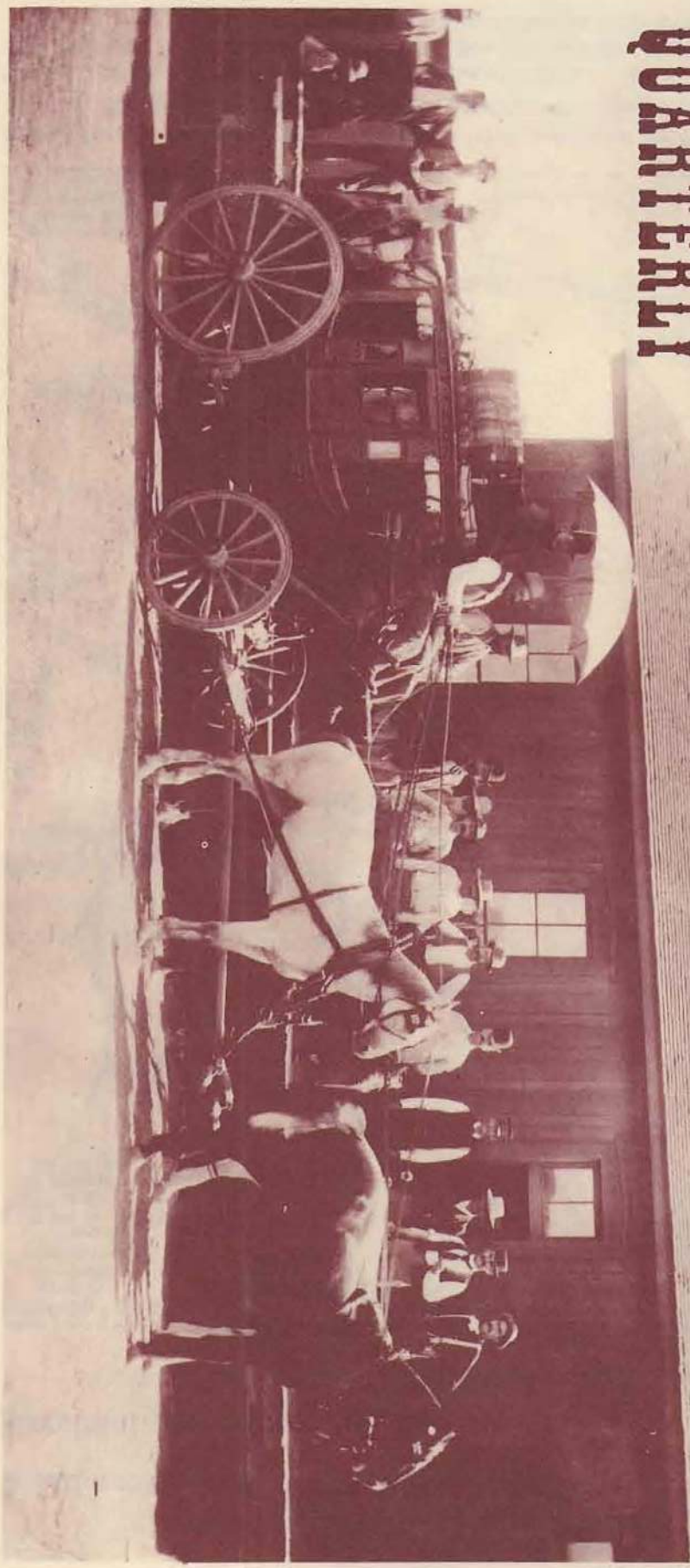


# THE COCHISE QUARTERLY

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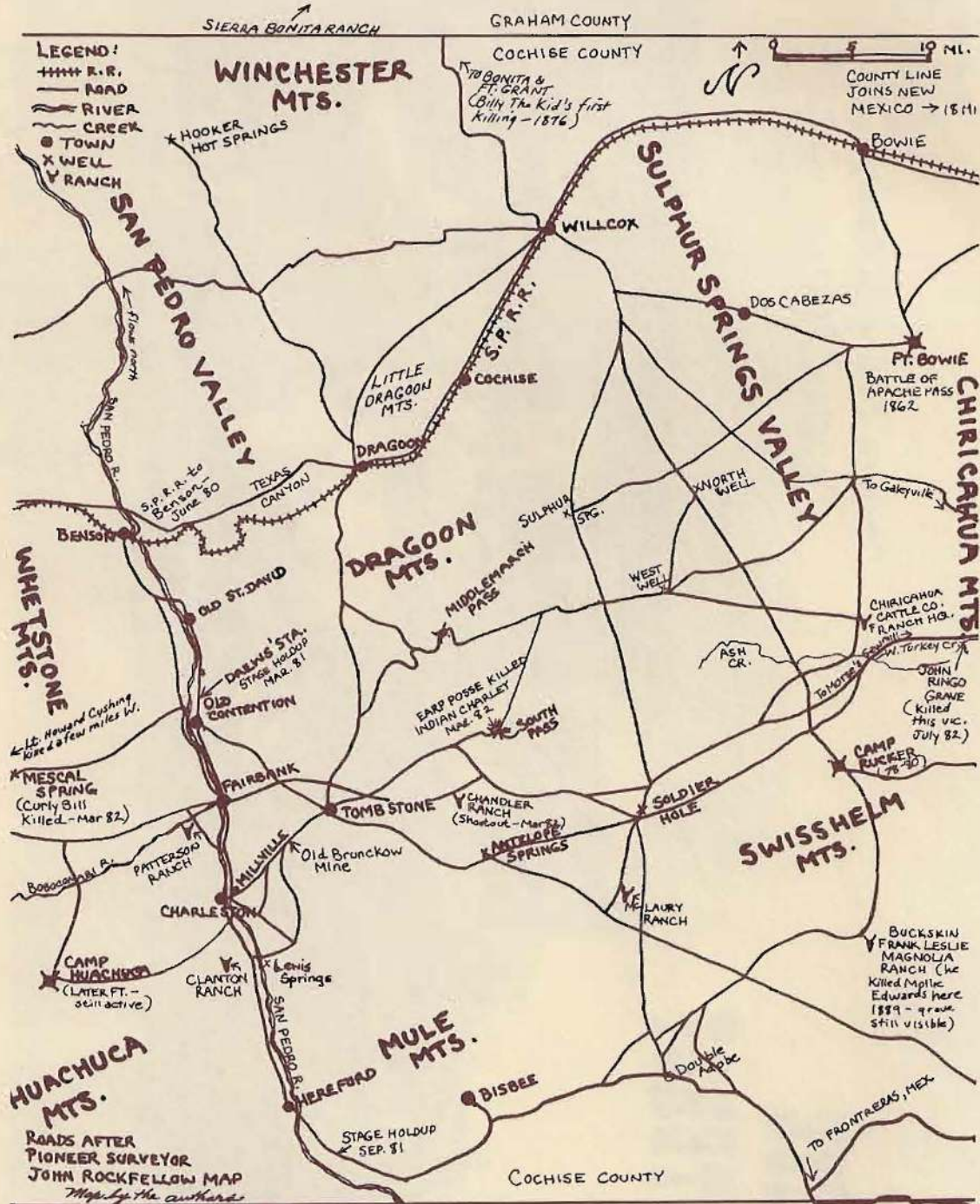
Volume 15, Number 2  
Summer, 1985



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

A Different Look at Some Pioneers .....	3
Merchant and Miner .....	14

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Photo, front cover: A view of the Tombstone stage stopping at the Fairbank train station, taken by C. S. Fly. (Photo courtesy of the Bisbee Mining and Historical Museum, Accession #82.74.)

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## **A DIFFERENT LOOK AT SOME PIONEERS\***

**by Glenn G. Boyer and Betty A. Boyer**

Past interest in the early history of Cochise County, Arizona has centered almost exclusively around the mining town of Tombstone and its turbulent youth. This is natural enough in view of human tastes in entertainment. Perhaps because of this, studies of other aspects of early Cochise County's development, except for a few mining and geological surveys, are extremely rare.

This study then, must fall in the rare category. It should be useful to scholars as well as of general interest to Tombstone buffs. It is a comparative analysis of occupations in Cochise County for two periods: 1882 when Tombstone was reaching its peak development, and 1890 when the silver boom there had died down while other parts of the economy and community were expanding.

