

ALAN R. WALLACE

THE STORY OF THE KENNEDY
MINING DISTRICT,
PERSHING COUNTY, NEVADA

THE PEOPLE, MINING, AND ECONOMY



THE STORY OF THE KENNEDY MINING DISTRICT, PERSHING COUNTY, NEVADA

THE PEOPLE, MINING, AND ECONOMY



ALAN R. WALLACE

© ALAN R. WALLACE, 2016

ISBN 978-0-692-75059-9

ILLUSTRATIONS AND LAYOUT BY THE AUTHOR

PRINTED BY ALLEGRA PRINT MARKETING & MAIL, RENO NEVADA

COVER PHOTOGRAPH: SENATOR MINE ORE BIN

TAKEN IN 2010 BY ALAN R. WALLACE

TITLE PAGE PHOTOGRAPH: JENKINS MILL, CIRCA 1916

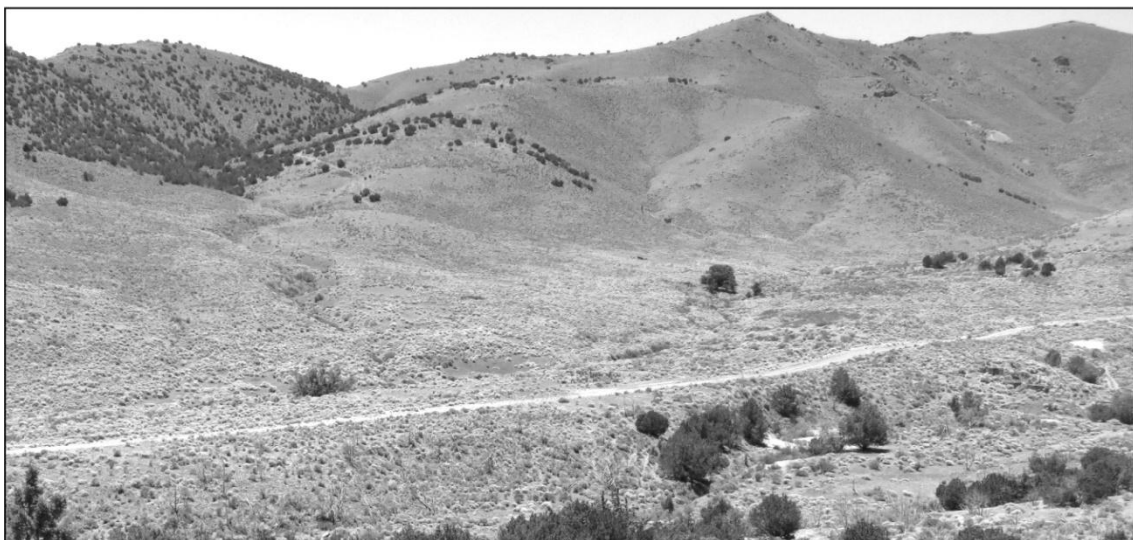
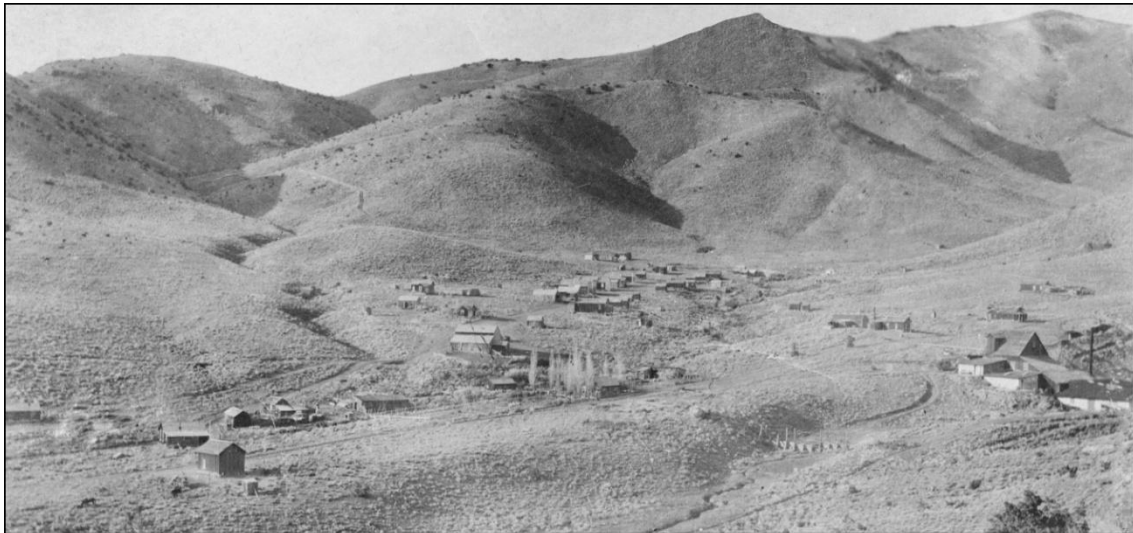
FROM THE STANLEY MCCOY COLLECTION

ALAN R. WALLACE
4871 TURNING LEAF WAY
RENO, NEVADA 89519
WALLACEALAN@SBCGLOBAL.NET

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER

1	INTRODUCTION	1
2	GEOLOGY, MINES, AND MILLS	13
3	KENNEDY THROUGH TIME	39
	PART I: DISCOVERY, BOOM, AND COLLAPSE—1891-1899	39
	PART II: THE SECOND BOOM AND BUST—1900-1905	61
	PART III: THE HOSTILITY OF 1905 TO 1910	77
	PART IV: A SLOW DEATH TO THE END—1910 THROUGH WORLD WAR II	88
4	THE TOWN OF KENNEDY	132
5	THE PEOPLE AND LIFE IN KENNEDY	193
6	PLEASANT VALLEY RANCHES	216
7	RILEYVILLE: FRENCH BOY AND SAY CANYONS	234
8	LESSONS FROM KENNEDY	254
9	APPENDICES	265
	A. TABLES FROM CHAPTER 4	266
	B. LIST OF PEOPLE IN BOOK	280
10	REFERENCE INFORMATION	284
11	INDEX	291



Frontispiece. The town of Kennedy in the early 1900s (top) and in 2014 (bottom). The modern photograph was taken looking southwest from approximately the same place as the older photograph. Gullies and features on the ridgeline can be used as reference points. The town of Kennedy was in the middle background of the older photograph, to the left of the large dark tree in the 2014 photograph. The large Imperial mill was on the far right of the older photograph; the white patch and the three small trees below the road mark its location in the 2014 photograph. The building in the lower left foreground of the older photograph was the school house. The historical photograph was used courtesy of the Humboldt Museum. See also Figures 4-1 and 4-2 in Chapter 4.

Chapter 1



INTRODUCTION

Mining was one of the state's major industries in the first sixty years of Nevada's history, and it continues to play a major role today. Over time, miners established more than five hundred mining districts in the state, and gold and silver were produced from many of them (Fig. 1-1; Tingley, 1992). Some districts, including the well-known mining centers at Virginia City, Tonopah, Goldfield, Eureka, and Pioche, produced enormous quantities of metals, and each was home to thousands of residents. They had impacts that extended far beyond Nevada's borders, and their residents came from all corners of the country and the world. The great quantities of metals that came out of the districts produced instant fortunes for some, successful political careers for others, and, in the case of the Comstock Lode in Virginia City, statehood for Nevada. Each major district has been the subject of extensive research and countless publications, and their rich and fascinating mining histories still draw tourists to relive that glorious past.

Take away that handful of truly spectacular mining districts, and one is left with hundreds of other mining camps that were much smaller, produced much less ore, and came

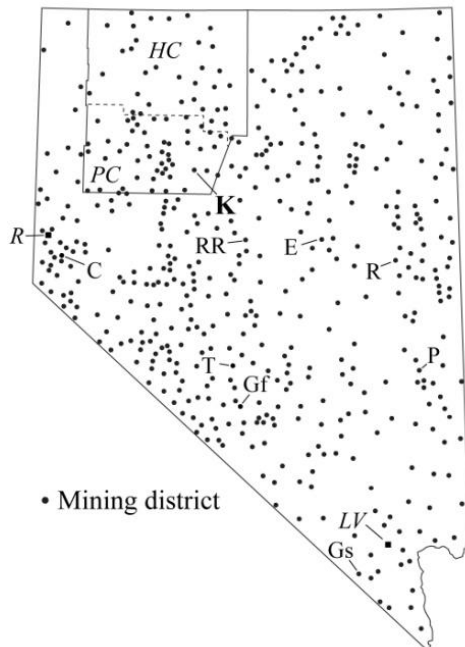


Figure 1-1. Map showing the locations of mining districts in Nevada (black dots). Larger districts include: C, Comstock Lode; E, Eureka; Gf, Goldfield; Gs, Goodsprings; P, Pioche; R, Robinson (Ely, Ruth); RR, Reese River (Austin); and T, Tonopah. The Kennedy district (K) is also shown. Cities: LV, Las Vegas; R, Reno. Humboldt County (HC) is shown in the solid outline; the southern half became Pershing County (PC) in 1919. District locations from Tingley (1992).

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

and went in a matter of a few years to, at best, a decade (Fig. 1-1). As described by Allen Bragg, the early-1900s editor of the *Silver State* newspaper in Winnemucca, these smaller mining districts "came up like a wind storm and went down like a whirlwind" (Bragg, 1905). Little is known about most of them, and their "tourism" usually is limited to a few people in search of ghost towns. Yet, each mining camp was home to people and businesses for as long as the veins held out. Their impacts, rather than national or global, instead were more at the county scale, and the constant migration of people and money from one camp to another over the years was an essential part of life in rural Nevada through much of its early history. One might call these smaller districts unimportant, but they were very significant for both the people who were there and the surrounding communities that they supported.

This is a story about the Kennedy mining district, in what now is eastern Pershing County, which was one of those "typical" smaller mining districts (Fig. 1-2). You are not alone if you never heard of it. The Kennedy mining district began in 1891, boomed in the mid 1890s, and then went through a series of similar but increasingly smaller booms and busts until World War II. Its discovery and boom coincided with the Panic of 1893 and the nadir of Nevada's mining industry and economy. Kennedy was a big deal for both Humboldt County and northern Nevada, and it gave hope to the five hundred people who were there in 1894. The money that came out of the district filtered into the Humboldt County and nearby economies and provided a much-needed boost that extended far beyond the confines of Kennedy.

Unraveling the history and details of Kennedy provides a snapshot of how these smaller districts functioned, from the mining to the stores to the people who came and went through the years. Kennedy was not unique, by any means, and the story in this remote mining camp probably repeated itself many times over at the hundreds of other similar districts throughout Nevada.

THE KENNEDY MINING DISTRICT

Charles E. (Charley) Kennedy, a young man in his late twenties, was prospecting in the East Range south of Winnemucca in the late spring of 1891 when he headed up remote, deserted Cinnabar Canyon (Fig. 1-2). He soon found two good veins, staked two claims, and began what was to become the Kennedy mining district. Word of the discovery slowly leaked out, and a few dozen new people found more veins, staked more claims, and began to produce ore (Chapter 3).

The mining district began to attract attention and people when construction of the Jenkins mill began in late 1893 and much-larger Imperial mill was erected in the summer of 1894 (Chapter 3). The town and mining camp grew to more than five hundred people that year, and Cinnabar Canyon had a full-fledged town with ample stores, saloons, lodging places, restaurants, and other businesses, as well as a school and local governance (Chapter 4). Kennedy was one of the three largest towns in Humboldt County, and it was the largest active mining district by far in northern Nevada in the 1890s. Many of the people lived in Humboldt

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

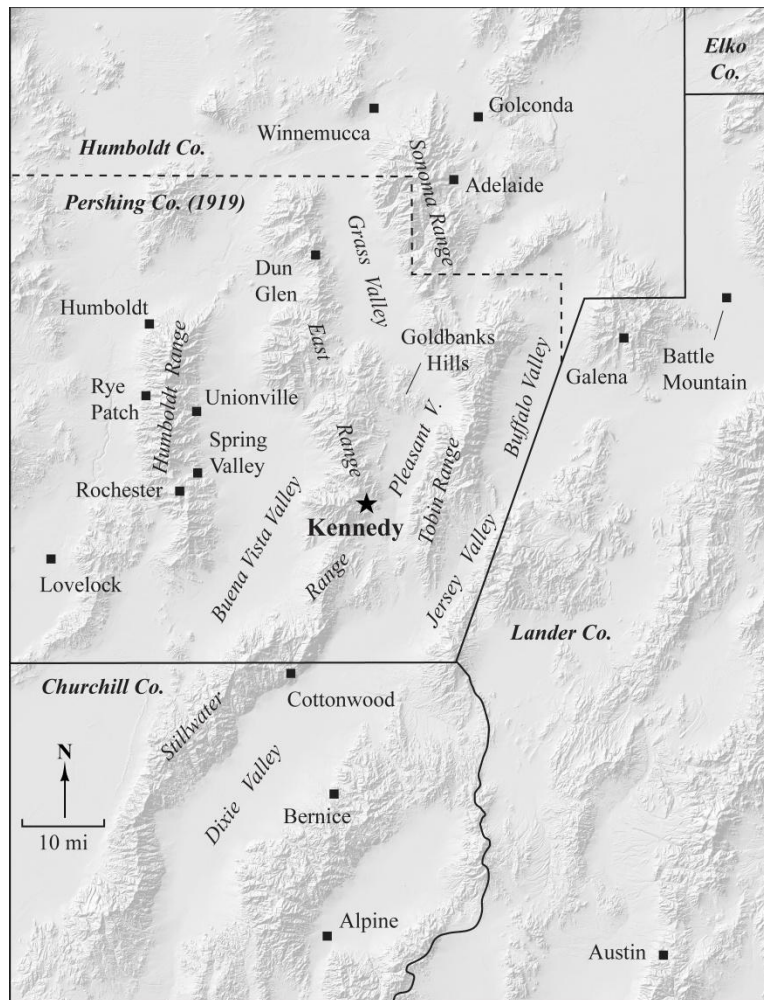


Figure 1-2. Location of the Kennedy mining district and other geographic and political features in and near southeastern Humboldt County. Base map from the Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology.

County and nearby areas before they went to Kennedy, taking with them friendships and relationships that they had developed earlier (Chapter 5).

The veins in Kennedy had abundant gold and silver, but they also contained a complex mixture of various lead, zinc, and copper minerals (Chapter 2). The oxidized ore in the shallow parts of the veins was easy to process, but getting the gold and silver out of the complex sulfide ores at depth required on-site mills and distant smelters. Both of those processes were expensive, and the construction of the two mills was a godsend to both the miners and the townspeople. Kennedy would thrive with the mills, or so everyone thought.

The two mills had some success with the ores from the oxide zone, but they failed miserably with the ore from the complex sulfide zones (Chapter 2). As a result, the two mills shut down suddenly in late 1894 and early 1895, leaving Kennedy with no economical way to recover the gold and silver. The population dropped to a hundred people within a few months, and the economy became moribund. Many of the people, having come from nearby areas,

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

simply went home (Chapter 5). A feeble attempt to revamp the Imperial mill the next year also failed, and the town sank to even lower economic depths.

The early 1900s saw a state-wide boom in prospecting, discovery, and mining, and Humboldt County and Kennedy were part of that surge. Three new mining companies set up business in Kennedy, and one of them completely overhauled the Imperial mill (Chapters 2, 3). This led to something of a rebirth for mining and the town's economy. For various reasons, again in part related to the complex sulfide ores, all three companies were gone by the end of 1905. That again left Kennedy with little activity and few people. Claim staking in the Rileyville area on the west side of the range, which was within the Kennedy district, sparked a small mining boom there starting in 1905, but that ended by 1912 (Chapter 7).

Two more companies entered the main part of the Kennedy district in the early to mid 1910s (Chapter 3). The first one remodeled the Imperial mill and leased the biggest mines in the district. Despite large initial investments, the owners could not find additional money, and they also quickly discovered that their new milling method was no better than the earlier failed attempts. A probable company-related murder in early 1912 also created negative publicity and delayed work (Chapter 4). That company was gone by 1914. The second company started that year and leased the Jenkins mill to test an experimental milling method. It might have succeeded had the mastermind behind the process not had a major stroke in 1918, which abruptly ended that venture.

The town of Kennedy was down to just a couple of dozen residents, no businesses, and many abandoned buildings after these two projects failed. The 1920s and 1930s saw limited mining, mostly small operations that involved one to a few men (Chapter 3). Rileyville also saw minor mining revivals in the late 1910s and late 1920s, but neither of them was significant or long lived (Chapter 7). The Kennedy district effectively ended and lost all of its population when Congress banned all gold and silver mining in late 1942. Charley Kennedy died the year before, having spent fifty years in the mining camp that bore his name.

Like much of rural Nevada in the late 1800s and early 1900s, mining and ranching were intertwined, and the ranches and ranchers in nearby Pleasant Valley played a significant role in the Kennedy history (Chapter 6). Each group had a positive impact on the other group, and the story of Kennedy necessarily includes the ranches and their parts in the overall community. Mining dominated the economy in the 1890s, and the area progressively became more of a ranching community as Kennedy's influence waned over the decades.

THEMES

Kennedy was the focal point for more than 1,200 people over fifty years, and the history of the district and its residents provides a snapshot of life in a remote mining camp. The purpose of this book is to show how one of these mining districts functioned, not just the mining but also how the commerce, government, people, and events blended together. Much of the story is a reflection of the routine hard work and rough conditions that these people were willing to face every day. Yet, these people spent a part to much of their lives in Cinnabar Canyon, bought and

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

sold everything from land to postage stamps, attended school, had parties, built houses, held elections, and shared meals with others, just like their counterparts in larger places like Winnemucca and Reno. Kennedy also was linked to the surrounding region and towns through both the people who were there and the commerce that Kennedy generated. Kennedy was not all that different from many of the hundreds of other smaller mining districts in Nevada, and the detailed picture provided here easily could be applied to many of those communities as well. Combined with ranching, this was life as they knew it in rural Nevada for many decades.

Five major themes weave their ways through the chapters in this book, and each was important in making the Kennedy mining district what it was.

- **The role of geology.** The metal-bearing veins in Kennedy were the products of geologic events that spanned millions of years and that continued to the time of discovery. The nature of the veins and the metals and minerals that they contained played major roles in how the ores were discovered, mined, and milled. The rich ores at Kennedy were called "rebellious" for good reason, and that characteristic, combined with a mixture of hubris and lack of funding, proved to be a major reason why Kennedy did not become the major, long-lived mining district that it could have been.
- **The town and commerce.** Kennedy, just like every small rural town, had places to live and some means of supplying the miners and residents with goods and materials. The residents, whose numbers exceeded five hundred in 1894, built more than a hundred wood-framed buildings and had a full selection of businesses. Freight operators kept busy hauling goods to Kennedy and taking the ore back to the railroad in Winnemucca. Kennedy had a formal voting precinct and local elected officials, a post office and regular mail service, and a school. The town and the mining and milling were inextricably related, so the success and failure of Kennedy's mines and mills produced similar up-and-down cycles in the town and its commerce.
- **The people of Kennedy.** Kennedy was a collection of people with different backgrounds, ages, occupations, and personalities who made their ways to Kennedy along different paths and for different reasons. Despite the disparity in the origins and skills of the Kennedy residents, they all combined to make a town and community in Cinnabar Canyon.
- **The evolution of the mining district and town.** Kennedy ebbed and flowed through a chain of events and people. Kennedy had several peaks and troughs, and each involved and affected the mining, commerce, and people. Each event was the product of an earlier event and influenced contemporary and ensuing events. This flow and interaction through time is an important part of the story, and knowing why an event took place is far more important than just knowing that the event happened.
- **The impact on the broader economy.** Kennedy was just one district that, thanks to a combination of broader economic issues, was the only major active mining district in Humboldt County in the 1890s. It was economically important to the people who were involved with the district, and the mining and businesses provided jobs and income. Many of the people came from the surrounding area, so that money flowed out into the surrounding economy and provided a much-needed boost to the county.

SETTING AND CLIMATE

Kennedy was near the southern end of the East Range, about forty-five miles due south of Winnemucca and roughly the same distance northeast of Lovelock and southwest of Battle Mountain (Fig. 1-2). The road from Winnemucca passed south through Grass and Pleasant Valleys and became the most expedient route. Roads from Lovelock and Battle Mountain had to cross one or more passes, making for a longer trip and snow-related delays in the winter. The area was part of Humboldt County until 1919, when the Nevada State Legislature split Humboldt County into two counties. The southern half, which included Kennedy, became part of Pershing County, and the county seat for Kennedy's legal business shifted from Winnemucca to Lovelock.

The main part of the Kennedy mining district, including the town of Kennedy, was in Cinnabar Canyon (now Kennedy Canyon) on the east side of the range. The district, in practice, covered a much broader area that included the entire southern end of the range, including the Rileyville area in French Boy Canyon on the west side of the range and even the south side of Cinnabar Mountain (Fig. 1-3; Tingley, 1992). The early miners formally named the district after Charley Kennedy soon after mining began in 1891 (Chapter 3).

Cinnabar Canyon was on the northeastern flank of Cinnabar Mountain, now known as Granite Mountain, on the east side of the East Range (Fig. 1-3). Water Canyon was to the north, and Lamberson (formerly Rock Creek and then Basin Canyon) was to the south. These creeks flowed east into Pleasant Valley, with the Tobin Range (also called the Second East Range) to the east. French Boy, Say, and Rawhide Canyons on the west side of the range drained west into Buena Vista Valley, with the Humboldt Range and Unionville to the west. The two broad intermontane valleys were home to ranches and hay fields near the scattered marshes, springs, and ephemeral streams. Elevations ranged from 8,300 feet at the top of Cinnabar Mountain to 6,800 feet at the summit between Cinnabar and French Boy Canyons. The Kennedy townsite in the middle of Cinnabar Canyon sat at 5,200 feet, and the floors of the adjacent valleys were at about 4,200 feet.

Numerous springs in the upper parts of Cinnabar Canyon fed Cinnabar Creek, providing a modest amount of water through much of the year. Sagebrush, rabbitbrush, and scattered to dense stands of juniper trees covered the hillsides, and aspens, wild roses, and willows lined parts of the creek and grew around the upper springs. Spring wildflowers, especially lupine, provided a burst of color in May and June. The central, lower part of Cinnabar Canyon included broad, nearly flat areas on both sides of Cinnabar Creek that eventually became the site of the town of Kennedy. At the base of the canyon, large outcroppings of rock narrowed the mouth of the canyon before it emerged into Pleasant Valley. Wildlife in the canyon included mule deer, coyotes, rabbits and other rodents, various songbirds and raptors, and several types of snakes, including rattlesnakes. Ticks would have been common in the late spring and early summer, and the large number of livestock undoubtedly attracted abundant flies.

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

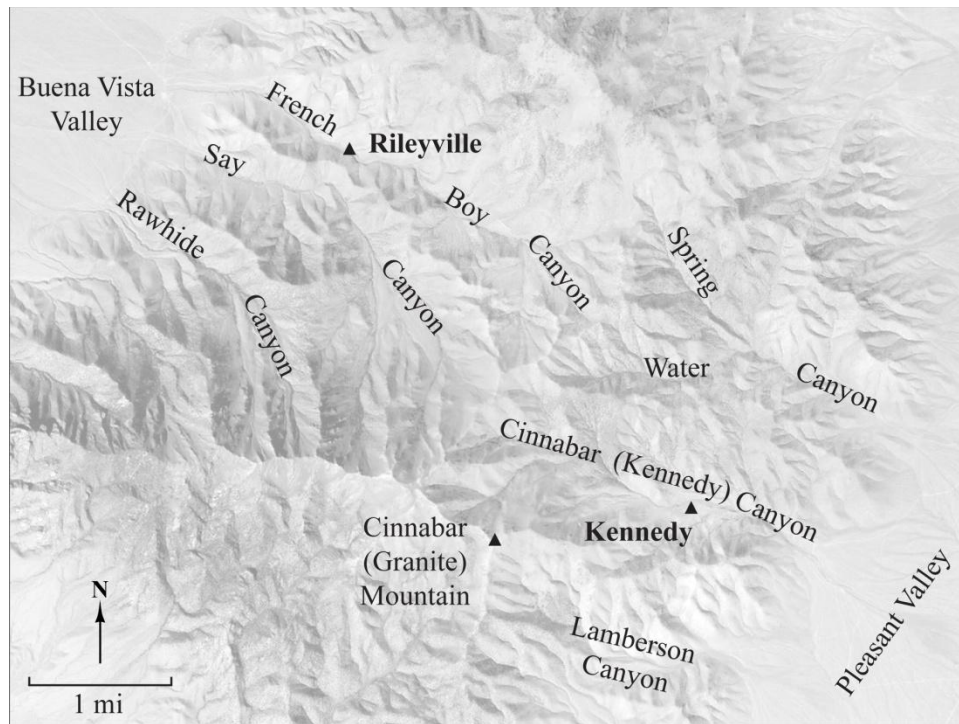


Figure 1-3. Geographic features in the vicinity of the Kennedy mining district at the south end of the East Range. Base map from the Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology.

Various newspaper accounts, a few letters, and several old photographs show that the weather in Kennedy was snowy and cold in the winter (Fig. 1-4) and hot and dry in the summer, with a mud season in the spring as the snow melted. The U.S. Weather Bureau weather station in Winnemucca recorded average monthly highs near ninety degrees in the summer and in the thirties in the winter in the 1890s; winter lows reached the single digits (U.S. Weather Bureau, 1932). The elevation at Kennedy is about nine hundred feet higher than at Winnemucca, so Kennedy was a little cooler than Winnemucca throughout the year, a modest relief in the summer but not in the winter. Regional storms produced snow in the winter, and Kennedy, being somewhat higher, received more snow than Winnemucca. The *Silver State* newspaper in Winnemucca reported in early January 1892 that about a foot of snow was on the ground in Kennedy, but that Pleasant Valley had "only a few inches." At higher elevations, such as on the upper flanks of Cinnabar Mountain, snowfall and snow depths would have been even greater. Summer precipitation was in the form of localized, at times intense, thunderstorms. Some of the cloudbursts produced flash floods along the creeks: a September 1913 flood severely damaged the large Imperial mill, which sat next to one of the creeks.

Gold and silver were the most important commodities, but water was close behind. Everyone relied on creek and spring water, and a few people in town dug wells for domestic use. Much of the water came from snowmelt. The Winnemucca weather records show that some winters were very wet and others were dry. Winter precipitation records in the 1890s showed a maximum of eight inches to a low of about three inches. One of the drier winters immediately

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION



Figure 1-4. Two children on a snowy day in Kennedy. Photograph taken in about 1915. From the Stanley McCoy collection.

preceded the 1894 boom of the district and town. That dry winter came at an unfortunate time because the two mills, which demanded large amounts of water, were built at about the same time, and the camp reached its peak population (see Chapter 3). The lower winter precipitation undoubtedly led to less creek and spring flow for the rest of the year, just when the booming mining town needed it the most.

The heat and dryness of summer also had an effect on the people. The miners worked in the cooler temperatures of the mines, but everyone else, including the miners when they weren't working, suffered through the summer heat. Kennedy's *Nevada New Era* newspaper noted in August 1894 that "since the advent of the present hot weather there has been a great deal of 'that tired feeling' dispensed around the camp." August was always the driest month in Winnemucca, with total monthly rainfall typically less than a tenth of an inch. The dust in Kennedy must have been pervasive with all of the horses and wagons in the 1890s. Although dust in the mines led to what was called "miner's consumption," the dust in town may have caused respiratory problems for many people who just lived in Kennedy. However, all of the dust turned into a quagmire of mud as the snow melted and after thunderstorms, leaving roads and trails nearly impassible until they dried out.

LAND IN THE KENNEDY AREA

The Kennedy district and adjacent areas are a mixture of publicly and privately owned land. The majority of the land in the Kennedy area has belonged to the U.S. Government since before Nevada became a territory, and the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) is the current land manager. A small part of the area started out as land granted to Nevada with statehood in 1864. The state would then sell or lease the land, and the money would go into a trust fund to support schools. These became known as "state select lands" when the parcels were finally selected in 1873. The state select lands were intended for agricultural purposes, and the state specifically said that they were not to be used for mining and did not contain known mineable materials. However, Nevada had a rich endowment of mineral deposits, and miners in other parts of the state had staked mining claims or had mines before 1873 and even before statehood. Any pre-

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

existing and valid mining claim had prior-use rights if it overlapped state land, but the state lands had priority over any mining claims or mines that were created later.

Several men decided to acquire land in the East Range and in Pleasant Valley in the mid 1860s. Surveyors measured the boundaries of the desired plots, and the applicants were granted "possessory claims" to the properties. Some of the land was in the Say Canyon area on the north side of Cinnabar Mountain, and other men acquired land in Pleasant Valley for ranching. The Say Canyon land was abandoned after a few years, but the ranches continue to the present day.

Cinnabar and Water Canyons, which eventually comprised the bulk of the Kennedy mining district, had twelve parcels of state-owned land (Fig. 1-5). Eight of those were in Cinnabar Canyon, and four were in Water Canyon and its tributary Spring Creek. Bernard C. Whitman, Charles Martin, and Mrs. Sarah E. Minor, all of Carson City, applied for ownership of all but one of the twelve parcels in 1873 (all of the blocks on Fig. 1-5 except for block 6). Four of these parcels later would become the Kennedy townsite, but they were simply lands near Cinnabar Creek in 1873. Their interest in the Cinnabar Canyon land was fleeting and probably just speculation. They withdrew their application or stopped making payments in the late 1870s and early 1880s, and the lands reverted back to the state.

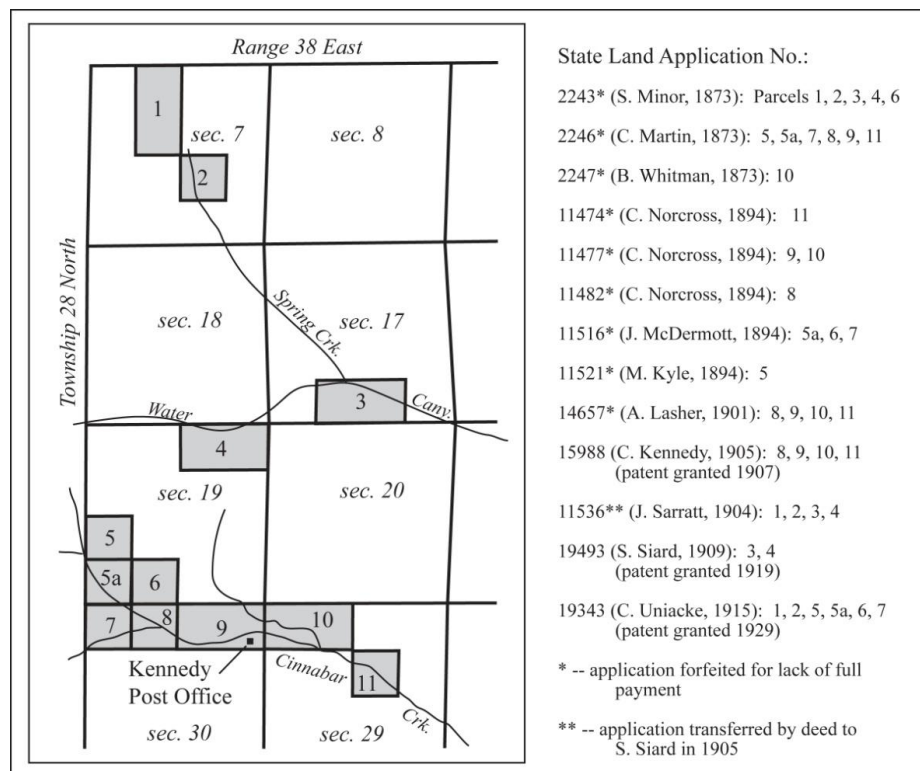


Figure 1-5. State select land parcels in the Kennedy area (gray rectangles) and applications for those lands over time. Each application number shows who made the application, in what year, and for which parcel or parcels. Most of the Kennedy townsite was in parcels 9 and 10; the Kennedy post office in the townsite is shown for reference. The words "Township 28 North" are located just east of the north-trending crest of the East Range (Fig. 1-3). Application data from the Nevada Division of Lands.

THE KENNEDY TOWNSITE – 1894

The new residents of Cinnabar Canyon in the early 1890s built the first houses in the broad, flat area in the middle of the canyon, which coincidentally was the same area as several of the state land parcels. By the spring of 1894, the lively and growing village of Kennedy had risen from the sagebrush (Chapter 4). Charles A. Norcross of Reno applied for four state parcels along Cinnabar Creek in June 1894 (blocks 8-11 on Fig. 1-5). Norcross was acting for the newly conceived Kennedy Land & Improvement Company, which wanted to create a platted townsite and sell lots (Chapter 4). The company incorporated in early August, but the failures of the mills and the rapid depopulation of Kennedy ended lots sales by early 1895. The company made the annual interest payments through 1898, and the land reverted back to the state with the failure to pay in 1899.

John McDermott of Kennedy and Matthew Kyle of Virginia City applied for the four parcels immediately to the west of Norcross' land in 1894 (Fig. 1-5). McDermott almost immediately sold his three parcels (blocks 5a, 6, and 7) to William T. Hanford of Carson City, who was the Deputy of the State Land Office. Kyle, a surveyor who later became the U.S. Surveyor General for Nevada, applied for the remaining parcel (block 5). Hanford paid the interest on the application in 1895, and Kyle paid in 1895 and 1896, but both men forfeited the applications a year later for lack of payment. Those parcels reverted back to the state.

