   | 6.00  |
| APR. | 5.75   | 6.00  |
| MAY  | 5.25   | 5.50  |
| JUNE | 5.35   | 5.60  |
| JULY | 5.50   | 5.75  |

WAGE SCALE IN 1917  
AS TIED TO THE PRICE  
OF COPPER (L) AND  
THE LEVEL OF WAGES  
PAID PER DAY  
(ABOVE) SOURCE:  
*MINING CONDITIONS IN  
BISBEE, ARIZONA - 1917*  
GRAEME LARKIN  
COLLECTION



GRAEME LARKIN COLLECTION  
COPPER QUEEN MINERS LINEUP ON PAYDAY C  
- 1915

"We will strike for eight hours and \$6.00, and when we get that we will strike for six hours and \$8.00, and when we get that we will strike and take over the mines."

"We will never make or keep any contract with capital", was another vow made openly by I. W. W. operators.

STATEMENT OF WITNESSES IN THE 1920 TRIAL OF  
H. E. WOOTEN FOR HIS PART IN THE DEPORTATION  
COCHISE COUNTY RECORDER'S OFFICE FILES



The IWW clearly stated that its end goal was the destruction of the capitalistic system and that the goal would justify any means necessary. Strikes were the first action they attempted.

This philosophy was too radical for the other unions of the time and they wisely chose to distance themselves from the IWW and their actions. Of course, the IWW was a competitor to the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (successor to the WFM) and other unions, so it served their needs as well. And too, it gave the other unions a chance to seem more reasonable by painting the IWW as socialistic radicals, a charge these other unions had suffered under for many years. Now, in comparison with the IWW, the

IUMMSW seemed quite reasonable and legitimate.

The IUMMSW publically announced that it did not recognize the IWW and that it did not consider any action taken by the IWW as a legitimate labor action and that men who chose to cross an IWW picket line would not be considered as scabs. Some have suggested that the conflict at Bisbee was as much a battle between competing unions as a battle between capital and labor (Cox, 1938).

## SLIDE 11

**DON'T SCAB**  
JOIN THE UNION OF YOUR CLASS  
Whenever you speed up or work  
long hours on the job, you  
are scabbing on the  
unemployed  
D&G INFORMATION INDUSTRIES © W. W. D. & G. INC., CHICAGO, ILL. W. 8-2

