Chapter 3
Ethnic Diversity In Arizona's Early Mining Camps

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Introduction

Typical of Arizona’s mining communities, the 1882 Great Register of Cochise County reveals that voters had been born in several foreign countries including: Algiers, Argentina, Australia, Azores, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, Finland, French Guinea, Greece, Peru, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Slavonia, and Spain, and at sea. This variety of ethnic cultures would forever leave its stamp on Arizona’s mining history.

The Jews

Koppel Freudenthal never saw the U.S, but his descendants were among the most enterprising of Arizona’s Jewish families. Son, Julius arrived in the Silver City area around 1856, and about three years later he was joined by nephew, Henry Lesinsky.

Henry, born in 1836 in a small European village, was sent to England at the age of 14, after his father died, to learn stone and wood carving. He saved enough money to book passage to Australia, where he worked on road crews and in the gold fields of Bendigo, Central Victoria. With $600 in savings, he decided to join Uncle Julius, who was somewhere in America.

An arduous sea voyage brought him to San Francisco. For a while he panned for gold but was washed out by the floods. A letter arrived asking him to join his uncle in New Mexico. Julius and Henry prospered by buying local grain and selling it to the government, but prosperity ground to a halt with the advent of the Civil War when military troops were pulled out of the Southwest. After the war, business returned to normal and Henry was able to send for his brothers, Charles and Morris.

The firm of Lesinsky and Freudenthal grew and contacts for buying and selling in the East were initiated by Morris, Charles and Julius. Henry stayed at Las Cruces, New Mexico, where he went into business with a Col. Bennett. They served as government mail carriers, running mail and passengers through 600 miles of hostile Indian Country.

In 1870 silver was discovered about 100 miles from Las Cruces and a new tent town, called Silver City, grew to about 5,000 residents. About this time, Yankie, Jim Bullard, and John Swisshelm, while looking for gold and silver, discovered a rich copper ore body in a remote Arizona locality, now known as Clifton-Morenci. They also found gold about a mile west of Morenci in Gold Gulch. With samples, the men returned to Silver City to look for investors. Isaac Stevens and Robert Metcalf were interested and in July of 1870, a party of 48 men, including the original locators, set out for Gold Gulch. Prospectors found the water too “coppery” and returned to Silver City when they ran short of food.

In June of 1872, Col. William Ryerson, Bullard and Yankie returned to Morenci where they staked out three claims. In August, Edwin M. Pearce, a Silver City mining expert, secured a bond on the claims and took ore samples to Detroit, where the claims were sold for $8,000 to Eban B. Ward, a wealthy steamship owner. Ward sent retired ship captain, Miles Joy, who was appointed U.S. Deputy Surveyor to survey the claims. All claims, each containing 20.6 acres were filed in Yavapai County.

Metcalf reappeared in the district and established claims on Metcalf Hill and founded the Longfellow Mine. The Copper Mountain Mining District was organized at Joy’s camp, and Yankie was elected president. Metcalf returned to Silver City to seek financial backing for the Longfellow’s development.

He met with Henry Lesinsky in Las Cruces, who decided to travel to the mines to see if it would be worthwhile for him to participate in their development. Copper formations were strange to Lesinsky, but he decided to open a store to provide supplies for prospectors and miners. This put him in a position to learn of new discoveries. Henry put Eugene Goulding in charge of the store and returned to Las Cruces. Metcalf showed Goulding some of the copper ore from the Longfellow. Goulding contacted Lesinsky who decided to make another visit to the area.

On the sixth day of the trip, the party travelled up Chase Creek and camped at the foot of what would become the Longfellow Incline. They had spotted Indians so the next morning they hid their supplies in a cave, climbed the mountain and investigated potential ore veins. Back at camp they discovered the Apaches had stolen all their provisions. That night they camped on the banks of the San Francisco River and secured food and a pack horse from a local rancher for the return
trip to Silver City.

Metcalf asked Lesinsky to become his partner, but Henry argued that Apaches would make mining impractical. In 1873, Metcalf offered to sell controlling interest for $10,000. Lesinsky discussed the venture with Charles and Julius and offered them equal share in the enterprise, warning that they might make a fortune or lose everything. The three men took equal interest and called their company the San Francisco Mining Company. Officers included: Henry Lesinsky, President and General Manager; Charles Lesinsky, Vice President; Julius Freudenthal, Treasurer. Problems facing the fledgling company included Apaches, ore smelting, ore transportation, and marketing.

After a few years Metcalf ran out of money and threatened to kill anyone who came near the mine. Henry received a letter from Metcalf challenging him to a duel. He complained that he had lost his property, wife and child and that Henry knew the real value of the mines and had cheated him.

The two men met one day on the road to Clifton while Henry was travelling with a provision train. He spotted Metcalf alone about 200 yards away with a double barrelled shotgun on his shoulder. Henry wrote:

I lowered my rifle, a sixteen shooter. I kept close watch on the movement of the enemy. He saw that I could shoot before he brought his gun down. We stood face to face. 'Going to Clifton?' asked he. 'Yes', I replied. 'I wish you good morning'. Metcalf turned and left. This fellow was a miserable braggart only. The next time we met I took no notice of him and finally he came to me for work. Let me state here that he sold a mine later on and got about $300,000.

In the Spring of 1873, Henry went to El Paso to hire Mexicans to smelt the ore. The first smelter in the district, known as the Stone House, was erected in Chase Creek. Lesinsky, who knew the Mexicans were skilled in smelting, let them work without interference. The first furnaces were crude. The Arizona Citizen of October 1873 reported:

Sandstone was taken from Silver City to build furnaces in Clifton and it stands well. The first smelting in a furnace built of stone was made in five days and yielded 5500 pounds of copper and 6500 pounds of silver ore which was shipped away October 17.

Mexicans were also employed to scour the hillsides for mesquite and scrub oak to make charcoal, the smelter fuel. The blast was made with cowhide bellows. Lesinsky hired Isadore Elkin Solomon, a pioneer Jewish banker, to go into the Gila Valley to direct the crews of Mexicans who cut the trees to supply charcoal. From this venture grew Solomonville, the first Graham County seat and the birthplace of the Valley National Bank.

The furnaces were far from satisfactory. According to the Arizona Citizen of July 21, 1874, Lesinsky wondered one day what kind of material the gates of Hell were lined with, when a worker interrupted him by saying the furnace had burned through again. Lesinsky picked up a piece of copper plate and told the worker to plug the hole with it, temporarily. When he came back later, Lesinsky was surprised to find the hole was still plugged. Louis Smadbeck experimented with various liners and found that copper, the material at hand, was best.

