A Historical Overview

The opening of the West

For mining to the

Discovery of Bisbee

MAP OF THE ARIZONA TERRITORY – 1860

With the boundary between the two territories running east-west instead of north-south, as it does today

Library of Congress
The presence of hostile Apache Indians did much to slow the exploration and settlement of southeastern Arizona. So real was the threat that few dared to venture into what is now Cochise County without substantial protection. Indeed, it was the search for Geronimo and other Apaches that led to the discovery of mineral deposits in Mule Gulch and the establishment of Bisbee. However, the threat of attack by hostiles was very real and military protection was needed to allow for the mines to be developed.
But for the Gadsden Purchase, the ore deposits at what became Bisbee as well as several other important copper deposits, would have been in Mexico. The approximate position of Bisbee today is where the word Cañon is written on the map above.
The Gadsden Purchase was completed by treaty on December 30, 1853, wherein the United States agreed to pay to México the sum of $10,000,000 for an area of some 45,535 square miles. The territory was needed by the United States to construct a southern transcontinental railway. It was to be the last continental expansion for America.

The purchase was named for James Gadsden who was the US Minister to Mexico under President Franklin Pierce and who was very much a proponent of a southern railway. The agreement was so unpopular in Mexico that the dictator Santa Ana was forced to step down and Gadsden was recalled for interfering with the domestic policies of Mexico. He died in 1858, long before the railway he hoped for was completed in 1881.
THE PUSH AND THE PULL TO GO WEST

FEW PEOPLE TRULY WANTED TO LEAVE THE RELATIVE COMFORT OF THE LARGELY DEVELOPED EASTERN OR MIDWESTERN U.S. IN THE MID OR LATE 1800S. THERE WERE FORCES WHICH PUSHED THEM OUT OF THIS COMFORT AND ATTRACTIONS THAT PULLED THEM TO THE UNDEVELOPED WEST.

- **Push** - America was expanding rapidly, but opportunities for most were few, particularly immigrants
- **Push** - It was largely an agrarian society, but good farm land was scarce and expensive in the East and Midwest
- **Push** - Factory employment was poorly paid and filled with drudgeries with few jobs available
- **Pull** – Wages in the West were typically much higher, particularly in the mines
- **Pull** - The natural resources of the west — land to farm, timber and minerals were abundant and cheap if not free to those willing to work
- **Pull** – U.S. Government fosters a westward move with the Homestead Act of 1862, the Pacific Railroad Bill (1862),
- **Pull** - The Mining Law of 1872 opened up mineral land to those willing to invest time and resources
The American west — it was mining that led the way

• In spite of pop culture lore, it was precious metal mining that opened up the west at places such as:
  – The California Gold Rush of 1848
  – Silver from the Comstock Lode of Nevada 1859
  – Colorado silver/gold camps of Georgetown, Silver Plume, Leadville 1864-1874
  – Gold discovered in the Black Hills, North Dakota 1874
  – Silver is discovered at Tombstone in 1877
All of these and other rich deposits brought fortune seekers and many in need of work to the West

• However, it was only after the completion of the several transcontinental railways in the 1870s to early 1880s, that base metal mining (copper, lead, zinc) become truly economically viable. Before that, all efforts were small and marginally profitable, if profitable at all
  – Prior to 1860, copper was mined at Santa Rita, New Mexico and Ajo, Arizona.
  – Then at Clifton, Arizona during the mid-1870s followed by Bisbee in the late 1870s. In all cases, the mining was small in scope and limited to very high — grade materials.
Mining Legislation Before 1872

• Although the practices for open mining on public land were more-or-less universal in the West, and supported by state and territorial legislation, they were still illegal under existing federal law. At the end of the Civil War, some eastern congressmen regarded western miners as squatters who were robbing the public patrimony, and proposed seizure of the western mines to pay the huge war debt.

• In June 1865, Representative George Julian of Indiana introduced a bill for the government to take the western mines from their discoverers, and sell them at public auction. Representative Fernando Wood proposed that the government send an army to California, Colorado, and Arizona to expel the miners "by armed force if necessary to protect the rights of the Government in the mineral lands." He advocated that the federal government itself work the mines for the benefit of the treasury.