**THE IWW CALLS A STRIKE**

- **ON JUNE 27, 1917, THE IWW CALLED A STRIKE AGAINST ALL OF THE MINING COMPANIES AT BISBEE WITH A VOTE FROM A COMMITTEE OF ONLY FIVE MEN, NONE OF WHOM HAD BEEN ELECTED BY THE MINERS THEY PURPORTED TO REPRESENT**
- **EACH OF THE COMPANIES ATTEMPTED TO CONTINUE OPERATING, BUT WITH LIMITED SUCCESS AS ONLY A PART OF THE WORKFORCE REPORTED FOR WORK, FOR VARIOUS REASONS, NOT ALWAYS BECAUSE THEY SUPPORTED THE STRIKE, BUT OFTEN FROM FEAR**
- **AS THE STRIKE DREW ON, THINGS BECAME INCREASINGLY TENSE IN BISBEE WITH VERBAL CONFRONTATIONS OCCURRING BETWEEN STRIKERS AND NON-STRIKERS, WITH THREATS AGAINST THE "SCABS"**
- **SHERIFF WHEELER CALLED FOR HELP FROM THE GOVERNMENT, BUT WAS DENIED THE ASSISTANCE HE SOUGHT AS THE ARMY DID NOT VIEW THE SITUATION AS CRITICAL**
- **THE CONTINUED INFLAMMATORY RHETORIC OF THE STRIKERS SEEMED TO ONLY ADD FUEL TO THE GROWING FLAMES OF DISCONTENT IN THE COMMUNITY AND THE VERY REAL POSSIBILITY OF BLOODSHED CONCERNED WHEELER AND MANY OTHERS**
- **SOMETHING HAD TO BE DONE, BUT WHAT? JEROME, ARIZONA HAD JUST FORCIBLY DEPORTED 65 IWW STRIKERS IN LATE MAY.**
- **WAS THIS THE ANSWER FOR BISBEE AS WELL, EVEN THOUGH MANY, MANY MORE STRIKERS AND SYMPATHIZERS WERE INVOLVED**

~~~~~

With each of Bisbee's three mining companies meeting the IWW's demands with a flat refusal, a strike was called by the IWW to commence on June 27, 1917.^[1] However, it has been stated that this was done without a meeting or a vote of union members. Appointed merely a few days before, the IWW's "committee of five" called the strike. It was noted, "*many of the men of the district knew nothing of the strike call until they were turned back by pickets on the morning of the 27th.*"^[2] Furthermore, "*many of those who went [on strike] did not, in fact, believe in the justice of the strike,*" and only did so because they did not wish to be labeled as scabs by their coworkers and wanted to be loyal to the union.^[3] The precise number of actual strikers varies from document to document. It is estimated almost one half of the approximated 5,000 combined employees from three mining companies in Bisbee participated in the strike, with as little as thirty-five percent of the workforce reporting to the mines as the strike progressed.^[4]

- [1] McBride, "The Bisbee Deportation in Words and Images," 67.
- [2] "Deportations from Bisbee and a Resume of Other Troubles in Arizona," *Arizona Chapter of the American Mining Congress*, 1917. Cited in *The Bisbee Deportation: A University of Arizona Web Exhibit*, Arizona Board of Regents, <http://digital.library.arizona.edu/bisbee/docs2/deport.php>, (accessed 9 April 2003). The original copy of the source provided to the web site is located in the University of Arizona Special Collections Library, H9791 B621 A51.
- [3] U.S. Department of Labor, *Report on the Bisbee Deportations* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1918), 4.
- [4] "More Men Quit Copper Mines," *New York Times*, 29 June 1917. While 65 percent of the workforce may have not reported for work that day, it does not necessarily mean all of these individuals were on the picket lines. It is quite probable that some people stayed away from work due to intimidation from strikers. Moreover, some individuals left the mining camp during the strike to avoid any conflicts which could take place.

While the strikers were noted for expressing their beliefs in a nonviolent manner, rumors of potential violence by the picketers filtered through the mining camp.[1] After work, one Bisbee miner was attacked by a group of men while he was walking home. The newspaper reported that the men asked the miner where he worked, the worker responded "at the Holbrook [mine]" upon which he was assaulted. Although the report did not state this was an attack made by IWW members, it was undoubtedly what the paper wanted readers to believe.[2] Many nonunion miners in Bisbee said that the "*strikers would molest [them] everyday with insults and holler*" at workers, encouraging them to quit their jobs or become victims of violence.[3] Such comments endured by the miners included, "*If you go to work tonight you will get picked off,*" "*I've got you marked between the eyes*" and "*If you care anything for your life you will not go out tomorrow night.*"[4] A miner by the name of E.P. White said that he endured insults as he made his way to work. One day he was allegedly told by a striker,

"Say, fella you've only got a day or two more. As an old friend of yours I advise you to stay home on the thirteenth because there is going to be hell popping in Bisbee. You are married and got a family. Look out for them".

From that point on, White said he began to carry a lunch pail to work, the contents of which was a "forty-five six-shooter." Moreover, fearing for his spouse's safety, he left a shotgun with her at home, in case any of the IWW striker's threats were actually carried out.[5]

- [1] "I.W.W. Admits Effort To Cripple U.S.," *Bisbee Daily Review*, 3 July 1917.
- [2] "Shattuck Resumes Operation; Miner Is Beaten By Foreigners," *Bisbee Daily Review*, 10 July 1917.
- [3] J.F. Hulse, *Texas Lawyer: The Life of William H. Burges* (El Paso: Mangan Books, 1982), 231.
- [4] Bailey, 125.
- [5] Hulse, 227-228.

Within the first few days of the 1917 strike, Cochise County Sheriff Harry Wheeler became quite concerned with the situation in Bisbee. He contacted Arizona Governor Thomas Campbell and asked that "federal troops" be sent to the mining town. Upon hearing this, the governor suggested the U.S. Secretary of War look into the conditions in the town. By June 29, a military investigator, Lieutenant Colonel James Hornbrook arrived in Bisbee. After spending a couple of

days in the mining camp, Hornbook concluded that troops did not appear to be necessary at that time. However, Hornbrook told Sheriff Wheeler that soldiers were but a “short distance” away at Fort Huachuca if they were needed in the future.^[1]

[1] Bailey, 126.

As the walkout continued in July of 1917, strikers began to picket in various areas of the town such as the railroad depot and various mining company related sites.^[1] In addition, the IWW held meetings within Bisbee’s City Park, located in Brewery Gulch, with a sizeable number of individuals listening to the speakers. At one such meeting, a Wobbly was reported to have told the crowd, “*The kind of Liberty Bond you fellows want is the little red card. It only costs \$2.50.*” The man was then said to have pulled out his red IWW membership card and displayed it to those in the audience. ^[2] Between this kind of action and the known stance of the IWW being against the war, the local press had a field day conveying how un-American the union and its followers were, as it was expressed that all the organization desired to do was “paralyze the United States” while her soldiers were fighting overseas.^[3]

[1] Bailey, 125.

[2] “I.W.W. Admit Effort to Cripple U.S.,” *Bisbee Daily Review*, 3 July 1917.

[3] *Bisbee Daily Review*, 6 July 1917.

Most of the above has been directly excerpted from:



DIGGING UP THE PAST: MINING, LABOR AND THE DEPORTATION OF 1917 IN BISBEE, ARIZONA By Cherry Anne Graeme Larkin

The comment about “Liberty Bonds” supposedly made by the IWW member hit directly against the patriotic fervor of the time. It was this sort of comment that fueled the widely-held belief that the IWW was anti-American and pro-German.

Bond drives were very much a part of the war effort and correctly seen by most as a patriotic duty and most Bisbee miners purchased these bonds. Indeed, more than 3,000 of Bisbee’s mine workers are listed as having purchased Liberty Bonds by the *Bisbee Daily Review* (1918).

What could be more American than the Boy Scouts supporting a Liberty Bond Drive, as shown in this 1917 poster from the Library of Congress.

SLIDE 12

THE TEMPER OF THE TIMES

BEFORE THE EVENTS THAT FOLLOWED THE STRIKE CAN BE UNDERSTOOD, A SENSE OF THE PREVAILING FEELING OF GENERAL INSECURITY AND FEAR MUST BE HAD. THE US JUST ENTERED A WAR WHICH HAD ENGULFED MUCH OF EUROPE FOR SEVERAL YEARS. TO THE SOUTH, MEXICO WAS BEING TORN APART BY A PROTRACTED CIVIL WAR WHICH HAD CAUSED RAIDS INTO THE US WITH LOSS OF LIFE. THERE WAS CREDIBLE REASON TO BELIEVE THAT GERMANY WAS TRYING TO KEEP THE US OCCUPIED WITH THE MEXICAN CONFLICT AND A REAL FEAR IT WOULD EXTEND INTO THE US AT ANY MOMENT. THIS WAS A TIME OF GREAT INSECURITY IN THE US AND MOST OF ALL, ALONG THE BOARDER WITH MEXICO WITH HUNDREDS OF ARMY TROOPS IN PLACE TO PROTECT AGAINST THE EXPECTED INVASION FROM THE SOUTH ~~~~~



MEXICAN REBELS CAMP AT NACO. THE MONUMENT AT THE RIGHT DEMARKS THE US-MEXICO BOUNDARY
1916



GRAEME LARKIN COLLECTION
US SOLDIERS ON THE US/MEXICO BOARDER
NEAR THE CQ SMELTER, DOUGLAS - 1916

Just over a year prior to the strike, on March 9, 1916, Mexican revolutionary Pancho Villa and his forces attacked the town of Columbus, New Mexico. The raid resulted in the deaths of seventeen Americans and the destruction of American property.^[1] Closer to home, the Mexican border towns of Agua Prieta and Naco, Sonora were both scenes of revolutionary battles within the past few years.

In addition, the discovery of the infamous Zimmerman telegram in 1917, (British intelligence intercepts a wireless message January 17 from the German foreign secretary Arthur von Zimmermann *Make war together, make peace together, generous financial support, and an understanding on our part that Mexico is to recover the lost territory in Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona.*“) in which Germany proposed an alliance with Mexico, added to American suspicion of their southern neighbors. The telegram stated if the United States decided to enter World War I, Germany wished to ally itself with Mexico, in which Germany would give Mexico “generous financial support” to “reconquer [its] lost territory in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona.”^[2] As one can clearly see, American suspicions of possible Mexican revolutionary or German inspired acts of violence or sabotage in border communities were not completely unfounded. Therefore, the strong anti-war stance taken by the IWW was viewed as a potential and serious threat not only to the community of Bisbee but to the overall war effort. In addition, residents of Bisbee were not the only people who felt that IWW members were working toward helping the enemy

during the war. For example, in Scranton, Pennsylvania an IWW member was arrested on the “charge of being a German spy.”[3]

[1] Friedrich Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 564, 566; “Columbus, N.M., Scene of Early Morning Attack; 17 Americans Killed; Invaders Suffer Heavily,” *Bisbee Daily Review*, 10 March 1916.

[2] Carlos Schwantes, *Vision & Enterprise: Exploring the History of Phelps Dodge Corporation* (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2000), 152-154; Arthur Zimmerman to the German Minister to Mexico, von Eckhardt, January 1917. Cited in “Teaching with Documents Lesson Plan: The Zimmerman Telegram,” *U.S. National Archives and Records Administration*, http://www.archives.gov/digital_classroom/lessons/zimmermann_teleg.../images/decoded_message.jpg (accessed 21 April 2005). The decoded telegram is located at the National Archives and Records Administration in Decimal File 862.20212/69 (1910-1929), General Records of the Department of State, Record Group 59.

[3] “The World’s News in Today’s Times,” *Los Angeles Times*, 5 July 1917.

Rumors that the union had been “infiltrated by pro-German extremists” added to an already tense atmosphere in the mining camp.[1] Moreover, it was reported that former Villistas were also among the throng of IWW strikers.[2] Such information caused fear to grow within the hearts of Bisbee’s residents.

[1] Bailey, 125.

[2] Byrkit, 188.

Moreover, fears that mine strikes were impacting the war effort were not completely unfounded. The culmination of several walkouts in the country’s copper mining centers including Globe and Jerome, Arizona caused a significant decrease in the nation’s copper production. The *New York Times* reported that “between 30 and 40 percent of the country’s mine and smelter capacity had been put out of business by the continued spread of strikes.”[1] Clearly, if such a situation would have persisted it is possible the lack of copper production could have had a negative impact in the production of war related materials.

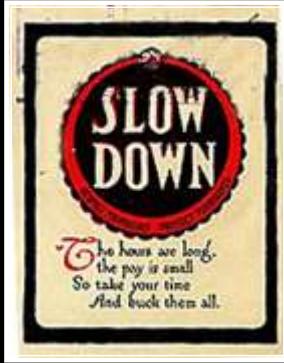
[1]; “Copper Men Alarmed,” *New York Times*, 4 July 1917.

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By Cherry Anne Graeme Larkin

SLIDE 13



THE IMAGE OF THE IWW

IWW ANTI-WAR POSTER (R)
AND
TICKER ENCOURAGING REDUCED
PRODUCTION (L)
1917
UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA LIBRARY
SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

THE IWW, WITH ITS STRONG ANTI-WAR, ANTI-CAPITALIST, SEEMINGLY TREASONOUS RHETORIC ONLY ADDED TO THE ALREADY TENSE SITUATION. IF THERE WAS ANY DOUBT CONCERNING ITS REAL GOALS, THE STRIKE SEEMED TO CONFIRM THE ANTI-AMERICAN NATURE OF THIS UNION IN THE MINDS OF A GREAT MANY. THE MINING COMPANIES DID LITTLE TO CHANGE THIS NOTION AND THE IWW DID MUCH TO CONFIRM SUCH A BELIEF

~~~~~



THE QUICKER AND HARDER, THE BETTER  
By Chapin, in the *Republic* (St. Louis, Mo.)

There was a near-universal belief in the US that the anti-capitalist were a threat to the country and that many, if not most who harbored such sentiments were of foreign origin. Deportation was not a new or unique concept as it had been effected against the IWW at Jerome just weeks earlier. And too, there was a national desire to remove the socialist element from America via deportation, thus the idea had local support and did not seem illogical to those involved.