When the problems of fuel and furnace were solved, the price of copper plunged from 35 cents a pound in 1872 to 28 cents a pound in 1873. The Lesinskys lost money and only the store profits kept them in business. However, they held on and concentrated on getting supplies into camp and copper onto the market, and worked on the transportation problem.

At first they used ox wagon transportation within the district and for hauling bullion to market in Independence, Kansas. Nicholas S. Davis, a Civil War veteran and engineer was hired to improve the district roads, which were under constant attack by Apaches. Davis decided to abandon the wagon road, and build a railroad from the Longfellow mine to Clifton. In 1878, work was begun on the 20-gauge railroad along the Chase Creek bed. The railroad, built at a cost of $50,000, used a stone wall above the creek level to maintain sliders from rolling down on the tracks during the rainy seasons.

Sammy Freudenthal, another nephew of Julius, was Clifton's first Justice of the Peace and supervised the building of the wall. Sammy's sentences usually involved a stint at the mines. Eight miles of railroad were completed in 1879 with a grade of 30 feet to the mile and very sharp curves.

The first trains were mule powered. When the train started up hill to the mines the mules were hitched to the front to pull the cars. When the ore-loaded train went down hill, the cars moved by gravity and the mules rode down in the last car. Sammy served as the first conductor on the mule train, and accompanied it on the down grade to set the brakes.

The first locomotive, purchased from the H.K. Porter Company in Pittsburgh, was shipped in April of 1880 by steamer from New York around the Horn to San Francisco. It was then shipped by rail to Fort Yuma and from there by bullock teams to Morenci where it arrived in the autumn. The Little Emma, weighing around 17,000 pounds, travelled between 12 and 15 miles per hour.

In 1883, the Arizona Copper Company completed the Coronado railroad which passed by ten mines and was connected to the ore source by inclines. Apaches found shooting at a locomotive was not nearly as interesting or economically rewarding as shooting at teamsters.

That year nine men were killed when ore cars dashed down the Lesinksy's Coronado incline, out of control. A concealed flaw in the drawbar caused the break, releasing the cable as the cars were lowered.

In 1877 Henry Lesinsky negotiated with a San Francisco firm for 150 Chinese laborers who worked for less than the Mexicans and were willing to work the dangerous underground passages.

During this period six mines were established by Lesinsky's firm: the Boulder mine owned by Henry, the Copper Crown by William Grant, the Coronado by Morris, the Horseshoe Mine by Julius Freudenthal, the Crown Reef by Louis Smadbeck, and the Mathilda by Charles.

Henry wrote, "One day a party of Englishmen and Scotchmen (sic) came our way. They had bought some mines in the neighborhood and began to investigate our property. ....Ours was a prosperous camp. .... Six hundred men worked for us."
Henry declined the price offered by the Brits but in 1882, the company accepted $1,200,000 by the Arizona Copper Company Ltd. Henry died on April 24 but never lost interest in Arizona. He did, however, lose the affection of his Uncle Julius—

You may find it strange that I make no mention of my partners. I must say right here that with my brother Charles, I am in the greatest of amity. Not so my uncle. When we meet, we seek to separate as soon as possible. Whose is the fault I know not. I will not say that I am entirely faultless, but I can not say that it is my fault alone.

Adolph Lewisohn, born to an old mercantile family at Hamburg, Germany, May 27, 1849, was educated in private schools in Hamburg and entered his father's business. At the age of 18, he came to New York to join brother Leonard who was already in the metals trading business.

The American Smelting and Refining Company, ASARCO, was incorporated in 1871 as a metals industries holding company, but historically it was first and foremost a processing company with most of its profits coming from lead and silver. In 1899 the Lewisohns' United Metals Company served as sales agents for this combine.

Adolph and Leonard Lewisohn established refineries in Connecticut and Rhode Island and made copper investments in Michigan and in the Old Dominion at Globe. Because many of their properties were marginal producers, the Lewisohns were destined to be ousted as refiners and sales agents but they did make an extensive impact on Arizona's copper mines.

In 1901, a cash bind at ASARCO forced the Lewisohns to sell their ASARCO shares to the Guggenheims. This crisis was the only one endured by Leonard as he died the following year. The rest of the problems fell on Adolph's shoulders.

In 1906, the Lewisohn company created the General Development Company to search out copper properties. One of its first purchases was a small mine at Bagdad, Arizona, today a part of the Cyprus enterprises. They also acquired Globe's Old Dominion.

On a personal note the Lewisohns were deeply committed to Judaism. Leonard, a prominent member of a New York synagogue, was an early director of New York's Hebrew Free School Association and a mainstay of the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian Society. Adolph died at the age of 89 in New York in the summer of 1938.

The Columbia School of Mines was built almost entirely through his generosity.

Many more Jews contributed to Arizona's mining history. Black Jack Newman went from mucker to millionaire with his Globe-Miami claims. At one time the Steinfeld-Zeckendorff family owned almost 150 claims in the state. When Sam Aaron applied for a job at Charleston, he was told mining was no job "for a Jewish boy."

The Scots

James Colquhoun arrived in Clifton in August 1883, happy in ignorance of the Arizona Copper Company's troubles. He was put up at the Clifton Hotel owned by Jake Abraham, a Jewish friend of the Lesinskys, and given a room in what was known as Telephone Row. Abraham said, "I would not find its equal in all of Arizona." He was right. It was constructed of one-inch lumber with a canvas roof and each room was divided by sheets of cheesecloth nailed to scantlings. It had mysterious powers "akin to what is now known as the wireless." A whisper at one end of the room could be easily heard at the other. In the summer it acted as a Turkish bath "and it was to the local scorpions what the Riviera is to the Parisian". When Jake wanted to get rid of a boarder who was inclined to board without paying, he merely moved him to Telephone Row. The Row did the rest. On Sundays Jake served the boarders wine which "had the consistency of crude oil and the soporific quality of chloroform".

The Arizona Copper Company was a wholly owned Scottish syndicate, which had acquired the Metcalf, the Coronado and Longfellow mines. Other Scotsmen who worked to keep the mines producing and the company solvent included Fraser, Morrison, McLean, and Torrance.

