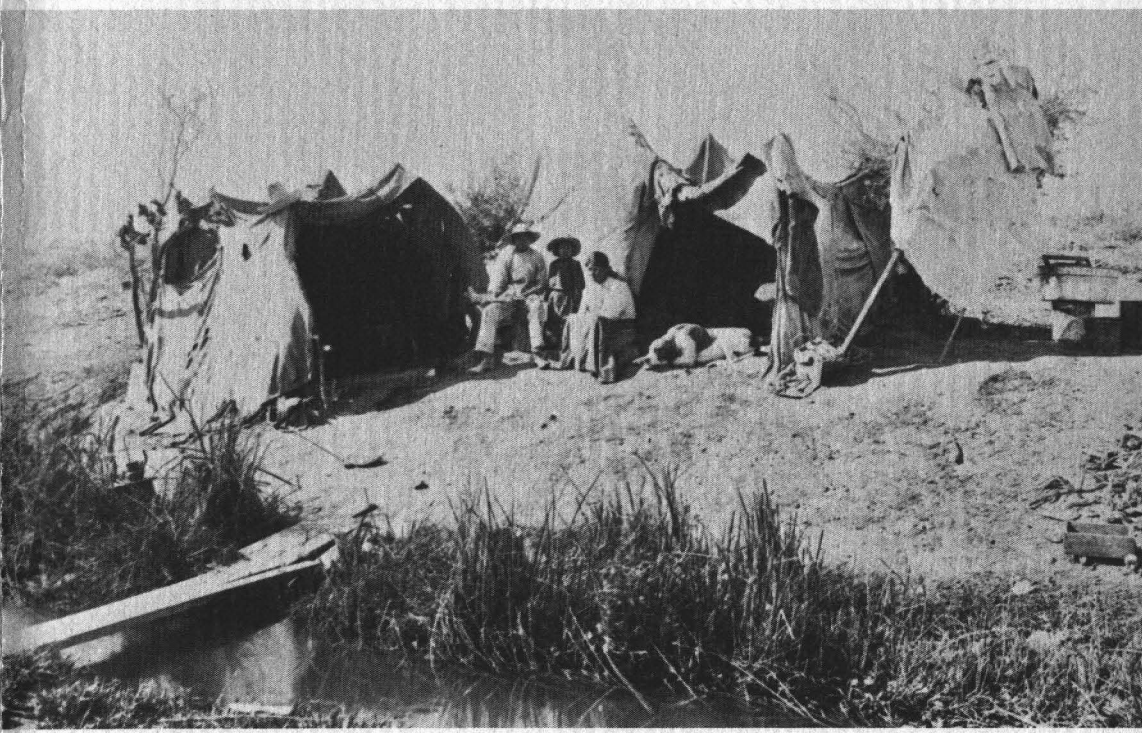
Nevada Historical Society Quarterly



Summer • 1978

Nevada Historical Society

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. Membership dues are: annual, $7.50; student, $3; sustaining, $25; life, $100; and patron, $250. Membership applications and dues should be sent to the director.

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The *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly* publishes articles, interpretive essays, and documents which deal with the history of Nevada and of the Great Basin area. Particularly welcome are manuscripts which examine the political, economic, cultural, and constitutional aspects of the history of this region. Material submitted for publication should be sent to the *N.H.S. Quarterly,* 1555 E. Flamingo, 253, Las Vegas, Nevada 89109. Footnotes should be placed at the end of the manuscript, which should be typed double spaced. The evaluation process will take approximately six to ten weeks.

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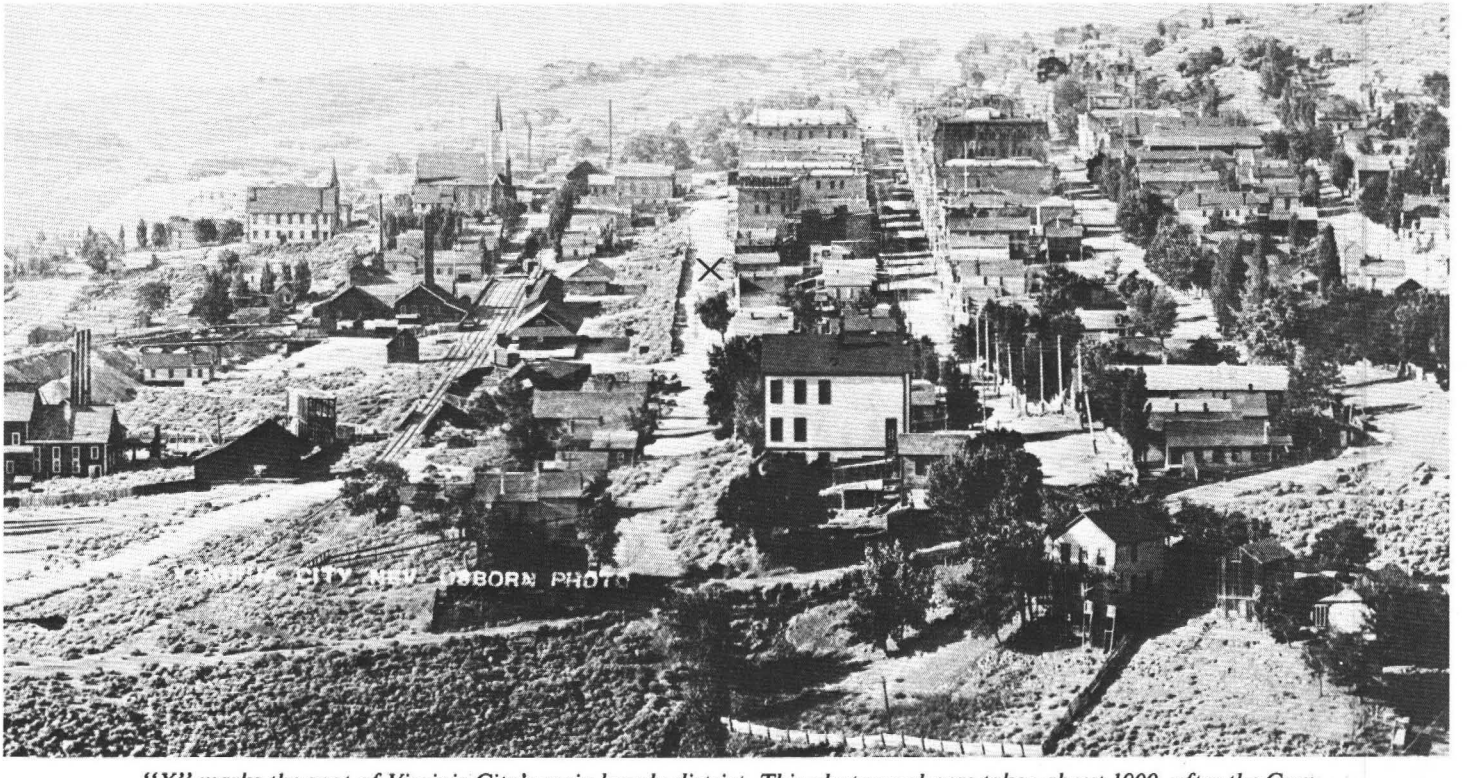
Indian camp on Las Vegas Creek, circa 1904. The location is near the present-day intersection of Main and Bonanza. (Photo by C. R. Savage. Lake-Eglington Collection, University of Nevada, Las Vegas Library)



"X" marks the spot of Virginia City's main bawdy district. This photograph was taken about 1900, after the Comstock had settled into a considerable decline. Many buildings from the boom period still stood, however, and this panorama is one of the few providing a good view of D Street from the North end of town.

Sexual Commerce on the Comstock Lode

by Marion Goldman

> True she was a woman of easy virtue. Yet hundreds in this city have had cause to bless her name for her many acts of kindness and charity. That woman probably had more real, warm friends in this community than any other.[1]

THUS, THE CITY ATTORNEY of Virginia City, Nevada eulogized Julia Bulette, a fancy woman brutally murdered in 1867. Even during an era of ostensibly rigid morality, prostitutes throughout the American frontier were regarded as important community figures, to be both loved and hated, envied and despised. While most nineteenth century media focused on the bleak aspects of prostitution, often moralizing against it, they also offered glimpses of a zestful, dangerous lifestyle contrasting with the stark existence of respectable working class and poor women.

The luxuries of the fast life were only available to a small number of women at the top of the status structure within prostitution, yet verbal portraits of prostitutes tend to concentrate on the few exceptional women who had golden careers and temporarily amassed fortune and fame.[2] Both scholars and artists have devoted a disproportionate amount of time to high status prostitution, encouraging the belief that "prostitution comes perilously close to getting something for nothing."[3] However, for every one of Matt Dillon's Miss Kittys or Bob Dylan's Lilys, there were hundreds of prostitutes who lived and died in poverty.

While some recent writing on commercial sex has debunked the glorification of women of the night, glamorous prostitutes continue to appear in the popular media.[4] The spirited, independent frontier dance hall girl is the perfect consort for the wandering cowboy, just as the hooker with the heart of gold serves as an ideal foil for the lone vice squad cop. The survival of myths glorifying prostitution is particularly evident in dramatizations of the American frontier, where "men were men, and women were women," when the latter could not be ladies. This article will examine the daily lives and social relations of Comstock prostitutes with the hope of clarifying the general myths surrounding prostitution and contributing to an emerging history of working and lower class women.

Prostitutes are among the many American women whose images have suffered both intentional and unintentional distortion because of pervasive assumptions about female inferiority. They are sometimes described as having entered the fast life because of free, individual choice or because of personal maladjustment. This analysis blames victims for their

Marion Goldman is an Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Oregon. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. Currently she is writing a book on the sociology of prostitution, using data from the Comstock Lode as a source for grounded theory. The author wishes to thank Professor Neal Ferguson of the History Department, University of Nevada, Reno, for his advice on historical method and his useful criticism.

own fate, ignoring the importance of social structure in fashioning people's lives. Complementing the themes of choice and psychological compulsion, the common emphasis on high status prostitution describes fantastic material and intrinsic benefits actually available to few, if any, prostitutes. This second focus on rewards denies victimization itself, transforming oppression into privilege.

Descriptive accounts of prostitution emphasizing free will and benefits from the fast life tend to dismiss the structural factors creating both the supply and demand for impersonal sex. Prostitution is not an anomaly, but is rather an integral part of American social organization and an extreme case of women's subjugation within this society. It is far beyond the scope of this article to examine the manner in which structural variables of class, sex, and race have interacted to shape three centuries of sexual exchange in the United States. However, a detailed examination of prostitution on the Comstock Lode provides some insight into more general relationships between social structure and prostitution, as well as specific information about the mining frontier.

The Comstock Lode

Hundreds of prostitutes joined miners in rushing to the great sister silver mining towns, Virginia City and Gold Hill, which stood atop the fabled Comstock Lode in western Nevada.[5] During prosperous periods the towns were almost contiguous; and while Gold Hill had its own small commercial district, it was essentially a working class suburb of Virginia City. Thus, the two will be treated as one community, with downtown Virginia City as its social center.

The Comstock was the quintessential boomtown, growing from a collection of rude shanties to a sophisticated city of almost 20,000 in slightly more than a decade.[6] At the beginning of the first boom in 1860, there were 2,379 men and only 147 women, but the ratio of men to women was soon decreased by respectable women accompanying their husbands to the new city, and by many prostitutes adding the Comstock to their trade circuit from San Francisco through the California gold towns. By 1870, both ladies and painted women were an integral part of the community, and some of them expected to remain on the Comstock for the rest of their lives. However, despite the addition of large numbers of reputable women, prostitution was always legally condoned.

The Comstock was a unique community, and its enormous wealth from the mines and large population made it an exaggerated case of the frontier phenomenon. Nevertheless, it resembled well established metropolitan areas in its size, density, ethnic heterogeneity, and class structure.[7] Although some conditions on the Comstock crossed the invisible boundary between the normal and the pathological in American society, most of that crossing was an exuberant extension of general social trends. Examination of the city's economic and cultural development illuminates and clarifies the similar, but more complex structural patterns contributing to the growth of American prostitution in the last half of the nineteenth century.

Although the Comstock began in chaos, with miners staking indiscriminate claims, it soon developed a class structure similar to the industrial East. The absence of industrial diversification kept local economic and social life in constant flux, depending on the condition of the mines, and when the ore pinched out the community was all but abandoned. However, as long as the mines produced profit the Comstock was controlled by a small upper class. Silver mining demanded intensive capital for exploration, construction, and operation, and a small number of capitalists joined together in financial and industrial monopolies dominating the Lode during its most productive years.[8]

The community's upper class included the mine and ore mill owners and superintendents, stock brokers, wealthy merchants, and politicians. A small number of independent professionals were also included in the social and civic activities of this group. Merchants, restaurant and hotel owners, mining engineers, assayers, and independent craftsmen made up the middle class. The large working class primarily consisted of miners, along with men employed in other industries related to mining and in service establishments, such as boarding houses, restaurants, and reputable saloons.

Much of the working class immigrated from England and Ireland, and in Nevada in 1870, 44.2% of the population was foreign born, as compared with only 14% of the entire U.S. population.[9] In 1875, more than half of the Comstock's residents had not been born in the United States. Men came from all parts of the world seeking their fortunes in the fabled mines and the community surrounding them. Many left their wives behind or were single, and they provided a ready market for prostitutes. However, the scarcity of women was not the only economic factor contributing to the demand for fancy women.

The market economy embraced every area of social life on the Comstock, mediating between people and nature, people and their own labor, and people and each other. The nature and conditions of work under industrial capitalism forced people to think of themselves and others as objects to be used instrumentally. This alienation contributed to men's need to seek out harlots and also permitted them to rationalize their patronage by transforming sexuality into another commodity.

While a larger proportion of upper and middle class men brought wives to the Comstock, some of them still patronized prostitutes.[10] Whether married or unmarried, most men from these classes visited the hurdy houses, bawdy theaters, and brothels at some time. These irregular institutions were simply a part of the men's social lives, and the gaudy balls and masquerades attended by prostitutes were practically irresistible.[11] However, the bulk of prostitutes' patrons appear to have come from the working class.

On the Comstock, working people labored and lived under extremely harsh conditions. Some single working men shared tiny rooms with bunks stacked as in ships' cabins and no outside windows, for which they paid $40 to $60 a month including meals.[12] In some cases two sets of miners on different shifts shared the same room, with one group sleeping while the others worked. Men living in these rooms could do little more than sleep

in them, and they spent their leisure hours on street corners and in saloons, gambling rooms, or bawdy houses.[13]

The vice districts not only provided "a home away from home," but also offered a necessary release from tension generated by the danger inherent in working in the mines. Between 1863 and 1880 there were three hundred mining fatalities, and when the mines were in full operation there was an average of a serious accident every day.[14] Without access to sexual partners miners may have been unwilling and/or unable to go back underground each successive day, and this may be one reason why mine owners never supported campaigns to close down or limit the location of bawdy districts.

Women and the Economy on the Comstock Lode

Respectable women in the Comstock labor force lived and worked under somewhat better conditions than miners. Domestics often resided with their employers, and other working women frequently roomed with private families. However, women's work was by and large menial, difficult, long and ill paid. Working women were in a curious position, since their participation in the public sphere of production and services made their respectability problematic to begin with.[15] Most could only attain full respectable status by finding husbands and withdrawing into their own families of procreation, yet there were few situations in which they could meet eligible men without damaging their own reputations by going out unescorted.

In 1875, only 337 respectable women worked outside the home, and all but 20 of them were unmarried at the time. Most were employed as servants in private homes or in restaurants and boarding houses. Other female occupations included sewing, running small businesses, and teaching school. (See Figure I.)

FIGURE I*
Adult Women's Occupations on the Comstock in 1875

General Category		Absolute Frequency	Relative Frequency (Percent)
Dependent	Married Women/Living with Husbands	2,446	68.5
	Adult Daughters Living at Home	109	3.0
	Other Female Relatives of Household Head	41	1.1
	Widows with No Other Occupation Listed	147	4.1
Working Class Employment	Servant	208	5.9
	Laundress	3	0.1
	Seamstress	39	1.1
Petit Bourgeois Employment	Lodging/Boarding House Owner or Manager	44	1.2
	Saloon Owner	3	0.1
	Merchant	2	0.1
	Milliner	5	0.1
	Other Petit Bourgeois (e.g., hairdresser or telegraph operator)	5	0.1
Professional Employment	School Teacher	20	0.6
	Nun	13	0.4
Disreputable Dependent/Living with One Man	No Occupation, Housekeeper or Euphemism for Fallen Woman	180	5.0
Disreputable	Madam	9	0.2
	Prostitutes	298	8.2
Column Total		3,572	99.8 = 100%

*Source: Nevada Legislature; 1875 Census.

Desire for the few available jobs was fierce, and women frequently advertised for dressmaking work or for domestic situations with private families. In the latter case, they not only competed with one another, but also with Chinese men. Domestics could expect to earn from $15 to $50 a month, depending upon the nature of their work and whether or not they received room and board.[16] During the same bonanza periods, miners earned at least $80 a month.[17] Other respectable women's jobs brought similarly low wages, but competition was equally great for them, reaching its peak in the case of school teaching.

Teaching was almost the only women's work on the Comstock considered to be worthy of ladies. There were a number of efforts to exclude married women from teaching positions, because of the vast number of single ladies seeking them. For example, in 1877, 120 married women applied for less than 20 posts, and the clamor for teaching jobs was so loud that it prompted Professor J. N. Flint, the male Superintendent of Schools for Storey County, to assert:

> It is greatly to be regretted that school teaching is, in the estimation of the female sex, the only respectable occupation which a young lady can follow.
> Some women who could be good clerks or waitresses are not good teachers. They must realize any occupation giving them an honest living is respectable.[18]

Despite such pleas, teaching remained the only available occupation outside the home conferring women with relatively high status, and it was a poor second to the vocation of marriage. Most women on the Comstock were married, and a large number of other women were related to a male household head in some other way. Some wives helped their husbands manage their businesses, such as boarding houses or saloons, but according to census data, their primary defining statuses were their marital relationships.

Poor and working class wives labored long hours cleaning, cooking, raising children, and producing goods for home consumption. Upper and middle class women frequently had servants perform household tasks and supervise their offspring, and their work consisted of shopping, caring for their appearances, organizing elaborate luncheons and parties, and participating in church and civic volunteer activities. The leisured class of women performing no physical labor and emulating the social formalities common to the upper crust of established cities embodied the concept of the lady as a delicate, fragile being. Hearty women forced to do essential work within or outside their homes had less individual value and social status than ladies. However, whatever their social class, respectable women shared a common moral and social superiority to prostitutes.

Another group of 180 women behaved as if they were married, but were not legally bound to their mates. Most of the women in permanent liaisons lived with working class men amidst respectable families, and many of them raised children. In some cases women informally adopted their partners' surnames, but revealed their status to census takers. Some women living with men drifted from one partner to another and also worked in the fast life, but others stayed with one man.

These relationships grew out of the custom of substituting desertion for divorce, as some men came to or left the Comstock after deliberately abandoning their families. Other men had no original intention of forsaking their wives, but gradually gave up the possibility of sending for them. While these men were willing to forget their previous bonds, they would not risk charges of bigamy by remarrying. Women probably committed themselves to consensual relationships because living with a man was frequently necessary for their economic survival. The fact that many of them had children indicates that they were either widows or deserted wives who desperately needed financial support. Moreover, they could pretend to be married and enjoy the social benefits of wifedom, and the risks of abandonment were no greater than those faced by legal wives. Such permanent liaisons did not diminish the importance of marriage, but merely underscored the necessity of living in a family unit.

Adultery, Divorce, and Prostitution

No matter how sheltered she was, no Comstock lady could have been unaware of the presence and practice of prostitutes. Local newspapers carried almost daily notes on events in the vice district, the city's most notorious bawdy saloons were but a few steps away from its major stores, and middle class women supported frequent, sporadic crusades to drive

fancy women from residential neighborhoods and limit the location of houses of ill fame. These crusades strengthened the moral boundaries between respectable women and prostitutes, as did informal rules ostracizing prostitutes from reputable social events. Although harlots had performed pivotal roles in the community's early civic and social life, by 1869 respectable women could brag that "Ladies of the *demimonde* no longer expect to eat dinners and grace the parties of the haute ton."[19]

Wives not only knew that prostitution existed, but also realized that some husbands visited painted women. However, during the twenty-year boom period only two women publicly confronted their husbands about visits to prostitutes. The absence of general female outrage against such association reflected the widespread belief that bawds did not threaten respectable marriages and the general ideology that men had greater, more violent sexual urges than women. The traditional separation of sexuality from maternity and from married women's other roles also reinforced wives' ostensible tolerance for prostitution. However, many women avenged their husbands' visits to the vice districts through their own adultery.