LATER YEARS

All of the Kennedy-area state lands were back in the hands of the state by the end of 1900, but they now contained more than a hundred buildings and well-established streets, not to mention several mining claims and two mills. A new burst of mining activity began in late 1900 (Chapter 3), and Abner Lasher, one of the new mill and mine owners, applied for the four state parcels that originally formed the Kennedy townsite in 1901 (blocks 8-11, Fig. 1-5). This smaller mining boom waned in 1904, and Lasher's financial backer lost interest. Lasher remained in Kennedy, but they stopped making payments after 1903 and the land again reverted back to the state.

Charley Kennedy and Kennedy miner Jake Leick learned about Lasher's decision to stop payments on the land and decided to purchase the same four land parcels for themselves. Kennedy filed the application, made the payments, and was awarded the land patent in early 1907. By prior arrangement, Leick bought a third of the land from Kennedy. Kennedy and Leick paid the annual county property taxes on their respective shares of the land until they both died in 1941.

The other state parcels in the area went unclaimed until 1904. Jules Sarret, the manager of the Miller ranch in Pleasant Valley, applied for the two larger parcels along Water Canyon in 1904 (blocks 3 and 4, Fig. 1-5). The next year, he sold all of his land in the area, including the Water Canyon parcels, to Sylvain Siard, who was expanding his ranch holdings in the valley (Chapter 6). After making annual payments, Siard paid off the balance in 1919 and received the patent in September of that year.

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

Six other state land parcels remained unclaimed. Four of these (blocks 5, 5a, 6, and 7, Fig. 1-5) were the parcels on which McDermott and Kyle had failed to pay off. The other two (blocks 1 and 2) were at the headwaters of Spring Creek, in the Water Canyon drainage. Crofton Uniacke, who was in the process of purchasing the Miller ranch and other land in Pleasant Valley, applied for all six parcels in February 1915. He made all of the payments and became the owner in March 1929.

All of the patented state lands in the Kennedy area have passed down through deeds or, in the case of the townsite land, inheritances to family members. In general, Charley Kennedy's heirs own all of the Kennedy townsite land, and present-day Pleasant Valley ranchers own the other parcels. The vast majority of the land in Cinnabar and adjacent canyons still belongs to the U.S. Bureau of Land Management, and all but one of the more than twelve hundred older mining claims gradually were abandoned. The remaining valid claim is the patented Henrietta claim in French Boy Canyon, described below.

PATENTED CLAIMS

A claim owner had to do a hundred dollars of work on his claim each year to keep it (Chapter 2). If the owner wanted to own the claim permanently and thus not have to do the annual work, then he could apply for a federal patent on the land. If the government agreed that it was a worthwhile mining claim, then it would issue a patent. Like the state lands, the land then became taxable just like a lot in a town.

Only two claims were patented: Charles Vadner's Hidden Treasure No. 1 claim just west of the Kennedy townsite, and the Henrietta claim in French Boy Canyon. Vadner received his patent in 1906. He did not do any work on the claim but paid the taxes until a messy divorce forced him to abandon the claim in 1920. Charles Guthrie bought the claim at a tax sale and paid taxes on it until he moved to Arizona in the early 1950s. With no record of a sale, he may have forfeited the property. The land currently is under federal ownership.

Frank Forvilly staked the Henrietta claim in 1912, and it eventually passed into the ownership of Edward Bacon of San Francisco in 1937 (Chapter 7). Bacon applied for a patent, which was granted in 1942. Bacon sold the claim the next year, and it passed down through various owners through the decades and remains a valid patented claim and thus private land.

BACKGROUND AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

My interest in the Kennedy mining district began in 1976, when I spent the summer studying the geology and gold-silver deposits of the district for my Master's thesis in geology at the University of Colorado (Wallace, 1977). A packrat-infested shack near the Sunnyside mine served as my humble abode for the summer and now is a collapsed pile of lumber. I spent the next thirty-plus years working as a research geologist with the U.S. Geological Survey, and much of my work focused on the geology in and around old mining districts like Kennedy.

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

After retiring, I decided to learn more about the Kennedy district, which led me into this broader study of the people and history. This book describes the results of that recent research, and it draws upon the earlier geologic studies to provide a context for what made the area so attractive starting in 1891.

This study would not have been possible without the help of many people who provided help in finding and understanding a diverse array of information, documents, and photos. Mary Ann Hammond, Debbie Engstrom, and Stephiene Yenne at the Humboldt County Recorder's Office, Michael Maher and Heidi Englund at the Nevada Historical Society, Dana Toth and Joyce Lacaillade at the Humboldt Museum, Chris Driggs at the Nevada State Archives, and Darlene Vonsild at the Pershing County Recorder's Office were essential sources of helpful information and discussion. Amelia MacInnes, formerly the postmaster of the Imlay, Nevada, post office, shared documents related to the establishment of the Kennedy post office, and Melody Selvage of the United States Postal Service provided additional information on the post office. Holly Smith at the Nevada Division of Lands supplied documentation on ownership of state lands in the Kennedy area. Dana Bennett was a wonderful sounding board for ideas on the history of the region. Stanley McCoy of Winnemucca generously shared the many photographs of Kennedy and the ranches taken by his grandfather, William L. Pearce of Pleasant Valley, in the early 1900s; those photographs brought Kennedy to life. The Humboldt Museum and the Special Collections Department at the University of Nevada, Reno, granted permission to use other photographs; the source of each photo is given in the captions. The Keck Museum at the same university allowed me to examine and photograph samples collected from Kennedy in the early 1900s. Other people generously provided information and ideas on various people and events; they included Judy Adams, Ruth Danner, Kristin Elser, Larry Garside, Betty Haas, Andrew Hillyer, Fred Holabird, Jack Hursh, Peter Maciulaitus, Peggy McGuckian, Gillian NaPier, Ed Pearce, Sandi Phillips, Barbara Powell, Greg Preston, Brian Redford, Tim Repp, Marsha Rinehart, Alice Sheridan, Norm Silva, Tom Stoker, Pat Teague, Joe Tingley, Frank Whitman, and the historians at the Nevada County and Lassen County (both in California) and Northeastern Nevada Historical Societies. The state archives in California, Delaware, and Arizona also provided important legal documents.

Bob Thomasson and Larry Garside reviewed parts or all of the final draft of this book, and their comments improved the manuscript and caught numerous errors. I really appreciate the time that they spent on their reviews. However, the blame for the remaining errors lies squarely with me.

Chapter 2



GEOLOGY, MINES, AND MILLS

GEOLOGY OF THE KENNEDY MINING DISTRICT

Kennedy as a mining district is a little more than a hundred years old, but the geologic history – and thus the full story of the Kennedy district – goes back several hundred million years. Over that time, sediments and magmas solidified to form the rocks that host the veins, and a deep magma expelled hot water laden with gold and silver into faults and cracks to form the veins. Later exhumation of those deep veins exposed them at the surface and caused the upper parts to weather and oxidize. The end result, as first seen by Charley Kennedy and other men in the early 1890s, played a critical role in the history of the mining district and town. The same held true for the Rileyville area on the west side of the range, which was part of the Kennedy district.

Geologic events created the gold and silver deposits. It was up to the miners to find those deposits and then figure out how to get the gold and silver out of the rocks. They had no trouble finding the deposits, but the complex nature of the veins repeatedly stymied most of the attempts to turn the veins into money. Thus, having just a basic knowledge of the geologic history makes it easier to understand how the geology influenced the success or, more commonly, failure of the men who pursued the precious metals.

THE HOST ROCKS

The rocks in the Kennedy district can be divided into three main groups. From oldest to youngest, they include Paleozoic sedimentary and volcanic rocks, Triassic volcanic and granitic rocks, and Tertiary igneous rocks (Wallace, 1977; Fig. 2-1). The Paleozoic rocks at Kennedy are exposed at the surface in an arc around the northeastern and northern parts of the district (unit Ps on Fig. 2-1; Wallace, 1977; Whitebread and Sorensen, 1980; Thurber, 1982). This package of rocks deformed is known as the Havallah Group, and the rocks include chert, siltstone, and basaltic volcanic rocks that originally formed between 480 and 300 million years ago. The Havallah rocks host the veins in French Boy Canyon, such as at the Henrietta mine at Rileyville, as well as a few rich veins near the town of Kennedy.

The Triassic volcanic and granitic rocks underlie the southern half of the district and formed about 250 million years ago (Wallace, 1977; Vetz, 2011). Granite Mountain is composed of a large body of light-colored granite (unit Trg on Fig. 2-1). The magma body that formed the granite erupted to produce rhyolite volcanic rocks, which are exposed in the southeastern part of the district between Cinnabar and Lamberson Canyons (unit Trv on Fig. 2-1). Those volcanic

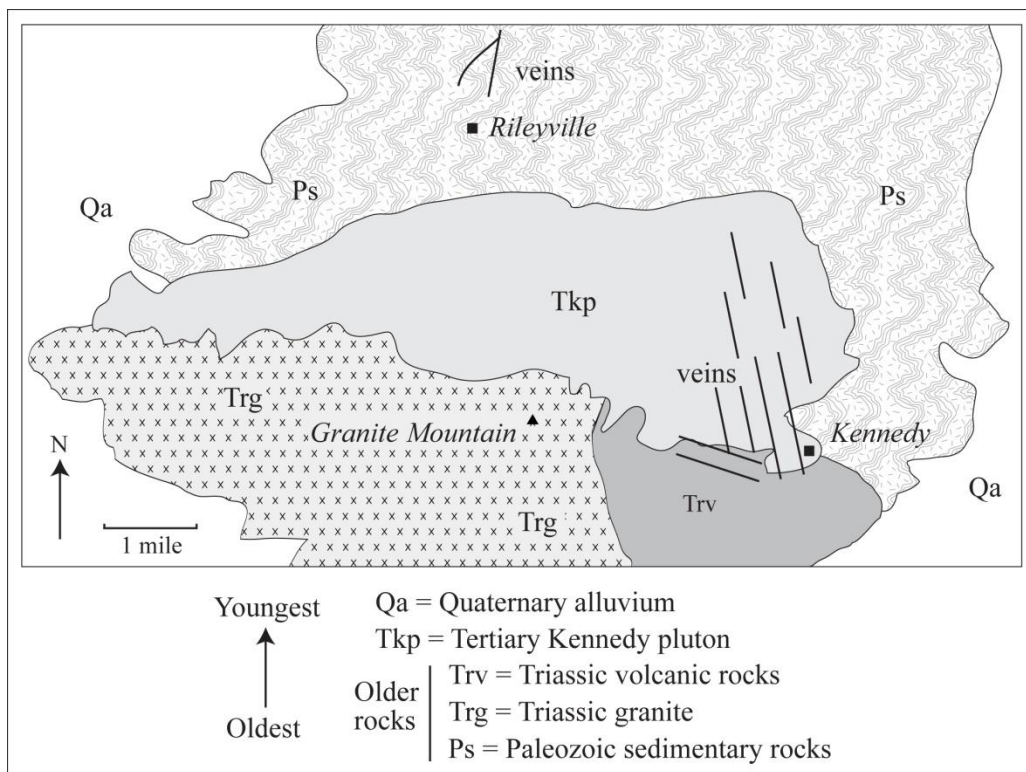


Figure 2-1. Simplified geologic map of Kennedy area in the southern East Range, Pershing County. Modified from Fosdick and Colgan (2008) using data from Johnson (1977), Wallace (1977), and Thurber (1982)

rocks collectively are known as the Koipato Group. The contact between the volcanic and granitic rocks is near the Gold Note mine, and most of the tunnels and veins in that mine are in the Koipato volcanic rocks.

The major geologic unit in the district is the middle Tertiary Kennedy pluton or stock, which congealed from a large body of magma about 31 million years ago (Johnson, 1977; Wallace, 1977; Thurber, 1982; Fosdick and Colgan, 2008). The pluton is elongate in an east-west direction across the entire range (unit Tkp on Fig. 2-1). The magma intruded all of the older rocks in the area. Most of the pluton is composed of a coarse-grained (meaning it has large crystals) rock called monzonite. Along some of the margins, the rocks in the pluton are darker, contain more iron-bearing minerals, and are called diorite. The central core of the pluton is composed of coarse-grained, light-colored granite.

The magma rose through the crust and stopped about a mile below what then was the ground surface (Fosdick and Colgan, 2008). As the magma cooled to produce the solidified pluton, faults and other cracks began to form in the pluton and surrounding older rocks. Throughout much of the district, the faults had north, northwest, and slightly northeast orientations and were nearly vertical or slightly tilted. In contrast, the faults near the Gold Note and Hidden Treasure mines were oriented in a more westerly to west-northwest direction. The faults were not simple: they were composed of numerous closely spaced fractures and had bends and curves that produced narrow to wide openings. Near the very end of the Tertiary

magmatic activity, a few remaining magmas rose along some of the faults to form narrow dikes with various compositions.

THE VEINS

The last gasp of the cooling magma expelled hot, water-rich fluids that carried silica, sulfur, and a variety of metals. Those fluids rose along the faults and cracks in both the pluton and the surrounding older rocks. A major, gently plunging fault and several steeper faults at the Henrietta mine in French Boy Canyon were in the Havallah Group rocks (Whitebread and Sorensen, 1980). As the fluids cooled, they deposited various minerals, including quartz, gold, and various iron, silver, lead, copper, zinc, and arsenic sulfide minerals to form the veins (Fig. 2-2). Because the faults varied in character, so did the veins that formed along them. Some sections of the faults were wide and filled with rich ore, and other fault zones had numerous closely spaced fractures and thus similar veins. Other zones, even along the same faults that nearby were very rich in metals, were nearly devoid of ore minerals because the hot fluids could not reach those narrow or isolated segments. As a result, many of the faults were continuous, but the ore-bearing (or at least economic) vein segments were not. Mining along a single vein could generate extensive mine workings in one section and just small prospects along other sections.

The sulfide minerals include pyrite (iron sulfide), sphalerite (zinc sulfide), chalcopyrite (copper-iron sulfide), chalcocite (copper sulfide), galena (lead sulfide), and argentite (silver sulfide) (Wallace, 1977). Muller and others (1951) also mentioned the presence of arsenopyrite (an iron-arsenic sulfide), tetrahedrite (a complex copper-iron-antimony sulfide), and pyrrhotite (another iron sulfide). The gold commonly was locked up as tiny particles and atoms in pyrite, and the silver was in argentite or incorporated microscopically into galena. The Gold Note vein had a similar assemblage, but it contained more copper sulfides. The Henrietta mine in French Boy Canyon contained abundant galena, sphalerite, pyrite, argentite, arsenopyrite, bornite (a copper-iron sulfide), and chalcopyrite (Hill, 1929; Van der Veer, 1940; Johnson, 1977).

In some areas, such as near the pass between Kennedy and French Boy canyons, the Kennedy pluton was broken into numerous small, narrow fractures, and the hot fluids deposited metals and sulfur in a mosaic of small veinlets. Individually, those veinlets contained relatively few economic metals. However, assays of some of the veinlets sparked interest on the parts of early prospectors, who staked a number of claims in 1894; none of them produced any ore. The area of veinlets also caught the interest of modern gold-exploration companies in the early 1980s because new mining technologies and economics made such deposits viable if there were enough metals present. Studies of that area (Bowes and others, 1982; Juhas, 1982; Thurber, 1982) showed that the veinlets contained pyrite, chalcopyrite, and, at greater depths seen in drill holes, molybdenite (a molybdenum sulfide).

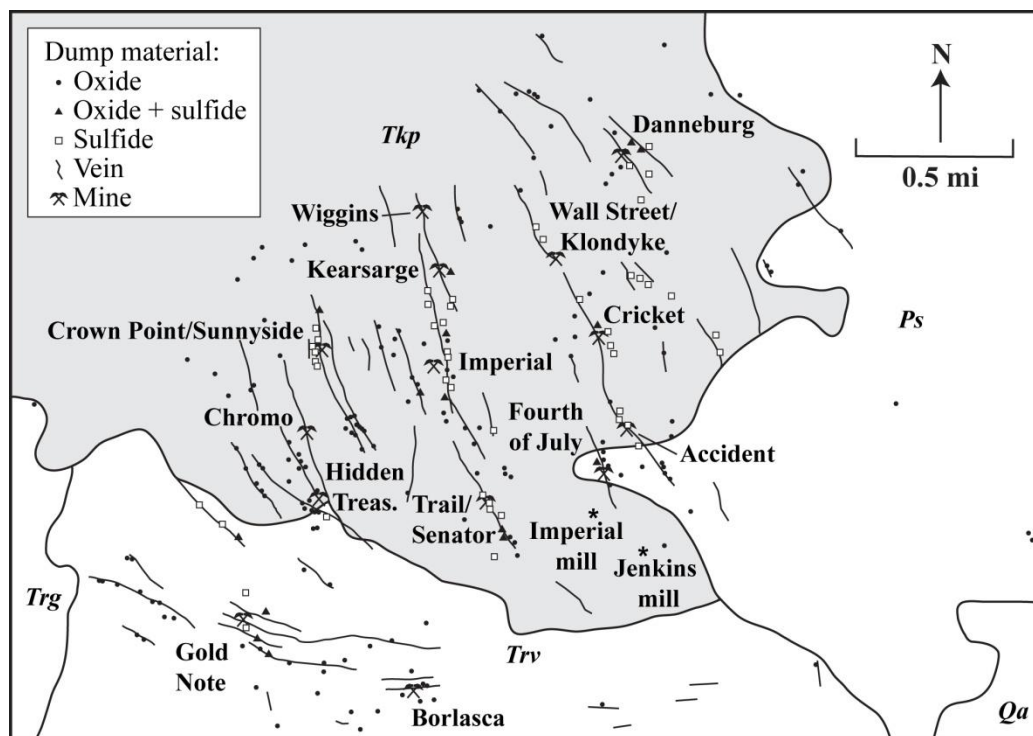


Figure 2-2. Locations of veins (dark narrow lines), different types of mine dumps, and major mines in the main part of the Kennedy mining district. The gray-shaded area (Tkp) is the Kennedy pluton; other rocks units are those shown on Fig. 2-1. Dumps are categorized by the presence (open square) or absence (small black dot) of oxidized sulfide minerals; a few dumps have both types of materials (black triangle). The Imperial and Jenkins mills on the edges of the Kennedy townsite are shown for reference.

EXPOSURE AND WEATHERING OF THE VEINS

When the Kennedy stock was emplaced 31 million years ago, the landscape at the surface a mile above the stock was fairly subdued, with no mountain ranges. About ten million years ago, major faults began to form along what now is the west side of the range, and the East Range began to rise and tilt to the east (Fosdick and Colgan, 2008). As the range rose, erosion began to eat into the rising block, and streams carried the sand, gravel, and boulders from the eroding rocks into the two basins that were forming to the east and west, now known as Pleasant and Buena Vista Valleys, respectively.

Eventually, the combination of uplift and erosion reached the tops of the veins. The surface waters from rainfall and snowmelt trickled down the vein-filled fractures towards the groundwater table, which was tens to more than a hundred feet below the surface. The downward-moving water oxidized the sulfide-rich vein minerals above the groundwater table and turned them into new minerals, similar to what happens when an iron shovel is left out in the rain and rusts. This process released gold, silver, and other metals from their original sulfide minerals and attached them loosely to various newly formed iron oxides, or it formed new carbonate or sulfate minerals. Weathering of copper-bearing sulfides produced copper oxide

CHAPTER 2 – GEOLOGY, MINES, AND MILLS

and sulfate minerals, including chalcocite, cuprite, covellite, chrysocolla, azurite, and malachite, some of which have a distinctive green to bluish-green color. At the Henrietta mine, the oxide zone contained quartz, iron oxides, and lead and zinc carbonates and oxides, as well as gold and silver (Hill, 1929).

The veins in the canyon had been weathering for tens of thousands of years by the time that Charley Kennedy arrived in 1891. Kennedy and the other early prospectors found and began mining the oxidized parts of the veins that were exposed at the surface. Several newspaper accounts of the early days of the district mentioned the red color of some of the ores, which was due to iron oxides like hematite. Mining eventually reached the groundwater table, below which the veins retained their original sulfide-rich mineralogy. In some places, elements such as copper, lead, and zinc that had been leached from the upper parts of the veins were deposited as new minerals at the transition between oxidized and unoxidized minerals. The depth of the groundwater table, and thus the depth that a miner had to go to reach the sulfide zone, varied throughout the district. Klopstock (1913) reported that the oxide zone extended to depths of fifty feet to as much as a hundred and twenty-five feet beneath the surface, depending on the location, and the oxide-sulfide boundary at the Henrietta mine was about a hundred and forty feet deep (Hill, 1929). Thus, each vein had two main parts – the upper oxidized ("oxide") ores, and the deeper sulfide-rich ores – with a short transition zone in between.

The veins in Kennedy were not bold, obvious outcrops that glittered with gold and silver. Far from it. Rain, snow, and various plant and chemical weathering processes over thousands of years gradually broke down the rocks and veins exposed at the surface. The residue formed a veneer of soil and rock rubble that today is a few inches to several feet thick and covers roughly ninety percent of the area. Some of the host rocks resisted weathering and remain as solid outcrops, but very few of the veins were exposed in outcrops by the time that Charley Kennedy arrived. Instead, Kennedy and others used small to larger pieces of oxidized vein materials in the soil as clues to what lay beneath the ground surface. Some of those vein materials came from the immediately underlying rocks and others were carried down the slope from veins a little higher up the hill. The prospectors used those rocks as guides to search for the veins.

MINING CLAIMS

The many mines and mine dumps scattered across the hillsides are testaments to the level of activity over time (Fig. 2-2). Staking a claim was one thing, but creating a viable mine to extract the ore was a major step forward. An important part of understanding the history of the district included knowing where mining activity was focused, both in space and time, as well as who staked claims and were mining in which areas.

Prospectors staked and recorded more than a thousand mining claims in the greater Kennedy mining district from 1891 into World War II, and 535 of those were staked in just the 1890s (Figs. 2-3A, B). Most of the early claims were the full legal size of fifteen hundred feet long

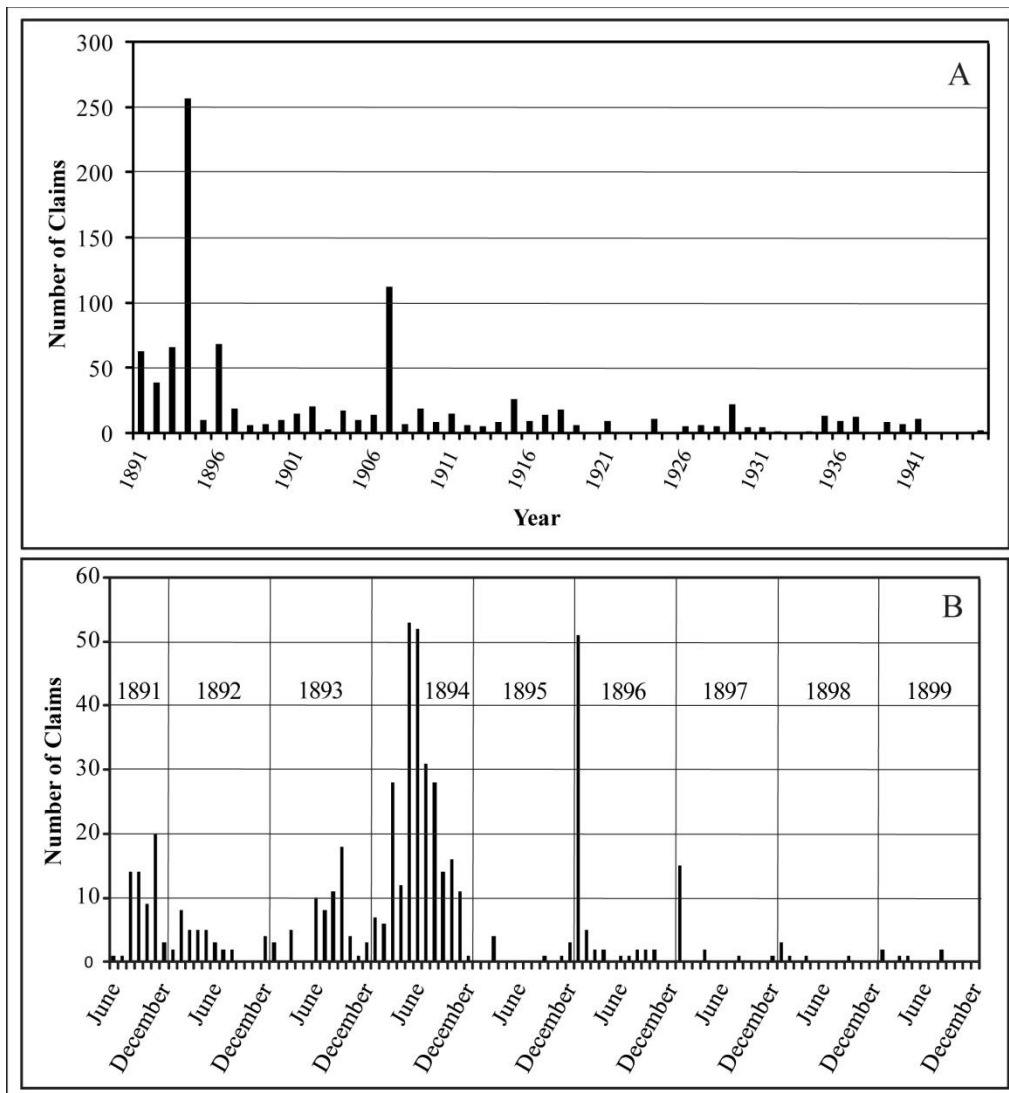


Figure 2-3. Claims staked in the Kennedy district as a whole (A) by year through the life of the district and (B) by month in the 1890s. Claim-staking dates were taken from about 1,200 individual claim notices that are on file with the Humboldt and Pershing County Recorders.

and six hundred feet wide. Good ground became scarcer as time went along, so the prospectors had two options. They could stake a partial claim that filled in the unclaimed space between earlier claims, or they could stake a full-sized claim that overlapped earlier claims but could only mine the part that did not overlap; that effectively was a partial claim. The Kearsarge Fraction was a 300-foot-long, 600-foot-wide slice of ground that had not been staked between the Kearsarge and Imperial claims (Fig. 2-4). In contrast, some partial claims were wedged in between as many five adjacent claims.

The prospectors filed their claim notices with the county recorder or, later, the mining district recorder. The notices gave details about the claim shape and orientation, the staking date, and the claim stakers. Some notices were very simple, and others were much more detailed. Charley Kennedy recorded his first two claim notices with the county recorder in

CHAPTER 2 – GEOLOGY, MINES, AND MILLS

Winnemucca, as did the owners of seventeen other early claims. The miners formed the Kennedy mining district in the middle of September and began to record their claim notices in the first of eventually four district records books. The district books provided an on-site and immediate record of claims, which the miners used to quickly resolve any conflicts, and the books saved long trips to Winnemucca to record each individual claim. Kennedy was the only district recorder, a position that he held until he resigned in early 1916. Miners then had to go to the Humboldt and, after 1919, Pershing County recorders to file their claims. Kennedy periodically took the books to Winnemucca, where the recorder copied the notices into the Duplicate Notices books. The time lag between entry into the Kennedy book and then into the recorder's book could be a matter of a few days to nearly four months and depended on when Charley went into town.

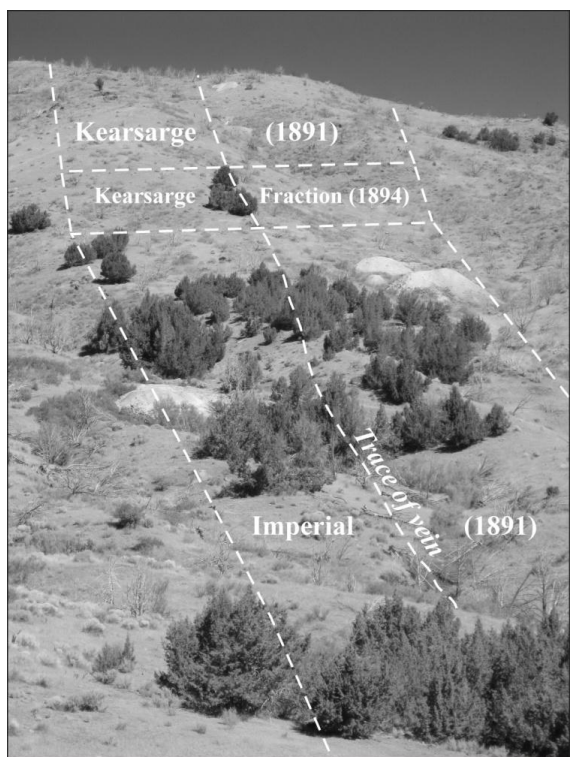


Figure 2-4. Photograph looking north at the Imperial and Kearsarge claims and mine (see Fig. 2-2). Both claims were staked in 1891. The Kearsarge Fraction, staked in 1894, claimed the three hundred feet of ground between the two full-sized claims. The dashed white lines denote the approximate boundaries of the claims (the Kearsarge extended beyond the far ridge, with the contiguous Wiggins claim beyond that) and the approximate trace of the vein across the ground surface.

A claim remained valid as long as the owner was mining or did a hundred dollars of work during each calendar year. The claim became void on the following January 1 if the work was not done, and that allowed someone else to stake a new claim on the same ground. Many prospectors who had staked claims in 1894 left Kennedy and failed to do their assessment work in 1895. Other miners restaked forty-seven of the more worthwhile claims on January 1, 1896, and January 1, 1897, saw a similar but smaller staking flurry (Fig. 2-3B). Some mines used the same location and name as the original claim, or they staked their new claims with a new orientation and name over one or more abandoned claims, such as William Zuick's new Sterling claims over the abandoned claims of the Gold Note mine (Fig. 2-5). This practice of restaking abandoned claims continued through the history of the mining district.

CHAPTER 2 – GEOLOGY, MINES, AND MILLS

New companies and prospectors arrived in Kennedy from 1900 through World War II. The new claims that people staked typically were either restaked older claims or new claims that overlapped older, abandoned claims. The most common way for a new company or miner to acquire a good claim or mine was to buy or lease it from its owner. Some owners never sold their mines: Charley Kennedy staked the Fourth of July claim in 1905 and mined it until his death in 1941. As time went on, the same good mines and claims changed hands several times, and the locus of mining activity progressively coalesced on those areas, leaving formerly busy areas completely abandoned. As described in Chapter 1, two of the claims in Kennedy – the Hidden Treasure No. 1 and the Henrietta – were patented, which turned the claim into legally held private property, similar to a lot in a town.

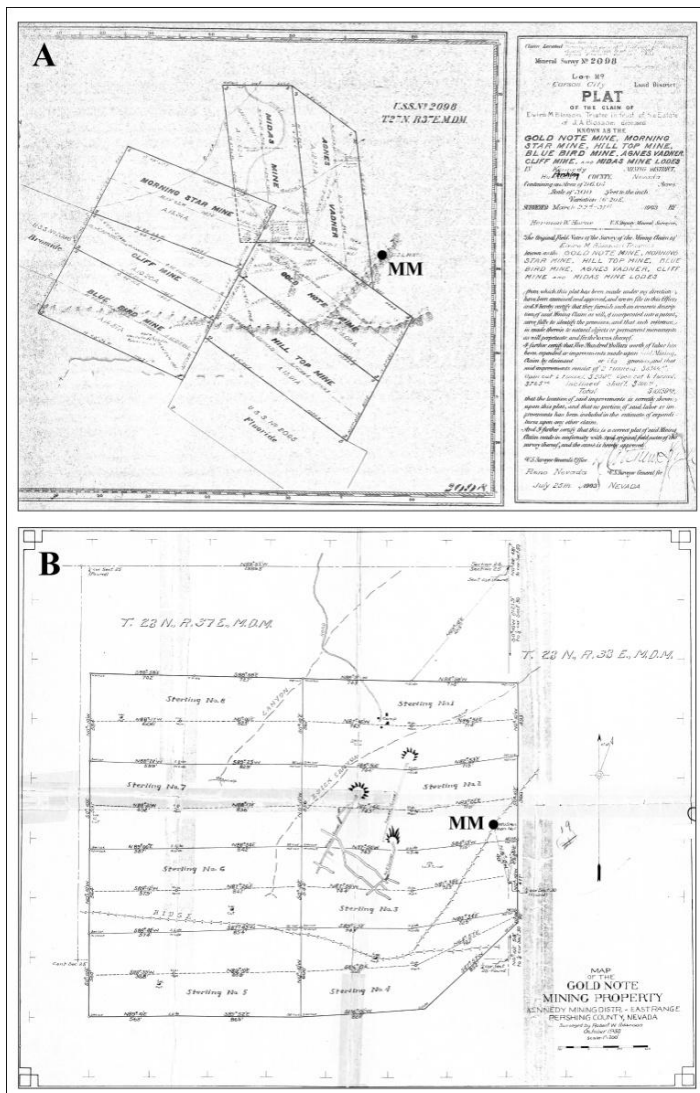


Figure 2-5. Plats of the Gold Note mine area. (A) 1903 plat surveyed by Herman W. Horne for the Blossom family. (B) 1930 plat of the Sterling group of claims surveyed by Robert W. Adamson, co-owner of the claims with William Zuick. Both surveyors used the U.S. Mineral Survey Monument (MM) as a reference point. North is to the top in both figures. The mine location is shown in Fig. 2-2. From the Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology mining district files.