• Fortunately, western representatives successfully argued that western miners and prospectors were performing valuable services by promoting commerce and settling new territory, and they tacked legislation legalizing lode (hard rock) mining on public land onto a law regarding eastern canal rights. The legislation, known as the "Chaffee laws" after Colorado Territorial representative Jerome Chaffee, passed and was signed on July 26, 1866.
Western Miner’s had few true rights and fewer rules

When serious mining began in the west, the United States had only recently acquired California, Nevada, Utah, New Mexico and Arizona from Mexico by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. The Federal Government had little presence in the newly-acquired territories.

Miners and prospectors on the California Gold Rush of 1849 found themselves in a legal vacuum. Although the US government had laws governing the leasing of mineral land, none existed which gave other rights or protection to the discoverer.

The miners formed “mining districts” to bring some form of order to the often remote and isolated areas where they were working.
The U.S. Government encourages mining

- Development and populating the West was a National priority, particularly following the Civil war
- Most of the land of the West was owned by the Government and it was available
- The Mining Law of 1872 was intended to encourage the discovery of and facilitate the private ownership of mineral deposits
  - The government land was divided into two separate estates — surface and mineral with the mineral estate to have priority over the surface with just compensation
  - The opportunity to claim the exclusive right to a mineral deposit was given to the discoverer
  - Holding a registered claim was the same as hold real property as it was a legal right which could be transferred by sale or other mechanism
  - True, legal ownership of the land and the contained minerals was now possible for anyone willing to work

The Mining Law of 1872

The mining law of 1866 gave discoverers rights to stake mining claims to extract gold, silver, cinnabar (the principal ore of mercury) and copper. When Congress passed the General Mining Act of 1872, the wording was changed to "or other valuable deposits," giving greater scope to the law. The 1872 act also granted extralateral rights to lode claims, something which would prove both valuable and nettlesome.

The purposes of the 1872 Mining Law were to promote mineral exploration and development on federal lands in the western United States, offer an opportunity to obtain a clear title to mines already being worked, and help settle the West. The Mining Law granted free access to individuals and corporations to prospect for minerals on open public domain lands, and allowed them, upon making a discovery, to stake (or "locate") a claim on the deposit. A valid claim entitles the holder to develop the minerals. The 1872 Mining Law originally applied to all minerals except coal.
Including lands that passed out of the government, but reverted back to federal ownership. "Acquired" lands -- those obtained from a state or a private owner through purchase, gift, or condemnation.

The 1872 Mining Law was one of the primary forces behind the development of mineral resources in the West, along with the industries and services that supported mineral production. Major hard rock minerals developed in the West include copper, silver, gold, lead, zinc, molybdenum, and uranium. During the 19th century, major mining districts for silver and gold were developed under the Mining Law in Colorado, California, and Nevada. Early in the 20th century, there were major developments of porphyry copper deposits in Arizona. Large molybdenum and tungsten deposits in Colorado were also developed. In spite of its critics, and there are many, the Mining Law of 1872 continues to provide the structure for much of the Western mineral development on public domain lands. Western mining, although not as extensive as it once was, is still a major economic activity, and a high percentage of hard rock mining is on public lands.

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**The Mining Law of 1872 gives hope and promise**

The new opportunity presented by the mining law of 1872 to possibly succeed and even prosper, gave rise to that great American icon, "the prospector"

These true entrepreneurs came from all walks of life and contributed immensely to the growth of America in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Often these brave men were financed (grubstaked) by others with the understanding that any discoveries would be shared by the prospector.

Usually, the prospector quickly sold any promising find, as they seldom had the money needed develop a mine. Sometimes the prospector would retain a minority interest in the property to share in the success of the mine, when developed.

Graeme Larkin Collection

Prospector in Bisbee C 1895
The Mining Claim

A discoverer of a mineral deposit would mark in the field with stone monuments, the outline of the claim and record it with the mining district or, later, the county in which it was located. This gave the locator exclusive right to the land and contained minerals.

Annual work requirements of roughly equal to the value of five ounces of gold ($100), were required to continue holding the claim. It was also required that the assessment work be recorded with the county to confirm its performance.

Failure to perform and record the required annual assessment work would cause the claim to lapse and the ground would be open for location (staking) by others. It was common for others to closely monitor this requirement and if the claim holder did not do the work or file a notice of having done the work, they would relocate the claim in their name. A perfectly legal practice.

Once economic viability was proven, the claim could be patented and become the real property of the holder.

