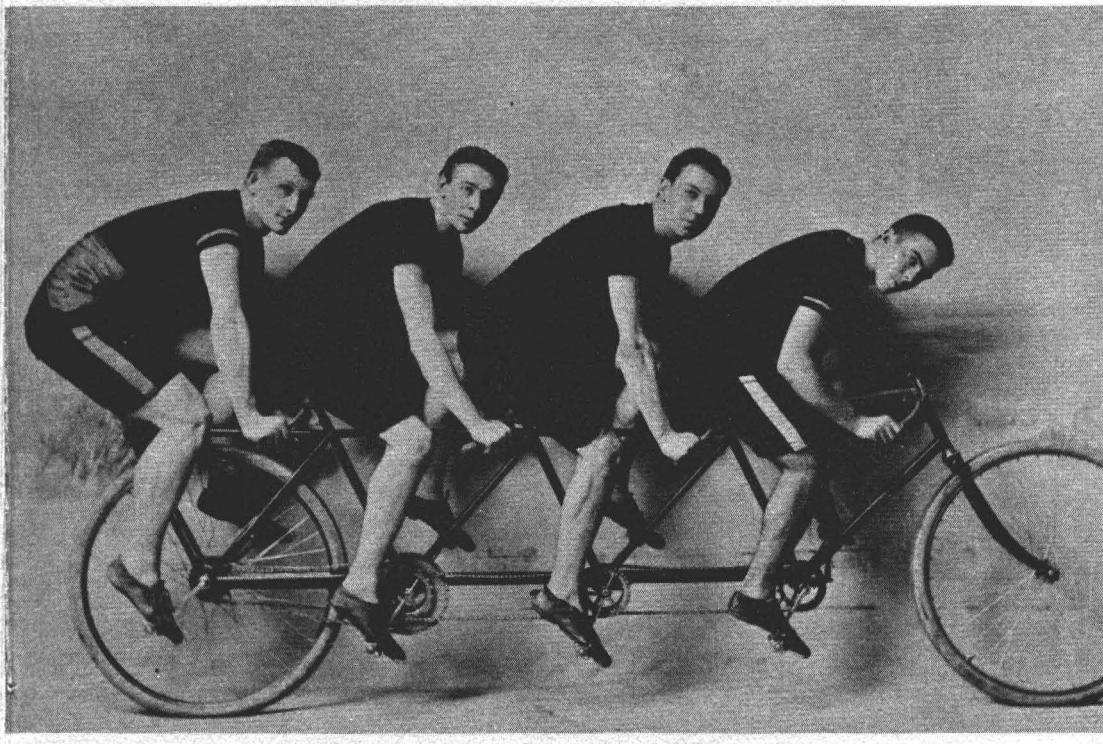
NEVADA Historical Society Quarterly



Summer · 1971

The Nevada Historical Society was founded in 1904 for the purpose of investigating topics pertaining to the early history of Nevada and of collecting relics for a museum. The Society maintains a library and museum at its Reno facility where historical materials of many kinds are on display to the public and are available to students and scholars.

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Reno Wheelmen with a "Rambler Quad." See story on p. 71.

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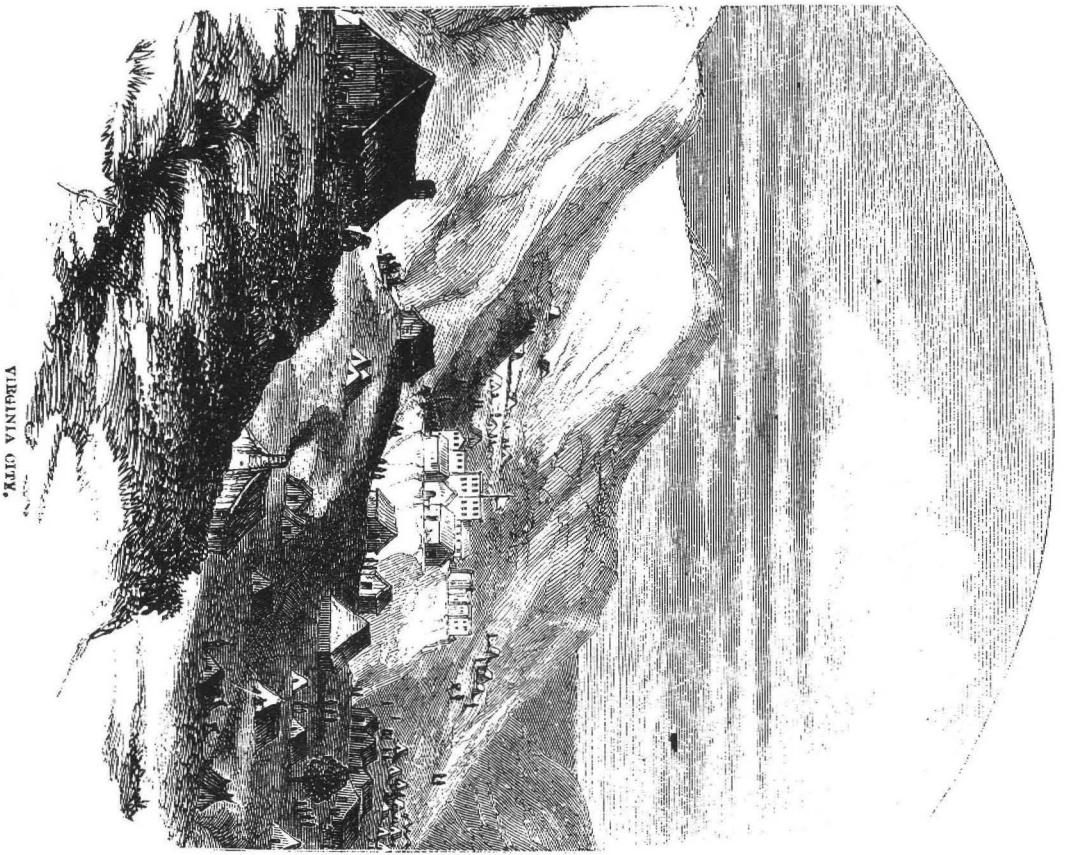

From "A Peep At Washoe," by J. Ross Browne, 1860.

God and Man in a Secular City

The Church in Virginia City, Nevada

by Francis P. Weisenburger

THE CITY throughout history has been the milieu of the highest culture and of the most sordid human degradation.[1] In the United States the rise of the city became an outstanding phenomenon of the post-Civil War years. In urban centers were to be found the great museums, art galleries, theaters, churches, and educational systems, as well as the most debasing slums, with their teeming tenements, brothels, and other dens of iniquity, vice, and corruption.[2] The story has been amply documented for great metropolises like Chicago,[3] but also for cities like Washington, Rochester, and Milwaukee.[4] In 1891, Lyman Abbott had emphasized the contrasts: "The city is not all bad, nor all good. It is humanity compressed, the best and the worst combined. . . ."[5]

When a community was a frontier outpost without established traditions, the dichotomy was especially pronounced. There, blustering individualism and latent hedonism struggled for supremacy over the never wholly repressed demands for law and order and the restraints associated with family and religious patterns. A noted historian asserts that the courage and energetic efforts of the pioneer "would have gone for naught had there not been planted in far flung communities of the west the seeds of moral, spiritual and cultural life . . . the uplifting of the Christian gospel."[6]

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If the struggles between the forces of "darkness and light" were severe in the city and especially so in a frontier community, the battle was further intensified when the community was a mining settlement. There the rapid accumulation of wealth meant that the easily acquired fortune of the mine owner and the often ample wages of the laborers in the underground shafts provided free spending on an elaborate scale. Yet, the question was ever present: Would the easy circulation of gold and silver be employed for the culture of the theatre, press, and the church, or for the self-indulgence which beckoned along paths of dissipation and debauchery?[7] For this there was no simple answer, and in Virginia City, once the mining capital of the West, complex forces struggled for mastery.

The typical mining community was dominantly masculine with easy-going standards, uninhibited by the restraining influence of women of refined character. Nowhere was this more true than in Virginia City. In the early days a man from Michigan had referred to the citizens of that community as a "semi-civilized race of savages."[8] A visitor in the 1860s commented that corruption in the town was "at a premium." If California in 1849 had been "a kind of vestibule of hell," Nevada was "the throne room of Pluto himself," a veritable "soul-devouring state of society," where Mammon was "the god of their idolatry."[9]

Even Hubert H. Bancroft, the sympathetic contemporary chronicler of the West, appraised the situation. As of 1863, its progress had been

> material rather than moral. Of all places on the planet, it was the paradise of evil-doers. . . . From the frequency of assaults, assassinations, and robberies, together with the many minor misdemeanors and suicides, one would think that the Washoe Valley had become the world's moral cesspool, the receptacle of prison offal from every quarter. . . . Bloated dissipation sunned itself in the street-corners, and lust and lewdness flaunted their gay attire along the thoroughfares. . . . One stated that it had become a receptacle for the vagrant, the vicious, and the unfortunate, who hasten to find in the excitements and social license incident to frontier life a condition congenial to their perturbed spirits and blasted hopes.[10]

In 1874, an agent of the California Bible Society reported that nowhere did the work of Bible distribution have greater urgency. He asked, "Is there a State in the whole Union where there is so little religious restraint, such ignorance of the Bible, such flaunting of its teaching, such Sabbath-breaking, such heaven-daring profanity, such common drunkenness, such unblushing licentiousness, and such glorying in shame—in short, is there another state where people so generally feel as though they were almost or quite out of God's moral jurisdiction?"[11]

"Excitement and social license," such as Bancroft wrote of, were indeed to be found in a multiplicity of allurements, and thousands of

men found relief from loneliness, boredom, and normal passions in this "city of sin."

Virginia City enthusiasts in 1869 claimed a population of fifteen thousand, but the census of 1870 enumerated fewer than half that number. Because of a fear that mining prosperity was transitory, most of the homes were humble wooden shacks closely packed together near the mills and dumps. Since the community was not congenial to sensitive women, many of the miners were unmarried, living in shoddy rookeries at exorbitant rents. In the evenings hundreds of workingmen sought diversion in the business district where medicine men and a variety of hawkers marketed their wares. Sometimes there were other attractions such as a spotted boy from Africa, a German ballad singer, a Fairy Queen dwarf, and a collection of snakes.[12]

Many of the recreational activities were those characteristic of the average American community—baseball, horse racing, roller skating, sleighing, circuses, the theatre, and dancing. Since the miners were well paid, had unattractive living quarters, and generally were without the amenities of family life, they were especially apt to seek diversion in paying their respects to the realms of Bacchus and Venus with further attention being given to gambling and animal baiting.[13]

Bars were numerous and included places like "The Comstock Cave," tastefully decorated with mountain and lake scenes and with glittering lamps and pretty waitresses. Very exclusive was the luxurious Washoe Club. But many places were crude and unattractive. Some men consumed a quart of whiskey a day, and in 1872, 16,000 barrels of beer were utilized during the year. Prominent people became alcoholics—witness the case of a well-known judge who proved unfit for his professional duties.[14] Some exploited the Paiute Indians living on the outskirts of the city by brazenly selling them liquor, thus causing much drunkenness.

Sex was basically uninhibited. Some of the mining tycoons were powerful enough to flaunt any conventional opinion with their extra-marital adventures. Two blocks of houses of ill fame, where madams such as Julia Bulette and Mrs. Warren conducted establishments, were well known in the community. Julia Bulette was an attractive woman of French extraction who was not without a reputation for charitable gifts. She often occupied a box at Piper's Opera House and maintained a lacquered carriage, the panel of which was decorated with a heraldic emblem.[15] There were also less decorous houses, such as that conducted by "Crazy" Kate Shea, and many in the Chinese quarter. Virginia City police in 1873 expressed the view that the local vice district was ten times as vicious as the notorious San Francisco "Barbary Coast" in its palmiest days. The "dens of infamy and degradation" seemed to outrival the Five Points District of Manhattan in "squalidness and crime."

In 1874, city aldermen were aroused to refuse licenses to six or eight of the "vile dens" where a "perfect Hell" on earth was to be found.[16]

Indecent exposure, the exploits of "Peeping Toms," and the raping even of children and old women frequently aroused the ire of established citizens.[17] Since gambling in mining stocks was widespread, ordinary games of chance seemed less consequential than might have been assumed. Some expressed the opinion that a miner gambled, frequently unsuccessfully, with life itself and so was uninhibited "over staking what he has picked up for himself."[18] People seemed ready to take chances on any kind of lottery. In 1870, a Nevada School Lottery attracted many patrons in Virginia City, as tickets sold "like hot cakes."[19] Indeed, lotteries became so numerous that prospectuses were commonly posted in the windows of jewelry stores, restaurants, and saloons. Even the Paiute Indians spent much time in pursuing this avocation.[20]

Violence, moreover, was for many years a way of life. One resident later recalled: "It was a wild world. . . . Attorneys in high boots sported derringers, while they made thousands in fees, and disappointed clients defied court decisions fortifying their mining shafts and arming their mines with muskets."[21] On a cruder level were ruffians like the Garnet Gang and the Mortimer Gang, who in 1864 and 1865 engaged in robbery and murder. In 1871 numerous shootings, murders, and incendiary fires led to the formation of a vigilance committee which hanged ruffians in an effort to protect the community from rampant lawlessness.[22]

The feuds of Chinese factions moreover, did not contribute to peace and quietude. In 1872 in Virginia City's Chinatown, a fight between the Yung Wo and the See Yup factions led to a brawl—as a result of which two were wounded and fifteen were placed in the municipal jail. A few days later a fire in Chinatown, possibly set by one Chinese faction, destroyed eighty buildings, leaving five hundred Chinese homeless.[23]

Perhaps such violence tended to make public opinion rather insensitive to cruelty to animals. In August, 1871, the Opera House was jammed for a fight between a bear and a bull, both of which had to be prodded into a fighting mood. On another occasion there was a savage encounter between two lynxes and a large white bulldog. Cockfights added to the variety of similar attractions.[24]

Yet there was another side to Virginia City. The wealth of the Comstock was such that the story of its fine restaurants, extraordinary theatrical fare at the Maguire and the Piper opera houses, and numerous musical and lecture engagements has often been told.[25] Opulence meant that hospitality often was expressed in lavish extravagance. In 1878, Judge Richard Rising's wife and a friend were hostesses to the "very creme de la creme" of Virginia City in the dining hall of the International Hotel, at what was termed "the most splendid private entertainment ever given" in the city. Floors and stairways were laid with canvas, and

there was a "glitter of rare robes, rarer jewels and joyous faces," as food and wine were served in a "prodigious outlay."[26]

The jewelry store of M. M. Frederick was merely one of numerous establishments catering to the wealth and taste of the affluent community. Late in 1873 Frederick returned after several months in Europe and brought back for sale costly articles from the Berlin Exposition.[27] A year later he displayed in his jewelry establishment the largest diamond reputed to be on display in Western America, one weighing over thirteen and a half carats, set in a ring, and other diamonds almost as large.[28]

During the wildest years the religious impulse was also present. A man dying in a gunfight earnestly appealed for consolation from a clergyman, regardless of his affiliation. Those reared in the Catholic tradition fervently sought the presence of a priest to enable them to make their "peace with God."[29] The difficulties were monumental, but numerous observers have testified to the devoted and sacrificial efforts of many clergymen.[30] A leading historian asserts, "No more self-sacrificing labor was ever accomplished than that performed by these heralds of religion."[31] In 1878, the Episcopal bishop of the area observed:

> No one who has not lived in a country where there is no Sunday for the working man, where the controlling desire of almost every man and woman is to get rich quickly, where few have any local attachments or think of making for themselves a permanent home, can have any just conception of the difficulty in maintaining a high standard of character in one's own life, or of leading others to strive to maintain it.[32]

The first religious group among the white settlers was made up of Latter-day Saints, but they were soon recalled to Salt Lake City.[33] As early as 1859 a local Methodist clergyman had labored in the Carson Valley, and in 1861 a regular pastor was assigned. He preached zealously in lodging houses and blacksmith shops, and a modest church edifice was erected. In 1864, a fine brick structure was completed, but a windstorm and a fire destroyed it. A third building was heavily damaged by wind in 1872 and then repaired, but it was consumed by the great fire of 1875. A fourth building was constructed in 1876.[34]

Methodist progress has often been associated with the enthusiasm of revivals, and in a community addicted to excitement the evangelistic approach was not ignored. In January, 1867, the Methodists cooperated in community evening prayer meetings which were held for three weeks, five times a week.[35] This series led to the coming of Absalom E. Earle, a nationally known Baptist evangelist, who minimized denominational differences so as to be termed the "Union evangelist."[36] It was reported that the city had never experienced so deep a religious awakening, for Earle's meetings were thronged every afternoon and evening with representative men and their families.[37] Earle was not sensational, his style being "familiar, earnest and argumentative," and he talked to the people "instead of

preaching to them."[38] On one evening in May, 1867, 140 persons arose at Earle's invitation, as they promised to lead better and more religious lives.[39] Later, when he departed for the East, admirers placed a thirty-pound silver brick in his hat.[40]

Six years later, Mrs. Maggie Van Cott, often considered to be the first woman preacher licensed by the Methodist Episcopal Church,[41] conducted a revival in the local Methodist Church. Nightly many came to the mourners' bench. In customary style, the evangelist moved from pew to pew, urging a profession of conversion. On one occasion she placed her hand on the head of a serious Cornish miner and inquired, "My friend, are you a laborer in the vineyard of the Lord?" The perplexed workman scratched his head and replied, "No, mum, I be working in 'ee Savage lower level [mine]."[42]

Occasionally a distinguished Methodist leader like Bishop Matthew Simpson, "Apostle of Modern Methodism," preached in the city, holding his audience in "wrapt attention, using the most classical language and beautiful imagery," and being interrupted from time to time "by hearty applause."[43]

The Catholic Church early began services in Virginia City.[44] In June, 1862, the Rev. Patrick Manogue became pastor, and in July, 1864, the church of St. Mary's in the Mountains was dedicated. In 1870, a new, larger edifice was dedicated. It was by far the finest church building in Nevada. An altar was imported from Toulon, France, and a bell weighing 2,264 pounds was brought from Troy, New York. The church was regularly filled for Sunday Mass, as the congregation included not only many humble miners but such an influential person as the wealthy silver tycoon, John W. Mackay.[45]

Just as Protestantism was represented on the lecture platform in Virginia City by men like Henry Ward Beecher, intellectually oriented Catholicism found a spokesman in Walter Elliott, the noted Paulist priest, who lectured in 1875 on "Certainty in Religion." The *Enterprise* commented that Father Elliott was eloquent, logical, profound, and scholarly, and that his sincerity was especially moving.[46]

Occasionally the visit of a representative of European Catholicism such as Bishop George Conroy of the Diocese of Ardagh in Ireland was received with much enthusiasm by local Catholics.[47] The Catholic Church did not follow the revivalistic patterns commonly utilized by evangelical Protestants, but, to deepen religious faith, preaching missions were held in Virginia City by priests of various religious orders.[48]

Some tensions developed in the community regarding the alleged dangers of Catholicism. In 1872, Edith O'Gorman, "The Escaped Nun," gave lectures at the Opera House on such topics as "Life in a Convent." During this period a sixty-member chapter of the American Protestant Association began to meet every Monday evening.[49] Some discussion was also stimulated by the newly decreed Catholic dogma of Papal Infallibility.