Miners also staked placer claims along the creeks and gullies. The first placer claims were along Cinnabar Creek and its tributaries, and then along Water Canyon and French Boy Canyon. The location descriptions of the placer claims were vague, except to say that a claim was along a certain creek or gully. However, none of the creeks in the Kennedy area had much

alluvial material to mine. Nevertheless, some placer mining was done along Cinnabar (now Kennedy) Creek outboard of the canyon mouth, probably after World War II and thus after the time frame of this study.

KENNEDY DISTRICT CLAIM MAPS

The majority of the mining claims in the district were staked in the Cinnabar-Water-Spring-Lamberson Canyons area on the east side of the range, and miners staked at least two hundred and forty claims in French Boy and Say Canyons on the west side (Chapter 7). A scattering of claims were in other parts of the southern East Range, but few of them led to a mine of any type. Thirty claims were surveyed and had an official plat, and sketch maps in claim notices provided location information on several other claims. However, vague to excellent descriptions in claim notices provided the only location information for the vast majority of the claims.

The district never had a complete claim map. One was started in about 1894 and then updated into the 1910s. The map overall is fairly accurate, but it only shows a handful of the claims and has several important errors and omissions. Nevertheless, it provided useful information on the positions of some of the claims relative to adjacent or nearby claims, serving more of a guide and less of an accurate document.

All of the available data were used to create a series of claim maps for the district, based on when they were staked or restaked (Fig. 2-6). The maps are only as good as the descriptions in the claim records, but they illustrate the evolution of claim staking and mining over time. Activity in 1891 and 1892 focused on rich veins in the central part of the district, and most of the claims were full-sized claims with little or no overlaps. Claim staking began to spread out in 1893 as new veins were discovered. The peak year of claim staking was 1894. That year, partial claims were very popular, and many miners staked any plot of land that had not been claimed, regardless of the presence of a vein; that accounted for the peripheral cloud of claims around the richer core of the district. The claims staked in the last half of the 1890s largely were claims that had been abandoned in the previous year.

Mining and claim staking in the main part of the district over the decades progressively focused on established mines and adjacent areas; none of the worthless, peripheral areas were ever restaked (Fig. 2-6). Some new claims were staked after 1900, although they were far less abundant than in the 1890s (Fig. 2-3). For all intents and purposes, the important veins were staked in the first two or three years of the district's life, so it is no surprise that later mining continually revisited those original mining areas.

Miners staked fourteen claims in Lamberson Canyon, directly south of Cinnabar (Kennedy) Canyon, in the 1890s and fifteen more in the early 1900s. The locations given in the claim notices were very general, and the claimants did very little to no work on the claims. Veins just south of the mouth of Lamberson Canyon escaped detection until the late 1910s. Prospectors staked fourteen claims in 1918 and 1919, and the north-trending mine workings are very visible today (see Chapter 3). The claims undoubtedly covered the area that was mined.

CHAPTER 2 – GEOLOGY, MINES, AND MILLS

Miners staked four five-acre mill-site claims in Cinnabar Canyon, one and possibly two in Water Canyon, and one in French Boy Canyon. Charley Kennedy, John Benton, and Walter Wilkinson staked the Cricket and Jenkins mill sites in Cinnabar Canyon, and the Imperial and Jenkins mills, respectively, eventually were built on those two sites (Fig. 2-7A). They initially used the Cricket site for their arrastra and then sold the site to James Wardner for the twenty-stamp Imperial mill in 1894. The other two mill sites in Cinnabar Canyon were the Chromo and

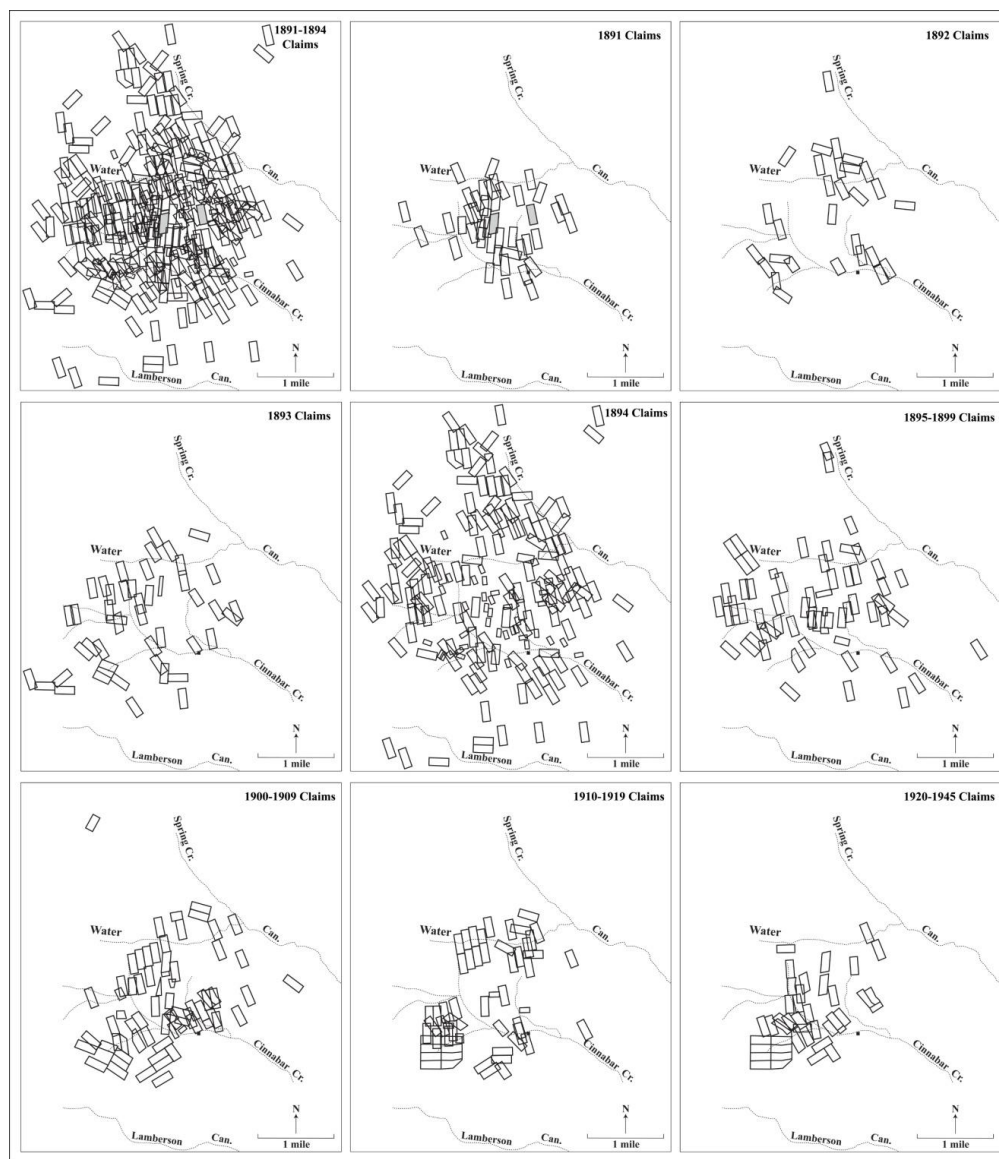


Figure 2-6. Locations of claims that were staked annually or in multi-year periods from 1891 through 1945 in the main part of the Kennedy district. Each figure shows the claims staked during the period indicated. The two gray shaded claims in the middle of the 1891-1894 and 1891 maps are Charley Kennedy's initial 1891 claims; the Cricket is on the right and the Imperial is on the left. The post office in the Kennedy townsite (small black square near center) and the major creeks are reference points on all maps. The claim locations were compiled from surveyed claim plats and descriptions in claim notices on file at the Humboldt and Pershing County (after 1919) Recorder's offices.

CHAPTER 2 – GEOLOGY, MINES, AND MILLS

Giant mill sites, which were just west of the Cricket mill site; each may have held an early arrastra but did not have "real" mills. The Wall Street mill site claim in Water Canyon was never mentioned beyond the claim notice, although finely ground materials along the creek near the site suggest that at least some milling was done, possibly with an arrastra. A water claim for the Mobile water ditch in Water Canyon said that creek water would be diverted to a mill site, but nobody filed a separate mill-site claim. Patrick Riley staked a mill-site claim in French Boy Canyon in 1904 and erected a small arrastra at the site (Chapter 7).

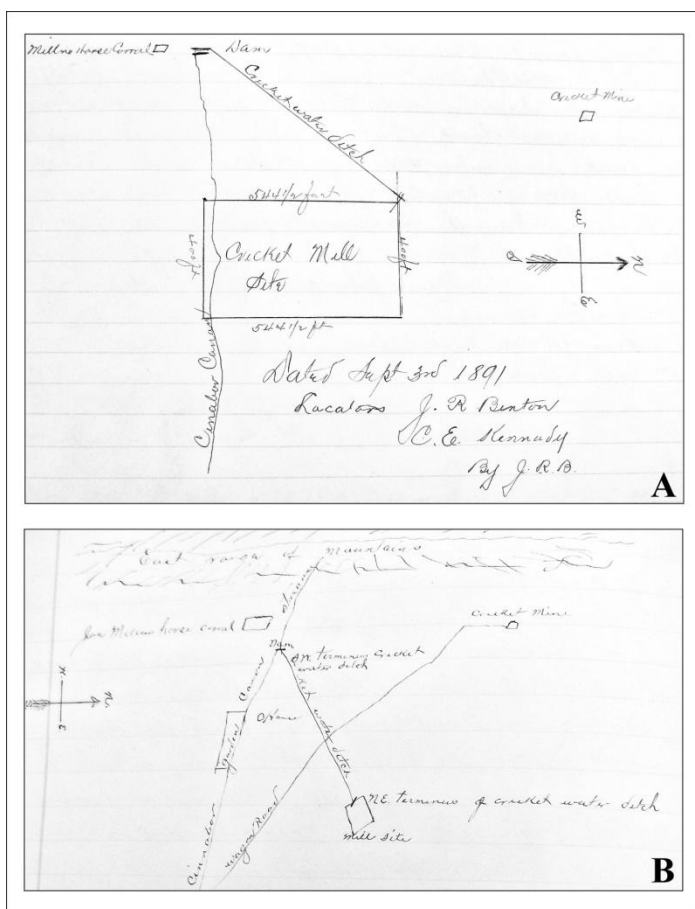


Figure 2-7. Cricket mill site and water ditch. (A) Claim map for the Cricket mill site. (B) Claim map for the Cricket water ditch. Both were filed in September 1891 and used Joe Miller's horse corral as a reference point. The water-ditch map (B) also shows the location of Charley Kennedy's house and garden next to the creek. Maps are from claim notices on file with the Humboldt County Recorder. North is to the right in both figures.

The creeks in Cinnabar and Water Canyons have modest water flows in the spring and early summer, and springs provide a trickle of water the rest of the year (Chapter 1). French Boy Canyon is even drier. Mills consumed large amounts of water, so claiming all of the available water was critical. Mine and mill owners filed nine water claims in Cinnabar Canyon and two each in Water and Lamberson Canyons. The first major water claim was the Cricket water ditch, which carried water from Cinnabar Creek to the Cricket mill site (Fig. 2-7B). Walter Wilkinson claimed all of the water from the springs in the uppermost part of Cinnabar Canyon in 1894, with plans to transport the water through pipes to a holding tank above town (Fig. 2-8). James Wardner, who owned the Imperial mill, filed a ditch claim in 1894 to transport creek water past

CHAPTER 2 – GEOLOGY, MINES, AND MILLS

the Jenkins mill to a milling site just above the mouth of the canyon (Fig. 2-9). Wardner also contracted with Susan Miller, a Pleasant Valley rancher, for the "rent" of her share of the Cinnabar Creek water the same year. Otto Schweitzer staked two tunnel claims in 1895 to get the water that drained out of the tunnels.

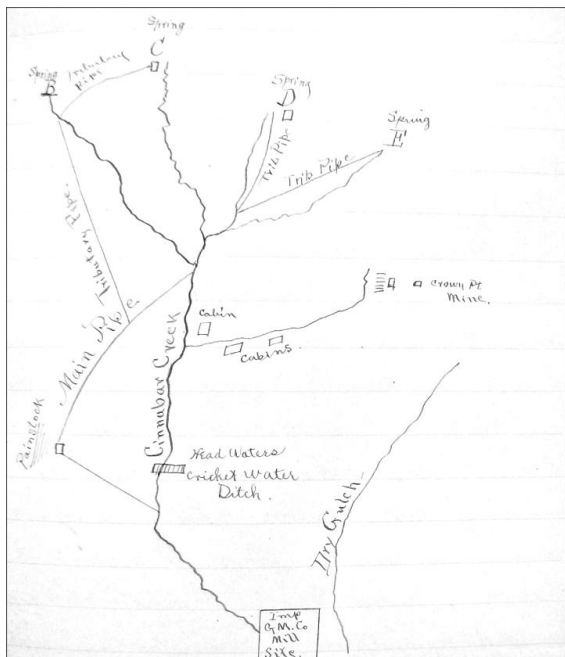


Figure 2-8. Walter Wilkinson's 1894 water-claim map for springs in upper Cinnabar Canyon. The map also shows the Crown Point mine (later called the Sunnyside mine; Fig. 2-2) and several cabins. The Imperial and Kearsarge mines were at the upper end of "Dry Gulch." North is to the right.

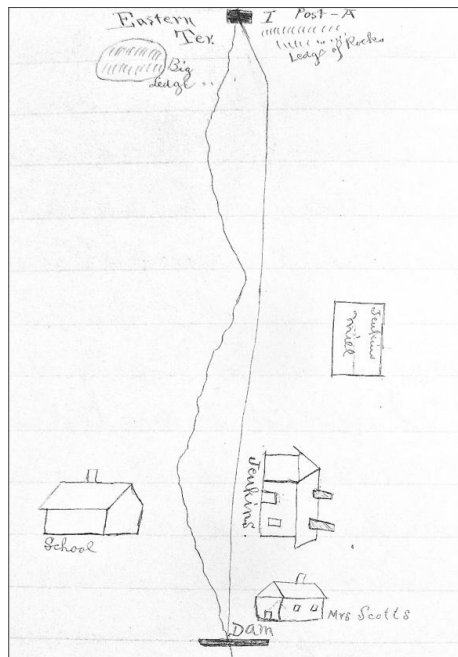


Figure 2-9. Map included with James Wardner's 1894 Imperial water ditch claim (straight line from dam) past the Jenkins mill. The jagged line is Cinnabar Creek. North is to the left.

MINES AND MINING

One of the first manmade creations that a visitor to Kennedy Canyon sees is a large, yellow mine dump with a large wooden ore bin. A scan of the surrounding hillsides reveals several dozen additional dumps, and a hike through those hills encounters hundreds of small to larger dumps, prospect pits, and collapsed mine adits and shafts (Fig. 2-2). All of those were dug by hand, which collectively was a major feat. None of the mines are accessible today, but newspaper accounts, modern features at the old mines, and a few maps of underground workings provide enough information to understand how Kennedy miners exploited the gold and silver veins of the district.

As described earlier, a typical vein in Kennedy was a narrow, tabular body that was several inches to several feet wide. The veins had numerous bends and turns, and some parts were richer than others. The miners followed the path of the vein, so the resulting mines in

CHAPTER 2 – GEOLOGY, MINES, AND MILLS

Kennedy ranged from simple tunnels into a hillside along a vein to complex labyrinths of deep underground workings. Most of the mines in the district were restricted to just one claim. At some vein systems, such as at the Gold Note mine, several miners with adjacent claims joined forces to exploit all of the underground parts of the veins beneath their collective claims.

Many veins were exposed on moderately sloping to steep hillsides, which allowed the miners to attack the vein at different elevations. At the Imperial mine, Charley Kennedy and John Benton simply started their tunnels at different elevations and went straight into the hillside along the vein (Fig. 2-4). Underground, they went sideways and up and down along the veins, and they had three tunnels and more than 1,600 feet of underground workings by June 1894. At the Gold Note mine, the miners went straight into the side of the hill and intersected the veins. From there, they mined ("drifted") to the left and right along the vein, as well as both up and down. The Gold Note mine eventually had as many as five access tunnels of various lengths, including the original shallow tunnels, that intersected the veins at various distances into the hillside (Fig. 2-10A, B). The mine had about 4,500 feet of workings at various levels by 1913, and another long access tunnel and more underground workings were added over the next two decades. The lowest tunnel at a mine commonly was the one used to haul out the ore and waste rock, and the largest dump thus was at the adit of that tunnel.

A few of the mine owners in the 1930s hired surveyors or mining engineers to create maps and cross sections of the underground workings of their mines, and the maps illustrate the simplicity or complexity of the underground workings. The map of the Sunnyside (originally the Crown Point) mine shows the various tunnels and the boundary between the oxide and sulfide ore; it also shows the blacksmith shop and the engine room for the hoists just outside the mine entrance (the "portal"; Fig. 2-11A). Robert Adamson, a co-owner of the Gold Note mine in 1930, generated a map view of the mine workings, including the old workings from the early 1890s, and a cross-section view that showed the various tunnels and where they intersected the four or five veins underground (Fig. 2-10B). The Trail mine became the Senator mine in the 1920s, and Henry Ruck, the owner, created a map of the underground workings in possibly 1939 (Fig. 2-12A). The hillside sloped to the east and the veins were exposed at the surface but tilted southwest and deeper into the hillside. The early miners worked the vein near the surface, and later miners went a hundred feet down the hillside, dug a lower tunnel straight into the hillside to the vein, and then mined northwest along the two-foot-wide vein. They also mined upwards to the surface workings. The ore and waste rock fell to the lower tunnel and was hauled out to the dump and ore bin near the portal (Fig. 2-11B). The upper and most of the intermediate workings were in the oxide zone, and the lower tunnel largely was in the sulfide zone (the boundary was at the turn in the lower tunnel; Wallace, 1977).

All of the early mining was done by hand, initially using picks, hand drills, and shovels. The Winnemucca newspapers noted the first deliveries of compressors in 1902 that were used to run pneumatic rock drills underground. These drills were much more efficient than hand drills for drilling the blast holes, and most of the Kennedy and French Boy Canyon mines used these drills by the 1920s. The heavy timbers used to support the portals and mine workings in the 1890s came by rail from the Verdi Lumber Company just west of Reno; they were put on wagons in Winnemucca and hauled to Kennedy. The owners of the lumber company even visited Kennedy several times in the 1890s to see what types of timbers were needed.

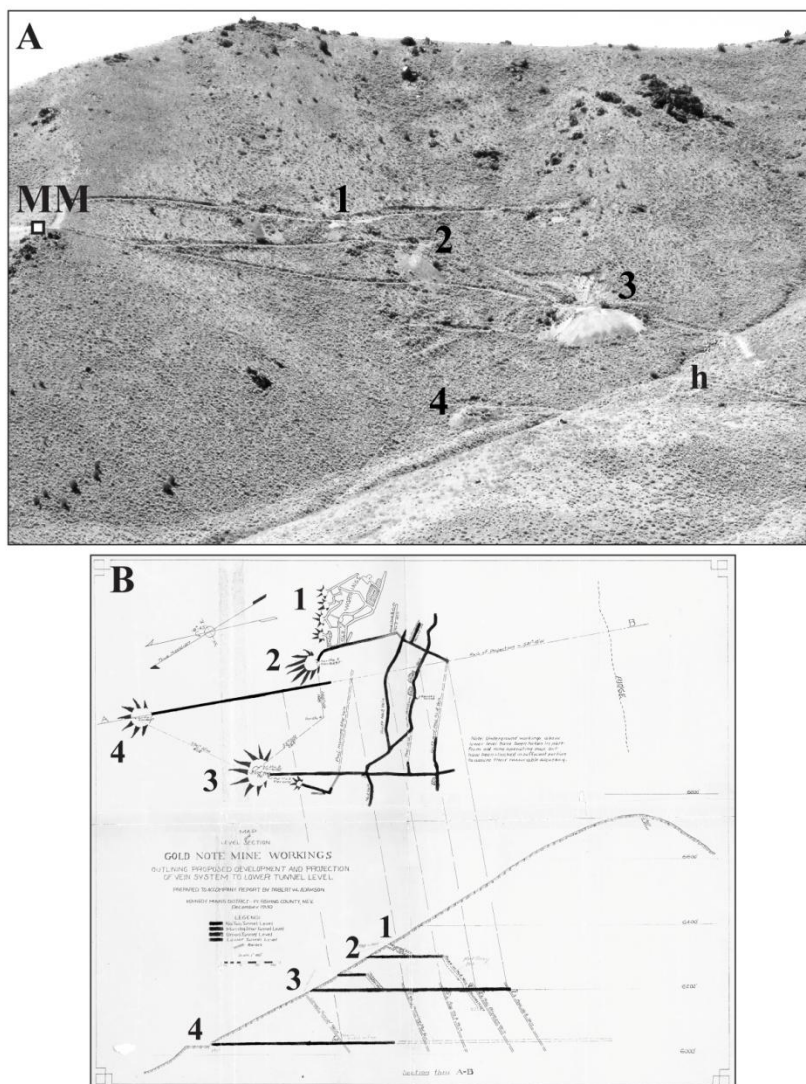


Figure 2-10. The Gold Note mine in the southwestern part of the Kennedy district (see Fig. 2-2). (A) Photograph of the Gold Note mine, looking south. The numbers correspond to the tunnels shown in (B). MM, U.S. Mineral Survey Monument shown in Figure 2-5; h, location of mine bunkhouses (see Fig. 4-5F later). Photograph by the author in 2012. (B) Maps showing the map-view layout of the underground workings (upper map) and a cross-section looking southeast at the tunnels and veins (lower map). Robert Adamson created the maps in 1930. The original mining activity in the early 1890s produced the tunnels and drifts at location 1 in both figures. Later mining produced the lower tunnels. A fifth tunnel, shown but not labeled on the maps, was between tunnels 2 and 3. It was a short tunnel and never completed. From the Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology mining district files.

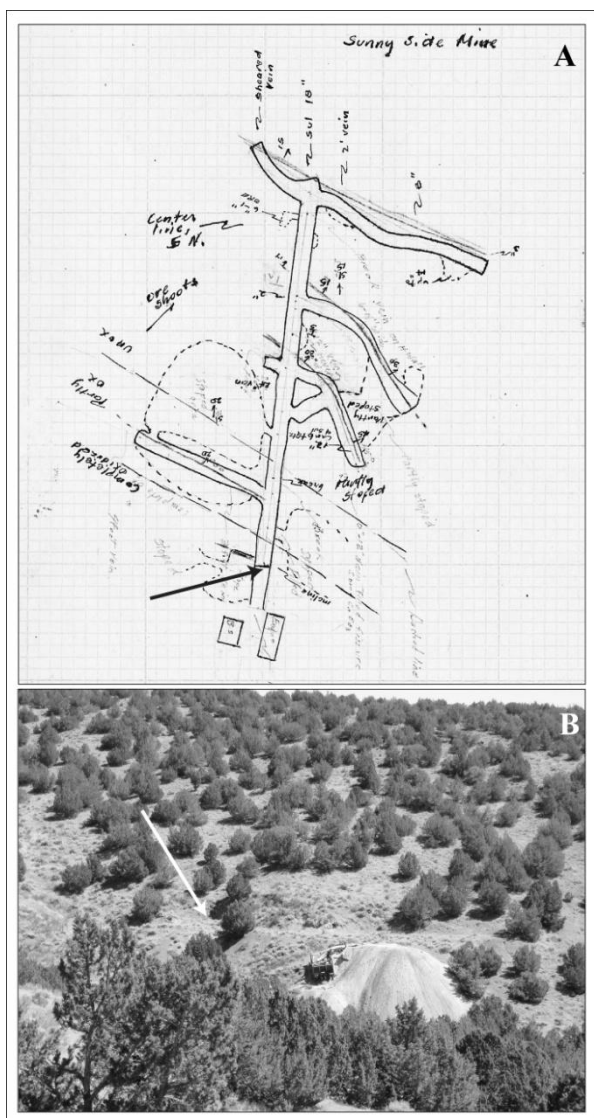


Figure 2-11. Sunnyside (Crown Point) mine (see Fig. 2-2). (A) Map of the underground workings of the mine, surveyed in the 1930s. The main tunnel trends to the north; side tunnels trend to the northwest; mine tunnels are shown in the more distinct black lines. Dashed dark lines: underground areas that were completed removed ("stoped out") during mining. Less-distinct gray lines are veins, with small arrows and numbers showing vein inclination. Surveyor noted the completely, partly, and unoxidized sections of the veins on the left side of the map. An engine room (right) and a blacksmith shop (left) stood just outside of the portal mouth. From the Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology mining district files. (B) Photograph looking east at the Sunnyside mine. The dump and ore bin are in the right foreground; the engine room and blacksmith shop were on the flat area behind the top of the dump. Arrow in each figure points to the location of the portal.

Each new wave of miners in the Twentieth Century brought the mining methods and technology of the day. Mining was still hard manual labor, but newer pneumatic drills, stronger gasoline-powered pumps, ventilation fans, and trucks instead of wagons to haul the ore made mining more efficient and somewhat safer. Even the transition from candles to the carbide miner's lamp in the early 1900s improved working conditions underground. Advances in metallurgy and milling and smelting methods allowed the miners to mine the ore with those advances in mind. The ore that was not economic to mine and process in the 1890s became more worthwhile in the later periods, and the increase in the price of gold and silver in the early to mid 1930s made formerly marginal to uneconomic veins worth the effort of mining during the Depression.

The mine dump at the mouth of a mine tunnel served as the first sorting point for the materials that came out of the mine. The main part of the dump contained the waste or non-economic rock, and the ore was stockpiled in a separate area or put into an ore bin or wagon.

CHAPTER 2 – GEOLOGY, MINES, AND MILLS

The size and color of a dump tell an important tale about the underground workings. A small dump indicates that the miner found little to hold his interest, whereas a large dump denotes a good vein and extended mining over time. As illustrated in the mine maps, a lot of waste rock had to be removed to get to and mine the veins. As a result, the vast majority of the rocks that came out of a mine was waste rock.

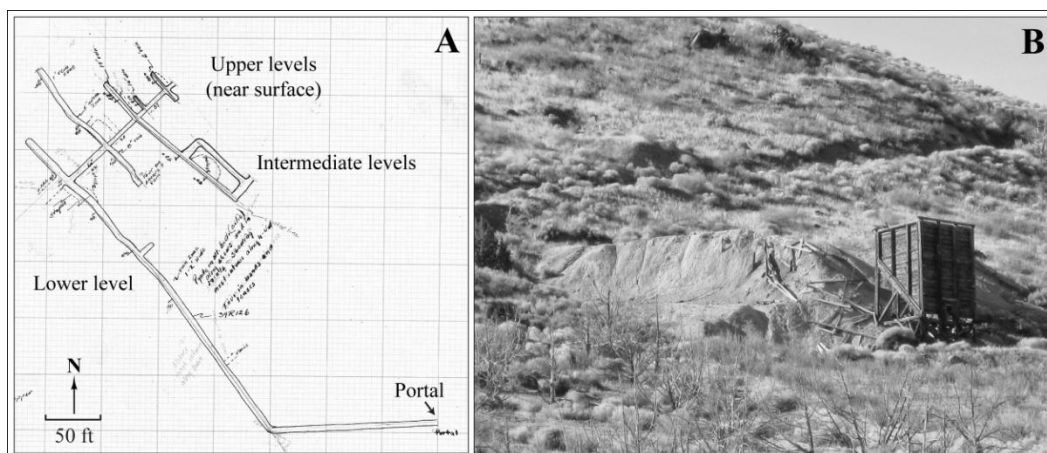


Figure 2-12. Senator/Trail mine (see Fig. 2-2). (A) Map of underground workings created in about 1939. The portal tunnel intersected the vein at the sharp bend. From the Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology mining district files. (B) Dump and ore bin near the portal of the mine. Portal (which collapsed after 1976) is in the shaded area at the left margin. The vein extends from the left to the upper right beneath the hillside behind the ore bin. Photograph taken looking west-northwest.

The color of a dump indicates which types of ores – oxide or sulfide – were mined. The waste rock and oxide ore typically were brownish to reddish. Pyrite was the most common sulfide mineral; it immediately began to oxidize and form a yellowish mineral called jarosite when exposed on the dumps. Mining always started in the host rocks and oxide zone of the veins, so the first materials to be put on the dumps had a reddish-brown color. The mines that were short-lived and shallow, or that were longer lived but never reached the sulfide zone, produced dumps that were entirely reddish brown. The mines that reached the sulfide zone had dumps that were a combination of both reddish-brown and yellowish materials, with the later-mined sulfide ores dumped on top of the earlier oxide and waste materials. A dump may appear to be composed largely or entirely of yellowish, jarosite-rich material, but the reddish-brown oxide material invariably lies beneath it. This color difference between reddish-brown dumps and yellow dumps is evident even from a long distance.

The combination of the size and color of a mine dump provides important evidence of mining in the district. Most of the mines that stayed only in the oxide zone had smaller, brown to rust-colored dumps. One exception was Charley Kennedy's Fourth of July mine, which, thanks to the local geology, managed to stay in the oxide zone for several decades and produce excellent returns. An important aspect of Figure 2-2 is the concentration of sulfide (jarosite)-bearing dumps along several of the major vein systems, such as the Trail/Senator-Imperial-Kearsarge system, the Accident-Cricket-Wall Street system, and at the rich Gold Note mine. Those veins had the richest and largest concentrations of ore, and they were mined repeatedly

over the decades. As described earlier, the faults that hosted the veins swelled and pinched both laterally and with depth, and the veins along those faults similarly had richer and poorer segments. For example, the Crown Point/Sunnyside mine was in a segment of the fault that allowed richer veins to form (the open squares in Figure 2-2), and mining penetrated into the sulfide zone. The same fault – and thus the vein – was narrower and tighter farther south, resulting in narrower and less-rich veins and thus smaller mines and prospects that never got below the oxide zone (the cluster of small black circles in the same figure).

ORE AND MILLS

Once a miner had a pile of ore on the mine dump, he had to find some way to turn that pile into money. Building a mill required money, and most of the individual miners were toiling in Kennedy because they needed money. That left them with several options. The first was to use a simple and cheap method, such as an arrastra. The second option was to hand-sort the ore into higher-grade concentrates that could be shipped to mills and smelters. The third option was to hope that someone else with money would build a mill in Cinnabar Canyon. The fourth and least desirable option was to just give up and leave. The third option was vastly preferable to the cash-poor miners because it promised the greatest income from their labors.

Mills separated the valuable metals from the worthless rock. The process from start to finish could be done in a few basic steps or require a complex path through crushing, separation, roasting, flotation, and the addition of various chemicals along the path. The mill owner needed to know what he wanted for the end product when he designed the facility. Some mills just reduced the metal-bearing rock into a smaller but much higher-grade fraction of metal-rich sand ("concentrates") or went another step and melted the concentrates into a very impure bar of bullion. Either could be shipped to a more complex mill or a smelter for final processing, and the smaller volume of material meant lower shipping costs. This type of mill was much cheaper to build and operate, and it could turn marginal ore into profitable ore and keep both the miners and mill owner in business.

The Kennedy mills used a variety of methods over the years. None of them worked, at least not well enough to keep them open for more than a couple of years at a time. As milling and metallurgical technologies improved from the late 1800s into the early 1900s, many ore-processing methods were available at various times during Kennedy's history. Some of them were used (or at least tried) at Kennedy, and additional methods could have been adopted in Kennedy if the mill owners had had enough money and expertise.

TYPES OF ORE

The Kennedy ores fell into two categories: free-milling oxide ore and complex sulfide ore. The oxide ore was easier to process because the oxidation had freed the gold and silver from the sulfides – thus the term "free milling." The gold and silver in the deeper sulfide ore remained

CHAPTER 2 – GEOLOGY, MINES, AND MILLS

tightly bound in the sulfide minerals and required more complex milling and smelting methods. The mill owners had somewhat better success with the oxide ore, but they could not find a good way to process the sulfide ore, which was called "rebellious" for a reason. That did not mean that the ore could not be processed, just that the mills at Kennedy were not designed (and redesigned in some cases) to do it successfully. Some of the ores were very rich, but that meant nothing if the gold and silver could not be recovered.

The "simple" oxide ores at Kennedy actually were not all that simple. The iron oxides and hydroxides (oxides with a little water in the mineral structure) that coated the gold particles presented a significant problem. Without pre-treating the ore to get rid of the coatings, the mill could not adequately recover the gold and silver, and the soft, fine-grained iron minerals also clogged up the filter screens in the mills. As a result, the iron-rich "waste" after milling could still contain a lot of gold and silver. The original veins also contained quite a bit of lead and zinc sulfides that, when oxidized, formed lead or zinc oxide and carbonate minerals, which altered the chemistry and mechanics of the separation process. Zinc, for instance, attached itself to the gold during milling, so less gold came out at the end of the processing pipeline.

The sulfide ores required additional milling and metallurgical methods. A typical early step at large districts like the Comstock and Austin, but not Kennedy, involved roasting or heating the sulfide ores: the heat broke down the sulfide ores and released the gold and silver (Michal, 2005a, b). The nature of the Kennedy veins added to the complexity, such as wide zones of galena-rich ore bounding a narrower core of gold-rich pyrite. The miners had to separate these two types of ore by hand to produce a gold-pyrite-rich concentrate that could be milled. Many of the veins also contained sphalerite, a zinc sulfide, and the smelters commonly reduced the payment on zinc-rich ores because the metal was difficult to smelt and, for many years, worthless.