Colquhoun was superintendent of the smelting department in 1884 and general manager in 1892. He developed an operation of leaching oxidized ore with sulfuric acid. Leaching plants, costing $100,000, were designed to process 1000 tons of ore per year. Three years later production increased 40 percent and costs were reduced by two cents per pound.

Colquhoun recalled the time William Church "hankering for rich carbonates" hired an ore finder with a willow rod and assigned him the task of finding new ore bodies. This "wizard" located five different ore-bodies, took his pay, and was not heard of again. It started a willow wand craze in Clifton for finding both ore and water.

The company was organized under the sponsorship of the Scottish-American Mortgage Company registered in Edinburgh in 1882. These Scots also purchased the Clifton reduction works with three furnaces and the company store. They spent money lavishly to make it one of the most modern mining complexes. Scotland's investing public watched the events in Clifton with great interest. The Scottish Banking and Insurance Magazine reported that the property was so valuable that the governor of New Mexico sought to have the state line resurveyed and Clifton brought into New Mexico as the seat of a newly created county.

Shares of the Scottish syndicate were split between preferred (owned by the public) and deferred (owned by Edinburgh capitalists and American promoters). Lavish spending left the coffers empty and the shareholders unhappy.

Problems of foreign ownership arose, with many in the United States complaining about foreign investments. The company was advised that U.S. statutes did not prohibit the acquisition of mining property by aliens once statutory requirements were passed. With this hurdle behind them, London legal opinion suggested that while the company could buy working mines, it could not hold land title or operate railroads and was in danger of being challenged by British law.

When this was made public there was a barrage of
comments in the *Dundee Advertiser* and *The Edinburgh Courant*. William Lowson of Dunee retired from the Board when unpleasant “insinuations” were made against him and the co-directors. Sheriff Guthrie Smith relinquished the chairmanship and George Auldjo Jamieson, a shareholder with mining experience, agreed to pilot the company through its insolvent condition. The editor of the *Scottish Banking and Insurance Magazine* wrote “No one seems to believe in the concern but the directors themselves”.

The new Board acted quickly to restore public confidence by organizing the Arizona Trust and Mortgage Company, Limited. It involved a merger with Sir George Warrender and his Scottish Pacific Coast Mining Company. Still sympathetic to the copper venture the *Courant* urged the public to subscribe to the new company. The *Statist* of London commented:

One of the most curious and for the cynical person the most entertaining studies in psychology is to be found at a meeting of shareholders of a Mining Company that has come to grief. It will be an exceptional indignation meeting if there are not a few clergymen present, and a shrewd lawyer or two; possibly two or three authorities on ‘sound investment’, and a small crowd of hard-fisted fellows who are generally credited with being well able to take care of their money.

In July of 1884 the directors called an unusual meeting of stockholders to dissolve the Arizona Copper Company and to found another company with the same name. All assets and debts were transferred to the new Arizona Copper Company.

By the end of the year the Arizona Copper Company had established an efficient mining and railroad business, and owned 40 claims. Even though the company was doing well, board members came under harsh criticism from the *London Financial News* who applied the disparaging word of “ring” and claimed the groups in Arizona and on the Pacific Coast were trying to control the price of copper on the world market. Then the price of copper fell below 16 cents. This did not stop James Colquhoun from introducing a new leaching plant, a sulfide concentrating plant, a power plant run by a gas engine, and a Bessemer plant. In 1894-95, the company was able to pay a small dividend.

During the first two decades of the 20th Century the Arizona Copper Company managed to liquidate all outstanding debts, pay 10 percent annual dividends on all three classes of securities and distribute large dividends to the stockholders. While the profits flowed to Scotland, the management in Arizona had to deal with floods and strikes.

The sale of the mines to Phelps Dodge caused heartache among men such as James Colquhoun who protested. He wrote of the fateful shareholders meeting on October 3, 1921:

The assembly was stormy, and devoid of the charms which adorn the meetings of Y.M.C.A’s. A thousand shareholders were present and when the Board filed into the room a few shareholders gave expression to their feelings in a manner not unusual at a barmaker’s meeting. The situation was further embittered by the fact that both sides had to dilute their lunch with 30 underproof whisky, and the exorbitant price they had to pay for it added the last drop of gall to their cup of bitterness. The only portion of the Chairman’s able speech which attracted appreciation was the announcement that 15 minutes would be allowed for refreshments. The crowd at once proceeded to the nearest bars, and when fortified with the wine of the country, they again drew up in line to meet the shock of battle...Mr. McIladawee, an Edinburgh shareholder said, “It was well known that Edinburgh was the intellectual centre of Scotland (cheers from the Edinburgh men who were in the vast majority.) If Edinburgh was the intellectual centre of Scotland, Glasgow was its ‘guts’ (Thunders of applause). A city which flourished on whisky and Bolshevism could not be expected to furnish a Board of Directors which could do any better than the Board had.

However, the future of Clifton-Morenci would now be in the hands of Phelps Dodge. James Colquhoun retired from active management in 1904 but stayed as resident of the Board of Directors until 1907.

James Douglas, a Scotsman born November 4, 1837, in Quebec, was the son of a prominent physician and surgeon. He studied medicine in Canada, Scotland, and Germany and was also interested in photography and theology. He had decided to enter the ministry when, in 1875, his father suffered serious financial losses through unfortunate investments in gold and copper mining properties. Douglas studied metallurgy with the intention of saving his father’s investments. He developed new techniques for processing low grade copper ore. In 1880 Douglas came to Arizona to investigate the Copper Queen at Bisbee, and persuaded Phelps Dodge to purchase the property. They put Douglas in charge of the Copper Queen operations. Over the years he made many innovations in the mining, processing, and transportation of copper ore and developed the property into one of the largest copper producers in Arizona’s history. Douglas was elected president of the American Institute of Mining, Metallurgical and Petroleum Engineers in 1899 and 1900 and was awarded the John Fritz Medal at the International Engineering Congress held at San Francisco in September 1915. James Douglas died June 25, 1918, at the age of 81.

In 1886 William Church, a friend of Colquhoun’s, was president of the neighboring Detroit Copper Company. Church may or may not have been a Scotsman but was certainly known for being stingy. If Cousin Jacks, Jack Farrel or John Cromwell broke a monkey wrench and asked Church for a new one there would be a post-mortem on the old one. Church would lecture on the “inadvisability of using a sledge hammer on such a delicate tool as a monkey wrench.”