## SLIDE 14

### THE DEPORTATION

- IT WAS MORE THAN A STRIKE THAT THE CITIZENS OF BISBEE WANTED TO END ON JULY 12, 1917 WHEN THEY TOOK UP ARMS AGAINST THE IWW AND ITS SUPPORTERS. MANY BELIEVED THEY WERE PROTECTING THEIR HOMES, THEIR COUNTRY AND WAY OF LIFE. A PATRIOTIC SPIRIT FILLED THE AIR AS THE ARMED MEN MOVED AGAINST THEIR NEIGHBORS
  - WHETHER THIS WAS MASS HYSTERIA OR NOT, IT WAS SOMETHING THEY BELIEVED AND THE NEWLY DEPUTIZED MEN SCOURED THE CITY FOR THE WOBBLIES AND THEIR SYMPATHIZERS
  - IN THE END, SOME 2,000 ARMED MEN COLLECTED AN EQUAL NUMBER OF STRIKERS AND MARCHED THEM TO THE WARREN BALLPARK FOR INDIVIDUAL REVIEW. ANYONE WILLING TO RETURN TO WORK WAS RELEASED
  - A TOTAL OF 1,186 MEN REFUSED TO WORK AND WERE LOADED INTO CATTLE CARS AND SHIPPED OUT, MUCH TO THE LOUD APPROVAL OF THOSE REMAINING BEHIND. THE TASK WAS COMPLETE
- ~~~~~



GRAEME LARKIN COLLECTION  
WOBBLIES BEING MARCHED TO WARREN



GRAEME LARKIN COLLECTION  
WOBBLIES LOADED INTO RAILCARS AT  
WARREN

July 11, 1917 was perhaps the most stressful day of the strike. That day advertisements from the three major mining companies in town appeared in the local paper. Each of these ads informed mine employees that unless sick or injured all workers were expected to attend work by midnight on the thirteenth. If one did not appear for work they could consider themselves "discharged" and collect any belonging that may be in their lockers.<sup>[1]</sup> In addition, on the eleventh the mayor of Bisbee, Jacob Erickson, Sheriff Wheeler, the city marshal and the IWW strike committee had a meeting at the marshal's office. Erickson informed the union members that Bisbee's City Park would no longer be available for public meetings without a permit.<sup>[2]</sup> Moreover, Erickson complained about IWW strikers blocking traffic near the post office.<sup>[3]</sup> At one point during the gathering, a striker by the name of Embree protested the mayor's orders and claimed such actions were "depriving [the] rights" of the picketers. Embree then went on to say, he could no "longer be responsible for the conduct of his men as he could not control them."<sup>[4]</sup> Moreover, because of the restrictions he placed on the strikers, Mayor Erickson allegedly received verbal threats.

[1] "Notice," *Bisbee Daily Review*, 11 July 1917.

[2] Samuel Morse, *The Truth about Bisbee* (1929), 15. Cited in "Resources of the Deportation," *Bisbee Deportation: A University of Arizona Web Exhibit*, Arizona Board of Regents, <http://digital.library.arizona.edu/bisbee/truth/t1.php> (accessed 31 March 2005). The

original copy of this source which was provided to the web site is located at the University of Arizona Library.

[3] Bill O'Neil, *Captain Harry Wheeler: Arizona Lawman* (Austin: Eakin Press, 2003), 117.

[4] Morse, 15.

On the evening of July 11, a meeting was held to discuss how to resolve the situation in Bisbee. Among those in attendance were Cochise County Sheriff Wheeler and Calumet and Arizona Manager John Greenway.[1] By this point in the strike, Wheeler believed there was a real possibility violence could occur in the town and he wanted to take some sort of action that would “*prevent bloodshed in the streets of Bisbee.*” At the meeting, Greenway proposed gathering the strikers and loading them on a train bound for Columbus, New Mexico, where “*Uncle Sam would take care of them.*”[2] The mine manager was said to phrase the idea in such a manner that it sounded as though the town had the “*knowledge and consent of the United States Government.*”[3] It was then decided among those in attendance that a deportation of the strikers would take place.

Those involved in the rounding up of the picketers were told to wear “white handkerchiefs around their arms” in order to “distinguish [deputies] from strikers,” as illustrated in figure nine. Men were given weapons to aid in persuading the IWW members to leave town. Sheriff Wheeler instructed the group to meet at four o’clock on the morning of the twelfth.[4] It was decided that the plan would not be revealed to “the U.S. soldiers stationed near Bisbee, the U.S. Attorney in Arizona nor to the officers of the State or County.” This measure was taken to insure no outside interference would take place to hamper their plans. In addition, it was decided that no communication to the outside world be made available during the gathering of the strikers. Therefore, the Western Union Telegraph was seized by “force of arms.”[5] Once apprehended, the telegraph office in Bisbee would not be able to resume normal operations until four o’clock in the afternoon on July 12.[6] It was said one of the men who took on the task of censoring the telegraph had the nickname of “Captain.” Therefore it is believed that Western Union employees obeyed his commands thinking he was a member of the United States military.[7]

[1] Bailey, 127.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Cox, 180.

[4] Bailey, 128.

[5] Cox, 180-181.

[6] “Report of a Censorship,” *New York Times*, 13 July 1917.

[7] Cox, 181, 181n, 182n.

In the early morning darkness of July 12, calls made to members of the Citizens’ Protective League and the Workman’s Loyalty League broke the desert’s silence. It took approximately “two and a half hours” to contact the individuals desired to be in the Bisbee posse, with calls even being placed to people in Douglas, Arizona. By six o’clock in the morning, approximately two thousand armed posse members had entered the mining camp and waited for Sheriff Wheeler’s command to begin the roundup of the strikers.[1]

The headline of the *Bisbee Daily Review* that morning read, “***ALL WOMEN AND CHILDREN KEEP OFF STREETS TODAY.***” Also on the front page was a statement from Sheriff Wheeler: *I have formed a Sheriff's Posse of 1,200 men in Bisbee and 1,000 in Douglas, all loyal Americans, for the purpose of arresting, on charges of vagrancy, treason and of being disturbers of the peace of Cochise County, all those strange men who have congregated here from other parts and sections for the purpose of harassing and intimidating all men who desire to pursue their daily toil. I am continually told of threats and insults heaping upon the working men of this district by so-called strikers, who are strange to these parts, yet who presume to dictate the manner of life of the people of this district.* [2]

Wheeler went on to say he would “assume all responsibility” for the actions of his posse and every individual would “be treated humanely and their case examined with justice and care.” [3] The newspaper hit the streets at half past six and so did the posse. [4]

Wheeler gave the word to commence the collection of the IWW members at six thirty that morning. Posse members searched “rooming houses, hotels, private houses” and “every possible hiding place of a Wobbly.” [5] It was reported that within “five minutes...five hundred” union men and sympathizers had been led to the heart of downtown Bisbee. [6]

[1] Bailey, 127-128; Byrkit, 192.

[2] “All Women and Children Keep Off Streets Today,” *Bisbee Daily Review*, 12 July 1917.

[3] Ibid.

[4] “Arizona Sheriff Ships 1,000 IWW’s Out in Cattle Cars,” *New York Times*, 13 July 1917.

[5] “Hundreds of Deputy Sheriffs round up ‘Wobblies’ and Send Them Under Heavy Away Guard,” *Bisbee Daily Review*, 13 July 1917.

[6] Byrkit, 193.

Most of the above has been directly excerpted from:

#### DIGGING UP THE PAST:

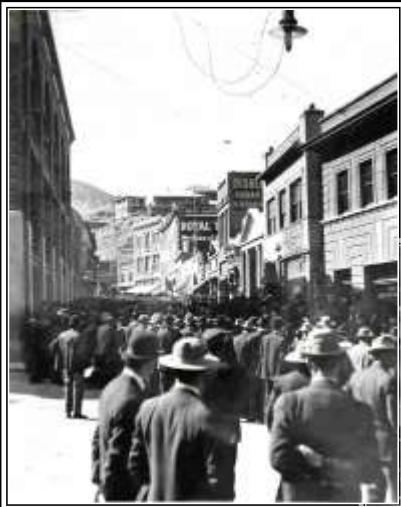
MINING, LABOR AND THE DEPORTATION OF 1917 IN BISBEE, ARIZONA

By Cherry Anne Graeme Larkin

**SLIDE 15**

**TWO WERE KILLED AND REMEMBERED DIFFERENTLY**

**ONE NEWLY DEPUTIZED CITIZEN, ORSON MCRAE AND ONE STRIKER, JAMES BREW WERE KILLED DURING THE ROUNDUP OF THE IWW AND SYMPATHIZERS BREW WAS BURIED AT MIDNIGHT IN A PAUPERS GRAVE IN DISGRACE. MCRAE WAS GIVEN A HERO'S FUNERAL WITH A PROCESSION DOWN MAIN STREET FOLLOWED BY AN EMOTION FILLED CEREMONY IN FRONT OF THE PD STORE**



GRAEME LARKIN COLLECTION  
FUNERAL PROCESSION FOR  
ORSON MCRAE

**THE PEOPLE OF BISBEE  
GAVE MCRAE EVERY  
HONOR POSSIBLE FOR HIS  
DEATH ON THEIR BEHALF  
AS HE WAS A PATRIOT**

~~~~~



GRAEME LARKIN COLLECTION
ORSON MCRAE 'S BODY LYING IN STATE



GRAEME LARKIN COLLECTION
ORSON MCRAE'S CASKET
ARRIVES AT THE PD STORE

Orson McRae was a miner for the C&A. He was recruited into the Loyal League, an association of miners loyal to the companies, and sworn in as a deputy on July 11. On the morning of the deportation, he joined a posse of five deputies who were assigned to pick up striking miners from rooming houses. McRae was unarmed when he forced his way into Jim Brew's room, after Brew warned that he would shoot. McRae had a wife and four children. Brew and McRae were the only two deaths which occurred during the deportation. The citizens of Bisbee gave McRae an elaborate funeral; his body was laid out under the rotunda in the PD Mercantile Building downtown. The bottom of his tombstone reads, "Erected by the citizens of the Warren Mining District."

The Arizona Chapter of the American Mining Congress noted:

BURIED AS PATRIOT.

On Sunday, July 15, the people of Bisbee and the Warren district turned out enmasse[sic] to pay last respects to Patriot Orson P. McRae, whose remains lay in state in the public square. Attorney Cleon T. Knapp pronounced over the body that it was a sacrifice to the country as noble and courageous as any ever given upon battle field and that it marked Arizona's first extension of life in the conduct of the present war. Ten thousand people of the district, more than 7,000 of

these being men on foot, marched three miles with the body to the cemetery. Popular subscription to raise a monument in the public square to the fallen patriot followed on Monday.