The outspoken *Enterprise* printed numerous articles in denunciation of it but looked upon the long time pastor of St. Mary's, Father Patrick Manogue, as one who transcended narrow religious commitments. The *Enterprise* recognized that he worked for the interests of his own church but that his good deeds were so widespread as "to fill a large sized volume."[50]

Father Manogue was indeed a beloved leader. A native of Ireland, he had come to the United States as a lad of eighteen in 1849. After studying in the United States and France, he had been ordained in 1861. During his early years on the Comstock his work was often hazardous. On one occasion, after a hard ride of 180 miles to give spiritual consolation to a man who had been sentenced to be hanged, he found that the man was not guilty as charged. In the bitter cold he rode to see Governor James W. Nye, who granted a reprieve and then a pardon. On another occasion the priest forced a pistol from the hands of a brutal husband who refused to allow him to administer the last rites of the church to a dying wife. He often settled difficulties between Irish miners and the Chinese who sometimes offered cheap competition in unskilled labor.[51]

By 1873, Father Manogue's health was impaired by years in the alkaline atmosphere, and he sought rest in California and then relaxation for six or seven months in Europe. When he returned in November, 1873, his parishioners serenaded him.[52] In 1881 he was consecrated as coadjutor bishop of the Grass Valley diocese and bishop in 1884. With the reorganization of diocesan boundaries, he became the first bishop of Sacramento, which post he held until his death in 1895.[53]

The disastrous fire of October, 1875, brought destruction to much of Virginia City, including the Catholic Church.[54] A new edifice was dedicated in September, 1877. Commodious and beautiful, with a rose window, it was considered the finest church in the Far West. John Mackay's generosity was partly responsible.[55] The church had about 2,500 regular worshippers, with an assistant pastor.[56]

Episcopalians had early appeared on the Comstock, holding services in the United States Court Room in 1861. St. Paul's Church had been organized in September and a church building soon erected.[57] The Rev. Ozi William Whitaker became rector in 1867. Appointed bishop of the meagerly populated diocese of Nevada and Arizona, in 1869 he went east to be consecrated and was absent for three months.[58] He continued as the popular rector of St. Paul's. The choir was one of the best in the West, and the Sunday School was the largest and most prosperous in the state. In 1874, a pipe organ, the only one in Nevada except for a small one in the Methodist church in Austin, was installed at a cost of $3,000.[59]

The Presbyterians, with a vigorous home missionary program, organized the First Presbyterian Church in September, 1862. In the ensuing twenty years, nine pastors served this congregation.[60] Among them was the Rev. William M. Martin, who came to an apathetic congregation in

November, 1864. He worked strenuously, making over one hundred pastoral calls a month and setting out with determination to build a new church. The trustees secured some mining stock and later sold it at a handsome profit. They bought four lots adjacent to the principal business district. On either side of the lot reserved for a church they erected stores. From the income they were able to meet nearly all current expenses, including the salary of the minister.[61] For a church building Martin obtained funds in San Francisco, Virginia City, and New York. He drew plans and contributed from his own means. Mrs. Martin inspired the women of the congregation to give $700 to the building fund and to raise $2,000 for furnishings. The result was a commodious, well equipped edifice. On dedication day Martin collected $1,000 so that the building was debt free. When he left because of his wife's health in 1867, his departure was generally regretted.[62]

For two years, beginning in 1869, the pastor was the Rev. William W. Macomber, who endeavored on Sunday evenings to bring enlightenment on intellectual topics such as the then much discussed question of "Papal Infallibility." He also dealt with the immorality which had led to the trial of Mrs. Laura Fair for the murder of her alleged paramour.[63] He took time to criticize such women in Virginia City as had, he averred, recently put on a private exhibition of art nudity for a dozen men for $1,200.[64] On leaving the congregation which had definitely been strengthened during his pastorate, he preached on "Parting Counsels," "Chicago's Disaster (lessons from the Great Fire)," and "The Voice of Science concerning the Conflagration of the World."[65] The church building, outside the extensive area destroyed by the Virginia City fire of 1875, served for a time as a meeting place for civic and other religious organizations.[66]

Among later pastors, the Rev. A. C. Gilles, who served from 1875 to 1878, antagonized some persons because of his stand against those implicated in a County Hospital scandal. Through the efforts of members who had been inactive for years, he was forced to resign.[67]

Sometimes dubious characters came in clerical garb. In August, 1872, a "Rev. Mr. Rittmeyer of the Missionary Society of Basle, Switzerland" was scheduled to hold services in French and German at the Presbyterian Church, but the engagement was abruptly cancelled when it was discovered that he had tried to shoplift in a Virginia City store.[68] But, of course, all visitors were not imposters, and the Rev. William Hughes of Racine, Wisconsin, preached in the Presbyterian Church in September, 1872, in behalf of the Welsh Home Missionary Society.[69]

Denominational zeal probably distracted from institutional effectiveness. The first Baptist church in Nevada was organized in 1863. Its members were practically all Negroes, and it was dissolved in 1865. Another congregation functioned from 1865 to 1867. The First Baptist Church of Virginia City was organized in 1873, and an edifice was erected, but it had five pastors over a period of seven years and was closed during most

of 1878.[70] There were two Negro Methodist churches, and for a time the Episcopalians sponsored a chapel for the Chinese residents.[71]

There was no Jewish synagogue, but the Jewish community made zealous efforts to observe holy occasions such as Yom Kippur (Day of Atonement), as in 1875 when services were held in the Court House. On one occasion a circumcision ceremony, with a rabbi from Carson City presiding, was followed by a delicious lunch with an abundance of wines and liquors. The *Enterprise* commented: "All were merry, though the little fellow who had just been made a Jew squalled most lustily."[72] After the great Chicago fire of 1871 the B'nai Brith of Virginia City subscribed $500 for the distressed Jews of the Illinois city.[73]

For many years the churches provided a necessary medium for the inculcation of basic virtues in the young and for social life compatible with the interests of the family. Accordingly, much of the friendly, companionable activities of Virginia City centered in the churches. As congregations sought to raise funds for their church buildings and other causes there were numerous fairs with booths of various kinds. A favorite booth was generally occupied by the "Old Woman in the Shoe," who sold her "children" in the form of dolls.[74] At one Catholic fair the Grand Prize was a silver brick worth $500.[75]

Such fairs were commonly held in the late fall, but sometimes one would be combined with a Strawberry Festival in June. The Episcopal Church held one for two nights in June, 1868. Some tables were loaded with strawberries and cream, others with fine handiwork for sale, and there was an art gallery with pictures like "Evening View of Boston" and "The Sleeping Beauty." Episcopalians were not averse to the church-sponsored social dancing with which the evening of enjoyment culminated.[76]

The Protestant churches had the usual Ladies' Aid and Missionary Societies, and the Catholic church its Altar and Rosary Society (in this instance combined). About five hundred Catholics were enrolled in the St. Vincent de Paul Society which sought to relieve want and suffering without regard to creed or nationality. The Catholic church also maintained St. Mary's Hospital and the Nevada Orphan Asylum. The miners were generous, and an annual fair to aid the Orphan Asylum usually netted over $10,000, even in dull times.[77] Evidences of humanitarian spirit, often prompted by religious feeling, were shown on occasions like that in September, 1873, when Mayor Hopkins and all the aldermen canvassed the town, soliciting funds for Mrs. McMullen, a widow who was sick and desolate and who had lost her home by fire a year previous.

In the early years few children were found in Virginia City, for all agreed that it was no place for the young. But, by 1873, there was a greater degree of law and order, and hundreds "of youngsters swarmed over the sides of Mt. Davidson." In the summers the Presbyterian,

Methodist, and Episcopal churches on occasion combined efforts in holding a Sunday School picnic at the Santiago Mill on the Carson River. In June, 1871, 300 children rode on the Virginia and Truckee Railroad to the picnic site. In June, 1878, the Presbyterian children had an excursion to the grounds of the Bowers Mansion. The *Enterprise* commented that, coming from essentially arid Virginia City, "There some of them for the first time in their lives will see grass on which they will be allowed to roll, and trees that are higher than their heads."[78]

Children also looked forward to Christmas festivities when the Presbyterian and Episcopal churches had Christmas trees loaded with gifts.[79] At St. Mary's Catholic Church, midnight Mass on Christmas Eve brought out large crowds for the service with its elaborate ritual but also to hear the "excellent choir," assisted by Rippingham's Brass Band.[80] Similarly, the Episcopal Church brought pageantry to the community each year on St. John's Day, when the Knight Templar Commandery attended services in full regalia.

The educational mission of the church was expressed not only by means of Sunday Schools but by the Catholic-sponsored St. Mary's School for Girls and St. Joseph's School for Boys.

Yet in Virginia City the overweening presence of nature, along with the self-indulgence and rapacity of man, often pointed away from deep religious commitment to an obvious secularism. The liberal sex mores seem to have affected the Rev. A. F. Hitchcock, pastor of the Methodist Church, who was removed in 1870 because "he loved a woman member not wisely but too well."[81]

One prominent religious leader, Thomas H. McGrath, moved to humane secularism. As a young man, beginning in 1859, he had served as Methodist pastor in boisterous mining towns in eastern California and in Nevada.[82] In 1870 he took charge of the Virginia City church, with sixty-five members.[83] He possessed a certain rough eloquence and his well attended Sunday evening lectures had won wide acclaim. He labored to secure the completion of a new brick edifice, and remained at this charge for three years.[84] In 1872, when he went east to attend the General Conference of the Methodist Church in Brooklyn, New York, various tokens of esteem, including a polished silver brick, were given to him.[85] But he was facing a problem. In another year, according to Methodist policy, he would be transferred to another charge, and he obviously did not wish to leave the excitement and challenge of Virginia City. He, moreover, had gradually moved away from the doctrines and rituals of Methodist orthodoxy. In the summer of 1873, it was announced at the Annual Nevada Methodist Conference that he had withdrawn from his congregation and his denomination.[86] Thereafter, he began preaching on a "broad platform" (essentially Unitarian) of his own.[87] The Liberal Religious Society was organized with McGrath as pastor.[88] Now he attracted interest with sermons on topics like "Science and Theology,"

and his departure from the older orthodoxy was evident in other subjects such as, "The Mythical Element in the Bible," "Circumstances and Self-Development," "Morals and Miracles," and "Skepticism." In 1878, John Tyerman, a popular Australian speaker who had lectured at Piper's Opera House on "Is There a Devil? or the Scarecrow of Christendom Unmasked," made an appearance before the Liberal Religious Society, speaking on "The World's Sixteen Crucified Saviors—Which is the Right One?"[89]

But McGrath remained at heart a Christian moralist. When Victoria Woodhull, the alleged apostle of free love,[90] lectured in the city, he countered with a discussion of "Marriage vs. Woodhullism."[91] On the other hand, he came to question the value of evangelistic services such as those which were held in the Virginia City Methodist Church late in 1873, as he lectured on "Religious Revivals."[92]

His secular interests prompted him to take an active interest in political concerns. Chicanery and bribery were part of the normal order of Nevada politics.[93] A test of honesty often involved whether votes bought for a price had actually been delivered. In 1874, McGrath used his pulpit to denounce the dominant Republican party.[94] In discussing "The Moral Aspects of Political Affairs in Storey County," he saw no remedy for the prevailing corruption but the utter destruction of the party. He referred to contracts for the delivery of votes, contracts which he said had been seen by men whom he knew. He declared that he would join a vigilance committee to drive away men who sold their votes. The *Enterprise* denied the existence of such contracts.[95] McGrath's attack was ineffective; the November elections provided a clear-cut Republican victory.[96]

McGrath continued as a leader in the city and was popularly known as "Father" McGrath. When, in April, 1878, after being thrown from a buggy he had to move around with the aid of a cane, he received much sympathy.[97] But the novelty provided by his humanistic society wore off, and after several years, the organization was abandoned. Friends then secured for him a livelihood as sexton of the Odd Fellows Cemetery.[98]

It is obvious that Virginia City, and, for that matter, all of Nevada, was not a fruitful area for the cultivation of a profoundly religious spirit. In 1870, there were only nineteen church buildings in the state—seven Methodist, six Catholic, three Presbyterian, and three Episcopalian.[99] At the approximate culmination of the silver era in Virginia City in 1880, the local Methodist church had only ninety members and the Presbyterian church 105.[100]

In a generation when faithful church-goers such as Abraham Lincoln and Rutherford B. Hayes shunned active affiliation, many men of exemplary habits did likewise, in part because of the supposed need for a dramatic experience of conversion, in part because of rigid doctrinal standards, and in part because of puritanical norms for private conduct.

In 1874, in the whole Episcopal diocese of Arizona and Nevada (in which St. Paul's, Virginia City, was the outstanding parish), there were only 44 male communicants along with 225 female members.[101] Yet the church was looked upon as an agency of stability, righteousness, and decorum, and a potent institution for the training of the young. In 1880, the Virginia City Methodist Church, with only 90 members, had 376 in its Sunday School. The Episcopal diocese had in 1880 only 340 communicants but had 1,202 Sunday School scholars and administered 448 baptisms.[102]

In 1875 Rutherford B. Hayes wrote to his son that if church going "does not Christianize, it generally civilizes," and for Hayes that was "reason enough for supporting the churches if there were no higher" reason.[103] It was clear that responsible citizens in Virginia City held to this view.

In 1874 the *Enterprise* observed that the churches were making progress in the community and that Sunday was much more generally observed than formerly. In 1871 eight leading clothing stores agreed to close for part of Sunday, and it appeared that this was a prelude to their closing for the entire day.[104] Some business houses still kept open to the dismay of strait-laced Puritans from the East, but seemingly Virginia City people were "fast becoming decently, not bigotedly, religious."[105] This meant that Sundays could be spent at Sunday School and church, or in taking walks or rides, or in attending the theatre, a boxing match, or a *Turnverein* entertainment.[106]

Although their views were a far cry from those of religious men in the ages of profound faith, sophisticated humanitarians were apt to concede that the church met a practical need in modern living. The *Enterprise* observed in relation to the Easter season of 1878:

> Easter "was meant from the first to give expression to a feeling of rejoicing, for mankind does not have happy days enough. . . . It furnishes symbols alike to the believer and the free thinker which are full of instruction and peace."[107]

But the exuberance of the mining prosperity was soon to pass away. In 1870, Virginia City had 7,048 inhabitants, and in 1880, with 10,917, it had more people than the combined population of the next two most populous towns in Nevada, Gold Hill (with 4,531) and Carson City (with 4,229).[108] In 1890 the population was 8,511, but the last decade of the nineteenth century witnessed a rapid decline, to 2,695 in 1900.[109] The decline continued, although from 1900 to 1910 the county in which Virginia City was located was one of only two in the state to show a decrease. In 1940 there were only 1,009 people in the whole township, and this number decreased to 630 in 1950 and 515 in 1960.[110] During recent years, Nevada has come to be one of the most rapidly growing states in the Union, but the Las Vegas and Reno areas, not Virginia City, have been the recipients of the increase.

With the decline of the community's population, a corresponding curtailment of religious activities occurred. In 1879, as Comstock prosperity had reached its height, the Methodist Church had 88 members, with 310 in the Sunday School.[111] Five years later it seemed advisable to combine the neighboring Gold Hill and Virginia City congregations in one charge with a membership of seventy. The Methodists had a traditional reluctance to the discontinuance of preaching services, but at times, as in 1897 and 1901, prospects became so discouraging that the minister appointed for a year left before the end of his assignment. In 1897, the situation was analyzed in a mood of chastened hope:

> At Virginia City, most earnest and faithful work has been done with fine results. Street meetings and revival meetings in the church have been blessed to the conversion of a number of souls. . . . The Comstock, once so famous in the history of the Battle Born State, steadily declines. When the end may come, no prophet has arisen to say. But as long as any considerable number of people remain the church must stay by them in its services. The prospect is not bright, but hope faileth not.[112]

A slight upturn in the economic life of the community stimulated a mood of cautious optimism in 1901, as it was reported:

> The prospects of this charge are somewhat brighter than they have been for some times past. The Sunday Schools are doing well. The Epworth League has again rallied. . . . The faithful few are encouraged. The mining and business interests are somewhat improved. The church and parsonage have been provided with electric lights.[113]

But this was veritable "whistling in the dark." Forty-six had been on the church rolls in 1900, but many of these had probably moved to other places. By 1903, a decrease of about one-third was noted, as thirty-one names were on the official register.[114] By 1907, twenty-three members were recorded. The Sunday School had thirty on the rolls with an average attendance of twenty. But there was no record of any contributions to current expenses, and no ministerial appointment was made for the following year. Methodism had at last given up the battle, in spite of the efforts of "the faithful few."[115]

A comparable fate was to overtake the long influential Protestant Episcopal congregation. In 1874 St. Paul's parish had a Sunday School of 400 pupils and 25 teachers, and for many years the rector had at least one assistant.[116] But, as people moved away after 1885, decline was inevitable. During the period between the World Wars, such services as were held were at a mission conducted by the rector at Carson City.[117] By 1940, the church was a deserted edifice. "Gaunt, with peeling paint, . . . this old structure is a symbol of dead hope," was the comment of

the Nevada WPA *Guide*.[118] After 1952 occasional services were conducted by a Minden rector, and the edifice was open to tourists, but in 1967 there were only three active parishioners.

The once thriving Presbyterian congregation persisted somewhat longer but was without a resident pastor in 1884. Yet, the denominational authorities endeavored to maintain an active church life, and a regular pastor in 1890 reported forty-five members.[119] The rapid exodus of people from the area in the 1890s, however, meant that in 1900, the church was again without a pastor, as only twenty-five members were reported.[120] By 1920, only eleven names were on the membership rolls and only $248 had been contributed during the previous year for congregational expenses. Thereafter, for over a quarter of a century, efforts were exerted to maintain a Sunday School while the church membership reached a vanishing point, but in 1950 it was officially reported that the congregation had been dissolved. A visitor in 1953 referred to the church building as "a vandal-wrecked shell."[121]

As the area declined in population, long established Roman Catholic institutional life had to be abandoned. In 1897, St. Mary's School for Girls and St. Joseph's School for Boys, the first Catholic schools in Nevada, were closed. In the same year, because of declining patronage, the church discontinued the operation of St. Louisa's Hospital which had opened in March, 1876.[122]

A federal census of 1926 indicated that there were only 299 church members in the county. Almost one-half were Catholics, and determined efforts were made to continue services.[123] Yet, during the Great Depression in 1931, the famed St. Mary's in the Mountains Roman Catholic Church became a mission of Carson City. With economic recovery, however, in June, 1935, the congregation again became a parish, and the church which had been generously aided two generations before by John W. Mackay, by far the most admirable of the "Silver Kings," continued to have a resident priest.[124]

But the church faced different problems than when, in the nineteenth century, it had sought to battle the alleged three gods of Virginia City—Venus, Bacchus, and Midas. Now, indifference, rather than hostility, on the part of many townspeople meant that of 110 nominal Catholics in the community, 60 had "fallen away," claiming to be "too busy to come to church." Beginning in 1962, Father Paul Meinecke endeavored to serve the community by keeping St. Mary's Church open both as a worship center and as a tourist attraction. To help meet expenses, an Art Gallery Museum and Gift Shop were maintained below the church.[125] To serve another need, the priest began to operate St. Mary's Art Center for students and professors (from May to October) in the old hospital building east of town.[126] Being in part a business man himself, he was asked to serve for a year as president of the local Business Men's Association.[127]

Sensitive churchmen were concerned that the church should exert a greater ethical and social impact, especially on young people in the community. Because the Presbyterian church was one of the few structures which had survived the fire of 1875 (as well as two later ones), it was partly restored in 1954 by community effort. Laymen from Carson City and Reno helped to maintain religious services for a decade thereafter.[128] Zealous Seventh Day Adventists from Carson City assisted with Sunday School classes. In 1965, a door-to-door canvass of the city was made by Presbyterians. The denomination subsequently provided the services of a young seminarian who was soon ordained to the ministry. Each week he came from across the California border to spend four days in Virginia City. The community was still a "city of sin" "where alcohol and gambling and prostitution are part of the daily scene," and where young people are exposed to "sexual experimentation" and to the newer craze for narcotics more definitely than in many other places.

The young minister, Howard J. Abbott, believed that the "Secular City" should be approached not in a spirit of sanctimonious condemnation, but in one of understanding and helpfulness. Accordingly, he tried to find rapport with those who frequented the old Comstock House, now known as the Longbranch Saloon, and was pleased to be invited to dinner by the owner. He found the experience mutually beneficial, as the people in the saloon seemed to discover "some of the new areas in which the church was experimenting."[129] He also made contact with a cultist group, the Christian Yoga Church, which occupied the site of the old Virginia City brewery. Some in the city looked upon these people as those "we once put in institutions," but now "let them run loose in Virginia City." Yet, members of the cult regularly on Sundays brought five children of neglectful Presbyterian parents to the Presbyterian Sunday School.

In 1966, twenty-five young people from the First Presbyterian Church of Burlingame, California, spent their Easter vacation painting the church, renovating the interior, and providing religious inspiration for the young people of Virginia City. An adult counselor was able to restore to working order the organ which had been in disuse for twenty years. In many ways moderate success attended the efforts which followed. The editor of the *Territorial Enterprise* remarked that the Presbyterians, "with an aggressive young sky pilot at the helm have become quite active."[130] The church in 1967 sponsored a professional play in the community that was well received, and participated actively in a new Town Hall Movement "to remove the slum conditions, the carnival atmosphere and to rebuild the community to the historic community it once was."[131] It was hoped that Virginia City might become an example church to the denomination in the area of ministries in leisure recreation.

Father Meinecke could state in 1967 that during five years of residence he had found "no anti-church sentiment in Virginia City,"[132] but the indifferentism previously mentioned. But the field was a discouraging

one and in 1968 the Presbyterian parson left the area for a charge in New Jersey. For some time Sunday School and church services were maintained through the help of Presbyterians from Carson City and Reno, but regular church attendance dwindled to eight or nine persons. In January, 1970, the Rev. David Tomlinson, a Presbyterian minister associated with the Nevada State Welfare Division, was appointed (in cooperation with the Presbyterian National Missions Committee) Supply Pastor on a part time basis. A youth choir of ten and a woman's fellowship of twelve were organized in March. The next month a Virginia City Protestant Parish was organized by the three active Episcopalians and the fifteen active Presbyterians. Arrangements were made for services in the Presbyterian church from October to May and in the Episcopal church from June to September. An Episcopalian lay reader assisted. Plans were made for a vacation church school in August, and the woman's group held a bake sale, planned a community dinner, and made white robes for the choir.[133]

The secular city continued to present difficulties. Father Meinecke had reported about fifty active parishioners in 1967, but in 1970 this number had dwindled to about thirty-one. The Presbyterian supply pastor journeyed each Sunday from Sparks, a distance of twenty-six miles, and faced the challenge of his opportunity with commendable zeal. But, Father Meinecke reported that he alone was ministering in the community during the week, hence he officiated at "all the funerals!!!"[134] Only time could tell what would be the future of organized religion in the community.

Notes

1. Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, Its Transformations, and Its Prospects* (New York, 1961); *The Historian and the City*, ed. by Oscar Handlin and John Burchard (Cambridge, Mass., 1963).

2. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr., *The Rise of the City* (N.Y., 1933), 436; Charles N. Glaab, *The American City: A Documentary History* (Homewood, Ill., 1963).

3. Bessie L. Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (3 vols., New York, 1937–1957).

4. Constance M. Green, *Washington* (2 vols., Princeton, 1962–63); Blake McKelvey, *Rochester* (4 vols., Cambridge, Mass., and Rochester, 1945–61); Bayrd Still, *Milwaukee* (Madison, 1948).

5. Introduction to Helen Campbell and others, *Darkness and Daylight* (Hartford, 1891), 42.

6. William W. Sweet, *Religion in the Development of American Culture* (N.Y., 1952), 145–146. For some ambiguities of the situation, see Lynn I. Perrigo, "Law and Order in Early Colorado Mining Camps," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVIII (1941), 41 ff.

7. For the struggle of a woman of sensitivity in another Nevada community, see Richard G. Lillard, "A Literate Woman in the Mines: The Diary of Rachel Haskell," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXXI (1944), 88 ff.

8. Quoted in Richard G. Lillard, *Desert Challenge: An Interpretation of Nevada* (New York, 1942), 37.

9. *Ibid.*, 224.

10. *The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft,* XXXVI (San Francisco, 1887), 601–602.

11. Col. Henry G. Shaw, "The Churches of Nevada," in Myron Angel, ed., *History of the State of Nevada* (Oakland, Cal., 1881), 191–192.

12. *Territorial Enterprise,* July 10, 1872; April 16, June 15, 1875.

13. *Ibid.,* Jan. 21, June 18, Aug. 3, 4, 1871.

14. *Ibid.,* July 15, Aug. 23, Sept. 23, 1871.

15. George Lyman, *The Saga of the Comstock Lode* (New York, 1934), 196; *Territorial Enterprise,* Dec. 12, 1873.

16. *Ibid.,* May 6, 1874. See also Wells Drury, *An Editor on the Comstock* (New York, 1936), with chapters on "100 Saloons," "Gentry of the Green Cloth," and "A Sporting Coterie."

17. *Territorial Enterprise,* May 8, 1868; March 26, 1872; Oct. 27, 1880.

18. *Ibid.,* Nov. 2, 1870.

19. *Ibid.,* Jan. 27, May 30, 1871.

20. *Ibid.,* Oct. 11, 1872.

21. "A Kid on the Comstock, Recollections of a Virginia City Boyhood," by John Taylor Waldorf, *The American West,* VII (March 1970), 11–17.

22. *Territorial Enterprise,* Aug. 1, 1873.

23. *Ibid.,* June 19, 1871; June 25, 1872.

24. *Ibid.,* Aug. 4, 5, 6, Sept. 23, 24, 1871.