A visiting geologist gave Alec McLean, an employee, a lesson on the nomenclature of minerals. McLean decided to pass the information on to Church who had as little regard for geologists as he did for sulfide ores. Church warned McLean that as long as he worked for him he was given to understand that there were only two kinds of rocks in his mines—smelting ore and waste rock.

There were many independent Scottish pioneers in mining. Alexander McKay, born in Perth, came to Arizona and located claims at American Flag, Christmas, and Quijotoa and founded the town of Oracle. In 1926, McKay at age 84 was given a presidential pardon from prison by President Calvin Coolidge. His crime was violation of prohibition. Charles Louis Scott built railroads and bridges and at the age of 100 attributed his long life to “the pure climate of Arizona and the moderate use of good whiskey”. James Dalgleish was an employee at the Bunker Hill Mine in Tombstone. When he died he...
was given the biggest funeral ever held in Tombstone and the City band headed the procession to the cemetery. A.Y. Smith was the general manager of the World's Fair mine, and his wife was an outstanding landscape artist.

Hispanics
Most of the labor force at Clifton-Morenci was Hispanic in the 1880s. Hispanics, along with Italian and Slavonian immigrants were paid lower wages than their American counterparts.

For years, Mexicans suffered silently the dishonest and brutal yoke of petty officials who forced them to buy worthless chances in order to keep their jobs. Shift bosses collected bribes every month, and then put up shacks and charged the miners ten dollars a month rent. Managers never denied the lower pay but justified it because of the class of worker and the continuing low percentage yield of the ore. Clifton's Mexican miners received $2.39 for a 7.5 hour shift while their Anglo counterparts received $2.89.

In 1903 there was an anarchistic movement in labor and a group in Chicago sent agitator W.H. Laustaunau to Clifton. Laustaunau, a fiery Austrian, was called "Mocho" (crippled hand) by the Mexicans and "Three Fingered Jack" by the Americans. A local organization was formed with Abram F. Salcido as President and Frank Colombo as spokesman for the Italians. Workers demanded an eight-hour wage of $2.50 and James Colqhoun and James Douglas offered a compromise raise of 25 cents. The agitators found this unacceptable. On Monday, June 1, about 3,000 men from the Arizona Copper Company and Detroit Copper Company walked off their jobs.

Laustaunau, Salcido, Colombo, and other leaders held mass meetings in the old lime pit on a hill overlooking Morenci. The Arizona Rangers moved in to help Sheriff Jim Parks. Men armed themselves with every kind of gun but many had the wrong caliber ammunition. Ranger Bud Bassett observed that the milling crowd at Morenci consisted of "mostly Mexicans, but a lot of Dagoes, Bohunks, and foreigners of different kinds — no whites at all."

Just as a Metcalf contingent was about to join the strikers it started "raining pitchforks". The Rangers held their position and the Metcalf contingent was broken. The flood raged through Clifton, destroying almost everything in its wake. At least 20 people were drowned. After the flood subsided the strikers overran the Detroit Copper Company Mill, disarmed several deputies and threatened mining officials.

Arizona Rangers, John Foster and Bud Bassett, were dispatched to get "Mocho". When he saw the lawmen approach he warned "Don't you go any further or my men will kill you."

The Rangers leveled their Winchesters and Foster said, "And all I have to do is pull the trigger and you are a dead Mexican. Best thing for you is to come along with us."

On June 11 the Rangers left Clifton and the miners agreed to return to work for the $2.25. Laustaunau and 17 strike leaders were incarcerated in the Solomonville jail and then removed to Yuma. Laustaunau, No. 2029, proved to be an incorrigible inmate and organized work strikes and grievance committees among the inmates in the Yuma Territorial prison.

While most Arizonans agreed with suppression of mob violence there was much criticism of the action against the miners. Not until the Clifton-Morenci strike of 1915 would the problem of pay parity be resolved for immigrant workers.

The Englishmen
Mining engineer, Raymond Rossiter, observed in 1881 that "of all the large class of idiotic capitalists, the Britisher shows the least symptom of intelligence."

Bob Waters was destined for either Wall Street or the Bowery but fate relegated him to Clifton. When a group of Englishmen were looking for some "nice mines" Waters sold them the Mammoth group for $100,000 — $5000 down and the balance in 30 days. The Mammoth was easily worth $500,000. The Englishmen closed the deal within 24 hours, giving Waters the down payment. By accident they learned that Waters did not own the mines and tried to swear out a warrant. Justice of Peace Sammy Freudenthal knew Waters and refused to go after him because he was "sincere". With the Picacho Gold Mining Company on the Lower Colorado, a group of Englishmen undertook a hydraulic placering operation which Mining and Scientific Press described as "one of the most absurd engineering feats undertaken in the west."

News of the Bonanza strike near Yuma interested English promoters in 1891, but it was two years before the sale of the property was consummated because of the Alien Land Law.

Clever lawyers found their way around the rules and the British set up an operating company with U.S. citizens acting as accomplices. Purchasers founded the St. Paul Corporation in St. Paul, Minnesota in June of 1893.

The company hoped to make its fortune with the Bonanza Gold Mine in the Harquahala Mountains. Its papers claimed it was owned by A. Wartenweiler of St. Paul, Henry Bratnobe of San Francisco, and Francis Muir of Surrey, England. This corporation owned the Harqua Hala Gold Mining Company, Limited, whose Chairman was also Francis Muir. Stock was floated on the London market but sales were slow because English investors had just been stung by the failure of another Arizona mine, the Seven Stars of Prescott.

The Englishmen made changes at the Bonanza which were their undoing. They discharged all Mexican workers and replaced them with miners of "Anglo-Saxon origin". The camp was plagued with dysentery, a malady which did not affect the Mexicans. Muir had the unpleasant duty of telling shareholders that the camp was unsanitary and there was much sickness. Experienced foreman Charley Pickenback, was replaced with an Englishman by the name of Oxnam who had worked at the Lamar Mine in Idaho. The first level of ore was quickly exhausted and company officials ordered drilling on other levels with equally bad results. Then rain washed away the
company pipeline forcing closure of the mill for several days. A few weeks later another storm and a boiler accident closed down the plant. The main shaft was determined to be unsafe and work stopped for three months while workmen prepared a new shaft.

London rumors claimed the Bonanza was depleted. Wartenweiler was sent to Arizona and had to admit there was some truth to it but still tried to convince investors that the ore should be worth 10 to 16 dollars a ton.