Jim Brew was a professional union organizer who had worked as a miner and boilermaker in a number of western mines; he had taken part in the Cripple Creek strike of 1903-04, which led to the organization of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). A member of the IWW, Jim Brew had stayed home and away from the picket line for several days and was asleep at his boarding house when vigilantes forced their way in. He warned them that he would shoot if they persisted; when Orson McRae, an unarmed miner who was accompanying the five deputies assigned to pick up strikers, entered his room, he shot and killed him. The deputies immediately shot and killed Brew as he ran out the backdoor of the boarding house, attempting to escape. These were the only two deaths which occurred during the deportation. His body was buried at midnight in the Elks section of Bisbee's Evergreen Cemetery.

SLIDE 16

THE BIG FOUR

WERE THE HEADS OF THE MINING COMPANIES THE DRIVING FORCE BEHIND THE DEPORTATION? DID SHERIFF WHEELER ACT ALONE? THE INVESTIGATION UNDERTAKEN BY FELIX FRANKFURTER FOR THE US GOVERNMENT FOUND THE MINING COMPANIES TO BE INVOLVED WITH WHEELER IN PLANNING. GREENWAY, SHATTUCK AND WHEELER WERE INDICTED, BUT NEVER STOOD TRIAL.

JOHN C. GREENWAY
GENERAL MANAGER C&A

HARRY WHEELER
SHERIFF OF COCHISE COUNTY

WALTER DOUGLAS
PRESIDENT PHELPS DODGE

LEMUEL SHATTUCK
PRESIDENT SHATTUCK & ARIZONA

PHOTOS FROM THE GRAEME LARKIN COLLECTION

The subsequent investigation found that Wheeler was indeed the leader of the event, something he readily acknowledged. It also reported that John Greenway was the most active of all the leaders during the event, notable at the Warren ballpark where he repeatedly attempted to convince those to be deported to renounce the strike and return to work. Many did just this and were released by the Loyalty League, as the groups called its self.

Walter Douglas was not present, but the superintendent of the El Paso & Southwestern Railroad, testified that it was at the direct order of Walter Douglas that he sent the train to Warren to deport the strikers.

Lem Shattuck's role is less clear, though he was personally named and charged with kidnapping by some of the deportees.

None were ever tried for anything related to this episode or punished in any way. Sheriff Wheeler and 21 leading businessmen were indicted for violating the rights of the deportees by a Federal grand jury. The indictment was invalidated by the U.S. circuit court, and the decision was upheld in United States v. Wheeler. An indictment by the State for illegal kidnapping was obtained against 224 leading businessmen, Sheriff Wheeler, and many deputies and police officers. One case (Henry Wootton) was tried, and the verdict of acquittal after several weeks of trial led to the dismissal of the charges against the other defendants.