ORE GRADES

Select samples of the vein materials could contain visible gold and silver that clearly indicated large amounts of metals, but the metals in most of the rocks were not visible. Assayers determined how much gold, silver, and other metals were in the ores. The assayer analyzed the samples and calculated the "ore grade," which was the amount of metals that a short ton of that rock would contain. Gold and silver were reported in Troy ounces of metal per short ton of rock, and zinc, lead, and copper were reported in either weight percent or pounds of metal per short ton of rock. A very rich vein at Kennedy could contain ten Troy ounces of gold per ton, but a short ton of anything weighs a little more than 29,000 ounces and the amount of gold in even that rich vein was very small by comparison.

The metal contents of Kennedy ore samples at the Keck Museum at the University of Nevada, Reno, were analyzed before they were given to the museum. One sulfide sample contained three percent lead, forty ounces of gold, and sixty ounces of silver per ton. Using the pre-1930s values of about \$20.70 for an ounce of gold and about \$0.67 for an ounce of silver (the average price from 1891 to 1930), a ton of this material would have had a gross value of about \$870. Another sulfide sample contained 31.7 percent zinc, 7.2 percent lead, and 3 ounces of gold

CHAPTER 2 – GEOLOGY, MINES, AND MILLS

and 31.4 ounces of silver per ton; the per-ton value would have been about \$83. Two samples of oxide ore were simply valued at \$112 and \$80 per ton, which probably reflected the combined gold and silver content at the prices of the day. An undated report, possibly written in the late 1920s or 1930s, listed the assays from a "high grade vein 3 feet" at the Gold Note mine (Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology mining district files). The assay showed 1.4 percent lead, 2.17 percent copper, and 36 ounces of silver and 1.86 ounces of gold per ton. For just the gold and silver, that was about \$64 per ton at the time.

The *Silver State* and *Humboldt Star* newspapers periodically reported the value of the ore produced from the Kennedy mines. The reported grades in the 1890s varied from \$50 to \$150 per ton, although some smaller samples had much higher grades. Those reports, however, were based largely on what the miners told the newspapers and may or may not have been accurate or anywhere close to the truth. Even so, the values reported in the newspapers at least were within the same order of magnitude as the analyzed samples from the Keck museum. In May 1894, the editor of the *Silver State* essentially stole a tablespoon of high-grade ore from the Gold Note mine that had been stored at the train depot. He crushed and washed it and found "two nice little gold nuggets." If one tablespoon contained two small nuggets, then the ore was extremely high grade.

Most of the ore that came out of the mines, however, was not valuable enough to pay for shipping, even with hand sorting. Some was not even worth mining or was just left on the dump. The newspapers in the early 1890s hinted that miners with ore worth forty dollars or less a ton needed an on-site mill because the shipping and processing ate up most of those forty dollars.

MILLING METHODS

The Kennedy district had five and possibly seven mills in addition to the early arrastras used by some of the miners. These included the larger Jenkins and Imperial mills on the edge of the town of Kennedy (Figs. 2-2, 2-13, 2-14). A small mill was built at the Hidden Treasure mine just west of town in the early 1900s, and it processed ore from only that mine. The fourth (and possibly fifth mill) was in Rileyville in French Boy Canyon (Chapter 7) to process ore from the nearby Henrietta mine. The sixth mill was a small Gibson mill that was installed near the Sunnyside mine, in the western part of the main district, in the late 1930s and ran for just a year. The Giant mill at the Giant claim just northwest of town was mentioned peripherally a few times, but it never received much attention and may have just been a short-lived arrastra.

Understanding how the mills worked and why they failed is a key element in the story of the Kennedy mining district. Most of the Kennedy mill owners started with a relatively simple process and then added more steps – or closed the mill entirely – when their initial methods did not work as well as planned or at all. Later owners of both the Jenkins and Imperial mills came in with new ideas that they applied to the existing mill or that required extensive modifications. The flow chart in Figure 2-15 shows the various steps that were used at the Kennedy mills, although different steps were used at different mills at different times. Peele (1918) and many other mining engineering handbooks provide details on each step. The role of

CHAPTER 2 – GEOLOGY, MINES, AND MILLS

each mill during the history of the district, as well as additional details on the milling methods and modifications, are integrated into the various time narratives later in the book.



Figure 2-13. The Jenkins mill. (A) Looking southwest, with the town of Kennedy visible in the distance. The large tiered-roof building in the far center was the Alex Wise stable (see also Fig. 2-14A). The two buildings to the right of the mill were the bunkhouse and a store. (B) Looking due south; the bunkhouse is to the right. The large, round tank to the left of the mill was added in about 1915 for electrochemical leaching. The main mill building was built in late 1893. Photographs from the Stanley McCoy collection.

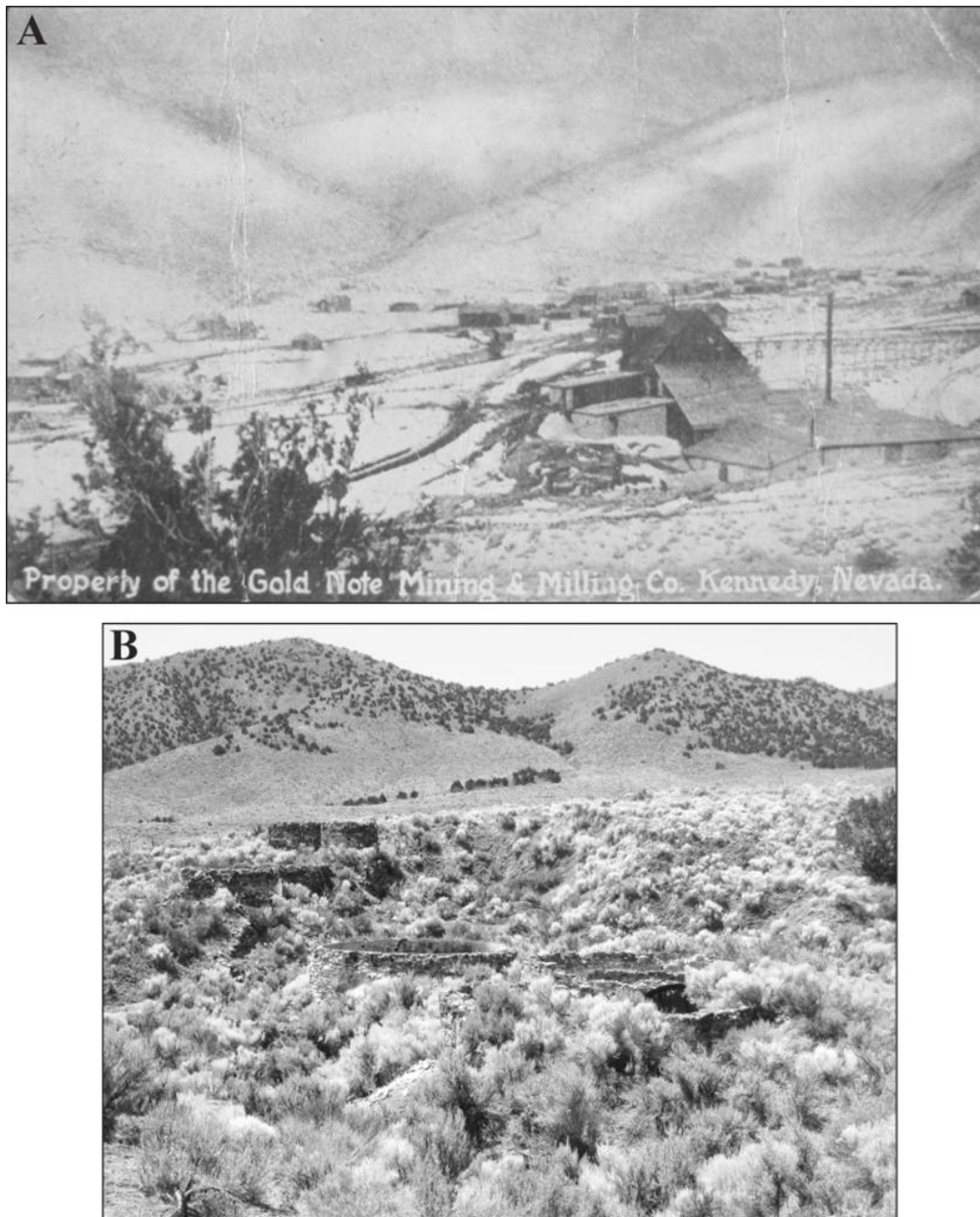


Figure 2-14. The Imperial mill. (A) Post-card photograph of the mill, made and distributed by the Gold Note Mining & Milling Company in 1911. The photograph looks south-southwest; the town of Kennedy is in the background. The large building on the left margin is the Alex Wise stable (see Fig. 2-13A). Snow covers the ground. Post card from the Stanley McCoy collection. (B) Modern photograph of the three new cyanide tanks (middle foreground), which were under the flat-roofed area of (A), and four original smaller stone tanks for settling and leaching, which were under the small additions on the left in (A). The stamp mill was beneath the high roof, to the right of the small tanks.

CHAPTER 2 – GEOLOGY, MINES, AND MILLS

All of the mills used two basic early steps. The first step was to crush the chunks of ore (step 1, Fig. 2-15) into smaller pieces with a Blake jaw crusher (step 5). The crushed ore was then fed into a stamp, Huntington, or ball mill that pulverized the ore into sand- and silt-sized particles (see Peele (1918) for descriptions of each). The Jenkins and the early Rileyville mills used a Huntington mill (step 6A), and the Imperial and Hidden Treasure mills used stamp mills (step 6B). The Gibson mill at the Sunnyside mine was similar to a Huntington mill. The last mill erected at Rileyville and the modified Jenkins mill in the 1910s may have used ball mills (step 6C) to crush the ore, replacing or adding to the Huntington mills at the sites. The early arrastras at Kennedy dragged a large stone in circles around a pivot to both crush and pulverize the broken ore (step 2).

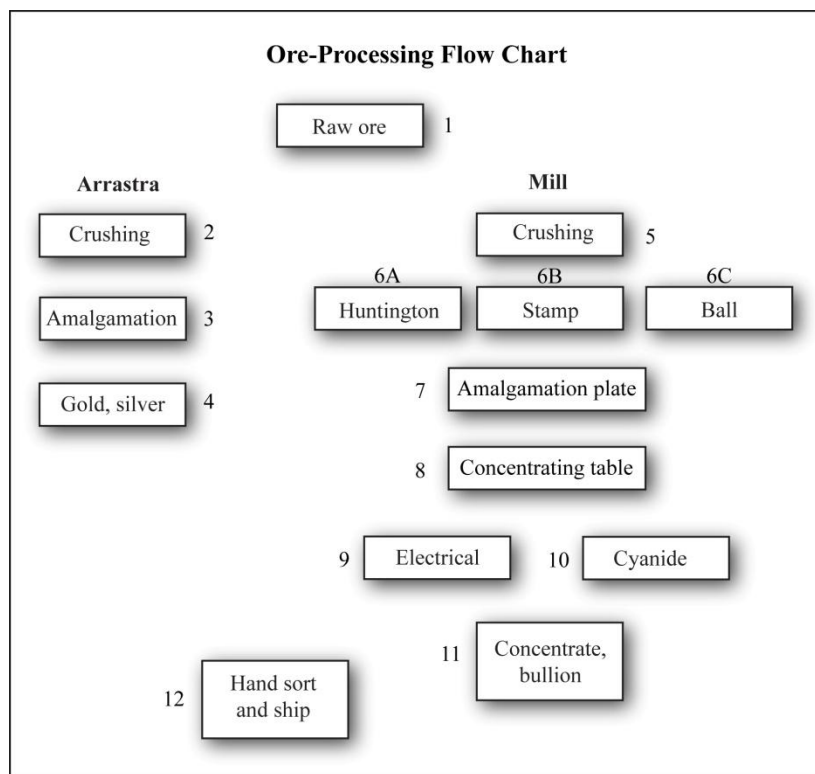


Figure 2-15. Flow chart showing the major steps used in the Kennedy mills and arrastras. The text explains each step and the sequence of processing.

Mercury, cyanide, or both were used to capture the gold and silver that was released during milling (Megraw, 1914; Peele, 1918; Marsden and House, 2006). Mercury bonded with the gold and silver to form a compound called amalgam. Heating separated the mercury from the other metals, and the mercury was recaptured for reuse. Cyanide took the gold and silver into solution, and zinc was then added to release the gold and silver from the cyanide molecules. Amalgamation in Kennedy was less than successful for several reasons. Incomplete removal of the iron-oxide coatings prevented the mercury from getting to and capturing the

CHAPTER 2 – GEOLOGY, MINES, AND MILLS

gold and silver. Amalgamation also had a difficult time dealing with the lead and zinc minerals in the ore. The zinc in the ores tended to latch onto the gold before amalgamation, and mercury could not break the gold-zinc combination during the milling process. As a result, quite a bit of gold passed untouched onto the waste piles.

The slurry that came out of the mills passed over amalgamation tables and concentrating tables. Amalgamation tables (step 7) were sheets of copper with a coating of mercury that captured the gold and silver in the slurry. Concentrating tables (also called Frue vanners at the time; step 8) separated the lighter grains in the slurry, such as quartz and feldspar, from the heavy gold and amalgam, resulting in a metal-rich concentrate. The mill owner either melted the concentrates into impure metal bars, or bagged the concentrates and shipped them to a smelter for final processing (step 11).

Later owners of the Jenkins and Imperial mills used electrochemical amalgamation and cyanide leaching methods as the last stages of the processing. Electrochemical amalgamation (step 9) in its simplest form involved putting the mill slurry into a large vat, adding water, chlorine, and mercury, and then using an electrical current to "push" the gold and silver onto the submerged amalgamation plates (Carey, 1910a, b). Cyanide leaching (step 10) used vats that contained water and different concentrations of cyanide. As above, the mill operator added zinc to separate the gold and silver from solution; sulfuric acid was added and created a sludge of gold, silver, and zinc, which was dried out and shipped to a smelter (step 11). Cyanide leaching became a very common process in the early 1900s and is used widely today (Marsden and House, 2006).

Amalgamation and various other chemical methods did not work on the sulfides, which first had to be heated or roasted to release the gold and silver. None of the Kennedy mill owners took this step, even though miners reached the sulfide ore zones within the first couple of years of mining, and going deeper only meant more sulfide ores. William Jenkins, for one, wanted to build a roaster in 1894 but simply did not have the money to build or buy one. Over the ensuing years, the various mill owners tried to devise methods – some of them fairly elaborate – that in theory would break down the "rebellious" sulfides chemically or with enhanced crushing and leaching techniques. None of them worked well enough, or at all, to justify continued milling. The best that the mill operators could do was use the mills to create a concentration of sulfide minerals that could be shipped to a smelter, which was much cheaper than shipping the bulkier and heavier raw ore.

The shallow oxide zone and the inability of the mills to process the increasingly abundant sulfide ores were the main reasons why Kennedy district never reached its full potential. Economics played a major role: ore was just worthless rock unless the metals could be removed at a profit. A lot of the ore had good but not great grades: that ore would have been economic if it could have been successfully processed on site, but it was not rich enough to pay for the shipping and smelting costs. Frederick L. Ransome, a highly respected U.S. Geological Survey geologist, inspected several of the major mines and the two larger mills at Kennedy in 1908. He concluded that the amalgamation process had worked fairly well on the oxide ores but were "unfit" to handle the sulfide ores, and that the mills "appear to have been designed without any regard whatever to the character of the ores to be treated" (Ransome, 1909). Even

CHAPTER 2 – GEOLOGY, MINES, AND MILLS

though two more attempts to process the sulfide ores were made after his visit, it took Ransome just two days to recognize why the Kennedy district had failed several times already.

SMELTERS

Smelting was one of the most critical steps that allowed the Kennedy miners to reap some profit from their hard-earned efforts. Without a mill in the camp, and even at times when a mill was operating, shipping ore or concentrates to a smelter was the only way for the miners and mills to generate some income. The hand-sorted ore and concentrates went by wagon to the railroad depot in Winnemucca and then by railroad to the smelter.

Many of the newspaper articles mentioned that early Kennedy miners shipped ore directly to "Selby's," the Selby Smelting and Lead Company smelter, at Vallejo, California. The district must have been a good customer because William F. Newell, a Selby representative, visited the camp in late 1894. Kennedy miners and mill owners also sent their shipments to a variety of other smelters over the years and decades. The shipments increasingly went to smelters near Salt Lake City, as well as to Portland, Reno, Tacoma, and Hazen, east of Fernley.

James Wardner brought a smelting expert to Kennedy from Denver in 1894, and he planned to build a small smelter in Kennedy to handle the sulfide ores. However, the facility never was built because the mill failed and Wardner disappeared suddenly. The Glasgow & Western Company built a smelter at Golconda in the late 1890s to handle the ores from the company's nearby lead-zinc-rich mines (Gomes, 2007). The smelter owners gave serious thought to processing the ores from at least the Gold Note mine in Kennedy, including possibly extending the narrow-gauge rail line to Kennedy. Those plans fell through because of a combination of the 1900 death of J.A. Blossom, the new Gold Note mine owner, and the closure of the smelter at about the same time.

PRODUCTION

Nobody really knows how much gold, silver, and other metals came out of the mines in the Kennedy district from 1891 through World War II. This was typical for most historical mining districts, and one almost has to assume that arriving at an accurate number is impossible. Kennedy had a lot of small mines, especially in the 1890s, and a single miner could do well for himself if he found a good vein.

Klopstock (1913) estimated that, from Charley Kennedy's first discovery through 1896, the gross value of ore shipped to smelters and outside mills was \$175,000, and that ore worth \$100,000 was milled at the Imperial and Jenkins mills. For the period from 1900 to 1912, he wrote that the Gold Note mine shipped ore worth \$60,000 to smelters, and the production from Kennedy-based "milling and other incidental sources did not exceed \$150,000." His total from 1891 through about 1912 was \$485,000. In 1936, Charley Kennedy estimated that "total production has been valued at approximately \$300,000" (Vanderburg, 1936). Couch and

CHAPTER 2 – GEOLOGY, MINES, AND MILLS

Carpenter (1943) and Johnson (1977) arrived at a combined production of 16,139 tons of ore worth \$312,868 through 1950. Both reports omitted major periods of mining, such as much of the 1890s, so the combined totals are a bare minimum of what actually was produced.

The *Silver State* reported that shipping and smelting costs were about forty percent of the gross value of the ores shipped. Using Klopstock's (1913) estimate of \$275,000 for the gross value of all of the ore produced from 1891 through 1896, the shipping and smelting costs would have been \$110,000 if all of that ore was shipped and smelted, leaving a net income of \$165,000. However, Klopstock differentiated between shipped ore (\$175,000) and locally processed ore (\$100,000). The shipped ore would have had a net value of \$105,000 after the shipping and smelting fees, and the locally processed ore would have "netted" \$100,000, for a total net value of \$205,000. The difference in net income – \$165,000 from shipping all of the ore versus \$205,000 for shipping only some of the ore – was exactly why the miners wanted a successful on-site mill: it provided them with a much greater net income. It also allowed them to process ores that were not rich enough to pay for the shipping and smelting costs, which increased their income even more because they could process more ore. Miners had to pay for the on-site processing at the two mills, but it undoubtedly was much less expensive than the cost of shipping and smelting, and some of the early miners used arrastras for their high-grade ore that, except for the cost of mercury, were free.

Gold and silver were the primary metals of interest in the Kennedy district, but zinc, lead, and copper also were important in the 1900s. The metal prices changed over the years and affected what was and was not economic to mine, ship, and process. Gold remained at \$21 per ounce through 1933 and then averaged about \$34 to \$35 until 1968. The price of silver, however, fluctuated wildly depending on demand and politics, such as during the currency crisis of the 1890s (Glass, 1969; Brands, 1995). Between 1891 and 1918 (when the U.S. entered World War I), the price of silver ranged from \$0.956 to \$0.487 per ounce, with an average of about \$0.65. After a two-year surge above a dollar per ounce during World War I, the price retreated back to its earlier average until the mid 1940s. Zinc and lead prices varied through Kennedy's history and affected what could be shipped and smelted at various times. For a long time, zinc was basically worthless, but lead always had some, albeit low, value. The zinc and lead minerals created metallurgical problems for the Kennedy mills, and the zinc led to the penalties from the smelters, so the miners tried very hard to *not* mine, process, or ship those types of ore. Also, lead-rich ores were heavier, which increased the shipping costs. Only in the first part of the twentieth century did the prices of zinc and lead rise enough to make them valuable enough to mine. These price increases were what made the Henrietta mine profitable in the late 1920s through World War II.

Although tonnages and grades were fixed values, inflation increased the reported dollar value of those ores as time went on, regardless of the prices of the metals. The raw, uncorrected data show that Kennedy may have produced at least \$508,000 in ore over the years, not far above the \$485,000 that Klopstock reported in 1913. Recalculating each major period of production for inflation, the total gross value of the ore produced in the Kennedy district may have been worth nearly \$12 million in today's dollars. Using Klopstock's estimate of \$275,000 in production from 1891 through 1896, about \$6.8 million of that \$12 million total came during the district's first six years. If one adds in the production from the many unreported one- to two-

CHAPTER 2 – GEOLOGY, MINES, AND MILLS

man operation that processed ore in arrastras or shipped it to smelters, as well as unreported production from the mills over the years, then the total production figure rises. How much it rises is unknown.

The combined data show that the Kennedy district was a moderate-sized mining district in terms of production when compared to other historic mining districts in Nevada. Couch and Carpenter (1943) compiled the total production from all of Nevada's mining districts. Even with the caveats of missing years or periods of time, their total of \$202,251 for Kennedy fell somewhere in the middle of their list: a lot of mining districts were smaller, and some were notably larger. Among the most productive districts were the Comstock (\$210 million), Tonopah (\$146 million), and Goldfield (\$86.8 million) districts. The Rochester district in the Humboldt Range west of Kennedy generated \$7.1 million in ore (Couch and Carpenter, 1943; Vikre, 1981). At the other extreme, dozens of mining districts produced less, in some cases much less, than did Kennedy. The question remains, however: how much bigger could Kennedy have been if someone had devised a successful and economic way to process the "rebellious" sulfide ores?

Chapter 3



KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

The Kennedy mining district started with one man in 1891 and continued with varied success and a lot of failure until shortly after World War II. The district boomed in the 1890s: it gained widespread attention, attracted hundreds of people, and led to the creation of a thriving town and economy. And then it collapsed. The ensuing decades saw a few increasingly smaller booms separated by periods of near dormancy, yet each new resurgence brought new life and enthusiasm to the area.

Kennedy rose and fell with the success and failure of the mining and the mills. However, just like with any town, the story of Kennedy also is as much about the people and other events that contributed to the overall community and economy. The following narrative, divided into the four major eras, weaves together that part of the Kennedy history, from the excitement of the first discovery into the boom days of 1894, the sudden collapses, and the various events and people that came and went over the years. Later chapters show how the town functioned economically and describe the people who lived in this remote mining camp for a few months to fifty years.

PART I: DISCOVERY, BOOM, AND COLLAPSE—1891-1899

Charley Kennedy discovered two rich veins in Cinnabar Canyon in June 1891, setting into motion the fifty-year roller-coaster history of the Kennedy mining district. Charley was twenty-eight at the time and had been prospecting down in Esmeralda County, and his stepfather, John Benton, was the superintendent of the Humboldt County hospital in Winnemucca. Benton got the idea that a gold belt ran from the southern Humboldt Range northeast to the Golconda area. He got in touch with Charley, described his idea, and grubstaked him for a year to explore the supposed gold belt.

Kennedy headed south from Winnemucca in early May with two horses and a wagon filled with supplies. After several weeks of exploring, Kennedy headed up into Cinnabar Canyon at the southern end of the East Range, some forty-five miles south of Winnemucca (Fig. 1-2). According to a later article in the *Nevada State Journal*, Kennedy noticed some promising-looking rocks near the creek, and he followed the trail of rocks up the hill to a vein exposed at the surface. Kennedy staked his first claim on the vein on June 28 and called it the Cricket claim (Fig. 2-6). Three days later, he found an even better vein to the west on which he put up the stakes for the Imperial claim. He worked on the claims for a few weeks and then returned to Winnemucca to tell Benton of the discovery, get assays on the samples, and buy more supplies.

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Kennedy returned to his claims, and Benton filed the claim notice in Charley's name with the Humboldt County Recorder on July 20. Benton and Kennedy's brother-in-law Walter Wilkinson immediately made the two-day trip down to Cinnabar Canyon. The three men staked the Mayflower placer claim along a tributary to Cinnabar Creek on July 23, worked on the Cricket claim, and did the final work needed to file a notice for the Imperial claim. (The official staking date of the Imperial was August 15, but prospectors had a "reasonable" amount of time to prove up a claim before filing the notice.) Kennedy and Benton chose a relatively flat site in the middle of the canyon for a mill site and made plans to run a ditch from Cinnabar Creek to the site to provide water (Fig. 2-7); they called them the Cricket mill site and Cricket water ditch. Benton headed back to Winnemucca and filed the Mayflower and Imperial claims with the county on August 31 and the mill-site and water ditch notices on September 3.

News of the new discovery did not exactly spread like wildfire. The *Central Nevadan* in Battle Mountain published the first report about the new mining camp on October 29, a little more than three months after Kennedy staked the Cricket claim and two months after Benton recorded it. The *Silver State* in Winnemucca reprinted a shorter version of the article the next day. The *Central Nevadan* wrote "For a month he [Charley Kennedy] worked quietly along, at odd times making trips to Winnemucca to test his samples." For all intents and purposes, Charley Kennedy had Cinnabar Canyon to himself for a month or more before the Cricket claim became official. Cinnabar Canyon was extremely remote, and very few people lived within a thirty-mile radius of the place. Even by the time of the October 29 article, the paper wrote that "the mines are so far removed from the railroad that but meager information has been obtained."

Nevertheless, twenty-one men besides Kennedy, Benton, and Wilkinson arrived and staked claims in Cinnabar Canyon between the beginning of August and the appearance of the late-October articles. None of those prospectors were from Winnemucca, where Benton filed the initial claim notices, so Kennedy, Benton, and Wilkinson were quiet about the discovery. The new prospectors included seven ranchers from the immediate area, seven miners from the Bernice district and Alpine area to the south, one man from Galena near Battle Mountain, two miners from the Cottonwood mining area in the 40, Range just to the south, and four men who were working somewhere in the surrounding area (Fig. 3-1). The new arrivals staked seven claims in August, ten in September, and four in October before the articles appeared in print (Fig. 2-3B).

The ranchers reportedly were the first to hear of the discovery, not surprising because three ranches were in the valley immediately below the canyon (Fig. 3-1), and the manager of one of them, Joe Miller, already had a rudimentary corral in Cinnabar Canyon. The Bernice miners hauled their ore to the railroad at Lovelock, taking a route over McKinney Pass that passed just south of Miller's ranch. Miller had hauled supplies to Bernice in the 1880s, so he already knew some of the miners. The two Cottonwood miners were nearby, and one of them also owned grazing land near Bernice and undoubtedly knew both the Bernice miners and some of the ranchers. The man in Galena was a friend of one of the ranchers. The locations of the remaining men are unknown, but they clearly were in the area to hear about the discovery so quickly.

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

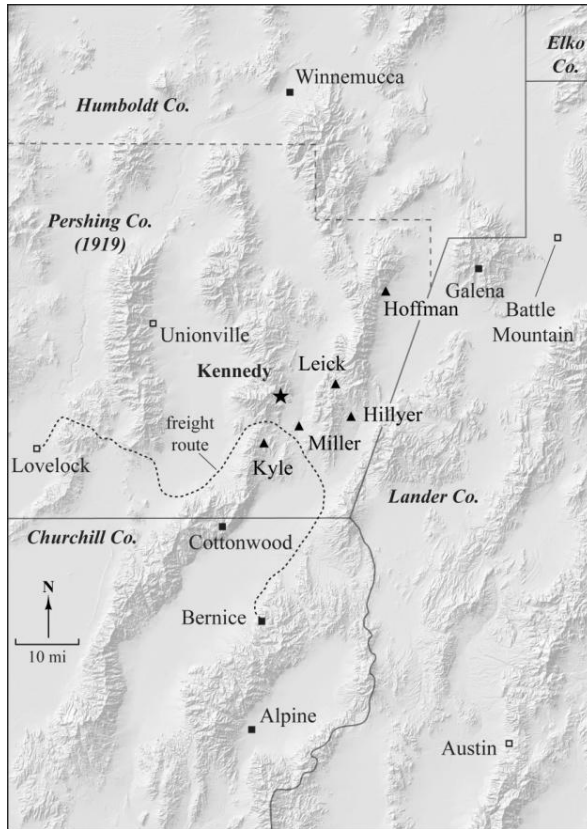


Figure 3-1. Locations of the first prospectors who went to Kennedy in the summer and early fall of 1891, including Charley Kennedy, John Benton, and Walter Wilkinson from Winnemucca. Triangles: ranches, with ranch-owner names; solid squares: other locations of the early prospectors; open squares: other locations used for reference. Dashed line is the freight route used by miners at the Bernice district to haul ore to the railroad in Lovelock. The Cottonwood mining area is now called the Table Mountain district. Base map from the Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology.

Most of the new claims were along the two major veins that Charley Kennedy had discovered (Fig. 2-2). Bent Larson staked his Accident claim on August 4, the first to be staked by someone other than Kennedy, Benton, and Wilkinson. The claim abutted the south end of the Cricket claim and was along the same vein, so Larson just took advantage of what Kennedy already had found. Joe Miller's Last Hope claim similarly was near the southwest continuation of the still-unofficial Imperial claim. The Imperial vein system extended for more than a mile to the north-northwest (Fig. 2-2). Seven of the next eight claims were staked along or next to the Imperial vein within two weeks after Kennedy filed the Imperial claim notice, and the eighth – the Wall Street claim – was near the northwest corner of the Cricket claim. As more men arrived, they looked a little farther afield and found and staked several new veins west of the Imperial claim and in Water Canyon just to the north (Fig. 2-6).

The prospectors had one not-so-small problem: every time that they staked a claim, they had to make a two-day trip to Winnemucca, the county seat, to file the claim notice, and then take two days to get back to their claim. They could use the trip to get supplies, but the trip cost them four days of mining and prospecting. The men decided to establish an official mining district in early September that allowed them to record their claims on site in district books, which later would be transferred into the county record books (Chapter 2). Charley Kennedy either volunteered or was elected to be the district recorder, and they named the new camp the Kennedy district after its discoverer.

The late-October articles about the new Kennedy district triggered a modest influx of new miners, and the first claim by someone other than the first group was staked on November

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

8. A second, longer article appeared in the *Central Nevadan* on November 19, and the *Silver State* reprinted much of it the next day, as before. Ten of the fifteen new arrivals came from the greater Battle Mountain area. The new miners also included George Lamberson, a long-time rancher and miner from the area, and another man from Alpine. One person was from Winnemucca, but nobody from Lovelock went to Kennedy at this early stage. That was a bit surprising because the Bernice men hauling ore to the railroad easily could have mentioned it to a few people at the depot or a saloon.

This is not to say that people in Winnemucca were not interested. Enough people were at least going there that George Summerfield started a once-a-week stage service to Kennedy in early December, but the travelers were just not staking any claims. Battle Mountain started a similar private stage route to Kennedy in December to augment all of the men taking their own horses and wagons to the new camp. The Battle Mountain and especially the Winnemucca newspapers began to lobby for their respective town being the primary center for shipping and mail service. The route from Winnemucca passed through the level floors of Grass and then Pleasant Valley, both of which had good watering stops for the horses, whereas the water-scarce route from Battle Mountain had to go over a pass in the Tobin Range (Fig. 1-2). The *Silver State* called the Battle Mountain route "too absurd for serious consideration," and it gleefully reported in early 1892 that the stage from that town "has not arrived there for three weeks on account of the deep snow on the road." This battle went on for some time until Winnemucca eventually became the main hub for mail and commerce, but Battle Mountain and later Lovelock remained important parts of the mix.

The new people and the "old timers" of the camp staked twenty-three new claims in November and December (Fig. 2-3B). As in the first few months, acquaintances tended to stake claims together. The Huntsman family and J.A. Blossom, all prominent business owners in Battle Mountain, spent time in the district but also hired men from that town to do much of the claim staking and labor; those men became co-owners of the claims. Two local Paiutes, Captain Lazarus and No Savy Jim, staked claims in late 1891 and early 1892 but did not have the resources to develop them properly. No Savy Jim ultimately leased his claim to Denton Huntsman, and they were able to turn it into a viable property.

The October 29 issue of the *Central Nevadan* carried the first details about the tenor of the ore and the mining. Charley Kennedy had dug a tunnel sixty feet long at presumably the Cricket claim, and the ore was worth eighteen to two hundred dollars per ton. The ore from Mark Wiggins' and Ed Stone's Kearsarge mine assayed about a hundred and fifty dollars per ton in gold. One sample from Sam Heintzelman's Sam & Bloss mine contained as much as a thousand dollars per ton of coarse gold (with gold at twenty dollars an ounce, this was equivalent to fifty ounces of gold per ton), but most of his other samples ranged from twenty to three hundred dollars a ton; silver also was present in the ore in varying amounts. Heintzelman also mentioned that Wiggins and Stone were using an arrastra and were netting forty dollars a day. Charley Kennedy by that time had stockpiled eighty tons of ore in anticipation of a mill being built the next spring. At the end of December, the *Central Nevadan* wrote that the ore that Kennedy had mined was worth five thousand dollars, not bad for six months of work.