25. See, *e.g.,* F. P. Weisenburger, *Idol of the West: The Fabulous Career of Rollin M. Daggett* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1965), 90–92.

26. *Territorial Enterprise,* Feb. 28, 1878.

27. *Ibid.,* Nov. 25, 1873.

28. *Ibid.,* Oct. 13, 1874.

29. George D. Lyman, *The Saga of the Comstock Lode,* 79–81.

30. Colin B. Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the American Frontier* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1939), 322–324.

31. Shaw, *loc. cit.,* 192. At nearby Gold Hill, the Rev. Valentine Rightmeyer, Pastor of the Methodist Church, died in 1873, seemingly of pneumonia, but it was found that the real cause was malnutrition, as he had deprived himself of sufficient food so that the numerous members of his family might have more. *Ibid.,* 209–210.

32. *Ibid.,* 192–193.

33. Later, polygamy stimulated a sensational interest among the people of Virginia City. From time to time, a speaker like Mrs. Ann Eliza Young, said to be the "nineteenth wife of Brigham Young," spoke movingly on topics such as "My Life in Bondage and Polygamy." Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise,* September 27, 30, 1874. In 1875, Mrs. T. B. N. Stenhouse gave a series of lectures, claiming to expose "The Inner Life of the Mormons," *Ibid.,* Feb. 12, 13, 1875. The *Enterprise* joined in the denunciation: "As well might you poultice a cancer with Mrs. Winslow's soothing syrup, or call a hyena from a graveyard by singing hymns to him, as to apply the same laws [of freedom of religion] to this race as are made to govern men who regard human life as sacred and reverence their oaths as binding upon their consciences. Of all the dark spots upon our country's history, there is not one, past or present, so black and loathsome, as Mormonism." July 27, 1875.

34. Shaw, *loc. cit.,* 207–208; *Enterprise,* July 16, 19, 1871.

35. *Territorial Enterprise,* Jan. 27, 1867.

36. William G. McLoughlin, *Modern Revivalism: Charles Grandison Finney to Billy Graham* (N.Y., 1959), 154–155.

37. *Territorial Enterprise,* May 11, June 23, 1867.

38. *Ibid.,* May 14, 1867.

39. *Ibid.,* May 19, 1867.

40. Shaw, *loc. cit.,* 195.

41. McLoughlin, *op. cit.,* 157–58. See also Bernard Weisberger, *They Gathered at the River, Revivalists and Their Impact on Religion in America* (Boston, 1958).

42. *Territorial Enterprise,* Dec. 14, 1873.

43. *Ibid.,* Aug. 29, 1878; Robert D. Clark, *The Life of Matthew Simpson* (N.Y., 1956).

44. Shaw, *loc. cit.,* says a small church was erected in 1860 but was soon leveled to the ground by a windstorm. John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the U.S.* (4 vols., Akron, Ohio, 1886–1892), IV, 713–714, states that services were being held "by 1863."

45. *Territorial Enterprise,* June 4, July 27, Sept. 8, Oct. 25, 1870; June 6, 1872.

46. *Ibid.,* June 13, 15, 1875.

47. *Territorial Enterprise,* April 27, 1878.

48. *Ibid.,* April 13, 1878. For the widespread use of these missions, see Weisenburger, *Triumph of Faith: Contributions of the Church to American Life, 1865–1900* (Columbus, Ohio, 1962), 56.

49. *Territorial Enterprise,* January 20, Sept. 22, 25, 28, 1872.

50. *Territorial Enterprise,* March 9, 1871.

51. Shaw, *loc. cit.,* 207.

52. *Territorial Enterprise,* May 4, Nov. 21, 1873.

53. *The Official Catholic Directory, 1925* (New York, 1925), 621.

54. The *Enterprise* reported: "The churches are gone, and the clergymen are practicing rather than preaching; but the city is full of sermons . . . of patience, of self-sacrifice, of courage." Oct. 30, 1875.

55. *Territorial Enterprise,* Sept. 16, 1877; Oscar Lewis, *Silver Kings* (New York, 1947), 60.

56. Shaw, *loc. cit.,* 205.

57. *Territorial Enterprise,* June 6, 1872. For a time a Rev. Mr. Lathrop was rector. *Ibid.,* Jan. 6, 1867.

58. *Ibid.,* July 2, 1869.

59. *Ibid.,* Aug. 30, Sept. 10, 16, 17, 22, 1874. Whitaker later became Coadjutor Bishop of Pennsylvania in 1886 and served as Bishop from 1887 to 1911.

60. Shaw, *loc. cit.,* 215.

61. *Ibid.*

62. *Ibid.,* July 14, 1867. The congregation was a "New School" one, until the "New School" and "Old School" united in 1871 to form the "Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A."

63. This case gained considerable notoriety. Mrs. Fair was an adventuress whose fourth husband, Colonel Fair, committed suicide in a jealous rage. A wealthy lawyer became infatuated with her, and she became his mistress. He provided for her financially in a generous way, but in an angry mood she killed him and was convicted of first degree murder. *Ibid.,* April 27, 1871.

64. *Ibid.*, April 18, 1871.

65. *Ibid.*, Nov. 5, 1871.

66. *Ibid.*, Nov. 5, 1875.

67. *Ibid.*, May 11, Nov. 28, 1878.

68. *Ibid.*, Aug. 15, 1872.

69. *Ibid.*, Sept. 13, 1872. Later, in 1874–75, Sunday services were held in the Welsh language for Welsh miners in Miner's Union Hall, but it was not feasible to organize a congregation. Shaw, *loc. cit.*, 196.

70. *Territorial Enterprise,* Dec. 14, 16, 1873; June 23, July 12, 1874; and Shaw, *loc. cit.*, 217–218. The Congregationalists long had no congregation in Nevada. Eventually one was established at Reno. In 1881, it had twenty-eight members. *Congregational Year Book, 1882* (Boston, 1882), 156.

71. Spiritualists and conservative Bible Christians held meetings but never organized active societies. Shaw, *loc. cit.*, 196.

72. *Territorial Enterprise,* April 13, 1869.

73. *Ibid.*, Oct. 13, 1871.

74. *Ibid.*, Dec. 7, 1877.

75. *Ibid.*, Nov. 3, 1877.

76. *Ibid.*, June 12, 1868.

77. *Ibid.*, June 11, 1867; Shaw, *loc. cit.*, 206; Marvin Lewis, ed., *The Mining Frontier* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1967), 168, quoting J. N. Flint, "The Comstock in Early Days," San Francisco *Call,* July 28, 1889.

78. *Territorial Enterprise,* June 21, 1871; June 15, 1878.

79. *Ibid.*, Dec. 23, 1873.

80. *Ibid.*, Dec. 24, 1868.

81. Col. Henry G. Shaw, "The Churches of Nevada," in Myron Angel, ed., *op. cit.*, 208.

82. His activities can be traced in the *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church,* such as the volume for 1859 (N.Y., 1859), 288–292.

83. *Ibid., 1870* (N.Y., 1870), 160.

84. *Ibid., 1873* (N.Y., 1873), 120.

85. *Territorial Enterprise,* Apr. 16, 1872.

86. *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1873* (N.Y., 1873), 120.

87. *Territorial Enterprise,* Aug. 3, 1873.

88. Services were held first in Piper's Opera House and later in National Guard Hall. *Ibid.*, Aug. 17, 19, 1873.

89. *Ibid.*, Aug. 31, Sept. 7, Oct. 19, 1873; Oct. 4, 1874. Previously, in June, 1873, Benjamin F. Underwood, an aggressive freethinker who was a "terror" of the orthodox churches, spoke at National Guard Hall on "The Influences of Christianity on Civilization." *Ibid.*, June 21, 1873.

90. M. M. Vicky Marberry, *Victoria Woodhull* (N.Y., 1967); Johanna Johnson, *The Incredible Saga of Victoria Woodhull* (N.Y., 1967).

91. *Territorial Enterprise,* May 24, 1874.

92. *Ibid.*, Dec. 14, 1873.

93. Gilman M. Ostrander, *Nevada: The Great Rotten Borough* (N.Y., 1966); Weisenburger, *Idol of the West,* 96–97, 118–120.

94. *Territorial Enterprise,* Oct. 21, 1874.

95. *Ibid.*, Oct. 22, 28, 29, 1874.

96. *Ibid.*, Nov. 5, 1874.

97. *Ibid.*, Apr. 27, 1878.

98. Shaw, *loc. cit.*, 195, 208.

99. *Compendium of the Ninth Census, 1870* (Washington, 1872), 518–527.

100. *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1880* (N.Y., 1880), 367; *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.* (N.Y., 1880), 40.

101. *Journal of . . . the Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A., 1874* (Hartford, Conn., 1875), 487.

102. *Ibid., 1880* (Boston, 1881) 364. The desire for a Christian burial is indicated by the fact that the Episcopal Church had 327 funerals during the year.

103. To Webb C. Hayes, March 1, 1875, in Charles R. Williams, ed. *Diary and Letters of Rutherford B. Hayes* (Columbus, Ohio, 1922–1926), III, 267.

104. *Territorial Enterprise,* May 21, 1871.

105. *Ibid.*, July 21, 1874.

106. *Ibid.*, March 17, 1874.

107. *Ibid.*, April 21, 1878.

108. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *A Compendium of the Ninth Census, 1870* (Washington, 1872), 256; *Ibid., 1880* (Washington, 1885), 394.

109. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Abstract of the Twelfth Census of the U.S., 1900* (Washington, 1902), 143.

110. U.S. Bureau of the Census, *U.S. Census of Population: 1960.* Vol. I, *Characteristics of the Population.* Part 30, *Nevada* (Washington, 1963), 30–39.

111. *Minutes of the Nevada Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1879* (San Francisco, 1879), 13, in Beeghly Library, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.

112. E. W. Van Deventer, District Superintendent, in *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Nevada Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 1898* (Kansas City, Kansas, 1898), 24, in Beeghly Library.

113. *Official Journal of the Seventeenth Annual Session of the Nevada Mission of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (Denver, 1901), 81, in Beeghly Library.

114. *Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church* (New York, n.d.), 635; *Ibid., 1903* (New York, n.d.), 636.

115. *Ibid., 1907* (Reno, 1907), 47, in Beeghly Library.

116. The Nevada Historical Records Survey Project, WPA, *Inventory of the Church Archives of Nevada: Protestant Episcopal Church* (Reno, 1941), 8.

117. *Ibid.*, 114. In 1924, the number of communicant members was listed as 60. *The Living Church Annual, 1925* (Milwaukee, 1924), 352. Twelve were included in 1942. *Ibid., 1943* (New York, 1942), 275.

118. WPA, *Nevada: A Guide to the Silver State* (Portland, Oregon, 1940), 284.

119. *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1884* (Philadelphia, 1884), 456.

120. *Ibid., 1890* (Philadelphia, 1890), 533; *ibid., 1900* (Philadelphia, 1900), 373.

121. *Ibid., 1920* (Philadelphia, 1920), 488; *ibid., 1950* (Philadelphia, 1950), 531; Muriel S. Wolle, *The Bonanza Trail: Ghost Towns and Mining Camps of the West* (Bloomington, Ind., 1953), 335.

122. The Nevada Historical Records Survey Project, WPA, *Inventory of the Church Archives of Nevada: The Roman Catholic Church* (Reno, 1939), 13–14.

123. U.S. Dept. of Commerce: Bureau of the Census, *Religious Bodies, 1926,* Vol. I (Washington, 1930), 643.

124. WPA, *Inventory of Church Archives of Nevada: The Roman Catholic Church,* 13–14; *The Official Catholic Directory, 1967* (New York, 1967), 715.

125. Father Paul Meinecke to the author, Virginia City, October 1, 1967.

126. Prison labor helped with this rehabilitation.

127. Father Meinecke, recognizing Virginia City's role as a tourist center, became active in restoring twenty pioneer cemeteries and also St. Mary's Church to its earlier "magnificence."

128. Reverend W. E. Clawson, Jr. to the author, Reno, Nevada, October 19, 1967.

129. Howard J. Abbott, "The Mission of the Church in Virginia City," a fourteen-page mimeographed report, n.p., n.d. The young clergyman also noted that when a family suffered severe business reverses, the "beatniks" of the Longbranch Saloon, rather than others, helped to tide the people over a discouraging period.

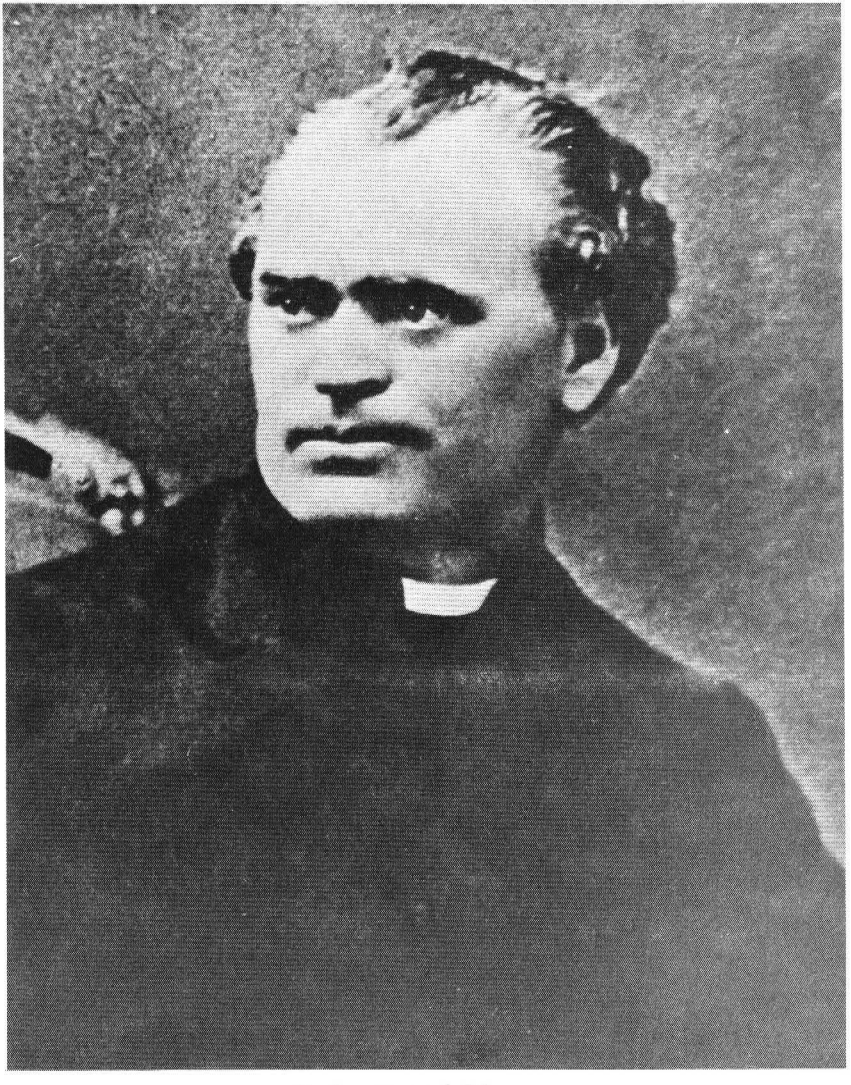
130. Bob Richards to the author, Virginia City, Nevada, September 30, 1967.

131. Reverend Howard J. Abbott to the author, South Lake Tahoe, California, March 4, 1968.

132. Father Paul Meinecke to the author, Virginia City, Nevada, October 1, 1967.

133. Rev. David T. Tomlinson to the author, Reno, Nevada, July 8, 1970.

134. Father Paul Meinecke to the author, Virginia City, Nevada, July 10, 1970.



Father Patrick Manogue

Patrick Manogue, Gold Miner and Bishop

And His "Cathedral on the Comstock"

by John Bernard McGloin, S.J.

SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1935, was a day to remember in the colorful history of St. Mary in the Mountains Church, Virginia City, which is sometimes referred to as the "Cathedral on the Comstock."[1] As a warm sun shone down upon its lofty spire, the church's clear-toned bell pealed in accents of joy. Within its walls were gathered the descendants (among others present) of those pioneer Catholics who, in decades now long gone, had come to Mount Davidson and vicinity in search of precious metals; that day saw their scions return to pay tribute to the priest who built the impressive church and, for some fleeting hours, to salute the venerable church itself. Two archbishops, eleven bishops, and many priests and sisters joined an overflow congregation to thank God for the seventy-five years which had passed since, in 1860, the first of four churches had been built in Virginia City. Archbishop John J. Mitty[2] came from San Francisco to offer the Mass of thanksgiving; Bishop Thomas K. Gorman,[3] first shepherd of the yet young diocese of Reno (it was only four years old in 1935) presided in the sanctuary, and an

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eloquent and reflective sermon was preached by Bishop Robert J. Armstrong[4] of Sacramento. His last few words merit quotation:

> There is a fascination to ghost towns. People love to visit these relics of departed glory, to see these ruined homes, the silent mills, the gaping holes, and to meditate on the disappointments and futility of man's labor; however, we are here rejoicing in a faith that never dies, visiting a sanctuary, the birthplace of religion in Nevada. To us it is dear as the cradle of our faith.[5]

Early in 1858, word reached post-Gold Rush San Francisco, from what came to be known as the Comstock Lode, of actual discoveries and hoped-for bonanzas; reports also came from small settlements at Genoa and Carson City which served to verify the first accounts. Archbishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany[6] was still young in his episcopal cares, for it was only five years previously, in 1853, that he had been named to his post. The considerable ecclesiastical territory assigned to him included what is now the entire state of Nevada, and for this reason Alemany sent one of his priests, Father Joseph Gallagher[7] to study conditions, make a sort of apostolic foray, and offer Mass and administer the sacraments to those scattered Catholics he might meet in the area of the exciting new discoveries. This was done, and although no church edifice resulted from Gallagher's trip in the summer of 1858, it would appear most probable that he offered Mass more than once in various private dwellings on the divide and vicinity. Two years later in 1860, his brother, Father Hugh Gallagher,[8] also a priest and destined later to become quite prominent in Catholic annals in San Francisco, visited Virginia City: the growing city could boast of a population of 2,345, and had forty-two saloons, the same number of general stores, nine doctors, a dentist, no lawyers, and no ministers of religion. Small and impermanent churches were built in Genoa as well as in Carson City, and in August, 1860, the second Father Gallagher built a tiny edifice on the divide between Virginia City and Gold Hill—which promptly collapsed in a severe storm several months later. Built on a spot called the "crossroad of the winds," it succumbed, as indicated, when put to the test of the Washoe Zephyrs. Before he could replace it, Gallagher was recalled to San Francisco because of a change made in the territory which formed the ecclesiastical province of San Francisco. Nevada was now to be part of the newly established vicariate apostolic of Marysville, California, whose first bishop was announced as Eugene O'Connell.[9] The new prelate found it both imperative and convenient to send one of his few priests to seek souls east of the Sierra in the shadow of Mount Davidson. As will be seen, his choice was to be a fortunate one.

After some of the ups and downs which are characteristic of the mining camps of the day, Virginia City increased in population from 4,000 (in the fall of 1862) to about 15,000 in the following summer. Along with this change came the arrival of the priest referred to above,

for in June, 1862, the newly ordained Patrick Manogue was assigned by Bishop O'Connell as pastor of what was, in fact, the entire territory of Nevada. The present St. Mary in the Mountains Church is his monument.

Patrick Manogue,[10] destined to become a bishop in his church after a unique apprenticeship as a gold miner, was born in County Clare, Ireland, in 1831. Having been orphaned at the age of three, he came to the United States in 1848 when he was seventeen years old to join others of his large family in Hartford, Connecticut, from which, after two years, he made his way to St. Mary's Seminary in Chicago to study for the priesthood. His money ran out, however, and the enterprising and ambitious young Irishman decided to answer a call to the gold mines of California where he hoped not only to help his own financial wants but to contribute, if he could, to the education of some of his brothers and sisters. It was in 1854 and at Moore's Flat, located about twenty miles from Nevada City, California, that Pat Manogue began his hard work as a gold miner; and his partner as well as others could testify later on that he was a conscientious worker who rapidly gained respect among his companions for the solid religious values which he was unafraid to exhibit. A full two years of this sort of life followed until he again found it possible to continue priestly studies with the help of Archbishop Alemany, who, in visiting the area, had made Manogue's acquaintance. It was Alemany who caused Manogue to return to Europe where, at the famed seminary of Saint Sulpice in Paris, he continued his studies and where, on December 21, 1861, he reached his goal of priestly ordination. At age thirty, Father Manogue was five or six years older than are most at ordination to the priesthood; however, it may well have been true that the added maturity which came to him because of his making his way to the priesthood under somewhat difficult circumstances proved quite beneficial to him as well as furnishing a key to his outstanding accomplishments in later years. Certainly, there are convincing proofs that Manogue exhibited abundant evidences of solidity of character all throughout his years of service both as a priest and as bishop of his church.

In the early months of 1862 the newly ordained Father Manogue returned to California to begin his career of priestly service. While Archbishop Alemany would much have liked to make use of those services, he allowed Manogue, because of his unique background in northern California as well as the scarcity of priests there, to join forces with Bishop O'Connell who had asked Alemany for his help. This will explain how and why Father Manogue arrived in Virginia City in the summer of 1862, for Bishop O'Connell not only needed someone to build a church for the Catholics on the Comstock, but he rightly considered that these same people would react favorably and even enthusiastically to a priest who had labored in the mines just as many of them were

doing. He was not mistaken: the popularity of the young pastor was immediate and lasting and it was not long before he had started a needed church at the corner of F and Smith streets. In mid-July, Bishop O'Connell came to the Comstock to join with a joyful people, some of them not of the Catholic faith, in the dedication of a small Catholic church. In a few years it proved too small, and another church was built and was dedicated on November 20, 1870. All proceeded with a certain serenity, if indeed this can be said of the daily goings on in a mining camp milieu, until the fateful day of destruction came to St. Mary's as well as to much of Virginia City. On October 25, 1875, the scourge of fire afflicted both and brought great devastation and ruin. A Presbyterian minister who was an eye witness, the Reverend James Wood, thus described what he saw:

> I witnessed the terrible fire; the alarm was given just after daylight. A strong wind was blowing down from Mount Davidson and the flames spread with terrible rapidity. Soon both the Methodist and Episcopal churches were wreathed in flames; the Catholic church was brick and a vast throng of its members worked with fierce energy; however, soon its spire was in flames, the roof blazed and, in a short time, fell in.[11]

As expected, many of the afflicted community soon helped Father Manogue in his plans for the rebuilding of his beloved edifice on the same site; all through 1876 the work went on and finally, on September 16, 1877, Bishop O'Connell journeyed back to Virginia City from Marysville to dedicate a new and better St. Mary in the Mountains. This is the church which still serves today.