By the summer of 1899, the Englishmen decided to end their involvement with the Bonanza and sold it at public auction. Anthony G. Hubbard, who had originally sold them the mine, repurchased the Bonanza for $7,000.

In October of 1898, an option on the Ray, Taylor, and Innes groups of claims was obtained by Alexander Hill of the Globe Mines Exploration Co. Ltd. of London. The following year it was acquired by the Ray Copper Mines Ltd. of London. The company spent money for improvements and founded the town of Kelvin, named after Lord Kelvin. By 1900 the company was in serious financial trouble and was mortgaged to the Trustees, Executors & Securities Insurance Co. of London. In 1908, the Ray Copper Mines Ltd had its corporate office in London with Sinclair Macleay serving as Chairman.

While trying to make a go of Arizona’s mines the British introduced cricket into the mining camps. On September 28, 1895, there was a cricket match at the baseball field at Eastlake Park in Phoenix, between Maricopa and Yavapai. All players on the Maricopa team, except one, were Englishmen who viewed the match as something of an international affair between Great Britain and the U.S. The Yavapai club had its share of Brits as well.

The match began at 10:00 a.m. and continued until 1:00 p.m. when the players broke for an hour of rest and lunch. The game ended at 5:00 p.m. with the Maricopa team the winner by seven wickets. The players “repaired to Jake Kraber’s Bodega Saloon and then were served a fine meal at the Opera House Cafe where the best of wines and viands were consumed.” Although the loser, the Yavapai team agreed they had been treated royally.

The Serbo-Croatians

Bisbee, Globe, and Jerome have had sizeable Serbo-Croatian communities, who followed the vicissitudes of mining in Arizona. More than any other group the Serbians kept their clan identity, customs, and involvement in the Serbian Orthodox church. J.B. Angius joined kin in Virginia City, Nevada in 1874 where he was apprenticed to businessmen who ran the saloons, grocery stores, and restaurants on the Comstock lode. When the Comstock played out, Angius along with others came to Bisbee and Tombstone. David Milutinovich, a cousin of Angius’ wife arrived in Bisbee in 1890 and went to work for another Serbian in the V.G. Medigovich grocery store which was supplied by J.B. Angius’ wholesale business. During this period there was plenty of work and opportunity for everyone so the Serbians suffered no discrimination. The camp was comprised of more than 40 mining companies and money circulated freely. In 1902, Bisbee incorporated and Angius served on the first city council.

Milutinovich, an independent spirit, quarrelled with his uncle and employer Vaso Medigovich and left the business community. Milutinovich, destined to become a future strike leader, worked for the Douglas company and later as a miner at the Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company. He was strong, tall, intelligent and became a timberman for the Calumet and Arizona Company. Angius pursued a business career and was one of the first associates of the board of directors who wanted to encourage some “right-kind of Bisbee people” to invest in the new bank. Angius and a lumberman from Globe, Anton Trojanovich, incorporated the Bisbee Lumber Company.

Both men were among the Serbs in 1903 who formed the first Serbian benevolent society of Bisbee, Srpska Sloga. It was affiliated with the National Union of Serbian Brotherhood which contributed to many national and international causes such as relief for the San Francisco Earthquake of 1906. Both men maintained traditional Serbian homes and both married women in the Serbian Orthodox Church of their homeland.

When Angius died at his home at age 47 on August 25, 1904, the newspaper reported that he was to Bisbee “one of the pioneer businessmen.”

Times were changing and no longer did the Bisbee Daily Review run articles on miners unless they were in accidents or in trouble with the law. Anti-foreign sentiment flooded the country when President McKinley was assassinated by a Polish-American anarchist. The Clifton Copper Era editorialized:

In every instance expressions of that kind have come from foreigners, very few of whom have adopted citizenship. For years past our country has been flooded with the lowest class of Europeans... They are moral and intellectual degenerates, vicious beasts....

The Bisbee Daily Review became decidedly hostile toward Serbs, and wrote;

A great question of the moment is agitating the miners, that is the American miners of Bisbee: viz, the employment of Italian and Slavonic workers in the mines... Bisbee has always been 'A White Man's Camp'... .

In 1907, the Western Federation of Miners was growing in Bisbee and Milutinovich joined. He served on a union committee to approach the company, with two demands — the first was the recognition of the union and the second was the abolition of a blacklist to keep out union miners and sympathizers. A strike was called and David Milutinovich’s name appeared on the strike bulletins. The companies tried to bring in new workers to break the strike. Then the companies and the union sued each other and the court ordered the strikers to cease and desist.

In December of 1907, copper prices dropped and the unions voted to call off the strike. Milutinovich found it impossible to find work in Bisbee, so he went to Tyrone, New Mexico. During his absence his house burned down.

By 1910, the mines were hiring again but he could not get work under his own name so he changed it to Dave Davis. By 1913, he decided he gained nothing as a striker and during the strike of 1913, he continued
working as a carman. About this time he suffered a broken arm and leg when he fell from an ore car. No longer able to do hard work, he hired on with the Calumet and Arizona Company as a watchman. He decided to take no part in the walkout of 1917. On the day of the deportation when he failed to come home on time, his wife found him wearing a white armband signifying that he was not on strike. Milutinovich was retired because of his age in the 1930s with $1200. He died in Warren in January of 1942.

The Saint Stephen Nemania Serbian Orthodox Church of Bisbee was the first of its kind in Arizona. It began with the building of a recreation hall for Serbs and their friends and became the focal point for enabling the building of the church. The first members of the building committee included Radovan Marusich, Gliso Chukovich, and Sam Balich.

John Perica, a Croatian immigrant, worked for many years as a hoistman for the Old Dominion at Globe. His daughter, Rose Mofford, became Arizona’s first female governor.

Cornish Cousin Jacks

Globe had a large population of Cornish miners known as “Cousin Jacks”, who knew mining from the “ground up”, and found work in Arizona’s mining camps.

At Bisbee, William Hugh from Grampound was employed in 1906 in the Holbrook and Czar Divisions. John Ferrel worked at the Globe smelter and at Clifton. James Hart was trained as a blacksmith, married a Cornish woman and finished his days in Bisbee in 1907 at the Copper Queen. Peter Andrews was four when his parents left in 1877 for Colorado, and when his mother died his father sent him back to Cornwall until he was 14, when he rejoined his father in Idaho. At Bisbee he finished his career as a shift boss.