SLIDE 17

THE IMPACT OF THE DEPORTATION

- IN BISBEE, THE MOOD WAS JUBILANT FOLLOWING THE REMOVAL OF THE STRIKERS. THE CITIZENS ACCEPTED THE MARTIAL LAW-LIKE ATMOSPHERE WHICH PREVAILED FOR A WHILE AS ACCESS TO THE TOWN WAS CONTROLLED TO PREVENT THE RETURN OF THE STRIKERS OR OTHERS WHO MIGHT SHARE THEIR VIEWS
- AS THE NEWS OF THIS DRASTIC AND UNPRECEDENTED ACTION REACHED THE OUTSIDE WORLD, REACTIONS WERE MIXED. BOTH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE LOS ANGELES TIMES CONGRATULATED THE CITIZENS OF BISBEE ON A JOB WELL DONE, SUGGESTING OTHER COMMUNITIES SHOULD FOLLOW THE EXAMPLE. A GREAT MANY OTHER PAPERS SUPPORTED THIS "PATRIOTIC" ACT AS WELL
- HOWEVER, BOTH THE STATE AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS TOOK A VERY DIFFERENT VIEW AS IT WAS THEIR OBLIGATION TO PROTECT THE CITIZENRY AND TO DEFEND THEIR RIGHTS
- PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON EXPRESS GRAVE CONCERN OVER THIS ACT OF VIGILANTISM AND ORDERED AN INVESTIGATION OF THE EVENT. FELIX FRANKFURTER WOULD LED THE INVESTIGATION, SOMETHING WHICH WOULD HAVE HUGE IMPACTS ON BISBEE'S LABOR HISTORY SOME 24 YEARS LATER
- THIS CLEAR VIOLATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS COULD NOT BE IGNORED BY GOVERNMENT AND IT WAS NOT
- HOWEVER, TIME AND THE TEMPER OF THE CITIZENS OF BISBEE, INDEED THAT OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY, WOULD ASSURE THAT NO ONE WOULD BE PUNISHED FOR THEIR ROLE IN THIS MATTER

~~~~~

After the deportation of July 12, Bisbee citizens took measures to insure that strikers would not infiltrate their community. Individuals who wandered into the mining camp that were believed to have been deported were "ordered to leave" the area. In addition, all roads which led into the

mining camp and “railroad points” were protected around the clock by armed vigilantes.[1] To enter the town one was required to show the guards a “passport from the mayor or recognized commercial body of certain designated cities” and be subjected to having their vehicle searched and questioned intently. It was made very clear that “members and sympathizers of the IWW [were] not welcome” in Bisbee and were “warned to stay out.” Furthermore, the town set up an Investigation Committee which also questioned individuals to assure they were not among the “undesirable” persons the town had removed. [2] In fact, all men who were not employed were required to appear before the Investigation Committee to receive a “clearance” card that would permit them to work. If an unemployed individual was found not to have appeared before the board, they were subject to being “arrested and charged with vagrancy.” Those persons taken into custody would then be sent “before the justice of the peace and later either sentenced to jail or ordered out of town.”[3] Yet despite the restrictive environment, with time the mining community seemed to return to normal. By October 8, 1917, Phelps Dodge and the Calumet and Arizona Mining Company reported that eighty percent of the underground positions on their properties were filled.

[1] “Miners Return to Their Work,” *Los Angeles Times*, 17 July 1917; “Doubt Teutons Paid Agitators of IWW,” *New York Times*, 17 July 1917; “Passports Now Needed to Get Into Bisbee District,” *Tucson Citizen*, 19 July 1917.

[2] “Steer Clear of Bisbee, Warning to the IWW,” *Los Angeles Times*, 18 July 1917.

[3] “Will Arrest Unemployed,” *Los Angeles Times*, 22 July 1917.

The *New York Times* stated, the “*Sheriff of Bisbee was on the right track when he instructed his deputies to arrest the IWW men on charges of vagrancy.*”[1] In addition, the *Los Angeles Times* wrote, the “*citizens of Cochise County, Arizona, have written a lesson that the whole of America would do well to copy.*”[2]

[1] “Diversions of the IWW,” *New York Times*, 14 July 1917.

[2] “Traitors at Home, Enemies Abroad,” *Los Angeles Times*, 15 July 1917.

Immediately, when President Wilson heard of what transpired he contacted Arizona Governor Campbell. President Wilson wrote,

*Secretary of War has instructed General Parker to send officers to Arizona at once to report to him conditions there with a view cooperating in the maintenance of order. Meantime, may I not respectfully urge the great danger of citizens taking the law into their own hands, as your report indicates their having done. I look upon such actions with grave apprehension. A very serious responsibility is assumed when such precedents are set.*[1]

[1] “Wilson Sends Warning to Arizona,” The *Tucson Citizen*, 13 July 1917. Cited in “Contemporary Newspaper Articles,” *Bisbee Deportation: A University of Arizona Web Exhibit*, Arizona Board of Regents,

Most of the above has been directly excerpted from:

DIGGING UP THE PAST:

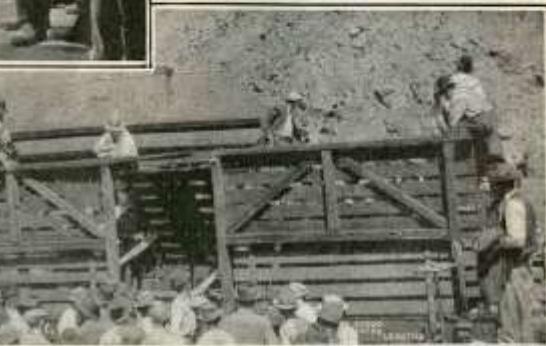
MINING, LABOR AND THE DEPORTATION OF 1917  
IN BISBEE, ARIZONA

By Cherry Anne Graeme Larkin



**I.W.W.'S MARCHING TO TRAIN BETWEEN LINES OF THE PECKHANDLE BRIGADE**  
After the I.W.W. strike at Bisbee, Arizona, had been in effect for two weeks, 6,000 men from the Western Miners' Association and the Western Loyalty League were placed on a semi-military basis to protect the town against the violence of the disaffected mine workers. When demanded drastic measures and after a conference with Sheriff Harry Wheeler, it was decided to drive the I.W.W. from the town. Bisbee is in the Western mining district. Other towns in which the drive took place are Lowell and Warren. In the picture above I.W.W.'s are seen leaving Bisbee.

## When The “Wobblies Special” Left



**LOADING THE CATTLE CARS**

The drive began on July 12th; the citizen volunteers escorting the stock cars from running horses and cattle. All cattle were neutered and wore white handkerchiefs around their sleeves. The dragnet rounded up 100 strikers on the depot plaza, and these men were driven down the tracks and out of town. At Lowell, two miles down the line, a new delegation was added. Here organized resistance was much, but this got the strikers into hot water. In Upper Lowell a gun and a strike was killed. Reaching Warren the men were loaded on cattle cars.



**ON THE ROAD**

The strikers are seen above on the road between Bisbee and Lowell. By the time the column reached Warren it contained several thousand persons. At Warren each striker was asked to return to work, but only fifty agreed to do so and 1,100 were loaded on the trains. At the right the column is seen approaching the truck to the train. The men proceeded to Cobre, under armed guard above the rear of the men mentioned sent by the Government. The activity against the I.W.W. has not been confined to Arizona, for the citizens of Oregon have cooperated with millions to form a home guard against the activity of I.W.W.'s, while Amherstians miners in Missouri have taken steps against the organization similar to those taken by the citizens of Arizona.



The national reaction to the deportation of the Wobblies from Bisbee was mixed with more than a few publications voicing outright approval, as previously noted. Above is a page from the August 9, 1917 issue of the popular national magazine, *Leslie's Weekly*, covering the event. While the tone is somewhat muted, the title and text tell of an approving point of view.

## SLIDE 18

### **IN THE END, NO ONE IS PUNISHED, SHOULD THEY HAVE BEEN?**

- **WAS THIS EVENT SIMPLY UNION BUSTING DURING A STRIKE OR MORE?**
- **DID THE CITIZENS OF BISBEE CHOSE THE LESSER OF TWO EVILS – A DEPORTATION TO PREVENT ALMOST CERTAIN BLOODSHED? MOST PROBABLY**
- **WERE THE MINING COMPANIES THE DRIVING FORCE BEHIND THE WHOLE AFFAIR? IN PART, YES, BUT GENUINE FEAR ON THE PART OF THE CITIZENRY WAS AN IMPORTANT FACTOR AS THE COMPANIES COULD NEVER HAVE CARRIED OUT THIS MASSIVE EFFORT WITHOUT A TOTAL AND BELIEF BASED COMMITMENT FROM THE INDIVIDUALS INVOLVED**
- **THIS IS FURTHER PROVEN AS THE GOVERNMENT TRIES, IN VAIN, TO HOLD THOSE INVOLVED ACCOUNTABLE WITH CHARGES OF KIDNAPPING**
- **THE FIRST TO BE TRIED FOR THIS CRIME WAS THE OWNER OF A SMALL HARDWARE STORE, NOT EXACTLY A BIG PLAYER IN THIS TRAGIC DRAMA – HE WAS ACQUITTED AND MORE**
- **THE VERDICT AS READ BY THE JURY FOREMAN CLEARLY STATED THAT NOT ONLY WAS THE DEFENDANT NOT GUILTY, BUT IT WOULD BE “MORALLY WRONG” FOR ANYONE ELSE TO BE TRIED FOR THEIR ROLE IN THIS EVENT, A CLEAR REFLECTION OF THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE EVENT**
- **NO ONE ELSE WAS EVER TRIED, THE WOUNDS OF THE DEPORTATION REMAIN OPEN TO THIS DAY AS SO MUCH WAS NEVER RESOLVED – ONE WAY OR ANOTHER**
- **TODAY, ANY INTERESTED PERSON SHOULD REVIEW THE VOLUMINOUS INFORMATION AVAILABLE WITH AN OPEN MIND BEFORE DECIDING ON THE RIGHTNESS OR WRONGNESS – GUILT OR INNOCENCE OF THIS DEFINING EVENT AND ITS PARTICIPANTS, WHILE BEING CAREFUL NOT TO JUDGE THE PAST IN THE CONTEXT OF THE PRESENT DURING THE PROCESS**

President Wilson ordered an investigation of the Bisbee Deportation. A Mediation Commission researched the event and concluded the actions taken by Sheriff Wheeler and the posse members were “wholly illegal and without authority in law, either State or Federal.” The report presented to the President agreed with the sentiment of Arizona Governor Campbell that “the constitutional rights of citizens and others have been ignored.” Moreover, the Mediation Commission made the recommendation that “such occurrences hereafter be made criminal under the Federal law to the full extent of the constitutional authority of the Federal Government.” [1] In addition, the Mediation Commission “shift[ed] the burden of responsibility for the deportation” to the mining companies.[2]

[1] U.S. Department of Labor, 6-7.

[2] Bailey, 131.

Kidnapping charges were then filed against the Sheriff and members of his posse. However, Wheeler had left Bisbee a short time after the deportation to serve in World War I. It was believed by the District Attorney French who had filed the charges that Wheeler was too popular in the area to secure a conviction. Nevertheless Wheeler would be called back to Arizona, as the prosecution wished to use him as a witness against the other indicted posse members.[1]

The first of the 210 defendants to be put on trial was Harry E. Wootton, the owner of a Bisbee hardware store.[2] Wootton was charged with the kidnapping of deportee Fred W. Brown. The charge against the defendant rose from an Arizona statute which stated “Every person who forcibly steals, takes or arrests any person in this state and carries him into another country state or county...is guilty of kidnapping.” The argument of the defense counsel William Burges claimed that the defendant and the other Bisbee deputies committed the act out of the necessity to protect the town’s residents, including Wootton and private property. [3] Burges stated that like an individual has a right to act in self-defense when threatened, so does a community. [4] Therefore, because the residents of Bisbee believed there was a plot to “destroy lives and property,” they acted out of the necessity to protect the community and the property therein. [5] Judge Pattee, who presided over the case, clarified “self-defense as justifying the repulse of a wrong and necessity as justifying the invasion of a right.”[6] The lawyer for the defense stated that the town’s request for “Federal troops had failed,” there were no adequate facilities to imprison or properly guard the strikers in the area and there was an immense amount of terror created by the throng of men in the community. Therefore, the citizens of Bisbee had “no better choice” but to “seize the men threatening their peace and deport them instead of killing them or being killed in the impending riot.”

Prosecuting attorney French stated the strike by the members of the IWW was carried out in a peaceable fashion. Therefore, French said the jury should “lay aside any question of self-defense in [the] case for the simple reason that the evidence does not warrant...considering that subject. There [was] no self defense involved.”[7]

When Harry Wheeler, sheriff during the deportation, took the stand he explained that he “feared that men, women and children of both sides would be killed in the streets of the town.”[8] However, upon being asked if he knew 900 of the 1,186 men deported were not members of the IWW, he said he did not. In addition, the prosecution asked Wheeler if he knew significant numbers of the victims were either “registered for the draft,” purchased Liberty Bonds or members of the United States armed forces, he again replied no.[9]

Shortly after having their dinner on April 30, 1920, the jury began their deliberations.[10] A mere fifteen minutes later the men emerged with a verdict.[11] Having needed to take only one ballot, the twelve man jury concluded Wootton was not guilty.[12] Commenting about the verdict, jury foreman J. O. Calhoun of Douglas, Arizona said,

*“The verdict of the jury is a vindication of the deportation, if not in the legal sense, at least a moral sense. No man could listen to the evidence adduced during the trial without feeling that the people of Bisbee were in imminent danger, and that, if their fears were ungrounded, yet they were apparently real and pressing....this fear does not have to be a fear of really existent dangers but only of apparent danger when the appearance of that danger is so compelling as to be real to him who views it...That all the members of the jury must have had this thought when they made out their first and only ballot is shown, in my estimation, by the quickness and unanimity of their decision...I believe it would be morally wrong for the county attorney’s office to bring up another of the deportation*

*cases for trial. Mr. French made a good fight—a fight that he may well be proud of—but the facts were against him, and, in the judgment of all the jurors, I believe, the facts in any other deportation case must be against him also*".[13]

Despite the clear violation of the deportee's rights, the charges against the other deportation deputies were dismissed, as it appeared as though the other cases would result in the same verdict.[14]

[1] Cox, 188; Bailey 132.

[2] "Need More Venires in Arizona Trails," *Los Angeles Times*, 17 February 1920; "Tombstone Jury Box Filled: Took Month," *Los Angeles Times*, 2 March 1920. The author noticed that the spelling of Wootton's name varied in primary and secondary sources. Primary documents spell the name Wootton, while some secondary sources, such as Lynn Bailey's work use Wooton. The author of this paper decided to use the spelling of the name found within the primary sources.

[3] "Necessity as a Defense," *Columbia Law Review*, Vol. 21 no. 1 (January 1921), 71; Frank Curly, *The Law of Necessity as Applied in State of Arizona vs. H. E. Wootton* (Tucson: Bureau of Information, n.d.), 10.

[4] Curly, 10.

[5] "Necessity as a Defense," 71.

[6] Edward B. Arnolds and Norman F. Garland, "The Defense of Necessity in Criminal Law: The Right to Choose the Lesser Evil," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. 65, no. 3 (September 1974), 293.

[7] Bailey, 133.

[8] "Ran Miners Out to Save Bisbee," *Los Angeles Times*, 30 March 1920.

[9] "Bisbee Sheriff Relied on Luck," *Los Angeles Times*, 31 March 1920.

[10] "Acquit Man in Bisbee Scandal," *Los Angeles Times*, 1 May 1920.

[11] Arnolds and Garland, 293-294.

[12] "Acquit Man in Bisbee Scandal," *Los Angeles Times*, 1 May 1920; Curly, III-V.

[13] Curly, III-IV.

[14] Bailey, 133.

Most of the above has been directly excerpted from:

DIGGING UP THE PAST:

MINING, LABOR AND THE DEPORTATION OF 1917

IN

BISBEE, ARIZONA

By

Cherry Anne Graeme Larkin

**IT WOULD BE 16 YEARS BEFORE ORGANIZED LABOR RETURNED**

- THE AFTERMATH OF THE DEPORTATION AND THE MOOD OF THE COMMUNITY KEPT UNIONS AWAY FOR YEARS
- IN 1933, THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF MINE, MILL AND SMELTER WORKERS (IUMMSW) CAME TO BISBEE AND SUCCESSFULLY ORGANIZED MANY MINERS, LARGELY BECAUSE OF THE DIFFICULTIES BROUGHT ABOUT BY THE DEPRESSION AND THE MANY LAYOFFS
- DURING 1934, THE UNION PRESENTED A NUMBER OF DEMANDS TO PD, ALL OF WHICH WERE REFUSED. INDEED, PD REFUSED TO EVEN RECOGNIZE THE UNION AS A LEGITIMATE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MEN
- A STRIKE WAS CALLED BY THE UNION IN JUNE 1935. PD RESPONDED BY DISMISSING A NUMBER OF UNION MEMBERS AND REFUSING TO HIRE KNOWN UNION MEMBERS. THE STRIKE LASTED TO LATE-AUGUST WHEN IT WAS ABANDONED BECAUSE OF THE HARSH ACTIONS OF PD
- HOWEVER, THE NATIONAL LABOR RELATION BOARD (NLRB) ACT CAME INTO LAW IN JULY OF 1935, DURING THE STRIKE, UNDER WHICH MORE THAN A FEW OF THE STRIKE BREAKING ACTIONS USED BY PD WERE SPECIFICALLY FORBIDDEN. THE UNION FILED UNFAIR LABOR PRACTICES CHARGES WITH THE NLRB WHICH HELD PD HAD ACTED ILLEGALLY IN DISMISSING UNION MEMBERS. PD WOULD APPEAL
- AGAIN, ORGANIZED LABOR LEFT BISBEE, BUT THIS TIME THEY WERE NOT DEFEATED, JUST DEFERRED UNTIL THE NLRB RULING WAS TO BE UPHELD