It would seem that there are at least two Virginia Citys, or perhaps even more, depending on one's individual point of view; it would seem also that what one gets out of a visit there even today will depend on what viewpoint or sense of values one has. First of all, there is the quite evident Virginia City of the transient tourists and the like who stroll along C Street and find there an interesting slice of the early history of the west; then there is the truer and more authentic Virginia City of verifiable history—once a bustling mining camp with all that the term implies. For the most part, an essentially hard and largely unromantic life was the daily lot of the miners and their families; the former worked and worked hard almost every day in the year unless temporarily downed by sickness or permanently by death—and deaths from mining accidents were by no means uncommon in those days. Each day heard the incessant and strident pounding of the stamp mills and this went on, not infrequently, all through the night as well. Underneath, the ground rumbled with occasional explosions set in the mines and billowing black smoke filled the atmosphere; it can hardly be called an exaggeration, then, to call life in Virginia City and thereabouts both hard and difficult for practically all who had to live there.

If there are, then, at least two distinct aspects in the life of Virginia City, it would seem that the same can be said of two distinct phases in the life of St. Mary in the Mountains Church. It would be too much to expect that a structure so important would escape at least partial victimizing by venerable or newly contrived legends—all of them interesting and most of them, by definition, quite untrue. For example, visitors have been told (although they are probably not told so now) that the pleasant sounding bell in the belfry of St. Mary's is cast of silver "mined here on the Comstock"; however, an official assay report on file in church archives establises the fact that the bell is cast of an alloy consisting of three quarters copper and one quarter iron. Silver toned? Perhaps. Cast of "silver mined on the Comstock"? This belongs to legend.

Another tale, and this one is more formidable and substantial even in its falsity, has it that on the destructive October 25, 1875, which saw the church burned, Father Manogue allowed the building to be dynamited to provide a needed fire break, and that this generous and sacrificial action served to save much of the southern part of the city as well as to further enshrine him in the memories of those whose homes were saved by this decision. But the Reverend Wood has told us what really happened; besides, one might ask why a brick church would be dynamited when its thick walls already provided a needed fire break? As those of the historical profession know full well, many people batten and fatten on local legends and St. Mary in the Mountains has been no exception in this regard.

Not at all belonging to legend but very much part of the true history of the building is that day, early in 1881, when the gold miner who had become the beloved Father Manogue returned home from San Francisco where he had been ordained a bishop by that same Archbishop Alemany who had encouraged his earlier desires for the priesthood. The impressive ceremony of episcopal consecration had taken place in St. Mary's Cathedral—and this is substantially the same church that is known today as "Old St. Mary's" on the fringe of San Francisco's Chinatown. To the Comstock and to his "cathedral" did Bishop Patrick Manogue, now fifty years old and twenty years a priest, return. It would seem to be a justifiable use of historical imagination to imagine that first pontifical Mass of Bishop Manogue within the walls of his beloved church and in the presence of an overflow congregation of those who bore him respect and love. What a sight that must have been as the already tall Manogue, his height now augmented by the mitre of his office, made his way down the aisle to a familiar altar and sanctuary with episcopal staff in hand, bestowing blessings as he walked past his parishioners and friends. It was given to the newly consecrated bishop, who was officially designated as coadjutor (assistant) bishop of Grass Valley (to aid the aging Bishop O'Connell) to remain as pastor of St. Mary's for several years more. In 1884, Bishop Manogue succeeded Bishop O'Connell in the see of Grass

Valley when the latter requested that he be allowed to rest from his long and arduous labors. This meant an end to the happy and colorful years which Manogue had spent in Virginia City. A further and important change came in 1886 when the name of the diocese of Grass Valley was changed to that of Sacramento, which had acquired additional importance because of its being the capital city of California. Bishop Manogue was "translated"—to use the ecclesiastical term—to Sacramento where he served as first bishop until his death there in 1895. The very impressive cathedral of the Blessed Sacrament in downtown Sacramento is his monument there, for he constructed it during his years in the capital. However, it is probably not too much to conjecture that his thoughts must frequently have returned to his days on the Comstock in the shadow of Mount Davidson. (They do say that persons have a homing instinct which causes them to recall with affection the earlier years which have been marked by both vigour and success.)

A considerable succession of pastors has served St. Mary in the Mountains Church from its dedication in 1876 until the present time. However, it would be ungenerous not to mention briefly the work of the incumbent, the Reverend Paul Meinecke, who has made the history of his church a matter of intensive research and who has tried to restore what he could of the edifice in an endeavor to bring out its dignity and historical character. Finally, a salute would seem to be appropriate to the still imposing building itself, which still surprises those who view it for the first time—for it is hardly characteristic of mining camps to find such a structure among the diverse buildings which characterize such cities and towns. Finally, a salute to Patrick Manogue, commemorated even now among priests who knew him not, but who have been the recipients of many a tale about his apostolic prowess, his personal bravery, and the many other facets of his colorful career. There is a bit of verse about him:

> Of all the bishops who are now in vogue,
> The greatest indeed is Patrick Manogue!

Notes

1. A completely satisfying history of St. Mary in the Mountains Church has yet to be published. However, a representative study is in an unpublished M.A. thesis (University of San Francisco, 1969) entitled; *History of the Catholic Church in Virginia City, Nevada. St. Mary's in the Mountains, 1860–1967.* It was written by Sister Frederick Ann Hehr, O.P.

2. John J. Mitty (1884–1961) served as the fourth Archbishop of San Francisco from 1935 until his death. As "metropolitan archbishop" of the ecclesiastical province of San Francisco, his jurisdiction included the diocese of Reno, Nevada, which accounts for his acting as celebrant of the Mass of thanksgiving here mentioned.

3. Thomas K. Gorman (1892–19....) was the first bishop of Reno from 1931 to 1952; in the latter year he was transferred to other episcopal duties in Dallas, Texas.

4. Robert J. Armstrong (1884–1957) was the fourth bishop of Sacramento, from 1929 to 1957. He was a beloved prelate whose ways remind students of Bishop Patrick Manogue.

5. Thomas K. Gorman, *Seventy-Five Years of Catholic Life in Nevada* (Reno, Nevada, 1935), p. 118.

6. On Alemany, see the present author's *California's First Archbishop: the Life of Joseph Sadoc Alemany, O.P., 1814–1888* (New York, 1966).

7. The Reverend Joseph Gallagher (1821–1887) was ordained a priest in 1847 and served in the archdiocese of San Francisco under Alemany.

8. The Reverend Hugh Gallagher (1815–1882) was ordained in 1840 and, as mentioned, played a prominent role in the archdiocese of San Francisco for many years.

9. Eugene O'Connell (1815–1891) served as vicar apostolic of Marysville, California, from 1861 to 1868 and as first bishop of the diocese of Grass Valley from 1868 to 1884. In both capacities, his territory included the territory and later the State of Nevada, which will explain his officiating on key occasions in St. Mary in the Mountains Church. While no published life of this pioneer prelate exists, there is a carefully researched and well written M.A. thesis on file concerning him at the University of San Francisco. See Harry Ley, *Eugene O'Connell, Pioneer Bishop of Northern California.* The Ley study was completed in 1968.

10. Patrick Manogue (1831–1895), whose key dates have already been indicated in this article, has also lacked a critical and complete biography up to now. Because of his unfortunate penchant to destroy most of his personal papers, there will probably never be such a study of his life. Written for juveniles, but substantially accurate, is Floyd Anderson's *Gold Rush Bishop* (Milwaukee, 1962). As expected, Manogue is mentioned, at least in passing, in several accounts of Nevada's past. See, *e.g.*, Myron Angel, *History of Nevada,* (published first in 1881), pp. 205–207, where Manogue is characterized as "having a heart as warm as the tropics and as big as his body." Additionally, there is an unpublished M.A. thesis on file at the University of California, Berkeley: see Clarence Kline, *Patrick Manogue, Miner, Priest, Pastor, Bishop.*

11. Leon L. Loofbourow, *Steeples Among the Sage: a Centennial Story of Nevada's Churches* (San Francisco, 1964), p. 39.

12. See the Reverend Joseph Phelan, *The Poetical Works and Biographical Remarks of Reverend Joseph Phelan with Album Scraps and Catholic Poems* (San Francisco, 1902). Actually, the version given here and still occasionally heard quoted is a variant of the original as written by Father Phelan:

> Times and people shall always change,
> And fresh men come into vogue;
> But few will have the heart and range
> Of the lamented Bishop Manogue.

The Yager Journals: Diary of a Journey Across the Plains

Part Six

Camp Sanjonquin[213] *(San-wa-kean) Thursday 22*[214]. We left camp early continueing down the river over fine roads; country continueing level with just enough spreading oak to make pretty woods pastures. No other kind of timber. This oak, which has been the principal kind of timber this side of Sutter, has a small leaf like a damsen or plum & long sharp acorns. The fencing along here is principaly brush. Four miles brought us to Lockford[215] a small vilage. The bottom of the Mokelumne[216] (Ma-kal-a-ma) here is very beautiful. Fine corne cut up and shocked on the bottom. The roads fork at this point the right hand continueing down the river to Woodbridge & Mokelumne City, We took the left going to Stockton. We are now in Sanjonquin (San-wa-kean) county. The country grows more beautiful as we advance; perfectly level in every direction. The improvements are geting better also. This part of California was supposed to have been covered by by a Spanish grant,[217] but it is or was government land & open to settlers. It is probably all taken up. It can be bought for from two to five dollars per acre. It will produce from eighteen to twenty bushels of wheat per acre and from twenty five to thirty bushels of barley. The government has given no deeds to this land yet. The bottoms on the Mokelumne produce much more. We next came to Live Oak Cottage a way side hotell. The land is all under fence along here; Better fencing & better houses also better land as we advanced. Far to the eastward we could see a range of mountains a shade darker than the sky. This range I suppose to be the Siere Nevadas. From here to Stockton

we crossed seven bridges over dried up streams. Some of these creeks were levied. As we advanced the land become blacker & richer & better improved The oak became larger & of a different leaf small but notched & aged like the oak leaves in Kentucky. Both kinds of oaks that I have seen to day have rough bark though the first named has the smothest. A great many gray bushy tailed squirrels to be seen along the road. They live in holes in the ground. They scamper for their holes on the approach of any one. Eight miles to a small vilage. The land in this section is worth from twenty to forty dollars per acre. A great many small wind mills to be seen on the ranchs They draw water to eregate gardens & water stock. Nearly every ranch has one. We crossed the Calavaries[218] between Live Oak Cottage & this point. It was dried up. Eight miles more of as pretty country as I ever saw found us in Stockton.[219] Stockton is not large but a neat city. It has a population of souls. The greatest peculiarity of the town is the great number of small wind mills in it; for drawing water for various purposes. There seamed to be one almost to every yard & garden. The water backs up a slough from the bay making it navigable for steam boats & small sale vessels to Stockton.[220] A boat was lying at the wharf with steam up ready to start. Stockton is well supplied with fine shade trees. We could see from this town away towords sun set what I was told was the coast range of mountains After spending a few hours here making a few purchases & eating a cold lunch we left the town, a little before sun set, going southward. After getting out of town the scene towords sun set was interesting. It looked to be a level plain interupted only by the coast range which is miles distant. The sun large & red was just sinking behind the mountains. Five miles over a most lovely county, level & rich & crossing a bridge over a slough or creek at the edge of some timber we camped for night It was dark when we got in to camp. We would have camped earlier if we had gotten to timber earlier. For driking & camp purposes we get water out of the slough which was quite indifferent. We have passed over a magnificent country to day rich & level; fine solid roads On each side of the road is two pretty woods pastures enclosed by plank fence. We are now in what is called the Sanjonquin (San-wa-kean) Valley.[221]

Camp Sanjonquin Plains. Friday 23. We started before day this morning. One mile to French Camp,[222] a small vilage. Here the roads fork. We took the right leaving the timber and entering an open plain Ranches all along the road. Country level. Five miles more & we reached the Sanjonquin (San-wa-kean) River at Johnsons Ferry. Our ferriage was one dollar. The Sanjonquin is navigable for steam boats most of the time but at this time it is rather low. It is a deep stream. The tide backs up in it; it was backing up when we crossed It was mudy from mineing on some of its tributarys. Our course southerly. I saw large flocks of white swan to the right of this part of the road. We next entered a large body of

uninclosed open land thinly set in grass. A great many cattle grazing on it This road is called the "telegraph road" as the telegraph line is along this road. Three miles more brought us to a bridge & timber. We crossed the bridge and entered the timber. Besides timber the ground was covered with tall weeds. One mile more, going between two ponds or small lakes brought us out in to an open plain & to a hotel. The last three miles of open plain had drifts of logs scattered over it; evidence of overflow. This open plain is almost destitute of grass. Twelve miles more over a level plain a large part destitute of any living erb, passing a hotel about half way about a half mile to the right of the road, found us at our present noon camp. Here our road enters the mountains Here we bought barley for two cents per pound.

Camp Livermore Night. We left our noon camp as soon as the mules finished their dinners. Entering a kanyon we followed through a meandering course, a distance of nine miles to Livermore Valley. The roads were solid & smooth & the grade easy. This valley is small. It is larger or wider where we entered it than farther on. It was night when we got in to the valley, though we could see the surrounding mountains. About two & a half miles brought us to a ranch kept by a Spaniard. About a mile farther to another ranch or hotel. Just before getting to this ranch we came to Livermore Creek a very small stream at this time. We traveled down on the left bank of this creek two & a half miles. Just after passing the Spaniards house, we entered a narrow part of the valley betwen two small mountains. Some enclosed land in this narrow slip the first that I had seen since leaving the Sanjonquin (San-wa-kean) Passing a ranch, turning to the right we left the road going about one hundred yards to the right of the road to Livermore Creek & camped for the night. Wood is quit scarce here & we had to lay claim to some loose poles of dilapdated fence for fuel. We built our fire so that the wagon would hide the light from the hous which stood back some distance from the fence & the road. The mountains[223] through which we made the nine mile drive was bare of timber & almost bare of everything else. The first part of the valley as near as I could tell in the night was bare of vegetation. After geting on to Livermore Creek & in to the narrow strip we found timber & the land appeared as if it did or might produce grass. The last mile was mostly gravel & sand. Scattering oaks along the creek.

Camp San Jose (San-o-za) Saturday 24. We left Camp Livermore early. One mile over a gravely plain brought us to a hotel. Here we bought barley for two cents per pound. The roads forked here the right hand prong going through what is called Amador Valley to Oakland. We took the left, traveling along the left border of Amador Valley. This valley & that part of Livermore that we camped in last night appears to be one as there is no mountain or dividing ridge between. The only difference that I could see was Amador is enclosed & is fine grain & grass land & such

of the other that I could see was not enclosed or worth enclosing. that is all that we traveled over this morning. After three miles of travel we found our selves on the bank of a creek. This creek has the appearance of having a great deal of water in it at times but was now dry. Syckams & cotten wood on its banks. The mountains on the left were covered with grass & scattering trees. Following down the right bank of the creek a short distance we crossed it. Here we found our selves in a narry part of the valley. Going about a quarter of a mile farther, five miles from where we bought barley, we halted to feed our mules. While the mules were trying what vertue there was in a few pounds of barley we viseted a large frost bitten water mellon patch close by the road. We made but a short stay here As soon as the mules had disposed of their rashions we hitched up & continued our journey. We next came to some rolling land between two ranges of mountains. Both the hills and mountains were covered with grass & timber, The timber scattering. The land on the right enclosed by a brush fence. We next decended to the right in to kanyon or very narrow valley & to a creek where we halted to water our mules. We followed down the creek. The banks of the creek was covered with timber, live oak syckamo & one other kind of oak. On the mountains on each side was grass & scattering oak timber Many of the oak on the creek was hanging with long green moss;[224] which is very common with the oak in this country. After crossing the Mokelumne (Ma-kal-a-ma) we got in to a great deal of this green haning moss, some little before Between the Mokelumne & Stockton I have seen the moss hanging from most every tree in miles of timber, some of it two & a half feet long. The kanyon soon widened & we passed several ranches one very pretty one. At last we left the kanyon entering a pretty little valley of black rich land, all enclosed, passing Bertrand Hotel at the entrance. The valley is about one mile each way. Following around the left border a short distance we turned to the right through the valley to the other side and then across the dry bed of a creek. We saw several large flocks of sheep in this valley. We ascended from this creek in to some black rich land It was a small body and soon narrowed in to a kanyon. The sides of the mountains on each side is rich and part of them was in cultivation and the remainder enclosed for grass. The road through the mountains was good and easy grade. From the sumit we could see the Bay of San Francisco, The decent was more rapid than the ascent. Twisting and turning with the crooked road, we at last made our exit in to San Jose (San-o-za) Valley Turning to the left we entered San Jose Mission,[225] a small town. The land in the vacinity of the Mission was black and rich. The ranches was beautiful Westward to the coast range is a level plain for many miles doted with cottages half hid midst orchards vinyards & spreading oaks. The mountains on the left of the valley is covered to the sumits with grass and scattered over with pretty shade trees. We drove through town and camped for noon on the south border on the road to San Jose (San-o-za). Ten miles from where

we halted last, at the water mellon patch After a haisty meal on chees and bakers bread, we rolled on passing over some rich rolling land When on the last hill we had another view of the valley and of *more* of it, and of part of San Francisco Bay and of the coast range. Decending from this we found our selves on to the level plain. Every where along the road was neat cottages, some fancy & fine, and young orchards & vinyards to greet the eye. About ten miles more of rich land pretty farms and good roads found us at our present camp, five miles from San Jose (San-o-za) on Penetentiary Creek. We passed through a small vilage about a mile before camping. Wood is very scarce here; we had to appropriate some post & rails of a dilapidated fence The owner saw the light & paid us a visit & told us when he left that he wished us not to burn any thing that was of any value. San Jose Mission is an old Spanish post; the houses are old and of odd shape covered with tiles or burnt or dried clay. There is an old catholic church in the town.

Twenty One Mile House Santa Clara Co. Sunday 25. We are now twenty one miles south of San Jose (San-o-za) and nine north of Gilroy.[226] About sun rise we left our late camp and after five miles of the most beautiful & enden[227] like scenery that I have seen since I entered California, we found our selves in the city of San Jose (San-o-za) Along the whole five miles on each side of the road, was almost a continuous forest of fruit trees vinyards & flowers, more particularly the fruit trees & vinyards. Pears apples peaches plums grapes hung temptingly in every direct; especialy tempting to a pilgrim not long off the sandy baren and alklied plains. We stoped at one of the gardens and bought a water bucket full of aples pears & grapes. Pear trees not more than large enought to set out in an orchard was bending under their loads of fine fruit I saw many vinyards without stakes to hold up the vines. I was told that grapes do not dew rot here. Nearly every orchard had a fine artesian well for eregating purposes. I noticed several nurserys. The ground in many of the orchards were covered with pumkins. All this land was black and very rich. San Jose[228] is a pretty city, almost hid in fruit and shade trees. A few wind mills scattered through it though nothing to compare with Stokton. Most of the eregating is done from artesian wells of which the city has some very fine ones. The water from such of these wells as I noticed is a little warm. We halted here about an hour; long enough to walk over town a little and then started on going out on the Gilroy road.[229] The scenery on the road was interesting but not so much so as yesterday evenings drive. The farms were not so well inproved. Oak Hill Semetry and next Hebrew Semetry, we passed on the right of the road at the foot of a hill or small mountain. In the first named semetry was a wind mill that eregated the flowers. I noticed a wind mill in a semetry at Stockton as we entered town. After passing these semetries we got in to land of a lighter collor and not so rich. The valley became smaller

More timber than usual—all oak. A strip of timber next to the eastern mountains. Seven miles brought us to Eden Vale and Seven Mile House. Eden Vale is a cluster of large wide spreading oaks forming a dense shade. We bought barley at this point paying about two cents per pound. We paid about a cent per pound for hay at Penetentiary Creek. One mile more to Eight Mile House. As we progresed the bottom seamed to be more thickly timbered. We got into quite a forest of live oak. They have a leaf like an apple tree, probably smaller, with little sharp points on the edges, and smooth bark Some of them are very large, and make the best of shade They are an ever green and are quite an orniment. They grow full of long sharp acorns. At the end of two miles more we nooned in the shade of a grove of live oak We made a short noon of barley for our mules & chees & bakers bread for our selves. One and a half miles more brought us to a narrow place in the valley and to a dry gravely creek About one mile more on the right bank of the creek found us at Appletons Hotel where we halted long enough to water our mules. Here we entered a fine body of rich land again. The land varies in richness all the way. The timber soon became heavier, that is more of it; all oak. Nothing much but oak since I crossed the Mokelumne River. Six miles more found us at Eighteen Mile House. Three miles more to Twenty One Mile House and evening camp. We have been traveling through a valley to day that varied in width, richness of soil and quantity of timber. The timber has been all oak, mostly notched leaf oak & more or less live oak, in some spots nothing else. Our camp is across the road about one hundred & fifty yards from the hotel. Some Spaniards have been trying for an hour or more to drive some Spanish cattle in to a correl. They have had to chase them through the woods considerably But did not succeed in correlling them after all & drove them on toward SanJose. We met a large drove of Spanish cattle to day. When heated up and mad they are very dangerous. I saw a spanish cow chase two spaniards on horseback one mile this side of SanJose, near a bridge. I was walking at the time & had to climb the fence for safety.

Gilroy Monday 26. About sun rise we "rolled out" again. For some distance our road led through a forest of oaks hung with long green moss, occasionly a live oak. The leaves of the oaks except the live oak are begining to turn a little yellow. On our left the land is not enclosed. We next got out of the timber where we had an open view for miles. The land on both sides enclosed. Nine miles found us at this town where we are halting for a short while. Gilroy is a small town with about one hundred inhabitants. We have had fine roads since we entered SanJose Valley.

Camp Santa Clara[230] *Tuesday 27.* After an hour and a half stay in Gilroy yesterday, purchaseing a few articles we traveled on one mile and turning to the right up a lane we camped under an oak near an old dary

house on Mr. Thomas ranch. After dinner we walked up to town and spent an hour or two.

Old Dary House Wednesday 28. Yesterday evening we cleaned a little of the dirt out of this old house & moved in. It has five rooms, & a pasage most of the rooms small. It is one story. We helped Mr. Reaves clean out a well He is a daryman & makes chees He milks about one hundred cows. Mr. Reaves house is a few hundred yards east from here. Mr. Thomas house is about two hundred yards south west from here. We get hay from Mr. Reaves for our mules.