Mining Law of 1872 added a requirement for at least $100 worth of annual assessment work to be done for the benefit of each claim in order to maintain it, as well as record the fulfilment of the assessment work obligation. Failure to mark and record a claim or to do the necessary annual assessment work would open the claim for location by someone else. County or mining district recorders kept track of the recording as well as the annual assessment work.
The portion of mining ground held under the Federal and local laws by one claimant or association, by virtue of one location and record. Lode claims, maximum size 600 ft. by 1,500 ft. (182.9 m by 457.3 m). Placer claims 600 ft. by 1,320 ft. (182.9 m by 402.4 m). A claim is sometimes called a location.

Mining claim

a. That portion of the public mineral lands that a miner, for mining purposes, takes hold of and possesses in accordance with mining laws.

b. A mining claim is a parcel of land containing valuable minerals in the soil or rock. A location is the act of appropriating such a parcel of land according to law or to certain established rules.

c. In the General Mining Law of 1872, that portion of a vein or lode and of the adjoining surface, or of the surface and subjacent material to which a claimant has acquired the right of possession by virtue of a compliance with such statute and the local laws and rules of the district within
which the location may be situated. Independent of acts of the U.S. Congress providing a mode for the acquisition of title to the mineral lands of the United States, the term has always been applied to a portion of such lands to which the right of exclusive possession and enjoyment by a private person or persons, has been asserted by actual occupation, and compliance with the mining laws and regulations. (Ricketts, 1943)

d. Distinction between mining claim and location is that they are not always synonymous and may often mean different things; a mining claim may refer to a parcel of land containing valuable mineral in its soil or rock, while location is the act of appropriating such land according to certain established rules. A mining claim may include as many adjoining locations as the locator may make or purchase, and the ground covered by all, though constituting what is claimed for mining purposes, will constitute a mining claim and will be so designated. (Ricketts, 1943)

e. Title issued by the Government concerned to an individual or group, which grants that individual or group the right to exploit mineral wealth in a specified area by approved methods in accordance with the ruling laws and regulations. (Pryor, 3)

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**Mining Claims on the ground – a jigsaw puzzle**

*Graeme Larkin collection*

**Claims in the older part of the Warren Mining District**

*Mining claims were located so as to cover every square inch of the potentially rich ground. The predictable results were a complex pattern of often irregular and overlapping parcels, each with its protective owner, guarding his interest.*
It was common to stake a claim and have it overlap part of an earlier claim to cover any possible open space (a fraction), later surveying may revel. The senior claim always had a prior right to the overlapping portion of the junior claim and this was accepted as standard in the majority of mining districts. Thus, an intentional overlap was not considered a threat or a trespass.

A plat is a map drawn to scale of a survey which shows the horizontal projection of the area occupied by a mining claim, with the side and end line lengths and bearings indicated. The plat of the Copper Queen Mining Claim was drafted to illustrate the area which it occupied relative to an established and accepted U. S. Mineral Monument.

Plats were often used to demonstrate the claim location to a prospective investor as well as fix its position, as it was a common, but unscrupulous practice to allow a claim to “float,” fixing the location only when the “best” ground had been determined. When the use of the plat was to help secure funding or to sell the property, the location of nearby ore and infrastructure were usually noted, as is the case with this plat. Indeed, this plat or one very similar would have been presented to Dr. Douglas and other potential purchasers, as the Copper Queen was almost always for sale.

The Copper Queen was actually a relocation of the Halcro Mining Claim, which had been located on December 14, 1877, (Cochise County Book of Records 1, p. 154) but as the required annual assessment work had not been completed during a year’s time the original location lapsed. Thus, on December 15, 1878 the Copper Queen Mining Claim was located (Cochise County Book of Records 6. p. 656. The Halcro was never a mine as some mistakenly believe.
Mining Claim names

• One requirement for locating a mining claim was that it must have a name identifying it

• Naming mining claims was an art in itself, anything was fair game — good, bad, even profane — with imagination the only limiting factor and prospectors often had very vivid imaginations (in later years, terms deemed profane were changed, i.e. the “Bare Ass” claim was renamed the Barras)

• Names often honoring wives, or girl friends; even prostitutes such as “Irish Mag” were often given to mining claims

• Allegorical names such as Neptune, Atlas and Venus are found in most large districts, including at Bisbee

• More often than not, fanciful names such as the Copper Queen, Belle Isle, Silver Bear, Uncle Sam, Twilight, Reindeer, Neptune were chosen

• Heroes of the era were popular choices such as “Admiral Dewey,” “Bucky O’Neil,” and “Robert E. Lee”

• John Rucker named the first claim filed here the “Rucker” for himself as did others later on
Ricketts (1943) defined a mining district as “A section of country usually designated by name, having described or understood boundaries within which minerals are found and worked under rules and regulations prescribed by the miners therein. There is no limit to its territorial extent and its boundaries may be changed if vested rights are not thereby interfered with.”
At the time the above map was produced, the Tombstone Mining District was far and away the most important in newly formed Cochise County.