Since the data are drawn from Great Registers of voters, population trends also emerge, assuming registered voters bear the same general ratio to total population during both years. Since no 1882 local Census was taken and the 1890 Census burned, this is probably the only way to arrive at a population comparison between those two periods.

Some general articles of past belief are not substantiated by the figures, the main one being the casually asserted and accepted statement that Tombstone's mines were worked by the Cornishmen — the Cousin Jacks.

To bear this out, Chart number 1, next page, shows major components of registered voters by country of birth. The countries appear in descending order of their numerical magnitude. It can readily be seen that England, which includes Cornwall, ranked 4th in 1882 (3rd among foreign countries) and there were only 147 English born registrants. This is hardly enough to comprise the majority of 1364 miners in the entire register. More miners were Irish than English. Note that the Welsh, also famed miners, rank well down the scale with only 27 shown. Most of the miners were of U.S. birth. How many of these may have been of one or another foreign ancestry is not determinable, except very roughly in some cases by surnames. These suggest a very great many Irish also.

Other places of birth besides those shown on Chart 1 were represented in both years. These included in 1882: Algiers, Argentina, Atlantic Ocean, at sea, Australia,\* Azores,\* Belgium,\* Brazil, Chile, Finland, French Guinea, Greece, Hawaii, Holland, Hungary, Jamaica, Japan, Luxembourg, Norway,\* Panama,\* Peru,\* Poland,\* Portugal, The Republic of Texas, Russia,\* Slavonia, and Spain; those asterisked in the list were also represented in 1890; in addition one 1890 registrant simply stated South America as place of birth.

The registrants stated 179 different occupations on the 1882 Great Register and 125 in 1890. Chart 2 compares the 30 most numerous occupations for the two periods.

\* Copyright 1978



**CHART 1**  
Distribution of Registered Voters by Country of Birth  
(Top 14 Only)

Column 1 RANK	Column 2 COUNTRY	Column 3 RANK	Column 4 NUMBER	Column 5	Column 6 # % OF
1882		1890	1882	1890	CHANGE
1	U. S.	1	2341	1238	-47.0
2	Ireland	2	417	94	-77.4
3	Germany	4	178	82	-53.9
4	England	3	147	87	-40.8**
5	Canada	5	145	49	-66.2
6	Scotland	6	57	24	-57.8
7	Mexico	7	46	17	-63.0
8	Austria	9*	30	13	-56.6
9	Switzerland	8	27	16	-40.7**
10	Wales	12	27	5	-81.4
11	Sweden	9*	26	13	-50.0**
12	Italy	9*	23	13	-43.4**
13	France	10	22	11	-50.0**
14	Denmark	11	19	8	-57.8

# % of change is equal to column 4 minus column 5 divided by column 4

\* Tied for 9th

\*\* These nationalities show *relative* growth; for examples Italians, although they decreased in actual numbers from 23 in 1882 to 13 in 1890, still had only a 43.4% decrease when compared to the County as a whole which had a 52.7% overall rate of decrease. This relationship is therefore "relative growth" as a proportion of the 1890 total of 1671 registrants.



On Chart #2 many significant indices emerge to confirm the changing economic picture undergone during this period in Cochise County. The comments on these that follow are keyed by the numbers in parenthesis following occupation, under the occupation column on Chart 2. These comments provide the greater part of this article.

For example: (1) The mining industry shows a large slump. Although the decrease in miners compared to the starting period 1882 was only 64.6%, the actual number of miners left in 1890 were just over  $\frac{1}{3}$  of those present during the boom days. This is an interim period between the Tombstone boom and the Pearce discoveries and the peak Bisbee copper development which came later. Nonetheless there was already a noticeable relative increase in the importance of Bisbee as a mining center compared to Tombstone.

(2) The number of teamsters in the community decreased at a more rapid rate than the average of other occupations as a whole, 62.7% as compared to 52.7% for the group. This is probably partially accounted for by the diminished ore hauling requirement between Tombstone and the stamp mills at the former milling towns of Charleston and Contention along the San Pedro River. (Chart #3 shows Charleston as a nonentity by 1890 and Contention in serious eclipse, which also confirm this.) However, it was still a horse economy. What couldn't be moved by hand went by pack animal or wagon when its destination was away from the growing railroad system. Deliveries of heavy items, whether in town or country, were by team. The Truckers' Union today drew its name from the teamsters who preceded today's truck drivers as the movers and haulers of society's necessities.

(3) The most significant economic change reflected by occupations of registered voters is unquestionably the dramatic increase in ranching. In 1882 the vast ranges of Cochise County were relatively unstocked. By 1890 ranching was coming into its own in the San Pedro, Sulphur Springs and San Simon valleys. Willcox, on the Southern Pacific railroad at the head of the Sulphur Springs Valley became one of the major cattle shipping points in the U.S. The resulting growth of that town during this interim is reflected in Chart #3.

(4) Carpenters show a relative decrease compared to other occupations on the average. The major growth period of Tombstone and its satellite mill towns, which undoubtedly were the principal support of 1882's 130 carpenters, was over by 1890. However, shifts of population caused by such factors as Bisbee's growing importance, undoubtedly gave the 46 carpenters remaining in 1890 ample work to do (to say nothing of the construction of an occasional scaffold for the public hangings still in vogue then).

(5) Numbers of merchants decreased at a rate lower than all professions as a whole. Perhaps the increased needs of the growing cattle industry contributed to mercantile prosperity as much as anything.

## CHART 2

### 30 Most Numerous Occupations

Column 1	Column 2	Column 3	Column 4	Column 5 #
<b>RANK</b>	<b>OCCUPATION</b>	<b>NUMBER</b>	<b>1890</b>	<b>% OF CHANGE</b>
1	Miner (1)	1364	482	- 64.6
2	Laborer	224	80	- 64.2
3	Teamster (2)	161	60	- 62.7
4	Rancher (3)	143	294	+ 105.5
5	Carpenter (4)	130	46	- 64.6
6	Merchant (5)	118	60	- 49.1*
7	Millman (6)	106	18	- 83.0
8	Clerk	105	36	- 65.7
9	Farmer (7)	102	70	- 31.3*
10	Blacksmith (8)	78	37	- 52.5*
11	Engineer (9)	69	37	- 46.3*
12	Saloon Keeper (10)	68	25	- 63.2
13	Railroader (11)	47	49	+ 4.2
14	Butcher (12)	46	17	- 63.0



15	Freighter Bisbee (13)	38	30	-	21.0*
16	Lumberman (14)	37	3	-	91.8
17	Attorney (15)	35	14	-	60.0
18	Speculator (16)	28	1	-	96.4
19	Cook (17)	27	13	-	51.8*
20	Painter	24	6	-	75.0
21	Printer	23	6	-	73.9
22	Assayer	22	7	-	68.1
23	Hotel Keeper	22	8	-	63.6
24	Mason	21	10	-	52.3
25	Packer (18)	20	4	-	80.0
26	Woodchopper & Hauler (19)	16	10	-	37.5*
27	Bookkeeper (20)	16	8	-	50.0
28	Barber (21)	15	11	-	26.6*
29	Prospector (22)	15	4	-	73.3
30	Shoemaker	15	5	-	66.6*

# % of change equals column 3 minus column 4 divided by column 3.

\* This represents a relative increase as a percent of 1890 total, but an absolute decrease in numbers since 1882, which is to say that this occupation became relatively more important in the community by 1890, or was a higher percentage of the total then in 1882.

(6) The reduction in Millmen, the workers who manned the silver ore reduction mills along the San Pedro River, correlates with the previously mentioned diminished need for ore hauling and the near disappearance of the formerly important milling towns of Charleston and Contention.

(7) The farming trade shows a relative gain in importance even though their numbers are smaller than in 1882. Markets were undoubtedly largely local (or home consumption) since refrigerated means of shipping a surplus were not readily available in the case of garden produce. Large commodity farms were not yet developed in the area, although there was undoubtedly a hay and grain industry stimulated by the Cavalry presence at Ft. Huachuca and the horse economy in general. In any case, agriculture was probably tied predominantly to the size of the local community. Nonetheless, where the community as a whole shrunk an average of 52.7% for all occupations, farming did considerably better only shrinking 31.3%. This may have been because of the railroad penetration of the San Pedro Valley which would have provided an outside market at least to the farmers who were in business at the Mormon community of St. David north of Tombstone. It was located within easy wagon range of the railroad at Contention (a matter of only 5 or 6 miles).