The large number of single men on the Comstock made discreet extramarital affairs an attractive, viable option for scorned wives. Upper class women developed an intricate set of social rituals allowing them the company of male escorts from their social class without provoking scandal. So long as lovers attended church functions together and avoided any public demonstration of affection, they could go to other, more frivolous events and preserve the illusion of respectable, platonic friendship.[20] Middle class women were involved with men boarding in their homes, and working class wives had relationships with neighboring single men. Amorous adventures among people in these classes did not conform to the stylized rituals for adultery common to elites, and less affluent individuals were primarily concerned with finding enough privacy to remain undiscovered. However, recorded adultery in all classes usually involved married women and unmarried men.

While wives' actual behavior did not conform to the rigid Victorian ideology negating ladies' sexuality and demanding their fidelity to a single man, women were expected to appear to be faithful to their husbands. The burden for concealment of adultery rested almost entirely upon women. If love affairs were discovered, women were usually targets for both their husbands' wrath and community disapproval. Many women were brutally beaten and/or summarily divorced for adultery. While unforgiven adultery was listed as grounds for divorce for either partner, in Nevada from 1867 through 1886, two-thirds of the 100 divorces for simple adultery were granted to irate husbands.[21] Moreover, when a wife's adultery furnished cause for divorce, the woman forfeited all her claims to community property, while no such penalties applied to adulterous husbands. Both law and social custom punished women's indiscretions far more than men's. Usually, men's relationships with prostitutes did not even constitute adultery, since they were based on impersonal sexual exchange which did not threaten the emotional bonds of marriage.

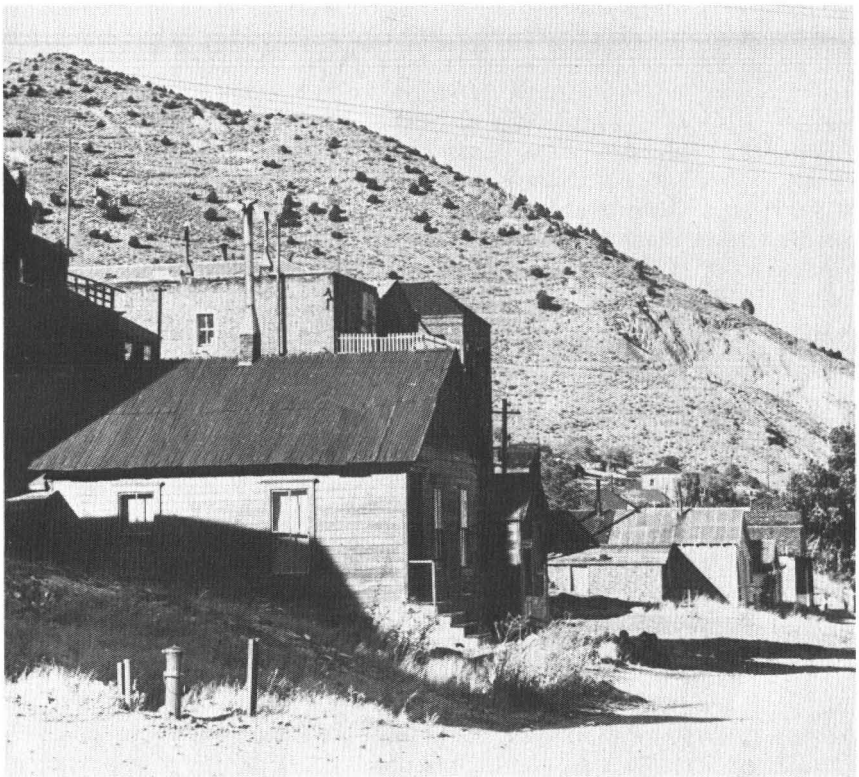
Formal severing of marital ties still stigmatized women and also frequently thrust them out into an unwelcoming labor market. In 1880, the first year such information was recorded in the manuscript census for Nevada, a disproportionate number of Comstock prostitutes were listed as divorced. Local newspapers sometimes published cautionary tales of formerly prominent women who had drifted into drunken, debased prostitution. These stories, along with more explicit editorials against divorce, were implicitly directed toward women contemplating dissolving their marriages. A few women simply skipped divorce and left their mates to enter the sporting life. One Virginia City prostitute left her husband while she was pregnant and took up residence in a Salt Lake City brothel, while another wife waited until her husband was away and removed herself and all of their furniture to a nearby bordello.[22]

In spite of the presence of permanent liaisons, the common practice of adultery, and much public knowledge of the lures of the fast life, a rigid boundary still separated respectable women from prostitutes. The essence of feminine respectability was shelter by one man within the nuclear family, while the essence of prostitution was indiscriminate sexual exchange with many partners. The lady was a private woman, while the harlot was a public one. Once a Comstock woman crossed the line separating respectability and prostitution she was seldom welcome in the respectable community. The ideology separating ladies from harlots was so strong that a jury returned a verdict of justifiable homicide when a Comstock woman shot a man who had publicly called her "a damned whore."[23]

The high ratio of men to women, alienated labor, women's marginal inclusion in the labor force, and the ideology permitting men sexual independence but denying it to respectable women all encouraged prostitution on the Comstock. However, the Comstock bonanza did not last long enough to create a class of prostitutes born within the city, and social conditions on the mining frontier sustained rather than generated prostitution. In 1875, the 307 active prostitutes on the Lode represented the single largest category of female labor outside the home, and that category came close to being larger than all other female occupations combined. While the respectable occupational structure was nearly closed to women, the irregular marketplace welcomed them as part of its own working class.

Prostitution and the Irregular Economy

The term "irregular economy" does not imply any unusual market relations, but merely designates the often illegal and immoral status of various exchange patterns found in the vice districts of the Comstock and every other large nineteenth century city. The traffic in irregular goods and services reflected regular market patterns, and the irregular economy could only prosper because it supplemented the regular economy and served the interests of the mine and ore mill owners. Capitalists benefited indirectly from the irregular trade in drugs, drink, gambling, and women, because those diversions served as panaceas for their workers. Moreover, some of the city's leading citizens owned land and buildings in the bawdy



These two buildings were the last remains of the once glittering main bawdy district of Virginia City. This picture, which faces north on D Street, was taken in the late nineteen-fifties.

districts, which they leased at very high rates of profit. In 1877, John Piper, owner of the local opera house and an active local legislator opposed to limiting the location of brothels, rented Piper's Row to prostitutes.[24] Many other holdings in the bawdy district were untraceable. However, a search through 1875 assessment records and the 1875 manuscript census revealed that D Street vice district land ownership was unequally divided between respectable and disreputable owners.[25]

In 1875, only eight of forty-one registered owners of land occupied by prostitutes on D Street actually resided on the premises. Two such owners were madams who each held several lots and tenements, and two others were madams who only owned the land and buildings which they occupied. Four men listed in the census respectively as a speculator, saloon owner, a gunsmith and unemployed also resided on their own D Street land.

Nine other people owned brothel district land, but lived in high status residential districts. They were two reputable saloon owners, three merchants, and the wives of an assayer, an independent professional, and a

speculator. A respectable widow who lived with her child and a servant also owned brothel land. However, the largest single lot in the main vice district belonged to the obscure estate of a Mrs. Ford.

It was not feasible to trace the direct beneficiaries of that estate, nor was it feasible to locate definitely the other twenty-one individuals holding the titles on D Street land. The difficulties in tracing those land owners, as well as the available information on others, suggests that most D Street land was probably held by members of the reputable upper and middle classes. This inference is supported by modern studies of New York City which uncovered elusive ownership patterns, eventually revealing local elites.[26]

The high rate of return from irregular enterprise induced respectable individuals to invest in them. This return rate reflected both the risks inherent in illegal operations and the relatively small amount of fixed capital indigenous to the criminal community. Capital did not remain within the irregular marketplace, but instead filtered back to less lucrative but less risky investments.

The irregular occupational structure generally resembled its larger legal counterpart. However, there was more room for individual entrepreneurs in the criminal community than in respectable occupations. Although most land in the vice district was secretly owned by respectable elites, most of its major businesses were run by a different set of disreputable elites, including saloon owners, madams of large brothels, and theatrical entrepreneurs. Below the elites was a small middle stratum of doctors and lawyers catering primarily to the disreputable community, managers, shopkeepers, small scale madams, and high status prostitutes who worked on their own. The status of the professional criminal, however, was somewhat blurred. For example, some professional gamblers carried their own faro layouts and spent many years perfecting their skills, while others were relative amateurs, resorting to sleights of hand at three-card monte. Similarly, some prostitutes working alone earned high fees from a small select clientele, while others lived in shacks, taking any customers they could attract.

Most people in the criminal community were part of its vast working class. Some men were employed by saloons and gambling dens, while others worked at menial jobs ranging from running errands to cleaning livery stables. Still others robbed stagecoaches, picked pockets, engaged in petty confidence games, or lived off prostitutes. Many of these men, along with others on the fringes of the irregular marketplace, were casual laborers who were unemployed much of the time.

Just as women were denied access to high status legal occupations because of pervasive sex-role stereotyping and discrimination, they were also kept at the lower echelons of the criminal community. With the exception of a few high status madams and whores, confidence artists, and some wives of owners of irregular businesses, almost all of the women in the criminal community were common prostitutes. Even those practicing small scale larceny, shoplifting, and bad check passing also turned tricks. However, while prostitutes theoretically belonged to the

criminal working class, seldom holding major investments or amassing great profit from their labor, there were enormous status gradations among them.

Stratification Within Prostitution

Individual fancy women plied their trade everywhere on the Comstock, from elite residential neighborhoods to working class slums, but most organized prostitution was found in Virginia City's three differentiated vice districts.[27] Badly built, cheaply run houses in Chinatown offered customers gambling, liquor, opium, and prostitutes. These haunts were known for the dangers of robbery and sudden violence. However, for lawlessness and sheer vileness, nothing on the Comstock could compare to the tiny, predominantly white Barbary Coast on C Street. This district was located on Virginia City's main thoroughfare close to its major businesses and only consisted of five or six small saloons, yet it was the scene of gross profanity, lewd exhibitions, beatings, and murders.[28]

The better sporting resorts were clustered together on C and D Streets. These included bawdy theaters, dance houses, saloons, gambling rooms, and brothels, with picturesque names, such as Bow Windows and Brick House. A contemporary description of the Alhambra Theater caught the flavor of the whole district:

> . . . [the theater] is famous for neither the chasteness of its performance nor the moral tone which it seeks to exert upon its frequenters . . . Good people go there sometimes, and very bad oftimes. This is a free country, and the grown men and women who go there might find a worse place if it were closed.[29]

Every form of prostitution practiced in nineteenth century America flourished in the bawdy districts and the neighborhoods surrounding them. However, even though various kinds of painted women worked in close proximity to one another, residential patterns within the districts reflected status differences. Prostitutes could live in large or small brothels, in well kept or rundown boarding houses, in their own cottages, in rooms behind saloons, or in cribs. The large variety of workplaces available to prostitutes and the subtle, but definite differences among ostensibly similar living and working situations make it difficult to discover where each individual prostitute fit in the stratification system, but a general outline of the status structure within prostitution can be drawn.

Madams were entrepreneurs at the top of the stratification pyramid, but in many ways they were *outside* actual prostitution. Although they occasionally took customers, they did not earn their livings from selling their own bodies, but instead managed the sexual commerce of other women. There were nine madams listed in the 1875 census, and two of them had large holdings in the D Street district. No single description can capture the many sides of Comstock madams, but notes on three of the Lode's most famous brothelkeepers illuminate some of their many facets.

Nellie Sayers ran a "ginshop of the lowest class" on the Barbary Coast.[30] Her small, one-story house had a barroom, kitchen, and two

bedrooms in which four prostitutes lived and slept. Allegations of adultery, accessory to murder, and kidnapping a minor finally forced Nellie to close her establishment.[31]

Rose Benjamin, an Englishwoman in her thirties, was not so villainous as Nellie Sayers, but she was equally notorious. In 1875, her brothel on D Street housed seven prostitutes over whom she presided from a residence in another part of town. She was involved in several legal actions, including a suit against a prostitute in her debt and a battle to retain custody of an infant deeded her by another employee.[32]

Finally, Cad Thompson owned a brothel on the Comstock from 1866 through at least 1880. Her house was the scene of pranks and piano-playing. Cad's nickname, "the Brick," indicates her reputation as a good sport.[33]

Information about high status prostitutes who managed nothing other than their own sexual commerce is difficult to find. Unlike madams, those women had little need for public recognition of their sale of sex and many of them only remained on the Comstock for a short time. Mistresses of the upper class were usually hidden by their patrons and attempted to live behind a veil of respectability. Visiting actresses, who appeared in light plays and "shape shows" such as *The Black Crook* were often available for a price. The most famous members of this group were high-ranking prostitutes available only to selected clients.[34] To be sure, not all actresses were prostitutes, and some, such as Lotta Crabtree, capitalized on their virtue. However, others gave private exhibitions as "modele artistes," or even joined Rose Benjamin's house after their engagements were over.[35]

Another group of high status prostitutes was most important during the Comstock's first decade. They lived alone in cottages and could be selective of their clientele.[36] Most of them saw only one customer a night. A neighboring cottage prostitute described Julia Bulette's plans on the night of her murder:

> . . . she did not tell me the name of the man who was to sleep with her; said he was a friend; a friend is generally spoken of among us in that way.[37]

After these prostitutes came women working in the largest parlor houses, the finest saloons, and the best dance halls. The next rank of women worked in small brothels and bars. Chinese prostitutes were close to the bottom of the status structure, although there was status differentiation among the Chinese houses. At the nadir of the status structure were bawds living in ill kept rooms in the red light districts or in shacks at the outskirts of the community.

The stratification system of prostitutes reflected a number of nuances within the profession. Usually, the more flagrant a prostitute was, the less status she held.[38] Thus, women who sat at the windows of cribs or solicited customers outside saloons ranked considerably lower than those who were kept as clandestine mistresses or remained within comfortable brothels.

The status of a form of prostitution also depended upon the extent to which attributes other than pure sex entered into bargains with customers. The higher a harlot's occupational rank, the more other attributes were involved in the exchange. High status mistresses sold companionship and temporary fidelity along with sex. Visiting actresses and women dancing in major saloons could command high prices because their talent and celebrity increased the value of their sexual services. Even women in the major brothels sold more than sex, since conversations and conviviality in the public rooms were part of the attraction of the important parlor houses.

High status prostitutes had more control over their daily lives than their lower ranking sisters, and could turn away visibly diseased or violent customers. Moreover, better class whores usually saw only one man each night, since they could command high fees from each customer. The social class of the patrons was an extremely important, albeit somewhat tautological influence on a prostitute's rank. Rich men usually sought out high status whores. When regular patrons of a form of prostitution were wealthy, it had high status within the profession.

What form of prostitution a woman engaged in depended upon her race, ethnicity, initial social class, education, appearance, specific talents, and experience within the profession. Many of these attributes are difficult to measure for Comstock prostitutes, since it is impossible to trace their careers prior to their arrival on the mining frontier. Nevertheless a general profile of women who were prostitutes casts some light on their backgrounds and professional experience.

Prostitutes' Ethnicity

Most prostitutes came to the mining frontier already established in the *demimonde.* Many of the American born drifted to Nevada from other cities where they had been unable to support themselves in any other occupation.[39] Others were immigrants who became prostitutes shortly after they arrived in this country or actually journeyed to the United States in order to earn a living in the sporting life. Despite the fact that so many people on the Comstock were immigrants, a much larger proportion of prostitutes than respectable women were foreign born. (See Figure II.)

FIGURE II*
PLACE OF BIRTH AND RESPECTABILITY
OF COMSTOCK WOMEN IN 1875

Birthplace	Respectable Women	Prostitutes	Women in Permanent Liaisons	Total
U.S.A. (White)	87.5%	7.1%	5.4%	1,252 (35.0%)
U.S.A. (Black and Indian)	77.3%	13.6%	9.1%	22 (0.6%)
Canada	90.3%	4.6%	5.1%	175 (4.9%)
Central and South America	48.9%	46.7%	4.4%	45 (1.3%)
China and Japan	12.0%	81.5%	6.5%	92 (2.6%)
Ireland	90.6%	4.9%	4.5%	1,136 (31.8%)
England, Wales, Scotland	92.9%	4.0%	3.1%	450 (12.6%)
France and Switzerland	74.2%	19.7%	6.1%	66 (1.8%)
Germany and Austria	77.0%	5.2%	7.8%	231 (6.5%)
Scandinavia and the Low Countries	87.5%	6.3%	6.3%	32 (0.9%)
Balkans and Southern Europe (e.g., Italy, Greece, Spain)	89.5%	5.3%	5.3%	38 (1.1%)
Other (e.g., East Indies, Australia, aboard ship)	66.7%	16.7%	16.7%	12 (0.3%)
None Listed	57.1%	38.1%	4.8%	21 (0.6%)
	86.4% (3,085)	8.6% (307)	5.0% (180)	3,572 (100%)
U.S.A. (White) and Canada)	87.8%	6.9%	5.4%	1,427
Foreign Countries or non-White American	85.4%	9.8%	4.8%	2,145

*Source: 1875 Nevada Census

American born, British, French, and German women were members of the highest status ethnic groups within prostitution. When a native born hurdy girl attempted suicide, the newspaper story about her noted her comparative advantages, commenting that she was an "American girl and good looking."[40] German harlots were similarly valued, and an enterprising saloon owner in Carson City specifically imported a group of

Teutonic whores to raise the tone of his establishment.[41] In 1852 and 1853 hundreds of French prostitutes arrived on the Pacific Coast with free passage gained from giant national lotteries conducted by Louis Napoleon who sought to rid France of some of its criminal and potentially revolutionary elements.[42] Many of these skilled women soon rose to the top level of San Francisco's disreputable community, and their alluring reputations and the general glamor associated with Second Empire France contributed to the high status ascribed to French harlots on the Comstock.

While foreign birth sometimes added to a prostitute's status, non-white skin color always detracted from it. Black and Chinese prostitutes lived in segregated areas and never lived in an establishment also containing white women. South and Central American prostitutes could ply their trade in the main red light district, but they were often isolated in "Spanish houses" and bars hiring only brown harlots. While white customers patronized women of color, Black and Asian men seldom sought out white prostitutes.

Chinese prostitutes were located at the low end of the continuum within prostitution. They were prostitute-slaves whose earnings were kept by male brothel keepers associated with the great Chinese secret societies headquartered in San Francisco.[43] These women had been sold once in China and again when they reached the Pacific Coast. This slavery was common knowledge on the Comstock, and the kidnapping of a Chinese whore merely evoked a comparison of American horse-stealing with Chinese woman-stealing.[44]

With the exception of Chinese and Black women who clearly ranked below all other prostitutes, ethnicity did not directly determine a woman's status within the profession. Harlots of every other national origin could be found among rich men's mistresses and also among the slatterns occupying shanties on the city's fringes. However, ethnicity frequently determined how women were grouped within categories of prostitution, as illustrated by the distinctions among brothel prostitutes. For example, Bow Windows was among the city's highest status bordellos, and customers often went there for parties and musical entertainment, as well as sex. In 1880, it contained five women, from Europe and the United States. (See Figure III.)

FIGURE III

ROSTER OF BOW WINDOWS BROTHEL AT 15 SO. D ST.*

Name	Occupation	Marital Status	Age	Birthplace
Caroline W. Thompson (also known as Cad the Brick)	Madam	Widowed	53	Ireland
Annie Burnett	Prostitute	Single	28	U.S.A.
Kitty Caymont	Prostitute	Single	29	U.S.A.
Emma Hall	Prostitute	Single	27	U.S.A.
Annie Miller	Prostitute	Married	32	France

*Source: U.S. Manuscript Census, 1880

A lower status brothel specialized in Mexican women, and it was the important "Spanish house" in the city. Other houses with five or more women included French and American born prostitutes, and also Irish women. Irish prostitutes had lower ethnic status than those from other western European countries, and they were generally excluded from the best houses. However, Irish women were important in the smaller brothels serving working men, and were also active in saloons and hurdy houses catering primarily to the large Irish working class.

Ranking below the larger brothels were a number of smaller establishments scattered through the vice districts and fanning out into working class residential neighborhoods. While these houses of from two to four women were often internally homogeneous, prostitutes of every nationality lived in them, and it is impossible to order the small brothels simply from information about the ages and ethnicities of the women working in them.

By and large, the status of an ethnic group within prostitution reflected its status in the larger occupational structure. However, French and German harlots were particularly valued because of a mystique of sophistication surrounding their sexuality. Ethnicity was related to women's initial class position and education, both of which were also important in determining their status within the profession. Of all of the background characteristics listed in the 1875 census, ethnicity was most strongly related to a bawd's status; and age, traditionally regarded as critical in determining a woman's rank, was not particularly relevant to Comstock prostitutes' position in the fast life.