Mining districts of Cochise County in 1881, Library of Congress.
The Warren Mining District showing ownership by mining company C – 1922 The productive area is outlined in red
The settling of the many mining districts of the American West is filled with stories of men and women of exceptional courage and foresight; Bisbee is no exception. Perhaps even greater quantities of these rare virtues were required of those who chose the desert southwest. An unforgiving land, it claimed more lives than all of the Indians and outlaws combined. The Mule Mountains and their main canyon, Mule Gulch, at least, were a bit more hospitable. Here was water and abundant game among the great oaks, willows and tangled wild grape vines lining the stream.

A search for water (and Apaches) brought John Dunn and his fellow soldiers to this can-yon. A member of a government scouting party from Camp Bowie, Dunn camped with his group at the first spring they found. Like so many other civilian scouts employed by the army during the Arizona Indian Campaign. Jack Dunn was a part time prospector. Coming into Mule Gulch must have been exciting as the red hills that surrounded it are a sure sign of mineralization. The group had come into the Mules not just to look for the Indians, but also to find water. The first water found near what became known as Sacramento Hill, was bitter because of the intense
mineralization. This would only have added to his excitement as it was another indication that perhaps something of value was nearby.

The next day, the water being mineralized and thus disagreeable, Dunn went further up the canyon until he found a fine spring near what is now known as Castle Rock. Returning to his group along the rough, south side of Mule Gulch, he found a piece of cerussite float. He traced it to an outcrop at the base of a huge pinnacle of hematite, later known as the Iron Monster (Duncan, 1911). Along with Lieutenant J. A. Rucker and T. D. Bryne, Dunn located the first claim in the district on August 2, 1877, calling it the Rucker claim.

Cerussite, a lead carbonate is a common near surface lead mineral which was often a good indicator of silver mineralization. A lead deposit in such a remote place was of no value in 1877, but silver was another story. Cerussite is typically white to gray, but when it has been on the surface of the earth and exposed to weathering for a long time, it would develop a reddish coating of lead oxide (the mineral minium). It is almost certain that the material Dunn first found had this coating and looked like just any other red rock in an area covered with red and brown rock. However, cerussite is quite heavy and it is this weight that would indicate it was not just “another” red rock.

The Discovers of Bisbee

George Warren, a prospector who hung around Fort Bowie was grubstaked by Dunn and Rucker to stake more claims in Mule Gulch, and include their names as co-owners. Warren staked a number of claims, but he did not honor his commitment. Neither Dunn or Rucker were named in the new claims as agreed.

Even tough Warren had many claims in his name, he either lost them through foolishness or was cheated out of them, much as he had cheated his benefactors – Dunn and Rucker. He died a pauper in Bisbee in 1895, after seeing what he once had owned become one of the richest mines in the world at the time.
On the way back to Camp Bowie, Dunn met George Warren, a prospector. Dunn had military duties to attend to, so he told Warren of his find and grubstaked him. Warren was supposed to locate as many claims as possible, naming Dunn as the claimant in each case. This agreement was never honored by Warren.

As a young boy, George Warren had been wounded and captured by the Apaches when they killed his father. For 18 months, he remained their prisoner. Prospectors, upon seeing a white boy with the Indians, traded 15 pounds of sugar for him. Warren then stayed with the prospectors for some time, learning the "art" himself (Hart, 1926).

Many of the claims located in the district during the next six months had Warren as either the locator or a witness. In spite of his early work, George Warren, for whom the district is named, is better remembered for his folly. Legend has it that he lost his share in the Copper Queen mine in a foot race with a horse and rider over a short course ... a loss that ultimately was worth more than $20,000,000 (Duncan, 1911). The remainder of his property was taken into "protective custody" by some unscrupulous associates.