Thursday 29. I helped to cover a hay wrick for Mr. Reave We covered it with red wood lumber. The red wood grows on a range of mountains about six miles west from here. It resembles cedar. It makes fine lumber shingles or posts. The hay we covered was wild oats cut green & cured. It is a spontaneous growth. It makes good hay but is very disagreeable to work in on accout of fuz on it. Yesterday morning and this morning it was foggy We will have rain soon. I am told it seldom snows in this valley, and it never has fallen but once deep enough to make a track and then it went off directly. In every other case when it fell at all it melted on touching the ground. It seldom ever freezes the ground here & then only a thin crust.

Friday 30. At work to day covering hay wricks for Mr. Reave. We covered one to day & one yesterday. We cut a grove[231] in each edge of the plank.

Tuesday November 3. Last Saturday it was very windy. We grove some plank in the fore noon & walked up to Gilroy after noon. Sunday I walked up to Gilroy Monday we finished groving the plank & covered one wrick and a half.

Monday 9. Not having any thing else to do I spent the remainder of last week, commenseing with Wednesday 4th, writing with the exception of Saturday 7th; a part of that day was spent in Gilroy Bob Bronaugh was breaking horses the latter half of the week.

Wednesday 11. I went up to Gilroy[232] and to Old Gilroy south east from New Gilroy two miles. The land around Old Gilroy is black & very rich, much richer than around New Gilroy. Just south west of us across the coast range is Pathro Valley which is said to be a finer richer & pleasanter valley than this (SanJose) In Pathro a fine sea breeze is always blowing besides it is pleasant in winter. It is not necessary to eregate the land there to raise anything there being dew every night. It is on the Bay of Monterey. It is beter for raising hogs from the fact it is cooler in the summer. It is so hot here in the summer most of the pigs die. No sea breeze here because the coast range entervenes. Corn & tobacco does well in Pathro. The San-barn-deen-o[233] & Losanglos countries and others south of here are said to be very fine countries. West of

us in the Red Woods as they are called where the valley gets their supply of lumber & timber. Every thing is made of red wood. It works finely; splits well. The fencing around Gilroy is mostly picket fence made of red wood split about four inches squar. Some of it looks well, when the pickets are drove down untill the top ends are even and strips are nailed on top of them; though many of them are striped on the side. Red wood lumber & timber are full of splinters that fill the hands in handeling. Our mules have been runing in Mr. Reaves pasture up to this time. We get milk every day from Mr. Reaves. It is ten miles in a southerly direction to SanJuan[234] (San-Wan) & fifty to Monterey It is eighty five miles from here to San Francisco, and twenty five to Matsonville. Going south east it is one hundred and five miles to Maraposa,[235] one hundred and ten to Millerton and one hundred and sixty to Visalia. It is eighteen miles, on the road to to Visalia, to Patchos[236] (Pe-cha-cos) Pass, thirty five to St Louis Ranch & sixty three to Fire Balls Ferry on the Sanjonquin[237] (San-wa-kean) River.

On Board Steamer Chrysopolis Saturday 14. I left Gilroy on the stage yesterday noon. Paid two dollars pasage. I had a very pleasant ride to SanJose (San-o-za) At Twenty One Mile House the stage was relieved of a pasenger accused of horse stealing. I got to SanJose about sun down; thirty miles. I stoped at the Morgan House. This morning I took stage for San Francisco passing through some of the most beautiful country that I ever saw. I passed through the town of Santa Clara.[238] A fine catholic colage in Santa Clara. The soil is black & rich around the town Fine orchards & vinyards. After about twelve miles travel I found my self at the rail road. And changeing from the stage to the cars I soon found my self going rapidly twords Sanfrancisco. This road when compleeted will extend to SanJose Forty miles travel passing through Red Wood City and several other less important towns and I found my self at the "Mission"[239] on the out skirts of San Francisco, between ten & eleven oclock in the morning. I passed throug a level country untill just before getting to the city, some very rich; beautiful oak groves As we advanced the road neared the Bay of San Francisco finnaly getting on the bay shore. After passing Red Wood City and after getting in to the broken land a few miles before getting to the Mission I found my self on a narrow neck between the Pacific Ocean & the Bay, in about two hundred yards, in plain view of the Ocean. I could see no vessels on the ocean on the bay I could see several sale vessels My fair from SanJose to San Francisco was two & a half dollars. I got in to a hack, I could have taken a street car for a bit,[240] and for four bits found my self at the Sacrimento Landing.[241] Leaving the Mission we first passed what is called the Willows a very pretty rurel looking place; a great many willows a kind of park. I found the boat would not leave untill four oclock in the evening so I carried my carpet and blankets to the Chicago House not very far from

the wharf. I took a short walk before dinner and a long one after, through the city. Very large city; many very fine & large houses, the Lick House, Boston House &c. A great many ships schooners &c at the wharf but I did not see a steam ship. The wharf is made on spiles[242] driven down in the bay. The front row of houses are over the bay & in some places the next street behind & the next row fronting the bay. The wharves extend out in to the bay so that vessels cand lay on both sides and one end. The wharves are named; they have gates which are closed at night. I undertook to walk to one end of the long forest of ships, that resembled a deadening, but found my self tired down without seeing either end. The number of different kinds of crafts was considerable for they lay thick for some distance out in to the bay. After walking my self down, the hour for starting being nigh I gathered my carpet sack and blankets & went aboard the Chrysopolis. Back from the bay the city rises to the top of a hill. The population of Sanfrancisco is . About four in the evening our steamer "pushed off". Several men of war lay out in the bay at anchor. I was told that some of them were Russian men of war. On our left out in the bay on a hill or mountain was some fortifications protecting the city. I noticed a great many sea gull flying & freting around about the ships at the wharf about sun down it commensed raining. I paid five dollars & received a ticket for my pasage to Sacrimento City, without bed or meals. A bed is worth one dollar & meals a dollar. After the steamer had started the doors were locked & officers went round to see who had tickets. A great many pasengers were on board. The steamers that run from San Francisco are not built like the steamers on the Ohio & Mississippi Rivers. They have a deep hull sharp at the bow to cut the waves. The engine works different, verticle[243] instead of horizontil. The engine of the Chrysopolis was made in New York. It is a fine piece of work-man-ship—being very bright and polished. & working without any loss of steam. By looking through a large glass in the cabin the whole engine working away is in full view. The dineing room is in the hull. The table was well supplied with the best of the land. I ate super though I was but little hungry. A row of round light holes with thick glass in them extended on both sides of the dineing room. I could see the waves as they dashed up over these holes. I will say a little more about San Francisco & then leave it. There rail roads over which two horse cars run. The most of them seam to run from the "Mission" & the "Willows" What the Mission took its name from I can not say but the Willows took its name from the groves or parks of willows in that part of the city. The city is in a swag[244] being partly on the surrounding hills and in the swag. The most inferior houses are on the wharf getting finer the farther back to the hills. About the foot of the hills being the finest part of the city the houses becoming less costly either way, up the hill & down to the wharf. The city is on a neck[245] between San Francisco Bay & the ocean. Before getting to the city the country is broken & mountainous The

convent in SanJose (San-o-za) & the colage in Santa Clara are fine institutions of learning, the best in the state; both catholic. Santa Clara is a pretty town. The most beautiful country around Santa Clara that I ever saw. Eden like in appearance. Our boat made fine speed untill we had crossed the bay and entered the Sacrimento River, after which it made less time as the river became narrow. Sloughs run out from the Bay which are navigable for steamboats. Alveso,[246] the nearest shiping point by water from SanJose, is on a slough runing out from the bay. Pasengers go that way from SanJose to San Francisco, as well as by the railroad. Stockton is on a slough runing from the Sanjonquin (San-wa-kean) River The Sanjonquin emties in to the Sacrimento River on the east side not many miles from the bay. Our boat landed at LeVista[247] but it was so dark that I could not see the town. We also landed at Benitia. LeVista is on the side of the river. Benitia[248] is on the side of the river. After leaving the wide part of the river we entered a narrow slough or cut off. I did not go to bed but after midnight lay down on the floor & on chairs and naped it a little. Our boat landed at Sacrimento City about four oclock Sunday morning 15th. It rained all night. The streets of Sacrimento were mudy. Several other boats were lying at the wharf. Sacrimento City to San Francisco, One hundred and fifty miles.[249]

Washoe City Nevada Teritory Wednesday 18. I am once more in this city. On the morning of the 15th I found my self in Sacrimento.[250] I did not see very much of this city; only what was on the wharf & on the railroad. It is not as pretty a place as SanJose but larger; larger than Stockton. Much of the town like SanJose & Stockton is adorned with shade trees. About six oclock I left the boat and went to the What Cheer House standing on the front street near the landing. At this house is the ticket office for the Fulsom RailRoad[251] & the Pioneer Stage Line & branches. After purchaseing my ticket, for which I gave twenty five dollars to Carson City Nevada Teritory, I got abord of the cars. The cars received their pasengers at the wharf. I do not think they had a depot as I did not see one. At half past six the cars rolled out. The city is built on level ground. Leaving the city we passed over a level plain mostly enclosed, first no timber or but little. The land around Sacrimento at least along the rail road, is not as rich or as well improved as around Stockton, SanJose, or Santa Clara. The soil is a lighter collor & the houses & fencing are inferior. We arrived at Fulsom the termination of the railroad about nine oclock in the morning, twenty two miles from Sacrimento. Here I took the Pioneer Stage line.[252] Fulsom is an ugly town of probably five or eight hundred inhabitants. Before getting to Fulsom we got in to a hilly country with scattering low oak trees; we also git in to the old surface mineing country. The country was considerably torne up, Creek beds gulches hill sides & swags show the

marks of *FORTY NINE.*[253] The soil is red like most mineing sections in Calafornia. I was closely packed, in a coatch with three seats, with six others, two ladies & four men Twenty six miles more through a broken country found us in the mountains at Placerville We commensed ascending from Fulsom Pine set in, mostly small at first. The whole country from Fulsom to Placerville is an old mineing country. Placerville[254] is a town of inhabitants situated in between hills in a low narrow place. It is built of brick and frame houses Here we changed from the coatch to what is called "mud wagons" something similar to the coatch but lower. We took dinner here. I went to a bakery and bought a minse pie & some cakes. We got here about half past one oclock in the evening. From here we commensed to ascend the mountains in earnest. In the change of coatches found my self "packed in" with four ladies & four men to say nothing of canary bird & cage band boxes &x. This is what I call a mess. My seat was on a seat with two ladies. They asked me if I had "plenty of room"; of course, "plenty" I set dow, but at first did not get in six inches of the seat, but a few rocks & gullys which the stage run over settled me down to the seat. Of course, I was now in a good way to enjoy a stage coatch ride, could hardly move a limb Away went the stage, bounding along; we was so closely packed that there was no danger of any bones to be broken, though sometimes it appeared like we would tumble over on our heads; the stage dirver didn't care so the coatch didn't "bust". Night found us high on the Siere Nevadas, among fine timber, fir pitch pine sugar pine &c. For miles after leaving Placerville the marks of mineing were to be seen in the creek beds & on the hill sides. Twelve miles found us at Sportsmans Hall.[255] At the Twenty Five Mile House we took supper, about half past eight in the evening. Leaving this point we soon came to a little snow that had lately fell. We passed over some very dangerous places, places where if the stage had run off of the grade would have went tumbeling down untill it was dashed to pieces against the trees & rocks. During the whole night we were passing over more or less dangerous places. As we advanced geting higher & higher, the snow became deeper & deeper Twenty two miles & four oclock Monday morning the 16th found us at Strawberry[256] & Strawberry Valley where we changed stages again. There is a post office & telegraph office at this point. It is forty five miles from this point to Placerville. The snow here was about one foot deep. Going ten miles farther we breakfasted at "Yanks"[257] Two miles before reaching "Yanks" we found our selves on the sumit, one of the sumits of the Siere Nevadas, in about two feet of snow & snowing. It was snowing hard while at Strawberry. It was braud day light when we reached the sumit. The scene was quite different from the scene in SanJose Valley Santa Clara County. Here every thing covered deep in snow, there the leaves yet green upon the trees & the weather warm sometimes oppresivly hot. Leaving the sumit we decended rapidly. The timber still continued large. After taking

breakfast we continued our journey. In the last change I got in to a larger stage but not much less crowded. Eight miles more found us at Lake Bigler.[258] Near the lake a road branches to the right[259] to Genoa in Carson Valley. Our road circled around the lake[260] on the south & east side, amediatly on the bank of the lake for several miles. The lake is said to be thrity two miles long & from five to ten miles wide. It is very clear, clear enough to see the bottom forty feet deep & see a trout when it bites at the hook. It has been plumed to the depth of a thousand feet along where the California & Nevada line crosses. The water is fresh & cool. This lake is the head of Truckee River. One place we passed between a high point of rocks and the lake on a road built upon a stone wall built up in the edge of the water and on a wooden bridge built over the water. The lake was rough, a little wind was blowing. Several new houses on the lake shore; two new hotels, one the Logan House. The hotels were not quite finished. I am told that are several saw mills[261] on this lake & many more building Fine timber on the lake, sugar pine pitch pine red wood or cedar & other kinds, a little of. I am told that a steamboat[262] is to be built or is building to run across the lake, to carry pasengers & tow lumber barges. Ten miles farther & we left the lake at a new hotel turning to the right ascending a grade up the left hand side of a kanyon. Four miles found us on the sumit[263] the second sumit the lowest of the two. This was a continual ascent. Ten miles more of continual decending over a grade found us in Carson Valley at Carson City. and sundown. The last ascent & decent was quite dangerous, at most any point a run off of the grade would have been destruction to stage & pasengers. When geting nearly down we found our selves entirely out of the snow. No snow in the valley. I remaied in town all night. I slept at the Ormsby House.[264] Next day Tuesday 17th two oclock in the evening I took stage for Washoe City. There were two other pasengers in the coatch but me a man & his wife. Passing through Franktown sixteen miles found me at Washoe City[265] and night Franktown is two miles from Ophir & Ophir is four from Washoe City. A telegraph line was in progress from Washoe City to Carson City. It was nearly compleeted having gotten over the divide between Washoe & Carson vallys in the direction of Carson City.[266] A telegraph line extends along the rout from Omaha City Nebraska Teritory on the Missouri River, on the north side of the Platt up to Ft. Karney, then crossing, on the south side to Julesburg, then crossing the Platt follows the road to Ft. Laramie, then along the road over the Black Hills on the south side of the North Platt to Upper Crossing, then crossing the North Platt follows the road to Sweetwater River, then up Sweetwater crossing several times following the road through South Pass, then along the road to Ft. Bridger, & then on to Salt Lake City, From Salt Lake City it follows the road on to Reese River the stage rout & then on the stage rout to Verginia City

Nevada Teritory; from Verginia through Carson City, Genoa, Strawberry Valley, Placerville Fulsom to Sacrimento City & from Sacrimento to San Francisco.

Friday 20. I walked down to Steamboat Springs & below, passing through Allan Kanyon & by the Manhaten Mills then glaving the kanyon over the hill in to Pleasant Valley; through the valley then by Steamboat Hotel & the springs. I stoped at the springs, One of the springs down on the side of the rock bench was quite a curiosity. The hole through which the water boiled was about three feet in diameter. It was boiling furiously, the steam riseing from it like from a steam mill. As a general thing but little water was runing from it, but now and then it would boil over furiously, throwing the water five or six feet high and flooding the ground around so much so that I stood off some distance to keep out of the way of the scalding water. Passing on about four miles farther and failing in finding the ranch that I was hunting for I got on a wagon that hapened along & returned to Washoe.

Sunday Night 22. On saturday morning 21st I started for Steamboat Valley again, I and another jentleman (Mr. D. Duncan) walking following the wagon road. We halted & looked at the same spring that I looked at the day before. It was boiling less furiously; it would occasionly rise & over flow its rim & then sink down with sullen sound eighteen inches or two feet below its mouth. From the springs we turned to the left going to John Duncan where we remained untill this morning. After breakfast we crossed over the mountain westward to Galena, about five miles distant. Viseting Mrs. Thompson & Mrs. Duncan, widows, in the evening late we returned to Washoe three miles from Galena.

Monday 23. I & Mr. Dan- Duncan started on foot with my carpet sack & blankets, for West Walker River about sixty five miles distant. First we passed through Ophir then Franktown following around to the right of the valley[267] at the foot of the Siere Nevadas, then over the divided passing the Lake View House on the sumit & down in to Carson Valley & then to Carson City where we halted long enough to make some purchases & then continued on our way. After geting about three miles south of town we met two ox teams on their way from Walker Valley to Carson City with hay We "about wheeled" & returned to Carson with the wagons. This was unexpected relief to us, besides getting conveyance for our packs we also got to ride We remained in Carson all night taking supper in a resturant & sleeping under a shed on some hay.

Tuesday 24. After making some purchases & the hay was sold & delivered we left Carson again on the ox wagons. We started about noon. We traveled about eight miles & camped at Cradlebaus bridge[268] on Carson River.

Wednesday 25. We crossed the river on a tole bridge to begin with

then crossing a sand & sagebrush desert to the foot of the mountains an Johnsons Hotel, twelve miles.[269] We next entered the mountains on a graded tole road, passing west of Copper Mountain & Genisee District to Mammoth Ledge Post Office & tole gate miles, in Mammoth Ledge Destrict. miles more found us at the Mountain House[270] & "Tom-Rissue", passing the Double Springs. We camped on a little creek just before geting to the Mountain House, for night The wind blew hard after night

Thursday 26. About miles more, leaving the tole road & telegraph line at Tom Rissues, turning to the right & then decending a long hill found us at Alkli Flats. Passing around west of the flats we found our selves in Walker Valley & on or near Walker River. miles more & traveling up the river we left the valley riseing westward to a bench & flat known as Antelope Flats[271] & found our selves at the cabin of Messr D & W Duncans—& nearly sun down.

Antelope Flats & D & W Duncans Friday 27. I spent the day at Dick Watkins ranch in Antelope Flats.

Saturday 28. Dick Watkins & I rode up in to a narrow valley south of Antelope Flats, crossing Lost Kanyon[272] on a grade. We rode up into the timber at the head of the valley & then returned to Antelope Flats again.

Monday 30. Joseph Misner Henry Marrs & myself walked up in to the little valley [273] I looked at last Saturday. I steped off & located two claims one in the name of J.P. Yager & one in H Marrs. I returned to Antelope Flats the others remaining on the ground all night. The uper half of the little valley is covered with snow, the lower in spots.

Tuesday December 1. I returned to the little valley. Henry Marrs & my self went up in to the timber at the south end of the valley & located a claim in Joseph Misners name, about a mile above Swogers cabin & location for a saw mill. I & Henry remained all night under a shelter of willow brush under a large pine tree on the east bank of the little creek that runs through the little valley.

Wednsday 2. The wind blew hard last night comeing from the south, blowing our brush wigwam down on us, at the same time rain commensed, but we laid still as long as we could endure it & then pushed the willow brush off. It rained nearly all day to day. I put some posts in the ground at the corners of our valley claims. I laid off a claim below ours for Martin McClure. About noon Henry & I left for Antelope Flats.

Thursday 3. J Misner H Mars & my self returned to our timber claim & commensed cutting logs for a cabin. Mr. Swoger with Tom Carrol came up to where we were at work & tried to induce us to leave the timber, Swoger claiming two miles south from his cabin. He claimed to have three partners & that he had a mill on the way to be put upon his

claim. After the day was spent in talking & beging we was induced to give him about two hundred yards on our north line, Swoger blacing three trees to be our south line runing between west & southwest by my pocket cumpas. After eating a little coald grub we returned to Antelope Flats

Friday 4. Henry & I laid off a claim in the timber south of & on the line blazed by Swoger in J Misners name. Returned to Antelope Flats in the evening

Saturday 5. I laid a claim south of Swoger & east of J Misners claim, in Michael L Yagers name—timber. Returned to Antelope Flats

Monday 7. H Mars, J Misner Martin McClure and my self went up to the timber with a yoke of oxen & a wagon, with grub tools & blankets J Misner returned with the team. The rest of us remained. We carried everything on our backs up through the kanyon, up the creek, from a few yards above Swogers cabin to the placle located for our cabin. We made a fire on a spot clean of snow, on the east side of the kanyon, where the wind had blown the snow off. Our fire was built against a large dead pine log We made our beds here. After passing about one half the night telling "long yarns" we disagreeably passed the remainder trying to sleep but it was so coald that we could not sleep much

Tuesday 8. We commensed making "shakes" (boards)

Wednesday 9. Making "shakes" & cuting logs. Commensed puting up some of the logs in our cabin

Thursday 10. Cuting logs & puting them up. Finished raising the house & covered it. The cabin is built of twelve feet longs. We used ridge poles instead of rafters, & the shakes was fastened down with weight poles. Sawing out a couple of logs we made our entrance in to our new home, Log Cabin In the Mountains. We built our fire on the floor opening a hole in the roof for the smoke to go out Our meat had given out so we had to make our supper on bread & tea alone & the tea without sugar. But we thought we was doing well & after enjoying an evenings chat made our pallets down on the dirt floor & slept soundly.

Antelope Flats Friday 11. Threw up some sand around the cabin & chinked the east & west ends of the cabin, the south side being chinked yesterday. Left before noon & walked down to Antelope Flats. Antelope Flats[274] is about feet above Walker Valley, is about three miles long, north & south & about two miles wide, east & west. Rodireco Ledge is on the mountains west of the Flats. About thirty thousand feet is located on this ledge by thirteen or more companies begining north Egle, Paxton, Antelope, San Pedro, Rodireco, United States, Jackson, Washington, Golden Egle, Stonewall Jackson, Desota, Danial Boon & Sky High. There are six hundred & forty acres owned by G Shaw & R

Watkins three hundred & twenty by D & W Duncan one hundred & sixty by Mrs L. Powel one hundred & sixty. D & W Duncans ranch is in north end of the valley next going south is Shaw & Watkins & next is Mrs Powels. These ranches contain all the grass. A small log house, hewed, is on Shaw & Watkins ranch. A double log house un hewed, is on D & W Duncans ranch. These are all the improvements on the Flats.

Saturday 12. Dick Wadkins & my self rode over Harris Mores & other ranches above; all on Walker River. I was looking at them with the view of purchasing. Harris asks seven hundred dollars for his, More two hundred for his.

Sunday 13. At D & W Duncans all day.

Monday 14. Wade Boggess arrived here last night I walked down to Moses and Harris ranches late in the evening.