Prostitutes' Age

Most Comstock prostitutes were less than thirty years old, and many were under eighteen. (See Figure IV.) However, respectable people never protested against prostitutes in their early teens, unless girls from the local community were in danger of being recruited into the sporting life.[45]

FIGURE IV
AGE STRUCTURE OF THE ADULT FEMALE POPULATION IN 1875

Age	Respectable Women	Prostitutes	Women in Permanent Liaisons	Row Total
18 or below*	118	35	15	168
19-24	550	101	51	701
25-29	634	75	33	742
30-34	639	42	36	718
35-39	489	29	28	546
40-44	336	19	10	365
45-49	158	5	6	169
50-54	70	0	1	71
55-59	33	0	0	33
60-98	58	1	0	59
Column Total	3,085	307	180	3,572
	86.4%	8.6%	5.0%	100%

*Women under eighteen were not counted as adult unless they were married or employed outside the home.

Source: 1875 Nevada Census

Except in the case of madams, there was no clear association between a prostitute's age and her status within the profession. Of nine madams active in 1875, only one was under thirty, and this is not surprising, since both capital and experience were necessary to run a successful bawdy bar or brothel. The necessary characteristics for other job categories within prostitution were more ephemeral and not so strongly associated with age. For example, Julia Bulette, the Comstock's most famous courtesan, was approaching middle age (thirty-five). This fact flies in the face of much popular and scholarly writing about the fast life.

Moralists often traced prositutes' downward progress from opulent parlor houses to the gutters, and sociologists have emphasized youth as a desirable attribute in women's sexual exchange, asserting that the younger the prostitute, the higher her potential status within the profession.[46] However, age is not always directly related to attractive appearance, one of the key determinants of a harlot's status. Sexual specialization experience, conversational ability, and vivid interactional style are other important assets which may develop with age. It is probable that fancy women's age did not negatively affect their status until they began to look old, and women could remain in the type of prostitution they entered for well over a decade.

How Prostitutes Lived

Many prostitutes lived and worked alone, but their situations differed greatly depending upon their status within the profession. Both the Comstock's highest status courtesans and its outcast slatterns plied their trade by themselves. However, rich men's mistresses generally lived secluded lives, while low status women of the town often solicited openly in the streets.

Rich men's mistresses occupied their own cottages in residential neighborhoods or lived in well kept boarding houses or hotels. Little else is known about these women, because their prostitution was so clandestine. The only public notes about this group of harlots discuss a few tragedies occurring when their patrons left them or when they were discovered by their lovers' wives.

One Cornish woman left her husband because she had fallen in love with another married man. After that affair, she became a mine owner's mistress and eventually poisoned herself after he left her alone in a small room she had rented in a respectable neighborhood.[47] Another hapless mistress suffered injuries when her lover's wife discovered them in a comfortable room in the International Hotel. The affronted spouse did nothing to her husband, but shattered a handy bottle of champagne over his companion's head.[48]

More information is available about visiting actresses who stayed at the city's best hotels. Not all actresses who visited the Comstock were whores, and some women who appeared in legitimate dramas or were major musical stars vigorously defended their virtue. However, women cast in light plays and song and dance productions were frequently available to men. The Swiss Bell Ringers, a troop of Lancashire women, performed on the stage, and after their engagement was over they moved into one of the city's better brothels.[49] Other actresses were more discreet, yet they often added to their incomes and obtained favorable publicity by dispensing their sexual favors.

Most high status actresses traveled from city to city, and their transience explains the fact that only one prostitute was classified as an actress in the 1875 census. Moreover, other women appearing on the stage were simply listed as prostitutes or gave no occupational listing. Most of these women worked in bawdy theaters, the largest of which was the Alhambra Melodeon at the corner of Union and D Streets in the heart of the city's main red light district. The prostitutes singing and dancing in melodeons ranked well below actresses employed in respectable theaters, and their status corresponded with that of women working large saloons.

Although the bawdy theaters had small private rooms in which prostitutes could entertain customers, some disreputable actresses took men home to their boarding houses.[50] Women working large saloons and dance halls also lived in rooms on the edges of the D Street district. The "pretty waiter girls," "beer jerkers," "hurdy girls," and "slingers," were paid low wages for waiting on tables and entertaining and were generally expected to supplement their incomes by taking patrons. During working hours they merely flirted with men, and they usually had only one customer a night.

A large number of women working alone were not attached to any disreputable institutions, and they lived in cribs or shanties, soliciting customers in front of saloons or in the crowded streets. They occasionally had lower class men live with them for several weeks or months, but they usually returned to their lonely occupations. Many of these bawds were drunks, habitually arrested for disorderly conduct, and others were so impoverished and/or diseased that they eventually came to depend upon charity for survival.

Women working in brothels traded independence and control of their earnings for other advantages. They gave at least half of their income to madams in exchange for bed and board, a place to work, an established clientele, and a modicum of organized protection against violence. Employment at a better bordello also offered prostitutes entrance into the parlor house circuit, and they sometimes spent part of the year in San Francisco brothels. However, the women employed in the houses not only had to give up a large part of their wages, but also had to submit to supervision of their dress, manners, and recreational activities.

While no Comstock bordello was as lavish as the great houses in San Francisco, which abounded in antiques and crystal chandeliers and served only fine champagne, the best Nevada brothels had large comfortable salons with pianos. Liquor and conversation were provided in these public areas, and customers stopped by to drink and to listen to music, as well as to engage prostitutes. The major *maisons des joies* were relaxing meeting places, and sexual commerce was conducted beneath a veil of conviviality. Prostitutes had their own private rooms which servants cleaned, and the madams sent their washing to Chinatown laundries.

Little is known about the private barter between brothel prostitutes and customers, except that men had a choice of a short visit or of remaining all night. Prostitutes in the best houses probably received from a $10 to a $20 gold piece from each customer, since that was the price for short visits to top San Francisco parlor houses during the same period.[51] Fees for uncommon sexual practices were higher, and there are indications that these services were available in the best houses. One harlot at Bow Windows, known as the German Muscle Woman, was noted for having a ready supply of whips, and the availability of young girls and several sets of sisters at the best houses also suggest some willingness to accommodate sexual perversions.[52]

Most brothel prostitutes lived in houses of two to four women, charging substantially lower prices than harlots working in major bordellos. A few of these small houses were run by madams, but in most cases the prostitutes working in them either gave most of their earnings to a male landlord or split the cost of running their establishment among themselves. A description of one such house noted that it had a small reception parlor with a badly worn horsehair sofa, a spotted carpet, and three chairs. The madam was an old woman, and according to the account, it was as elegant as three-fourths of the Comstock's houses.[53]

A small number of bawds worked in Barbary Coast dives, where they occasionally helped set up drinks, but neither waited on tables nor danced nor sang. These small saloons were comparable to the lowest ranking

brothels and each housed only one or two harlots. The Barbary Coast was notorious for fights, shootings, card cheating, and drugged drinks. Prostitutes working in saloons along the Coast were frequently ill-treated and were occasionally locked up for "safekeeping." Two women sometimes shared the same bed in cramped backrooms where they both slept and brought customers.[54]

Although life on the Barbary Coast was sometimes horrible, the women working in those saloons could usually leave, while Asian harlots were trapped as slaves in the Chinatown houses. They were often beaten by their owners and kidnapped by men from rival secret societies. Most Asian prostitutes wore Chinese-style clothes, either dressing simply in black pajamas and red-checked aprons or wearing more elaborate silk costumes.[55] There is no information about Chinese prostitutes' prices on the Comstock, but the usual fee for a short visit to an Asian brothel in San Francisco was $1.[56]

The Myth of Mobility

The conditions under which most harlots lived and worked did not allow them to accumulate enough money to leave the fast life and establish small, respectable businesses or simply live off their savings. Historical fiction about frontier prostitutes often contains allusions to the use of prostitution as a path to respectable financial autonomy, as well as references to harlots who married rich patrons and became pillars of elite society.[57] Neither of these themes can be verified empirically, since prostitutes who move from sin to respectability would have changed their names and hidden their pasts. However, evidence from the Comstock suggests that comparatively few prostitutes left the criminal community before they died.[58]

Many prostitutes died young, killed by the routine misfortunes that were an integral part of the skin trade. Such problems included violence from customers, faulty abortions, and addiction to alcohol and narcotics. One common "solution" to these related difficulties was suicide — the greatest hazard of all.

Prostitutes were routine targets for indiscriminate male hostility. Sometimes men's anger took the form of pranks, insults, and ridicule, which shady ladies were expected to bear with tolerance. Other incidents could not be dismissed so easily, since physical brutality frequently left lasting reminders. Nevertheless, patrons smashed furniture in brothels and bars, threw rocks at harlots, and beat them with impunity. Some D Street prostitutes wore whistles with which they could summon police, but they seldom called upon lawmen to help them to deal with routine violence, because the brutality of customers was an individual risk inherent in prostitution.

At least eight Comstock prostitutes were killed by men during the twenty-year boom, and there were many other near misses. However, with the exception Julia Bulette's assassin, no man was ever convicted of murdering or attempting to murder a prostitute. They ranked so low in the scheme of human types that there were few serious efforts to find their killers.

Other hazards of the fast life were more elusive than brutal customers. Imperfect birth control methods made contraception a constant problem. Although condoms, diaphragms, and douches were available from mail order houses and pharmacies, none of these devices was entirely effective. Moreover, some contraceptives, such as carbolic acid douches, were very dangerous.[59]

Pharmacies also sold abortifacients ranging from oil of tansy to strychnine. While both the sale of abortive substances and the performance of abortions were illegal in Nevada, the law prohibiting them was seldom enforced on the Comstock.[60] Abortion was never noted in the newspapers, unless harm to a woman forced public mention of the subject. Two prostitutes were known to have died from faulty abortions, and probably others were killed by similar operations, but had their deaths attributed to other causes.[61]

Some prostitutes endured pregnancy under harsh conditions and were later faced with finding homes for their children. Foster homes, orphanages, and boarding schools were alternatives usually available only to high status prostitutes. Sometimes a woman's parents might take a child, or, if she had her child prior to entering the fast life, the father might claim it. Despite these choices many women without resources were faced with the choice of killing their children or raising them in the disreputable community.

Infanticide was enough of a problem that Nevada passed a law defining concealment of the death of a bastard as a criminal offense, and adding that the criminal involved could also be indicted for murder.[62] While only one of six murdered infants on the Comstock was linked with a prostitute, the existence of a law against infanticide indicated that it may have been more widespread than the records suggest, and many bodies could have remained undiscovered.[63]

In 1875, according to the census, twenty-five prostitutes had children with them, and infants were living in six different Comstock brothels. There are no histories of what became of the children raised in these circumstances. The strains of pregnancy under extremely difficult circumstances and the decisions to be made once children were born undoubtedly wore down prostitutes' physical and emotional stamina.

Venereal diseases also debilitated prostitutes and contributed to their early deaths. While there is no specific information about disease rates on the Comstock, a number of studies indicate that syphilis and gonorrhea were highly prevalent in nineteenth-century America. In 1874, it was estimated that one out of 18.5 people in New York City was syphilitic, and a later treatise claimed that one out of every 22 people throughout the United States was infected with syphilis.[64] On the Comstock, surviving hospital records and newspapers do not explicitly mention venereal diseases, but mention of "cancer of the brain" and "internal disease of unknown origin." However, common newspaper advertisements for various cures indicate that syphilis and gonorrhea were widespread problems. One such ad read:

> Surest and quickest known [cure] for private diseases of both sexes, young and old. The worst cases of stricture and chronic venereal disease quickly retrieved. No mercury used.[65]

If Comstock prostitutes contracted venereal diseases, they would have spread to customers, some of whom were married. However, there was never any public recognition of that danger, although it is probable that fears of it contributed to respectable women's intimate motives to curtail prostitution. During the same period, New York feminists did speak out against prostitution on the grounds that it endangered wives and their unborn children with disease.[66] However, on the Comstock feminism was considered to be nearly as dangerous as syphilis, and venereal disease remained a hidden, private problem.

The routine hazards of ill treatment, contraception, and venereal disease contributed to another problem — alcohol and narcotic abuse. It is doubtful if women became prostitutes in order to obtain these drugs, since they were cheap and readily available on the free market. Instead, drugs made prostitution possible for many women, because liquor and narcotics allowed them to function in situations fraught with physical and emotional degradation.

Many low status harlots were chronic alcoholics who became involved in street brawls when they were drunk. The negative impact of alcohol on prostitutes' careers caused some to turn to other drugs, and the results were equally disastrous. Pharmacists sold laudanum, morphine, and raw opium over the counter, and opium derivatives were also components of patent medicines. Narcotic addiction was never considered a public issue on the Comstock except in the case of the Chinese, and growing anti-Asian sentiment was responsible for an ordinance declaring opium dens a public nuisance. However, the city fathers quickly made it clear that they were not concerned if Chinese people or disreputable whites smoked the demon poppy, but were merely worried about protecting respectable citizens from the Asian menace.[67]

Prostitutes not only took drugs to make their lives more bearable, but also used them to die when their lives grew unendurable. Morphine and laudanum were the two poisons most commonly taken by the fifteen harlots who killed themselves and the eighteen others who attempted suicide between 1863 and 1880. The actual number of suicides and attempts is probably far larger, since suicides among all classes often went unreported, attempts were frequently ignored, and some fancy women took their lives in other communities on the parlor house circuit. There was no clear pattern of suicides among harlots; those of every age, nationality, and status within the profession killed themselves.

The profits from prostitution seldom rested in the harlots' hands, but were instead amassed by madams, other disreputable entrepreneurs, and respectable elites with investments in the irregular economy. Julia Bulette was a member of a small group of upper middle status prostitutes who occupied individual cottages. She was among the most successful Comstock harlots, and her popularity allowed her to adopt a petit bourgeois lifestyle. However, when Julia Bulette died, she left behind large debts for professional expenses of rent, clothing, liquor to serve her patrons,

and medical services. Her final estate was valued at $1,200, and the claims against it had to be met at one-third of their value.[68]

If these were the complete assets of one of the Comstock's highest status, best loved prostitutes, others of lower rank must have accumulated far less. On the other hand, madams of all kinds became wealthy. For example, Mit Raymond, the fifty-six-year-old owner of a prostitute bawdy saloon, left a substantial estate, including $40,000 worth of real estate in Sacramento, Oakland, and Marysville, California.[69]

Friends and Enemies

The quality of the relationships prostitutes had with men made it difficult, if not impossible, for them to achieve social mobility through marriage. In one case, a former Comstock prostitute did become rich after she married a pimp and moved to a mining community in eastern Nevada, where they owned several brothels and also invested in some legitimate businesses. However, after three generations, her heirs are still stigmatized by association with prostitution.[70] Many prostitutes never became seriously involved with men, and those who did often entered into liaisons or marriage with individuals who were also part of the criminal community, and the women either kept on working in the skin trade or assumed other roles in the irregular marketplace.

Five key masculine roles were salient to prostitution: customer, lover, pimp, employer, and lawman. None of these roles was mutually exclusive, since police received painted women's favors and special customers could eventually turn into lovers. However, at a given time, only one masculine role was critical in defining the relationship between a harlot and a man.

While men often sought them out for companionship as well as sex, that interaction was merely an additional service supplied by fancy women, and their friendships with customers were superficial. The underlying foundation of economic exchange, and the overwhelming difference in social power between prostitutes and customers, mitigated the possibility of deep, lasting mutual esteem. Thus, a former patron wrote this entry in his diary when a bawd he had known killed herself:

> Little Ida that I used to ---- some two years ago was found dead in her bed at Bow Windows (Jenny Tyler's) this morning. She had been rather dissipated for some time past and lately had taken to opium. —Ida Vernon was her name — a man was sleeping with her and found her cold in the morning. Rest in Peace Ida — she was her worst enemy.[71]

Some prostitutes wisely separated business from pleasure and seldom became entangled with respectable patrons. However, a number of sporting women did take male lovers from the criminal community. Marriage or long term affairs were more feasible for madams than for other fast women, since madams' jobs did not require that they barter their own sexuality, and they could separate love and sex from business. Some Comstock madams had consorts who owned their own disreputable businesses or pursued professional criminal careers, and their relation-

ships had a measure of equality. However, the men in romantic relationships with common prostitutes invariably exploited them to a greater degree than men involved with madams. Either prostitutes' lovers were economically independent and used their greater social and economic power to dominate the relationship, or, more commonly, they lived off a harlot's earnings.

Despite informal prohibitions against discussing pimps, and a formal city ordinance banning "all lewd and dissolute persons who live in and about houses of ill fame," pimps thrived on the Comstock.[72] The 1875 census listed thirty-eight obvious parasites residing in brothels or with individual prostitutes and calling themselves "sports," "speculators," or "gentlemen of leisure." More such men may have lived on the Comstock, but they did not dwell with painted women and could not be definitely identified.

Eleven of the pimps were born in southern or border states recently disrupted by the Civil War, seventeen came from the eastern United States, one was from the midwest, and two did not list their birthplaces. Only seven pimps were foreign born. One was from Germany and six were Irish. Most of these fancy men were between thirty-five and forty-four years old. The successful ones usually came to the Comstock from other American cities, and their ethnicities indicate that their ability to live by their wits and manipulate women was enhanced by their familiarity with American culture.

Unlike their modern counterparts who exercise power over an average of two or three harlots at a time, Comstock pimps usually had only one woman.[73] However, in other respects the relationships between painted women and fancy men have changed little over the past century. The liaisons were based primarily on prostitutes' emotional commitment, rather than on fear or coercion. Pimps rarely solicited customers for their women or assisted with business in other ways, except to protect harlots sporadically from unusually rowdy or violent customers. Their principal function was to provide prostitutes with an illusion of romance that could not be found with anyone outside the fast life. Since higher status men in the disreputable community probably preferred liaisons with women who could promise them temporary sexual fidelity, prostitutes had to find lovers among parasites.

There is little information about the few fancy men who may have been honest, loyal, and true to their women. However, there are numerous reports of Comstock sports who mistreated prostitutes and gambled away their women's earnings. By and large, pimps took painted women's money, abused them, and eventually left. Some fancy men were forced out of the community when they became involved in murders and other major misdeeds, but most simply moved on to the fast life in other boom towns.

The men who ran bawdy saloons and theaters, owned buildings in the red light districts, or bought and sold Asian prostitutes did not belong in the same social category as gentlemen of leisure. Although these men earned money through prostitutes, they did not necessarily have love affairs with them. The financial arrangements between prostitutes and

male entrepreneurs and managers of disreputable enterprises were relatively impersonal; while pimps encouraged tumultuous, one-sided romances.

Like pimps and disreputable entrepreneurs, police frequently took money from prostitutes, but lawmen often gave even less than other men in return for sexual favors. It was common for prostitutes to bribe police with money and/or sex in order to avoid arrest for discretionary offenses, such as disorderly conduct. Sometimes officers brutally arrested harlots who wouldn't pay them, and occasionally they were called to account for misusing their power.[74] However, the commerce between prostitutes and police usually continued unhindered by the city ordinance forbidding on-duty police to enter bawdy establishments except to discharge their professional duties.[75]

Police pay was low, and some lawmen were recruited from the fringe of the criminal community. However, while police were close to prostitutes, their relationships were characterized by unequal power. Sexual intimacy and other favors, such as providing alibis, were exchanged for protection from arrest; and most interactions between bawds and lawmen were comparable to impersonal prostitute-customer transactions. As agents of the respectable community, lawmen always had the power to betray fast women, and the sheriff was no more the prostitute's comrade than the vice cop is the modern streetwalker's confidant.

The only close, long standing friends prostitutes had were other women of ill repute. They lived together, drank together, fought and reconciled, protected one another from violent customers and petty madams, and sometimes attempted joint suicides. While lesbianism was never documented among Comstock prostitutes, it was common among harlots in other communities and probably occurred on the Comstock as well.[76]

Intimacy between prostitutes was facilitated by the bonds they shared through a common argot, set of customs, and pattern of career experiences. They were also bound together by their separation from the respectable community and by their social distance from customers. The trade talk of prostitution and the sharing of anecdotes and philosophy among women cemented their bonds, and even fancy men could not fully participate in such discussions, since they had not sold their bodies.

Even if love between harlots went unconsummated, other, non-sexual aspects of it were clearly evident. Prostitutes in small brothels sometimes shared the same beds after customers had departed. Women of higher rank traveled in pairs on the parlor house circuit and paid visits down the mountain to other fancy women in Carson City. Harlots gave one another small keepsakes, traded clothes, and recommended their friends to customers. When courtesans died, other women in the fast life buried them, and if they left any property, it was usually to their female friends.

Conclusion

Comstock prostitutes' daily lives resembled those of other women of ill repute dwelling in cities throughout the United States during the same period. Drawn to the mining frontier by prospects of wealth, those who

came of their own choice usually remained poor, caught in a cycle of sexual and economic exploitation. Chinese bawds worked and died as slaves, and their situation was an extreme extension of the degradation experienced by other women in the fast life.

The traffic in women was legally tolerated and secretly encouraged because of the immense profits it brought respectable elites and because it was considered necessary to sustain the large labor force of lone men. Moreover, much popular ideology supported St. Augustine's assertion that prostitution was as essential to marriage as cesspools were to a palace, and many people believed that harlots provided a necessary outlet for the overwhelming sexual urges that good men could not inflict upon their innocent, fragile wives.