Thirty-nine people had staked sixty-two lode claims in the new Kennedy mining district by the end of 1891 (Fig. 2-3B). The prospectors also had staked five placer mine claims, three

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

mill-site claims, and six water or ditch claims. The lode claims focused on three north-northwest-trending vein systems, largely on the slopes north of Cinnabar Creek (Fig. 2-2). Many of the claims were concentrated along or near the Imperial vein, with the end-to-end Chipmunk, Imperial, Kearsarge, and Wiggins claims following the vein to the northwest and into Water Canyon, the drainage north of Cinnabar Creek. Several veins were close to and paralleled the Imperial vein, and several claims had been staked along those as well, creating a closely spaced cluster (Fig. 2-6). The north-northwest-trending Cricket vein to the east extended north into Water Canyon, and the area west of the Imperial vein attracted attention, leading to the Crown Point and other good claims.

The arrival of new prospectors coincided with the onset of winter, and the people who had claims had to decide if they wanted to stay and continue to work, or leave and return in the spring. In Winnemucca, the closest official weather station, the average daily high in November 1891 was a balmy 55 degrees, but it plunged to 35 degrees in December; average lows were 27 and 18 degrees, respectively (U.S. Weather Bureau, 1932). November saw a paltry 0.14 inches of precipitation, but December was much wetter (and more likely snowier given the temperatures) with 1.74 inches of moisture. Kennedy was nearly a thousand feet higher than Winnemucca, so the temperatures would have been lower and the precipitation came in the white, flaky form.

The *Silver State* reported in late November that fifteen people were planning to spend the winter there, and an early January 1892 article noted that twenty miners were in Kennedy. The *Central Nevadan* wrote in November that Sam Heintzelman departed with enough supplies to carry him through the winter, and in early December that "every man in the camp is busy building Winter quarters, some with lumber and others are shaping dug-outs and covering the tops with cedar trees and dirt." Charley Kennedy early on had built a small house just north of the creek (Fig. 2-7B). Of the thirty-nine people who staked claims by the end of December, it appears that about half of them stayed. Seven men, as noted earlier, were local ranchers, and they probably just split time between Kennedy and their ranches. A few people, such as the Huntsmans and J.A. Blossom, had homes and large businesses in Battle Mountain to oversee. Overall, maybe eight or nine of the thirty-nine claim stakers left for the winter, or they remained but were not mentioned.

In December, Ed Stone and Mark Wiggins, owners of the contiguous Kearsarge and Wiggins claims, entered into a contract with Michael Murphy and Fred Barron, both of Battle Mountain. Murphy and Barron were to excavate a hundred-foot tunnel at the Kearsarge mine and sink a fifty-foot shaft at the Wiggins mine by May 1, 1892. If the work was completed on time, then Murphy and Barron would become owners of one-third of each claim and the ore extracted during the excavations. This was the first instance of someone becoming a claim owner without actually staking the claim, and it also was the first contract in the district to be recorded with the county. Stone and Wiggins clearly recognized the value of the veins on their claims and realized that they needed help to fully develop them. They did not have the money to pay for wages, so the only other option was to promise the two men a share of the claim. This practice became much more common as the district progressed, with claims taking on the role of money as a form of currency.

GROWTH OF THE CAMP – 1892 AND 1893

Kennedy settled into the routine of a small mining district over the next year and a half. The small population grew to about seventy by the end of 1892 and a hundred a year later, and many of the new arrivals were from Humboldt and adjacent counties. In January 1892, the U.S. Post Office Department approved having a post office in Kennedy, and it opened in June with Charley Kennedy as the postmaster. Residents commented that the regular mail service was a "great addition to the welfare of the camp." The County Commissioners then created the Kennedy township and coincident voting precinct in May, which included a large part of southeastern Humboldt County (see Fig. 4-15), and they appointed John Benton to be the justice of the peace and then the voter registration agent in anticipation of the November election. Will Guthrie, the county assessor, made his official rounds in the spring and visited Kennedy in late April. In a report to the *Silver State*, he noted that Charles Huntsman of Battle Mountain had just opened a saloon, the first business in the new mining camp and something that Guthrie called a "necessary evil." Huntsman had married Julie Oma a few weeks before, and they started their married life in Kennedy.

The existing mines continued to produce rich ore, the continuing and new miners staked thirty-seven new lode, placer, and water claims in 1892 (Fig. 2-3B), and the miners discovered more good veins. The locus of new claims continued to be in the central and western parts of the district. Some of them were along the first veins to be discovered, and Water Canyon became the site of a few important new vein discoveries, some of them along extensions of the first veins but also along veins that were present only in that area (Figs. 2-2, 2-6). The broader area around the Crown Point mine to the west also turned out to have several excellent veins, which created a new locus of claim staking and mining. Thomas Lawlor, Harry Doubleday, and John McGuire, along with their soon-to-be colleagues Al Feige, Patrick Donnelly, and John Schmith, became known as the Irish boys. They began to prospect along the steep slopes south of Cinnabar Creek, an area that had remained untouched to that point. They found several good veins, and their claims collectively became known as the Gold Note mine, which was the most productive and longest-lived mine in the history of the district (Figs. 2-2, 2-5, 2-6).

Guthrie's April letter to the *Silver State* added that at least eleven mines had tunnels, adits, and inclines of various lengths and depths, the longest of which was Charley Kennedy's 150-foot tunnel along the Cricket vein. Other workings ranged from ten to ninety feet in length, all dug by hand and excavated by one or two men. The reported ore grades were impressive, with combined gold and silver assays ranging from twenty to three hundred dollars per ton. Mark Wiggins provided an update to the *Austin Advocate* in early September. Some mines had grown larger since Guthrie's report, but other claims, although reportedly "promising" or having "very rich ore," were only minimally developed, if at all. Wiggins' letter also noted that several of the mines were stockpiling "good milling ore" at the dumps, and he closed by saying that the camp needed a mill to reduce the ore, "but we are all too poor to build one."

In lieu of a mill, Kennedy and Benton were processing some of their ore with a large arrastra and had about two hundred and fifty to three hundred tons of ore on the dump for future milling. The arrastra worked well at first, but by October it was recovering only half of the gold and silver that the assays indicated were in the ore; this generated income, but it also

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

emphasized the need for a mill. In the meantime, the two men began shipping ore to a mill in Carlin in Elko County and later to a mill in Portland, Oregon. Shipping was expensive, and they undoubtedly hand-sorted the ore at the dump to create a very high-grade shipment to ensure the greatest possible net income.

The first sale of a claim took place in January 1892, a transaction that would become common in the ensuing few years. Jim Lindsay sold all of the North Star claim, which he had staked the previous September, to William Wilkinson (unrelated to Walter) for five hundred dollars, and Wilkinson spent the same amount for another claim later in the year. Where Wilkinson got a thousand dollars (about \$25,000 in present-day dollars) for the two claims is unknown, but he had it and was willing to invest it in the claims. In another first, Kennedy, Benton, and Walter Wilkinson entered into a lease-to-buy agreement – the first such agreement in the district – with Melvin Sholl of Ogden, Utah, to purchase the Imperial mine, the Cricket ditch and water right, and the Cricket mill site for \$37,000. Sholl represented Ogden, Utah, mining investors, but they chose to focus on mines northeast of Ogden instead of Kennedy. However, it was the first hint that the Kennedy mines could attract outside investors.

Kennedy held its first-ever election in November. The national and state debates over whether to use gold or a gold-silver currency standard resonated in the remote mining camp, and almost everyone in Kennedy was in favor of the bimetallic (gold-silver) standard because the district produced both metals. Many of the seventeen eventual voters signed a petition saying that they would only vote for candidates that supported that position, and the results from the Kennedy precinct showed that they stuck to their vows. What with the district books, a justice of the peace, weekly mail service, and now an election, Kennedy was turning into an authentic town.

The next year would prove to be pivotal for the small district. The miners expanded their mines and produced ever-increasing amounts of ore. Some of it was rich enough to ship and generate income, but the miners stockpiled the majority of the medium-grade ore in hopes that someone would build a mill. An April 1893 letter to the *Silver State* noted that fifteen to eighteen claims were in various stages of development, although a lack of money limited the amount of work that could be done on some of them. Prospectors had staked more than a hundred claims by this time (Fig. 2-3), so most of the claims had not been developed because of lack of money or enough higher-grade ore. Almost all of the mines still were in the oxide zone of the veins, but a few mines began to encounter the sulfide ores at depth (Chapter 2). This change in the nature of the ore would become an increasingly problematic metallurgical hurdle.

All of the miners in Kennedy were hoping that someone would build a mill in the camp. That person finally arrived in June in the form of William Jenkins, a major sheep rancher in the Battle Mountain area (Marvel, 2009; Bennett, 2014). The financial depression of the early 1890s hit the sheep business hard, so Jenkins decided to diversify. Jenkins visited the camp in early June, staked a few claims, and quickly saw the need for a mill. The *Silver State* reported in late June that he intended to build a small mill "providing he receives the proper encouragement from the mine owners there." That the Kennedy miners would provide encouragement was a huge understatement. Jenkins returned in August and selected a site near the east end of the canyon (Figs. 2-2, 4-2). The initial shipment of equipment for Jenkins' mill arrived in the camp by the middle of September, workers began grading and excavating the site, and construction

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

was well underway by November. The mill, when completed, would be able to crush twenty tons of ore a day.

Claim staking in Kennedy had tapered off after the middle of 1892, with months passing without a new claim being recorded (Fig. 2-3B). However, Jenkins' June announcement that he would build the mill sparked a flurry of claim staking, resulting in forty-four new claims from the day of his announcement through the end of September. A few new people arrived to stake claims, but men who already had claims in the camp staked most of the new ones. The good properties would get better with a mill, the stockpiled ore could be processed without shipping, and marginal claims and mines could finally become economic. In addition, the mill would attract new people who could buy or lease those mines and claims: the mill, by eliminating most of the shipping costs, increased the value of the ore – and thus the claims – in all of the district's mines. This proved to be true as the months progressed, and news of the mill sparked a flurry of activity as men bought into existing claims: parts or all of twenty-two claims were sold from July through December. J.A. Blossom bought the Chipmunk mine from Joe Miller in October for the astonishing price of \$15,000, and he also entered into a contract with Susan Miller, Joe Miller's sister-in-law and the owner of the Miller ranch in the valley below, for use of some of her water rights along Cinnabar Creek. Five partial shares of claims commanded a thousand dollars each, and partial ownership of others went for a hundred to five hundred dollars each. A few men took the opportunity to completely sell their claims and leave the camp with money in their pockets. Jim Casey, for instance, sold his half of a good mine and headed for Monterey, California, with a thousand-dollar profit.

THE BOOM AND BUST OF 1894

Nobody living in Kennedy at the end of 1893 could imagine what would happen in 1894. Hope, maybe, but nothing like what actually took place. The initial growth of the Kennedy district that started with the construction of Jenkins' mill in late 1893 surged in 1894. The population soared from a hundred to more than five hundred people, a second and larger mill was built, two hundred and fifty-eight new lode, placer, and water claims were staked, and state-level candidates for office put this important mining camp on their campaign itineraries. Kennedy became a formalized town, complete with platted lots and formal street names, and businesses of all types lined the two main streets through town. The new school house opened in late January with a "grand ball" to celebrate the event. But the bubble burst at the end of the year, leaving the town and mining camp teetering on the brink of a collapse from which it never fully recovered.

The Jenkins mill fired up its machinery on January 26, the same day that the new school house opened its doors. The Jenkins mill was simple because Jenkins did not have the money to build anything more elaborate, and Jenkins initially processed oxide ores. Even by the start of 1894, Jenkins knew that he would have to contend with the sulfide ores and wanted to build a roaster, but the same lack of money prevented its construction. The heart of the system was a Huntington mill and a set of amalgamation plates (steps 6A and 7, Fig. 2-15). The resulting impure ingots of gold and silver would be shipped to a smelter for final refining (step 11).

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Jenkins shut down the mill temporarily in early March to tweak the machinery and then restarted it later in the month. The mill increased its capacity and reportedly was "running like a charm." The *Silver State* wrote on May 1 that the mill still was not working as well as had been hoped because a lot of the gold was passing through the mill and ending up on the waste tailings. The mill worked well enough, though, to produce a \$4,000 bar of bullion from fifty tons of ore from the Gold Note mine in early May, equivalent to about \$100,000 today.

The mill shut down for an extended period of time sometime after the Gold Note bullion bar was poured. A correspondent to the *Nevada State Journal* wrote in the middle of June that "the present mill failed to work the ore successfully and this has been quite a draw back to the camp." The Winnemucca and Battle Mountain newspapers, which tried their best to avoid reporting bad news, did not mention the closure. More telling were the reports that the owners of the Gold Note and other mines began to ship their ore to the Selby smelter in Vallejo, California. Some of the ore assayed a spectacular two thousand dollars per ton. This being good news, the *Central Nevadan* wrote that the mine owners had large amounts of similar ore ready to be mined and that they would continue to ship it to the smelter "until they can get their ore reduced at home." Many of the mine owners could not even afford to ship their ore, and the correspondent added that "consequently money is scarce and progress slow."

Despite the periodic problems with the mill, the Gold Note bullion bar and other production convinced everyone that a properly tweaked Jenkins mill would solve many of the on-site processing obstacles. Just having a mill in the camp was a major battle won. Another June article said that Kennedy had "three hundred people there now and more coming in every day." The population of the camp rose, and miners continued to haul ore out of their mines. The *Nevada State Journal* wrote in early March that "about 100 miners are at work," and business owners began to visit the district with thoughts of opening stores. New people and continuing claim owners staked fifty-three new claims and sold fractions of sixteen claims in the first four months of the year (Figure 2-3B). Jenkins bought into five claims, which ensured continued mining and, of course, ore for his mill. The editor of the *Central Nevadan* reported in May that three pieces of ore from the Gold Note mine were "nearly all pure gold and you can take a knife and cut off gold from any part of the rock." News items like that undoubtedly fed the frenzy about the Kennedy district.

A man by the name of James Wardner visited Kennedy for the first time in early May (Fig. 3-2). Wardner had made a fortune in mining in northern Idaho and land development in western Washington, and he had just returned from consulting for mining companies in South Africa (Wardner, 1900). Wardner somehow learned of the Kennedy district and went to Winnemucca, where he met up with George Nixon, the head of the First National Bank of Winnemucca. Nixon took Wardner to Kennedy to see if this burgeoning mining camp was a candidate for investment. Wardner immediately liked what he saw, went back to Winnemucca to deposit eight thousand dollars in Nixon's bank, and returned to Kennedy the next day with William Jenkins, the other mill owner. Just two days later, he spent two thousand dollars on two good mines. The *Silver State* reported on May 15 that Wardner had taken out a ten-day option on the Imperial mine, the Cricket mill site, and the Cricket water rights, owned by Kennedy, Benton, and Wilkinson. He used the option period to examine the mine, test the ores

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME



Figure 3-2. James Wardner, who induced the boom in 1894. The photograph originally appeared in his self-published autobiography (Wardner, 1900), and was reproduced by and used with the permission of the *Skagit River Journal*, Sedro-Woolley, WA.

to determine what milling methods were most appropriate, and then make the final decision about the purchase.

Everything met with Wardner's approval, and he arranged to buy all of the properties around May 17. The actual deed went into effect on September 17, but work began almost immediately. The total price was \$40,000, and Wardner was to pay \$10,000 in four regular installments: one on September 17 and then one each in March, June, and September of 1895. The contract further stipulated that if Wardner failed to pay any of the installments, then the properties, including any improvements like the mill, would revert back to Kennedy, Benton, and Wilkinson. In the ensuing days, Wardner, George Nixon, and County Treasurer L.F. Dunn staked four lode claims – or, more likely, hired someone to stake them for them – and, as importantly, four water claims to provide water for the mill. Wardner also rented some of Susan Miller's water in Cinnabar Creek for twenty-five dollars a year for twenty years; this was in addition to what Blossom had leased earlier.

Thus, within just three weeks, Wardner had invested at least two thousand dollars of his own money in the district, committed to pay an additional \$40,000, staked a number of claims, acquired water, and committed to have a functional, twenty-stamp mill running in the district in the near future. Wardner immediately left for San Francisco to look for milling equipment and talk to milling experts. He was back in Winnemucca within a week, accompanied by an unnamed mill specialist from San Francisco. The two of them and Alex Wise, who owned a major freight and livery service in Winnemucca, went to the Dun Glen district at the north end of the East Range on May 31. Wise had purchased the idle, twenty-stamp Auburn mill at Dun Glen at a tax sale, and the men decided that it could be moved to Kennedy. As payment, Wise took promissory notes from the mining company that would be paid back when the mill produced and sold bullion. On the same day, Wardner, Nixon, and M.S. Bonnifield, a prominent Winnemucca lawyer, incorporated the Imperial Gold Mining Company and transferred all of the land and lode and water claims into the company's name. Wardner was the president and main owner, Nixon was the secretary, and Bonnifield was the legal counsel. A 1904 article in the *Reno Evening Gazette* noted that Nixon "had invested his all in association with Wardner."

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Wardner hired several specialists to run various parts of the mill, including three millwrights, an assayer, and a chlorination specialist, and they devised what they felt would be the best milling method. The crushed ore would pass through the stamp mill into which mercury would be added for the first amalgamation step (steps 5 and 6B, Fig. 2-15). The slurry mixture then would flow over the amalgamation tables (step 7) and then the Frue concentrating tables (step 8). The final step separation step was to leach the concentrates in tanks of cyanide or chlorine (step 10). A wood-fired engine would provide all of the power, and Wardner hired several men to cut juniper trees in the surrounding hills and ranges for fuel. Wardner, however, may have only used some of these techniques: newspaper articles over the next six months mentioned the first few steps but never the cyanide or chlorine leaching. As described later, Wardner was enamored of chlorination and had hired a specialist in the method, so he probably at least tried the technique.

Workers immediately began grading the mill site in Kennedy, and Wise spent most of June dismantling and hauling the mill machinery to Kennedy with his freight teams. Wardner went to the Pittsburg mining district, in the Shoshone Range southeast of Battle Mountain, in July to purchase and move six Frue concentrating tables and various other milling equipment to Kennedy. The mill gradually began to take shape over the summer, but the slow arrival of the belts to run the equipment further delayed startup until the middle of August. The first payday for Wardner's workers was on July 10; the mill was not yet operating and generating money, so the wages probably came from Wardner or Nixon. The payday must have been a major boost for both morale and the local economy, and the saloons in town probably did a booming business that night.

While waiting for the mill to be completed, Wardner hired miners to expand the underground workings at the Imperial mine. The miners hit an eight-foot-wide section of the Imperial vein in the middle of August that the *Silver State* called a bonanza. The central, quartz-rich part of the vein was about a foot wide and contained about five ounces of gold and fifteen ounces of silver per ton. The remaining seven feet of the vein width were composed largely of the lead sulfide mineral galena. When the miners hand-concentrated the raw ore by removing the non-economic minerals, the entire vein width was worth \$307 per ton: \$45 for lead, \$100 for silver, and \$162 for gold. Wardner immediately hired additional miners to work multiple shifts to extend a lower tunnel to intersect the vein at a greater depth.

The Imperial mill, as it was now known, finally began test operations in the afternoon of August 27. It ran for an hour, was shut down for a day to make some changes to the engine and belts, and then restarted in the evening of the 28th, using only ten of the twenty stamps due to the lack of water to run all of the stamps. Even with only half its capacity in use, the mill apparently worked "like a charm" after the modifications. To solve the water problem, Wardner hired twenty-five men to dig a ditch between Cinnabar Creek and the mill, and the mill was running on all twenty stamps by September 11.

The mill stopped in mid September, not because it had problems but rather to clean the gold and silver off the amalgamation plates. The milling process was capturing about seventy percent of the gold and silver that the pre-milling assays showed were in the ore, and the gold and silver scraped from the plates were melted into a bullion bar that was worth about two thousand dollars. The mill processed between sixty and seventy tons of ore every twenty-four

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

hours in September, increasing to as many as ninety tons in October. According to the *Nevada State Journal*, the average cost of mining a foot of underground vein in Kennedy was between two and three dollars, which the paper said was about a quarter of the cost at other mining camps and thus increased the net profit on the ore even more. The *Silver State* wrote in early October that "the future of Kennedy has been solved by the successful working of the ores by the Imperial mill." The mill continued to process ore, but the only mention of its operation was at the end of November when the paper noted that "twenty stamps have been dropping at the Imperial mill."

Newspapers throughout northern Nevada published reports of the new mill being built by a wealthy and successful mining person. With the dismal economy and high unemployment in the region, this rare good news immediately sparked rapid growth in the camp. The *Silver State* reported in early June that "there are now over 200 men at Kennedy and they are flocking in from all directions. Speculation in real estate and mining claims is at a fever heat." The *Nevada State Journal* quoted a Kennedy visitor a few days later who said that "there are over 400 men in the camp and more arriving daily." From May 16, when Wardner signed the contract, through the end of July, prospectors staked a hundred and nineteen new claims (Figure 2-3B), and parts of fifty-one other claims were bought and sold, with prices ranging from five to a thousand dollars. Alex Wise started a thrice-weekly stage line between Winnemucca and Kennedy, and the Winnemucca livery stables kept busy renting out horses and wagons for all of the people who wanted to head to Kennedy.

The ragtag collection of houses, shacks, tents, and early business began to morph into a better-planned town. Several men, including Kennedy, Benton, Nixon, Bonnifield, and merchant Ed Reinhart, decided to develop a formal townsite, complete with streets, blocks, and lots (Chapter 4). Most of the existing structures already were in a relatively flat, elongate area in the central part of the valley, and the two mills were on the north and east ends. Cinnabar Creek ran lengthwise through the middle of it all. They had the townsite surveyed and platted in late May, formed the Kennedy Land and Improvement Company, and began to sell lots for various prices. The platted townsite, for the most part, formalized the existing layout of roads and buildings (see Fig. 4-2). Most of the buildings were along what people had called Main Street on the south side of the creek, and the street became known as Cinnabar Avenue. Imperial Avenue followed the main route into the canyon and passed along the bench north of the creek and in front of the Imperial mill. As the year progressed, most of the new construction was along Cinnabar Avenue, although several important businesses set up shop near the Imperial mill.

Freight teams began hauling loads of lumber to the camp for houses, stores, and boarding houses. Construction was so intense in the middle of August that the supply could not keep up with the demand. Carpenters built dozens of wood-framed houses and business buildings in the last half of 1894, and one visitor estimated that there were a hundred wood-framed buildings and as many or more tents. Frank Francis moved the *Nevada New Era* newspaper from Lovelock to Kennedy in June and began to publish a twice-weekly paper that reported the events and news of the camp, no matter how important or trivial.

Lovelock, Battle Mountain, and Winnemucca continued to vie for trade with the new mining camp. Two companies provided stage and mail service three times a week from Winnemucca, a stage line and freight services from Lovelock began in late June, and freight and

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

mail also came in from Battle Mountain. In late July, the *Central Nevadan* reported that the Nevada Central Railroad, which ran from Battle Mountain to Austin, was thinking about adding a spur line to Kennedy. Although the line ultimately was not built, the fact that it was given serious consideration reflected the overall optimism about Kennedy. The only thing that the town needed was a telegraph line, but nobody had the money to build one to such a remote location.

Many men went to Kennedy in the hopes of finding a job as the Panic of 1893 continued to affect the economy (Glass, 1969). The newspapers reported in June that there were more men in Kennedy than there were jobs, and that "for each job there are more than five applicants." Even as late as October, the newspapers again mentioned the surplus of unemployed men and that positions were scarce because the two mills and the mines had already hired all the men that they needed. Some of the unemployed men found temporary work, such as digging Wardner's ditch or mucking ore out of a mine if the mine owner could afford to hire someone. The rest of the men had few options. Some staked worthless claims in the district's periphery (Fig. 2-6), but a claim was not the same as a job. With no job, staying at a boarding house or eating at a restaurant were out of the question. Fights among the un- and underemployed were not uncommon; they apparently never led to anything more serious, but the town did petition the county to have a jail built in Kennedy.

The Jenkins mill had closed because the amalgamation plates lost a lot of the gold, silver, and amalgam to the waste piles. Jenkins' mill manager installed concentrating tables to process the slurry that washed off the amalgamation plates (step 8, Fig. 2-15). This method apparently worked well enough for the mill to reopen by early October and begin processing ore from various mines. The mill ran for at least a month, but hints in the newspapers suggested that it was closed for good by the end of the year.

Even with a fully operational Imperial mill and then the Jenkins mill, a lot of miners continued to ship their ore. The main reason was that more mines had reached the sulfide zone of the veins, and neither mill could get the gold and silver out of the "rebellious" sulfides, despite Wardner's conviction that his mill could do exactly that. Kennedy needed an on-site roaster or smelter, but nobody had the money to build one. The only recourse for the mills was to ship the sulfide concentrates that came off the concentrating tables. Also, the combined capacity of the two mills, when they both were working, was not enough to handle all of the ores – oxide or sulfide – being mined in the district. The growth of the camp was both a blessing and a curse: more people and more mining helped the local economy, but the increased amount of ore that they produced was far more than what the two mills could process.

The limited mill capacity and function, however, did nothing to curb the growth of and excitement about the district. As far as the miners were concerned, the district had two mills and many good veins, and that was all the encouragement that they needed. Miners staked sixty-nine new claims from August through November (although the numbers declined with time; Fig. 2-3B), and they bought and sold parts or all of twenty-seven others. Stores continued to open, and Ed Williams held a ball to celebrate the September grand opening of his combined saloon, boarding house, and meeting hall. Through the fall, all of the newspapers published reports from visitors to Kennedy who extolled the growth, vitality, and potential of the camp. Various mining experts visited the district, and they all were favorably impressed. One

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

newspaper correspondent, however, did mention that "Kennedy needs capital," a fairly clear indication that more on-site ore-processing facilities, including a roaster, were needed to make the district really prosper and succeed.

Beneath all of the growth and activity lay the unspoken truth that the Imperial mill – which was the major underpinning of the whole boom – really was not working all that well. Charles A. Norcross was the bookkeeper and the on-site operations manager in the fall. In testimony given for a lawsuit in 1896, he provided a grim and previously unreported story of the last month or two of the Imperial Mining Company's operations in Kennedy. Despite the initial success of the mill, the company was deeply in debt by early November. Just two months after the mill began operation, the company owed about \$75,000 to the mine and mill workers and other creditors. The mill was producing concentrates from the ore, but many of them were worth only fourteen dollars per ton. That did not cover the shipping, smelting, and mining costs, so the concentrates began to pile up at the mill site while, at the same time, the miners and mill workers produced more ore and concentrates.

Norcross testified that Wardner went back East in November to "raise money to relieve the pressing obligations of the company and to sell the property ... Everything would have been all right if Wardner had found a customer for the property." News reached Kennedy in mid November that Wardner had organized a syndicate from Philadelphia to operate mines in Kennedy and that they would be visiting the camp in late November. The *Silver State*, which made a point of reporting arrivals to and from Kennedy, never described the arrival of Wardner or any syndicate-related people. It did, however, mention that "expert mining men" were in Kennedy inspecting the mines in the middle of December, although no connection was made to Wardner, and other mining men visited in early 1895.

Wardner must have known by early October, just a month or so after the mill started, that the mill was not generating the income that he had envisioned. Despite his earlier optimistic statements, the sulfide ores were beyond the mill's processing capabilities. In hindsight, this was not a surprise to anyone who understood mills and metallurgy. Allen Bragg, the *Silver State* editor, later wrote that Wardner "milled 5,000 tons of ore, but the ore was refractory and he was unable to save the values" (Bragg, 1905). U.S. Geological Survey geologist Frederick Ransome visited the district in 1908 and concluded that "[the Imperial] and the various smaller mills ... appear to have been designed without any regard whatever to the character of the ores to be treated," a fact that Paul Klopstock confirmed later (Ransome, 1909; Klopstock, 1913). Similarly, Reid and Hunter (1912) wrote that "Soon after the erection of mills adapted to work free milling ores, it was found that a serious error had been made."

Hindsight is wonderful, but the mill failure must have been a major shock to Wardner, who suddenly was faced with an inadequate mill, no income generation, and a lot of debt. With little or no money coming in, the company could not pay its employees or other debts. Norcross was the only company manager in Kennedy, but he said that his hands were tied without item-by-item authorization from Wardner, Nixon, and Bonnifield, the company directors. Plus, with no money, those three men had little to authorize. Norcross said that the company owed Alex Wise "about \$12,000" for the Auburn mill and for hauling ore from the mines to the mill and merchandise from Winnemucca. The promissory notes that Wardner had used to pay Wise for the mill were worthless with a mill that did not generate money. Lacking cash, Bonnifield and

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Nixon told Norcross to give Wise about four hundred tons of concentrates, worth about \$7,000, as a partial payment for Wise's freighting services. The mill had produced a few bullion bars from gold and silver scraped off the amalgamation plates in early November. The bars would be shipped to a smelter, and the miners and mill workers were told that they would be paid after the shipping and smelting charges were deducted. The net value of the bars was less than what the miners were owed, so that meant that they would not get their full wages. Norcross testified that the company was fully aware that there was "danger of liens and attachments being placed upon the property of the company." He even had to hire someone to stand guard over Wise's concentrates to keep the miners from taking and selling them. Both Norcross in his testimony and John Benton in a February 1896 letter said that the mill ceased operations on or about November 30, thus bringing an abrupt halt to the company's activities and any hope of further revenues.

Benton, Kennedy, Wilkinson, and Wardner amended the mill purchase agreement to allow each of the last three payments to be made eight months later: the September 1894 payment, for instance, would not be due until May 1895. Wardner clearly realized that he needed more time, and he was able to convince the three original owners to allow him some leeway. They went along with the request because they wanted the mill to succeed: the alternative was to regain ownership of a mill that did not work very well and pay the taxes and other costs that went along with it. Even so, Wardner failed to make the payment, and he also did not even pay the \$79.55 in property taxes on the mill that was due to the county in early December 1894. Benton, Kennedy, and Wilkinson finally sued and had no trouble gaining ownership of the mill. It was not cash, but they did a lot better all of the other people to whom Wardner and the company owed money.

Wardner never returned to Kennedy. He was seen inspecting gold mines in the rich Leadville, Colorado, district in early January 1895, and he was in San Francisco the following November trying to sell investors on his new chlorination process. It appears that his plan was to test and market the process to major mining districts in the Mother Lode area of the Sierra Nevada, Arizona, and even South Africa. By all indications, Wardner still had aspirations of new money-making schemes and had put the disaster of Kennedy behind him. The only mention of Kennedy in his autobiography was a sentence saying that he built the mill, "operated it successfully, [and] disposed of my interest" (Wardner, 1900). His only tangible properties were two good claims, which he sold from afar in early July for five hundred dollars.

None of the newspapers actually reported that Wardner had suddenly abandoned his interests at Kennedy: this was bad economic news that was better left unreported. Wardner had a history of getting into an area at the ground level, building up the investment to its peak, and then selling his interests and leaving town for other ventures (Wardner, 1900). Fundamentally, his chief goal was to make money. In the case of Kennedy, he simply left town when failure was imminent and did not fulfill his legal obligations. How much of his own money he invested in Kennedy is unknown, but it may not have been all that much beyond the eight thousand dollars that he initially deposited in Nixon's Winnemucca bank. Most of the investments were on the parts of others, such as Alex Wise with his mill, George Nixon's bank, and all of the business owners in the camp. When the company failed, people like Alex Wise who held the promissory

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

notes were left with nothing, and those who were owed wages or payment for supplies got a fraction of the total at best.

Wardner's departure in late 1894 had a chilling effect on the district. The *Reno Weekly Gazette and Stockman* wrote in late December that Kennedy was "badly in the dumps" because the mill had closed the first of December and Wardner had failed to pay his mill workers and miners the previous six to eight weeks' worth of wages. Norcross' testimony suggested that most people in town knew by the middle of the fall that the mill was having problems, even though the Winnemucca newspaper, as usual, did not give any hints of problems. The closure may not have been totally unexpected, but it was a blow nevertheless. With the departure of the camp's major source of income, the town's merchants, many of whom probably operated on a credit-until-payday basis, had no way of collecting their money because the miners had little to no money to pay their bills. Within two weeks after the shutdown, the stagecoaches leaving Kennedy were full to capacity, with eight or nine people per trip, as people rushed to leave the town. This in part was the normal winter exodus (a foot of snow covered the ground in early December), but the closure of the mill undoubtedly prompted many people to give up on the district to try their luck elsewhere or just return home.

Three men and E. Reinhart & Co. filed suit against the Imperial Gold Mining Company in late 1894 and early 1895. The three men were mill workers and miners, and each had worked for Wardner from the summer into early December. They were paid until about October 1, but not afterwards even though they continued to work, and the mining company owned each of them several hundred dollars in wages. If this nonpayment of wages applied to the many other mill and mine workers, which is likely, then the three lawsuits indicate that Wardner was having a cash-flow problem as early as October 1, which Norcross' later testimony corroborated.

E. Reinhart & Co., owned by the four Reinhart brothers of Winnemucca (Patterson, 1984; Hertzmann, 1991), filed suit in early 1896, stating that they had delivered a little over \$10,000 of "goods, wares, and merchandise" to the mining company between May 24 and November 26, 1894. Nobody from the mining company appeared at the trial (likely because the company no longer existed), and the Reinharts won the judgment. However, the mining company really did not own any assets, so there really was not much that the court could sell to generate the lost money. The court decided that the only assets were six hundred tons of ore concentrates that were sitting at the mill, and the county sheriff sold them for sixty dollars at auction. That left only about two dollars for the Reinharts after the court costs were deducted.