(8) Blacksmiths diminished apace with the community as a whole. It is probable that the number of registered voters is an excellent gauge not only of total population, but of total horse population at the time as well, hence also a gauge of total blacksmiths supportable by (and necessary to service) a given number of horses and mules.

(9) Although it is conjectural, it seems logical that the term engineer rather than referring to a college trained engineer, here refers to a shift employee, since there are so many of them. This was probably the man who tended an engine — such as for a mine hoist, in this era a steam engine in most cases.

(10) The pious will be gratified to see that Saloon Keepers decreased at a rate higher than the community average for all occupations combined. Unfortunately, although it is not shown on the chart, numbers of bartenders increased. Perhaps saloons were merely growing larger. However, the number of ministers registered remained static at 2, a relative per capita increase which is some consolation.

(11) Railroading shows the only absolute numerical increase other than ranching. This is to be expected in view of the national importance of railroads until only recent years. The railroad lines in Cochise County extended to Contention from Benson by February 1882, then to Huachuca Siding serving the Army installation Ft. Huachuca, and finally southward toward Mexico. They reached the border at Nogales in October 1882.



(12) A word must be said about butchers. The records of the early '80's suggest that many of them were suspected with good cause of peddling rustled goods. One wonders if the growth of a native cattle industry had a reforming impact on them, thus accounting for their relative eclipse as a community element. Legitimate purchases were undoubtedly costlier.

(13) Freighters, as a segment of community occupations were doing far better than average. Probably many factors account for this. As will be seen on Chart #3, a greater portion of the community seemed to be dispersed and reside outside the major towns in 1890. Too, the town of Bisbee was growing rapidly and didn't have a railroad connection quite yet.

(14) The trade of lumberman seems to have all but disappeared. It is assumed that this title described the loggers who got out the timbers for Tombstone's many mines, which were no longer proliferating and expanding.

(15) The decrease in lawyers at little more than the community average suggests there was no decline in the contentiousness for which Tombstone is still famous.

(16) In 1882 only two gamblers registered to vote as "gamblers;" but they were notorious for calling themselves speculators and capitalists, Wyatt Earp being a good example. Were these actually gamblers?

(17) Chart #1 indicates that one registrant was born at sea; if it was a family trade one of these cooks could well be the fabled son of a sea cook. (This is merely conjectural, of course.)

(18) The trade of packer probably declined sharply after the pacification of the Apaches in 1886. Most packers were apt to have been employed by the Army both in 1882 and 1890.

(19) The relative increase in woodchoppers and haulers probably reflects a mere refinement over a former period when many people got in their own firewood. In any event, either 1882 or 1890 represent a period when the cooking and heating were both dependent upon wood in all but the "well to do" family. Coal was a luxury.

(20) Before income and *outgo* taxes, social security sales, and other taxes, it should be noted that the per capita supply of bookkeepers seems to have been refreshingly modest.

(21) One wonders why barbers increased at a relative pace among occupations. Perhaps in the wild and woolly early days partners hacked off each other's hair. Hair styles may also have played a part in this, shorter hair being fashionable by 1890 and requiring more frequent attention.



(22) A prospector, Ed Schieffelin, put Cochise County and Tombstone on the map. The calling had almost gone out of vogue by 1890. Nonetheless, every miner was potentially a prospector — in a short time a miner turned rancher was to discover the outcropping that led to the Pearce gold rush in 1894. Unfortunately he seems to have been apolitical and does not appear on either the '82 or '90 Great Register.

The next analysis of the occupational spectrum again uses registered voters as an index of total population. (We previously mentioned the assumption that registered voters were a population index, provided they were in nearly the same ratio to total population on both registers.) This is the underlying premise of Chart #3.

The two Charts #3 and #4 together reflect, by community, the economic transitions discussed in notes to Chart #2. Tombstone and mining and milling declined in importance. Also another accepted myth is exploded by Chart #4. The myth was to the effect that Tombstone, in its boom days, was attended by three satellite milling towns along the water source at the San Pedro River. It is obvious that one of the usual three, Fairbank, was little more than a name in 1882. Its development was probably started due to the railroad's arrival in 1882. The railroad went to Fairbank, then Huachuca Siding, and eventually to Bisbee with work starting in 1888 on the latter segment. The line to Tombstone branched from Fairbank but is not reflected in this period — it reached Tombstone in 1903, giving Fairbank another later boost as a junction point.

Many other slices of this data are possible and would probably eventually prove useful to someone; Examples are:

- 1) Occupation by age.
- 2) Occupation by country of birth, etc.

However, to keep this survey manageable only one added analysis is provided. It deals with the age of registered voters. Another general article of accepted belief is exploded — that the West was the exclusive province of the young. The average age of registered voters in 1882 was 36.7 with a standard deviation of 10.74 (which is to say roughly 70% of all persons registered fell between 25 and 47 years of age — hardly youth). In 1890 the average age had risen to 40.3 with the mid-70% falling between 28 and 52.

Someone may also find interest or use in the fact that 14.1% of individuals registered in 1882 were still in the County register in 1890. Conversely this means that 29.9% of 1890 registrants could refer to themselves as "old timers." Their memories were probably already sharpening up to deal with Johnny-come-latelies. By the 1920's when the historical fiction writers finally reached the survivors for their recollections, they probably, like Mark Twain, could "remember anything whether it happened or not."



### CHART 3

Registered Voters\* by Community  
1882-1890

	NUMBER		PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL	
	1882	1890	1882	1890
<b>COMMUNITY</b>				
Tombstone	2097	636	58.64	37.61
Charleston	182	0	5.08	.00
Benson	250	72	6.99	4.25
Contention	138	8	3.85	.47
Bisbee	74	340	2.06	20.10
Fairbank	3	40	.08	2.36
Willcox	100	148	2.79	8.75
St. David	65	36	1.81	2.12
All Others	667	411	18.70	24.34
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3576</b>	<b>1691</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>

\* Totals by community were projected on a 25% sample size.



# CHART 4

Registered Voters by Community  
(Change and Percent of Change)  
1882-1890

COMMUNITY	NUMBER		DIFFERENCE	PERCENT OF CHANGE
	1882	1890		
Tombstone	2097	636	- 1461	- 69.67
Charleston	182	0	- 182	- 100.00
Benson	250	72	- 178	- 71.20
Contention	138	8	- 130	- 94.20
Bisbee	74	340	+ 266	+ 359.45
Fairbank	3	40	+ 37	+ 1233.33
Willcox	100	148	+ 48	+ 48.00
St. David	65	36	- 29	- 44.61
All Others	667	411	- 256	- 38.38
TOTAL	3576	1691	- 1885	- 52.71



In any event statistics accurately represent pioneers, *not what they said but what they were*, and how many of each. Of course we also owe them a great debt for the traditional stories passed down to us. They're almost always interesting "whether they happened or not," especially the latter. But these people were not myths. They actually happened. They were there!

*NOTE: The supporting analysis on which these charts and conclusions are based include much more information and are on file in the Arizona Historical Society, including the complete 1882 and 1890 Great Registers, alphabetized by the authors. These, of course, list every registered voter by name, country of birth, age, occupation and residence in the County. The unalphabetized registers on which they are based also show where the registrant came from to this community and where and when he was naturalized if applicable.*

## **A NOTE ABOUT THE AUTHORS**

**by the Authors**

Glenn and Betty Boyer worked as a team on the statistical massaging of the data from the 1882 and 1890 Cochise County Great Registers, on file at Bisbee. It was necessary to make a card for each name on the registers, several thousand in number, then to alphabetize them for reference, since the originals are not. On the 1882 Great Register they were assisted by their son Don, and a copy of that initial work was placed on file in the Arizona Historical Society, after being carefully typed by Betty. When a copy of the 1890 Great Register turned up, they got the idea for a comparison by occupation, country of origin, etc. of the two periods. It was necessary to sort and count the cards many times, by occupation, nationality and geographical location to develop the final sorts that appear on the charts in this study. It would have been a considerable job, even had a computer been available, and most demographers, surveying this work have assumed it had to be done by computer. (On the contrary the work was done before the day of home computers, when access to others was prohibitively expensive.) In the area of general writing, Betty and Glenn form a team, he doing the writing and she preparing the manuscripts for publishers. Betty was born in Denver, Colorado and followed Glenn around the world during an Air Force career in which he became a command pilot and Lt. Colonel before he retired. They live in Bisbee, where they came from Hawaii in 1973. Glenn is originally from Wisconsin.