Although married women's frequent adultery contradicted the belief system negating ladies' sexuality, that ideology was strong enough to force the burden of punishment for adultery and/or divorce on women. Both respectable women and prostitutes depended upon men for their economic and social survival. While one group remained isolated within their parlors, the other was confined behind the veil separating the bawdy districts from the respectable community. However, both ladies and harlots alike shared a common fate of having their sexual behavior critical in defining their social identities. Ostensible fidelity and sexual reserve were key characteristics of respectability, while promiscuity and apparent sexual abandon were major aspects of disreputability.

The centrality of sexual conduct in defining women's social identities reflected the pervasive belief that moral women could control their instincts, while men could not be held accountable for their strong sexual drives. Women's sexual behavior was also critical to their social identities because few females could attain social position by earning a living outside the home. Men derived a sense of who they were by means of their occupation, while women seldom did.

In 1870 only 14.7 per cent of all women over sixteen years old in the United States were breadwinners.[77] This marginal inclusion of women in the productive and service spheres of the economy blurred the absolute boundaries separating prostitutes and wives in traditional societies, because respectability was no longer an ascribed characteristic. Working women had to both earn their livings and protect their moral reputations, and prostitution became a matter of "choice," rather than a role into which one was born. However, that choice was often illusory, since few jobs were available to women, and those that were usually had poor pay, seasonal layoffs, and grueling working conditions. Moreover, the ideological dichotomy between ladies and most working women was grounded in the reality that many women worked under the control of male supervisors or employers who took sexual advantage of them.[78]

Women's precarious economic position in the larger society was mirrored in the irregular marketplace. While the criminal community welcomed prostitutes, most women were excluded from other, more lucrative occupations. Moreover, many men employed in irregular capacities could cross over into reputable jobs, while prostitutes were damned as part of the *demimonde.* The whole stratification system within

prostitution was a distorted reflection of sex stratification in the larger society. High ranking courtesans were valued for ladylike manners and attractive appearance, and prostitutes' race critically influenced their professional rank. Racism forced women of color into the most menial respectable jobs and also doomed them to the lowest echelons of prostitution.

The economic organization of industrial capitalism not only contributed to the supply of prostitutes, but also to the demand for them. Famines and political upheavals sweeping nineteenth-century Asia, South America, and Europe impelled women and men to seek their fortunes in the United States. Both immigrant and native born men worked long hours under dehumanizing conditions. Many workers sought emotional release and fleeting power through relationships with women of ill repute. As male workers were transformed into interchangeable objects in the factories, mills and mines, they in turn objectified women and traded part of their wages for sexual contact.

Prostitution was an integral part of the social and economic structure of all large American cities during the mid-nineteenth century. Although the traffic in women was labeled deviant, it was an essential part of social life. While prostitution's internal social organization has changed dramatically over the past century, it is still embedded in social structure. Sexism, racism, and capitalism continue to shape the skin trade. The common emphasis on the lures of the fast life obscures the social roots of prostitution. Myths about prostitutes' mobility and glorious careers were attempts to turn dirt into gold, but like other forms of alchemy they failed, and dirt remains dirt.

Notes

1. *Virginia City Territorial Enterprise,* June 27, 1867, p. 3, col. 1.

2. A large number of popular books on prostitution describe famous courtesans, wealthy madams, and call girls. Among these works are: Lesley Blanch, ed., *The Game of Hearts: Harriet Wilson's Memoirs* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955), Joanna Richardson, *The Courtesans: The Demimonde in Nineteenth Century France* (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1967), Curt Gentry, *The Madams of San Francisco* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1971), and, of course, Xaviera Hollander, *The Happy Hooker* (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1972).

3. Several classic works on prostitution spend a disproportionate amount of time discussing life among high status harlots. For example, *see* Simone De Beauvoir, *The Second Sex* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1952) ch. xix. Many scholars implicitly assume that all prostitution resembles elite sexual commerce. Thus, the quote about prostitution coming close to getting something for nothing appeared in one of the landmark articles in the sociology of deviance, Kinsley Davis, "The Sociology of Prostitution," *American Sociological Review,* II (October, 1937), p. 750.

4. Some of the best recent scholarship debunking the myths about prostitution includes Stephen Marcus, *The Other Victorians: A Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid-Nineteenth Century England* (New York: Basic Books, Inc. Publishers, 1964), Kate Millett, *The Prostitution Papers* (New York: Avon Books, 1973), and Gail Sheehy, *Hustling: Prostitution in Our Wide Open Society* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1973). Another important contribution to the emerging scholarship on sexual barter is the revitalization of Emma Goldman, *The Traffic in Women and Other Essays on Feminism* (New York: Times Change Press, 1970).

5. This study used almost every important primary and secondary source of data for the Comstock boom years from 1860 through 1880. Sources included territorial manuscript

censuses for 1860 and 1861 and the manuscript United States Census for 1870 and 1880. Special emphasis was placed upon the manuscript state census of 1875, since it provided the only detailed data on the community during a bonanza period, when there was a maximum number of prostitutes, a large general population, and an established, albeit flexible class structure. Newspapers carrying frequent small items about prostitution were another central source. Every surviving issue of the *Territorial Enterprise* was used, because it was the largest, best written, and most influential paper on the Comstock. Information from the *Enterprise* was supplemented with data from the *Gold Hill Evening News,* the *Virginia Daily Union,* and the *Virginia Evening Chronicle.* National publications, such as the *New York Times* and the *Overland Monthly,* also carried news about the mining frontier. Other printed materials included journals of the Nevada legislature, business and mining directories, and contemporary histories. These sources were supplemented by three available prostitutes' probates, diaries of respectable citizens, and a scattered collection of ephemera and photographs housed in the Nevada Historial Society, Reno. Comparative data were gathered from published histories of nineteenth-century prostitution in San Francisco and New York City. Finally, valuable insights about the similarities and differences between past and present prostitution were gained from brief fieldwork in Ely, a modern Nevada mining town, and extensive contact with members of COYOTE, the San Francisco loose women's organization.

6. Nevada Legislature (1875 Census), *Appendix to the Journals of the Senate and Assembly of the Eighth Session of the Legislature of the State of Nevada,* Vol. III (Carson City: John J. Hill, State printer, 187), p. 615.

7. Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," in *Louis Wirth On Cities and Social Life,* ed. by Albert Reiss, Jr. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 62-66.

8. Russell R. Elliott, *History of Nevada* (Lincoln: University Nebraska Press, 1973), pp. 123-144.

9. Wilbur S. Shepperson, *Restless Strangers: Nevada's Immigrants and Their Interpreters* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1970), pp. 13-14.

10. See for example, *San Francisco Chronicle,* May 8, 1883, p. 3, col. 7-8 on the divorce action filed by Theresa Fair against James Fair in District Court of Storey County. See also, Kenneth Church Lamott, *Who Killed Mr. Crettenden?: Being A True Account of the Notorious Murder That Stunned San Francisco, the Laura D. Fair Case,* (New York: D. McKay Co.: 1963).

11. See for example, *Gold Hill News,* Feb. 24, 1864, p. 3, col. 1, and *Territorial Enterprise,* July 7, 1868, p. 3, col. 2.

12. Robert B. Merrifield, "Nevada, 1859-1881: The Impact of an Advanced Technological Society Upon a Frontier Area" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1957), p. 33.

13. See for example, Mrs. C. M. Churchill, *Little Sheaves: Gathered While Gleaning After Reapers* (San Francisco, 1874), pp. 77-78 and *Territorial Enterprise* March 11, 1872, p. 2., col. 1 and June 15, 1872, p. 3, col. 3.

14. Robert B. Merrifield, "Nevada, 1859-1881," p. 163, and *Territorial Enterprise,* September 11, 1877, p. 3, col. 2.

15. Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," in *The American Family in Social-Historial Perspective,* ed. by Michael Gordon (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc.), pp. 227-250 and Eli Zaretsky, "Capitalism, the Family, and Personal Life: Part I," *Socialist Revolution,* III (January-April, 1973), pp. 102-115.

16. *Territorial Enterprise,* March 9, 1879, p. 27, col. 3-4 and Louise M. Palmer, "How We Live in Nevada," *Overland Monthly,* 11 (May, 1869), p. 461. See also Alfred Doten Diaries, Special Collections, University of Nevada at Reno, October 12, 1874. (While these diaries have been published by the University of Nevada Press, the manuscripts were used because they were more accurate and had not been abridged in editing.)

17. The average wage was $4 per day for an eight- to ten-hour day. See Elliott, *History of Nevada,* pp. 142-143.

18. *Territorial Enterprise,* July 28, 1877, p. 3, col. 2.

19. Palmer, "How We Live in Nevada," p. 462.

20. *Ibid.,* pp. 461-462.

21. Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, *Marriage and Divorce in the United States* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897), p. 103 and pp. 708-711.

22. *Virginia Evening Bulletin,* April 16, 1863, p. 3, col. 1, and *Territorial Enterprise,* August 4, 1875, p. 3, col. 3.

23. *Gold Hill Evening News,* December 12, 1863, p. 3, col. 2.

24. *Virginia City Evening Chronicle,* February 21, 1877, p. 3, col. 3; February 22, 1877, p. 2, col. 2 and p. 3, col. 2; and *Territorial Enterprise,* Feb. 15, 1877, p. 2, col. 2 and p. 3, col. 3.

25. This search was quite difficult because prostitutes could be located by address, but not necessarily by lot parameters. In order to be accurate, the blocks known to have been almost entirely devoted to commercial vice were examined. First, land ownership was studied. Then lists of the owners were compared with listings in the 1875 manuscript census and with lists of prostitutes and madams in the 1880 manuscript census. Ownership was established only when there was definite correspondence between last names and first names or initials.

26. Sheehy, *Hustling,* pp. 116-154.

27. Two of those districts loosely conformed to ordinances relegating the traffic in women to Chinatown and an area on North D Street. The third, the Barbary Coast, was always illegal. The exact location of prostitution was established through the United States Census manuscripts for 1880, which listed clear street addresses.

28. *See,* for example, *Territorial Enterprise,* March 11, 1873, p. 3, col. 2; June 3, 1874, p. 3, col. 2; and January 20, 1877, p. 3, cols. 2-4.

29. *Territorial Enterprise,* November 7, 1878, p. 2, col. 3.

30. *Territorial Enterprise,* August 5, 1875, p. 3, col. 2.

31. *Ibid.,* August 6, 1875, p. 3, col. 2 and June 7, 1877, p. 3, cols. 2-4.

32. *Ibid.,* June 28, 1875, p. 3, col. 3; August 4, 1875, p. 3, col. 3; July 10, 1877, p. 3, col. 2.

33. *Ibid.,*November 20, 1866, p. 3, col. 1.

34. Although Lola Montez never visited the Comstock, and Adah Isaacs Menken is not known to have formed any liaisons there, each of these women exemplifies the actress-courtesan of the American frontier.

35. *Territorial Enterprise,* April 18, 1871, p. 3, col. 1 and August 17, 1872, p. 3, col. 1.

36. *Ibid.,* June 27, 1867, p. 3, cols. 1-3.

37. Testimony of Gertrude Holmes quoted in *Territorial Enterprise,* June 27, 1867, p. 3, cols. 1-3.

38. *See* Sheehy, *Hustling,* pp. 35-36, for an excellent typology differentiating high and low status prostitutes.

39. The harsh urban economic conditions forcing women into prostitution are documented in the cases of 2,000 New York harlots interviewed by William Sanger in 1858 for his classic work on the subject. See William W. Sanger, M.D., *The History of Prostitution: Its Extent, Causes and Effects Throughout the World* (New York: The Medical Publishing Company, 1897), chs. xxxii and xxxiii.

40. *Territorial Enterprise,* October 6, 1867, p. 3, col. 2.

41. Shepperson, *Restless Strangers,* p. 103.

42. Gentry, *The Madams of San Francisco,* pp. 72-75, and Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte,* trans. by Daniel De Leon (New York: New York Labor News Company, 1957), pp. 107-108.

43. Stanford M. Lyman, *The Asian in the West* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1971), pp. 18-19.

44. *Territorial Enterprise,* June 9, 1878, p. 3, col. 5.

45. *Ibid.,* June 7, 1877, p. 3, col. 4.

46. Travis Hirschi, "The Professional Prostitute," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology,* VII (Spring, 1962), p. 42, and Sanger, *The History of Prostitution,* p. 557. Both of these works discuss the negative relationship between age and status within the profession, yet modern

call girls in COYOTE have frequently been in the business for more than ten years, and they assert that the key variable defining a woman's status within the profession is the level at which she entered. Young streetwalkers grow to be older streetwalkers, and young call girls simply mature at their high professional rank.

47. *Territorial Enterprise,* September 24, 1871, p. 3, col. 2.

48. *Elko Independent* (Elko, Nevada), July 14, 1879, p. 2, col. 1.

49. Shepperson, *Restless Strangers,* p. 103.

50. Some hurdy houses and bawdy theaters emphasized the availability of "private and dressing rooms," such as those noted in the Villa de Belvilier's opening announcement in the *Territorial Enterprise,* June 13, 1867, p. 2, col. 6. However, most did not, and customers sometimes fought over who would accompany hurdy girls home after hours. *See,* for example, *Territorial Enterprise,* January 14, 1872, p. 3, col. 2.

51. Gentry, *The Madams of San Francisco,* p. 153.

52. Shepperson, *Restless Strangers,* pp. 102-103.

53. *Gold Hill Evening News,* December 20, 1873, p. 3, col. 2.

54. *Territorial Enterprise,* August 6, 1875, p. 3, col. 3.

55. *Ibid.,* June 22,1867, p. 3, col. 1, and Doten Diaries, Feb. 13, 1866.

56. Gentry, *The Madams of San Francisco,* p. 57.

57. Dee Brown, *The Gentle Tamers: Women of the Old Wild West* (New York: Bantam Books, 1974). This popular history presents many legends about frontier prostitutes as if they were fact and also contains copious references to other sources which glorify western harlots.

58. Various causes of prostitutes' early deaths have been noted elsewhere in this article. Few of them left behind enough property to go through probate, and even those who did had comparatively little material security. *See* the probates of Susan Ballard, Jessie Lester, and Julia Bulette, Storey County Courthouse.

59. John S. Haller and Robin M. Haller, *The Physician and Sexuality in Victorian America,* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1974), pp. 113-124.

60. Nevada, *Statutes of the State of Nevada Passed at the Twelfth Session of the Legislature* (Carson City: State Printing Office, 1885), p. 1020. This law was first passed in 1869.

61. *Territorial Enterprise,* January 3, 1877, p. 3, col. 4 and October 12, 1880, p. 3, col. 3. These are the only two recorded prostitutes' abortions.

62. Nevada, *Statutes of the State of Nevada Passed at the Twelfth Session of the Legislature, loc. cit.*

63. For a discussion of the ways in which legislation reflects problematic areas of social life see Kai T. Erikson, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966).

64. Haller and Haller, *The Physician and Sexuality,* p. 258.

65. *Territorial Enterprise,* April 17, 1872, p. 2, col. 3.

66. Pamela Roby, *Politics and Prostitution: A Case of Formulation, Enforcement, and Judicial Administration of New York State Penal Laws* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, forthcoming).

67. *Territorial Enterprise,* August 30, 1876, p. 3, col. 3, September 13, 1876, p. 3, col. 2, and September 15, 1876, p. 2, col. 1.

68. Debts Against the Estate of Julia Bulette, Storey County Court House, Virginia City, Nevada.

69. *Territorial Enterprise,* June 3, 1874, p. 3, col. 2, and June 6, 1874, p. 3, col. 4.

70. Personal interview with a member of the family.

71. Doten Diaries, February 6, 1868.

72. William R. Gillis, ed., *The Nevada Directory for 1868-1869* (San Francisco: M. D. Carr and Co. Book and Job Printers, 1868), p. 263. Business and mining directories frequently compiled city ordinances, and this reference is to the law against pimping on the Comstock.

73. For material on modern pimps see Christina Milner and Richard Milner, *Black Players: The Secret Life of Black Pimps* (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1972), p. 12.

74. *Territorial Enterprise,* May 5, 1875, p. 3, col. 2, September 9, 1876, p. 3, col. 3, and October 18, 1876, p. 3, col. 1.

75. Gillis, *The Nevada Directory for 1868-9,* pp. 256-257.

76. Haller and Haller, *The Physician and Sexuality,* pp. 106-107. This is a general discussion about prohibitions against lesbianism in the nineteenth century. One of the most famous frontier tales about lesbians describes the day that Calamity Jane was finally dismissed from a brothel in Bozeman, Montana, for corrupting the other inmates. See Lucius Beebe and Charles Clegg, *The American West* (New York City: Bonanza Books, 1955), p. 349.

77. U.S. Congress, Senate, *Report on the Condition of Women and Child Wage-Earners in the United States,* by Helen L. Sumner under the direction of Charles P. Neill, Commissioner of Labor (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1910), p. 11.

78. Sanger, *The History of Prostitution,* pp. 532-534.

The Fall of Troy: A Nineteenth-Century English Mining Venture in Nevada

by Chris Aspin

> "THE DESIRE to accumulate wealth rapidly has been the primary cause of many important and sometimes disastrous speculations. Private individuals, as a rule, do not on their sole responsibility enter into rash undertakings, but society generally acts very differently. Get up an eloquent prospectus, hold forth fabulous profits, however unreasonable, and large numbers at once become enamoured of the scheme, embark their little but hard earned capital without one moment of thoughtful consideration and become enrolled as shareholders in a speculative company, the truthful aspects of which they are as ignorant as the man in the moon."

So wrote "A Shareholder" to the *Bacup Times,* of October 5, 1872. The statement aptly summarised the position of many of the inhabitants of the Rossendale Valley in Lancashire, England, who, like the writer, had bought shares in the Troy Silver Mining Company, which had been set up in 1870 to exploit what were considered the highly promising ore ledges in Beaty's Canyon, Nye County, Nevada.[1] The shipment of silver bars, so confidently predicted by the "eloquent prospectus," was long overdue and "Shareholder" and his fellow speculators were still without a return on their investments.

A previous edition of the *Quarterly* featured documents illustrating how the Troy company was started following a visit to Rossendale by a gentleman bearing quartz, which was found to contain a very high proportion of silver.[2] The promoters of the company were also much impressed by a report, dated November 9, 1869, by a New York mining engineer, Mr. Ellery. Of the five silver ledges on the Troy estate he said:

1. "The Blue Eagle" — This I consider to be one of the most valuable mines in Nevada. The ore is worth from £30 to £40 per ton.
2. "The Oakland" is a very fine lode. It will yield £25 per ton.
3. "The Troy" is a fine vein with as well developed walls as ever I examined. The ore will produce over £25 per ton, and the position of the mine is such that a large amount can be extracted at a very small expense.
4. "The Meridian." I feel safe in setting this at £20 per ton. This makes up in quantity what it lacks in quality.
5. "The Welland" will produce about £20 per ton.

Chris Aspin is an English journalist who specializes in financial and industrial news of Manchester and the manufacturing districts of the Northwest of England. He was born and educated in Lancashire and lives in the Rossendale Valley. He has written widely on the history of the area, his best known books being *Lancashire, The First Industrial Society* and a biography of James Hargreaves, inventor of the spinning jenny.

Before buying these properties, the Rossendale men sent one of their number — Captain John Aitken, cotton manufacturer and Fellow of the Geological Society — to take rocks from the site. Though he seems not to have found samples to match those brought by the gentleman acting on behalf of the owners of the property, his visit nevertheless encouraged the businessmen to form the Troy Silver Mining Company. In the words of the prospectus:

> Specimens of the ore, "good and bad together" have been assayed and reported upon by Professor Forbes, F.R.S., F.G.S., of London. Three cases of ore (not picked, but as it fell from the blast) were sent direct to Professor Forbes for analysis, and the results are considered by competent judges to be highly satisfactory.

Although there are many gaps which remain in the story of the Troy venture, it seems clear that investments in the Troy area must have seemed a reasonable speculation to mill owners and merchants with thousands of pounds to spare. They could well afford a gamble; but many of the working class people who joined them staked their life's savings on the success of the mine, the failure of which was to leave deep resentment in Rossendale for many years to follow. At any rate, a great deal may be learned from an analysis of the reports which appeared in the Rossendale newspapers (some of which were reprints of articles originating in the *White Pine Daily News*), and from the few surviving papers in the company's file at the Public Record Office in London. These are the primary materials upon which the following reconstruction of the "Fall of Troy" is based.