~~~~~

With the retirement of Walter Douglas, the merger with the C&A and the pressures of the Great Depression, both PD and Bisbee changed. The very capable, new President of Phelps Dodge, Louis Cates, had to take a hard, business oriented approach toward copper production, as the very survival of the company was at risk. The necessary closure of many marginal mines and the layoffs of hundreds of employees following the merger was traumatic, beyond anything experienced before at Bisbee. The C&A employees had little faith in the PD management and the PD employees felt forgotten, if not betrayed, as many were let go while some ex-C&A men were retained. Work days were reduced for the few retained and the continuing national financial crisis fueled the deep feeling of uncertainty and insecurity in the men, something the company did not/could not address as it had in the past.

As is so often the case, unions sought to fill the void created when the company seemed distant from the employees. To be sure, the company tried to empower the employees, but it seems that the bonds of trust and reliance had been irreparably broken. The employees looked elsewhere for support and the unions were there to provide it.

Thus ended the paternalistic relationship between the Copper Queen and its employees, fractured by a national crisis and a forced change in leadership styles. While a more conflictive relationship evolved over the next dozen or so years, there was never a deep anti-company sentiment among the workers at Bisbee.

SLIDE 20

PD FORMS A “COMPANY UNION”

- THE INTENSE UNION ACTIVITY WHICH FOLLOWED THE MERGER OF PD AND THE C&A WAS ROOTED IN THE NATURAL INSECURITY BROUGHT ON BY THE ATTEMPT TO MELD THE TWO VERY DIFFERENT CORPORATE CULTURES AND MANY LAYOFFS OF WORKERS FROM BOTH COMPANIES
- ALL OF PD'S MINES WERE NOW CLOSED WITH ONLY THE JUNCTION & CAMPBELL OPERATING USING THE BEST MINERS, TECHNICAL STAFF AND MANAGEMENT FROM BOTH COMPANIES. THOUSANDS WERE LET GO
- PD'S MANAGEMENT STYLE WAS QUITE DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF THE C&A AND THE C&A WORKERS WERE VERY UNCOMFORTABLE WITH THEIR NEW BOSSSES, WHILE PD EMPLOYEES FELT INSECURE AS MANY OF THEIR NUMBER HAD BEEN LET GO WITH MANY C&A MINERS RETAINED
- FOLLOWING THE STRIKE OF 1935, PD ENLARGED THE SCOPE OF ITS EMPLOYEE BENEFIT ASSOCIATION AND OF THE EMPLOYEE'S CONGRESS WHICH WOULD PROVIDE FOR THE HANDLING OF GRIEVANCES AND OTHER EMPLOYEE ISSUES IN A MANNER SIMILAR TO UNIONS. IT CONTINUED ITS INSURANCE PROGRAMS AS WELL
- BY THE END OF 1937, MORE THAN 94% OF THE EMPLOYEES WERE MEMBERS, BUT THE WORKERS WANTED MORE SAY IN THINGS, RELATIVE TO THE CONDITIONS OF THEIR EMPLOYMENT, THEY WANTED A UNION
- PD NEVER FULLY GAINED THE TRUST OF ITS MEN AFTER THE MERGER, FROM THIS POINT ON, IT WOULD BE UNIONS WHO SPOKE FOR THEM ~~~~~



Group photo of the first Employees Congress - 1921

In many ways, the long-standing Employee Benefit Association had functioned like a union in that it provided many of the benefits brought by unions as well as providing communication to the employees. The newsletter shown below is an example. And too, the Employee Congress, formed in 1921, provided a way to address concerns directly with the company. Yet these efforts were to prove inadequate during this difficult moment.



COPPER QUEEN BULLETIN

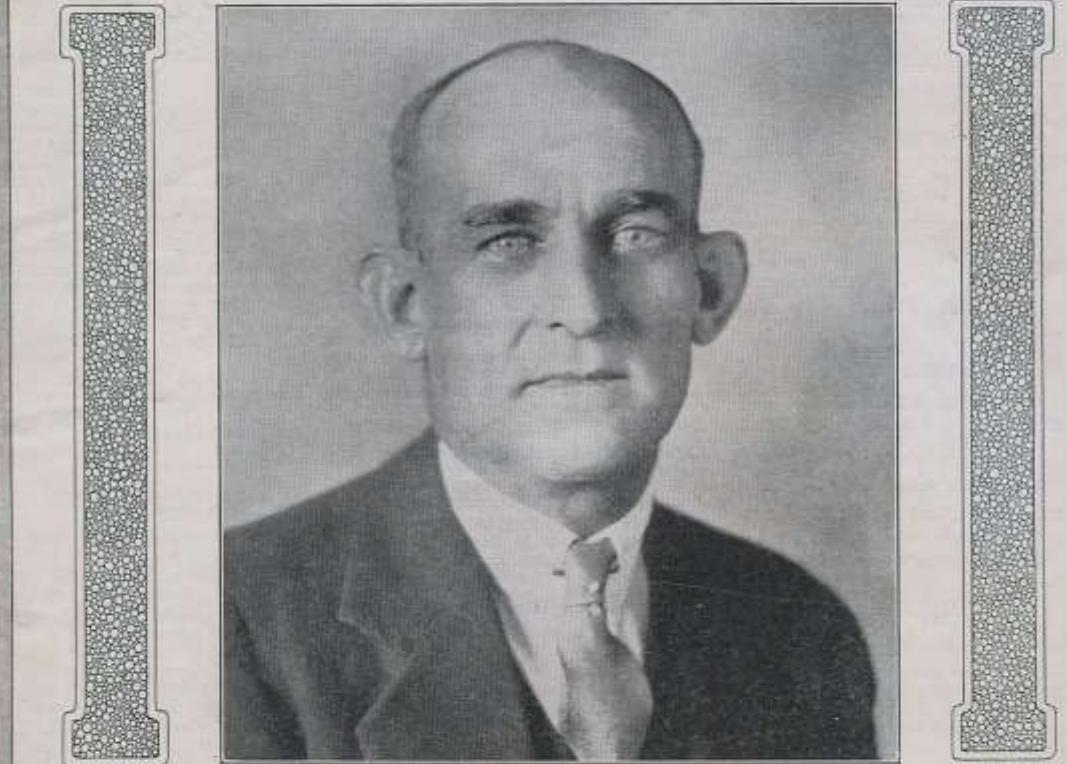
PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE
EMPLOYEES OF THE COPPER QUEEN BRANCH
PHELPS DODGE CORPORATION



VOL. 10

BISBEE, ARIZONA, MARCH, 1931

No. 6



KARL H. LIPPERT, Car Repairman
Glory Hole, Division 9

KARL H. LIPPERT was born at Tombstone, Arizona, on September 11, 1889. He moved to Bisbee with his parents when he was ten years of age and attended the public schools here and when he was sixteen years of age he went to work as a machinist apprentice and remained in this capacity for two years. He then went to work as a car repairman in the Mechanical Department and is still in the employ of the company in this capacity. Mr. Lippert served in the National Army during the World War and was a member of the 18th Division. He is a haberdasher and is a member of one of the pioneer families of Tombstone—his father, Joe Lippert, having conducted a haberdashery shop there in the 80's. On January 1, 1931, Mr. Lippert completed twenty-three years of service with the Company.