Penniless, Warren went to Mexico and sold himself into peonage. Judge G. H. Berry, hearing of this, paid his debt and returned him to Bisbee in 1885. With a small pension from the mining company, George Warren spent the remainder of his life sweeping saloon floors and cleaning cuspidors in exchange for drinks of rot-gut whiskey. He died in about 1895, disdained and soon forgotten (Hart, 1926).
The early years in Mule Gulch, as Bisbee was then known, were uncertain ones. The cerussite outcrop found by Dunn was very small and soon gone. A second and much larger prospect had been found in Hendricks Gulch, large enough to warrant building a small smelter, but this venture too ended in failure. The copper-stained outcrop long known to exist on the Copper Queen claim had, up to this point, been of little interest. Silver, often found mixed with lead, was the metal most sought after, not copper.
Warren is remembered in several ways.

The mining district was named for Warren and his image is depicted on the state seal.

Graeme Larkin collection
George Warren
C - 1890

The mining district was named for Warren and his image is depicted on the state seal.
Southeastern Arizona was an empty land in the late 1870s. The map above shows that there were a number of military camps present to protect the pioneer settlers from the Apaches.
As can be seen in the above map, fully half of what would become Cochise County had been designated as a reservation for the Chiricahua Apaches in December of 1872. This area had long been home to these native people who moved between the densely forested Chiricahua Mountains and the broad planes of the high desert valley. There was absolutely no similarity between these temperate and game-rich lands and the scorching San Carlos Reservation. When the US Government chose to unilaterally dissolve the Chiricahua Reservation, it sent the Apaches living there to San Carlos. Before long, more than a few Chiricahua Apaches returned to their former homelands, but as renegades, feared by all and hunted by the US Calvary.

To be sure, there were other driving factors as well that caused the Chiricahuas to return to a nomadic and hostile life style, but this was the area they chose to return to when they fled the reservation. Bisbee was to be established just west of the former reservation boundary and was well within the territory which Geronimo roamed.
The Bisbee of 1883 was but a small settlement and very much at risk of attack by Apaches, as were those who supplied the mine and the town’s people with the necessities of life.
Southeastern Arizona was a difficult, hostile place in the 1870s and early 1880s. If the desert didn’t kill you then you were at the mercy of outlaws and Mexican bandits. And, of course there was the ever present Apache. The Copper Queen Mine needed the protection of the Army to work in this uncertain environment.

Company I, 4th Cavalry with Apache scouts on Sacramento Hill at the entrance to Bisbee - 1883.
The above news clippings give a sense of the fear that the Apaches had instilled in the settlers of southeastern Arizona in the early 1880s. In their view, the only solution was complete subjection or extermination of these indigenous peoples. Many would die on both sides before the end came in 1886 with Geronimo’s final surrender.

In truth, the good citizens of the Territory were at much greater risk from their own. American outlaws and Mexican bandits roamed and pillaged at will. This would remain a serious problem until the early 1900s, when the Arizona Rangers were formed to bring order to the Territory.
December 15, 1883 news report on the Bisbee massacre from the Arizona Weekly Citizen.

Outlaws and Mexican bandits were a far greater threat to the average citizen of Bisbee than the Apaches.

Grave marker in the Bisbee Evergreen cemetery for William Daniels "killed by Apache Indians June 9, 1885. Richard Graeme IV photo.
1887 – Territorial Governor Zulick addresses the 14th Territorial Assembly and notes that “…for the first time in its history, Arizona was relieved of the curse of hostile Indians and free to develop its many resources.” The gravity of the threat posed by hostile Indians on the people of southern Arizona cannot be overstated. It was a heavy cloud which hung over the whole of the Territory and truly impeded development.

Geronimo's final surrender in 1886 was the end to the last significant Indian guerrilla action in the United States.
At the end, his group consisted of only 16 warriors, 12 women, and 6 children, some of which are illustrated above.

Upon surrender, Geronimo and over 300 of his fellow Chiricahuas were shipped to Fort Marion, Florida. Most of those shipped had remained on the reservation and, while not active supporters of Geronimo, they were viewed as a potential threat by the government and populous in general. As shown by the 1893 note from a Tombstone newspaper below, the citizens of the southeastern part of the Arizona Territory had yet to forgive or forget some 17 years later.
Geronimo posed for Tombstone photographer C. S. Fly after his surrender in 1886
Apache leader - Schuman in shackles and handcuffs, with his wives, prior to shipment to Florida - 1886
With the forced deportation of the majority of the Chiricahua Apaches to Florida, southeastern Arizona was free of what most saw as its greatest menace. However, it was to remain a dangerous place. So much so that the Arizona Territorial Legislation created the Arizona Rangers in 1901 to be based in Cochise County to control the outlaws and Mexican bandits that roamed and pillaged at will.