The Troy Silver Mining Company, which was floated in October, 1870, with a share capital of £50,000, divided into £1 shares, spared no expense to make its mine and mill as efficient as possible. "Everything that comfort and convenience dictated was had without regard to expense and the whole institution was conducted in the most luxurious English style," the *White Pine Daily News* commented when the mine was abandoned in 1876.[3] The same newspaper in 1871 had described the mill as "the most effective, convenient and economical mill ever erected, even in this state of silver mines."[4] Hopes ran high in the company's early days. A report of the first general meeting of shareholders held in January, 1871, sets the tone:

> Letters had been received from Mr. L. H. Newton, the company's agent, announcing his arrival at the mine and stating that preliminary arrangements for the speedy and successful working of the mine were progressing in a most satisfactory manner. He had closed a contract for making a road to the mine to be commenced on December 26th last and finished on March 15th next. He was negotiating for the purchase of a stamping mill on very advantageous terms and he hoped to have it in working order by the 10th of July next. He believed he would be able to ship silver bars to the company before the 1st of September. We understand it is the intention of the directors to issue a prospectus and to offer for sale the shares that yet remain undisposed of at as early date as possible.[5]

The prospectus said that ores sent from Troy yielded 21, 22 and 34 ounces of silver to the ton, but omitted earlier references to ore yielding 110 and 187 ounces together with traces of gold and a good percentage of copper. Rumours began to circulate. Some said the omission was to keep down the price of shares so that the "parties in power" could pick them up at par value, but according to a letter published in the *Bacup Times* of March 25, 1871, "One director makes no secret of the fact that they are going to get ore worth £50 a ton; another says £30." Though both these figures were vastly greater than the £6 5s a ton suggested in the prospectus, they do not appear to have impressed the Rossendale public, which was perhaps a little surprised to find the company seeking fresh capital only six months after its formation — a £5,000 mortgage and £20,000 by way of double dividend shares.[6] On April 8, the *Bacup Times* published a letter from John Moss Fletcher, who was secretary of the company at its inception, but who, for reasons unknown, had been replaced by Frank Hunter, a Bacup accountant and one of the leading Methodists of the district:

> The person who brought this [the Troy] property to Rossendale is the man who writes this letter and who has the whole of his money and his honour, too, wrapped up in its success: his partner in America has sold his house and everything he has in the world and has spent the money on the Troy estate and is now living there and working like a slave to get the mill up as speedily as possible; but what can he do without money and plenty of it to help him along? And what must he think when he finds that so few shares have been taken up since last October?

Fletcher is obviously referring to Newton, whose activities at Troy were reported in the *White Pine Daily News* of October 18 and December 1, 1871:

> We had the pleasure of meeting yesterday afternoon our esteemed friend Mr. L. H. Newton on his return from the Troy mines [said the first account]. Among all our active and energetic mining superintendents, there is no one more efficient or more devoted to the interests of the company he represents than Lee Harry Newton. We are pleased to hear from the most reliable sources that the Troy company have struck a body of very rich ore at a considerable depth on the Blue Eagle lode. The 20-stamp mill is finished and in excellent condition and all that is now needed at the Troy works is the construction of a suitable furnace for roasting the ores. From what we learn, the furnace will be speedily started and thus add another success to the mining enterprise of Eastern Nevada.

The second account was even more enthusiastic:

> We have more than once made mention of the Troy company, of which Harry Newton, the irrepressible, is agent. From an acquaintance who recently visited Troy we learn that the prospect of a bright future for all interested in that enterprise could not be improved. The mine is opened more than 400 feet and shows a ledge of from 18 to 22 feet in width. The mill is declared to be at once the most effective, convenient and economical mill ever

> erected, even in this state of silver mines. It has been built under the immediate supervision of Mr. Newton by that old chief of mill builders Benjamin Evans. It contains a magnificent battery of 20 (750 pound) stamps, 12 improved Varny pans, six settlers, a Blake crusher and Stetefeldt furnace. It is all completed except the furnace, which is being hurried forward with all possible despatch. The ore drops from the wagon to the breaker, thence to the drying floor, thence to the batteries; thence by an elevator it is hoisted to the furnaces. From the furnaces it is run in cars to the pans and from the settlers the amalgam is taken on the same level to the retorts in the smelting room. The machinery is to be driven by a powerful 16-inch engine, supplied by two 54-inch boilers. It is impossible in a brief article to describe the multitude of little inventions calculated to render Troy a mill that will do the greatest amount of perfect work with the smallest number of men. Outside, the structure is by far the most attractive ever dedicated to the reduction of ores; and the company may well be proud of the taste and judgment everywhere displayed in the erection of the works. As for Newton — but no matter; a night with him means sore sides from laughing, and a demoralized stomach from over-eating. But we will say that but for his pluck and energy, this magnificent enterprise, built in the desert, would have slumbered as a thousand others are slumbering around us for want of just such men. Homer sang that "Troy is no more." Homer was an old fogy. Troy is and is to be.

A report made on March 1, 1872, by Edward Davies, a Welsh mining engineer and later the manager at Troy, was equally enthusiastic: "Most important of all, the mines are really full of rich silver ore. There are thousands of tons ready to be taken away. They appear rich on the surface, in the eye of the sun, and rich down below, as deep as the mines have gone."

These accounts contrast sharply with one which appeared in the *White Pine Daily News* after the company abandoned the mine:

> That a great amount of money was foolishly expended at the outset of their operations, no one acquainted with the affair will doubt. The poorest judgment was used in opening the mines and nearly all the early work done was impractical and had to be abandoned — the cost of which was no small amount to the company. To say that the first management of the company's affairs was bad does not do justice to the subject.[7]

To finance the ill-judged operations, the company had to raise fresh capital — £30,000 by the issue of new shares in October, 1871, and a further £20,000 by a similar issue in June, 1872. Nearly two years after its formation, the Troy Company had produced no silver. The *Mining Journal* of September 21 commented:

> We do not believe in the Troy Mine. The next few months will be the most important that the mine has yet seen. The erection of the Stetefeldt furnace, the hauling down of the ore, the starting of the stamping mill and the subsequent working of the amalgamating and reduction works will require a great deal of close attention on the part of the manager.

In view of the long delay in putting the Troy mine on a workmanlike footing, it is surprising to discover that there remained an astonishing interest in Troy shares in Rossendale. We have already quoted from the letter written by "A Shareholder" in October, 1872. Here are some further extracts:

> At the present moment there prevails in the valley of Rossendale a contagious mining fever. People are rushing here and there almost delirious to obtain shares in the Troy Silver Mining Company. The tradesman with a view to augment his means, the widow desiring to increase her humble pittance and the industrious working man wishful to multiply his earnings rush to purchase these shares at an unwarrantable premium with evident satisfaction that these investments must inevitably prove most fortunate and successful. Now, what can be the cause of this excitement and agitation? What was the reason for the shares (£1) rising to the fabulous price of over 50s. and to over 60s. per share, even before a road has been constructed to the place of operations? Why has the recent rise taken place from a little below par up to 30s. and 40s.? Has the Troy Company discovered a mountain of silver which needs only importing to England to enable every shareholder to assume a position of affluence and independence? Or is the value of the ore already mined likely to raise the shares in price ten-fold or pay a dividend of some hundreds per cent? — a belief that not a few have been led to entertain. Alas! no. These things cannot have been brought about by any valuable discoveries or successful operations at the mine. Indeed nothing of note has been produced up to the present time, and the probabilites are that under most "favourable circumstances" nothing of value is likely to be brought about for a considerable time to come. Seeing then that the shares are being dealt in at illegitimate **and fictitious prices, we ask again — What is the cause?**
>
> In Rossendale we have a "clique" who call themselves sharebrokers and who seem to live on the gullibility of the inhabitants at large. Their avocation is to obtain the heaviest possible amount of profit on all transactions between one shareholder and another, so that it is in the interest of these people to keep share prices in a constant state of fluctuation. When shares are low they purchase, foist them up with various subterfuges and make fictitious offers one to another to entrap the innocent and unsuspecting. Shares begin to rise and 2s. advance is quoted at bread and cheese time next day at headquarters. Some "good news" has arrived, people think, and commence to hunt the shares out, and secure them at the advanced price. With increased confidence, prices rise, and on the morrow, at 11:30 a.m., the hospitable "change" bears witness to a further advance of 10s. per share. Brokers smile and shareholders become frenzied with excitement. During this excitement the latter sell out, at little over half price, their holdings in the various cotton mills to seize the opportunity of laying out the whole of their capital in what may after all turn out to be silver bubble shares at perhaps four times their legitimate value. As a rule, the value of these shares drops

> to par — shareholders lament over their loss, sharebrokers pocket the money, enjoy their daily allowance of bread and cheese on "change" and replenish their exhausted stock ready for another rise. The shares at present are selling at a fancy price — about 36s. Three weeks ago they changed hands at 39s., and about a fortnight since prices were 29s. There has been no intelligence received from the mine to cause these fluctuations, but the shares have been foisted up in the usual way, probably with a view to manufacturing a few more dupes, who will part with their money to the emolument of their friends — the brokers.

Not surprisingly, shareholders began to seek more information about operations at Troy, and to satisfy this demand the directors agreed to publish in the local newspapers the texts of cablegrams to and from the mine. From Troy at the beginning of November, 1872, came the following: "Three hundred tons first class ore hauled to mill. Ready to start crushing and roasting today. All completed in first class order; £6,000 required to pay balances of September, October and part November. Cash payments imperative. Absolutely last remittance."

In reply to this, the directors wired that Mr. Newton must ship bullion and draw bills against it. They could not send the money. On November 8, the following cablegram reached Bacup: "Payments deferred to utmost limit. Bullion cannot be got without remittance. Mines will be attached and all stopped unless remittance comes. £500 in state taxes." The directors sent £4,000 and explained to Mr. Newton that they had borrowed the money on their own responsibility. They added, "Wire immediately bullion made." The following was received on November 21: "Mill and mine successful. Crushing ore. Will ship bullion on the 27th. Sure. I will remain until April — no longer. My business forbids. You must remit immediately £2,000."

In answer to this, the directors said "We will make arrangements for sending the £2,000 today." On November 28, Newton wired:

> Mill ran part of one day. Heater and boiler got disordered. Take this week to alter and repair. No more serious difficulty. Start again next week. £2,000 required immediately to repay loans. £2,000 more required on or before 10th December to meet cheques drawn. Expenditure report mailed. Answer.

The directors answered that they were sending another £2,000.[8]

Shortly after this, Newton was replaced as manager by Davies, whose first cablegram, which reached Bacup on January 11, 1873, said the mill had run successfully for four days and that he expected to be in Hamilton shortly to ship bullion. Shareholders, said the *Bacup Times,* "were in high glee" at the news, but they must have had mixed feelings about the next message. Mr. Davies wired from Troy on January 16: "Brought out first two bars silver. Shipped per order to Montague. Ship more quick. Mill runs constantly all right. Men struck for pay last week. Account overdrawn bank. Remit immediately £3,000. You deal with silver on your side."[9]

The *Bacup Times* of January 25 reported that shareholders had been put into "a joyful flutter of excitement" by another message from Mr.

Davies announcing that twelve more silver bars were ready at the mill for shipping. The company's account books have not survived, and therefore it is impossible to say what income the company actually derived from its silver. However, the news that silver was at last being produced led to what a correspondent of the local newspaper called "these exciting times" in Troy shares, but his letter was a cautionary one:

> Anyone shall take the statistics of American mines, including the famous Emma and Flagstaff or any other; and I am satisfied it is impossible to find for capital invested one eighth per cent per annum returned in dividends, and certainly one half of the capital is lost to the unfortunate shareholders.[10]

No more news of Troy appeared in the local press until May 10, when it was reported that Newton, the ex-manager, had arrived in Bacup from America and that a directors' meeting had been held on the same evening. A deputation of shareholders waited upon the board "to glean what information they could about the mine and its prospects."

> What they did get [said the *Bacup Times*] did not appear to be of a very assuring character. Some portion of the mine was flooded, and under the water a very rich lode of silver was supposed to exist. To put down a pumping engine would cost a considerable amount of money. They were driving a tunnel which would take eight or nine months to complete and more money would be required.[11]

Troy shares fell to 5s. and purchasers were said to have been "few and far between." On May 13, Davies wrote to say that he was "as hopeful as ever that the mine would be a success," a piece of news which perhaps prompted some brisk deals in Troy shares by a number of Bacup gentlemen travelling the twenty miles by train to the Manchester cotton market. The *Bacup Times* said:

> Of course it was important that this should be known on 'Change at Bacup, and as no one cared to leave the train to transmit a telegram, which would also have involved an expenditure, which, we suppose, no shareholder under existing circumstances would hardly feel himself justified in contracting, it was decided that a pigeon with a piece of paper tied to one of its legs should be the bearer of the good news. The winged messenger was accordingly despatched just after the train left Radcliffe station and duly arrived at its destination. The result was that there was no end of rejoicing at bread and cheese time on 'Change at Bacup.[12]

Troy shareholders writing to the local papers took a number of views: some were hopeful, some downhearted. One wrote in verse:

> Oh: Troy! my pet, my darling child,
> I wonder what thou ailest,
> Thou now art three years old or more,
> And yet to me thou failest.[13]

Davies continued to send enthusiastic reports from Troy. Samples of ore from one shaft were averaging eighty dollars a ton, though elsewhere the yield was as low as two dollars a ton. He promised to curtail expenses as much as possible, and drew the board's attention to a report on the Crown Point Mine, "which has just declared another dividend, and this

time the largest dividend that any mine ever did before, viz, 10 dollars a share on 100,000 shares." He went on:

> Now my chief object in referring to this is to say that Crown Point has seen darker days than any Troy has yet seen, and also that the average assays in our rich run of ore ground exceed those of the Crown Point . . . I am bound to say that the run of good ore ground at Troy is a *very important one,* and one which, if worked with vigor, will turn out good pay rock in abundance. The more I see of it and understand it, the more I like it.

Davies was called to England and as a result of his report to the directors, an extraordinary meeting of the shareholders was called on July 22 to authorise the creation of 80,000 £1 shares, though the immediate aim was to raise only £12,000. The shares were to have a preferential interest of twenty per cent above the other shares.

The chairman, Mr. Edward Ashworth, told the meeting that he believed that "the small sum of money now required will carry the mine out of its present difficulties," but not all the shareholders took this view. Mr. T. C. Leach observed:

> We have the opinion of a man who gets something like £1,600 a year for being the manager, and we know very well that gentlemen do not like to lose good situations. There are gentlemen in London who say that there is no ore at all — certainly not in that part of the district. (Laughter) It is all very well to laugh, but you may some day have to thank me for my advice. We have already spent a great amount of money upon the Troy mine, and before I spend any more on it, I think it would be best to get information. I have received information from the district and I have come to the conclusion that it is better to sell Troy shares than to buy them. (Laughter)

Despite Mr. Leach's caution, the shareholders decided to give Troy another chance to prove itself and the resolution to increase the share capital was "carried by acclamation." Of the £12,000, some £8,000 was subscribed by the directors.[14]

No more was published about Troy until December 13, when the *Bacup Times* carried two letters from Davies, the first written on November 7 and the second eleven days later. The first introduced the curious figure of General Cadwalader (of whom more later), described by Davies as "one of the most intelligent and best informed mining engineers in America." After spending two days at Troy, Cadwalader wrote to Davies:

> I am happy to be disabused of a misapprehension, created two years since, of the integrity of your mines. Specimens then furnished and tested by myself, made me doubt the success of your mining enterprise, as copper was rife in the samples at the expense of the silver. A change has now taken place, both in the quality and quantity of your ores, and I now feel fully assured that you have at command the facilities for realizing your early anticipations. Your mill is of the most modern and approved structure, fitted completely for the reduction of gold ores on the most economical plan, as well as for the more elaborate process needed in reducing refractory silver and copper ores.

In his letter of November 18, Davies informed the directors that while visiting Belmont to pay the annual taxes of $2,200, he called at the Belmont mine, which was causing "the greatest excitement" on the San Francisco Exchange:

> Having always heard that their vein was similar to Troy, I went to see the mine and mill. After seeing it I am able to say that the Troy and Belmont ledges are as similar to each other as possible. Only Belmont is now 480 feet deep. The deeper they went the richer the rock is. They have now dispensed with the Stetefeldt furnace. They don't work their ores any more. Stamp it dry and work it raw. Their rock shows in their deeper levels pure native silver. This I have seen myself and have brought samples of such ore from there. The bullion now runs up to 955 fine, whereas sometime ago it was as low as Troy at first run. This strike in one week increased the value of their mine thirty-fold. All who have seen Belmont and Troy are firmly of opinion that at about the same depths similar results will be realised at Troy. I must say that my hopes in the ultimate success of Troy are considerably strengthened after this inspection.
> P.S. Six weeks ago, Belmont shares were selling at three shillings each. Since this strike they have been selling at from four pounds to six pounds each, and thousands of shares changing hands every week.

By the early part of 1875, the £12,000 raised in July of the previous year "to test the mine thoroughly" had been exhausted, and the directors had no alternative but to cable Davies on February 2 to suspend all operations. Hopes continued high, however, and at the half-yearly meeting of shareholders held on February 21 it was agreed that the mine should be given one more trial. This time the directors asked for another £12,000 in £1 shares, to bear a preference dividend of fifty per cent. A shareholder signing himself "Josephus" wrote to the *Bacup Times* on March 7:

> Another call is made and I hope that the response will be general, complete and successful, and that Troy may be made to disgorge its treasures hidden for unnumbered ages in those mountainous regions of the far-off Nevada. This language may be held by some unromantic readers to be a cross between Homer and Captain Marryatt; be it so, but there is precious little romance in the fact of one hundred and thirty-three thousand pounds having in one shape or another found its way so far "across country" as from Bacup to Nevada. If it be romance in America, it is hard fact to the little town bordering Yorkshire and nestling among the hills of Lancashire. The money has been sent out in good faith from the hoards that were the accumulated savings of many years, from long treasured accumulations that had increased by the single droppings of prolonged efforts, of hard pinching economy for years, and the greedy maw of Troy has swallowed up the whole, and like Oliver is asking for more and must have more.

In Nevada, meanwhile, the news that operations had ceased at Troy was received by General Cadwalader with dismay. He at once contacted Davies, and enthusiastically supported the efforts being expended at Troy:

> I know enough of the mine to be fully assured that instead of a suspense on it, it should be wrought with an increased diligence . . . I feel so well assured of these views that I voluntarily assume the hazard of being a false prophet in the future. The aspect of the mine is such, that unless a future success is a result, it will violate all known precedents.

Davies forwarded the letter to England, observing:

> The old General is full of old British feeling. American as he is, he is most anxious that Troy should be a success. He is most like a Briton of any man I have met on the continent. It has been conveyed down to him that he is descended from Cadwalader, King of Briton. Right or wrong, it has however ennobled his character without puffing him up with blustering pride. He also takes great interest in all things Welsh and is a great reader of the English Quarterly Reviews.

The directors cabled Davies to send his opinion on future prospects for the mine and the capital required for full development. He replied at length on March 4 "earnestly recommending" the board to provide for twelve months' mining at the rate of £1,000 a month:

> After bringing Troy and Blue Eagle to their present points, it would be most injudicious to leave off now. I like the appearances of Troy and Blue Eagle better than any other mine in this district. They are true fissure veins and are certain of proving themselves to be great and productive mines at the proper depth. As far as mining goes, Troy has not had a fair trial. Now then, for one twelve months of real scientific and practical mining. If I cannot find you a first class great mine in that time I can never find it in Troy and will be asked to be removed at once to make way for somebody else.

The directors agreed to find another £1,000 on the condition that the remaining 8,000 shares were taken up by the shareholders, but according to the *Bacup Times* of May 23 fewer than 700 had been applied for. Attempts to get "certain financial companies" to take up shares had failed and it was decided to call a general meeting on June 6 to propose liquidation unless a sufficient number of shares were taken up.

The company's account with the White Pine Bank was now overdrawn and Davies had laid off his miners. But he continued to be hopeful and submitted estimates for handling 550 tons of ore monthly. This gave an estimated profit of $11,918 a month, but took no account of profit from copper, "which could exceed that of silver."

By June 6, only 1,260 shares had been applied for, but at the meeting to decide the fate of the company, there were few in favour of winding up:

> Captain Aitken suggested that small slips of paper should be handed round to the shareholders upon which they should write the number of shares they were disposed to take. When the secre-

> tary had gone through the slips he found that upwards of 6,000 shares had been taken up in the room — an announcement that was received with loud cheers.

The shareholders dispersed "in much better spirits than they had been for many a day," said the *Bacup Times.* But their euphoria was not to last. On June 30, Frank Hunter, secretary of the Troy company, died suddenly, a circumstance which doubtless explains the absence of any further news of the mine being given to the press. Nothing more was heard until September 5, when the local newspapers carried the following advertisement: "The Troy Silver Mining Company Limited. — The Report of Professor Price on the mines has been received, and any shareholder desiring to read it can do so by calling at the office of the company, Irwell-terrace, Bacup."

Shareholders had several times suggested that the company send a qualified person to Troy to make an independent report on its prospects. Now that they had an expert view, they might well have wished that Professor Price had been sent to Nevada earlier. His long report stated bluntly that there were no bodies of paying ore available, and that the only course he could reasonably advise was to prospect the mine at a greater depth. "I must state emphatically that a considerable improvement must be had before the property of the Troy Silver Mining Company can be remunerative."