THE U.S. SUPREME COURT DECIDES AGAINST PD

- PD HAD ROUTINELY FIRED UNION MEMBERS WHEN THEY WERE DISCOVERED OR SUSPECTED
- IT REFUSED TO HIRE KNOW UNION MEMBERS AND BLACKBALLING WAS WIDELY USED
- WITH THE PASSING OF THE NLRB ACT, MANY OF THE TACTICS USED BY PD TO CONTROL THE WORKFORCE WERE EXPRESSLY FORBIDDEN
- THE UNION FILED UNFAIR LABOR CHARGES IN 1935 WHICH WERE UPHELD BY COURTS ON APPEAL, INCLUDING THE SUPREME COURT
- SIX YEARS AFTER BREAKING THE STRIKE, PD WAS FORCED TO REHIRE 106 DISCHARGED WORKERS AND PAY ALL LOST WAGES BACK TO 1935
- THE DECISION WAS WRITTEN BY JUSTICE FELIX FRANKFURTER, WHO IN 1917, HAD INVESTIGATED THE DEPORTATION FOR WOODROW WILSON AND HAD FOUND THE ACTION WRONGFUL ~~~~~

U.S. Supreme Court

PHELPS DODGE CORP.

v.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS

BD., 313 U.S. 177 (1941)

313 U.S. 177

PHELPS DODGE CORPORATION

v.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD.

NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

v.

PHELPS DODGE CORPORATION.

Nos. 387, 641.

Argued March 11, 1941.

Decided April 28, 1941.

Phelps Dodge Corp.

v.

National Labor Relations Board

COVER FROM THE US SUPREME COURT DECISION
IN PHELPS DODGE VS. NATIONAL LABOR
RELATIONS BOARD 1941

The Deportation of 1917 comes back to haunt PD in 1941. PD's Phoenix based attorney Kitchell had been a clerk for Felix Frankfurter during the 1920s. Frankfurter is reported to have called Kitchell to his home and laid before him the report Frankfurter had written in 1917 on the deportation and said something to the effect that the days of dealing with workers in such a manner were over. Kitchell called Louis Cates, PD's president to report on the meeting and said "We are dead! This is Frankfurter's revenge for 1917."

The source of the controversy was a strike, begun on June 10, 1935, by the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers at Phelps Dodge's Copper Queen Mine, Bisbee, Arizona. Picketing of the mine continued until August 24, 1935, when the strike terminated. During the strike, the National Labor Relations Act came into force. (Act of July 5, 1935, 49 Stat. 449, 29 U.S.C. 151 et seq., 29 U.S.C.A. 151 et seq.) The basis of the Board's conclusion that the Corporation had committed unfair labor practices in violation of 8(3) of the Act was a finding, that a number of men had been refused employment [313 U.S. 177, 182] because of their affiliations with the Union. Of these men, two, Curtis and Daugherty, had ceased to be in the Corporation's employ before the strike but sought employment after its close. The others, thirty-eight in number, were strikers. To 'effectuate the policies' of the Act, 10(c), the Board ordered the Corporation to offer Curtis and Daugherty jobs and to make them whole for the loss of pay

resulting from the refusal to hire them, and it ordered thirty-seven of the strikers reinstated with back pay, and the other striker made whole for loss in wages up to the time he became unemployable.

The National Labor Relations Board said: '*Having found that the respondent has engaged in unfair labor practices, we will order it to cease and desist there from and to take certain affirmative action designed to effectuate the policies of the Act*⁴ *and to restore as nearly [313 U.S. 177, 204] as possible the condition which existed prior to the commission of the unfair labor practices.'*

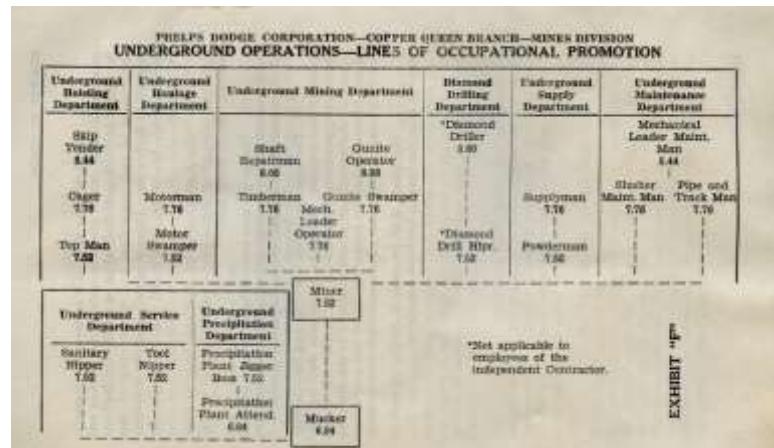
And in its formal order, the Board stated: '*Upon the basis of the above findings of fact and conclusions of law, and pursuant to Section 10(c) of the National Labor Relations Act, the National Labor Relations Board hereby orders that the respondent, Phelps Dodge Corporation ... shall : ... 2. Take the following affirmative action which the Board finds will effectuate the policies of the Act: 5 (a) Offer to the following persons immediate and full reinstatement to their former or substantially equivalent positions ...; (b) Make whole (the following employees) for any loss of pay they may have suffered by reason of the respondent's discriminatory refusal to reinstate them ... less the net earnings of each'*

Justice Frankfurter, writing for the majority said: "----- It is no longer disputed that workers cannot be dismissed from employment because of their union affiliations. Is the national interest in industrial peace less affected by discrimination against union activity when men are hired? The contrary is overwhelmingly attested by the long history of industrial conflicts, the diagnosis of their causes by official investigations, the conviction of public men, industrialists and scholars. Because of the Pullman strike, Congress in the Erdman Act of 1898 prohibited inroads upon the workingman's right of association by discriminatory practices at the point of hiring. Kindred legislation has been put on the statute books of more than half the states. And during the late war the National War Labor Board concluded that discrimination against union men at the time of hiring violated its declared policy that 'The right of workers to organize in trade-unions and to bargain collectively ... shall not be denied, abridged, or interfered with by the employers in any manner whatsoever'. Such a policy is an inevitable corollary of the principle of freedom of organization. Discrimination against union labor in the hiring of men is a dam to self organization at the source of supply. The effect of such discrimination is not confined to the actual denial of employment; it inevitably operates against the whole idea of the legitimacy of organization. In a word, it undermines the principle which, as we have seen, is recognized as basic to the attainment of industrial peace. -----"

The above is largely extracted from the US Supreme court decision 323 US. 177 (1941)