## MERCHANT AND MINER\*

### Two Serbs in Early Bisbee

by Mary Nicklanovich Hart

When Ivo Vasov Angius<sup>1</sup> died in 1904, the American public, through the voice of the Bisbee newspaper, learned of his death and mourned his loss. He was a pioneer entrepreneur who, through shrewdness and tenacity, built a fortune in mercantile, banking and real estate enterprises. Angius was an outstanding individual who with single-minded drive carved a unique place for himself in Bisbee's history. He counted among his business associates William H. Brophy and James S. Douglas.

When Vido Markov Milutinovich<sup>2</sup> died in 1942, however, his passing was mourned by family and friends, but the rest of the community hardly took notice.<sup>3</sup> Milutinovich, a tall man of imposing strength, was a hard-rock miner, a laborer who fought strikes, fires and financial loss and whose only legacy was his devoted family and close friends. Equally outstanding as an individual, Milutinovich chose a different path than Angius and followed it with equal determination.

Both now lie in the same cemetery, just across the dirt road from one another. Ironically, their final resting place is not all they had in common. Both of these highly skilled, intelligent men were from the same Serbian clan, but the paths they took after emigrating led each to opposite ends of the American social scale, even though they shared the exciting events in early Bisbee.

Bisbee has long had a sizable Serbian community, and those who came during the early period were welcomed like any other pioneers, something unheard of in the industrial eastern United States. New ore discoveries were made almost daily and that meant jobs. Such mining camps created a favorable economic climate, and anyone with capital (especially if he were among the first settlers), imagination or sheer determination could open support businesses. J. B. Angius took advantage of the situation; David Milutinovich became a casualty of the chaotic and sometimes violent years of strikes, unrest and catastrophic events.

Both J. B. Angius and David Milutinovich were born in small Serbian communities (then under Austrian political control) perched above the Adriatic Sea. Their villages are part of a region scarcely thirty miles long and only five miles wide, nestled between the Adriatic shore and the spectacular peaks of Montenegro. The name of the land and of the people is Pashtrovich. Because of their access to the sea, the Pashtrovich were Mediterranean traders. They were accomplished sailors and merchants who travelled the ancient trade routes between Venice and Constantinople. Though accustomed to business contacts

\* Reprinted from the *Journal of Arizona History*, Autumn, 1980, by permission of the author.



with other peoples, they had always kept their own clan identity. Business with others was acceptable, but intermarriage and even friendship were rare. That this loyalty was upheld is witnessed by the clan's 438 households in Europe, which bear only eighty surnames.

An integral part of that unity was derived from their religion, which set them apart from the Moslem and Roman Catholic worlds with which they traded. They were and are Serbian Orthodox, an independent Serbian church founded by their patron saint, St. Sava, in the thirteenth century when the Slavs desired autonomy from the Byzantine Orthodox Church.<sup>4</sup> Like all Serbs, the Pashtrovich felt allegiance to the medieval Serbian kingdom, and their religion, different from that of their neighbors, was a symbol of their independence.

J. B. Angius and David Milutinovich grew to manhood steeped in the clan tradition. No matter where the merchants might travel, there was never any question of their identity as Pashtrovich and as Serbs. It is not then surprising that in America they would lead dual lives, adapting as their forefathers had to the necessities of survival among foreigners, but never forsaking their internal allegiance as "bracha Pashtrovicha"<sup>5</sup> — brothers of Pastrovich. As they reached manhood, the economic opportunities for them at home were scarce. Like countless other young men, they migrated to America, one in 1874, the other in 1890.<sup>6</sup>

Though their American lives could not have been more different, their lives as Serbs were closely interwoven through the clan, their own blood kinship, and the years they shared in Bisbee. J. B. Angius joined his kin in the booming mining camp of Virginia City, Nevada, in 1874. At the age of sixteen he apprenticed under the skilled Pashtrovich businessmen who ran profitable saloons, grocery stores, and restaurants in the rich Comstock Lode.<sup>7</sup> This practical experience, coupled with some schooling and a working knowledge of English, prepared J. B. Angius well for his life in the Arizona boomtowns of Tombstone and Bisbee. In 1880 he became a United States citizen in Storey County, Nevada,<sup>8</sup> and soon this intense young man began his ascent in the business community.

As the Comstock played out, Angius, along with others from Nevada, moved to Tombstone.<sup>9</sup> There he began building an impressive empire which eventually included mercantile, banking and ranching interests. He first registered to vote in Arizona at Tombstone in 1881, describing himself as a "merchant."<sup>10</sup> For the next eight years he prospered there.

J. B. Angius' transactions became a matter of public record in 1885 in the interesting and revealing case of the Harrieta Ranch. He lent \$500 to one Gilbert S. Bradshaw of Tombstone. As collateral Bradshaw mortgaged his 160-acre ranch in the Huachuca Mountains. Failing to repay the \$500, Bradshaw signed his property over to Angius. Since one W. Bursich was living there at the time,



Angius made a stern agreement with the tenant: for Bursich to buy the ranch he had to pay \$590 plus interest within one year. The money was not paid on time. Fourteen months after the original agreement Angius bought the Harrieta "cattle, horses, implements, crops, and furniture" from Bursich.<sup>11</sup>

There is no doubt that he had other official business in Tombstone. A bill presented to the County of Cochise by A. J. Mehan, constable, shows that on April 25, 1885, Angius had a subpoena delivered to a person one mile from Tombstone, and later the same year Angius was summoned for jury duty.<sup>12</sup> In 1888 he purchased lot number 11 in block 31 from V. R. Ballurdo for \$300.<sup>13</sup> Though his ambitions came to fruition later in Bisbee, Tombstone appears to have provided him with the embryonic capital which would bring him remarkable prestige and wealth.

Always with an eye open for opportunities in a new boomtown, the fair complexioned, mustachioed merchant began purchasing property in Bisbee. He still lived in Tombstone, but as early as 1886 he already owned a half interest in a cabin on Brewery Gulch and a house on the same street.<sup>14</sup> Though this was significant, the prize real estate was the limited frontage on Main Street. In 1889 Angius purchased two lots there, presumably with the intent of locating his grocery store on one of them.<sup>15</sup> Between April and August of the same year he moved to Bisbee.<sup>16</sup>

After relocating, he began in earnest his spectacular rise in the American business community. At this same time David Milutinovich, the cousin of Angius' wife Stana, arrived in Bisbee from the Pashtrovich and joined other clan members such as Mrs. Angius' brother, Milo M. Medigovich, and another cousin, Vaso G. Medigovich.<sup>17</sup> This budding Serbian business community welcomed its sons from the shores of the Adriatic and put them to work in the many stores and saloons. Young David Milutinovich duly went to work for the V. G. Medigovich grocery store, supplied by J. B. Angius' wholesale business.<sup>18</sup>

There was room for all and ample opportunity to go around. Not far off were the days when Serbs would not be so welcome, but for the present there were numerous Serbian businesses throughout Bisbee where they could find jobs. There was the Cheap Cash Store, the Miner's Grocery, the Palace Grocery, the Brewery Gulch Restaurant, the Angius Hotel, and the Capitol Saloon.<sup>19</sup> Bisbee was booming, and an exciting business climate awaited these Mediterranean traders. There were more than forty separate mining companies operating in the area and each payday more money circulated through the community. By 1902 the thriving camp incorporated and named its first city council, which included Angius.<sup>20</sup> During these times when the elite were emerging, the tone was set for the lives of both J. B. Angius and David Milutinovich.





*Official portrait of J. B. Angius as a member of the first city council of Bisbee, 1902. (Photo courtesy of the Bisbee Museum of Science and Technology, Bisbee.)*



For Milutinovich the rigid clan organization, which demanded total obedience, proved too confining for his independent and uncompromising nature. He quarreled with his uncle and employer, Vaso G. Medigovich, and forever left the business community. Once he decided to leave, he never tried to reenter.<sup>21</sup> As for the American side of his life, he became forever separated from the path chosen by his fellow Pashtrovich. This break, however, did not sever his personal ties with the clan; the Serbian side of his life was forever united with them. His brother, Sam Milutinovich, rose to prominence with the Palace Grocery.<sup>22</sup> Another young clansman, Nicholas Zenovich, started working for J. B. Angius and later moved to Globe, where he was in business for fifty years.<sup>23</sup> All these men were close to Milutinovich.