For more than a year, events at Troy went unrecorded. Then, on October 9, 1875, the directors called a shareholders' meeting to consider the voluntary winding up of the company and the appointment of liquidators. The meeting was not reported, but from a shareholder's letter published in the *Bacup Times,* it is clear that hopes of making Troy pay had not entirely vanished. Davies, described now as "the late manager," was present at the meeting and "expressed himself as firmly convinced as ever that the mine will yet turn out a success if the shareholders can be induced to have a little more patience and guarantee a little more capital." And the writer asked, "Are we not to receive encouragement from the statement of the present manager Mr. Roberts that to abandon the works in their present state would be downright madness?" Though the chairman was in favour of the company being wound up, his view did not prevail. Mr. Maden was said to have stated that

> though it was very much like throwing good money after bad, he was prepared to find a little more in order that they might prosecute the work and not give up without feeling satisfied that it could not be made a successful mine. He knew very well that there were many working men who had embarked their all in the undertaking, and could not therefore render any further help, but some of them who were in better circumstances, though they had already lost so much to all appearances, should raise a little more for their own satisfaction and for the satisfaction of the body of shareholders that the work had not been abandoned while only a few yards from the goal of success.

Troy was reprieved again, but its days were numbered. The final trial failed to convince the board that any more money should be raised, and

early in 1876 the mine was abandoned for the last time, though Roberts was still anxious to continue. The *Bacup Times* of April 22 quoted the following extracts from the *White Pine Daily News* of March 11:

> The company commenced mining operations in 1870 and erected a very fine 20-stamp mill with Stetefeldt furnace attached, and built houses for the workmen etc. Everything that comfort and convenience dictated was had, without regard to cost, and the whole institution was conducted in the most luxurious English style. That a great amount of money was foolishly expended at the outset of their operations no one acquainted with the affair will doubt. The poorest judgment was used in opening the mines and nearly all the early work done was impractical and had to be abandoned — the cost of which was no small amount to the company. To say that the first management of the company's affairs was bad does not do justice to the subject. After the management was changed a better state of things existed and mining was carried on more systematically. Lately the great trouble seems to have been to find ore of a grade that would pay for working — there was enough of it, but of too low grade to yield profit. Had the company followed the wishes of Mr. Roberts, the present superintendent, and allowed him to sink deeper on the ledge, the possibilities are that a much higher grade of ore could have been obtained, and the company placed in a flourishing condition. It seems to us a great oversight for the company to abandon so valuable a piece of property, as this would probably prove to be, by the expenditure of no more than from 7-10,000 dollars more. It is reported that they have spent no less than half a million dollars, and at a meeting recently held, decided to wind up the affairs of the company by offering the property for sale. Here is a fine opportunity for capitalists to purchase this property cheap and make it very remunerative. All that is needed is a little more capital for the further development of the mine.

Among the items offered for sale were the 20-stamp mill, the Stetefeldt furnace, a double-acting 12-inch cylinder hoisting engine, a 48-inch boiler, two blacksmith's shops, a store room, a weather-boarded seven-roomed dwelling house, a large two-story boarding house with furniture and fixtures at the mill and a similar house at the mine, a seven-stalled stable with granary attached, three horses, a carriage house, a wooden-framed office, an assay office, a weigh bridge and 640 acres of wood and timber land. There were also six mining claims — the five originally listed together with the Monitor ledge.

A special resolution to wind up the company voluntarily was passed on December 15, 1876, but it was not until 1902 that the company was dissolved, the final notice appearing in the *London Gazette* of July 29. The story of Troy is an enlightening study of human nature. How irresistible are the prospects of fabulous profits; how reluctant are men to accept unpalatable truths; how easy it is for men to convince themselves and others that success is just around the corner. "All that is needed is a little more capital." As the months went by and the appeals for more money were repeated, the shareholders were reduced to mere gamblers.

Troy, as Dr. Johnson observed in another context, was a triumph of hope over experience. Several Rossendale families were ruined by investing their entire savings in the venture; hundreds more suffered severely. Those who benefited were the men who sold the Troy estate for 54,000 dollars (£10,800), the Rossendale sharebrokers, the ever-hopeful mine managers, Newton and Davies, and, one supposes, the shadowy figure of John Moss Fletcher, who started the whole thing off with his piece of silver-rich quartz.

Notes

1. A number of items relating to the Troy Silver Mining Company, Ltd., are held at the Public Record Office, London: *Board of Trade: Files of Dissolved Companies* (BT 31/1571/5139). These include the Memorandum of Association, Agreement (Mr. L. H. Newton with the Troy Silver Mining Co.), Special Resolutions, Notices of Increases of Capital, Summary of Capital and Shares, and Date of Dissolution.
2. *See NHS Quarterly,* XX (1977), pp. 110-121.
3. *Bacup Times,* April 22, 1876, quoting the *White Pine Daily News.*
4. *White Pine Daily News,* December 1, 1871.
5. *Bacup Times,* January 14, 1871.
6. Public Record Office File, Special Resolutions passed March 14, 1871.
7. *Bacup Times,* April 22, 1876, quoting the *White Pine Daily News.*
8. These messages are quoted in the *Bacup Times,* November 30, 1872.
9. *Ibid.,* January 18, 1873.
10. *Ibid.,* February 1, 1873.
11. *Ibid.,* May 10, 1873.
12. *Ibid.,* May 17, 1873.
13. *Bacup and Rossendale News,* May 31, 1873.
14. *Bacup Times,* July 26, 1873.

The People Write Their History: The Inter-Tribal Council Project

by Mary Rusco

Nuwuvi: A Southern Paiute History. (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, 1976. 177 pp., maps, plates, notes, bibliography, appendices). *Newe: A Western Shoshone History*. (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, 1976. 143 pp., maps, plates, notes, bibliography, appendices). *Numa: A Northern Paiute History*. (Reno: Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, 1976. 132 pp., maps, plates, notes, bibliography). Each volume is available from the ITC, 98 Colony Road, Reno 89512 for $6.00.

WRITING HISTORY is a process of selecting, ordering, and usually interpreting accounts of the facts and events from a people's past. A few years ago the rising consciousness of ethnic identity and pride in this country led many of our schools to create new programs of ethnic studies. As part of this movement demands were heard from many ethnic groups for new histories and for the opportunity to tell their own story. When *Nuwuvi* was published by the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada early in 1976, it was announced as the first of a series of four histories "dealing with native Nevadans."[1] That this series can be considered part of the movement of rising ethnic awareness is evident from its brief introduction:

> Since the arrival of the white man, Native American children have been taught the ways and accomplishments of the newcomers. Schools have presented our past from a foreign point of view . . . This history . . . will present the past of southern Nevada from the Nuwuvi point of view. Our elders have preserved much of the past by telling and retelling the events which have shaped our lives. No history can attain complete objectivity; it can only present a point of view, a particular way to talk and think about the events of the past. All events have more than one interpretation. *This is ours.*[2]

A fair evaluation of these books mandates that this purpose be understood and remembered. The books were written to fill a gap on the Nevada history bookshelf. They had to be written, according to the authors, not because all historians are racist or insensitive to "Indian life and culture" but to tell the story of a people's past as it is understood and remembered by themselves.

From this strictly limited point of view they can only be regarded as successful. They are among the first and have few competitors. But it would not be fair to leave it at that. They are not the only accounts of Nevada Indian history and culture, and they deserve to be evaluated in terms of their general quality and contribution to the history of Nevada and the West. Accordingly, I have set about to evaluate these short volumes on the following points: (1) quality of organization and presentation of material, including illustrations, documentation and scholarship; (2) how they inter-

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Mary Rusco is Staff Archaeologist at the Nevada State Museum in Carson City. She is the author of articles and reports on the ethnohistory and archaeology of the Humboldt Valley. At one time she was employed by the Inter-Tribal Council, and she is the co-author of a study on community organization of six tribal colonies and reservations.

pret their past and how this differs from other historical accounts of the same events. Because they are part of a more extensive project, I will then briefly describe and comment on the History Project of the Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada.

Readers attuned to the tradition of individual scholarship are immediately struck by the blank space on the title page where the name of the author usually appears. No one is credited with authorship of *Nuwuvi* although the supervision of the History Project directors, Norman Rambeau and later Winona Holmes, is acknowledged. Editorial and technical assistance by the staff of the American West Center, University of Utah, are acknowledged and a long list of tribal members is singled out for "special thanks." This is also true for the other two volumes, except that authorship of specific sections of *Newe* is credited to Holmes, Larry Piffero, Mary Lou Moyle, Lillie Pete, Delores Conklin, Robert J. Eben and Michael Red Kane, all project staff or tribal members, and Beverly Crum, Richard Hart and Nancy Nagle, of the University of Utah; and Eben, Randy Emm and Dorothy Nez are credited with authorship of *Numa.* Since their names do not appear on the title page, it seems appropriate to cite the volumes as the work of Inter-Tribal Council (ITC). Clearly the authors intend to emphasize tribal collaboration over individual contribution.

Illustrations, including frontispieces for *Nuwuvi,* are by Dorothy Nez, and covers are by Ben Aleck. Maps are credited to several individuals. Photographs, which have been collected from many sources, are well-captioned, and include the names of many subjects. These captions justify the inclusion of several photographs which appear in other books, and are a major contribution of the History Project. The maps are included in the table of contents for each volume, but the lack of a similar list of plates is an annoying omission. The volumes are nonetheless well-illustrated.

Organization of the three volumes is chronological and similar topics are covered in each. Chapters of *Nuwuvi* are alternated with myths and legends originally collected by John Wesley Powell from Numic-speaking informants.[3] The other volumes each include one traditional tale. Numic words are used in chapter headings and throughout.

The systematic collection of photographs and information about them is part of an effort to record the oral history of Nevada Indians. In addition interviews (some in Numic) have been taped and transcribed. Government records and archives of major western libraries as well as basic historical and ethnological works were consulted.

The introduction to *Nuwuvi* promised a new interpretation. This was provided in two ways: in different versions of the same story and in the emphasis given to different events and actors. Most Nevada histories begin with a section on the culture of native groups and accounts of Indian-white relations during the exploration and settlement of the Great Basin by Spanish and Anglo-Americans. After 1900 native Nevadans are tacitly assumed to have been assimilated into the population. Even references to Indians' special status as members of an ethnic minority are presented from the view of the "majority."

These books differ in that the history of Numic people is not assumed to end with the establishment and settlement of reservations. From half to three-fourths of each book is devoted to accounts of tribal history after the beginning of the reservation. It is in these sections that a great deal of what is presented is otherwise unavailable except in the original records or as part of the oral tradition.

An example is the brief section in *Newe* on the Carlin Farms, an early reservation. It was established by Agent C. E. Bateman in 1875 on land then being farmed by Western Shoshone, and two years later was formally set aside as a reservation by an Executive Order on May 10, 1877. The reservation was short-lived. Four years after it was first established, the President issued a new order revoking the 1877 one, probably in response to protests from whites in Carlin and Elko. In contrast, the major work on the history of northeastern Nevada has one reference to the Carlin Farms:

> Shortly after establishment of Duck Valley Reserve, Carlin Farms were set aside by Executive Order of May 10, 1877. The farms, located near Carlin, Nevada, contained 521 acres . . . .
> By 1878 the agent in charge described Carlin Farms as: ". . . having advanced so rapidly as to surprise their most optimistic friends. Indians were industrious and energetic and extremely interested in becoming independent farmers. During the year a large quantity of agricultural implements, including a thresher and a cleaner, has been given out and this gave incentive to Indian's efforts. Their crops were larger this year than last, but due to exaggerated estimate given by the agent last year, statistics did not show the fact. In 1878 300 Indians at Carlin Farms engaged in agriculture."
> Reports of Indian agents frequently gave greatly exaggerated and untruthful accounts of conditions; the more cheerful and optimistic the report, the more secure the job of the agent became.
> The great success of Carlin Farms' report by agents illustrated the injustices inflicted upon Indians by the white man. After 20 months of operation, Carlin Farms Reservation was revoked January 16, 1879 and the land Indians had developed was sold to white people . . . .[4]

The account by Patterson, Ulph, and Goodwin is certainly favorable in tone to this early venture into subsistence farming by the Newe. The ITC section provides, however, many more specific details, including nearly one hundred names of individuals.[5]

Frustratingly brief as these books are, they offer more information on the current legal status of tribal groups and organizations than is readily available. A case in point is the curious and complicated legal status of the Cedar City Paiutes. This group is living on land purchased in 1925 and technically, at least, owned by the Church of the Latter-day Saints. Government plans to set aside trust land for them were never implemented, although for a short time after 1925, an agency was located in Cedar City to serve the Cedar City and Indian Peaks Paiute bands. After the agency was removed in the early 1930s, the Cedar City Paiutes were apparently overlooked by the government, and in 1953 they were not included when the special trust status of other Numic-speaking bands in

Utah was terminated. It was only some time later, when, according to Mayme Arni, tribal operations officer, of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, "someone in the Washington office was checking . . . and noted that the names of the Cedar City Paiutes were not on the terminated roll. At that time the BIA began services again . . . ."[6]

Although the different status of the Cedar City Paiutes has been recognized, an historical explanation has not appeared in print until this work, even though Cedar City Paiutes were among the subjects of a study which attempted to measure the effects of termination and other factors by comparing members of the Cedar City and Indian Peaks bands in Cedar City with the Kaibab Paiutes.[7]

Sections of the books dealing with the pre-reservation period have much less to offer concerning the results of new research. The brief account of Escalante's journey into what is now southern Nevada cites the translation of the diary by Herbert E. Bolton. Five pages of *Nuwuvi* are devoted to the entries summarized by Bolton in forty-three pages in his lengthy introduction and summary of the diary.[8] The ITC version differs from Bolton's mainly by focusing entirely on Escalante's description of encounters with Numic people and in a shift of emphasis. The generosity of the Nuwuvi who supplied Escalante's party with food more than once is pointed out, and the "timidity" and reluctance of their ancestors to serve as guides are attributed to strategy.[9] Both are supported by entries in the diary, but do not receive the same attention from Bolton.

Considerable attention is given in *Numa* to accounts of hostile encounters with Anglo-Americans in the pre-reservation period. Most contacts between Anglo-Americans and Indians in the Great Basin were apparently friendly, or at least neutral. In the more densely populated areas inhabited by the Numa there was a disproportionate amount of violence. Among the best known incidents are the Walker-Bonneville party's attacks on Numa near the Humboldt Lakes. Primary sources are first-hand accounts by Stephen Meeks, Zenas Leonard, and George Nidever; all but Meeks' were written after the events. Washington Irving described the events, basing his version on Bonneville's notes.[10]

These versions differ widely on many critical details, such as the numbers killed, what and how much provocation there was, and Walker's own attitude and behavior. The Inter-Tribal Council interpretation is not the only one to judge Walker severely.[11] In the absence of reliable primary accounts, however, there is no sound basis on which to make a choice between alternate interpretations.

On the other hand, the Inter-Tribal Council's interpretation is not the only one which can be called biased. In a note referring to the Nidever account of the incidents, Ellison comments:

> The Indians referred to were the Paiute or Digger Indians, who belonged to the Shoshonean stock. They were a degraded and pitiable people, dwelling in the desolate waste to the west. They were inferior in stature, and nearly always in a condition bordering on starvation. They subsisted in large part on ants, other insects, and vermin, and also upon roots, on which account they were called Root Diggers. They had no horses, and were armed

> only with bow and arrow. They were usually friendly to the whites, perhaps through fear. They were harmless through incapacity to do much harm; but they were annoying through their disposition to theft.[12]

This example of ethnocentric or racist bias, which cannot be justified as scholarship, is part of the reason the Inter-Tribal Council gives for writing the histories. Lacking an extant oral tradition or new written sources for information on the Walker-Bonneville party attacks, the Inter-Tribal Council version of the events as unprovoked massacre lacks a solid foundation. Considered in the context of comments like the one quoted above, the rhetoric is understandable.

I do not know whether any passed-down accounts of the fur trapper/explorer period have been preserved. Apparently nothing in the interviews taped by the Inter-Tribal Council was relevant to this period. Later events have apparently been preserved through the telling. It is in the recording of this on tapes that the History Project has undoubtedly made its greatest contribution to the existing body of knowledge. An example is in the chapter on the Pyramid Lake War in *Numa.* This section begins with references to contemporary newspaper accounts and government documents, the sources tapped by Miller and Egan.[13] Most of what the Inter-Tribal Council account has to say about the battle and its aftermath is based on recent interviews.[14] The account is lively and well-written, and it would be interesting to see if the History Project interviews contain information which would justify a major reinterpretation and whether a more intensive interview program directed to this and other specific topics would be feasible. A defect in these books is that they attempt to cover too much. Their scholarship would undoubtedly be improved by the selection of specific, limited problems for future research.

The Inter-Tribal Council History Project, funded by grants from the Donner Foundation and the Research and Cultural Development Section of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, has collected significant data on the history of native Nevadans. These books, a series of maps, small local interpretive exhibits and some slide-illustrated lectures have been among its accomplishments. It is hoped we will hear more from them in the future.

Notes

1. Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, *Nuwuvi: A Southern Paiute History,* p. 1.
2. *Ibid.,* p. 1.
3. *Ibid.,* p. 3.
4. Edna B. Patterson, Louise A. Ulph and Victor Goodwin, *Nevada's Northeast Frontier,* Western Printing and Publishing Company, Sparks, 1969, pp. 47-48.
5. Inter-Tribal Council of Nevada, *Newe: A Western Shoshone History,* pp. 59-68.
6. Statement of Mayme Arni quoted in *Nuwuvi,* p. 132.
7. Douglas C. Braithwaite, "Developing Political Power in Two Southern Paiute Communities," in *Native American Politics: Power Relationships in the Western Great Basin Today,* Ruth M. Houghton, ed. (Reno, Nev., Bureau of Governmental Research, 1973), pp. 1-7.
8. Herbert E. Bolton, *Pageant in the Wilderness: The Story of the Escalante Expedition to the Interior Region, 1776,* Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah, 1950.
9. *Nuwuvi,* pp. 24-26.
10. Statement by Meek in the *Jonesborough, Tenn. Sentinel,* March 8, 1837, summarized by Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of the Pacific States of North America,* Vol. XX: *Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming, 1540-1888;* Zenas Leonard, *The Adventures of Zenas Leonard, Furtrader,* edited by John C. Ewers, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1969; William Henry Ellison, *The Life and Adventures of George Nidever (1802-1883),* edited by William Henry Ellison, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1937; Washington Irving, *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville, U.S.A. in the Rocky Mountains and the Far West.*
11. Irving's version is highly critical of Walker, although Leonard and Nidever are not.
12. Ellison, p. 103, note 74.
13. William C. Miller, "The Pyramid Lake Indian War of 1860, Part I" in *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly,* I(1): 37-53, and *Part II,* I(2): 98-113, Ferol Egan, *Sand in a Whirlwind: The Paiute Indian War of 1860,* Garden City, New York, Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1972.
14. Inter-Tribal Council, *Numa,* pp. 25-36.

The Return of Frank Waters: A Postscript

by Charles L. Adams

BECAUSE OF THE interest shown in my interpretive essay dealing with Frank Waters in the last issue of the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly,* I have been encouraged to feel that readers would be interested in a footnote to that essay: On August 23, 1977, Frank Waters did, indeed, return to Las Vegas — to receive one of the highest academic honors the world has to offer.

Every three years The Honor Society of Phi Kappa Phi holds its national convention — a working convention in which delegates from every state in the union, and from Puerto Rico and the Philippines, gather to establish policy for the next three years and to award recognition for outstanding achievement. This last convention was held in Las Vegas, and two persons were awarded Honorary Membership in the Society: Governor Mike O'Callaghan and Frank Waters. Mr. Waters' appearance was especially noteworthy since it has been so many years since he lived in Las Vegas, serving as a professional writer at the test site (and, as I have noted before, even as a Helldorado Judge). Although the major newspapers of the area covered the externals of Mr. Waters' return, it seems appropriate to share the actual presentation, which was not open to the public.

As part of the convention banquet, President Albertine Krohn, Professor of Chemistry at the University of Toledo, delivered the following remarks about Mr. Waters:

> After many years in your profession, you are being honored here today for your distinguished career as a writer.
>
> You were born in Colorado Springs, Colorado, on July 25, 1902, the son of Frank Jonathan Waters and Mary Ione (Dozier) Waters. You went to Colorado College and studied engineering in 1921. You worked at the Salt Creek oil fields in 1924 and for the Southern California Telephone Company in El Centro.
>
> Although you began publishing in 1925, it was in 1936 you began writing full time, moving to various locations in Colorado, Arizona, and California. In 1942 you served in the United States Army and were released the next year to write for the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs in Washington, D.C.
>
> You have worked at professional writing continuously and in 1966 were the writer in residence at Colorado State University. You have also received honorary doctoral degrees from Colorado State University, the University of Albuquerque, and New Mexico State University.

Charles L. Adams is a Professor of English at the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, and is a specialist on the works of Frank Waters. He is the author of an article on Waters which appeared in the Spring, 1978, issue of the *NHS Quarterly:* "Las Vegas As Border Town: An Interpretive Essay."