In the Globe cemetery are buried Pascoes, Opies, Trevillians and many more from Cornwall. Their names are etched in copper, screwed to slabs of granite.

Others include Albert Tallon who emigrated from Penzance to Michigan, then to Idaho and finally to Globe where he became safety inspector for the Old Dominion. Albert Parkin, born in Wadebridge to a stonemason, dressed the granite for the Eddystone lighthouse, emigrated to New Jersey, then to Michigan and Prescott and ultimately settled in Globe.

In 1894, John Pearce, a Cousin Jack who had left Tombstone after the silver mines played out, discovered ore rich with gold on his ranch in the Sulphur Springs Valley and brought on a minor gold rush. Pearce eventually sold his Commonwealth Mine, and for a while the town was bustling, but today it is one of Arizona’s ghost towns.

Some Cornish found their way to Arizona’s more inaccessible mines such as the King of Arizona (KOFA). Water had to be transported in whiskey barrels on burros, a three day journey. After it swilled around in the heat it was often so bad it made the miners sick. One miner remembered:

The foreman was a heavy-set Cornishman. I forget what we called him — but we called him anything but a good name — and after he got in, most all the help was Cornish. He had Cousin Jacks coming in all the time.

The Vulture Mine at Wickenburg had a Cornish Superintendent, Cyrus Gribble. On March 19, 1888 he and his men were carrying a load of bullion to Phoenix when they were robbed and murdered.

Three Cornish families went to work at the Silver King near Globe in 1875. They included Richard Trevathan, George Lobbia who married Trevathan’s daughter and the large John Knight family from Penzance. Knight, a timberman at the Silver King, opened a store. When the King closed down with the devaluation of silver, Knight moved to Tempe. Other Cousin Jacks who worked in the Globe area included Jim Jewell who ran the tunnel into the Little Raven; John Blewett who leased part of the Rescue mine; another Jewell who produced from the Lost Gulch mine “some beautiful specimens of ore literally filled with pure gold”; and John Trewartha who boarded with the Cornish Pascoes.

The Pascoes included four brothers: Benjamin, James, James H., Thomas and a fifth, Benjamin F. who was born “in England”. Benjamin F. served as sheriff of Gila County from 1883 to 1886 and committed suicide after he left office. He was also owner of the Petaluma Mine. Thomas established the Pascoe Livery and a hay business back of McNelly’s Saloon.

Judge Hackney of The Arizona Silver Belt in 1888 urged miners to come to Arizona, especially those who lived in Leadville, Colorado, “where people die by hundreds of diseases peculiar to the climate and buried at night to avoid alarm”. Hackney avoided mentioning Apaches and the isolation of such places as Globe. It worked and Cornish miners came. Cornishman George Millard owned 200 shares in the Moonlight Mining Company. Trevens, Moyles and Hockings donated money for the St. Paul’s Methodist church. Tom Pascoe gave money for the parsonage. Silver soon pinched out and Globe would have been doomed had it not been for copper. The Phelps Dodge Hoosier claim was the first copper mine of significance and James P. Faul, a Cousin Jack of some social standing was given the honor of driving the first pick on Thanksgiving Day in 1880. He owned 14 claims himself. However, in 1887, the plant had to shut down when the price of copper fell. In 1888, it reopened and a new shaft, the Interloper, was sunk in an effort to clear himself. However, in 1887, the plant had to shut down when the price of copper fell. In 1888, it reopened and a new shaft, the Interloper, was sunk in an effort to clear a bank overdraft. The venture proved profitable. Globe was also served by a Cornish doctor, Willie King from Redruth. In 1898, the first train steamed into Globe, carrying a Cousin Jennie, Carrie Oates. She became a stalwart of the Methodist church, entertaining members with her music when they were not subjected to her lectures on “Corrupt Literature” and “Jordan is a Hard Road to Travel”. The Old Dominion had two Cornish superintendents, Samuel Parnell and Frank Juleff. Juleff later became foreman for the Calumet-Arizona at Bisbee. The “Hoo-Dee” as the Old Dominion was known to Cousin Jacks had its share of accidents. In June of 1913, Ernest Hosking was killed when he fell over 80 feet down a shaft. On Christmas Day, James Pryor was brought out dead after a cave-in. In 1890, Joseph Kinsman and John Isaac, from St. Austell were working side by side in the Interloper shaft. Isaac who wanted to get a tool, sprang
across the four foot wide shaft as miners often did. This time he neglected to make certain the cage was working and jumped at the moment the upper cross bar of the ascending cage hit him and carried him through two sets of timbers. His crushed body fell to the bottom of the shaft.

Miss Carlyon’s Globe boarding house resounded with Cornish voices. Then hard times again hit the Old Dominion and many Cousin Jacks became “ten-day miners” working for bed and board.

Philip Hocking from Hayle went to Morenci, and when Mrs. Hocking joined him she was despondent at the desolation but adjusted and raised a family. W.J. Hocking’s family suffered a tragic fate in March of 1916, “lying westerling in his life’s blood on the floor next to the bed on which reposed the body of his wife whom he had murdered. W.J. Hocking, a Cornish miner, was found dead at his house in Miami at 1:00 a.m. Saturday.”

With the strikes in 1917 and the outbreak of World War I, circumstances changed for the Cornish. National sentiment turned against foreigners, forgetting that most Americans were not so far from being foreigners themselves.

**African Americans**

The most prominent African American in Arizona’s mining history was Henry Ossian Flipper, a West Point Graduate. Flipper was born March 31, 1856, in the slave quarters of the Methodist parsonage of Thomasville, Georgia. The family was purchased by Ephraim G. Ponder, a slave dealer, from the Rev. Reuben Lucky. Flipper learned to read from one of his owner’s slaves. His education was interrupted when the entire Ponder menage was moved to Macon in the face of Sherman’s advancing troops. After the Civil War Festus Flipper, the father, moved his family to Atlanta and Henry attended schools established by the American Association for the New Freedmen. The last was Atlanta University where Henry was a student when he was appointed to West Point by native Georgian member of the House of Representatives, James Crawford Freeman.

Henry Flipper graduated in June 1877, No. 50 in a class of 76. Flipper said he was fairly treated by officers and instructors. Socially his classmates treated him as an equal but in public they found it necessary to ignore him. Flipper took most snubs in stride but took exception when a New Orleans paper described him as “a little bow-legged grif of the most darkly coppery hue” when he was in fact over six feet tall and rather light colored.