After leaving, Milutinovich, possibly with the help of Angius, went to work for the Douglas family at their home in Bisbee,<sup>24</sup> an ironic beginning for the future strike leader. While his cousins continued building their commercial empire, Milutinovich began work as a miner at the Copper Queen Consolidated Mining Company.<sup>25</sup> His height and strength, along with his intelligence, enabled him quickly to become a skilled miner. He was soon working as a timberman at the Calumet and Arizona Company of Bisbee.<sup>26</sup>

During these same years, 1890 to 1898, J. B. Angius amassed tremendous property and prestige. He purchased six more lots on Main Street, at a total cost of \$3000,<sup>27</sup> and shrewdly became the owner of the most sought-after real estate in Bisbee. Some of the land was acquired through foreclosures. Angius foreclosed on the loan of S. C. Perrin, who owed him \$312, and bought the mortgaged land when it went up for sale.<sup>28</sup> Along with parcels of land, he sometimes acquired businesses. In 1891 he bought a lot on the north side of Main Street from Mary Corcoran for \$600, including her restaurant "with furniture, stoves, tableware, lamps."<sup>29</sup> In 1897 he completed his fine two-story structure on Main Street, which housed his grocery store and the Angius Hotel, and in that same year he spent \$750 to connect his building with the local water system. This enterprise marks the beginning of a short but active association between J. B. Angius and the leaders of the Copper Queen Consolidated Copper Company and its affiliate companies, presided over by James S. Douglas, William H. Brophy, Ben Williams, and Mike Cunningham.<sup>30</sup>

When Douglas and Brophy began planning the Bank of Bisbee in January, 1889, they wanted to include their close associates on the board of directors and encouraged some "right-kind of Bisbee people" to invest in their scheme.<sup>31</sup> Evidently Angius, the ambitious and successful Serbian merchant, was one of the "right-kind" since he was on the board of directors when the bank opened.<sup>32</sup> The Brophy-Douglas coalition also had difficulty acquiring property on Main Street on which to build the bank and was willing to pay between \$1000 and \$1500 for one lot which had cost Angius only \$300 to \$400 a few years before.<sup>33</sup> The institution was finally located in the Angius Hotel.<sup>34</sup> Reckon with Angius they had to and did.





*A family portrait of the Milutinovichs in 1910. Seated second from left is David, flanked by his children Robert and Mamie. His brother Ilijia is at right. Standing at rear are his brothers Simo (left) and Stevo (right), and his wife Katitsa. Below, David Milutinovich's children in a 1917 photo. They are Vidosava, born in 1914; Mamie, born during the 1907 strike; and Robert, born in 1909. (Photos from the collection of Mamie Burgen, Warren.)*





businessmen ... widely esteemed and beloved ... presumed to have left a large and valuable estate."<sup>48</sup> David Milutinovich, undoubtedly marched in Angius' funeral procession and watched as the businessman was laid to rest.

The administrator of his estate was his wife's brother, Milo M. Medigovich.<sup>49</sup> The estate was appraised by W. H. Brophy, J. G. Pritchard and Nick Nobile and included extensive real estate in Bisbee, mining claims in the surrounding area, stock in the Bisbee Improvement Company, the Bank of Douglas, the Bank of Bisbee, the Bisbee Lumber Company, the Consolidated Printing and Publishing Company, and his local mercantile operation. The total value was well over \$70,000.<sup>50</sup>

The death of J. B. Angius signaled the end of an era for the Serbs in Bisbee. Several factors were changing the mining camp. Many new corporations and railroads were now tied to the Douglas family and its close associates in local management.<sup>51</sup> Society in Bisbee was becoming stratified; miners were no longer among the elite. After 1907 the *Bisbee Daily Review* ceased running articles on hard-rock miners unless they had committed crimes or had suffered accidents.<sup>52</sup> The assassination of President McKinley in 1901 by a Polish-American anarchist marked the beginning of anti-foreign sentiment that eventually reached Bisbee. At Kingman, Arizona, a Polish miner who remarked that the killing of the President was a good thing was beaten and driven from town. The Clifton *Copper Era* ran the following editorial:

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 ...<sup>53</sup>

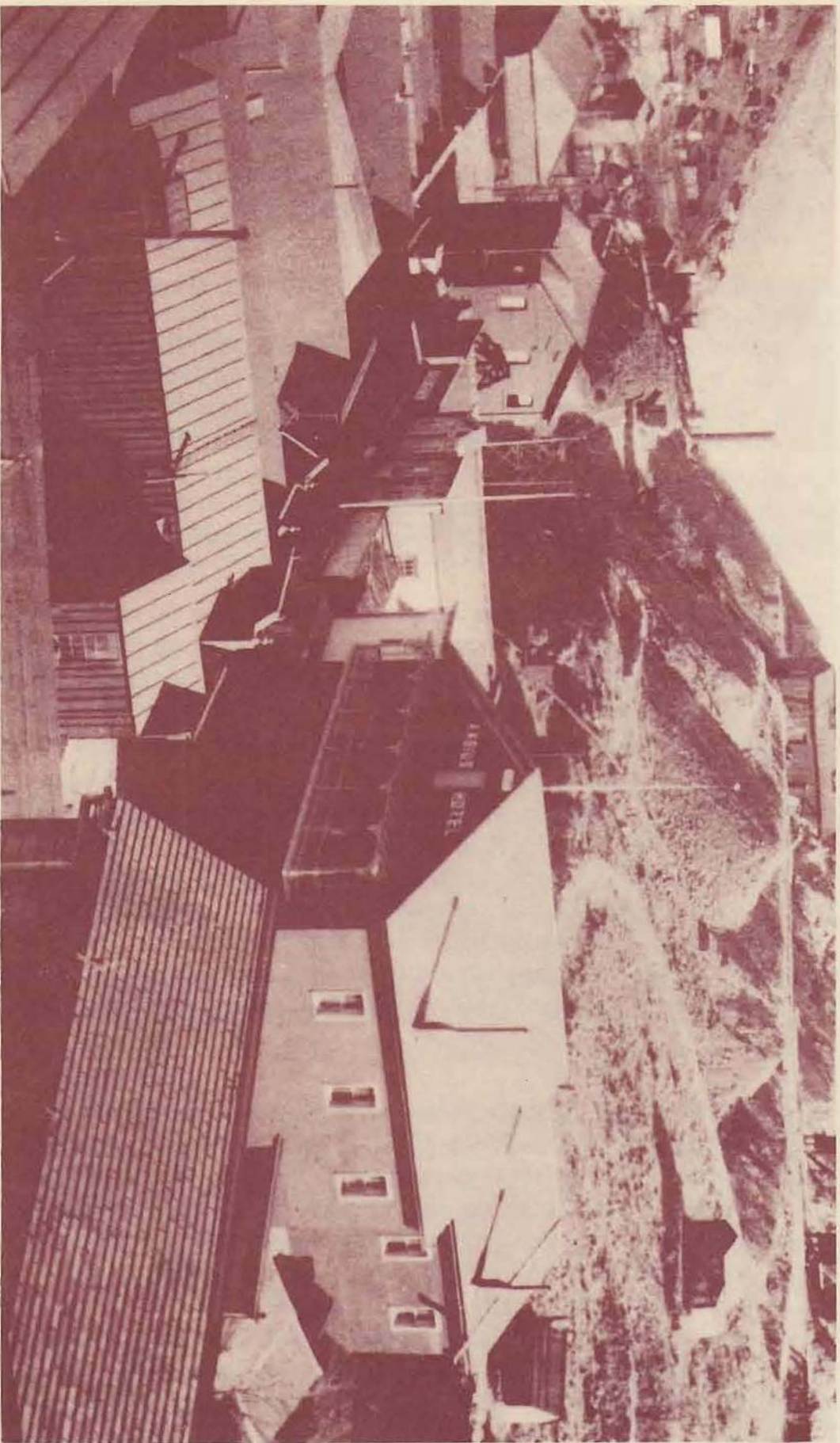
This first anti-foreign statement was followed by numerous others and by 1903 the *Bisbee Daily Review* had adopted a hostile attitude toward the arriving Serbs; no longer were they welcome pioneers:

A great question of the moment is agitating the miners, that is the American miners of Bisbee: viz., the employment of Italian and Slavonic workmen in the mines ... Bisbee has always been "A White Man's Camp"...<sup>54</sup>