In your numerous scientific and literary articles, your editorials, screenplays, novels, sociological, psychological, and anthropological studies (over twenty major works in all), you teach us to know the land, to know the people in relation to the land, and hence to know the ultimate morality of equilibrium — of harmony. Above all, through your works, you teach us how to see.

Your works have been translated into a number of foreign languages so that the whole world can enjoy your gifts.

We hope that honorary membership in Phi Kappa Phi ranks with other honors you have received.

Mr. Waters' response followed the presentation. When I subsequently asked him for a written copy of that response, he graciously sent me his original, hand-worked manuscript, which reads as follows:

Dr. Krohn, members and guests of Phi Kappa Phi —

It is a great pleasure indeed to receive an honorary membership in Phi Kappa Phi. I'm especially pleased that this signal event is taking place in Las Vegas, which I have known and loved for many years.

I also give thanks to many friends who have participated in the chain of events leading to this award. Particularly the key link, my long-time friend Dr. Charles Adams, Professor of English in the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, to Dr. G. William Fiero, Professor of Geology, whose splendid multi-media presentation we will see, and to many others too numerous to mention here.

Lastly I wish to acknowledge with pleasure the presence of the honorable Mike O'Callaghan, Governor of the State of Nevada, who has been gracious enough to welcome us here.

And yet, above all, I must express my indebtedness to all the readers of the books written under my name, wherever they are. Their continued interest and loyalty have alone made possible the publication of one book after another, and the award granted me for them this evening.

For it seems to me, in all honesty, that my published volumes did not come from me individually, as much as from the powers that somehow direct the efforts of all of us in our respective fields. This common dependence upon one universal creative force interrelates in a strange way all of us here this evening.

The interrelationship of all aspects of life in one vast universal whole is of growing concern to us all. We are beginning to realize that our shrinking one-world cannot continue to be fragmented into aloof races, nationalities, political entities, religious creeds. All are bound together in one invisible web.

Dr. Krohn has just voiced this great principle in saying that sociology, psychology, anthropology, and other academic disciplines are grounded on man's fundamental relationship to the land, our Mother Earth; and that they all point toward the "ultimate morality of equilibrium — of harmony."

In emphasizing her judicious phrase, I believe that world unity and universal harmony is the goal toward which we all are striving, whether we realize it or not, in this tragic era of unrest, confusion and change.

> Hence it is with this feeling of our invisible relatedness, I thank you for the privilege of being with you here this evening.

I should like to add that my own small part in the occasion was to introduce the beautiful multi-media adaptation of Waters' *The Colorado,* prepared and narrated by Dr. G. William Fiero, of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas. In that introduction, I said in part:

> For Frank Waters, one of our greatest living writers, fame came late. Perhaps this was because he has always been ahead of his time. Perhaps it was because most of the major critics lived in the East, and Waters has always lived in and written about the West. While Eastern critics have frequently been hesitant to acclaim a Western writer, such provincialism has not affected Waters' international reputation: his works have been translated into Dutch, German, French, and Japanese, and there are British and Canadian editions. His *The Man Who Killed the Deer* has been in print for thirty-five years. He has received honorary doctorates, tonight's Phi Kappa Phi membership, and is being suggested more and more frequently as Nobel Prize material.
>
> I teach Frank Waters' works; thus I have learned many things from him. The most important is that he has taught me how he thinks and sees. Dr. Thomas Lyon, in his book *Frank Waters,* observes that the West, as an area, cannot be actually comprehended by the "normal civilized, esthetic kind of perception." Rather, to really see, a kind of special perception is needed — what Waters continually refers to as *apperception* and what Lyon describes as a kind of "perception squared," "perception opened," or "perception with feeling." The original inhabitants of this continent had this apperception, this ability to be tuned with an environment in a way that resulted in a harmony with Nature. Modern man on the other hand is, unfortunately, too often oriented toward *power* rather than *seeing.*
>
> Frank Waters views this whole problem not just as racial, military, or political but as something much deeper. And he has spent his life breaking new ground in this area. Waters teaches. He will not "preach." He teaches "Lessons to be Learned," real rather than theoretical problems.
>
> I am not sure how Dr. Fiero was able to do it, especially since he has not had the opportunity before this evening to meet Mr. Waters, but to me the most amazing thing about the presentation you are about to see is that in such a short period of time, Dr. Fiero can show *you* something of this comprehensive vision.
>
> Mr. Waters has said thank you to us. I'm sure you all join me in saying thank you to him.

For Frank Waters and for Nevada, it was a triumphant and welcome return.

Notes and Documents

Early Printing in Carson City, Nevada: The Record Corrected

by Robert D. Armstrong

IN 1940 OSCAR WEGELIN of the New York Historical Society published a note in another journal describing a piece of early Nevada printing held by his institution.[1] Evidence discovered in other repositories since that time makes it possible to correct several factual and inferential errors in his contribution.

The imprint that Wegelin described is the *First Message of Gov. James W. Nye, Submitted to the Council and House of Representatives of Nevada Territory, October 2, 1861.* The twelve-page pamphlet was printed in Carson City, the territorial capital, by John C. Lewis and G. T. Sewall at the job office of their newspaper, the *Silver Age.* Wegelin noted that one of the New York society's two copies was uncut and unopened, and commented that a description had not been included in *A Check List of Nevada Imprints, 1859-1890,* published by the Historical Records Survey the year before. A handwritten slip by Wegelin in one of these copies implies that they might be unique to that library. Fortunately, others have shown up in the intervening years, and copies are now known to be held by the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley, Yale and Princeton universities, the Library of Congress, and the National Archives. According to the *National Union Catalog, Pre-1956 Imprints* another copy, which has not been seen by the author, is held by the Providence (Rhode Island) Public Library.[2] Of the copies that have been examined by the writer, each has been trimmed for publication to a considerably smaller size than the Society's uncut copy. None has been located in Nevada, although there is a microfilm of the Yale copy at the University of Nevada, Reno Library.

Wegelin speculated that the pamphlet "may be the earliest specimen of typography, excepting the newspaper, that came from a press in Carson City," and went on to say that "this *First Message* of Governor Nye is possibly the only known specimen from their press, besides their *Silver Age.*" He was probably right in terms of pamphlet printing, but there are at least half a dozen less substantial items that were identifiably printed there before the *First Message* and many more that could have been, including one with a Lewis & Sewall imprint. There is evidence that the 1861 legislative bills mentioned below were also printed by Lewis & Sewall during their brief tenure as legislative printers. During about half of the period under review the *Silver Age* operated the only press in Carson City; the exception is noted below.

The earliest piece of Carson City printing so far located is a small, edge-embossed invitation to a Christmas ball that was held on December 26, 1859 at Woodfords, California, printed in blue ink by the Territorial

Enterprise Print shortly after it had moved to Carson City from its original site at Genoa in what was then still part of Utah Territory. The only copy that is known to have survived had been carried by a Genoa resident to Salt Lake City in early 1860, thence to Iowa and eventually to Missouri, where it was recently found and donated to the Nevada State Museum in the city of its origin. A peculiar bit of irony attaches to this Nevada printing of a document that was intended for California use, because beginning soon thereafter and continuing for many years a large number of printing orders of Nevada origin were sent out of the area, usually to California, to be executed.

The record for 1860 includes four more certain Carson City imprints, all of them products of the Territorial Enterprise job press. Three of them are printed forms, either broadsides or of four unnumbered pages, and have been tentatively dated on the premise that they could not have been printed after the handwritten dates that appear on these legal documents. They could, of course, have been printed weeks or months earlier, although not before November of the preceding year when the press was removed from Genoa to Carson City. The earliest, at least in terms of this dating method is a four-page quit-claim deed, printed on blue paper on the first page only. The Jackson Library of Business at Stanford University has two copies, the earlier dated January 16, 1860, the other four days later. The Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California also has two copies, with January 18 and March 7 dates in the same year. The Nevada Historical Society, the University of Nevada, Reno, and the Beinecke Library at Yale University own a different form, a broadside bill of sale that is hand-dated March 2, 1860 on the Yale copy. The Bancroft Library, and libraries at Princeton, Stanford, and Yale all have copies of a broadside quit-claim deed, the earliest, at Princeton, dated March 3, 1860. A curious feature of all of these 1860 forms is that "N. T.," for Nevada Territory, is used consistently in the imprints rather than the expected "U. T.," for Utah Territory, although Nevada did not achieve territorial status until the following year. Unless all eleven copies of the forms include a one-year misdating that would actually put their printing after the *First Message* (an unlikely possibility), there is a reasonable explanation for the seeming anomaly. The largely gentile residents of western Utah Territory harbored a considerable animosity toward the Mormon-dominated government that was centered several hundred miles away in Salt Lake City. They had little use for it and had petitioned Washington in 1857 for a separate territorial government, as they were to do again later on in 1860. The California Legislature had been asked in 1853 and 1856 to accept attachment of western Utah for judicial purposes, and provisional constitutions had even been drawn up in 1854 and 1859, but little came of these actions except for the 1859 establishment of an unauthorized provisional Nevada Territory. The separatist yearnings and the reality of a territorial government, even if a bogus one, were perhaps being expressed in these imprints.

The remaining 1860 product of the Territorial Enterprise job operation is a broadside election notice that was probably issued in July of that year. Two copies, one of them torn and lacking the imprint, are in the

records of Carson County, Utah Territory, at the Nevada Historical Society.

The 1860 petition to Congress that is mentioned above is held by the National Archives in its records of the U.S. Senate. Another interesting document, a petition pleading for improved mail service, is also in the Senate records. Both contain handwritten notes from early in 1861 referring them to the appropriate congressional committees. The former document, memorializing Congress to grant territorial status, was issued on November 21.[3] The latter was probably also printed in late 1860, as the time required to collect signatures and transmit it across the country likely precluded its printing later than that. The *Territorial Enterprise,* which continued its migrations by leaving for Virginia City in October 1860, is a possible printer, but the *Silver Age* office is the more probable one as no imprint is present; the owners of the former press were much less reserved about making it known that they were in the printing business.

A copy of a form for a justice of the peace to record an official transaction, dated by hand on March 15, 1861, is owned by Stanford's Jackson Library of Business. There is no imprint, but the form is for the Fourth Precinct of Carson County, Territory of Utah, whose county seat had been Carson City since the preceding January. The handwritten date is thirteen days after Nevada became a territory, but the printed mention of Utah Territory obviously places its printing before that time. The frugal territorial officers were apparently trying to conserve paper or, perhaps because the new territory was not formally organized until later in the year, the revised forms simply had not been printed yet.

A four-page mining deed held by Stanford University and the University of Nevada, Reno, the earlier hand-dated March 25, 1861, would seem because of its imprint to qualify as a predecessor of Governor Nye's message. The imprint claims that the document was "printed and sold by A. Fleishhacker & Co., Carson City and Virginia City." According to J. Wells Kelly's *First Directory of Nevada Territory,* however, Fleishhacker's business was in no way related to the printing trade; rather he was a dealer in hardware, groceries, liquor, crockery, dry goods, clothing and the like.[4] The form could, of course, have been printed in Carson City. The likelihood is higher that Fleishhacker ordered it from a California printer who was willing to oblige and indulge him by engaging in the subterfuge so widely practiced in the frontier west of putting in the imprint the name of someone who had not printed the piece.

A rather more interesting four-page mining deed is clearly a part of the pre-*First Message* record, though. The document, printed on three of its pages, is in private hands, with a microfilm copy at the Bancroft Library. It is hand-dated September 30, 1861, mentions in the printed text the Esmeralda Mining District — then thought to be in California but later, as the result of an official survey, found to be in Nevada Territory — and was printed by Lewis & McElwain, the predecessor firm to Lewis & Sewall.

Between these 1861 forms in time is a four-page invitation to a ball in honor of the opening of a hotel at Steamboat Springs on July 18. The list

of managers for the ball includes men from Carson City, Silver City, and Virginia City. All of these towns had presses by this time, but the printing site cannot be definitely determined because of the lack of an imprint and insufficient typographical evidence. It is clearly possible, however, that it is eligible for the pre-*First Message* record of Carson City imprints. The only known copy is in a private collection.

The printing order for Governor Nye's message has not been found, but it would be reasonable to surmise that because of its importance the printers got to it with some speed. On the other hand, Lewis & Sewall are known to have been a dilatory pair, so much so that a considerable number of complaints about them are to be found in the journals of the two legislative houses and in the correspondence of the Territorial Secretary, Orion Clemens, in the National Archives and the Nevada State Archives.[5] In the meantime, the Legislative Assembly was having a jolly time introducing its first bills and grandly ordering them printed. A remarkable series of these bills survives in the records of the First Comptroller of the Treasury at the National Archives. All of these legislative documents are dated in type after the *First Message* (from October 10 to November 2, 1861), but the earliest ones are close enough in time so that their printing could have been contemporaneous with it, given the printers' phlegmatic natures, and perhaps in some cases even to have preceded it.[6] Some of the bills contain many more pages than the *First Message,* but were merely stab-sewn and were not issued in pamphlet form in paper wrappers. During this early period of the first session the *Silver Age* office had the Territory's printing contract; it was later given up in a dispute over prices to be charged. In addition to the bills, the *Rules and Orders of the House of Representatives of Nevada Territory, Adopted October 3, 1861,* with Lewis & Sewall's imprint, are present in the First Comptroller's records, as are the *General Instructions* from the federal government to Secretary Clemens, transmitted to him by the territorial House of Representatives on October 10. Both are close enough in time to Nye's message to have been printed simultaneously or even earlier. These documents, especially the bills, are extraordinarily useful for the printing historian because of the presence of handwritten details on nearly every piece regarding the prices charged for composition, press work, paper, folding, and stitching. The U.S. Treasury Department was authorized by Congress to pay all debts for the territories and naturally wanted to be assured that it was being charged fair prices.

Two blank governor's commission forms are also present in the Treasury Department records at the National Archives, but evidence for their printing dates is only presumptive, as they appear in the same packet with other items from 1861.

Wegelin's other errors are minor but are corrected here, with the exception of an apparent typographical error, to set the record straight. Both legislative bills that he mentions in his note as 1861 documents are actually from the 1864 session. It should be said in his defense, however, that the original error was not his; he merely repeated a misapprehension in *A Check List* that was based on faulty transcriptions by workers for

the Historical Records Survey, a project of the WPA. Also, Wegelin says that the illustration in his publication is of the title page of the *First Message.* Actually, it is of the wrapper; there is no title page.

Notes

1. Oscar Wegelin, "An Early Nevada Imprint," *Quarterly Bulletin of the New York Historical Society,* XXIV (1940), 124-125.

2. U.S. Library of Congress, *National Union Catalog, Pre-1956 Imprints* (London: Mansell, 1975), CDXII, 2.

3. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming 1540-1888* (San Francisco: The History Company, 1890), 90. No date appears on the surviving portion of the petition itself.

4. J. Wells Kelly, comp., *First Directory of Nevada Territory* (San Francisco: Commercial Steam Presses: Valentine & Co., 1862), 79.

5. For a discussion of early territorial printing problems in Nevada Territory, brought about in part by Lewis & Sewall's slowness, see the author's "The Only Alternative Course: An Incident in Nevada Printing History," *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly,* XV (1972), 31-39.

6. One of the copies of the *First Message* at the New York Historical Society, a presentation copy from Nye to New York's Governor Edwin D. Morgan, is hand-dated late in November, but it appears to be the date of receipt in Albany and no further inferences can be drawn from it.

NHS Archival Acquisitions

Hugh Henry Brown Photograph Collection

OUR THANKS to Mrs. Marjorie Moore Brown, widow of former Tonopah attorney Hugh Henry Brown (1872-1930), for her valuable donation of nearly three hundred photographs of Tonopah, Goldfield, and the surrounding area. Over two hundred fifty of the photographs are of Tonopah, and a large majority of them were taken by professional photographers Al and E. W. Smith. Some of the photos are extremely rare and a few are possibly unique. Mrs. Brown's donation has made the Tonopah photograph collection the third largest in the Society's overall holdings.

The collection includes a number of photos of the early leasing operations (1900-1901) and Tonopah Railroad Days (July 25, 26, 27, 1904); interior and exterior shots of the Big Casino Athletic Club on January 1, 1907, the day of the world lightweight championship fight between "Kid" Herman and Joe Gans; a photo of the Elks-Eagles ball game of September 15, 1907 which was memorialized in the pamphlet, "The Day That Tonopah Played Ball"; and a photo of the corner of Brougher and St. Patrick avenues shortly after the disastrous fire of July 8, 1912. Also included in the collection are about fifteen photographs of Goldfield including a 1908 panorama of the south end of town which shows the red-light district; a large panorama of the eastern California mining camp of Lee (September 1907); and photos of the Brown and Moore families and friends.

Mrs. Hugh Brown, the author of *Lady in Boomtown,* now resides in San Francisco, but for over twenty years lived with her husband in Tonopah. Arriving by stage in February 1904, the Browns rapidly became prominent members of the booming Nye County community. As a partner in the law firm of Campbell, Metson, & Brown (1904-1910), and later in his own practice, Hugh Brown's clients included the Tonopah Mining Company, Montana-Tonopah Mines Company, Desert Power & Mill Company, and the Tonopah & Goldfield Railroad. He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1908, first president of the Nevada Bar Association, and a Candidate for the U.S. Supreme Court in 1922. Marjorie Brown was a charter member of Lunas Clava, a women's club organized by Mimosa Pittman "solely to promote and facilitate social intercourse between ladies of congenial temperament." At the same time, with the aid of her mother, Grace K. Moore, she helped organize the first library in Tonopah, which opened in 1906. During World War I, Marjorie was director of the local Junior Red Cross and an active member of the Tonopah Ambulance Regiment.

The Society thanks Mrs. Brown, our "Lady in Boomtown," and also Jerrie Brown and Susan Mollison for making the donation possible.

George Ruhlen Map Collection

THE SOCIETY'S map collection has recently been augmented by a donation from Major General George Ruhlen (Retired, U.S. Army). The donation consists of some forty maps from the collections of his father, the late George Ruhlen, a well-known authority on the military history of the American West. In addition to his other works, Colonel Ruhlen was the author of "Early Nevada Forts," the standard work on the subject which appeared in the Fall-Winter 1964 edition of the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*. Among the donated items are rare copies of the layouts of Fort Churchill, Fort McDermit, and Camp Winfield Scott; maps showing the route of the Pony Express in Nevada; Trans-Continental Railroad survey maps; and some twenty-two maps from the famed Wheeler Survey. The Society wishes to thank General Ruhlen for his important contribution to our archives.

Book Reviews

The Compleat Nevada Traveler. By David Toll. (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1976. 278 pages. Illustrations, maps, index. $3.50)

"THE MOUNTAINS of central Nevada are like sleeping women, sprawled languorously across every horizon. They are not pretty mountains. They have been scuffed and worn too long by desert winds . . . And yet the serene, infinitely feminine presence of these rumpled ranges is mysteriously compelling: their smooth slumbrous forms shade to blue, to purple, to windowglass gray as they recede, rank upon rank, into the distances."

That's a nice quote. I like it a lot. Maybe it's because I like mountains, Nevada, and sleeping women and putting them all together appeals to me in a sensual sort of way. But before I pry open the box of good images and words and usages, let's get analytic for a couple of minutes.

The card catalog in a library uses among others two subject headings for books about Nevada: "Nevada — Description and travel" and "Nevada — History." Some general Nevada books fit comfortably into one or the other. Some do not. David Toll's *The Compleat Nevada Traveler* published by the University of Nevada Press is both a history *and* a traveler's guide and manages to do clever justice to both facets of our state's unique character. Actually, one comes to see that they are not two separate aspects at all — each is inextricably wound up with the other. Think about these Nevada words: Crystal Bay, railroads, Elko, copper, Hughes, Comstock, Rickard, Las Vegas, Goldfield, sheep, cattle, Ely, Bowers, McCarran, Jarbidge, Reno, Aurora, Genoa, silver, Humboldt, Colorado, Truckee, gold, Wingfield, or pick your own from a hundred others. They are all people, places, or things vital to Nevada's history. Yet a description of the state today would be pitifully inadequate without them. They are the rivets and plating that make the old ship what she is.

The marriage of the old to the new, the past to the present, the innocence to the maturity of the state is accomplished here in part because author David Toll himself is an amalgam of these qualities. Great-grandson of a Comstock mining superintendent, he has grown up on the stories of the state and has become part of them himself. Editor and publisher of the *Gold Hill News,* whose motto is "Mark Twain Never Worked for This Paper," he is among the very few who both know a lot about our state and can write about it. Murder, ambition, treachery, toil, taking chances, making do, and an overriding humor are all parts of the story and they are all here.