A 1904 article about George Nixon in the *Reno Evening Gazette* said that Wardner left behind more than \$150,000 in liabilities in Kennedy. This included \$40,000 owed to Kennedy, Benton, and Wilkinson, another \$10,000 owed to the Reinharts, \$12,000 to Wise, unpaid wages owed to various company employees in Kennedy, and an unknown but undoubtedly large amount to Nixon's bank in Winnemucca. The article reported that Nixon sold the gold and silver that remained on the amalgamation plates and used the money to pay all of Wardner's workers sixty percent of what they were owed, thus depleting the available proceeds and leaving nothing for his bank. To cover the bank's losses, he reportedly used his personal property as collateral and was left nearly broke. However, on the basis of the 1896 Reinhart lawsuit, he did not pay for any of the mining company's other debts.

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Charles McIntosh, the editor of the *Lovelock Argus*, wrote a much less flattering article about Nixon two weeks after the first article was published. McIntosh had been in Kennedy in late 1894 and the first half of 1895, and, as an independent store and claim owner, he had had a ringside seat during the boom, bust, and aftermath of Wardner's enterprise. McIntosh accused Nixon, as well as M.S. Bonnifield, the Winnemucca lawyer who was involved with the company, of essentially conspiring with Wardner to "make a great hurrah for a short time to enable the promoters to sell the property at a big advance and make a haul." He also touched on Wise's mill and the townsite company, both of which were aimed more at making money for Wardner (and likely Nixon) and far less on developing a successful mining district. Finally, McIntosh wrote that, after Wardner left town, Nixon arranged to have metals from the amalgamation plates secretly moved to his bank in Winnemucca, told the miners to return to work with promise of payment, and then paid them for only the last fifteen days of work in November, which amounted to only ten percent of what they were owed in total. With the exception of the secret move, these assertions matched those in Norcross' testimony.

Both articles were published shortly before the 1904 election in which Nixon was running for the U.S. Senate on the Republican ticket, having switched from the Silver Party in the 1890s. Not surprisingly, the pro-Republican *Reno Evening Gazette* wrote the glowing article about Nixon, whereas the pro-Democrat *Argus* took the opposite approach toward him. Both articles clearly were partisan in nature and had various truths and mistruths, but McIntosh's article more closely fit with the events described in other accounts and Norcross' testimony. Nixon wrote a scathing rebuttal to McIntosh's article just before the election that was printed in the *Silver State* but not the *Argus*, which may have received the letter but chose not to print it. Nixon flatly denied McIntosh's allegations and wrote that he and his associates (likely the bank), lost as much as \$30,000 as a result of trusting Wardner. In closing, he called McIntosh a "knave and a cur" and the *Argus* a "sewer of infamy." Nixon was elected to the U.S. Senate days later.

James Wardner died in El Paso, Texas, in late March 1905. An article in the *Silver State* said that "he did much to promote this section of Nevada and was one of the brightest men who ever operated in this State." Neither the article nor his autobiography (Wardner, 1900) mentioned his role in the complete failure of the Kennedy project, his heavy debts and sudden departure, and the resulting collapse of the town.

THE POST-WARDNER AFTERMATH IN 1895

The new year saw a much more subdued mining camp, but the level of mining and community activity through the year indicated that the place did not wither and die. Kennedy went from more than five hundred people to about a hundred in 1895, and far fewer new people arrived for the first time. Miners staked only eleven new mining claims (Fig. 2-3B), and only twenty-three claims and town lots changed hands over the course of the year, so the wheeling and dealing of 1894 ground to a near halt. The Wells Fargo office in Kennedy closed in early January because "owing to the dull times the office could not be made to pay expenses."

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

A January 1895 article in the *Daily Nevada State Journal* lauded the virtues of the mines in the district and posed the question "will a free milling process be evolved to successfully work the Kennedy ores?" The article went on to repeat the oft-heard refrain that investors were too "timid" and that they should invest in what clearly was a richly endowed mining district. The Imperial mill and mine remained in legal limbo for more than half of 1895 until the court gave them to Kennedy, Benton, and Wilkinson. Also, the *Nevada New Era* wrote that claim owners were trying to sell their properties at "absurdly high" prices. This was a clear attempt to recoup as much of their investment as possible, despite the fact that their properties were worth only a fraction of the asking price without an operating mill or high-grade ore. Various mining experts visited Kennedy during this period, but the uncertain legal status of the Imperial mine and mill, the high cost of buying other mines and prospects, and the broader economic downturn hindered serious consideration of the district as an investment opportunity.

By all accounts in the newspapers, especially the *Silver State*, daily life for the remaining residents of Kennedy simply continued. How many of the businesses were able to remain open in the aftermath of the crash is unknown. The tax records showed continued ownership of the buildings of ten businesses. That did not necessarily mean that all remained in operation, but the hundred and thirty or so residents of Kennedy and the nearby ranches provided enough demand to allow some places to remain open. People needed food and supplies, and those who did not own a house needed lodging and a place to eat. Ed Williams' Combination saloon was serving drinks in early May, Charles McIntosh kept his store open into July, and the stage and freighters still hauled people and goods between Kennedy and at least Winnemucca. The *Nevada New Era* newspaper stopped publishing in late March 1895: fewer businesses were advertising and even fewer people were buying the paper.

The economic collapse proved fatal for Alex Wise, who died in April 1895. Wise had made major commitments to Kennedy and Wardner's project with the promise of full reimbursement and continued good business. Wise's many enterprises, most notably the livery and freight business, were a mixture of steady income and loans from the First National Bank to support new projects. The failure of the mill – for which he would not be repaid – and his other costs related to Kennedy left a big hole in his cash flow and thus his ability to repay the bank. His health began to fail in the fall of 1894, about the time that it became apparent the mill was not working, and the stress led to his death in the spring. His wife Julia tried to salvage as much of the business operations as possible, but the bank was forced to foreclose on many of Wise's properties. Wise's Fashion Livery and freight business ended, which also terminated one of Kennedy's major transportation companies, and his stable and livery in Kennedy closed. Julia was left with their house in Winnemucca, and John Benton rented the barn in late 1895 until it was sold at a tax sale.

Many of the men who had worthwhile mines continued to produce ore despite the lack of operating mills. They focused on the higher-grade parts of the veins, sorted the ore on site, and then shipped the materials to smelters. However, as before, much of the ore from the various mines did not get shipped because of the relatively lower (but not low) grade, the high cost of shipping and smelting, or both. Miners were forced to abandon many marginal mines and claims. Cash flow may have been a problem for the owners of a few open but marginal mines, leading to at least three lawsuits over unpaid wages in 1895.

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

The Jenkins mill closed because it was inefficient and allowed quite a bit of gold and silver to end up in the tailings instead of in bars of bullion. Charles McIntosh bought a large amount of the tailings in the spring of 1895 and proceeded to leach out the metals with cyanide along Cinnabar Creek just the east of the mill. William Jenkins' cousin Thomas was the watchman at the mill and disputed how much of the tailings McIntosh could take. The argument erupted into a gunfight on June 6, leaving McIntosh severely wounded and Jenkins less so (Chapter 4). Eleven days later, during his recovery, McIntosh sold all of tailings and the cyanide equipment to two Kennedy miners for more than six hundred dollars and left town. One of the men continued to work the tailings into September.

THE SCHWEITZER ERA OF 1895 AND 1896

In June and July 1895, the *Silver State* and the *Reno Evening Gazette* reported a new milling venture in Kennedy that the *Evening Gazette* enthusiastically called a "dawn of a new era" for the district. Otto W. Schweitzer, a twenty-five-year-old man from Indiana, was the leader of this new attempt at milling the "rebellious" Kennedy ore. Schweitzer first appeared in Kennedy in September 1894, when he and L.P. Faison staked the Surprise claim, purchased the Ellsworth claim in Water Canyon for three hundred dollars, and built a cabin at the Ellsworth. A week later, Peter Anker of Lovelock and Harry Willis from San Francisco paid two hundred dollars each for shares of the Ellsworth, thus giving the original owners a hundred dollars without doing any work. Schweitzer was on hand to witness the failure of Wardner's mill, and he thought that there must be some other way to recover the gold and silver. He went to San Francisco in late 1894 or early 1895 and tried to drum up both money and expertise. He managed to find some investors, one of whom was Willis, and the project was underway.

Schweitzer's partners included four small-scale investors: Leslie B. McMurtry was a former railroad conductor who aspired to greater things; Willis was a printer and ran a stationary store; E.R. Wilson was a tugboat captain; and G. Alexander was a grain dealer. The men incorporated the New Era Gold Mining and Milling Company on July 1, 1895, in San Francisco. Schweitzer subscribed to ninety-two percent of the 100,000 shares issued, and the other men, reflecting their relatively modest economic situations, subscribed to the remaining eight percent. Schweitzer clearly had the most to gain – and lose – in the undertaking.

How Schweitzer found these people, and why he even considered them to be worthwhile partners, is not known. None of the men were known for their deep pockets or technical or metallurgical expertise. Willis bought into the Schweitzer-Faison claim only a week after the two men acquired it, so Schweitzer and Willis must have known each other earlier, perhaps in San Francisco before Schweitzer even went to Kennedy. The key component, though, was that they knew metallurgists who could figure out how to process the ores. Although he was never mentioned in any reports about the project until much later, Leon St. D. Roylance from San Francisco had developed an electrochemical method that he thought could be applied to gold ores. Roylance was a self-trained electrical engineer who had learned about electroplating at his family's brass company and then expanded into other types of electrical

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

equipment and machinery. The company hired him and possibly other metallurgists to devise a new process for the Kennedy ores, even though none of them had any experience with raw ore.

The men constructed and successfully tested the milling equipment in San Francisco, and Schweitzer and his partners moved it to Kennedy in the early spring of 1895 and tested it again. The ore that they tested both times was from the Imperial mine, but nothing was said about whether it was oxide or sulfide ore. Schweitzer returned to Kennedy and, over the next several months, staked two tunnel claims to claim the water that would flow from the tunnels. He leased the Imperial mill in early June from Kennedy, Benton, and Wilkinson for six months, with an option of extending the lease or buying the mill outright. His plan was to keep the twenty-stamp mill and engine and the amalgamation tanks, remove the amalgamation plates and concentrating tables that Wardner had installed, and put the new electrical processing machinery in their place (step 9, Fig. 2-15). Testing and remodeling extended into the late fall, and Schweitzer called for a winter halt until the early spring of 1896.

The prospect of a new mill had little effect on the rest of Kennedy. The five owners of the rich Gold Note mine sold their shares of the mine to J.A. Blossom of Battle Mountain for a thousand dollars or more per share. The sales, combined with the consistently high mill and smelter returns over three years, netted all five men a decent profit for their time in Kennedy, and all of them left town immediately after the sales. Many claim owners abandoned their claims in 1895 after they left town. Most of them never should have been staked in the first place, but some were worth having. Kennedy miners staked forty-six new claims on January 1, 1896, and an additional fourteen claims through the end of April (Fig. 2-3B). Many of these were claims had been abandoned in 1895, and the new claimants felt that they worth owning. A few new arrivals staked some of the claims, but many of the claim stakers were people who already had been in the district for several years.

The New Era mining company resumed work in March as planned, and the mill was close to completion by the middle of April. The company announced in the middle of May that it would start in a week, and a late May note in the *Silver State* that said that "the new electric process is a pronounced success and will save 95 to 98 per cent [of the gold and silver]." The company apparently leased the Imperial mine and the adjacent Kearsarge mine; it also offered five thousand dollars for Mark Wiggins' Wiggins claim, but Wiggins turned down the offer. For all intents and purposes, the New Era company appeared to be optimistic about the new mill and the future of the district.

The company, however, had two major problems. First, it was short on money. Several of the mill workers filed liens on the equipment in March because they had not been paid. The company borrowed five hundred dollars from Andrew B. Knox, a well-known grocer and grocery wholesaler in San Francisco, in late March, using the milling and mining equipment as collateral. They used that money to pay the workers, which allowed the work to continue. The "pronounced success" of the mill apparently did not translate into enough income. In early July, ten mill and mine workers filed joint or single lawsuits against the company for unpaid wages, and Peter Dory filed another lawsuit that demanded payment for his freighting services. Almost all of them had not been paid after the middle of May. The company had few assets that could be sold to pay the demands: Knox owned all of the equipment and the mill building and Kearsarge mine were leased. Marginal notes in one of the lawsuits said that at least one of the

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

miners was paid eventually, and the other men also may have been reimbursed. The owners and directors of the company were readily accessible businessmen in San Francisco, and they may have honored any lingering obligations, if for no other reason than to keep their reputations and credit intact.

The second major problem was that the new milling process did not work, despite what the *Silver State* wrote. Leon St. D. Roylance said years later that the company in truth was able to get only ten percent of the metals out of the oxide ore, and that they did not even try to process the sulfide materials. Although the very successful test runs on Kennedy ore in San Francisco gave everyone high hopes for the new milling process, the mill clearly did not work as planned when they turned it into a full-scale operation in Kennedy. Roylance intimated that they shut down the operations once they came to that realization, which immediately triggered the lawsuits. Fundamentally, none of the "experts" really knew anything about gold-silver ores, much less complex ones, when they started the project, or that a ton or two of ore in the tests was much different than a full-scale operation. The aborted endeavor, however, did introduce Roylance and company director Leslie McMurtry to Kennedy's rich ores, and Roylance made it his mission to figure out how to extract the gold and silver, leading to his new McMurtry-funded attempt in the mid 1910s, as described later.

Schweitzer and Faison sold their cabin in Water Canyon for twenty dollars in December, and they abandoned their shares of the Ellsworth and water-tunnel claims at the end of the year. The Imperial mill reverted back to Kennedy, Benton, and Wilkinson as part of the lease agreement, but the idle mill decreased in value from \$1,550 in 1896 to \$1,000 in 1898. Schweitzer remained in Humboldt County, and his mining reputation apparently survived unscathed. He lived in Lovelock and then the Cottonwood district south of Kennedy, where he became heavily involved with the copper-nickel deposits in the late 1890s and early 1900s. His partner there, Alva Boyer, was one of the first prospectors in Cinnabar Canyon in 1891. Abner Lasher, one of the managers of the Imperial mill from the early 1900s into the 1910s, also was in Cottonwood in the late 1890s and may have first learned of Kennedy and the milling problems from Schweitzer.

AFTER THE COLLAPSE—1897 TO 1899

The activities of the rest of the mining camp did not seem to revolve around the success of the New Era mill, so the quick failure of the project was not nearly the same as the failure of Wardner's mill. The miners undoubtedly hoped for the best, but the continued mining and shipment of ore to smelters through this period indicated that the miners may have learned their lesson from Wardner's disaster and did not pin their hopes on the new project.

A short article in the *Reno Evening Gazette* in April 1897 mentioned that J.A. Blossom remained enthusiastic about the district and that he was expending substantial time and money on his mines at Kennedy. In contrast, the 1897 Appendix to Journals of Senate and Assembly of the Nevada Legislature reported that "Kennedy seems to be under a cloud at present. J.A. Blossom of Battle Mountain has about a dozen men employed in the Gold Note mine, and they are taking out some ore. This district has two quartz mills, but the ore is very base and cannot

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

be worked successfully with the present process. There has been some very rich ore shipped from Kennedy, netting the shippers as high as \$100 and \$125 per ton, and there is plenty of good ore in the district yet, which will someday be worked at a profit, but it is now conceded that the ore will have to be roasted in order to secure the precious metals." Blossom may have been optimistic, but the rest of the people in Kennedy likely were less sanguine and more realistic about the situation.

With no prospects for reopening or revamping the two mills, the Kennedy district settled into a smaller and less-lively version of its 1894 self. Increasing numbers of property owners were late paying their taxes, although most of them paid eventually. Mailing addresses listed in the tax books showed that more property owners were living elsewhere despite still owning property in Kennedy. How many people remained is unknown. Seventy names were cited in various newspapers and legal documents in 1897, and that number dropped to fifty-two in 1898 and fifty-six in 1899. The combined population of Kennedy and the nearby Pleasant Valley ranches was a hundred or less during the last three years of the 1890s, a far cry from the five hundred or more people who were in just Kennedy in 1894.

With the severe decline in the camp, the *Silver State* and other newspapers paid little attention to the Kennedy district, and much less is known about the camp in the late 1890s as a result. The county continued to pay for maintenance of the road between Winnemucca and Kennedy, so there was enough personal and freight traffic along the road to justify the cost of upkeep. However, the town declined far enough by September 1899 that the Winnemucca postmaster reduced the contract to carry mail to Kennedy from three to two days a week, which also meant a cutback in the stage business. The newspapers did not mention any stage and freight lines from Lovelock and Battle Mountain, and those firms could have stopped service for lack of business.

Despite being smaller and having less mining activity, the town plugged along at a lower, quieter level than before. Several of the stores and businesses apparently remained open in 1898 through 1900 to service the needs of the residents. The town still had a couple of boarding houses and restaurants and at least one saloon, and at least one of the livery stables undoubtedly remained open to serve as the stage station and take care of horses in the district. The E. Reinhart & Co. store in Kennedy remained open until January 1898. The Reinharts had acquired Ed Williams' Combination saloon and boarding house, and they paid the taxes through 1903, but it may have closed at the same time as their store.

The town continued to function in various other ways. Three young couples were married and then moved to other towns. A few families remained in Kennedy, and a small number of children attended the Kennedy school. Fewer people generally meant less crime, but the town still had an elected constable and justice of the peace whose services were needed on a few occasions. The 1898 election drew only twenty voters from Kennedy and Pleasant Valley, less than a tenth of the number that had voted there four years earlier.

As before, the miners who remained in the district and had worthwhile mines continued to ship it to the Selby smelter in San Francisco and, increasingly, smelters in Salt Lake City. A few of the mine owners, such as Hans Bender at his Water Canyon mine, still were doing well enough to hire a few men to help with the mining. Kennedy and Benton continued to work on the Imperial and Cricket mines, but they still struggled with recovering as much gold and silver

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

as possible from the non-shippable ores. Kennedy apparently devised a process that seemed to work (but which the *Silver State* did not describe), and got good returns from forty-two tons of Cricket ore. Still, Benton and Kennedy needed money to continue operating and expanding the mines, so they borrowed about two thousand dollars from E. Reinhart & Co. in May 1897 and used two thirds of the Imperial mill and mill site and the Cricket water ditch as collateral. They still needed cash in January 1899 and borrowed a thousand dollars from George Mason of San Diego, California, this time using two thirds of the Imperial, Cricket, and Eclipse mines as collateral. Those cash inflows apparently had the desired effect, and the two men shipped about twenty-nine tons of ore from the Imperial mine to smelters in August 1899 and made a healthy profit pay for shipping, smelting, and Mason's ten-percent cut. As the century slipped into 1900, they continued to expand and produce ore from the Imperial mine, which allowed them to pay back the Reinharts and Mason in early 1901.

J.A. Blossom leased the Gold Note mine to Charles Vadner and Charles Holcomb, who hired a dozen men to work at mine in the fall of 1898. The *People's Advocate* reported in November that "Vadner and Holcomb will ship a carload of ore to Salt Lake City. They are the lessees of the J.A. Blossom properties, which continue to produce the precious metals in large quantities." Vadner had other mining-related connections with Blossom and would become the Blossom family's agent in Kennedy in the early 1900s. However, Walter Wilkinson reported just a few months earlier that "only a little prospecting work is going on [at Kennedy] now," indicating that, by and large, the rest of the mining activity was minimal at best.

The mining boom in Golconda, including the construction of a smelter in 1898 by the Glasgow & Western Exploration Co., Ltd. (Gomes, 2007), led to some speculation that ore from Kennedy could be processed there. The *Silver State* wrote that August that steam wagons would be used to haul the Kennedy ore to Golconda for a dollar per ton, far less than sending it by train to Salt Lake City. The company's representatives visited Kennedy in late 1899, and they decided that the Kennedy ore, especially that from Blossom's Gold Note mine, indeed could be processed in their smelter. However, the smelter had trouble processing even the company's own ores and closed in 1900, and Blossom died at about the same time, which effectively ended all hope of finally having a relatively local smelter.

PART II: THE SECOND BOOM AND BUST—1900-1905

The Kennedy district at the turn of the century was a different place than the boom camp of the mid 1890s. After the steep decline from 1895 to 1899, the population was small, with only minimal mining activity when the new century began. This was the case for much of the state, and mining was moribund except in continuing districts like Delamar in Lincoln County. That changed overnight with the discovery of the Tonopah district in 1900, which sparked the state-wide Tonopah-Goldfield mining boom and the formation of many new mining districts (Tingley and others, 1993). These discoveries caught the attention of major investors, who had recovered from the financial crash in the 1890s, and they injected much-needed capital into Nevada's mining industry and state economy. Investors also began to look at older camps such as Kennedy with an eye towards using new technologies to recover the precious metals.

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

A few of the original denizens of the camp remained when this interest reached Kennedy. However, many of the people who came to the area as the mines reopened were newcomers, and the district changed from claim ownership and mining by one to a few men to corporate ownership that responded more to investors and less to individual needs. The new residents bought or just occupied the many houses and stores that had sat unused for several years. The 1900 census of the Kennedy precinct, which included Kennedy and the surrounding valleys, counted thirty-eight adult men, fifteen adult women, and nineteen children. Additional information showed that about fifty-eight people were in Kennedy during 1900, with another forty-one at the ranches in Pleasant Valley.

Kennedy produced little news that made it into the newspapers. Indeed, the *Silver State* noted in early 1902 that "this town ... has been scarcely heard of," which was a good indication that the district had seen better days. A few of the businesses stayed open after the crash of the mid-1890s, meeting the basic needs of the continuing base level of residents, miners, and nearby ranchers. As before, the stage made the trip between Winnemucca and Kennedy at least twice a week, and it delivered the mail to the ranches on its way to the post office at Kennedy. The 1900 election drew twenty-seven voters, up a bit from the 1898 total but still very low. The main difference was that Kennedy's population was so small that the county abolished the constable and justice of the peace positions and chose to handle all of the legal and law-enforcement duties through the county offices (Chapter 4).

EARLY-1900S MINING

Very little mining took place in 1900 itself. Miners staked only ten new claims that year (Fig. 2-5A), six of them by Charlie George, and four of the ten were claims that had been abandoned in earlier years and then restaked. Charley Kennedy and John Benton continued to produce ore from the Imperial mine and regained full ownership after they paid off their loans in 1901. They shipped twenty tons of ore to the Selby smelter and netted a profit of nine hundred dollars (about \$25,000 today). That was less ore than they had produced in earlier years, but the mine had descended below the water table, which required pumping to keep the workings from flooding, and they were entirely in the sulfide zone. An agent for Denver investors visited Kennedy in late August to evaluate the Cricket mine for a possible lease. Nothing more came out of that initial visit, but it was an early sign that the district might attract investors who could bring the camp back to life. For the remaining mine and claim owners, it was a hint of good things to come.

The biggest news to affect Kennedy in 1900 was the death of J.A. Blossom on July 31. Realizing that his death was imminent, Blossom and his family – his wife Elvira, sons Robert and James, and daughter Grace – incorporated the Blossom & Blossom company on July 19. The new company held Blossom's extensive ranching, mining, and business holdings, including the Gold Note and other mines and several buildings at Kennedy. In the two weeks while he was still alive, Blossom was a trustee and major shareholder, and Elvira, Robert, and Grace also were trustees (James was underage at the time) and split the remaining shares equally. Elvira

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

took over as the primary trustee of the estate in matters related to the Kennedy district after her husband's death.

Blossom had been a major, positive force in Kennedy since the early days of the district in 1891. Not only did he provide money and other support for various ventures in Kennedy, but he also had been instrumental in attracting outside interests – and their money – to the district. In just the previous two years, Blossom's Gold Note mine continued to be productive, and he employed a number of miners, freighters, and other men at the mine who in turn provided at least some business for the remaining merchants. Blossom's death, followed by uncertainty about how the Blossom family would deal with the Kennedy properties, put the camp into a major state of limbo that lasted through the rest of the year. The company continued the Gold Note mining operation and kept some of their other good claims, and the combined activity indicated that the Blossoms viewed Kennedy as an ongoing, viable opportunity.

The resurgence in Nevada mining reached Kennedy, and three new mining companies became active in the district in the early 1900s. These included the San Francisco-based Keora and Spencer Gold Mining Companies (owned by the same people), the New York-funded Wynn-Lasher mining syndicate, and the Philadelphia-financed Winnemucca Gold Mining Company. The companies started operations at different times, but the peak activity for all three was from 1901 to 1904 and all had left Kennedy by the early part of 1905. This new activity and influx of money led to a new multi-year boom for Kennedy, albeit a smaller one than in 1894.

THE KEORA AND SPENCER MINING COMPANIES

Mark Wiggins and Jim Wilson had staked the Hidden Treasure and adjacent Emma claims in the early days of the district (Fig. 3-3). They took out a loan from the First National Bank of Winnemucca in 1896, and, after Wilson died later in the year, Wiggins entered into a lease-to-purchase agreement with Austin Walrath and Pressly Hyman of San Francisco in 1897. Wiggins died in early 1898, and the bank took over the two claims and sold them to Walrath and Hyman for \$2,500.

Walrath was a wealthy mining investor who, with his brother Richard, had owned two big gold mines in the Nevada City area of California since 1870, and he also had been involved with the asphalt mining and railroad businesses. One of his neighbors in San Francisco in 1900 was Simon Reinhart, the uncle of the brothers who owned E. Reinhart & Co. in Winnemucca. Reinhart's listed profession was mine broker, and he may have told Walrath about the Kennedy mines. Hyman had been the warden of the Nevada State Prison in the 1870s and then made a small fortune with mines in the Hamilton district of Nevada and then Tuscarora. The 1900 San Francisco census listed his occupation as "mining president."

Despite being busy with the Tuscarora mines, Hyman oversaw limited early mining at the Hidden Treasure mine in 1897 and shipped some ore to the Selby smelter, but no additional activity was reported for a few years. Walrath and possibly Hyman set up a privately held company in 1900 named the Keora Mining Company to develop the mines at Kennedy and in the Augusta and Clan Alpine Mountains southeast of Kennedy. The two Kennedy mines reopened, and the miners hit a rich vein in early 1901 that reportedly was "literally covered with

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

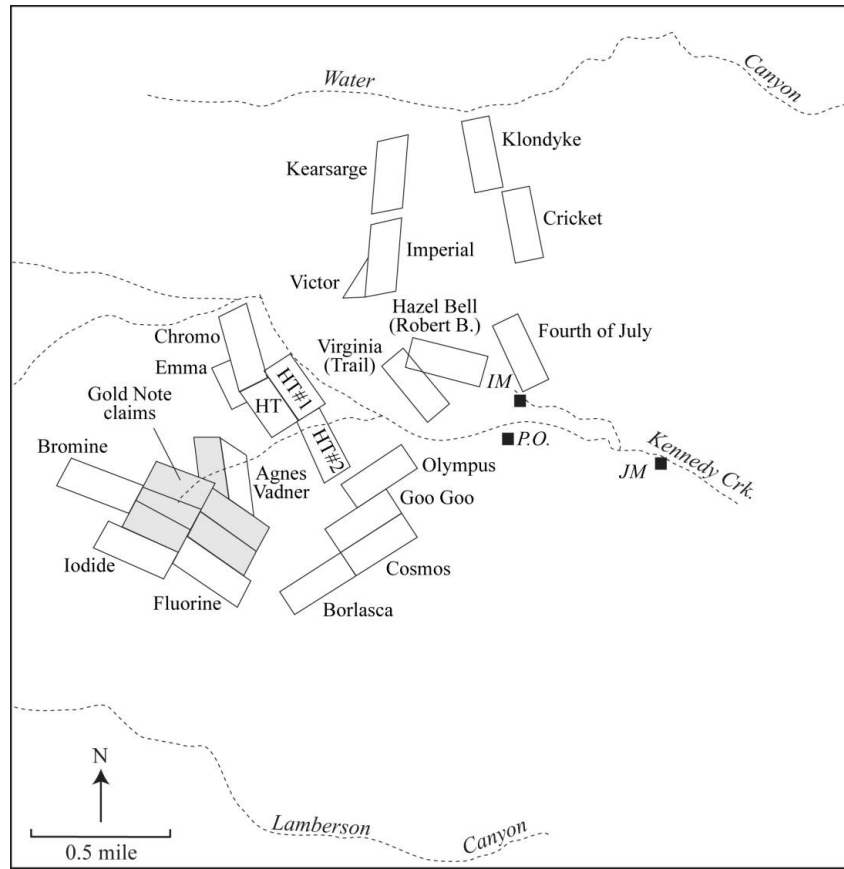


Figure 3-3. Locations of major claims that were active in the 1900s and described in the text. The claims of the Gold Note mine are shaded. Charley Kennedy and John Benton staked the Hazel Bell and Virginia claims in 1905 when the Blossom family abandoned the Trail group of claims (Robert B. and Trail, respectively). HT, Hidden Treasure claims. The post office (P.O.), the Jenkins (JM) and Imperial (IM) mills, and major creeks are shown for reference.

gold." They shipped ore that averaged a hundred dollars a ton to the Selby smelter the next month, and the good results led to continued mining and shipping for the rest of the year.

Austin Walrath died in March 1902 when he fell down an elevator shaft in San Francisco. His hometown newspaper in Chittenango, New York, wrote that his estate was worth six million dollars at the time of his death, and that he was survived by his "invalid" wife Margaret, his brother Richard, and his sister Eliza in Chittenango. Eliza inherited one million dollars, and the remaining five million went to Margaret and possibly Richard. Margaret's inheritance included the two Kennedy mines.

Hyman left the company to focus on his Tuscarora mines, and the Walrath family immediately hired John E. Spencer, a civil engineer from San Francisco, to be the manager of the Kennedy mines and superintendent of all of the company's properties. Miners found a previously unknown vein on the Hidden Treasure claim in April 1902, about the time that Spencer arrived in Kennedy, and the miners sank a shaft on the new ore zone. The company's assayer determined that the ore had an average of 2.5 ounces (\$50) of gold per ton, as well as silver. Spencer also oversaw work at the Augusta Mountains property and hired Ed Stone, a

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

longtime Kennedy miner, to deepen the shaft at that mine. Stone had done the 1901 annual assessment work on the Hidden Treasure and Emma mines for Austin Walrath, and he already had at least one claim in the Clan Alpine area that he sold to Spencer in July 1902.

The Spencer Mining and Milling Company, with headquarters in San Francisco, was incorporated on June 18, 1902, to handle Keora's mining properties. As ensuing newspaper accounts revealed, the Hidden Treasure and Emma mines were a primary focus of the new company, and the company likely leased the mines and paid Margaret a royalty as the owner. The directors included Edwin K. Wood, Dexter M. Tomblin, John E. Spencer, I.L. Spencer, and A.C. Tomblin; Edwin Wood was from Oakland, and the others were from San Francisco. Wood was the owner of the large E.K. Wood Lumber Company, which owned lumber yards, timbering operations, and a shipping fleet on the West Coast. Tomblin had been involved with a questionable series of banking manipulations in three states from the mid 1880s into the 1890s that led to the failure of several banks. A.C. Tomblin and I.L. Spencer were relatives of Tomblin and Spencer.

Margaret Walrath died in late January 1903 after an earlier stroke left her partially paralyzed. She was a self-professed "spiritualist," and her hand-written will left about a third of her \$30,000 estate to fellow believers. The remainder of the estate did not specify beneficiaries and was distributed between roughly two dozen relatives. The relatives immediately sued, claiming that she had been coerced by other "cult" members into her bequests, but the judge heard the evidence in early June and decided that she had been of sound mind when she wrote the will. The unbequeathed part of her estate included the Hidden Treasure and Emma mines. Although the Spencer mining company presumably had a multi-year lease, the directors must have worried about the continuation of the lease both during the lawsuits and with the eventual new owners. The judge in the estate hearings ruled in the early spring that the lease remained valid, although the final decision on the will awaited probate. With that assurance of being able to continue, Dexter Tomblin replaced John Spencer, the engineer and company namesake, as the manager in Kennedy, and he arrived in Kennedy with an assayer in May 1903 to resume work in Kennedy. Spencer remained with the company but focused on the company's Augusta Mountains mine.

Despite his new role, nothing in Tomblin's background suggests that he knew anything about mining. Nevertheless, he decided that the veins in the two mines had enough ore to justify building a small mill on the property. The mill could crush the medium-grade ore and create concentrates for shipping; that, plus the high-grade ore, would boost the mine's income. The small mill had two stamps and a small cyanide leaching facility (steps 6B and 10 in Fig. 2-15). Tomblin ordered milling machinery from San Francisco, and he built the mill at the southeast end of the claim near the main portal to the Hidden Treasure mine (HT, Fig. 3-3). As the mine deepened, Tomblin added a bigger gasoline engine to carry loads up and down the mine shaft. The mill started in early January 1904, and the mine at that point employed twenty-two men, many of whom lived at the adjacent boarding house that the company had built. The next month, yet another vein produced ore that was (again) "literally covered with gold."

When Tomblin returned to Kennedy with the new engine in late January 1904, his body rebelled against the change from the moist, balmy climate of San Francisco to the dry, bone-chilling winter cold in Kennedy. He immediately came down with a bad cold and then

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

pneumonia, and he died at the age of fifty-seven on February 12; his body was taken by stage to Winnemucca for transport by train to his family in southern California. Articles about Tomblin's death in the newspapers noted that he was the general manager of the Spencer Mining and Milling Company. This was the first mention of the company in the papers, even though it had been incorporated a year and a half earlier. Wood, the company president, arrived in Kennedy to handle the company's affairs shortly after Tomblin's death. He quickly appointed Francis M. Simpson to be the general manager and superintendent of the company's Kennedy operations. Simpson was a young mining engineer who had graduated from the University of California at Berkeley, and his younger brother Kirk joined him soon after and got a job at the mine.