• • •

The usual spring immigration of the Slavonians from their own country to Southern Arizona has set in in earnest ... Last night the first big batch right fresh from Europe landed in Bisbee and were quickly taken out of sight by their countrymen ... to one of the Slavonian stores on Brewery Gulch and then herded up the stairs in front of the *Review* office and staked out somewhere on the side hills for the night.<sup>55</sup>





*A View of Bisbee's Main street in about 1900, with the Angus Hotel a prominent feature. (Photo courtesy of the Bisbee Mining and Historical Museum, Accession #74.107.77.)*



Shortly after the death of J. B. Angius, and in this changing atmosphere, David Milutinovich left Bisbee for the old country. He had already become a United States citizen in Tombstone in 1896<sup>56</sup> and had purchased a lot on Congress Hill in 1900 and a house on School Hill.<sup>57</sup> Now he was ready to get married and start a family. As with Angius, the marriage would be made on the basis of family advice, and the bride would be someone from the clan. David was so well thought of during this early period that his planned trip was reported in the local paper: "Dave Milutinovich, who has been a resident of Bisbee for the past fifteen years ... will leave Bisbee this week for a visit to Europe, including a visit to Serbia, his native country ... He expects to be absent ... almost a year."<sup>58</sup> He was obviously distinguished from the newly arriving Serbs; he had been in Bisbee a long time.

Unfortunately the glowing newspaper report hardly presaged the reception awaiting David Milutinovich at home. Since the Pashtrovich region was then a part of Austria and all young men were conscripted into the Austrian Army, he was promptly arrested and placed in military service as soon as he set foot on home soil. Furious at having been drafted despite his American citizenship and unable and unwilling to go quietly, he fought with an Austrian officer. His one-year tour of duty was spent mostly in prison.<sup>59</sup>

While at home he married Katitsa Davidovich,<sup>60</sup> and the two set out for the United States and a new life. The Bisbee to which he returned was teeming with union activity, and by 1907 the Western Federation of Miners was growing in strength among the Bisbee miners. Never one to avoid a decision or withdraw from trouble, David Milutinovich joined the organization.

The union made two specific demands and was willing to go on strike in order to get them. The first was recognition of the Western Federation of Miners in the Bisbee district; the second was the abolition of a blacklist used by the companies to keep out union miners and sympathizers.<sup>61</sup> Once his name appeared on the list, a miner could no longer find a job in the district, at least not under the blacklisted name. The first demand was important to the men in order for them to have some means of negotiating with the company management. The second demand, however, meant "bread and butter" to the men who were active in the union. With the blacklist in force, their very livelihood was in peril.

The mere organization of a Western Federation of Miners local in Bisbee prompted companies to discharge large numbers of workers and by February of 1907 over 800 men had been laid off. The reason given by the companies was a "shortage of fuel and other supplies."<sup>62</sup> With so many miners losing their jobs, the union had little choice but to try to help its members whose situation had worsened since the organization of the WFM in Bisbee.



To approach the companies a union committee was selected, including Alfred Morgan, Percy C. Rawling, James D. Cannon, Michael Graham and Dave Millitanovich (sic).<sup>63</sup> Considering his history of independence and strength of character, David Milutinovich's presence should come as no surprise. On April 8, 1907, the committee attempted unsuccessfully to meet with the corporate officials. The next day the strike call went out. On handbills printed in Douglas and circulated in Bisbee<sup>64</sup> the union leaders said, "No man who has responded to the strike call will return to work until the companies have officially declared the blacklist abolished."<sup>65</sup>

Conflicting reports are the norm for strikes, and Bisbee's was no different. From twenty-five to eighty-five percent of the miners walked out, depending on whether union or company estimates are used. The WFM claimed some shafts were entirely shut down, while the companies emphatically denied there was any serious effect on production. On April 15 the union swore in 750 new members at a mass meeting in the skating rink. Having doubled their numerical strength, the men of local No. 106 marched down Brewery Gulch and then peacefully dispersed to their homes.<sup>66</sup>

A preoccupation with order was shown both by the companies and the union. Strike Bulletin No. 1, issued April 13, 1907, and signed by David Milutinovich and the other members of the strike committee, warned all strikers: "A fine of \$10 will be placed by the Union upon any of its members found drunk or disorderly on the streets."<sup>67</sup> No one was ever arrested for a violent act, but many threats were reported,<sup>68</sup> and although Captain Harry Wheeler had assured the union leaders in April that the Arizona Rangers would not be brought in at that time, five Rangers were assigned to Bisbee to help maintain law and order during the summer.<sup>69</sup>

The strike continued, and the *Bisbee Daily Review* ran articles detailing the arrests of strikers for vagrancy: "Price Arrested as Vagrant in Lowell ... another member of the WFM charged with having no visible means of support ... union pickets arrested in Lowell ... alleged threats to shoot and kill ..."<sup>70</sup> In the strike bulletin signed by Milutinovich the newspaper was attacked: "We warn both the strikers and public to place no confidence in the statements of the *Daily Review* concerning the situation. The bias of that paper is well known; its stock in trade is misrepresentation; it sneezes when the companies take snuff."<sup>71</sup> Seemingly Angius' interests and those of Milutinovich clashed — Angius' estate was part owner of the Consolidated Printing and Publishing Company, the publisher of the *Bisbee Daily Review*.

Naturally the companies tried to bring in new workers to break the strike, and the determined miners knew that to win they had to stop the incoming workers. Handbills were passed out on the trains informing new arrivals that there was a strike and that to work in the Warren District meant being a scab. To prevent such interference with the arrival of new labor, the El Paso and



# STRIKE NOTICE!

## Statement to the Miners and General Public of Bisbee and Vicinity.

We, the undersigned, were appointed to act as a special committee in its behalf by BISBEE MINERS UNION No. 106 WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS at a regular meeting of the Union held Sunday evening April 7, 1907.

In accordance with our instructions, on Monday April 8, 1907 we visited the respective General Managers of the COPPER QUEEN CONSOLIDATED MINING COMPANY, the CALUMET AND ARIZONA MINING COMPANY, the DENN-ARIZONA, SHATTUCK-ARIZONA, SUPERIOR & PITTSBURG and AMERICAN-SAGINAW DEVELOPMENT MINING COMPANIES.

To those gentlemen we stated the demand of the Union, namely: that the BLACKLISTING of Union men, together with all discrimination against them should cease. In each instance, we were met with a courteous, but well defined refusal of these companies, acting through their General Managers to treat with or discuss any matters with the representatives of Bisbee Miner's Union.

We thereupon, in each instance announced to the several Managers, the intention of Bisbee Miners Union to call out all Union men together with all other employees of said mining companies, who desire to be known as FAIR TO ORGANIZED LABOR.

Therefore we, acting under the authority vested in us by BISBEE MINERS UNION hereby DECLARE THE COPPER QUEEN CONSOLIDATED MINING COMPANY, the CALUMET AND ARIZONA MINING COMPANY, the SUPERIOR AND PITTSBURG COPPER COMPANY, the SHATTUCK-ARIZONA-COPPER COMPANY, the DENN-ARIZONA-COPPER COMPANY AND THE AMERICAN-SAGINAW DEVELOPMENT COMPANY UNFAIR TO ORGANIZED LABOR.

We call upon ALL LABORING MEN TO CEASE work for those companies

**Before 7 a. m., Wednesday, April 10, 1907,**

and to declare by their action that our cause is just. To the general public of Bisbee and vicinity we have this to say.

We affirm, that BISBEE MINERS UNION since its inception, has adopted none but an honorable course of action.

Union men have endured with patience, the infamous system, illegal in many states, of discrimination against them, and the BLACKLISTING of men discharged by the companies or applying to them for work.

Our only demand of the companies has been the abolition of this system; a system in violation of the rights guaranteed to all workers by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe, that every decent man will uphold the righteousness of our demand and will justify our action.

We regret the course which has been forced upon us by the action of the aforesaid companies. Since it has been forced upon us, we shall pursue it until the companies accede to our demands.

**Alfred Morgan, James Manning, Percy C. Rawling, Jos D. Cannon, and Dave Millitanovich,  
STRIKE COMMITTEE.**

*Bisbee Miner's Union Number 106 of the WFM distributed this notice in 1907. Milutinovich's signature is an indication of his role as a union leader. (From the Brophy Collection (AHS).)*

Southwestern Railroad Company, whose president was Dr. James Douglas, sued the union. The court ordered the strikers to cease and desist. Named in the suit was David Milutinovich.<sup>72</sup> The company had closed in on all sides, using railroad and newspaper as part of one huge operation.