The basic organization of the book is simple and effective. The first section, "Mining Country," includes descriptions and histories of the towns, ghost towns, campgrounds and other attractions. Then comes "Big Bonanza Country" with its Virginia City, Reno, and Lake Tahoe area; included are towns, ghost towns, campgrounds, parks and recreation areas and also ski runs. "Cattle Country" is next with the whys and whens of north and northeast Nevada. Finally "Mormon Country"

encompasses the southern region with a good perspective on Las Vegas and its history in addition to Pioche, Henderson, Hoover Dam, Lake Mead, and the rest of the less developed areas. In addition to the descriptions, stories, personal reflections, highway directions and neighborly advice about the four geographic regions, some interesting smaller sections are included on such diverse topics are rockhounding, hunting, Highway Patrol, State Park System and the Implied Consent Law (if you think that last one has something to do with the age of consent you'd better read it to find out).

I promised that we'd get back to some of the really fun things: the images, the words, the usages. The insight of *The Compleat Nevada Traveler* into our state has been established; the author knows what he's talking about. But we all know the measure of a writer is taken from the way he says his piece. And David Toll does a heck of a job. For those who don't know Nevada the descriptions like the one at the beginning of this article are evocative and highly readable. For those who do know the state the descriptions put into words things that have long been only Loch Ness monsters of the mind — lurking beneath the surface, emerging only rarely and never completely until now. And the old stories about the mining camps and their inhabitants and their doings: if you've heard them before they only gain from the retelling; if you haven't you are in for a good time. Sometimes the humor is inherent in the story, sometimes it is injected by the author, and sometimes there isn't any humor at all. But all of this is good, wide-open writing, the kind any Nevada author would be proud to call his own.

Let's run through a few of them: "The Humboldt River runs through Nevada's cattle country like a strip of gristle through a cheap cut of beefsteak." Or "Tahoe lies at the back of California's neck just where Nevada's elbow juts into it, a bright blue eye staring upward from its granite socket like an outsized parody on Picasso." Or "Virginia City is its own true descendant; a feeble and degenerate descendant perhaps, but still firmly and organically connected to its own nineteenth century beginnings." Or on watching a Little League game in Fallon ". . . the center-fielder was so short that when he threw up his glove to catch a fly ball he looked like a microwave relay station."

That's enough. You get the idea and there's lots more. This is just the kind of Nevada book there are too few of available — readable, historical, informational. The author had to make some tough choices about what to include and what not to and on the whole he made the right ones. The index, though not very complete, is handy to have for quick reference to specific sections.

This is an excellent book for a Nevada buff to give to a friend who is not yet introduced into the fascinating, fierce, formidable and funny drama of Nevada and its history.

"The mountains of Nevada are like sleeping women . . ." That's a nice quote. I like it a lot.

Chuck Manley
Reno, Nevada

Helldorados: Ghosts and Camps of the Old Southwest. By Norman D. Weis. (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1977. xxvi + 365 pp. Maps, illustrations, preface, introduction, bibliography and index. $9.95 hardbound.)

HELLDORADOS: Ghosts and Camps of the Old Southwest is a profusely illustrated guidebook to some sixty-seven selected "ghost towns" in six states — Nevada, California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado and Utah. The author, Casper College physics instructor Norman D. Weis, includes map instructions directing the reader to each individual site. Additionally, there are some excellent photographs of the ruins and structures as they appear today, and some wild and woolly stories about the history of each place.

This work is of general interest, and the author writes his brief historical anecdotes about the old towns with some attention to factual detail. Weis' text is enthusiastic and engaging, however, and the reader can readily appreciate the Wyoming instructor's talent with a camera.

The book has striking black and white illustrations on nearly every page. These encompass a surprising variety of subjects, since Weis photographed every sort of antique device, building, conveyance, structure and detail imaginable. For the future historian, this volume will be an invaluable site inventory and description. For those present-day readers who are interested in architecture, Weis provides well-chosen pictures of notable structures, and in many cases, includes architectural details. For the adventurous hiker, Weis is explicit as to the sites and their locations, although some of the sites are little-known historical resources as yet unsurveyed and unevaluated. And if the reader should like to read stories about the Wild West, he can pleasingly pass a few hours with this little volume.

The book only describes a few of the hundreds of "ghost towns," helldorados and camps in the six state region, of course. But judging from the photographs which Weis selected, several of the sites included in the book must be exceptionally attractive.

Weis gives Nevada's former mining towns a lengthy and colorful treatment. He has photographed and recounted yarns from Bullfrog, Rhyolite, Gold Point, Lida, Manhattan, Belmont, Ione, Berlin, Illinois Mine Camp, Virginia City, Gold Hill, Monte Christo, Hamilton, Treasure City and Shermantown. If the reader wonders just where these places might be, Weis supplies the answer in graphic terms.

Much of Weis' photography in this book is of details which he found on the sites, rather than general views of the now-quiet communities. He shows the reader crumbling adobe walls in Bullfrog, where the sun beats down upon the shacks with such ferocity that the wooden shingles curl. At Manhattan, Weis sought out and photographed the bolted-wood workings of the Mount Moriah stamp mill; in Rhyolite there is the well-known railroad station built when engines traveled along the Las Vegas & Tonopah route. Weis has photographed skilled rock work in ruined buildings and lonely structures at Belmont, Monte Christo and Hamilton. Seen through Weis' photography, the old towns are fascinating studies of

aging structures, machinery, and those miscellaneous odds and ends which have survived up to now, and are either too big or too valueless to carry away. Virginia City and Gold Hill do not get anywhere near the attention that they deserve in this work, but then the author is trying to describe sites in several states.

Weis found some lovely and interesting spots in the other states, too. In California, Volcano and Bodie have a well-preserved and protected appearance, judging from his illustrations. There are some excellent views of the covered bridge at Bridgeport — the longest single span wooden bridge in the world, according to Weis — across the South Fork of the Yuba River. This magnificent memorial to Western American craftsmanship deserves a visit. Of the Arizona sites, Jerome is particularly well-known for its scenic and dramatic appearance, and Weis' photography conveys something of the spirit of the place. The old camps of New Mexico and Arizona furnish a sequence of shattered and broken buildings; while Colorado provides a spectacular mountain setting for an otherwise undistinguished collection of dilapidated ruins.

For the reader who is surprised that dressed stone, concrete and brick buildings could fall into sad decay so rapidly, Weis supplies the melancholy note that otherwise sound buildings were dynamited by their owners because of the provisions of unwise tax laws. Among other examples of this sort of thing, the author cites the destruction of the John S. Cooke Bank building of Rhyolite in 1910.

This popularly written text will appeal to many people, and give the reader many enjoyable moments of reading, looking and daydreaming. In fact, it might incite the reader to get up and go have a look for himself at the kind of heritage we have here in our Western states.

David Thompson
Nevada Historical Society

Francois X. Aubry. By Donald Chaput. (Glendale, Calif.: The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1975. 250 pages. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, appendix, index. $15.50)

IN HIS BOOK, *Francois X. Aubry, Trailmaker and Voyager in the Southwest,* Donald Chaput has undertaken an important and much-needed study of one of this country's most fascinating and yet most neglected characters. For far too long the exploits of Mr. Aubry have gone unnoticed by American historians.

I would agree with Chaput when he states that "Aubry was no obscure, petty trader on the frontier." F. X. Aubry was one of the most important traders, explorers, and adventurers to ever travel on America's western trails. He, more than any other man, influenced the travel, trade, and direction of routes on the Santa Fe Trail. His interest in trade and travel to California had a tremendous effect upon the eventual routes that would be used to carry vast amounts of goods needed in California for its growth. In turn, these routes would carry the mineral wealth of the territories and eventual states of the West to the East to help finance the economic and industrial growth of the young nation.

Chaput's book is not a biography of Aubry, but instead is an accounting of his life on the plains, his trading exploits, and his experiences while traveling on the Santa Fe Trail and the trail west of New Mexico leading to California. In his accounts, Chaput has caught, with real feeling, the hardships of travel through the West as it was in the 1840s and 1850s. All of the danger and difficulties are colorfully brought forth and portrayed in the book.

Most accounts of Aubry's ventures are far too brief, and Chaput's is too slight on Aubry's early years. However, it is the best account to date that I have seen, and it is apparent that much work has been done in order to offer the reader some description of his early life. Many secondary sources are used, and Chaput has attempted to collect and scrutinize original sources. The author has obviously spent a great deal of time in research. It certainly will lay the groundwork for a serious study of not only Aubry, but of other important Americans of French-Canadian origin.

In Chaput's description of Aubry's exploits on the roads to Santa Fe, I find the same things evident that I found in my own studies of Aubry which were published in *A Detailed Study of the Santa Fe Trail and Fort Aubry,* Emporia Research Studies, 1974. Aubry made numerous trips to Santa Fe, beginning in 1846 and continuing until his untimely death in 1853. The book gives a good account of Aubry's attempts to locate faster and better routes between Westport and the New Mexico trading region. Chaput has captured the spirit of Aubry's fast rides, and he attempts to show their importance to the development of the Santa Fe Trail. He found the city of Santa Fe, as most traders of the day found it, to be a convenient place to trade in the New Mexico area. Chaput points out that not all trade in the area was done at Santa Fe; in many cases the traders often wound up in Durango, Chihuahua, or Las Vegas, depending on the demand and price they could get for their goods.

It is unfortunate that the author has taken so little time in the book to discuss the trade in the Santa Fe area prior to the coming of the Americans. The origin of the city and culture and history of the area before the Americans arrived is a fascinating study and makes for enjoyable reading. Chaput, having depended mainly on Anglo authors, paints as bleak a picture of this fine old city in his writing as I have ever read. In his defense, I would emphasize that after the fighting of the Mexican-American war, the city was overrun by American soldiers and frontiersmen, as well as by a vast army of traders hawking their wares. In these years, Santa Fe was going through a trying period, and obviously the rough and rowdy occurrences were those that made the news.

The American authors tended to write about fellow Americans in the area and totally ignored the older residents and the fine things that were also happening. This news was much sought after in the East, and the headlines in Westport and St. Louis were devoted to the roughness of the city. These newspaper accounts are vital sources for any writer doing a study of the Santa Fe road and trade, and Chaput has used them as major sources. Many of these which refer to Aubry were actually written by him, but they still remain important sources.

It is unfortunate that the exploits of Aubry which are so well documented have not been drawn together in a single volume. Louis Barry's *The Beginning of the West: Annals of the Kansas Gateway to the American West* is the best work of this sort, and is an excellent resource for those who wish to seriously study the Santa Fe Trail.

Chaput has done a good job of portraying the trail as it actually was. The trail was an economic link between the Southwest and West. Through the opening of the trails, the people in these outlying areas had available to them much of the finery of eastern gentry, and also the hardware necessary for a man to develop his business and home. The trail was a long, tedious, and dangerous one to travel. There were a good many different routes on the trail after one got past the 100th meridian, and most certainly Aubry traveled on all of them. As is pointed out vividly in the book, he was fascinated with the seeking out of quicker and better routes to Santa Fe and back.

Aubry's exploits in the area to the west of Santa Fe have not been as widely publicized as they should have been, and in this book many questions are answered. But as quickly as one is answered, a new one arises. For example, the part that Aubry played in determining the new trade routes with California has been pretty well documented, and there is no doubt that he favored certain routes over others, mainly because of the swiftness that one could travel over them. The part that Aubry played in determining the routes for a railroad west into New Mexico, the greater Southwest, and into California has been a hazy area and is only partially answered in this book. The sections dealing with the establishment of Fort Aubry are inadequate and much more work is needed. This, however, would be a major undertaking in itself.

In conclusion, this book is an excellent, easily read, and much-needed account of the exploits of one of the West's most colorful, yet neglected, individuals. It is a book that needed to be written, and perhaps will mark the beginning of further, serious study into the life and deeds of F. X. Aubry.

Gene Burr
Dodge City, Kansas

Forked Tongues and Broken Treaties. Edited by Donald E. Worcester. (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers Ltd., 1975. xxi + 470 pages. Illustrations, maps, index. $9.95)

THIS BOOK IS COMPRISED of thirteen essays written by seven authors (Arthur H. DeRosier, Jr., Emmett M. Essin, III, Valerie L. Mathes, Donald E. Worcester, Ronnie M. Day, Sandra L. Myres, and Eugene B. McCluney) which deal with the Choctaw, Cherokee, Creek, Cheyenne, Comanche, Sioux, Modoc, Nez Percé, Apache, and Pueblo. Most of the essays cover the treaty making period and its immediate aftermath, although some briefly trace tribal culture and history before the arrival of the Europeans. The final essay by DeRosier departs from this pattern by briefly discussing Indian relocation in the 1950s.

The essays are reminiscent of Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded*

Knee. They are sympathetic to the Indian and rehash a story that has been told many times before. The tone is set in the first sentence of the first essay (by DeRosier) in which he claims, "Until recently the history and plight of Native Americans have been one of the most neglected topics in American history." (p. 1) To the contrary, there are few topics which have received more attention from Captain John Smith to the present day. Unfortunately much of what has been written has tended to focus on the obvious or sensational and to be deeply biased either toward Indian or white. This volume does little to rectify these historiographical deficiencies. The topics are threadbare, and the authors do not contribute new interpretations but instead rely on secondary sources which often tell the story better than they.

It could be argued that the book provides a convenient compendium of the treaty making process, because it includes a representative selection of tribes east and west of the Mississippi. But even this possible contribution is marred by a narrow and at times one-sided perspective which is misleading not so much for what the authors say but for what they do not say. As one example, Ronnie M. Day writes:

> The first governor of Washington Territory, I. I. Stevens, saw the Indians as impediments to progress in the Northwest. Indian title to lands must be extinguished, he told the legislature in January, 1854, in order to insure white ownership and open the way for a transcontinental railroad. His hopes of securing the railroad were frustrated by the Southern bloc in Congress . . . With the Indians, however, Stevens was much more successful. To one tribe after the other he made promises he could not deliver, threatened when necessary, and on occasion, according to some sources, resorted to forgery whenever the first two methods failed. (pp. 363-64)

Day does not indicate that settlers had been in the area for many years, that Congress had opened land in the Pacific Northwest to settlement in 1850, and that the Native Americans were in danger of annihilation if not protected by treaties. The majority of Indians recognized the realities of the situation as well as white leaders. Stevens had the authority and ability to deliver on all his promises (as to why some were not fulfilled is a complex story), and no evidence has ever been produced to substantiate the forgery charge. Furthermore, Day does not suggest an alternative course of action that could have been followed in the Northwest in the 1850s.

More than 130 photographs are the best feature in the volume. A dozen maps indicate the confused pattern of land disposal created by the treaties, but the cartography does little to clarify the situation.

Many sound books with varying points of view on Indian-white relations have been published during the past decade. This volume, however, is not one of them.

Kent D. Richards
Central Washington University

The Psychological and Ethical Aspects of Mormon Group Life. By Ephraim Edward Ericksen. (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1975. xxii + 100 pages. Illustration, notes, and index. $5.00)

THIS WORK, a reprint of Ericksen's doctoral dissertation originally published in 1922, presented a unique view of the Mormon past and issued a call for contemporary reform within the church. Ericksen, utilizing the tools of functional or social psychology within a pragmatic framework, examined Latter-day Saint history from 1830 to 1922. He then used his social psychological-pragmatic interpretation of the Mormon past to critically analyze several Latter-day Saint practices and institutions that he found objectionable.

Even though Ericksen's work is fifty-five years old, it remains valuable for several reasons. First, it represents an early effort to critically examine the Latter-day Saint past and contemporary Mormon problems from the vantage point of American pragmatism — a body of philosophical thought very much in vogue during the early twentieth century. Ericksen, heavily influenced by the writings of John Dewey and others, reflected this pragmatic philosophy through his emphasis on the practical or "purposive" side of Mormon thought. Reflecting his pragmatic orientation, Ericksen rejected the validity of the "mystical" religious experience, and like William James was "an enemy of the absolute in all its forms" (p. xvi). Therefore, according to Ericksen, the "essential characteristics" of Mormonism were not to be found in a fixed theology but in the changing "group sentiments" as they had evolved (p. 8). Ericksen's pragmatism was also expressed in his willingness to empirically examine Mormonism both past and present. In this effort he called upon Latter-day Saints to subject "every institution of Mormonism . . . to the searchlight of science and scientific truths" (p. 97).

Ericksen's work is also valuable because of the objective way in which the author examined the Mormon past. At a time when virtually all historical accounts of the Latter-day Saint movement were presented from either a strongly pro or anti-Mormon position, Ericksen was analytical and dispassionate. This was the case despite his Mormon background and devotion to the Latter-day Saint faith. In this spirit he rejected the popular Mormon notion that the Mormon-Gentile conflicts of the period 1830-46 represented a continuing struggle between Latter-day Saint righteousness and non-Mormon wickedness. According to Ericksen, these conflicts represented a series of "maladjustments" between these two groups which were eventually overcome. At the same time, these "maladjustments" had a profound psychological effect on the way the Saints viewed themselves, their non-Mormon adversaries and their relationship with the supernatural.

Ericksen's book is also interesting in the way it interprets a second Mormon "maladjustment": the struggle of the Saints to adjust to life in the isolated mountainous and arid region of the Great Basin during the period 1846-1870. Reminiscent of the earlier environmentalist orientation of Fredrick Jackson Turner, Ericksen argued that Mormon adaptation to this inhospitable Western region had a direct effect on developing Latter-

day Saint values and attitudes; their psychological and ethical concepts became increasingly materialistic, emphasizing the practical, utilitarian, and efficient.

Finally, Ericksen's work is intriguing because of the author's frank critique of three problems or "maladjustments" that he saw plaguing the Latter-day Saint movement in 1922. The first of these involved a developing conflict between Mormon biblical literalism and emerging scientific concepts or "higher criticism." A second problem involved what he described as the "undemocratic" Latter-day Saint control of church revenue and resources by a few church leaders. Such control was especially bad, according to Ericksen, because Mormon leaders were usually businessmen with a pecuniary mentality which ran counter to the prevailing "democratic" Progressive reform impulses of the early twentieth century. A final problem involved Mormon marriage institutions. One such institution — polygamy — continued to divide the loyalties of Latter-day Saints (despite the Manifesto of 1890) while at the same time the Mormon institution of temple marriage was being undermined by an increasing number of "mixed" Mormon/non-Mormon marriages.

While these maladjustments troubled Ericksen, he was optimistic that they could be overcome in the same pragmatic way that earlier Mormon problems involving non-Mormon adversaries and the environment had been solved. Polygamy would "cease to be a problem in Utah," as older Mormon adherents of this institution passed from the scene and their places were taken by "educated young people" within the church. The problem of "undemocratic" business control of church revenues and resources would be solved by the gradual emergence of younger Latter-day Saint leaders oriented less toward business and more toward prevailing "democratic" Progressive reform. The conflict between Mormon biblical literalism and the findings of modern science would be solved by the emergence of educated young people who would question certain weak assumptions, discarding those that were at variance with modern science.

On the whole, therefore, Ericksen's work is valuable and significant. At the same time, however, there are a number of things about the book that make it appear over-optimistic and somewhat naive, particularly in the light of Latter-day Saint history since 1922. His expectation that the conflict between Mormon scriptural literalism and modern science would be solved has *not* come to pass. In fact, this controversy has intensified in recent years with regard to the authenticity of the Book of Abraham — an important set of Mormon Scriptural writings. Doubts have been cast by Egyptologists on Joseph Smith's translation of the papyrus that he used in writing this work. The undemocratic control of church revenue and resources by a few business-oriented leaders is still evident today. Those Latter-day Saints who have become major church leaders since 1922 continue to be primarily former businessmen oriented toward a conservative pro-business philosophy in their handling of church revenue and resources. There is no evidence, moreover, that this trend will change in the near future. The operation of Mormon marriage institutions, while not as much of a problem, continues to cause concern among some

Latter-day Saints. Although polygamy has died out as an institution among the main body of Utah Latter-day Saints, its continuing practice among schismatic Mormons is an embarrassment. The church still has problems because many of its members marry outside of the Temple and the faith. In addition to continuing problems with the three "maladjustments" described by Ericksen, two new Mormon issues have emerged since 1922. The first involves the place of women within Mormonism. While the vast majority of Latter-day Saints — including women — accept a subordinate, domestic role for female members, a small but vocal group of feminist Mormons speak out against such a role and in support of various feminist reforms. A second issue overlooked by Ericksen involves the subordinate position assigned to blacks within Mormonism. This issue assumed great prominence during the late 1960s and early 1970s causing a small group of Latter-day Saint "liberals" to call for the lifting of Mormon anti-black restrictions.

Finally, Ericksen obviously overestimated the difficulties that these "maladjustments" would cause for the Latter-day Saint movement. The conflicts generated by the old "maladjustments" as well as the new ones that have emerged since 1922 have *not* retarded the growth of the Latter-day Saint movement. New converts continue to flock to the Mormon standard in record numbers. In fact it could be argued, in direct contradiction to Ericksen, that a basic Latter-day Saint acceptance of the values and assumptions associated with such "maladjustments," namely an emphasis on biblical literalism, a willingness to accept the leadership of experienced businessmen in handling church resources, an emphasis on the traditional role of women within a strong family structure, and a basic anti-black stance has contributed to the continuing growth and vitality of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Newell G. Bringhurst
Indiana University, Kokomo