Tuesday 15. Wade Boggess, Henry Marrs, Joseph Misner & my self went up to our claims in the timber We found nearly all the "shakes" blown off of our cabin, the wind having blown very hard in our absence from the claims. We soon recovered the cabin & then dobed the south side We then built the first fire in our cabin, building it on the dirt floor, opening a hole in the roof for the smoke to go out.

Wednesday 16. Chinking the north side or front of the cabin. Henry & Wade went out prospecting in the timber up the creek. I went down to Antelope Flats after noon.

Thursday 17. I returned to the timber. Geo- Shaw Wade Henry & my self prospected up the creek a mile & a half or more. We found fine timber. We amused ourselves rolling rock down the hills We found large pine & fir, low stumpy cedar tall slim tamarac & a large grove of quaking asp Returned to the cabin by night.

Friday 18. Dobing our cabin to day. Made a door out of pine shakes & hung it. The door is three by four feet.

Saturday 19. Made some pine shakes. I went up on the mountain side and cut a mahogana maul. Plenty of mahogana on the mountain sides. The timber is principally pine and fir; some tamarac & cedar. Along the creek is quaking asp & cottenwood. Also many alder bushes & some willow. The mahogana is a low crook growth resembling scruby wild plum. The alder resembles hazelnut bushes only much larger Most of the fir is white fir. After dinner we all went down to Antelope Flats.

Antelope Flats Sunday 20 I wrote some letters.

Monday 21. Dick Wadkins and I rode down to Mitchel and Harneys ranch, to look at the recorders books. Mr. Hide is recorder of West Walker Gold & Silver Mineing Destrict. Afterwards crossed the river and rode back on the east side of the river, looking at the ranches.

Tuesday 22. I went up in the timber below Rodireco Ledge scoreing logs for Mrs. Powels house. Three others were with me scoreing and hewing. The timber is inferior. A great deal of nut pine & mahogana near the lower edge of the timber. The side of the mountain is quite rough. Spurs of quartz rock show in every drection.

Wednesday 23. Cutting & scoreing logs in the same timber. We return to Antelope Flats every night.

Thursday 24. Finished cutting scoreing and hewing.

Friday 25 I walked down in to Walker Valley in company with D. Duncan & W Bogges, to look at land. After night I rode in a two horse wagon with several others, mails & females, two miles below Antelope to Bivens to a ball.[275] Returned to Antelope about three oclock before day.

Saturday 26. Walked down into the valley looking at land. Went up the river two miles, crossed and prospcted down the river.

Sunday 27. Writing, letters.

Monday 28. I walked down to Mitchel and Harenys and back to Antelope. Henry Marrs & Wade Bogges went up to the timber.

Tuesday 29. In the morning writing &c. In the evening helped to raise Mrs. Powels house, or rather to lay up the foundation logs. The boys returned from the timber late in the night. They layed a claim high up on the creek in Wade Boggess, name. They report snow in spots on the north hill sides four feet deep, and cinamon bear tracks around the cabin.

Wednesday 30. In the morning I walked down to Mitchel & Harneys after the mail. In the evening I helped to raise Mrs. Powels house.

Thursday 31. Walked over to Shaw & Wadkins in the morning and in the evening returned to Daniel Duncans and wound up the day, writing.[276]

Apendix.

Salt Lake.

Salt Lake is about twenty miles from Salt Lake City. It is four thousand two hundred feet above the level of the sea. It is forty miles long by fourteen wide. Its waters is very brackish. It will yeald twenty per cent common salt and ten per cent foreign salts. The objectionable part of the latter are the chloride of lime and chloride of magnesia. The water is perfectly clear and has a specific gravity of 1.170 the water being 1.000. Fish can-not live in it. There are thirty islands in the lake, the largest being Antelope Island. On some of the islands are fresh water springs and fine grass. The lake is shallow and can be easily forded to many of the islands.

Notes

213. The name San Joaquin has been given to a county, a river, and a valley in central California.

214. This is Thursday, October 22, 1863. Yager and companions are on the main road, probably about twenty miles northwest of Stockton.

215. Lockeford is a town approximately fourteen miles northwest of Stockton on California State Route 88.

216. Mokelumne is the name of the river which Yager has been following.

217. Land grant.

218. Calaveras River.

219. Stockton, California, lies fifty-five miles south of Sacramento. It had a population of about a thousand in 1849, and was incorporated and made the county seat of San Joaquin County in 1850. In the years of the gold rush, Stockton became a principal center for trade and commerce and a focal point for roads leading to the various gold fields.

220. Using the Stockton Deep Water Project, large, ocean-going vessels can now reach Stockton from San Francisco.

221. The San Joaquin Valley lies to the south of Stockton, and the San Joaquin River flows through the valley.

222. French Camp lies about three miles south of Stockton. During the early fifties it was an important staging and freighting center. Today it is a small village.

223. The mountains mentioned here are the coast range. Yager's route is generally southwest after leaving French Camp. It is difficult to check his exact route.

224. The hanging moss referred to is a parasitic growth.

225. San Jose Mission is located approximately twelve miles north of San Jose, California, in southern Alameda County. It was founded in 1797 and prospered over the years until it reached a population of 1,877 in 1831. Crops of grain and thousands of cattle, sheep, and horses surrounded the mission. It was also a center for the social life of the Spanish Ranchos in the area east of San Francisco Bay. Today, partially restored, the old mission is an attractive historical landmark of early California.

226. Gilroy is a small town on U.S. Route 101 south of San Jose.

227. Eden.

228. The city of San Jose is the county seat of Santa Clara County. It was the first capital of California, after adoption of the first State Constitution, November 13, 1849. In 1851 the capital was moved to Vallejo and in 1854 to its present location in Sacramento.

229. Yager and companions are now leaving San Jose headed south toward Gilroy, approximately twenty-one miles distant.

230. Yager and companions are one mile outside of Gilroy in San Jose Valley, Santa Clara County.

231. Groove.

232. According to the book *Historic Spots in California* (Stanford University Press), John Gilroy was the first foreign settler in California. He arrived in Monterey in 1814, and in 1821 he married the daughter of Ygnacio Ortega, the well-to-do owner of Rancho San Ysidro. Gilroy fell heir to a portion of this fine rancho and became very prominent in the district. The village of San Ysidro is now called Old Gilroy.

233. San Bernardino and Los Angeles counties.

234. San Juan Bautista State Historical Monument is located at San Juan, in San Benito County. The old mission was founded in 1797 in the center of a large, fertile valley. It later fell into ruin, but was restored in 1884.

San Juan is important in early California history. It was here that Frémont raised the United States flag on the plaza in 1846 and drilled his volunteer troops prior to marching to Los Angeles in support of Commodore Stockton. Stockton, Frémont, and William B. Ide were active principals in the Bear Flag Revolt of 1846, when northern California was wrested from Mexican control. Also of interest is the fact that Patrick Breen, survivor of the Donner Party, made his home in San Juan in 1849 and established an inn there.

235. Mariposa is a historic old town at the southernmost point of State Route 49 in the gold rush country of California. It was part of a 46,000-acre tract once owned by John C. Frémont. It became the county seat of Mariposa County in 1854, and was an important commercial center for the surrounding rich mining region. Several historic buildings of great interest, reminiscent of the Gold Rush days, remain today. The old courthouse dates from 1854.

236. Pacheco Pass over the Diablo Range is west of Gilroy.

237. San Joaquin River.

238. Santa Clara is contiguous to San Jose. Mission Santa Clara de Asis was founded in 1777, but the site was moved three times on account of damage from floods and earthquakes. In 1851 Santa Clara College was established in the old mission buildings. Many relics of the old mission and some of its adobe walls still stand.

239. The Mission San Francisco de Asis (Dolores) was dedicated in 1776. Mission Dolores today is located next to a modern parish church. The old chapel and quiet graveyard evoke memories of San Francisco's Spanish heritage.

240. A bit is 12½ cents.

241. Yager is planning to travel to Sacramento by steamboat via the Sacramento River and the connecting bays of San Francisco, San Pablo, and Suisun.

242. Piles.

243. Probably the engine noted by Yager was a vertical reciprocating steam engine with a walking-beam linkage to transform the vertical motion of the piston to a rotary motion of the crank which turned the paddle wheel or propeller. This type of engine powered the old ferryboats that plied the waters of San Francisco Bay before the construction of the bay bridges. It was a fascinating sight to watch the rhythmic motion of pistons, walking-beam, crank, and valve mechanism, even as Yager did.

244. According to Webster's Dictionary "swag" is defined as "something hanging in a curve between two points," in this case a hollow.

245. Peninsula.

246. Alviso is on a slough or finger of San Francisco Bay approximately five miles northwest of San Jose.

247. Yager may here refer to Rio Vista on the north side of the Sacramento River approximately thirty miles south of Sacramento.

248. Benicia is a port on the north side of Carquinez Strait approximately six miles southeast of Vallejo.

249. The present distance by highway is only 84 miles.

250. The first white settlement in the great central valley of California where Sacramento now stands was made by John Augustus Sutter in 1839. Sutter, a native of Germany, came to California in July of 1839. He became a Mexican citizen and was given an immense land grant of about 49,000 acres by Governor Alvarado.

He established a fort and settlement in what is now the Sacramento Valley. In gold rush years, Sutter's Fort became the focal point for emigrants coming to California by central or northern routes, and from Oregon. The city of Sacramento itself was founded in 1848 at the confluence of the American and Sacramento rivers. Today, Sutter's Fort, restored by the state of California, is an exceedingly interesting and valuable museum of early California pioneer history.

251. The railroad mentioned as the "Fulsom RailRoad" was the Sacramento Valley Railroad, the first railroad in California. It was completed in 1856 and reached from Sacramento to Folsom, about twenty miles to the northeast.

252. The Pioneer Stage Line was a principal carrier of traffic between Placerville and Carson Valley over the Johnson Pass Route in the late fifties and sixties before the completion of the Central Pacific Railroad to Reno in 1868. Following the discovery of the Comstock Lode in 1859, traffic over the Sierras was so heavy that records from the Pioneer Stage Company show that 11,103 passengers were carried over Johnson's Pass in 1863 from California to Nevada and 8,430 passengers in the opposite direction the same year. Ninety-three hotels and lodging stations were built on the Johnson Pass Route prior to 1864. The time by stage from Sacramento to Virginia City was cut to 18 hours, and special coaches made the run in 12½ hours.

253. The countryside in this area was ravaged by the early day placer mining operations which washed whole hillsides away with high pressure hydraulic monitors. The debris fouled the streams and ruined farms until finally, in 1884, laws were passed prohibiting hydraulic mining in California. The scars on the land remain to this day.

254. Placerville lies 47 miles east of Sacramento on U.S. Highway 50. It is the county seat of El Dorado County. It was originally called Dry Diggings, and then Hangtown, as a result of some expeditious work by the Vigilantes in ridding the community of undesirable characters.

Placerville was one of the greatest camps in the Gold Country and was the terminus for most of the forty-niners who took the Carson River Route. Just seven miles northwest of Placerville lies Coloma, on the south fork of the American River. Here on January 24, 1848, James Marshall discovered gold in the tailrace of the sawmill he was building for John Sutter, and the stage was set for the gold rush in the spring of 1849.

255. Sportsman's Hall was one of the earliest way stations on the famous Placerville road. The construction of this route was started in 1858 and finished within a short time. It ran from Placerville along the canyon of the South Fork of the American River to the crest of the Sierras at Johnson's Pass at an elevation of 7,365 feet. From here the road descended steeply to Lake Valley, passing Yank's Station (Meyers) and thence around the southern end of Lake Tahoe to a connection with the Kingsbury Grade near the present Nevada-California state line (modern U.S. Highway 50 between Placerville and Lake Tahoe follows the old route closely). The Kingsbury Grade climbed to Daggett Pass, elevation 7,400 feet, and then descended 2,700 feet to Genoa in Carson Valley.

The Placerville road is said to have carried the greatest horse-drawn stage and freight travel ever known. It is further said that the stream of traffic was sometimes continuous from Placerville all the way to Virginia City.

256. Strawberry was a famous teamsters resort on the old Placerville Road. A Mr. Berry sold hay here in the old days and according to legend was sometimes greeted jokingly with the phrase, "Have you any more Straw, Berry?"

257. Yank's Station (Meyers) lay in Lake Valley approximately seven miles from the present city of South Lake Tahoe. Yank's Station was a famous hostelry.

258. Lake Bigler, after Governor Bigler of California, was an early name given

to Lake Tahoe. An even earlier name was Lake Bonpland, which Frémont gave to the lake in honor of an associate of Baron Von Humboldt, the famous German explorer.

259. Yager may be referring to the Luther Pass road. Prior to the construction of the Kingsbury Grade the road from Genoa to Carson Valley to Johnson's Pass went through present Woodfords, California, and thence up the canyon of the West Carson River to Hope Valley. From here the road ascended to Luther Pass (elevation 7,800 feet) and down to the canyon of the Upper Truckee River which flows into the south end of Lake Tahoe. From Tahoe it was a steep climb of 1,000 feet over the old Hawley Grade to Johnson's Pass.

260. Lake Tahoe lies in both California and Nevada at an elevation of 6,229 feet. It is approximately twenty-three miles long and thirteen wide with a seventy-one mile shoreline and a maximum depth of 1,645 feet.

261. There were vast lumbering operations carried on in the heavily timbered area within the Lake Tahoe basin. Sawmills, flumes, and a railroad were built to process and transport the timber to its ultimate destination, Virginia City and the mines of the Comstock Lode.

262. By June, 1864, Captain A. W. Pray of Glenbrook, Lake Tahoe, had built a small, steam-powered boat which he named the "Blaisdel" after Governor H. G. Blaisdel of Nevada. It had a length of forty-two feet, a beam of twenty-four feet and was in fact a shallow draft side wheeler. It is distinguished for being the first steam-powered boat to operate on Lake Tahoe. It served for twelve years carrying passengers and towing lumber before it was finally broken up by a storm in Glenbrook Bay.

263. The summit is Daggett Pass, elevation 7,400 feet.

264. The Ormsby House was a noted hostelry of Carson City. It was built by Major William Ormsby, prominent pioneer citizen of Carson City who was killed at the battle of Pyramid Lake in 1860.

265. Washoe City, Nevada, lies about halfway between Reno and Carson City in Washoe Valley. It was once the largest city in Washoe County and became the county seat in 1861. Today only a small settlement remains. Yager had once before spent several weeks in this general area and visited Washoe City, Franktown, Ophir, Steamboat Valley, Virginia City, Carson City, Pleasant Valley, Allan Canyon, Galena, etc.

266. A telegraph line was built between Placerville and Genoa in 1858 and extended to Virginia City in 1860. A line from the Missouri River to San Francisco was completed in 1861.

267. This is the old road in Washoe Valley which runs along the base of the mountains between Franktown and a point two miles north of Lakeview.

268. Cradlebaugh Bridge across the Carson River lies eight miles south of Carson City in Carson Valley. The bridge was named after Judge Cradlebaugh, one of the U.S. District Judges for the Territory of Utah who had arrived in Nevada (then part of Utah Territory) in 1860 to organize court.

269. After leaving Carson City, Yager and companions followed the route of present U.S. Highway 395 south, via Minden, Gardnerville, Twelve Mile House, Bodie Flat, Double Spring, Double Spring Flat, Mountain House, Holbrook Junction, Topaz Lake, Topaz, Coleville, and Walker, which brought them into the general area of their destination at Little Antelope Valley, Mill Canyon, Mill Creek, etc. The total distance by map scaling is roughly fifty miles.

270. Mountain House is approximately 1½ miles north of Holbrook Junction as shown on the U.S.G.S. map "Topaz Lake, Calif-Nev quadrangle." Present Topaz Lake lies about four miles south of Mountain House. Yager does not mention

Topaz Lake because it is an artificial lake created by a dam constructed in the early 1920s. When Yager passed this way the present lake bed was an alkaline flat which he mentions in his log of Thursday 26.

271. The Antelope Flats noted by Yager is shown on the map referred to above as "Little Antelope Valley." It lies west of U.S. Highway 395 about two miles south of Coleville, California. The West Walker River lies to the east of the highway as it pursues its northerly course and eventually passes Wellington and Yerington in Nevada.

272. Lost Cannon, Lost Cannon Creek, and Mill Creek lie to the south of Little Antelope Valley. There is a confluence of Lost Cannon Creek and Mill Creek slightly south of Little Antelope Valley and the combined waters form a tributary to the West Walker River near Walker, California.

"Lost Cannon" evidently refers to the small Army Howitzer abandoned in the area near Coleville, California, by John C. Frémont on his 1843–1844 expedition from The Dalles, Oregon, to Sutter's Fort, Sacramento. (See "John C. Frémont's Expedition in Nevada, 1843–1844" by James U. Smith, Second Biennial Report of the Nevada Historical Society, 1909–1910.) According to Smith, Lost Cannon Creek was originally Lost Canyon Creek but was changed by United States Geological Surveyors, who also named a peak to the south Lost Cannon Peak.

273. An examination of a U.S.G.S. map entitled "Walker Lake, Nevada; California—N.J. 11–4—1957 Revised 1969, Scale, 1:250,000" shows the route taken by Yager through present Minden and Gardnerville south to Antelope Valley and Little Antelope Valley. Also shown are Lost Cannon Creek and Mill Creek, which lie directly south of Little Antelope Valley. Somewhere along Mill Creek are the sites of Yager's and associates' timber claims and cabin. In an extension of Yager's Journal entitled "A Year in the Sierras," Yager wrote: "The cabin is located on the east side of a small creek which furnishes us water and in a deep kanyon one mile from the edge of the timber & about three & a half miles from the crossing of Lost Kanyon [Lost Cannon] and Lost Creek and four & a half from the south border of Antelope Flats [Little Antelope Valley]. High mountains rise up on every side. So closely are we shut in that we can only see out northward down the Kanyon in the direction of Antelope Flats; and we can only see the sumits of mountains beyond in that direction. East of us is Walker River & Walker Kanyon, west of us is Lost Kanyon. . . ." Mill Canyon and Mill Creek satisfy the above description for the cabin location.

274. Little Antelope Valley, which Yager calls "Antelope Flats," lies north and west of Antelope Valley. It is a branch of the larger Antelope Valley. Yager is probably referring to Antelope Valley when he mentions "Walker Valley."

275. This is December 25, Christmas Day, which explains why Yager and his companions attended a ball.

276. This last entry in the James Pressley Yager Journal is on Thursday, December 31, 1863. He left Nebraska City on Friday, May 14, 1863, on his overland journey to Nevada Territory and the California gold fields, thus his total time out was 232 days.

Yager continued his journal and entitled it "A Year in the Sierras." A copy of this detailed and interesting document has been sent to Mrs. Andy Welliver, Director of the Nevada Historical Society, by Carlisle F. Smith (grandson of James Yager), who is presently living in Knoxville, Illinois.

Annotations by Everett W. Harris

Main Street in Elko, and the Railroad Station in Carson City, both taken in March, 1940, by Arthur Rothstein for the FSA.

Notes and Documents

The Farm Security Administration Photographs of Nevada in 1940: A Neglected Source of Historical Documentation

MOST HISTORIANS know of the work of the Historical Section of the Farm Security Administration, and its predecessor the Resettlement Administration, through the photographs of drought ruined farms and migrant workers' camps taken by Dorothea Lange, Russell Lee, Jack Delano, and Arthur Rothstein. The Historical Section was officially responsible for compiling a record of the Administration, for preparing exhibits, and for furnishing photos to newspapers. The chief of the Section was Roy Stryker, who came to Washington in 1935 to work for his former Columbia University colleague, Rexford Tugwell.

Stryker and his photographers took full advantage of the opportunity which the FSA provided to use the camera as a tool for social documentation. Stryker and his staff, including for a short time Ben Shahn, conceived of the photographer as a social scientist, a popularizer, and a journalist. Their intent was not merely to record the activities of the Administration, but to document the society in which the agency performed its functions. Working with Robert Lynd, the author of *Middletown,* they drew up an outline of things which should be photographed as "American Background," including railroads, highways, home life, backyards, street corners, and saloons. For example, the preliminary shooting script for "Railroads and their Place in the Life of America" stated:

> The railroad has been a part of the everyday affairs of a large proportion of the villages and towns in the United States for the past several decades. It was the tie to the outside world. Watching the train arrive and depart was one of the eventful occasions of each day enjoyed by a surprising number of the local citizens. The railroad is now fast losing its place as a direct influence on the social habits of those people. The bus, pleasure car and the truck are in so many towns and villages, relegating the "little red" railroad station to a memory. No longer does it function as one of the meeting places of the town.[1]

In eight years of activity the FSA photographers compiled an unparalleled visual record of American life. Today, the Prints and Photographs

Division of the Library of Congress has an estimated 270,000 negatives and prints in its FSA files arranged by regions and topics. Approximately 200 of these photos were taken in Nevada by Arthur Rothstein, who had known Stryker and Tugwell when he was a student at Columbia.

Rothstein was about to leave the FSA for *Look* magazine when he came to Nevada in March, 1940. His photos of the state emphasize the beauty of nature, the lure of old mining camps, and the honest simplicity of the cowboys, sheepherders, and firemen he encountered. He visited almost every part of the state: Las Vegas, Rhyolite, Goldfield, Silver Peak, Tonopah, Austin, Eureka, Ely, Elko, Emigrant Pass, Winnemucca, Virginia City, Genoa, Carson City, Reno, and McDermitt. Taken in the context of his earlier work in other states, Rothstein's Nevada photos seem more reflective and less clamorous. The rusting machinery at abandoned mines and the board sidewalks in Goldfield suggest the ephemeral, while the weatherbeaten faces of the Basque sheepherders on the Dangberg Ranch and the quiet concentration of card players in a Carson City firehouse imply great continuity of tradition and values.[2]

Few scholars have realized the full potential of the FSA photos. As the 1930s become more popular as a period for historical research, this situation is sure to change.

Notes

1. *Just Before the War: Urban America from 1935–1941 as Seen by Photographers of the Farm Security Administration* (Balboa, California: Newport Harbor Art Museum, 1969). This is a catalog of an exhibit prepared by Thomas H. Garver. It contains excellent essays by Stryker and Rothstein. Some manuscript material may be found in the FSA files, Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

See also, Werner J. Severin, "Photographic Documentation by The Farm Security Administration, 1935–1942," unpublished MA thesis, School of Journalism, University of Missouri, 1959.

2. The FSA photos are not covered by copyright and prints may be purchased from the Photoduplication Service, Library of Congress. There is no catalog to the entire collection, but *Nevada: An Exhibition* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1965), gives the photographic negative numbers and descriptions of sixteen of Rothstein's scenes as well as other items relating to the history of Nevada.