UNIONISM COMES TO STAY IN 1941

- AFTER SIXTY YEARS AT BISBEE AND MUCH TURMOIL, PD FINALLY SURRENDERED TO THE UNIONS WHEN, IN 1941, THE A. F. OF L. WON THE RIGHT TO REPRESENT BISBEE'S MINERS AND TRADESMEN
 - IN 1942, A BITTERLY FOUGHT CONTEST BETWEEN THE C. I. O AND THE A. F. OF L. UNSETTLES THE COMMUNITY WITH THE A. F. OF L. THE VICTOR AND ANXIOUS TO STRIKE, BUT THE WAR EFFORT STOPS ANY ADVERSE INDUSTRIAL ACTION. BISBEE WAS SPARED A SECOND WAR TIME STRIKE ONLY BECAUSE FEDERAL LAW FORBID ONE
 - 1944 SAW ANOTHER FIGHT BETWEEN UNIONS, THIS TIME IT WAS A THREE WAY BATTLE -- A. F. OF L., IUMMSW AND THE C. I. O. THE C. I. O WON THE RIGHT TO REPRESENT THE MEN
 - AFTER THE WAR AND IN 1946, BISBEE SAW ITS FIRST STRIKE WITH A RECOGNIZED UNION AS THE C. I. O. LED A WALKOUT THAT LASTED FROM MARCH 20TH UNTIL JUNE 28TH
 - IN 1948, THE A. F. OF L. CAME BACK AND WON THE RIGHT TO REPRESENT THE MECHANICAL WORKERS WHILE THE C. I. O. CONTINUED TO REPRESENT THE UNDERGROUND MINERS
- ~~~~~



The 1944 *Collective Bargaining Agreement*, as approved by the National War Labor Board with the line of promotion with per day wage rates shown. This was the first such agreement reached at Bisbee. While it did not make any real difference in either wages or working conditions, both of which were already good, it did set forth certain lines of progression which had largely been observed for some time. It was a beginning.

The first truly worker-backed labor strike at Bisbee came in 1946. However, it cannot be looked at in isolation. To be sure there were distinctly local issues, but the roots of this dispute and the strike itself are deeply entwined in what was happening on the labor front nationally.

In general, American workers had suffered a wage decline during the ten years of the Great Depression. Then, frozen wages during World War II, coupled with the “no strike” pledge given government by the unions in support of the war effort had frustrated workers everywhere, as post-war inflation eroded their earnings, while wages remained frozen. What has been labeled as “The Great Strike Wave” of 1945-1946 swept across all industries and across all of America. In 1946 alone, there were 4,985 strikes involving 4,600,000 workers with an estimated 116 million man-days lost (Johnson, 2007). The turmoil that surrounded this unprecedented series of strikes had severe political consequences and, among other things, resulted in the passage of the much hated (by unions) Taft-Hartley Act to prohibit sympathy strikes or boycotts.

In any event, the strike at Bisbee was as much about work rules, benefits and seniority as it was about wages. The workforce in the mines had been reduced to near-depression era levels in 1945, as the demand for copper had plummeted and copper scrap from the war filled much of the demand. Even the venerable penny coin was then made from salvaged shell casings. Insecurity among Bisbee’s miners was pervasive and a driving factor in the strike vote.

SLIDE 23

PROTRACTED STRIKES HURT EVERYONE

BY THE EARLY 1950S THE IUMMSW WAS THE DOMINANT UNION IN THE DISTRICT HOWEVER, A NUMBER OF OTHER TRADES UNIONS REPRESENTED THE VARIOUS DISCIPLINES IN THE LAVENDER PIT AND SKILLS IN THE MECHANICAL DEPARTMENT. WHILE THEY NEGOTIATED INDEPENDENTLY, THEY COORDINATED THEIR EFFORTS TO SUPPORT EACH OTHER IN THE EVENT OF A STRIKE AND SOME LONG STRIKES WERE TO COME

IN 1959, A STRIKE CLOSED THE MINES AT BISBEE FOR MOST OF FIVE MONTHS. THE NEXT AND LAST STRIKE OCCURRED IN 1967. THIS WALKOUT LASTED FROM EARLY JULY UNTIL THE END OF MARCH 1968

IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT EITHER STRIKE EVER GAINED THE WORKERS OR COMPANY NEARLY AS MUCH AS WAS LOST



GRAEME LARKIN COLLECTION
PICKET LINE AT THE JUNCTION MINE GATE 1959

To be sure, the strongest weapon workers have against an intransigent company is a strike. I would like to believe that all strike votes by the workers at Bisbee were taken with a clear understanding of the ramifications. However, it is impossible to analyze the cost/benefit of a strike beforehand, as one can never predict the length of a strike nor the settlement terms. In my considered opinion, the two very long strikes at Bisbee cost the workers more than they gained, much more. This I can personally attest to from having been involved as a laborer in the mines at the time.

That being said, equitable agreements are the sum of all the previous agreements and cannot be taken individually. Ideally, both the company and the workers can benefit from well-crafted labor agreements, agreements that consider all of the individual factors.

The equation changed with the entry of the Steelworks union and industry-wide bargaining or pattern bargaining as it was called. Pattern bargaining forced all companies to meet the same wage levels across the whole of the industry, thereby removing the differences between companies and operations. Older and smaller operations were placed at a disadvantage against larger or newer, more efficient operations and even more so against the many low-cost foreign operations. This unfortunate approach on the part of the union played a significant role in ending mining at Bisbee, as it was labor intensive and simply became too expensive to maintain. And too, it was this same short sighted approach that ultimately led to the end of union representation at Bisbee and all of Phelps Dodge's other operations in 1983.

SLIDE 24



The above graphs suggest several very interesting possibilities. Referring to both graphs, it would appear that modest wages allow for more men to be employed, particularly when the spread between copper price and wages is large. Such a wide price-wage differential is a disincentive to invest in labor saving equipment. When this relationship changes, as it did in 1931, when wages were not synchronized with metal prices something must give. With this change, labor becomes a much larger component of total costs, thus there is a push to reduce labor by workforce reductions and adding equipment to improve individual productivity as happened in 1931 with the introduction of slushers in stopes and Filnley muckers in crosscuts and other such areas.

This increased individual productivity actually allowed for increased number of employees as each man was much more efficient and more, lower grade material could be mined as shown by the increase in total employment. Of course, growing demand because of the stress in Europe helped immensely, as the market could consume the increased production from the more efficient mining.

However, the breaking point comes in the last year of the war and thereafter when wages increase more rapidly than copper prices in a relative manner and no new labor savings devices are available. This economic pressure reduces the number of employees and raises the copper grade necessary to mine at a profit. Open pit mining comes to the rescue as this allowed for more production per man per day, but only with enormous capital investment.

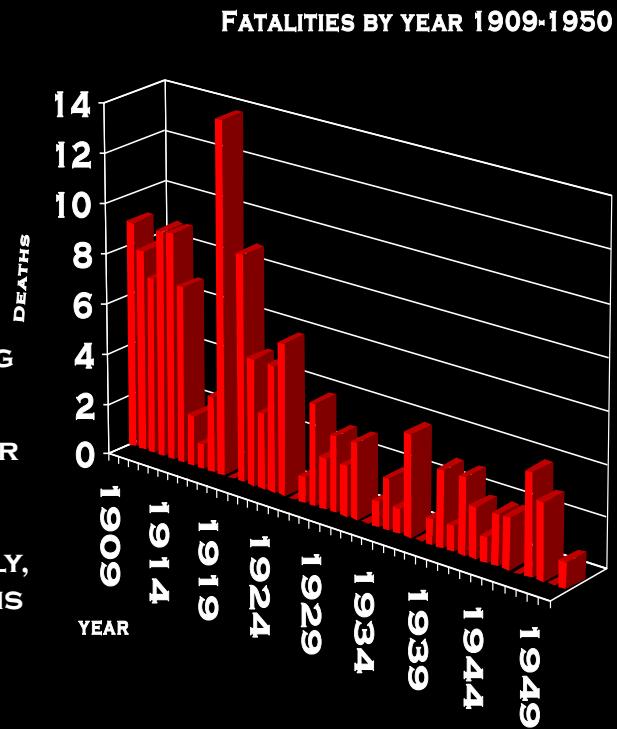
SLIDE 25

THE SWITCH TO UNIONS DID LITTLE TO IMPROVE SAFETY

**UNIONS MAY HAVE BROUGHT
SOME IMPROVEMENTS TO THE
WORKERS, BUT SADLY, SAFETY
WAS NOT ONE OF THEM. THE
CONFRONTATIONAL
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN
COMPANY AND UNION OFTEN
FOUND THE UNION DEFENDING
WORKERS WHO HAD VIOLATED
SAFETY RULES AND WERE BEING
DISCIPLINED.**

**TO ITS GREAT CREDIT, PD NEVER
RELAXED ITS RULES OR THE
AGGRESSIVE WAY IN WHICH IT
ENFORCED THEM. FORTUNATELY,
BY THE LATE 1950S, THE UNIONS
WERE SOMEWHAT MORE
COOPERATIVE IN THIS REGARD**

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What benefit did organized labor bring to Bisbee, if any? As has been noted time and again, the workers at Bisbee under Phelps Dodge and the C & A were well paid and well treated. Their work environments were as good or better as any anywhere in the mining industry and they received benefits that most others in the industrial environment did not, but this was very much a reflection of the character of the men who ran the companies. There was little a union could offer the workers in the way of positive changes.

The natural evolution of business brought about the merger of these two very good, but decidedly different companies. In many ways, the near paternalistic relationship between the company and workers came to an end as well.

However, the workers now, with unions, had some say in their destiny, an important and positive change. Also, workers had a clear and effective channel via the grievance process to seek redress for wrongs. These were important and positive changes for any workforce, irrespective of the management, as it maintained equilibrium of power and influence.

Bisbee remained a good place to be a worker, the several strikes notwithstanding. Most of the bosses had come from the ranks of the workers and, for the most part, the senior management was made of men who had lived and worked in Bisbee for many years. There was no social hierarchy in the town and the managers or superintendents belonged to the same fraternal orders or clubs as the miners. This did much to keep a positive relationship between all.

By the early 1960s, many looked at the unions as little more than a way to provide protection for the “lame and lazy,” as was so commonly said at the time. Nonetheless, unions continued to serve a useful role in helping individuals resolve the typically minor disputes which arose. Most disagreements were pay related, usually involving bonus calculations, as most underground were paid on a performance basis and the measurement of such performance was sometimes disputed.

The second most common grievance procedure involved disciplinary action for violation of work rules or safety regulations. These were typically more intense as the employees job might well be at risk, particularly if a past such infraction had occurred.



Membership in the unions was never universal, but the majority of men did belong. Few were truly active and a meeting might attract 75 to 100 of the 2,000 employees. The photo at the left is of a late 1950s meeting of the Mine Mill in its Lowell meeting hall (Melvin Elkins collection).

Bisbee's labor history is more one of cooperative interaction. Unfortunately, this unusual relationship is totally overshadowed by the events of the IWW and the deportation – one brief and dramatic moment in a century of operation.