Margaret Walrath's will finally cleared probate in March 1904, and her estate sold the Hidden Treasure and Emma mines to John Spencer (the person, not the company) for a hundred dollars in May; he immediately sold the mines to Edwin Wood for the same price. At the same time, the *Silver State* reported that the mill was processing ten tons of ore a day: not a lot, but at least the two stamps were still crushing ore. Will Pearce, the Pleasant Valley rancher, continued to haul freight, meat, and produce to the "Spencer Mining Company" into early June, and his journal indicates that they paid their bills. His last delivery – four tanks of gasoline for the engines – was on June 9, and the need for gasoline indicates that the company still was running the machinery. Nevertheless, Spencer and Wood, even after buying the mines a few months earlier, may have decided to give up on the venture. The Simpson brothers left Kennedy for Winnemucca and then San Francisco in early July. While in Winnemucca, they told the newspaper that the Hidden Treasure mine was closed "for the present." Wood hired Pearce to take six empty gasoline drums back to Winnemucca in November, with no full drums returning, so he undoubtedly had no intentions of restarting the mill.

The Spencer mining company – actually, E.K. Wood – sold the Hidden Treasure mine to Frank Calhoun in December 1904 for a thousand dollars. A lawsuit earlier in the year by boarding-house owner Dora Roberts revealed that Tomblin had been going "blindly ahead" and incurring quite a bit of unauthorized debt for the company. That was consistent with Tomblin's earlier financial manipulations that led to the failure of several banks in the late 1800s. The mine certainly did not lack good ore: as described later, Calhoun had some success at the Hidden Treasure and Emma mines in the first half of 1905, and the Hidden Treasure remained attractive enough to become the focus of a staking war and legal battle in 1907. The Hidden Treasure property may have continued to be a good, small-scale property for Wood and the Spencer mining company, but Tomblin's inability to stick to a budget, not the quality of the mine, may have been the ultimate reason why Wood decided that his money and time could be put to better use elsewhere.

THE WYNN-LASHER SYNDICATE

Abner E. Lasher and Charles S. Wynn arrived in Kennedy in late 1900, found a wealthy Eastern investor, and acquired the Imperial mill and numerous mines in the district. Their new operation – especially the reopening of the mill – generated a lot of enthusiasm in Kennedy and contributed to the modest revival of the town. Lasher lived in Lovelock in the late 1890s and

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

was an agent for the National Nickel Company, which had mines in the Cottonwood district (now called the Table Mountain district) in the Stillwater Range south of Kennedy. However, this was an entirely new career for him. He was an educator and former president of Spokane College in Spokane, Washington, and he was very involved with the Methodist church wherever he went. He left Spokane College after a funding scandal and moved to Nevada in 1897 to follow his interest in chemistry and apply it to mining and metallurgy.

Lasher left the nickel company in 1900 and became the superintendent of the Eagle mine (otherwise known as the Bonanza King mine) at Spring Valley in the Humboldt Range. A short note in the *Silver State* said that it was "being operated by an Eastern company." Wynn was there representing the Eastern interests. Wynn was from Illinois, studied metallurgy in college in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and then began a career in mining. He was living in Manhattan, New York, by 1897 and was involved with a group of investors that formed the Manhattan and Montana Mining Co. and then the Bonanza King Mining and Milling Co. The investors set up the latter company in 1899 to specifically mine the Bonanza King (nee Eagle) mine. Wynn obviously had some wealthy connections: one of the directors of the Bonanza King company was J.C. Peabody, who was the treasurer of the large Pennsylvania Railroad Company.

Lasher and Wynn set their sights on Kennedy in late 1900. Lasher may have heard about the district even earlier in Cottonwood, where Otto Schweitzer was working at the same time; Schweitzer had overseen the failed milling attempt in the mid 1890s. Lasher staked a placer claim in Kennedy in January 1901, beginning a tenure there that would last for fourteen years. Wallis Van Reed sold his Klondyke mine in Kennedy to George Haseltine of New York City in June for a thousand dollars (Fig. 3-3), and the deed was recorded "at the request of A.E. Lasher." Three months later, Charley Kennedy, John Benton, and Walter Wilkinson sold the Imperial mill and water rights, along with other buildings and land in the Kennedy district, to Haseltine for six thousand dollars. They also leased the Imperial mine to Haseltine for three years. The *Silver State* wrote that the Bentons and Kennedys sold their properties to "an Eastern company represented by Charles S. Wynn of New York," that Abner Lasher "was instrumental in bringing about the sale" of the mill, and that Lasher also facilitated the sale of the Klondyke claim. Slightly later articles in *Silver State* and the *Lovelock Tribune* said that the properties had been sold to a "New York capitalist." Benton and Kennedy hauled thirty-six sacks of Imperial ore to Winnemucca in September, which the papers said "represents the last lot extracted from the Imperial mine before the recent sale." They no longer controlled the mine, but they apparently were able to keep and sell the ores that they already had mined.

Dr. George Haseltine was an internationally known patent attorney with offices in both New York City and London, England (the Haseltine Lake patent and trademark firm in London remains a successful company to this day). He and Wynn probably already knew each other from New York, and it probably was easy for Wynn to approach him for money shortly after entering Kennedy. Wynn and Lasher, as Haseltine's on-site representatives, immediately started to revamp the Imperial mill. Their plan was to process their own ore, as well as ore from other mines in the district on a contract basis. As Wynn later explained in December 1902, they realized that there was no shortage of available ore from both their and other mines in the district, but there was no point in mining more ore if the mill did not work as well as anticipated. This concept contrasted with that in the 1890s, when the Jenkins and Imperial mills

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

were built with little thought about how they would process the complex Kennedy ores. By early September 1902, the two men had hired as many as twenty-five men to prepare the mill for the new machinery that had been ordered and would be installed.

With the August 1901 sale of the Imperial properties and the promise of a remodeled mill, Lasher and Wynn staked fifteen claims in the fall of 1901 and into early 1902. They staked some of them individually, some with each other, and some with other miners. Many of the new claims overlapped those that had been abandoned years earlier. Wynn also purchased another claim from Van Reed for a hundred dollars. Lasher was so enthused about the future of the district that he moved his wife Sarah, son Arthur, and sister Elizabeth from Fulton, New York, to Kennedy. The *Lovelock Tribune* was equally excited, writing in early 1902 that "there is no reason why Kennedy should not prove another Tonopah," an optimistic reference to the new, incredibly rich district in central Nevada.

The new milling process would center on cyanide leaching after crushing in the existing twenty-stamp mill and processing on amalgamation plates and concentrating tables (steps 5 through 8, then 10, Fig. 2-15). Cyanide had not been used on a large scale by previous owners, and this new method required constructing large cyanide tanks and buildings to house them. The largest of the buildings, according to the *Silver State*, would measure seventy-five by eighty feet and house ten tanks, and a smaller building would shelter three tanks. In reality, the final mill layout only had three large tanks and four smaller tanks, some of which were from the Wardner and Schweitzer eras (Fig. 2-14). Well after the mill began operations, Wynn told the *Silver State* that the modified mill spanned 30,000 square feet, all of it enclosed under a roof. The cyanide leaching process used a cone separator to split the slurry from the tables into fine- and coarse-grained fractions; the fine-grained material was leached for a shorter time with a moderate-concentration cyanide solution, and the coarser-grained material was subjected to a longer leaching cycle in a more concentrated cyanide solution. In March 1902, Lasher and Wynn brought in P.S. Taylor, who earlier had installed electric lighting in Winnemucca for a San Francisco company, to design an electric light plant for the mill.

The cyanide tanks were constructed of stone blocks held together with cement and then lined with concrete. Wynn and Lasher hired men to quarry the blocks from volcanic tuff in Golconda Canyon, some ten miles to the northeast near Jake Leick's Golconda Ranch. Wynn chose the tuff because it was a good insulating material and would allow the cyanide tanks to be used even in the cold of winter. The quarrying itself was straightforward, but a short December article in the *Nevada State Journal* mentioned that the workers broke into the winter den of more than a hundred and fifty rattlesnakes. The presence of thousands of bones and shed snake skins indicated that the den had been used for years, and the paper call it a "snake graveyard."

Wynn and Lasher hired men in the winter of 1901-1902 and again in the summer of 1902 to cut wood in the surrounding hills for use in powering the mill. The goal was to get as much wood cut and moved before the mill started. Wynn and Lasher also hired a number of miners, perhaps a dozen or more, to do the annual assessment work on the various claims in early 1902 and thus allow the company to retain ownership until the mill was completed and mining could commence. Benton and Kennedy had been working in the Imperial mine for the previous few years, but Wynn and Lasher hired about ten men to prepare the mine for new hoists and other

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

machinery that would be put into place. Lasher ordered a compressor from San Francisco, and workers installed it after its March 1902 delivery. The compressor would be used to run some of the new machinery, drills, and hoists and possibly provide ventilation to the deeper workings.

The mill began operations in July 1902, and the cyanide process reportedly was "very successful" after a few minor modifications. The first ore to be processed came from the Imperial mine, which long before had descended into the sulfide zone but still had oxide ore in the shallower parts of the mine. The mill was called the Wynn-Lasher mill by this time, so they were viewed as the principal developers and operators, regardless of Haseltine's financial backing. The mill was processing seventy-five tons of ore every twenty-four hours by late August. The *Lovelock Tribune* reported that four six-horse teams were hauling ore to the mill, three teams were hauling wood cut by eight men, and another freight team was busy hauling materials from Winnemucca. The company employed sixty men in August, twenty-eight of whom were working in the mines and earning three to three-and-a-half dollars a day, the going rate for miners. The mill employed five men on each shift, which by that time (given recent changes in labor laws) may have meant three eight-hour shifts for a total of fifteen mill workers. As was the case when Wardner owned the mill, the shortage of water in the summer limited the mill operations, and the mill initially ran only during the day. Wynn and Lasher dug a water tunnel higher in the range to provide more flow into Cinnabar Creek, and they used pipes farther downstream to divert the water to the mill.

Frank Molinary, a miner who had been working in the Humboldt Range to the west, came over to Kennedy in early 1902 and staked the Mephisto claim in early April. He was shot and seriously wounded over a card game at one of the Kennedy saloons (Chapter 4) and taken to Winnemucca immediately, where the doctor patched him up and let him go back to Kennedy in early May to recover. Molinary was back out prospecting by early October, when he staked the Borlasca and Cosmos claims just east of and along the same vein as the Gold Note mine (Fig. 3-3). Two months later, he staked the adjacent Olympus and Goo Goo claims and then sold all four claims to Lasher and Wynn for a hundred dollars in January 1903. All four claims were in part or entirely on abandoned claims. Only minimal work had been done on the claims in their earlier incarnations, so almost all of the oxide portions of the veins remained. This material, as it began to be mined by in 1903, provided easily processed oxide ore for the mill, which in turn generated gold and silver – and thus money – at a relatively low cost. One sample collected from this group of claims in February 1903 reportedly contained 3.7 ounces of gold and twenty ounces of silver per ton, for a value of \$94 per ton, and another later sample had an ounce of gold and ten ounces of silver per ton (Wallace, 1977).

The mill continued to be a success into 1903. It was in continuous operation and processed thirty tons of ore per shift in February. Winter may have slowed activities somewhat, and the *Silver State* wrote in the following April that Wynn said that "everything was in readiness to begin operations for the season on an extensive scale, and [he] is much encouraged at the outlook." The mill produced a bar of bullion in early June, which the owners shipped to a smelter for final processing. This was exactly the purpose of having a mill on site: process large quantities of ore and reduce the contained gold and silver to an easily shippable, and much less costly, product. After cleaning the plates and producing more bullion in August, the mill

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

resumed operations. Wynn and Lasher made regular trips to Winnemucca as the months passed, and the operation continued successfully.

George Haseltine visited Kennedy to inspect the mines and mill a day after the first bar of bullion was shipped. He clearly liked what he saw: a few months after his visit, Haseltine bought a house, barn, and large lot on the east side of the Imperial mill from John and Virginia Benton for four hundred dollars, and he purchased the old Alex Wise stable on Cinnabar Avenue from Pleasant Valley rancher Patrick Sweeney (who had purchased it at Alex Wise's tax sale).

The newspapers only rarely mentioned the company's mill and related mines through the rest of 1903 and into 1904. The dearth of information about the camp in 1904 was notable after the ample earlier coverage. Haseltine's late 1903 purchase of the Benton property was the only recorded activity in that period, but it did show a continued interest in the district. The only mention of the mines themselves was in April 1904, when Lasher told the *Silver State* editor that they had been developing the Borlasca group of mines and exposed a "large body of good ore." About the only indication that the mill was running was in August 1904 when Will Pearce delivered eighteen cords of wood to Wynn, which undoubtedly were used to run the milling machinery. Wynn also bought several tons of hay from Pearce in October, and Pearce delivered several tanks of gasoline to Wynn in November, which was used to run hoists and other mining and milling equipment.

Haseltine's interest in the district faded in the late summer of 1904. Will Pearce noted in his journal that Charley Kennedy hired him to haul two loads of lumber from the Imperial mine in August 1904. Haseltine's three-year lease ended the month before, which was a good excuse for Haseltine to divest himself of the project. On the first of October 1904, he sold all of his Kennedy properties to Esther Lake of New York City for one dollar. Esther's husband, Byron Lake, lived and owned mining properties in Colorado, but Haseltine and Esther were old friends in New York and Hoboken, New Jersey, and Lake used the latter address for all of the legal documents. The trivial price that she paid for the Kennedy properties, coupled with the lack of activity after she purchased them, indicates that the sale was more of a title transfer and not an investment in a profitable, ongoing concern. Why Esther Lake even bought the properties, even for just a dollar, is unknown, but Haseltine no longer was financially or legally responsible for them. Also, Lasher and Haseltine had applied to buy the state land parcels that comprised the townsite in September 1901 (Chapter 1). They made the payments in 1902 and 1903 but not in 1904, so the land returned to state ownership in late September. The missed payment coincided with Haseltine's sale of the mill and other properties to Lake, and it was a further indication that he was giving up on the Kennedy project entirely.

Silver State editor Allen Bragg visited Kennedy in April 1905 and reported that the mill had closed the previous November (Bragg, 1905). Bragg noted that the two men had "spent a good deal of money" on mining and the modification of the mill, money that came from Haseltine and that ostensibly would be repaid from profits generated by the mill. Wynn was back East trying to find more investors (he had secured a tentative \$50,000 bond in late December from a Boston bank), and Wynn's wife and daughter, as well as Lasher and his family, were awaiting his return. Lasher hoped that he would return with enough funds to pay for their "indebtedness" and "business entanglements." This may have been a reference to the

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

money owed to Haseltine and then Lake, the bond obligation, and the combined debt to workers in the town. Others in town voiced mixed opinions on whether Wynn would even return, some thinking that he was gone for good. This was a good guess because Wynn's name never appeared again in the newspaper reports of comings and goings from and to Kennedy. His wife and daughter inexplicably hung on for more than a year, and Will Pearce's journal noted that they took the stage to Winnemucca in September 1906, never to return. However, Wynn, along with Lasher and Lake, continued to own properties in Kennedy. Will Pearce had been delivering large amounts of hay, meat, and produce to Wynn on a regular basis the previous two years, but that stopped completely in 1905. Finally, Lasher went over to the ranch to "bargain for a ton of hay," and Pearce delivered it the next day for ten dollars. Lasher's bargaining for something as basic as hay indicates a fair amount of desperation.

The closure of the Imperial mill and related mines in early November prompted George Rowe and Frank Calhoun to file liens on the mill and lawsuits related to unpaid wages. Both men had worked at the mill and mines until they closed, and Haseltine owed each man several hundred dollars for their labors. Rowe sued Haseltine, Wynn, and Lasher, but not Lake, in November, and Calhoun filed suit in the spring of 1905, adding Lake to the list of defendants. Rowe's lawsuit never went to trial, and Haseltine (and possibly Lake) probably settled out of court and eliminated the lien. Calhoun's case went to trial in July 1905, and he successfully proved that he indeed was owed the back wages. Haseltine was out of the picture by that point, so Esther Lake must have had to pay Calhoun, making her one-dollar purchase many times more expensive.

At least fifteen men worked at the mill in 1902, and other men worked in the various mines. The number of workers probably was less by the time of the shutdown, but they were owed back wages just like Rowe and Calhoun. Will Pearce went over to Kennedy from his ranch on January 3, 1905, to haul away a load of cyanide for Lasher. The *removal* of cyanide, as compared to bringing it in, was not a good sign as far as milling was concerned. When Pearce got there, the men working for Lasher refused to let the cyanide be loaded on the wagon because they had not received any wages. Pearce went back home, and Lasher stopped by the ranch a few days later on his way to Winnemucca. Pearce wrote in his journal that "I noticed that Mr. Lasher had a black eye and otherwise bruised" and that Lasher told him that he was going to Winnemucca "on business, or so he says." In July, a month before his lawsuit went to trial, Frank Calhoun was arrested for the assault and battery that produced Lasher's black eye. Why Lasher waited half a year to press charges is unknown, but Calhoun and possibly others may have continued to either beat or threaten him, prompting Lasher to finally file charges. Also, Calhoun had filed the official complaint on his lawsuit just a month before, so tempers undoubtedly were heated between at least Calhoun and Lasher. The district attorney dismissed the assault case at the preliminary hearing and released Calhoun, who returned to Kennedy. Wynn, who was still back East, had left Lasher to be the scapegoat for a major mess. Clearly, the two men were broke and could not cover wages or pay for anything else.

Lasher admitted to Bragg that the complex, sulfide-rich nature of the ore made it difficult to treat, which lent credence to other evidence that the mill did not work as well as planned. Ransome (1909) cited the attempt to use cyanide on the galena (lead-rich) ores from the Imperial mine as one of the reasons for the mill's failure. Klopstock (1913) added that the

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

mill essentially was designed to handle only the oxide ores, which were rapidly being depleted. Klopstock wrote that the mill produced less than \$150,000 in gold and silver during its two years or so of operation. Although that was a substantial amount of money at the time, much of it had to pay for the mill and its new equipment and modifications, leases and purchases of mines, the materials and labor costs of mining and the mill operation, and shipping and smelting costs for the bullion. The project possibly could have succeeded if enough oxide ore was available, but such was not the case.

Lasher for some reason remained in Kennedy along with his family. He staked two new claims – the East Cosmos and Jumbo – in 1905 and 1906, respectively. He, Wynn, and Lake continued to own more than thirty mining claims, and Lasher dutifully did the annual assessment work on them from 1905 until they sold them to Paul Klopstock in 1910. Lake may have paid him to do the work, and that could have been his only source of income. Lasher and his family stayed in Kennedy after the 1910 sale, and Lasher began to work for Klopstock as the on-site manager. Wynn moved to Boston and became a successful real estate broker. He listed himself as married in later census records, but neither his wife nor daughter were living with him.

THE PHILADELPHIA SYNDICATE

The Kennedy mines that belonged to J.A. Blossom's heirs – the Blossom & Blossom company – also attracted attention. An October 1900 article in the *Silver State* reported the Blossoms had "bonded or sold" the Gold Note and other mines to a group of "Salt Lake capitalists." The 1900 agreement was not recorded, but Charles S. Vadner was behind the project. Vadner was a chemist by training and a metallurgist and mining promoter by trade. After working for mining magnate Marcus Daly in Butte, Montana, he relocated to Battle Mountain to be a mining consultant, although his permanent home was in Salt Lake City. Vadner met the Blossoms in Battle Mountain, which led to his 1898 lease on the Gold Note mine and then other leases on some of the Blossom's claims in the Battle Mountain mining district. He made various trips to Kennedy in 1899 to lay the groundwork for a larger project, and Vadner and the Blossoms set up the arrangement in late 1900 that allowed Vadner to set his plan into action. He spent 1901 having the Kennedy properties evaluated and determining the best method for processing. Vadner needed investors, and he undoubtedly spent the rest of his time on the money end of the project.

Vadner's efforts paid off when he convinced a group of Philadelphia investors to put their money into Kennedy. The men included William M. Cramp, John W. Grange, Samuel B. Stinson, George P. Schober, Charles F. Warwick, Max Riebenack, and Thomas M. Thompson, all of Philadelphia. Cramp was the co-owner of the large and well-known William Cramp & Sons shipbuilding company, and the rest of the men were equally well-placed and wealthy Philadelphia-area businessmen. The men used intermediaries – Thomas C. Powell and John W. Winwood from Providence, Rhode Island – to acquire the properties in June 1902. The Blossoms leased their fourteen Kennedy mines and claims for two years, and Vadner witnessed the signing in Philadelphia. The deal included the Gold Note and Trail groups of claims, the

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Kearsarge claim, and other lesser claims (Fig. 3-3). The Blossoms retained ownership of their other "real" property in Kennedy, such as other buildings at the Gold Note mine and in the Kennedy townsite. Powell and Winwood made a \$2,500 down payment, the group had the option to purchase the properties for \$60,000 at any time during the lease. Work had to start within ninety days, and the investors had to incorporate a company to handle all of the mining and financing. That took a little longer than expected, and, even though some of the initial work started as required in September, the Blossoms granted an extension that let the agreement start in early January 1903 and end on the last day of 1904. Both sides signed the new lease in January 1903.

Vadner had other dealings with at least Thomas Powell. The Oceanic Copper Company named Charles Vadner of Battle Mountain as its Nevada agent in July 1902, a month after the initial Kennedy lease was signed. Powell was the company's secretary, and the one-page document regarding Vadner was signed in Providence. What role Vadner actually played for Oceanic – and, by extension, for Powell or whatever investors he represented – is unknown. Vadner clearly was representing the Blossoms' interests in Kennedy during the lease transactions, but he also was an agent for one of the people who was leasing the Kennedy mines. Regardless, nobody seemed to mind this possible conflict if all of the mining progressed successfully. After all, he was a mining promoter and apparently very good at it.

The delay in the final lease was more of a formality, and Vadner plunged into the project with gusto in September 1902. He hired several men to open up the Gold Note mine in September 1902, and freighters began to haul supplies to the mine. He also staked the Iodide, Bromide, and Fluoride claims adjacent to the Gold Note group of claims, and the Hidden Treasure No. 1 and No. 2 claims next to the Hidden Treasure mine (Fig. 3-3). Vadner sold the first three claims to Grange and Stinson for one dollar in November. Next, he put together another package that included the Hidden Treasure No. 1 and No. 2 claims and the adjacent Chromo claim, which Warren Hillyer and Cephas Kyle had staked in 1891 and still owned. He then leased the package to Grange and Stinson for eighteen months (the end date of the original Blossom agreement), with Hillyer and Kyle receiving part of the lease payments. Vadner also staked the Agnes Vadner claim in January 1903 (Fig. 3-3) and sold it to Elvira Blossom later in the month. Finally, Vadner purchased two lots and buildings on Cinnabar Avenue, and he, his wife Agnes, and their children moved to Kennedy. This was their second home for when Vadner was in Kennedy: they also bought a new house in Salt Lake City the same year, a sign that he was doing well.

The Philadelphia men incorporated the Winnemucca Gold Mining Company in Delaware in the middle of January 1903 and then transferred all of the Blossom and Vadner leases and claims to the company a few days later. Three Wilmington, Delaware, men set up the company, bought the first shares to get it going, and then named the investors as the company officers, not unlike Powell and Winwood acting as intermediaries in the original lease. Delaware also was a tax-friendly state that was a popular "place of business" for corporations. The entire process, from start to finish, took the better part of a year from when Vadner first found the investors to the final lease agreement.

The *Silver State* wrote in January 1903 that Vadner "has been retained as the superintendent of the company's entire holdings, with orders to spare no expense in opening up

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

the company's domain in the most approved fashion." That role apparently started in the fall, but the real work began once the deal was finalized in January and the mining company was incorporated. The company built a new ore bin and bunkhouse for the new workers at the Gold Note mine in February, and they added a new blacksmith shop next to the mine in April. Hermon W. Horne, a U.S. Deputy Mineral Surveyor, arrived in Kennedy in March 1903 to survey claims for the Blossoms, Vadner, and the Philadelphia group so that everyone knew exactly what they owned.

The Wynn-Lasher mill was fully operational and was a logical place to process the Gold Note ore, but the Winnemucca Gold Company planned to build its own mill. Even so, the company did not dismiss the Wynn-Lasher mill entirely. In February 1903, they sent seven tons of ore to a Salt Lake City smelter and also had a thousand sacks of ore processed at the Wynn-Lasher mill. The smelter must have produced better results, likely due to the large percentage of sulfide ores, and freight drivers hauled numerous wagonloads of ore to Winnemucca for shipment over the ensuing months. Paul Klopstock, in his later summary of the district's history, wrote that "no effort was made at any time to mill any of the Gold Note ores" at the Wynn-Lasher mill (Klopstock, 1913).

Vadner's goal apparently was to find the investors and get the project going, but the *Silver State* in May 1903 referred to Vadner as "until recently superintendent of the Gold Note mine at Kennedy." Vadner was involved with other projects at the same time as the Kennedy effort: he sold a mine in the Bingham district near Salt Lake City in February; two miners at one of his copper mines in the Battle Mountain district hit good ore in March; and the *Reno Evening Gazette* reported that he was in the process of expanding the Battle Mountain mines in January 1904. He still had a few claims and the house in Kennedy, and the *Silver State* noted his occasional trips to Kennedy in 1904, but he was not mentioned in association with the Winnemucca Gold Mining Company after early 1903.

Marcus A. (Mark) Ranney arrived in the area in June 1903 with his wife, and he took over as the superintendent of the company's Kennedy properties. Ranney was a civil and mining engineer from New York who most recently had been the superintendent of a mining company in Colorado. The miners did not welcome Ranney's arrival and went on strike in early July. Recent changes in labor laws had set the legal workday at eight hours per day, but courts overturned the new law, saying that it was unconstitutional. The workers had not heard of the reversal and went on strike when Ranney reinstated the nine-hour work day. The strike was settled within a couple of weeks, and mining and shipping resumed in the middle of July.

By all indications, the Winnemucca Gold Mining Company's project was a success. The company shipped good ore to smelters in 1903, and Klopstock (1913) reported that the mine produced \$60,000 of "high-grade shipping ore" (today worth about \$1.5 million). It was odd, then, that the Reno or Winnemucca newspapers commonly mentioned the Hidden Treasure and Wynn-Lasher projects in the last half of 1903 and into 1904, but they never mentioned anything about the Gold Note mine or the Winnemucca Gold Mining Company after the strike was settled in July 1903. Will Pearce wrote in his journal that Ranney and his wife stopped by the Pearce ranch for dinner on their way to Winnemucca in May 1904, and that was the last time that they were mentioned in any account. The only later newspaper reports were in January and April 1905, when the *Silver State* reported that George Abrogast, the supposedly new

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

superintendent of the Gold Note mine, left Winnemucca for Kennedy. Abrogast was from Salt Lake City, Vadner's home base, and he probably was there to finalize the transfer of the leased mines back to their original owners. The company's two-year lease agreement with the Blossoms expired at the end of 1904, and its lease with Vadner for the Chromo and Hidden Treasure No. 1 and No. 2 claims ended six months earlier. When Allen Bragg visited Kennedy in April, he wrote that the Gold Note mine was closed and the shaft filled with water (Bragg, 1905).

Thus, for all intents and purposes, the company was active only in 1903, despite producing rich ore from a good mine. U.S. Geological Survey geologist Frederick Ransome visited the district in 1908 and inspected the most recent workings in the Gold Note mine. He found that the rich ore, composed of mixed sulfide and oxide material, was "bunchy" and "difficult to mine," and that the sulfide-rich parts of the veins were lower grade (Ransome, 1909). Even so, the shipments of rich ore that Klopstock reported, even after expenses were deducted, must have netted the investors a nice profit. Unlike previous mine owners in the district, they did not have the added costs of building or running a mill. They just had to mine the ore and ship it to a smelter. The investors may have expected the high profits similar to those coming out of Tonopah, so the more modest but still very good returns from Kennedy may have disappointed them.

The more likely problem was the lawsuit that Grace Blossom, J.R. Blossom's daughter, and her new husband Dennis Duffy filed against her family members: Klopstock (1913) wrote that the mine shut down "because of litigation following the death of Mr. Blossom." The Duffys sued the other family members in November 1903 to essentially give Grace the cash value of her share. They wanted all of the extensive and diverse Blossom & Blossom properties to be sold and the proceeds divided equally between the family members. That included the Kennedy mines, and selling the Gold Note mine could have voided the lease agreement or at least required a new lease with different terms. The absence of any mining news after the lawsuit was filed suggests that all activities ceased because the company did not know if the lawsuit would jeopardize their project and lease. Ranney probably stayed for as long as possible, and his May 1904 departure may have marked the date when the company gave up on Kennedy. Legally, though, the company had to return the properties in good working order to the Blossoms, which accounted for Abrogast's short tenure after the lease officially ended. Had the Duffys not filed the lawsuit, the company conceivably could have stayed through the end of the lease and possibly even bought the mine. As it turned out, the Duffys lost out on their share of the ongoing mining proceeds for another year and possibly even their part of the sales price of the mine if the company purchased it. The lawsuit never gained traction, and they finally dropped the case in 1907.

Vadner and his wife sold their lots and buildings on Cinnabar Avenue in April 1906 for a dollar, having paid three hundred for them in 1901, and they left town for good; in truth, they probably left in 1903 and just owned the unoccupied property. Vadner had applied for a Federal patent on the Hidden Treasure No. 1 claim in 1905, an odd move considering that he otherwise divested himself of all of his Kennedy claims and property and the claim never showed much promise. The patent application triggered a lawsuit by Frank Calhoun, the new owner of the adjacent Hidden Treasure claim. As described later, Vadner won the lawsuit, and

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

the patent was granted in 1906, giving him permanent ownership of the property. Vadner remained in Battle Mountain to be a mining consultant, and he then returned to Salt Lake City in 1910 and then Butte, Montana, where he continued his career as a metallurgist. Agnes sued him for divorce in 1915, but he managed to hold onto the Hidden Treasure No. 1 claim for a few years after the lengthy divorce procedure. He paid property taxes on the patented claim through 1920, at which time the county seized it and sold it at a tax sale to Charles Guthrie. A lengthy trail of newspaper articles extending until his 1955 death in Arkansas portrayed him as a talented chemist and mining broker but someone who would try anything – legal or not – to make money. His time in Kennedy had no hints of scandal, but such could not be said for his post-Kennedy life.

KENNEDY DURING THE SECOND BOOM

News of Kennedy in the *Silver State* went from "this town ... has been scarcely heard of" in early 1902 to "scarcely a day passes that strangers haven't arrived. Most of the men who have come found employment shortly after they arrived" in early 1903. Having three mining companies in Cinnabar Canyon sparked a small but strong resurgence in Kennedy in the early 1900s. New people and families moved to the town, men found work at the mines, mills, and related jobs, and new businesses opened to meet the demand. Kennedy people mentioned in legal records and newspapers grew from sixty-seven in 1901 to ninety-nine in 1902 and a hundred and twenty in 1903, and a variety of laborers and some family members were there but not mentioned by name. For example, Wynn and Lasher had twenty-five men working on the Imperial mill in January 1902 and twenty-eight men working in the mines in late August 1903, and most of their names likely never made it into the written record.

A small number of businesses opened during this period, including saloons, lodging houses, restaurants, and even a barber shop. This was nothing like in 1894, but they served the needs of residents. The post office still did a good business, and the stage and mail came in three days a week. The freighting business picked up considerably, hauling supplies and equipment to Kennedy and ore to the railroad for shipment to the smelters. The school, led by a series of young women, educated what probably was a small number of Kennedy and Pleasant Valley children; that number declined even more to about four or five students in 1905 after the mining companies left town. A couple of dozen voters cast their ballots in 1902 and 1904.

The *Silver State* began publishing newsy letters in 1902 and especially in 1903 from a couple of anonymous Kennedy residents. These missives described daily events in the town, ranging from the arrivals and departures of various people, openings of businesses, dances and parties, delays in the arrival of the stage due to snow, various ailments and sicknesses, social interactions with the ranches, and other happenings that are common to small towns. Those articles provided a wonderful snapshot of daily life – no matter how mundane – in Kennedy. For instance, several women in the town formed the "Shakespeare Club," which was hosted by a different woman each week, indicating a measure of civility and appreciation of literature.

The more somber part of the early 1900s included several deaths of older, well-known Kennedy residents and several shootings (Chapter 4). Charlie Kyle died in 1901, bringing an

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

end to the life of someone who had been in Humboldt County since the early 1860s and served in several county-level positions. The late winter and spring of 1903 were particularly bad for illness and injuries, and many people of all ages were stricken with colds, sore throats, neuralgia, pleurisy, rheumatism, sprained ankles, pneumonia, consumption, and other problems. Five men – William Wilkinson, James Barris, Wallis Van Reed, and John Kellock – died of various illnesses in April of that year. The funeral services for Wilkinson and Barris were held at the school before the two men were buried in the small Kennedy cemetery. The illnesses kept the area doctors very busy and required frequent trips to Kennedy. Kennedy had the greatest number of people in the 1890s but only one reported shooting. That number doubled, with a much smaller population, in the early 1900s. Both took place in Kennedy saloons and revolved around card playing and drinking. In contrast, Dorothy Hapgood, whose grandmother ran one of the boarding houses, recalled that most of the people in town got along just fine (Hapgood, 1985).