The strike was brought to an end by the slump in the copper market beginning in December, 1907. The companies then began laying off men as the price of the metal dropped drastically. That same month the unions voted to call off the strike.<sup>73</sup> The workingmen of the Warren District had been sorely beaten, but at least the union was in existence. David Milutinovich again had to make some difficult choices. He was now married and had one child, a daughter born during the strike. It was impossible for him to find work in Bisbee. In the spring he went to Tyrone, New Mexico, and tried his hand there. For a year he wandered, attempting with little success to get a steady job to support his family.<sup>74</sup> In April of 1909, he came home to celebrate Serbian Easter and to see his infant son, born during his absence. Meeting a Serbian friend at the depot, Milutinovich invited him to his home on School Hill for a drink. "Don't you know?" his friend replied, "You have no house. It burned in the fire."<sup>75</sup> It had been destroyed in the "worst fire in Bisbee's history." In October the "fiend" had struck, causing a "¾ Million Fire Loss."<sup>76</sup> Hundreds were left homeless, including David's pregnant wife and small daughter, and Mrs. J. B. Angius and her children. Despite their past differences, the clan pulled together, and Vaso G. Medigovich and his wife took in Katitsa Milutinovich and her child.<sup>77</sup>



Shocked by the news, David decided to remain in Bisbee and to reconstruct his life. Unable to find work, he turned to Nicholas Zenovich, a clan member from his younger days, then in Globe, hoping to find some stability in a time of hopelessness, but the central Arizona town had been hit by the economic slump too. There was little choice but to return to the place where he could try to rebuild his property.<sup>78</sup>

Back in Bisbee in 1910, he found the mines hiring again. The thought of applying for a job under his blacklisted name was unthinkable, so he unofficially changed his name to avoid the discrimination. On the job he was known as Dave Davis but in all his other business transactions and among both Serbs and Americans he was still David Milutinovich. He bought a small house in South Bisbee and tried to resume a normal existence, but six months later his second home burned to the ground.<sup>79</sup> A full four years after the strike David Milutinovich had two children and no home in which to raise them.

In 1911 he and his wife borrowed \$200, which they repaid with interest within the year,<sup>80</sup> from the Serbian benevolent society, Srpska Sloga, to build a dwelling in Warren. They became the first Serbian family to live in Warren and were followed by many others.<sup>81</sup>

There were a couple of settled years but they presaged trouble, for labor strife would again plague David Milutinovich in the decade that followed. Many later judged him harshly for his actions in the strikes of 1913 and 1917, but after the 1907 walkout and four years of utter desperation, he decided that he had gained nothing and lost a great deal through his connections with the union. During the strike of 1913 he continued working as a carman, convinced that the union would not win and that the miners' lot could easily get worse. Though he made it through strikes, fire and economic depression, life for him was still not secure. Some time between 1913 and 1916, he fell from an ore car and broke both an arm and a leg. The great physical strength upon which he had always depended to do the strenuous labor of a hard-rock miner was gone, so in the continuing fight to support his family he hired on with the Calumet and Arizona Company as a watchman.<sup>82</sup>

The other dramatic incident in Bisbee's history in which David Milutinovich played an active role was the strike and subsequent deportation of the strikers in 1917. Considering the unfortunate course of his life, it is not surprising that he wanted no part in this walkout either. On the day of the deportation he failed to come home from work on time. His frantic wife sent their ten-year-old daughter to look for him. When the guns perched on the buildings of Warren stared down at her she cringed. She saw many men she knew being herded into the Warren ballpark. Desperately searching for her father among them, she finally found him wearing the white armband that signified he was not on strike. Speaking from bitter experience, he was frantically trying to dissuade the strikers and convince them to put on white armbands and save what little security they had.<sup>83</sup>



For the next few years Milutinovich worked at the Calumet and Arizona but the company retired him because of age in the early 1930s and gave him \$1200 to last him the rest of his life.<sup>84</sup> He died in his Warren house in January, 1942.<sup>85</sup> Though his heirs did not gain a valuable estate, he left a legacy of hard work, honesty, and personal strength. To have lived as he did was not insignificant: he never lacked strength of character, nor did he ever run from adversity. David Milutinovich was heroic in his confrontation of almost insurmountable odds, always acting according to what he thought was right for himself and others.

Milutinovich and J. B. Angius must be seen in dual roles both as Serbs and as Americans. Their American lives could not have been more different — Angius as part of the Copper Queen business coalition; Milutinovich as a miner who took on the whole group in 1907 and lost. Yet in their Serbian lives they were similar. As lodge brothers they served their community together and their wives and children were close. In time of crisis the clan and the lodge helped David Milutinovich.

Serbs often talk about their predecessors and always use two words, “sudbina” — fate — and “chovijek” — to be a man. Fate to them explains the uncontrolled events in one’s life and indicates the large plan of God. Without a doubt they would say fate was good to J. B. Angius. He came to a boomtown as a merchant. The time was right, and he made shrewd decisions which brought him and his associates great wealth. David Milutinovich was not so fortunate. Fate delivered him one devastating blow after another. As a Serb would say, “Tako mu je bila sudbina” — such was his fate. Though fate did not smile on David Milutinovich there is no doubt that he was a “Chovijek” — he acted as a man and did what he thought was the right thing at all times. His uncompromising temperament, and his inability to sit quietly as the world collapsed around him, made him a “chovijek.” Whether as a strike leader or as a miner come home to find only the ashes of his home, David Milutinovich stood up to be counted and rebuild his life.

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Ivo Vasov Angius is the Serbian given name of John Basilic Angius. The first and middle names were anglicized to John, the English equivalent of Ivo, and Basilic, a form of Vaso or Basil. The middle name is actually a patronymic which means “son of Vaso.” The use of the patronymic as a middle name identifying one’s father is common to the Pashtrovich clan, but not to all Serbs. Angius signed his name officially as “J. B.”

<sup>2</sup> Vido Markov Milutinovich is the Serbian given name of David Mark Milutinovich. David is the English equivalent of Vido. Markov, meaning “son of Mark,” was rendered Mark in English. Milutinovich became known as Dave throughout the American community in Bisbee and often signed his name that way.

<sup>3</sup> The funeral notices of the two men that appear in the *Bisbee Daily Review* bear out this comparison. See *Bisbee Daily Review*, August 25, 1904, and January 24, 1942.

<sup>4</sup> Z. Kostelski, *The Yugoslavs* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1952), pp. 314-315.

<sup>5</sup> To make the Serbian words and phrases more accessible to the reader who does not read Serbo-Croatian, the Cyrillic alphabet has been changed to Latin characters. A phonetic system based on English pronunciation has been used rather than the international system of phonetic transcription.