BERNARD AND CAROL MERGEN

The Panaca Co-op—A Way of Life

THE WESTERN APPENDAGES to the Dixie Mission (Southwest Utah) of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon) were isolated

and generally far from the beaten track. Panaca, the first of these settlements to be established in present day Nevada, was some 345 miles from Salt Lake City. The communities on the Muddy River to the south were as far away as 430 miles. There was little effort made at merchandising—the colonists were dependent on their own resources, and this left them with very meager means and supplies. Such variety as did exist was made possible only by means of barter. The isolation occasioned by distance, limited numbers, and lack of roads, travel, and communication contributed to a general lack of trade and commerce that, in turn, contributed to the poverty and hardships suffered by the settlers.

In order to overcome some of these problems, the cooperative system of merchandising was introduced. In Salt Lake City the primary goal was to stop the exorbitant profits from merchandising by which the industry of the people was so heavily taxed; and second, to stop the old practice of increasing the price of an article because it was scarce. The Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution of Salt Lake City, organized for this purpose, was immediately successful. Similar benefits were visualized for the even more isolated colonies of the Church.

Whereas with the lack of money for cash exchange there was neither incentive nor capital for the introduction of a private mercantile system, the idea of a cooperative system, one that would provide both marketing and an exchange center for local products, found the people of Panaca enthusiastic. In the town, 115 people purchased stock in amounts ranging from $5 to $1600. The Female Relief Society, an auxiliary organization of the Church, also held stock.

The Panaca Cooperative Mercantile Institution (more commonly known as the Panaca Co-op) became the center of the economic life of the community and of the area which contributed to the support of the settlers. All imports from outside came through the Co-op. Most of the merchandise was freighted from the parent institution, the Zion's Cooperative Mercantile Institution in Salt Lake City. The goods were carried by four, six-horse freight units which carried on a continuous shuttle service between the town and the city.

The store's inventory showed almost everything necessary to meet the needs of the pioneering community. Included were carpenter tools, building supplies, farm and gardening equipment, seed, harness, wagons, saddles, buggy whips, axle grease, kerosene lamps, candles, lamp chimneys, wash boards, tubs, bluing, lye for making soap, water barrels, brass buckets, yardage, sewing thread, ribbon, medicines, drugs, spices, canned goods, men's shoes, boots, and so on. Anything not carried in stock, but available on the open market anywhere in the country, could be ordered through the store.

Without a ready flow of money the customers paid for their purchases largely with produce and labor. Poultry and dairy products were readily acceptable at the store and were as readily exchanged at the neighboring

mill and mining towns for cash. Cattle and hides were accepted and sent to the city or to other cooperatives. The mines and mills contracted with the Co-op for wood for fuel, and charcoal for smithing and smelter operation. Choppers, burners, and freighters were sent to the hills to cut the wood, burn the coal, and haul it to the yards at the mills. The men were paid with credit at the store. The store was paid with the gold that was extracted from the ore by the mills.

Freighters and surveying parties were maintained in the field and along their routes by the cooperative. Stations were generally isolated ranches and the Institution exchanged credit for hay, grain, food, and services. The store then collected from the employer the cash so necessary in dealing with the major suppliers. The local pony express mail service was maintained in a similar way. The Co-op management arranged for the riders, feed for the horses, and lodging for the boys when away from home. The families of the boys were paid with credit at the store.

The cooperative organization also assumed the operation of various other community projects of a public and social nature. These included a public bath house constructed in the vicinity of the large Panaca Spring. This was well maintained and equipped with attractive furnishings and carpeting. It was also a source of cash income from miners and mill hands from neighboring Bullionville and Pioche. On those occasions where immediate cash was required for personal needs the store also served as a lending institution. Cash was a commodity to be purchased and debited on a charge account just as any other stock in trade.

The bookkeeping for such an intricate system of barter and exchange was involved and extensive. It was, however, well done and regularly audited. The records are still well preserved, legible, and easily interpreted.

The importance of the institution in the lives of the people and in the economy of the area is pointed up in the action taken by the Lincoln County authorities during the Utah-Nevada boundary dispute of 1870. The actual boundaries of Nevada of 1866 and 1867, even at this date, remained an unknown quantity. Nevada authorities contended the new boundary line lay to the east of Panaca, placing that community in Nevada, and demanded that the people of that community pay their taxes to the Lincoln County authorities. The settlers were equally adamant in their claims that the community was still a part of Utah Territory and continued paying their taxes to Washington County, Utah.

The Nevada authorities attempted several different approaches to secure the payment of taxes by the Panaca citizens. Assessments were made, and on the failure of the property owners to respond, complaints were filed against fifty-nine families and judgments were requested. The summonses were served and forcible collections by the sheriff were threatened. The people still refused to pay and secured an injunction through the Federal Court for the Territory of Utah against the sheriff of

Lincoln County restraining him from any attempt to collect taxes until the official determination of the boundary line.

The prohibitions of the injunction, however, were ignored and a new approach was taken. During the first week of August, 1870, a deputy sheriff from Pioche entered the Panaca Co-op store with three men and demanded from the clerk an inventory of the stock with a view to exacting a license in behalf of the state of Nevada. The demand was refused by the clerk, whereupon the deputy and his men drew their pistols, ordered the customers from the building, and demanded the key from the clerk. The building was then locked and the key turned over to a local member of the posse.

News of the overt action of the officers spread rapidly. Most of the men of the community were engaged in making repairs to the town ditch which carried water from the big spring to the town. On learning of the action, and realizing that the effect on the community would be that of stopping the major economic activity, they formed their own posse, armed themselves, and demanded the key from the deputy. The key was returned and the business of the community was permitted to resume.

The cooperative constructed its own building. Originally built of adobes made from mud taken from the swamps below town, the building was first occupied in 1868. It is now the oldest building in the community, and ranks second only to the Las Vegas Fort in all of Southern Nevada. The building continues to serve as the mercantile center of the community and is probably the oldest building in the state that has been in continuous service for the same purpose.

It is also of interest to note that the lock and key that were used on the memorable occasion when the "embattled farmers" took their stand to insure the operation of the institution are still in existence and still operative in protecting the security of the building.

ELBERT B. EDWARDS

The Nevada State Park System

THE EARLY HISTORY of the Nevada State Park System is probably best summarized by the authority on the subject, Colonel Thomas W. Miller, whose "Genesis and Programs of the Nevada State Park System" is quoted in the section below almost in its entirety:

The Early Phase

> Until the early part of the 1920's the economy of the State of Nevada was dependent upon mining, agriculture, and stock

raising. The rights of way for the three main transcontinental highways that now span the State were not determined, although there was considerable interest as to the routes to be selected.

James G. Scrugham, formerly Dean of Engineering at the University of Nevada, and State Engineer, was inaugurated Governor in 1923. In his twenty-five years of residence since leaving his native State of Kentucky, the Governor had become acquainted with every part of the State. His foresight visualized the time when improved highways would bring thousands of tourists through Nevada. By reason of his prospecting instinct, he knew of areas where archaeological and historical sites were located. Ahead of his time, he knew that these areas could be developed to attract visitors both from within and outside the State. Early in 1923, he caused the Lost City area in Moapa Valley, Clark County, to be declared a state reservation, and proceeded to encourage and assist the local archaeologists in excavating scientifically the artifacts left by a race that had inhabited the valley long before the Christian era. The Museum of the Southwest at Pasadena assigned the well known archaeologist, M. R. Harrington, to lend his professional experience to this delicate task of unearthing and preserving the scientific data of the discovery.

In spite of little encouragement, Governor Scrugham persevered, and by the end of his term in 1927, considerable interest had been aroused, and tourists were visiting the Lost City area. Governor Scrugham became Nevada's lone Congressman in March of 1933 at which time the Civilian Conservation Corps was created by the Roosevelt administration, and through his influence, a number of Civilian Conservation Corps companies were assigned to Nevada, several of them to Clark and Lincoln Counties. One of these was assigned to the Lost City area where the man power was furnished to develop the area further under Mr. Harrington's expert hand. They constructed the present Lost City Museum to house the artifacts. They built roads and camp ground facilities in the Valley of Fire in what was to become Nevada's first State Park. The National Park Service cooperated through Lawrence C. Merriam, later the Director of Region 4; George L. Collins, who became Regional Chief of Recreation Resource Planning; and the late Raymond Hoyt, who was instrumental in publishing the first pamphlet portraying Nevada's historical and recreational sites. Other CCC Companies under the direction of the National Park Service, were assigned to Lincoln County in 1934 and 1935, and they proceeded to develop what are now known as Cathedral Gorge, Kershaw Canyon-Ryan, and Beaver Dam State Parks. By Act of the 1935 Nevada Legislature, March 26, 1935, these were designated state parks, together with the Boulder Dam Valley of Fire State Park in Clark County. On the same date, the Legislature created a State Park Commission following a request of the Department of Interior that a state park

authority be created to have jurisdiction over the park areas developed. Governor Richard S. Kirman appointed as members of the commission: Ute V. Perkins, a member of a pioneer Moapa Valley family; State Senator Phil M. Tobin of Winnemucca; John H. Kehoe of Reno; and Thomas W. Miller of Caliente, who was elected Chairman. Robert A. Allen, State Highway Engineer, long identified with the earlier park program, was by virtue of his office named ex-officio Supt. of State Parks. A small appropriation of $500 per annum, was granted by the Legislature.

For the next few years, the Legislatures appropriated insufficient funds so meager that no personnel was available for upkeep or care of the areas designated as State Parks. With the advent of the war years, appropriations ceased entirely. As a result, the areas heretofore developed were to all intents abandoned to the elements and became eye sores. One exception was Kershaw-Ryan State Park, a mile below Caliente in Rainbow Canyon, for which Lincoln County Authorities employed an old pensioner as custodian. The results of this custodianship are apparent and this, the smallest of Nevada's State Parks (200 acres), has been kept neat and clean over three decades. The American Legion Auxiliary members of the Caliente Unit are to be commended for assisting in this worthy work.

In 1952, the Governor of Nevada, Charles H. Russell, decided to reactivate the Commission, and appointed as members: Max R. Wainwright, who had just retired as Superintendent of the National Park Service Lehman Caves National Monument; S. M. Wheeler of Ely; R. F. Perkins of Moapa Valley; Dr. W. C. Miller of Reno; and Thomas W. Miller of Reno, who was again elected Chairman by the group. In spite of this reactivation, no appropriation was made by the 1953 Legislature.

In February of 1955, following a hearing given Chairman Miller by a joint session of the Nevada Senate and Assembly, a biennium appropriation of approximately $40,000 was granted the Commission. This start enabled the Commission to hire a Director, a Ranger, and an office stenographer. We were then able to take care of the ever increasing volume of mail from interested persons wanting information on Nevada's historical, archaeological and recreational sites. Roughly, over 42 such sites were "spotted" throughout the State as tentative sites for development and attention. Many of them were in Raymond Hoyt's pamphlet of 1937. With the money available, a two-year program was mapped out to clean up and reconstruct the facilities in the existing State Parks, and to sign areas throughout the State. Much progress was made in spite of the handicaps encountered. The program included the posting of areas to discourage sabotage of artifacts and petrified trees, as well as to warn those who were prone to destroy facilities, or to carry off materials installed in the Parks.

> With the advent of the 1957 Legislature, it was evident that the original Park Commission law of 1935 was antiquated. Park areas had been acquired by lease from private, quasi-public, and government agencies which had no force in law unless authority was given therefore. Accordingly, a bill reorganizing the State Park Commission was enacted by the Legislature in 1957, and the membership increased to seven commissioners. Several other Acts were enacted simultaneously giving the Governor the power to proclaim areas as State Parks upon recommendation of the State Park Commission. The same Legislature, by Act, transferred the famous Genoa area, the first white settlement established in Nevada in 1850's to the Park Commission, and the Sagebrush Chapter of the D.A.R. transferred the old Fort Churchill Reservation to the Park Commission. Both of these actions were necessary if any State Park funds were to be expended in the areas. Similar action brought the 515-acre Ichthyosaur Park in Nye County under the jurisdiction of the Park Commission by lease from the U.S. Forest Service. This area had been excavated by the famous paleontologist Dr. Charles L. Camp of the University of California, and as of 1958 it was administered by a separate State Board created by the 1955 Legislature. Therefore, with the enactment of these statutes all "splinter" Park organizations were brought under the jurisdiction of the Park Commission.
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> The Legislature of 1957 increased the appropriation for the biennium to $132,000. Governor Russell, under the Park reorganization measure, appointed the following commissioners: Norman E. Hanson, Gabbs; Jay E. Brinton, Ely; Chris Sheerin, Elko; Mrs. Louise M. Marvel, Battle Mountain; Mrs. Margaret M. Wheat, Fallon; Wallace Jones, Overton; and Thomas W. Miller, who was reelected Chairman at the organization meeting held in Carson City on July 1, 1957. Subsequent to this meeting, Governor Russell by proclamation designated four more areas as state parks: Fort Churchill (Lyon County), Ichthyosaur Fossil Area (Nye County), Ward Charcoal Ovens (White Pine County), Snyder Meadows (in Clear Creek, Ormsby County). . . .

Progress to this point was marked by more ups and downs than the foregoing recitation has indicated and was not without some surprising developments. For instance, the Valley of Fire State Park was officially and elaborately dedicated prematurely in 1934. The authorization State legislation was not enacted until March, 1935.

Snyder Meadows State Park never did come into its own and is not now a part of the System. Although authorized as a State Park, the land was not acquired. What few modest facilities were begun at the end of the 1950s were heavily vandalized. Snyder Meadows is still a potential State Park, but a much larger area is envisioned.

Another interesting facet was the worsening of an already precarious

situation. On March 28, 1941, Nevada approved the so-called Baker Act which, in effect, virtually eliminated the Valley of Fire from the Nevada State Park System. Briefly it stated that since the 8,760 acres which had been transferred by the Federal Government to the State of Nevada were remotely situated, difficult of access, and would be burdensome to develop and to maintain, and also, since the area was contiguous to the U.S. Department of the Interior's Lake Mead National Recreational Area, where campgrounds and other facilities and services were already provided, these lands could be transferred back to the Federal Government in exchange for land to be selected by mutual consent elsewhere in the State for the State of Nevada. Over the years these transactions took place. While this was proceeding apace, strenuous opposition to this policy developed. Vocal and effective in this campaign were former Governor Charles H. Russell, Colonel Thomas W. Miller, and the Perkins family of Overton. As has been pointed out previously, in 1952 Governor Charles H. Russell had stimulated the moribund Park System by appointing a new Commission which reelected Colonel Miller as chairman. The best statement of affairs and the change in thinking of this time are contained in a proclamation by the State Park Commission on December 16, 1955, which is here quoted in its entirety:

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

At a regularly called meeting of the Nevada State Park Commission held at Overton, Nevada, December 8, 1955, it was the unanimous vote of the Board to retain the "Valley of Fire" State Park as a major attraction and recreational area in the State Park System. Funds were approved and a contract has been negotiated for immediate maintenance and improvements in said Park.

It was brought to the attention of the Board that out of the original 8,752.47 acres, more or less, deeded from the United States to the State of Nevada, Patent No. 1052084, Nov. 30, 1931; that the State of Nevada has lost 2,000 acres, more or less, (Description shown in exhibit "B" attached) back to the United States under State Land Transfers initiated by Nevada Assembly Bill 251 (Baker) Chapter 140—approved March 28, 1941. There is also pending applications in the amount of 2,000 acres, more or less, of the Valley of Fire, State Park; for exchange for Federal Lands, (exhibit "C" attached). As a result of the above mentioned loss and applications, there remains 1,760 acres more or less, (exhibit "A" attached) untouched in the original lands of the Valley of Fire (see map attached).

The Director of Nevada State Parks was authorized by the Board to begin the necessary action to institute a final protest against all pending applications for land exchanges filed on the Valley of Fire to have the applications cancelled. The Director

was also ordered to reapply for the lands which were included in the original deed of the Valley of Fire and which have been deeded back to the United States by the State Surveyor General's Office during the period of 1948–51 as the result of land exchanges under the Baker Act. It is the feeling of the present members of the Nevada State Park Commission that the "Baker Act" is in direct conflict with the original deed from the United States to the State of Nevada which stated that the Valley of Fire grant would be used for State Park and recreational purposes for all times.

The Director was also ordered to commence negotiations with the United States to acquire contiguous acreage to the Valley of Fire, State Park which should logically be included because of its historical and recreational value, (exhibit "D", attached); in the amount of 3,680 acres, more or less.

The System Today

The Valley of Fire State Park has now been enlarged to exceed 35,000 acres, and soon considerable additions will be made to this. The size and the stability of the State Park System have grown correspondingly in recent years. Today the State Park System consists of eleven units: Beaver Dam, Cathedral Gorge, Berlin-Ichthyosaur, Lake Tahoe-Nevada, and the Valley of Fire State Parks; three State Historic Monuments: Fort Churchill, Mormon Station, and Ward Charcoal Ovens; and three State Recreation Areas: Eagle Valley, Kershaw-Ryan, and Echo Canyon. The organizational structure of the State Park System has changed considerably too. In charge is State Park Administrator Eric Cronkhite, assisted by Deputy Administrator and Chief of Operations William Wood, and by Chief of Planning and Development John Richardson. It was in 1963 that the Legislature changed the active roll of the Park Commission into that of an advisory body, in which capacity it still functions as the State Park Advisory Commission.

Presently the Nevada State Park System also participates in a number of other specific functions and programs. Already discussed in an earlier issue of the *Quarterly* is the State Historic Marker program. In this the Nevada Historical Society is also involved in verifying factuality of texts and in ascertaining statewide significance of the historic buildings, events, and personages proposed by citizens and organizational sponsors. This memorialization takes the form of onsite erection of descriptive steel and aluminum plaques of appropriate sizes. Another function is administration of the program funded by the motorboat fuel tax receipts. In this the Park System develops public recreation facilities on lakes and reservoirs usually owned and operated by other agencies or levels of government.

Also administered by the Nevada State Park System is the Federal Land and Water Conservation Fund as it applies to Nevada. This is a

rather complex, as well as fruitful, avenue through which acquisition and development of outdoor recreation areas and facilities are assisted through matching Federal funds.

Newest of the "other" functions of the System is administration of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. This deals largely with the restoration and preservation of the manifestations of Nevada history for which Federal funds also become available, on a matching basis, to state agencies, local political historical groups and organizations, and to individuals.

Interpretation in the Nevada State Park System

An important function of most park systems today is (for lack of a better term) known as "interpretation." As a matter of fact, the implication of translating from one language to another is not inappropriate, because interpretation means those facilities and services designed to translate objects of scientific uniqueness, of natural beauty, or of antiquity into meaningful, exciting experience for park visitors. Interpretation explains the hows, the whys, and the interrelationships of the things of cultural history and of natural history or science occurring in the park units. As a result, park features take on new meaning and heightened interest among the public. Consequently, the park units in question, whether natural or historical, become better understood and appreciated by the public. Not only is this of tremendous value and benefit to the individual concerned, but it also creates in the people a sense of pride in such places. This, in turn, induces proper use and protection of park values by the public, hence reducing damage, littering, and, of course, maintenance costs.

Although often initially considered an unnecessary frill, park agencies usually soon come to regard interpretation as essential. Interpretation is actually a form of education and was once so designated. However, because of the unpopular implications of that word to some, especially to the youngsters, the term education in this context has been dropped.

Interpretation had a slow start in the Nevada State Park System. In the early 1930s, the Civilian Conservation Corps established a permanent camp at Fort Churchill, doing considerable stabilization and restoration work on the ruins and also building roads, restrooms, and a superintendent-caretaker residence. During World War II the house was boarded up and the place fell into disrepair. It was not until the 1960s that the Nevada State Park System took over and refurbished the building and the ruins, remodeling the former into a smaller residence and a public or visitor-center section. Historic artifacts were accumulated and displayed, but it was not until 1965 that illuminated exhibit cases were placed in the public room, and interpretive exhibits were installed.

In Genoa, the reconstructed cabin known as Mormon Station, with a

large and to some degree irrelevant collection of memorabilia, was operated by Douglas County. In 1957, when the State Park System took over, the artifacts were culled and catalogued, and some interpretation was developed there by the museum preparator, Barbara Herlan.

Now, after yeoman service for several years, we hope in the near future to simplify and streamline the exhibits at both these visitor centers. Attendants now greet visitors, answer questions, and otherwise dispense information and interpretation. Descriptive literature is also distributed.

In 1969, interpretation took a stride forward when a large visitor center was completed at the Valley of Fire. At that time, a retired National Park Service interpreter, Mr. Russell K. Grater, was hired on a contract basis to make a prospectus and exhibit plan. This he did, and exhibits were constructed by contract and installed in time for the 1969 winter season at the Valley of Fire. Although some inevitable alterations are necessary, this is serving the public well. Soon to be installed there will be a short, slide-sound program in color giving park visitors a better understanding of the park and its values. In March, 1970, the first full-time Interpretive Specialist was hired for the Nevada State Park System. He is on duty with the rest of the staff in the main office in Carson City. The incumbent, Paul E. Schulz, is also a recent retiree from the National Park Service. Before the end of 1970, it is hoped that the Valley of Fire audio-visual program will be in operation and that a short self-guiding nature trail will be operating through Petroglyph Canyon to a dramatic site known as "Mouse's Tank."

Looking to the future of interpretation in the Nevada State Park System, considerable expansion is planned. The existing park brochures are to be revised, and we hope to develop interpretive prospectuses for all remaining park units. The object of such a prospectus is to determine what part of each park story is to be told by each of the several interpretive media available. Among the devices employed are visitor centers with interpretive exhibits, audio-visual programs, short electronic message repeaters, self-guiding trails, roadside exhibits, and specialized interpretive literature on various subjects of popular interest. The latter may treat geology, flowers, animals, Indians, and man's relationship to nature and the environment. Other practical kinds of interpretive methods include self-guiding automobile tours, personally conducted trips through historical homes or buildings, and out-of-door hikes and walks. The critical elements of time and money will control the rate of progress made in the interpretation of the State of Nevada. We are confident that the progress will be substantial. It is expected that the interpretive program will further strengthen the system. It should not only contribute towards the growth and success of the System, but also be of benefit to the people of Nevada and visitors from out of state.