Upon graduation he left for Fort Concho at San Angelo, Texas, where he was transferred to Fort Sill, Oklahoma to fight Comanches. In 1880, he was sent to Fort Davis in the Big Bend Country to serve as post commissary, which proved to be the undoing of his military career. He was charged and court martialed for embezzling $3,791.77. Whether racial prejudice was a factor or whether Flipper was careless and made attempts to extricate himself by lying has never been fully resolved.

On June 30, 1882, Henry Flipper by order of President Arthur ceased to be an officer.

 Fluent in Spanish, Flipper moved to Nogales, Arizona where he served as U.S. Deputy Mineral Surveyor. He set up a private engineering office and served as chief engineer to the Altar Valley Land and Colonization Company, an enterprise formed to settle land south of present-day Bisbee.

In 1893, he served as special agent with the U.S. Department of Justice to assist the Court of Private Land Claims in determining validity and boundaries of Spanish and Mexican land grants lying within U.S. territory. One grant was the San Bernardino owned by the legendary sheriff of Cochise County, John Slaughter, who had served with the Confederate Army. When Flipper and his group arrived, Slaughter sized up the visitors and ordered Flipper to eat in the kitchen with Old Bat and Nigger Jim, two of Slaughter’s black hands. The rest of the crew ate with Slaughter. The next morning, Flipper told Slaughter he could expect no mercy at his hands in the delimitation of the San Bernardino boundary. Slaughter received 6,000 acres and never appealed Flipper’s decision.

Besides investigating claims, Flipper translated into English a host of Mexican statutes pertaining to colonization, mining, prospecting, and promoting mines. He translated the mining laws of Mexico into English and in 1895 translated *Spanish and Mexican Land Laws*. Flipper was a member of the National Geographic Society, the Archaeological Institute of America, and the Arizona Society of Civil Engineers.

He was denied service in the Spanish-American War because of his record. In 1905 Flipper became resident engineer of the Greene Gold-Silver Company at Ocampo, Chihuahua, Mexico. He also worked as a mining engineer for American-owned Mexican properties until 1919 when he became interpreter and translator for a subcommittee of the Senate on Foreign Relations investigating the conditions of the Mexican Revolution. He then became assistant to the Secretary of the Interior and went on to become a consultant to Pantepec Oil, a New York firm operating in Venezuela. His last years were spent at his brother’s home in Atlanta. On May 3, 1940, his brother found him dead of a heart attack.

At the other end of the social spectrum was a man known only as “Nigger Ben”, but whose real name was probably Benjamin McLendon. A man, who claimed to be his son, said Ben came to Arizona around 1859 and between the years of 1859-1861 founded the Nigger Ben gold mine somewhere near Wickenburg.

He was born in Merriweather County, Georgia. McLendon’s wife was owned by another master named Gresham and could not escape at the same time he did. McLendon often wrote saying he was going to send for her and his son but died before that was possible.

A.H. Peeples, Jack Swilling, Isaac Bradshaw, Powell Weaver and a “black man by the name of Nigger Ben” were out prospecting in the Rich Hill and Weaver Districts. Peeples said Nigger Ben made a remarkable discovery which he refused to talk about. Ben would stay around Wickenburg for a few days or weeks until he was broke and then suddenly disappear and reappear with his burro heavily weighted with gold ore. He would go on a big drunk and then repeat the performance.
One day when he was gone longer than usual a search party was organized and Ben's body was found about four miles west of Wickenburg. There were unmistakable signs that he had been killed by Apaches. Many have searched without success for Nigger Ben's gold mine.

Around 1866 a Black hunter known as "Nigger Brown" brought three or four pounds of ore into Judge C.H. Meyer's Tucson drug store. The ore was assayed and found to be very rich. Brown said he found the ledge sticking above the ground on a hillside of a canyon in the Whetstone Mountains. There was a soldier's relay station in the Whetstones and Brown supplied the soldiers with game. He marked the spot by cutting down a mesquite tree and leaving the stump. Brown was known as a man of integrity. Later, Charlie Meyer and a friend went with Brown to guide them through the canyon. When they saw fresh Indian tracks, the ledge lost its charm and they returned to Tucson.

Three years later a prospector came in from Pantano and gave proof of discovery of Brown's cabin, with utensils, etc., but no sign of Brown. For a while specimens of the ore were on view at J.S. Morgan's assay office. Speculation loomed as to whether Brown was murdered by Apaches or someone else because his body was never found. The mine was said to be the Eureka, situated in the Rincon Range, where the prospector found Brown's tools along with the remnants of a water dam, an old house, a sheep corral and a lonely grave believed to be that of Brown's wife. Some location papers were also found but were too weather worn to be readable.

Nigger Brown was supposed to have been a slave from Texas who slew his master and fled to Mexico. Here he became attached to the forces of General Gándara who was then Governor of Sonora. Brown was so determined to get rid of Gándara's foes that Pesquiera offered 5,000 dollars for his head. When Brown returned to the U.S., he lived with the Apaches for many years.

The Chinese

The Chinese experienced perhaps the most bitter racism in Arizona's mines. They had gained experience in the California gold fields and arrived in Arizona by working on the railroad. They were definitely not welcome as observed in the Prescott Arizona Weekly Miner of 1869:

A real live Chinaman, with tail and other appendages... For our part, we have seen as many of them as we care to see. Three more Chinamen arrived here during the week, and have gone to work. There are now four of them in this vicinity, which is quite enough.

A year later the Arizona Weekly Miner, came out even stronger against the Chinese:

The flight of ye chinamen is Big Bugwards. John thinks he has struck a big thing there, and is bound to go. Two, three an' four cents to the pan were found by one of them, recently. The finder sent word to his fellow countrymen in Prescott, who, upon learning the glad tidings, held a meeting, discussed the 'subject' and resolved to start immediately, if not sooner. They waited upon their employers and each one said, 'Me no likee cookee; no likee washee, any more. Me go Big Bug light away, where one Chinaman tellee me he find great deal coarse gold. Sabe John. You pay me; me go.'