- <sup>6</sup> Dr. Jovan Vukmanovich, *Pashtrovichi* (Tsetinje, Montenegro, Yugoslavia: Obod, 1960), pp. 3-5, 178-186, 141-143, 39, 187-188.
- <sup>7</sup> Adam S. Eterovich, *Yugoslavs in Nevada, 1859-1900* (San Francisco: Rand E. Research Associates, 1973), pp. 64-65.
- <sup>8</sup> Great Register of Cochise County, 1881, Cochise County Court House, Bisbee, Arizona.
- <sup>9</sup> Olga B. Markovich, "Long Ago . . . In Arizona," *Srbobran*, June 13, 1979, p. 1 See also *Bisbee Daily Review*, March 1, 1902.
- <sup>10</sup> Great Register of Cochise County, 1881.
- <sup>11</sup> Deeds of Real Estate, Cochise County, Cochise County Court House, Bisbee, Arizona, Book 7, p. 573; Miscellaneous Records, Cochise County, Cochise County Court House, Bisbee, Arizona, Book 2, p. 525; Bills of Sale, Cochise County, Cochise County Court House, Bisbee, Arizona, Book 1, p. 268.
- <sup>12</sup> Cochise County Collection, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona, Petitions Box 5, file 53.
- <sup>13</sup> Deeds of Real Estate, Cochise County, Book 9, p. 278.
- <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, Book 9, p. 74.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 389, 401, 117.
- <sup>16</sup> That he moved from Tombstone to Bisbee at that time is indicated by the Deeds of Real Estate, Cochise County, which list J. B. Angius' address as Tombstone in April, 1889, and as Bisbee in August of that same year.
- <sup>17</sup> Markovich, "Long Ago"; Mamie Bugen, interview with MNH, Bisbee, Arizona, May 21, 1980.
- <sup>18</sup> Bugen, interview.
- <sup>19</sup> *Bisbee Daily Review*, March 19, 1902, April 16, 1907, December 2, 1901, October 4, 1901, January 3, 1906, December 19, 1901, June 16, 1909; Partnership Book I, Cochise County, Cochise County Court House, Bisbee, Arizona; for examples of Serbian businesses, see *Buck's Directory of Bisbee for 1904* (El Paso: Buck Directory Company, 1904).
- <sup>20</sup> *Bisbee Daily Review*, August 15, 1903, December 14, 1901, January 10, 1902.
- <sup>21</sup> Bugen, interview.
- <sup>22</sup> *Bisbee Daily Review*, April 29, 1908; Bugen, interview.
- <sup>23</sup> Duke Zenovich, interview with MNH, Globe, Arizona, July 12, 1979; Articles of incorporation, Gila County, private Zenovich papers; *Bisbee Daily Review*, April 27, 1907.
- <sup>24</sup> Bugen, interview.
- <sup>25</sup> Copper Queen Consolidated Company Timebook, January-May 1898, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona.
- <sup>26</sup> *Bisbee Daily Review*, March 22, 1905.
- <sup>27</sup> Deeds of Real Estate, Cochise County, Book 9, p. 533, Book 11, pp. 644, 645, 774, Book 12, p. 305; Civil Judgments, Territorial, Cochise County, Cochise County Court House, Bisbee, Arizona, Reg. No. 1808.
- <sup>28</sup> Civil Judgments, Territorial, Cochise County, Reg. No. 1808.
- <sup>29</sup> Deeds of Real Estate, Cochise County, Book 11, p. 644.
- <sup>30</sup> Brophy Papers, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona, Box 13, W. H. Brophy Ledger 1897-1901, pp. 8, 82.
- <sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, Box 26, file 838, letter, June 23, 1899, to William H. Brophy from James S. Douglas.
- <sup>32</sup> Articles of Incorporation, Cochise County, Cochise County Court House, Bisbee, Arizona, Book 1, p. 469.
- <sup>33</sup> Brophy Papers, Box 26, file 838.
- <sup>34</sup> Lea Album, Arizona Historical Society, Tucson, Arizona; Brophy Papers, letter, December 17, 1899, to William H. Brophy from James S. Douglas.
- <sup>35</sup> Brophy Papers, Box 26, file 836, letter, June 18, 1901, to William H. Brophy from F. W. Goodbody.
- <sup>36</sup> Powers of Attorney, Cochise County, Cochise County Court House, Bisbee, Arizona, Book 4, p. 23; Brophy Papers, Box 13, ledger, January 1, 1887.
- <sup>37</sup> Brophy Papers, Box 13, ledger, William H. Brophy; Bills of Sale, Cochise County, Book 2, p. 410. Nick Angius was obviously a clansman of J. B. Angius, but the exact relationship is unknown.
- <sup>38</sup> Brophy Papers, Box 2, file 827, letter, April 28, 1903, to William H. Brophy from B. A. Packard.



- <sup>39</sup> Articles of Incorporation, Cochise County, Book 1, p. 496, Book 2, p. 333.
- <sup>40</sup> Deeds of Real Estate, Cochise County, Book 19, p. 468.
- <sup>41</sup> Articles of Incorporation, Cochise County, Book 1, p. 500.
- <sup>42</sup> Brophy Papers, Box 26, file 835.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, Box 26, file 827.
- <sup>44</sup> Srpska Sloga, 1903-1907 (minutes from society meetings), pp. 1, 20, 37, 44, 47 (translation in possession of the author).
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 120-121, 67, 192; *Bisbee Daily Review*, May 19, 1906.
- <sup>46</sup> *Bisbee Daily Review*, January 29, 1904, January 10, 1905, January 29, 1905, January 8, 1907, January 28, 1908, January 27, 1909.
- <sup>47</sup> Bugen, interview.
- <sup>48</sup> *Bisbee Daily Review*, August 25, 1904.
- <sup>49</sup> Probate Orders, Cochise County, Cochise County Court House, Book 2, p. 36.
- <sup>50</sup> Brophy Papers, Box 26, file 819. "Estate of J. B. Angius," September 10, 1904.
- <sup>51</sup> James S. Douglas and William H. Brophy were on the board of directors or closely involved in the Bank of Bisbee, the Bisbee Improvement Company, the Consolidated Printing and Publishing company, the Bank of Douglas, the Douglas Improvement Company and the El Paso and Southwestern Railroad. Therefore these men and their associates controlled banking, housing and transportation, as well as being in the position of shaping public opinion through the newspaper.
- <sup>52</sup> Until 1907 there were reports of Serbian miners who left Bisbee for Europe in the "Personal Notes" section of the *Bisbee Daily Review*. After that time only those Serbs who had become part of the business community appeared in that column. Even in reports of mine accidents reflect the different attitude of the community towards its Serbian miners: "A Slavonian with an unpronounceable name was slightly injured..." *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 10, 1909. In contrast note the same paper for April 21, 1903, December 5, 1905, January 6, 1906, January 16, 1906, March 2, 1906.
- <sup>53</sup> *Copper Era* (Clifton), September 19, 1901.
- <sup>54</sup> *Bisbee Daily Review*, May 27, 1903.
- <sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, April 13, 1904. See also issues for May 7, 27, 28, 1903.
- <sup>56</sup> Great Register, Cochise County, 1902.
- <sup>57</sup> Deeds of Real Estate, Cochise County, Book 15, p. 275; *Bisbee Daily Review*, Delinquent Tax List, Cochise County, March 1, 1903.
- <sup>58</sup> *Bisbee Daily Review*, March 22, 1905.
- <sup>59</sup> Bugen, interview.
- <sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>61</sup> *Bisbee Evening Miner*, April 7, 1907; Civil Judgments, Territorial, Cochise County, Reg. No. 4561.
- <sup>62</sup> *Bisbee Daily Review*, February 14, 1907.
- <sup>63</sup> Civil Judgments, Territorial, Cochise County, Reg. No. 4561.
- <sup>64</sup> *Bisbee Evening Miner*, April 9, 1907.
- <sup>65</sup> Civil Judgments, Territorial, Cochise County, Reg. No. 4561.
- <sup>66</sup> *Bisbee Evening Miner*, April 15, 1907.
- <sup>67</sup> Civil Judgments, Territorial, Cochise County, Reg. No. 4561.
- <sup>68</sup> *Bisbee Evening Miner*, April 15, 1907.
- <sup>69</sup> *Ibid.* See also James D. McBride, "The Western Federation of Miners and the Unionization of Bisbee," unpublished manuscript, paper delivered May 3, 1980, Prescott, Arizona, Arizona Historical Convention.
- <sup>70</sup> *Bisbee Daily Review*, April 14, 1907, June 21, 1907, June 23, 1907.
- <sup>71</sup> Civil Judgments, Territorial, Cochise County, Reg. No. 4561.
- <sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*
- <sup>73</sup> McBride, "Western Federation of Miners."
- <sup>74</sup> Bugen, interview.



<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>76</sup> *Bisbee Evening Miner*, October 15, 1908; *Bisbee Daily Review*, October 15, 1908.

<sup>77</sup> Bugen, interview.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> Mortgages, Cochise County, Cochise County Court House, Bisbee, Arizona, Book 24, p. 39.

<sup>81</sup> Bugen, interview.

<sup>82</sup> Bugen, interview; *F. A. McKinney's Bisbee-Warren District Directory, 1916-1917* (Bisbee: F. A. McKinney, 1916), p. 133.

<sup>83</sup> Bugen, interview.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>85</sup> Death Certificate, State of Arizona, Department of Vital Statistics, Phoenix, Arizona.

### A NOTE ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Mary Nicholanovich Hart is a Serbian-American whose father was born in Globe, Arizona. A former instructor at the University of Nevada, she is working on a major study of Yugoslav immigration to Arizona, and is the editor of *Serb World U.S.A.* a national bi-monthly magazine about Serbs in America.