The Cooperating Society

A helpful adjunct to the interpretive program is what is technically known as a "cooperating society." This is a quasi-official organization, the prototype of which was developed over the years in the National Park System. Ours is known as the Nevada State Park Natural History Association, and it started functioning in the Valley of Fire visitor center in 1969. The object of such cooperating associations is to serve both the park and the public. It buys books, maps, color slides, post-cards, and other educational material for resale to the public. In isolated places where competition with commercial retailers is not a factor, other items may also be sold, such as soft drinks, color film for cameras, and other appropriate items. Everything sold by such organizations pertains to the park concerned, or to Nevada State Parks in general. All proceeds are plowed back into the Association to purchase items such as equipment, or to finance research, or other worthwhile programs. Another important function is to use the Association funds for publishing, for resale at nominal cost, popular booklets on the park's history or natural history. Manuscripts for these are usually written, without charge, by scientific investigators, or by qualified park staff people. All the activities described above ultimately accrue to the benefit of park visitors by contributing to the quality of their park experiences.

Conclusion

We have reviewed the past of the Nevada State Park System and discussed its present status. The look ahead has necessarily been brief and non-committal. However, recent passage by statewide vote of the Nevada citizens of a $5 million State Park land acquisition bond indicates Nevada's faith in the System and its resolution to prepare for the future population growth and the resultant need for recreational and inspirational open space which are bound to come.

Twenty-three of the Reno Wheelmen's trophies, including eleven awarded for the Pacific Coast Championship, on display in the Nevada Historical Society's museum.

From Our Museum Collection

The Reno Wheelmen

On April 17, 1896, a small group of dedicated bicyclists gathered in the Reno offices of Charles Becker to discuss their mutual hobby. In the course of the conversation the suggestion was brought up that a club be formed to promote and encourage cycling in the Reno area. The idea carried enthusiastically, and the Reno Wheelmen were organized that night with twenty members.

The club's emblem, an 'R' within a bicycle wheel, soon began to appear on the members' maroon and white uniforms as they raced around the dirt track at the fairgrounds. The first meetings were held in Becker's office, but as the membership grew, club rooms were used in the Eureka block in downtown Reno. Eventually these also became too small and a large hall was constructed at Arlington and Second Streets for the sole use of the club. It was fitted with offices, gymnasium, reading room, card room, bathing room, and a large gallery equipped with billiard and pool tables. All of this could be enjoyed by any member for the modest fee of $.50 per month, and without any temptation to drink or gamble, both of which were prohibited by the laws of the club.

Bicycle relay races were becoming very popular in the 1890s, and the Reno Wheelmen began their illustrious career by defeating the Wheelmen's Club of Carson City, then going on to win the Pacific Coast Championship many times. The team also set a world's record for a Rambler Quad (see cover photo), a four-man bicycle, by racing a mile in 1 minute, 34⅕ seconds.

The club was also quite a gathering place for townspeople who became members just to use the well-equipped gym and recreation rooms. As the cycling racing season was only six months long, April through September, the winter months were occupied by dances, lectures, musical events, and boxing and wrestling matches. All these events were very popular and the proceeds from them were used to improve the club's facilities and to pay for the racing team's trips to California and Utah for competitions.

The Wheelmen's Hall burned to the ground in 1908 and the club was dissolved. By this time early automobiles and motorcycles had become popular, and many of the club's members were beginning to race these new machines. Only the trophies survive today as reminders of Reno's famous "racing devils who didn't drink or gamble."

Douglas McDonald

THE AUTHOR'S RECEPTION IN VIRGINIA CITY.

From "Washoe Revisited," by J. Ross Browne, 1863.

What's Being Written

A Book of the Basques, by Rodney Gallop (2nd ed., Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1970; 298 pages; bibliography, index, $7).

NATIVE NEVADANS are usually familiar with the Basque element in their state, while a Montanan, when once asked if he knew what Basques were, replied in a rather uncertain tone, "They are a type of fish . . . aren't they?" This anecdote has been a part of numerous encounters between Basques and non-Basques, and typifies an often common unawareness of one of the West's more interesting immigrant groups. While Basques in America have been traditionally associated with the development of the sheep business, they have a rich and colorful "old world" culture which is the subject of Rodney Gallop's very interesting study, *A Book of the Basques*. Originally published in 1931, this reprint by the University of Nevada Press represents an important source in any study of the Basques by English speaking readers.

The Basques, whose native home lies in the valleys and hills of the western Pyrenees, were sometimes romanticized by eighteenth-century scholars as the European version of the "noble savage." Today, the unknown origin of these people and their language has often brought them the title of the "mystery people of Europe." The preservation of their language and racial identity has often been solely attributed to geographic isolation, which, according to Mr. Gallop, is a rather weak explanation in view of other more isolated areas, such as the Massif Central in southern France. Another somewhat distorted view of the Basques, with which the author takes issue, is that of the originality of their culture. While many have identified various Basque dances, music, and folkways as being pure or original, Gallop contends that even the most original aspect of the culture, that of their language (Euskera), has not entirely resisted the influence of various Latin and even Celtic cultures. While Gallop acknowledges the uniqueness of the Basques' language and racial identity, his most interesting thesis is that the preservation of these factors is due to an inherent conservatism in the Basque character. Basque culture has often been adaptive and improvising, but it has always maintained a certain conservative core which has preserved the very heart of its ancient heritage, the language.

While Mr. Gallop's study is primarily cultural, the early chapters deal with the history, origin, and land of the Basques. The author deals with the question of Basque origins by reviewing some of the more traditional

theories of this mystery. Beginning with the contentions of eighteenth-century Basque writers—that the Basques were the direct descendents of Adam and Eve—Gallop surveys the entire scope of imaginative speculation on Basque origins. The author's personal hypothesis is that the Basques are the oldest surviving race in Europe, and that they most likely witnessed the arrival of the Aryans.

The fact of the scarcity of early Basque literature is surely one of the key problems in understanding the people's origin and history. The author cites the earliest positive references to the Basques in the twelfth century, while he notes that the Roman Livy, in the first century BC, referred to the Vascones of the Pyrenees who spoke "a peculiar language." While the relationship between the Basques and the Vascones seems likely, it has not as yet been conclusively determined.

Relying on years of personal observations in the Basque country, Mr. Gallop devotes a major portion of his work to native folk songs, folklore, dances, and outdoor sports. Examples of the culture's ability to improvise and adapt were cited by the use of Basque songs that had borrowed their music from older English and Flemish songs. On the other side of the coin, the French Basque song "Kaiku" presumably represents the original antecedent of the popular British tune, "The Little Brown Jug." While song and dance have always been favorites of Basque peasants and seamen, rich and wild folk tales also have a long and popular tradition. The long quiet winter evenings in outlying farms provided a natural setting for the spinning of folk tales. Themes, usually borrowed, were adapted to a Basque setting and characters. Basque tales often mixed elements of their devout Catholic background with ancient beliefs in witches (sorgiñak) and fairies (laminak).

In his final chapter, "Fishermen and Corsairs," Gallop contends that the pastoral life style of many Basques creates a rather indolent attitude toward life, and it is the sea (as well as immigration to the new world) that brings out the inherent courage and endurance of the Basque character. While Basques have usually been associated with a pastoral way of life, a significant number have also contributed to a long and outstanding tradition as fishermen and sailors. Gallop matches their early maritime history with those of the powerful Dutch and English. Basque whalers hunted the seas long before the English and possibly even before the Normans. It was the search for the whale that led to their discovery of Newfoundland in 1372, which Gallop contends "can hardly be disputed." While yesterday's maritime glory has passed, Basque fishing villages are still among the most active in Spain and France.

The Basque country and its people were the object of the author's "deep affection and admiration," and many may justly choose to criticize Mr. Gallop for his tendency to idealize the Basques. However, his statement that a Basque possesses a "sloth and indolence which impedes his progress at home," is somewhat of a distortion. While the sea and

the "new world" may offer Basques challenging experiences which bring out an "inherent energy and inititive," life on typical Basque farms should hardly be described as slothful or indolent. As modern machinery is a seldom seen luxury on most farms, the subsistence living of the farmer is more generally earned through the sweat of manual labor. Certainly the Basques enjoy an abundant number of holidays, and the festivities which accompany them, but this in no way detracts from the frugal and industrious labors of the Basque farmer.

Another point which Mr. Gallop tends to over exaggerate is that of the difference which exists among the numerous dialects of Euskera. The encounter between Spanish and French Basque dancers in London, where the dancers were forced to revert to either Spanish or French because of inability to communicate in Basque is a good example of this distortion. While certain dialects have substantial differences, to infer that these differences prevent communication between French and Spanish Basques is untrue. The truth might lie closer to the fact that many younger Basques are not fluent with their native tongue, while those who are fluent simply choose the alternative of a more standardized language to that of struggling with a tongue which all may not understand. The author's detailed descriptions of the Basque culture in France only reveal the fact of his extended residence in that country and do not detract from his well balanced description of Basque culture as a whole.

A book of this kind, based on first-hand observation and serious research, is sure to be appreciated by both the curious traveler and the student of Basque studies. In publishing this English-language study, in an area so lacking in English originals or translations, the University of Nevada Press and the Basque Studies Program have made a distinctive contribution for those interested in the Basques and their culture.

JULIO BILBAO

Last Rig to Battle Mountain, by Walt Wilhelm (New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1970).

CARL BECKER *(Everyman His Own Historian)* would have been proud of Walt Wilhelm. In a work that approaches the charm and *tristesse* of *Sweet Promised Land,* Mr. Wilhelm has chronicled the western odyssey of a childhood spent trekking throughout the Mountain West between 1896 and 1910. Living out of a single-team wagon a generation after the passing of the true pioneer period, the Wilhelm family followed its prospecting patriarch from mining district to mining district.

Mr. Wilhelm is happiest when relating the mechanics of living off the country. The book will be a source for the social historian and anthropologist interested in the means adopted by a young family of nine to

live, and richly too, from the supposedly limited resources of the Great Basin. Each of the roles adopted through experience by the members of the family group is recounted with an eye for detail that is missing from the best diaries of the 49ers and other earlier western travelers. Wilhelm's style is that of the practical man, not the professional writer, and is more fascinating and colorful thereby. His memory of turn-of-the-century phraseology and simile has collected together a storehouse of humor.

The Wilhelm family was not representative. Both father and mother chose to live under canvas at a time when it was highly uncommon. The sense of optimism within the family group was perhaps that of the generation, but undoubtedly stronger than most. The Wilhelm children felt contempt and some fear for those townspeople who self-righteously asked their parents if it was "right" to deny them the pleasures of shoes and schoolrooms. Despite all the daily fights for survival, the family was sure that sometime and somewhere their search for the gold ring would succeed. And it did. Father Wilhelm discovered Bannock, and sold his interests for a comfortable competency (shades of Horatio Alger).

The reader is warned to seek only the narrative of an unusual family within the pages of this volume. When the author strays into areas outside his own experience, historical accuracy suffers. For instance, there were never 50,000 Chinese in Nevada (p. 197); there were only slightly over 5,000 at the peak of Chinese immigration to the state. Likewise, the Virginia and Truckee Railroad (p. 117) never hauled the tonnage of freight that could be compared with the larger transcontinental lines. Despite these and similar conclusions, the author can be depended upon to produce an unusual story of self-sufficiency that never fails to enlighten and entertain.

JOHN TOWNLEY

The Story of Rawhide, by Hugh A. Shamberger (Carson City: Department of Conservation and Natural Resources, 1970; 50 pages; $3.00).

THIS BOOK is a comprehensive retelling of the spectacular history of Rawhide, economic and social. Rawhide proves to be an absorbing subject because it became a town of some size (at least for a year) despite the fact that its mining production was slight by Nevada standards—only $1,287,000 from 1908 to 1916 according to the Nevada Bureau of Mines. The town was long on publicity and glamour, but woefully short on ore. Here recounted by the author is the well-known story of Elinor Glyn and the funeral oration over Riley Grannon; more mundanely there is a technical account of the mining and physical growth of Rawhide, a description of the abortive attempt to build the Rawhide Western Railway, a study of the town's water supply, and a treatment of its swift decline.

Mr. Shamberger has done considerable research in preparing this volume, which is one of a series of studies of mining towns. He has interviewed old-timers such as Charles McLeod, Leo Grutt, and the late Joseph MacDonald. He has looked through the extant newspapers of the era, and has made field trips to the site where the town once stood in order to study its physical layout. The author gives evidence of a critical mind; his statistics are not exaggerated and he mentions inconsistencies in his primary sources and attempts to resolve them. The layout of the book is not particularly attractive, and its organization is at times confusing, but there are many useful pictures and maps. Overall it must be said that Mr. Shamberger has written by far the best account of Rawhide available.

JEROME E. EDWARDS

Dr. John S. Wright, Nevada Historical Society Board of Trustees, presents the first charter for a Junior Historian Society in Nevada to Connie Burge, second from right, president of the Trailblazers at Gibson Junior High School in Las Vegas. Mrs. Carrie Townley, far left, is the club's advisor. Karen Brady, vice-president of the Trailblazers, also took part.

What's Going On

The Nevada and Western History Collections of the University of Nevada Library at Reno

In 1962 an interdisciplinary group of scholars on the Reno campus of the University of Nevada informed the Director of Libraries of their concern that the University would no longer be able to attract or to keep faculty whose interests lay in Western history and related fields if the Library could not furnish appropriate research materials for their use. They felt that the University should build its own centralized collections to supplement other, already well established collections in Nevada and other parts of the West. As a consequence, in 1963, the Library established the Special Collections Department, with one of its major functions being the collection of supporting materials for the study of Nevada and Western history.

The Department's Nevada and the West Collection actually consists of a number of smaller collections made up of a variety of primary and secondary source materials. Books with the West as their subject are the most frequently consulted portion of the Collection, but they are augmented by manuscripts, newspapers, pictures, maps, tape recordings, and ephemera such as broadsides.

All of the materials in the Department that have been prepared for use are available through its several catalogs; cards for the Western book collections are also filed in the Library's public catalog. In addition, the Department maintains on cards a union catalog of manuscripts relating to Nevada, representing the holdings of sixty-seven libraries, museums, historical societies, and archives in twenty-five states and the District of Columbia. It also keeps an index to published biographies of Nevadans, and has a growing file of cards supplementary to and corrective of the 1939 Nevada imprint survey which was conducted under the aegis of the WPA's Historical Records Survey.

Newspapers are kept both in their original form and on microfilm. For several years the Library has co-sponsored the Nevada Newspaper Microfilming Project, a program to preserve on film all extant issues of every newspaper ever published in Nevada. The Library and the two other continuing sponsors, the Dickinson Library at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, and the Nevada State Library, Carson City, have recently been joined in the effort by the Nevada Historical Society; it is hoped that

this quadripartite cooperation will bring the Project to completion within a very few years. Each agency will then have available for its clientele the best and most complete files of Nevada newspapers in existence. Filming of newspapers published through 1949 is supervised by Miss Linda Bridges of the UNR Library staff; post-1949 papers are the responsibility of Mrs. Ann Amaral of the State Library.

Until the fall of 1969 the University Archives was assigned to the Department; it has now been separated administratively as well as physically from Special Collections and was under the direction of Dr. Helen J. Poulton until her death in April, 1971. The duties of the University Archivist include the gathering together of materials of all kinds which relate to the history of the University of Nevada, from its beginnings at Elko in 1874 to the present.

The Oral History Project, directed by Mrs. Mary Ellen Glass, became a department of the Library in 1969 after spending several years as a segment of the Western Studies Center of the Desert Research Institute. Like the Archives, the Oral History Project is administratively distinct from the Special Collections Department, but its functions, again like those of the Archives, are closely related. In addition to a growing number of transcribed interviews with Nevadans who have contributed to the state's history, the Project has been responsible for bringing into the Nevada and the West Collection ancillary collections of manuscripts, pictures, and other materials donated or made available for copying by interviewees. A master index to the oral histories is maintained in the Project's office.

The Department's Nevada collections are supplemented by related materials in the Library's main stacks, in the Government Publications Department, and in several of the branch libraries, most notably the Mackay School of Mines Library and the Life and Health Sciences Library on the Reno campus, and the Desert Research Institute Library on the Stead campus. Photocopying services are available for materials whose physical condition will permit it.

Mr. Robert Armstrong, the Special Collections Librarian, has helped to collect the material and has supervised the organization of the Nevada and Western section of the Library. He has been in charge of the Collection since 1963, and should be contacted by prospective donors or those wishing to use the materials.

Writing Contest

JERRY BELIKOVE is the poetry winner in the writing contest sponsored by the Nevada Historical Society and the Reno branch of the National League

of American Pen Women. The young poet is a resident of Las Vegas, a student at Robert O. Gibson Junior High School, and a member of Trailblazers Junior Historians. Mrs. Carrie Townley is the teacher-advisor for Trailblazers, the first Junior Historian club in Nevada. Jerry Belikove will receive a certificate of the award and a one-year membership in the Nevada Historical Society.

Requirements for entries in the poetry category of the contest were that poems be based on a documented incident in Nevada history, that they have a minimum length of ten lines and a maximum length of two pages, and that entries be typed and double-spaced. Deadline for submission of entries was March 1, 1971.

The Reno Pen Women appreciate the cooperation given in this contest by the teacher-advisors of the Junior Historians and by the Nevada Historical Society. The Pen Women hope to make the Junior writing contest a regular event.

Dat-So-La-Lee's Girdle

By Jerry Belikove

Dat-So-La-Lee was an Indian maid,
Short and dark with a heavy frame.
Baskets she made with a happy hand
And they're scattered now throughout our land.
The story is her handprint they'd pour
While her manager saw she made many more.
She was unhappy when she saw all the chicks
With frames which looked just like ax picks.
So she brooded and pined, no basket she'd form
Cause a girdle she wanted to load her with charm.
So away to the East her manager sent
For a girdle that looked very much like a tent.
She put on the girdle and groaned and groaned
She was so unhappy that she even moaned.
She threw it away and decided to eat
And be happy with all that fat on her feet.

Mormon Genealogy Library at Las Vegas

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormon), long one of the leaders in genealogical study and research through the Genealogy Society of the Church, has in recent years moved to make research material more readily available to the Church membership generally.

Las Vegas has been chosen as the center for one of these branch libraries. This library is currently serving the needs of seven stakes (a stake is a subdivision of the Church comprised of several congregations) which include sections of Southern Nevada, Northwestern Arizona, and Southeastern California.

Established in 1966, the library has steadily grown in resources and service. Currently there are catalogued 2,313 reels of film covering genealogical information from most of the states of the Union, and from most of the western European countries. During the first five years of existence, the library has also collected 3,300 volumes that deal, for the greater part, with genealogy, and include extensive coverage of the New England states. The records of Massachusetts and Ohio are also extensively represented, as are the records compiled by the Daughters of the American Revolution. A large collection of parish records from England and genealogy records from Denmark also fill several feet of the library shelves.

Volunteer library assistants devote much of their time to gathering and compiling information on Nevada. Currently, work is being done on alphabetizing and indexing the Nevada Census for 1870. Other work includes gathering the cemetery records and cataloging vital statistics of Nevada. A section on Nevada includes a number of volumes of Nevada history and lore. This section is small, but is growing fast as additional books can be acquired.

Seventy-seven of the more than 2,300 rolls of film held by the library are index films of the Salt Lake City Genealogical Society Library. These feature the tremendous film resources of that society that, with some exceptions, are available by loan to researchers in the southern Nevada area.

Twelve individual film readers are available in a well arranged reading room. The 2,600 square feet of space that is available on two floors of the centrally located building make the library one of the outstanding research centers of the Church's library system.

The Las Vegas center is presently staffed by fifty-two dedicated and well trained volunteer workers. Individual workers come from each of the wards (congregations) of the seven stakes involved in the library venture. The service and research facilities are available to the general public as well as to Church members.

New Eureka Newspaper and Museum

THE *Eureka Sentinel* building in Eureka, Nevada, was recently purchased by Mr. Greg Haller and Mr. Frank Ganz. The new owners plan

to use the original equipment still in the building to publish a new paper, the *Eureka Miner,* devoted to local, historical, and mining news of central Nevada, with emphasis on Eureka County. The equipment will also be used for the publishing of historical books and pamphlets, as well as job work of various types.

The building is in the process of being completely restored as it was in the 1880s with the idea of utilizing it as a Eureka County museum. At the present time the old office contains a great deal of early-day newspaper equipment and the largest known collection of *Eureka Sentinel* imprints, all of which will be on display.

Volume one, number one of the new paper will be off the press May 1st, and the museum and shops should be open to the public approximately July 4th. The editor of the *Miner* will be soliciting historical articles for inclusion in the paper, as a large amount of space in each issue will be devoted to the early days in central Nevada. Interested persons should contact the *Miner* office, in Eureka, for further information.

The Barnett Collection

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY recently acquired a collection of 127 photographs of the early-day activities of Round Mountain, Nevada, including an eighteen-page text of the history of hydraulic mining in that community. This collection was donated by Mr. George I. Barnett, of Arcadia, California, who was personally involved in the activities pictured in these photos.

Mr. Barnett, a mining engineer, was educated at Stanford University. He arrived in Round Mountain in 1910 and was instrumental in the construction of the pipelines which made hydraulic mining possible.

The photos show in complete detail the design, construction, and operation of the pipelines, as well as details of Round Mountain and some of its residents. A number of photos also show the "Little Giant" hydraulic nozzles in operation. The collection is now available for use by the public and constitutes an important addition to our library of Nevada history.

Junior Historian News

CHARLES ULM, assistant director of the Society, spoke to the Social Studies teachers of Clark County at their Institute Day on February 18,

1971. Mr. Ulm discussed the potential of the Junior Historian Program along with possible activities teachers might try.

The newest Junior Historian chapter is the Hot Water Plug Nevada History Club of Virginia City. Mrs. Lyle Damon is the advisor to the club. Officers are: Dennis Nevin, president; Lisa Lydon, vice president; Jan Del Carlo, secretary-treasurer; and Margy Russo, reporter.

New officers at Gibson Junior High in Las Vegas are: Gina Cripps, president; Loretta Nelson, vice president; and Wendy Lestelle, secretary-treasurer.

In Memoriam: Colonel George Ruhlen

RETIRED United States Army Colonel George Ruhlen, longtime friend and life member of this Society, died in San Diego, California, March 13, 1971.

During his active years in the Army, and after retirement, the Colonel pursued a hobby of collecting western military history. He was made a fellow of the Company of Military Historians and a life member of the Council of Abandoned Military Posts for his extensive research of early forts of the Far West.

This Society benefited greatly from his Nevada research. His first contribution to the *Quarterly* was in 1959. The article was titled "Carleton's Empty Fort." By far his greatest gift to Nevada history was the 1964 *Quarterly* (Vol. VII, No. 3–4), containing a complete history of the forts and camps of this state.

SPO, CARSON CITY, NEVADA, 1971