Placer mining was attractive to the Chinese because it required little money and a shovel, rockers, and pan. The Chinese worked abandoned claims and from this came the expression "Chinaman's chance" meaning no chance at all. However, they had some success especially along Lynx Creek on the Ramos farm. The Ramos farm had been purchased in the 1870s by Chinese Sam Lee and partners for three hundred dollars in gold. Lee and an associate Ah Fork also opened a saloon and stagecoach station. Sam Lee came to a violent end in August of 1877. The Enterprise reported,

On Sunday afternoon an altercation took place between two almondeyed sons of the Flowery Land, named respectively Sam Lee and Ah Fork. The disturbance was about ownership of some property, and as usual, there was a woman mixed up in the affair. Sam Lee commenced the trouble and struck Ah Fork three times with a knife, severely wounding him. Ah Fork, having procured a knife, struck Sam Lee with it, killing him instantly. Coroner Day, with a jury, held that the homicide was justifiable.

When the Chinese were not welcome in the mines, they became restaurateurs and operated laundries, noticing that most Anglo bachelors got hungry and dirty but showed no inclination to tend to these needs themselves. In 1886, Stephen Marcou wrote in the Arizona Miner,

That a majority of the citizens of Yavapai do not want to encourage the immigration into the county of Chinese who are being expelled from the Pacific Coast is a fact so obvious that no arguments are needed to demonstrate it; but the best way to get rid of the heathens is the problem which should engage our attention.

Marcou called for the creation of an anti-Chinese League and asked all members to patronize merchants who had no Chinese in their employ. Ultimately most Chinese left Prescott. Chinese were never permitted to work in the Bisbee mines but they did try to set up laundries in town. Miners complained that this put the miners' widows out of work because Chinese did the work better and cheaper. The first Justice of the Peace, Duncan, passed a rule which prohibited Orientals from staying in Bisbee after sundown.

All of these people and many more have contributed threads to the variegated tapestry which is Arizona's mining history. They survived, not because it was easy, but because they endured.

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Ethnic Diversity In Mining Camps

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Marco and Ivanica Milutinovich in traditional Serbian clothing, Bisbee, AZ., c. 1920. Courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society/Tucson.
Slavonian tug-of-war team, Bisbee, AZ., c. 1903. Courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society/Tucson #62858.
Balkan War volunteers from Globe-Miami, c. 1912. Courtesy of Serb World.
Ethnic Diversity In Mining Camps

A newspaper story . . .

**Exciting Experience of Tombstone Youths.**

November 28, 1904

Perhaps as fine a specimen of juvenile nerve as was ever exhibited occurred in Tombstone last Wednesday afternoon about 5 o'clock. Fenton, the 11-year-old son of Mr. and Mrs. Swain, in company with Leo Hill, of about the same age, are the subjects of this story. Wednesday night both boys displayed a degree of nervousness and mental distress that aroused the solicitude of their parents, but would furnish no explanation for their conduct or condition. About 4 o'clock the next morning the Swain boy arose and escaped in his night gown and wandered up town, where a neighbor took charge of him, put him to bed and called a physician. It was supposed at the time that he was a victim of somnambulism, but the physician, Dr. Sabin, found that his condition was the result of delirium, due to terrible mental strain, excitement and its reaction. Having been restored to a rational condition, the little fellow, after much coaxing on the part of the physician, told him his story, which was fully corroborated by the Hill boy and a close examination of the ground. It is to the effect that the boys, who are almost constant companions, were playing on an old shaft dump pretty well out in the northern suburbs of the city, on a line with Fifth street. At this point is a shaft. It was originally 120 feet deep, but a drift was run on the 80-foot level and the waste dumped into the shaft until, at the present time, the shaft is 80 feet deep. The collar of the shaft has been left unprotected for years, until it has assumed a funnel shape, the surface composed of loose, treacherous gangue. Across the shaft was one or two rotten old 2x6 boards. Some ten feet below on the west side was a stull across the shaft close to the wall.

The boys were fully aware of the depth of the shaft and the danger of playing around it, and never attempted to play directly over it, but were sliding down on the outside of the dump. Suddenly the Hill boy, in stepping backward to the top of the dump to get a good start, toppled over on the inside. He gave a scream and expected to go to the bottom, but struck the plank. The plank, being rotten, gave way and started down the shaft with the boy clinging to it, but the lower end of the plank struck the stull close to the wall and the upper end struck the east wall. The boy just happened to bring up astride of the plank, and every circumstance combined to make for him the most miraculous escape on record. Now the boys realized that something terrible had happened, and they were willing to risk their lives rather than have their parents learn the truth, so often had they been reproved for playing around dangerous places. They had a small rope, but the rope, along with the Hill boy's hat, was in the bottom of the shaft. The Swain boy was afraid his partner could not hold on while he went for another. He was determined the situation should not be known to their parents, and he looked around for some other means of rescuing his little partner. The only article in sight which could be used for the purpose was a rusty barrel hoop. The Swain boy realized that the quicker he acted the better, as the Hill boy might grow weak or be overcome with fear and fall off, or the rotten timber might give way, so he flattened the hoop so as to make it reach as far as possible and proceeded to the rescue. Here was the difficult part of the work, and it is absolutely miraculous that they did not go to the bottom together. The Swain boy climbed down the funnel-shaped surface to a point within two feet of the deadly black abyss. The ground shows where he dug his heels vigorously into the soft, treacherous dump, extended his hoop to the Hill boy, who took a firm hold on it, abandoned his plank, and by the one climbing forward and the other backward the Hill boy was rescued.

When one contemplates a case such as this he cannot but be impressed that unseen power gives these little fellows a shade the best of it. This is no zephyr story, as the PROSPECTOR reporter has taken the trouble to interview every party to the remarkable incident and carefully examine the surroundings.

There is a bit of Capt. Kid romance attaching to this identical shaft. In 1882 a Bisbee stage was held up and liberally robbed. Subsequently a box containing a part of the stolen treasure was dug up within five feet of this identical dump, and the current opinion is that more can be found in that locality. Thus a commingling of the historic, the heroic and the romantic clings about that wierd old landmark which come so near claiming two among Tombstone's brightest boys for victims.

In a personal interview last night the parents of the boys not only consented to a complete exposé of this incident but stated that they would be pleased to see an account of it appear, as it might operate to have the forest of death traps closed over, which in Tombstone are constantly yawning for daring or thoughtless children. Such boys as these if they live to be grown, will discount all the Hobsons that ever parted their hair in the middle.

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Miner riding supply car down the Melcalf Mine incline, Greenlee County, c. 1890. Courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society/Tucson, Henry and Albert Buehman Memorial Collection #B91351.
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EDITORS
J. MICHAEL CANTY
MICHAEL N. GREELEY

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