News reports of Kennedy in the last half of 1904 told a mixed message about the health of the community. Mail service between Winnemucca and Kennedy was cut from three to two times a week in August. Despite the departure of the three mining companies, people remained somewhat optimistic, at least as reported in the paper, which always remained optimistic. The *Silver State* reported in late 1904 that two mining men who were interested in investing in Kennedy visited the district, but they never returned. Will Guthrie, the county assessor, visited Kennedy at the end of December. He told the newspaper that the mines looked "very promising" and that "a number of miners are in the camp doing assessment work." Assessment work – doing the annual work to maintain ownership of a claim – indicated that the claims were not being mined, and the absence of any mention of mining was noteworthy. Still, in the typical proactive rhetoric of the day, he said that everyone had great confidence in the camp and that there is "plenty of good ore in sight." Guthrie ended by saying that all of that good ore will "pay handsomely ... when there are facilities to work it," effectively confirming that none of the mills in Kennedy were running at the end of 1904.

The *Silver State* and the *Reno Evening Gazette* reported in early December 1904 that the Glasgow and Western Mining Company, which owned the smelter and mines at and near Golconda, planned to extend its narrow-gauge rail line from the nearby Adelaide mines to Kennedy. The timing was surprising because the Glasgow and Western mines were in a holding status in 1904, and all three of the mining companies at Kennedy had left by that point, so nobody was in Kennedy to supply the ore, at least not enough to justify extending the rail line for forty or more miles. The railroad was never constructed, even after the smelter reopened (for only three years) in 1907.

PART III: THE HOSTILITY OF 1905 TO 1910

Kennedy was very quiet over the next five years after the mills and mines once again fell short of their promise. Kennedy shrank to nearly nothing, and the town disintegrated as a cohesive community. Allen Bragg, the *Silver State* editor, described a largely deserted town in April 1905

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

and wrote that "smokeless smokestacks tell the story in silence" and "the little town is apparently sleeping" (Bragg, 1905). Most of the many buildings in town, once occupied by stores and people, stood vacant. Geologist Frederick Ransome visited the district in 1908, described the town as "almost deserted," and noted that "since 1904 the district has sunk into decay" (Ransome, 1909). The only thing that grew was the fractious and somewhat trigger-happy nature of Kennedy's small population. One person was shot, and arrests and lawsuits over other matters increased. After one 1908 shooting and a spate of legal acrimony, the *Silver State* wrote:

"This trial further brought out the quarrelsome nature of some of Kennedy's residents, and the unwholesome environment of the place generally. One Kennedy man has stated that he will at some time kill every person in Kennedy. This bickering and quarreling of Kennedy people has done much toward keeping that camp back, and the citizens of that place should get together and adjust their differences."

The newspapers rarely mentioned Kennedy in the last half of the decade. As Ransome observed, the place was almost deserted; the newspapers had little to report, and the bulk of the limited news from the town centered on shootings and lawsuits, which always was good fodder for the newspapers. A state- and county-wide mining boom was taking place at the same time, leading to the discovery of exceptionally rich gold-silver veins in the National, Rosebud, Seven Troughs, Gold Circle (Midas), and Goldbanks areas starting in 1906, and some Humboldt County residents headed for Tonopah and Goldfield and reported back on the rich discoveries in those new districts. The Winnemucca newspapers were always delighted to report new discoveries, much as they had with Kennedy in the early 1890s and early 1900s. It was no surprise that reports of only minor production and activity at a faded district like Kennedy could not compete with the new districts for the finite space in the newspapers.

The population in the entire Kennedy-Pleasant Valley area never was greater than a hundred people at any one time from 1905 through 1909, and the 1907 R.L. Polk & Co.'s directory reported that Kennedy had "a population of twenty-five people and a semi-weekly stage to Winnemucca, fare \$5.00" (Polk, 1907). This was a dramatic drop from just a few years earlier when the three mining companies were in operation. In contrast, new discoveries in the French Boy Canyon area on the west side of the range – which was part of the Kennedy district – sparked a modest mining boom (Chapter 7). Unfortunately for the main part of the district, that activity did not flow over the ridge into Kennedy.

THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

The town of Kennedy continued to plod along. The 1907 Polk directory listed only two businesses in town: Charley Kennedy as postmaster with a general merchandise store, and the Humboldt Wonder Mining Company, described later. People continued to own and pay taxes on the store buildings and houses, but almost all of the businesses were closed and many of the

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

buildings just sat empty. Dora Roberts still took in lodgers at her boarding house, and Charley Kennedy opened a small store to meet the basic needs. Kennedy also began the process of buying the Kennedy townsite land in 1905 (Chapter 1) after Lasher and Haseltine forfeited their application and the land reverted back to the state. Kennedy paid off the new contract, and the state awarded him the land in early 1907; Kennedy in turn sold a third of it to Jake Leick. They did not physically split the land itself, just their shares in the total land package.

The Post Office Department discontinued the mail and stage service for a year in 1906 because of the minimal business, leaving the canyon and ranchers without mail for the first time since early 1891. The first automobile arrived in 1906, portending the 1910s when those new machines would give the area residents quick access into town and eliminate much of the isolation of the area. Kennedy still had the voting precinct and held regular elections every two years, although the number of voters was always small. The lack of families in Kennedy was the death knell for the school, and it closed after the fall semester in 1908. At the same time, the Pleasant Valley ranchers built a school at the Pearce ranch (Chapter 4). The first classes were held in January 1907, and area had the two schools for a year until the Kennedy school closed.

The Pleasant Valley ranches were far more active and peaceful in the late 1900s than the town of Kennedy, in keeping with the gradual transformation of the area from a mining center into a ranch-dominated population (Chapter 6). They included the Pearce, Schell, Miller, and Golconda ranches, as well as the old Sweeney ranch that went through several managers and owners in the late 1900s. Will Pearce continued to run an active freighting business between Winnemucca, Pleasant Valley, and Kennedy, and he supplied home-raised meat, produce, firewood, and hay to the few remaining residents of Kennedy. The start of the new school in early 1907 added to the Pearce ranch's status as a focal point of the area.

Several of the early Kennedy residents died in the mid to late 1900s. The most prominent among them were Virginia and John Benton, Charley Kennedy's mother and step-father. The Bentons were in their early seventies, and Virginia, as she wrote in a letter to her daughter Carrie in Winnemucca, was having trouble walking and getting around. They bought a house in Winnemucca and moved in early September 1907. Virginia came down with a severe case of bronchial pneumonia soon after the move, and she died on October 23. John passed away six months later as he and Charley were embroiled in a major lawsuit against Peter Laux and Charles Daniels, and the loss of Virginia and the enormous stress of the trial took their toll on his mental and physical health.

The next notable Kennedy resident to pass away was Cephas Kyle, who died in 1909 at the age of sixty-six. A Humboldt County resident since the 1870s, he had been an active presence in Kennedy from the early 1890s and owned various claims, businesses, and the Smith Place ranch south of town. Cephas was part of the large Kyle-George-Guthrie clan that been in Humboldt County since the 1860s and had lived and owned property in Kennedy over the years.

Other former Kennedy-related who died included Mrs. Nancy Huntsman of Battle Mountain, who with her family staked several good claims in the district in the 1890s and early 1900s; Bert Smith of Winnemucca, who owned the stage line in the early 1900s; Frank Molinary, who staked claims and also was involved in several shooting incidents; Anton Souza of Golconda, former claim owner and longtime owner of a small house in Kennedy; and James

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Darnes, who arrived in Kennedy in 1894 and was the Kennedy Justice of the Peace in the late 1890s. The other current Kennedy resident to pass away was Abner Lasher's sister Elizabeth, who died in Kennedy in 1909 at the age of fifty-nine. A school teacher in New York for more than thirty years, she had gone to Kennedy with her brother and his family in 1901, but her arrival and later death were the only mentions of her presence in Kennedy.

MINING

Kennedy did not share in mining rebirth that had taken hold in the rest of the county. It had attracted three companies in the early 1900s, but the late 1900s saw only one mine purchase and an inquiry about buying another mine. Word of the complex, difficult ores and the repeated failure of the mills may have spread, and the region had plenty of mining properties with more orthodox ores and less-antagonistic residents. That left Kennedy, once again, with good ore but no economic way of recovering the gold and silver. The exception was the arrival of Susanville-area investors and miners in French Boy Canyon in the mid 1900s, but that project only produced a little ore after widespread claim staking (Chapter 7).

The very few miners in Kennedy staked only thirty-four new claims in the main part of the Kennedy district from 1905 through 1909 (Fig. 2-3A). In contrast, prospectors staked a hundred and fourteen claims in French Boy Canyon during the same period of time (Chapter 7). Over time, and especially after the three mining companies left in 1904 and 1905, claim owners abandoned many of their claims, which became available for staking. Several of the long-time miners – Charley Kennedy, John Benton, Jake Leick, and Charlie George – restaked a few of those old claims, and former mill manager Abner Lasher staked two additional claims. Newcomer Peter Laux staked three new claims either by himself or with two other new prospectors (Charlie Haden and Charles Daniels) and helped Daniels stake several more. Despite the new claims, Ransome (1909) wrote that "no work of consequence was in progress" and that "the only active industry in 1908 was the catching of wild horses for shipment to Oregon." The limited amount of mining and prospecting, despite the presence of many good prospects, went along with the other comments about Kennedy being nearly defunct.

Charley Kennedy and John Benton were doing the only real mining in Cinnabar Canyon in the mid to late 1900s, albeit on a small scale. They had staked the Hazel Gale claim, on the west side of the Accident mine a few hundred yards north of the Imperial mill, in 1892 but had not done much with it. They renamed it the Fourth of July claim in early 1905 and staked three surrounding claims to create a good package for mining (Fig. 3-3). The Blossom family abandoned many of their claims in 1904, and the two men restaked two of the Trail group claims just west of the townsite as the Hazel Bell and Virginia claims in early 1905 (Fig. 3-3). None of these claims had been mined to any great extent, so Kennedy and Benton were able to take advantage of the plentiful oxide ore. Ironically, the Imperial mill was a long stone's throw away from both groups of claims: had it been running, it could have handled these oxide ores very well, and "shipping" would have been just a short wagon ride down the hill.

The two men, with the periodic help of as many as four miners, worked away at the Fourth of July mine and managed to ship several carloads of good ore a year; a two-carload

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

shipment in May 1906 gave them a profit of about \$10,000. These good returns attracted the attention of Frank Keith, the general manager of the Tonopah Mining Company. He sent a mining engineer to look at the Fourth of July mine in June 1906, but Kennedy was in the process of digging a second tunnel and told the engineer to come back when it was done. He never did. Kennedy and Benton began a third tunnel at the mine in late 1907 to hit the vein at a lower level, and Kennedy continued to produce good ore from the mine after Benton's death. The annual U.S. Geological-U.S. Bureau of Mines mining reports mentioned that the Fourth of July mine was the only semi-consistent producer in Kennedy from 1905 through 1909, and even then the reports called the production small or simply said that "some work was being done" on the mine. It was a small mine, but it was more than enough for Charley.

The Blossom family continued to own the idle and flooded Gold Note mine, and they kept up on the assessment work to ensure that the claims remained theirs. Alfred Schell, a son of Pleasant Valley rancher John Schell, essentially overstaked the entire Gold Note claim block in April 1907. Schell sold the claims to the ephemeral and otherwise unknown Humboldt Wonder Company for a total of ten dollars four days after staking them. He felt that the Blossoms had not done all of the necessary assessment work and that the claims were "abandoned" as a result. Unfortunately for Schell, the county's assessment work records clearly showed that the Blossoms had done the required work.

A few of the other miners produced small amounts of ore, enough to keep themselves afloat. Joe Miller, one of the district's original miners, was working on his Chipmunk and Last Hope claims at the time of Allen Bragg's 1905 visit. He also worked as a laborer at a couple of the ranches in Pleasant Valley, so he probably was not earning much on the mines. Charlie George, another Kennedy district original, had restaked several good abandoned claims in the early 1900s; the Dago, formerly the Accident next to the Fourth of July mine, was the best of the lot and kept George moderately busy. Jake Leick also had a good vein just east of the Dago.

THE GOLCONDA CONSOLIDATED PURCHASE

John Benton, Charley Kennedy, and Walter Wilkinson sold the Cricket, Imperial, and Victor mines to Edward S. Labadie and Alfred Massenet for a total of twenty dollars in late October 1906. The Cricket had been the district's first claim in 1891, and the Imperial, recorded two months later, quickly became one of the largest mines in the district at the time (Fig. 3-3). Kennedy and Benton staked the Victor, a partial claim wedged along the west side of the Imperial claim, in 1904. The Imperial mine had not been worked since the Wynn-Lasher project ended, and mining at the Cricket had been episodic over the years. Kennedy and Benton were busy with the Fourth of July mine, which was more than enough for a couple of miners without having to think about the much larger Imperial. The ten-dollar price for the three Kennedy mines was far below what they were worth. It undoubtedly was part of a broader lease-to-buy agreement that gave Kennedy, Benton, and Wilkinson a percentage of the net proceeds until the sale was finalized.

Labadie and Massenet were involved with investors who two months later formed the Golconda Consolidated Company, Ltd., in London, England. Six of the seven directors lived in

England, and the seventh, Massenet, lived in Paris, France. Golconda Consolidated purchased mines in the Golconda and Battle Mountain areas and planned to build a new smelter in Golconda to process the ore from the two districts. Labadie, the company's Nevada mining and milling superintendent, was from France and had purchased the Great Republic lead-zinc mine south of Golconda. He immediately made plans to extend the Golconda and Adelaide narrow-gauge railroad to the Great Republic. He interested Massenet in both that operation and the potential at Kennedy and other districts, which led to the formation of the corporation and the purchase of various mines, with Labadie's Great Republic mine becoming a centerpiece of their mining operations. The men believed that their smelter could process the "rebellious" lead-rich gold-silver ores from Kennedy.

The company never produced ore from their Kennedy properties, and the U.S. Geological Survey-U.S. Bureau of Mines reports did not mention any work on the three mines. The company reorganized in February 1909 and became the Silverfields Mining Co., Ltd., and that company shut down the smelter in 1910 (Gomes, 2007), the same year that Labadie died while visiting friends in California. The incomplete annual assessment work records show that Labadie and then Silverfields owned the claims through the 1910s, having finalized the purchase from Charley Kennedy. The company dropped the claims in 1921, and its former attorney, Joseph Langwith, restaked them in his name the next year, as described later.

THE HIDDEN TREASURE MINE: ROUND ONE

Most of the mining-related news that came out of Kennedy in the mid to late 1900s centered on the Hidden Treasure claim and mine. The mine had some rich veins, but it was not worth the level of attention that it received or the battles that were fought over it. The first clash was relatively benign, but the second was much more heated and led to arrests and lawsuits. Unfortunately, unresolved issues that started with Edwin Wood and continued through Frank Calhoun precipitated the later problems. The ability of a modest mine to polarize a town and lead to so many problems reflected the overall dour state of the district.

The first round of attention started in late 1905, when Frank Calhoun purchased the Hidden Treasure and adjacent Emma claims from E.K. Wood and the Spencer Mining Company (Figs. 3-3, 3-4). Calhoun also got the two-stamp mill and various buildings on the Hidden Treasure claim as part of the deal. He and his partner, Corydon Chamberlain, had worked at the Imperial mill in the last half of that year, and Calhoun was starting the legal proceedings against George Haseltine over unpaid wages. Calhoun promised to pay Wood a thousand dollars for the properties, although he in truth may have paid nothing, as described later. A short note in the *Silver State* in January 1905 mentioned the sale and that the mill "will shortly start up." In April, the two men employed eight miners who worked eight-hour shifts, and Calhoun and Chamberlain ran the mill and cyanide operation (Bragg, 1905). The mine had a six-hundred-foot-long tunnel, and the men apparently were mining the oxide ore and processing it in the mill. Will Pearce made regular deliveries of meat and produce to the mine, along with freight, wood, and drums of gasoline.

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

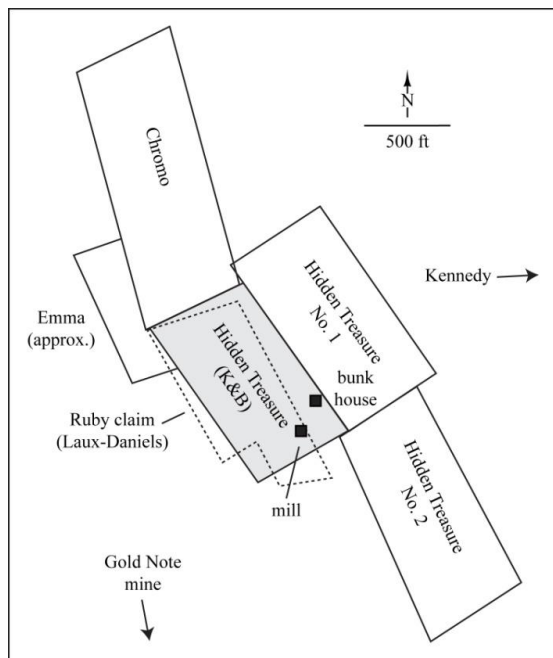


Figure 3-4. Locations of the three Hidden Treasure claims, the Chromo and Emma claims, and the contested Ruby claim. The locations are from two lawsuits: a 1905 lawsuit by Frank Calhoun against Charles Vadner, Warren Hillyer, and Cephas Kyle, and a 1908 lawsuit by John Benton and Charley Kennedy against Peter Laux and Charles Daniels. Maps and documents for both trials are on file with the Humboldt County Clerk. See Figure 3-3 for the locations of the claims.

Charles Vadner staked the adjacent Hidden Treasure No. 1 and No. 2 claims in October 1902, and he began the process of obtaining a federal patent on the Hidden Treasure No. 1 claim in the spring of 1905, as well as on the adjacent Hidden Treasure No. 2 and Chromo claims, which he owned with Cephas Kyle and Warren Hillyer (Fig. 3-4). The three claims abutted the eastern and northern sides of Calhoun's Hidden Treasure claim. Calhoun was convinced that the boundaries of the other three claims overlapped his claim, and he quickly filed suit against the other three men, arguing that the Hidden Treasure had been the first to be staked and thus had legal seniority. In truth, Kyle and Hillyer had staked the Chromo in 1892, two years before the Hidden Treasure was staked, but Vadner's two other Hidden Treasure claims indeed were younger. After considerable evidence was presented at the trial, most importantly an official new survey map of the claims, the court determined in late June that the three claims in fact did not overlap the Hidden Treasure claim. As a result, Vadner was able to proceed with the patent process and received the patent on the Hidden Treasure No. 1 in June 1906. The state did not award patents on the Hidden Treasure No. 2 and Chromo claims. Vadner may have withdrawn them as a result of the lawsuit or lack of continued interest, or the state may not have approved them.

The two lawsuits – Calhoun's against Haseltine and Lake mentioned earlier and the other regarding the Hidden Treasure mine – may have soured Calhoun and Chamberlain on the Kennedy district. Calhoun sold the Hidden Treasure to Will Pearce in mid June 1905 for a little more than five hundred dollars, seventeen chickens, some coal, and two tables. Calhoun and Chamberlain went up to Winnemucca to take in the Fourth of July celebrations, and Calhoun, as described earlier, was arrested on July 3 for the assault against Abner Lasher, only to be released two days later. The two men continued on to Denio along the Oregon border. They told the *Silver State* that they were not abandoning their holdings in Kennedy, but there is no

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

evidence that they ever returned. The *Humboldt Star* noted that Calhoun was in the Chaffee (formerly Dun Glen) district south of Winnemucca in early 1906, and the 1906 tax bill for the Hidden Treasure mill and related buildings was sent to him in Winnemucca. Chamberlain was living in Manhattan in Nye County by March 1906.

In an August 1905 letter to Charley Kennedy, E.K. Wood wrote that Calhoun, in addition to buying the mine, had contracted to buy all of the machinery and tools at the mine for a thousand dollars, payable by late February 1905. Calhoun never paid Wood and apparently left town with many of the tools. Wood went on to write that Calhoun did not pay him for the mine either, and that he had simply trusted Calhoun to eventually come up with the money, likely using the mining proceeds. Wood, in what would be his final words about the mine and Calhoun, wrote that "this has been a very unfortunate affair for me" and that Calhoun "has treated me rather shabby." Because Calhoun had not paid Wood for the claim, the claim technically still belonged to Wood, who gave Charley Kennedy his full blessing in writing to restake the mine and continue mining it, in effect an informal sales contract. As described below, the legal ownership of the claim came to a head in early January 1907.

THE HIDDEN TREASURE MINE: ROUND TWO

Peter Laux arrived in the Kennedy area in late 1903. He managed to get into several battles over claim ownership, which led to his involvement in two lawsuits, at least two arrests, and, in 1912, his murder, as well as other possible incidents that never made the news. When he arrived in Kennedy in 1903, Laux was a forty-seven-year-old German who had immigrated in 1879. He worked as a ranch hand south of Elko in 1900 and then drifted over to the Grass Valley area south of Winnemucca by 1903, where he married Ella Haden, the daughter of one of the ranchers in that area. He moved to Kennedy, bought a house near the Imperial mill from Kennedy and Benton in 1905, and picked up work where he could. Ella gave birth to their daughter Helena in 1906. He staked a few claims, first with Orrin Sawyer and then his brother-in-law Charles Haden in early 1906. Laux struck up a partnership with Charles Daniels, a former Winnemucca bartender, and the two restaked one of the Laux-Haden claims because Laux had managed to let the claim lapse. Like Laux, Daniels intended to stay and bought Fred Wilson's house (the former express office) at the end of January 1907.

Trouble over the Hidden Treasure mine started on January 1, 1907. Daniels and Laux were out in the hills shortly after midnight to get the first jump on abandoned claims that had caught their interest. One of the claims was legitimate: Daniels staked the Gift claim (formerly the Agnes Vadner claim; Fig. 3-3) for Robert Blossom, and the claim notice indicated that he was out at 3 o'clock in the morning to stake the claim. The 1906 assessment work had not been done on the claim after the Winnemucca Gold Mining Company left, and Blossom wanted to make sure that nobody else restaked it. A second claim – named the Helena after Laux's daughter – was not legitimate because it was the Hidden Treasure No. 1 claim for which Charles Vadner had received the patent the year before. Laux and Daniels clearly were trespassing when they overstaked the claim.

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

The third claim, which Daniels staked and named the Ruby claim two hours after midnight, was the Hidden Treasure claim (Fig. 3-4). With the mid-1905 departure of Frank Calhoun and Corydon Chamberlain, nobody had done the annual assessment work on the claim in 1906, or at least not that Laux and Daniels were aware of. As a result, they felt that it had been abandoned and was open for restaking. On the same New Year's Day, John Benton and Charley Kennedy, along with Frank Silve, also tried to restake the Hidden Treasure as the K&B claim. According to a February *Silver State* article, Benton and Silve arrived at the claim five hours after Daniels and Laux had staked it. When Benton and Silve went back on January 29 to measure the actual dimensions of the claim and former workings, which was required before the claim could be filed in the district claim book, Laux and Daniels "beset and threatened them with great personal bodily injury" if they did not get off the claim.

Laux and Daniels obviously felt that they were there first and had the right to fend off intruders. However, threat of bodily harm was against the law, and Benton filed a complaint with the county sheriff. Graham Lamb, the county sheriff, headed down to Kennedy, arrested the two men on February 7, and took them back to Winnemucca. The case almost immediately went to court, and the judge dismissed the charges and released the two men on February 11. At the hearing, Daniels and Laux stated that Benton got angry and tried to tear down their location notices and remove some mining equipment from the property, which was why they kicked him and Silve off the property. Five days after being released, Daniels walked into the district recorder's office in Kennedy and filed the Ruby claim notice in the district claim book, with Laux as the official witness. Charley Kennedy was the district recorder, and logging the claim into the record book undoubtedly galled him, although there was nothing that he legally could do to prevent it. Daniels sold half of the claim to Laux for five dollars in early March.

Apparently convinced that he and Kennedy had as much right to the claim as Daniels and Laux, Benton, this time in the company of Frank Molinary, went back to the claim on March 21 to again try to measure the dimensions of the K&B claim. Molinary was a "quarrelsome" man who had been released from jail after shooting Martin Hawley (Chapter 4), and he reportedly was a large, imposing figure and thus a perfect companion for the elderly Benton. Daniels and Laux were not intimidated and threatened the two men, again with "great bodily injury," if they tried to do any work on the claim. Taking the threats seriously, Benton and Molinary stopped their work and left. Although frustrated with the course of events, Kennedy and Benton filed the claim in the district book on March 27. The lengthy claim notice – three typewritten pages after it was transcribed into the large-format county duplicate notices book – detailed the original staking on January 1 and the subsequent series of events that prevented them from measuring the claim. Lacking their own measurements, Kennedy and Benton simply adopted the dimensions of original Hidden Treasure claim and the details of the mine workings that had been recorded by previous owners.

Despite the difference in recording dates, the original January 1 location date was all that mattered, and the Hidden Treasure had two apparent sets of owners. The question, however, was who really had the legal right to the claim. The Hidden Treasure claim and mine contained a mill, bunkhouse, assay office, and boarding house that the Spencer mining company had built several years earlier (Fig. 3-4). Whoever owned the claim also owned the buildings. The county assessor, Will Guthrie, was well aware of the ownership argument, and

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

he simply taxed both groups for the same mill and buildings. Both groups paid the taxes, each likely assuming that they were the legal owners and thus should pay. Conversely, not paying the tax would have resulted in a tax default and loss of the property (but not the claim), something that neither group wanted.

The next few months must have been tense due to the conflict over the claim ownership. Laux ran a small for-sale advertisement in the *Reno Evening Gazette* for a group of four good claims that were a "genuine bonanza." Laux and Daniels only had four claims to sell by that point, one of which was the Hidden Treasure/Ruby claim. On August 1, Laux stole the claim posts that Kennedy and Benton had finally managed to place on their K&B claim. Kennedy filed a complaint, and Harry Pearce, the deputy sheriff, went down to Kennedy and arrested Laux. The Winnemucca jury acquitted Laux on the theft charges on August 7. At the same time, Benton and Kennedy filed a lawsuit against Daniels and Laux over ownership of the former Hidden Treasure claim. The suit asked for ownership of the claim as well as damages and court costs. On August 18, Virginia Benton, John Benton's wife and Charley Kennedy's mother, sent a letter to her daughter Carrie Wilkinson in Winnemucca. She wrote "Laux has not bothered the men since they served the Injunction. It is what ought to have been done at first. He has carried off several hundred dollars worth of machinery at the last count."

The lawsuit finally went to a jury trial on April 18, 1908. The court documents on both sides were extensive and even included pieces of wood that came from one of the claim posts. After hearing the evidence for three days, the jury decided in favor of Benton and Kennedy on April 22, awarding them ownership of the former Hidden Treasure claim and five hundred dollars in damages. Nothing in the verdict suggests why the jury reached that conclusion, but testimonies by the principal parties and witnesses (none of which were included in the court documents) undoubtedly provided the jury plenty of anecdotal evidence. Also, Benton died the morning of the verdict, and the jury undoubtedly was aware of that, but it is impossible to know if sympathy played into their decision.

A major part of the issue was who actually owned the original Hidden Treasure mine. Just before he left Kennedy in July 1905, Frank Calhoun sold the mine to Will Pearce. However, E.K. Wood's letter to Charley Kennedy in August 1905 that said that Calhoun never paid Wood for the mine, so Wood technically still owned it. Wood added "If you want the mine go ahead and take possession of it and make anything out of it you may." Although the letter was not a legally filed document, it may have been enough to give Benton and Kennedy ownership of the claim, and the jury may have agreed with that. The claim technically still belonged to Wood until the end of 1906, but nobody did the 1906 annual assessment work on the claim, thus rendering the claim abandoned at the stroke of midnight the night of December 31, 1906. Wood might have assumed that his letter gave Kennedy and Benton permission to take over the mine, and those two men should have (in hindsight) formalized the letter into a deed and done the assessment work themselves. To settle the matter after (and possibly for) the trial, Wood filed a "to whom it may concern" notice with the county recorder stating that he had sold all of his interest in the Hidden Treasure mine and property to Charley Kennedy for a dollar. Will Pearce then sold his interest in the claim to Kennedy for five dollars. With the verdict and the two deeds, Kennedy had full, unquestioned ownership of the claim and the related mill and other

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

buildings by the end of 1908, and he was the only person to be taxed for the mine buildings that year.

The day after the trial ended, Laux sold three claims and his share of a fourth to M.S. Bonnifield of Winnemucca for seven hundred dollars and two other claims to his brother-in-law Albert Kattenhorn for another hundred and fifty. Bonnifield had represented Laux and Daniels in the lawsuit, and the "sale" probably was payment for legal fees. Laux may have needed additional money to pay his legal bills, and Kattenhorn helped out by buying the claims. In late 1908 and into 1909, by then lacking any claims of his own, Laux earned money in part by doing the annual assessment work on claims owned by the Blossoms and by Frank Martin of Reno, a former Kennedy miner.

Yet, the saga had not ended. Charley Kennedy filed another suit against Laux in the summer of 1909, alleging that Laux had torn down a wooden building at the K&B mine and taken the thousand board feet of lumber and all of the contents. Kennedy's complaint stated that he had become the owner of the building and contents prior to January 1, 1907, the date that the Hidden Treasure ownership conflict began. Laux responded that he owned the building and that it was not located on Kennedy's property. A week after the suit was filed, the sheriff went to Kennedy, legally (but not physically) seized the lumber and the equipment, and gave it back to Kennedy. The suit did not go to trial until the following spring; Kennedy likely won given his clear title to the property, although the court documents did not include a verdict.

Laux's claims gave Albert Kattenhorn entry to the Kennedy district, and he went on to stake a total of ten claims in 1909 through 1911, most of them in Water Canyon and near the Gold Note mine. Albert's older brother Otto returned from California to join his brother in Kennedy, and he staked a claim with Jake Leick in 1912. Later that year, the two brothers were prospecting in the northern Shoshone Mountains southeast of Battle Mountain. They discovered a rich vein that soon led to the development of the large Kattenhorn mine, which remained in production until about 1923. That was a much more lucrative use of their time, and they abandoned all of their claims in Kennedy.

THE GOLDBANKS DISTRICT

The new mining district of Goldbanks emerged in 1907, and activity there and in Rileyville made the main part of the Kennedy district something of a footnote in the late 1900s. A prospector named Albert P. Smith found promising gold deposits in the Goldbanks Hills north of Kennedy in September 1907 (Fig. 1-2). The news immediately attracted numerous prospectors and claim stakers, who created an almost instantaneous tent city with a platted townsite, four saloons, an assay office, several stores, restaurants, and other businesses. The *Humboldt Star* reported that "hundreds" of mining claims had been staked by the middle of October and that three hundred people were in the new camp, although a later report (Dryer, 1940) indicated that only fifty men may have been involved with mining. The district, however, was short lived because the area only had two, relatively short veins that could have been covered by just a few, not "hundreds," of claims. Geologist Frederick Ransome did not visit the

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

district on his 1908 trip, but he reported that the district "had become very quiet in 1908" (Ransome, 1909), and the Winnemucca papers did not mention Goldbanks in the latter half of that year.

Goldbanks was separate from Kennedy, but it affected Kennedy in several ways. As noted earlier, it took away from the news coverage of Kennedy and drew a few Kennedy miners to the new camp. After failing to acquire the Gold Note claims, Alfred Schell staked and sold a few claims in Goldbanks in late 1907, built a feed stable, and tore down a building in Kennedy and moved it to Goldbanks for a saloon. Jake Leick, enterprising as always, immediately started a stage and freight line between Winnemucca and Goldbanks. Several other long-time Kennedy miners, notably Ed Stone, staked claims in the new district in its early days. Goldbanks gave Will Pearce a lot of freight business, and he even hauled a saloon building to Goldbanks from Dixie, on the east flank of the Stillwater Range to the south. The district was part of the Kennedy township, and the few remaining residents in the district appeared in the 1910 census of the Kennedy precinct. The district continued at a low level for a couple of decades and then became more active when mercury, not gold, became the focus of mining.

PART IV: A SLOW DEATH TO THE END– 1910 THROUGH WORLD WAR II

Although two, albeit small, mining and milling companies arrived in the 1910s, Kennedy was on the long downward slope towards oblivion. The newspapers devoted far more attention to the district's only murder and a major earthquake than to any of the mining or town activities. The few remaining people and an equally small number of newcomers managed to keep a low level of activity going into World War II, but Kennedy had lost its allure as a place to find riches. Some outside observers might have said that Kennedy indeed was dead in the 1920s, when just a few people lived there and only three men were mining. The 1930s saw a very modest uptick in activity and people thanks to the Depression and the increase in metal prices, but "modest" is about as generous as one could be to describe the district in that period. For all intents and purposes, the Kennedy district ceased to exist in late 1942 when the U.S. Government banned gold and silver mining during World War II.

A large, diverse population collectively drove Kennedy's periodic successes and failures during Kennedy's first two decades. In contrast, the story over the following three decades was all about individuals or small groups of people, with little to no sense of community. The ephemeral population averaged less than two dozen people, and almost all of them were working on their separate mines. Even the two small companies in the 1910s were in Kennedy because each had a strong leader and a small number of company workers that were there for only that purpose. People did continue to live in Kennedy through the remaining decades, but the "town" was more of a collection of individuals who happened to be in the same place than a coherent community with a sense of fellowship and overriding goals. Kennedy had a lot of

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

parts that did not really add up to a whole. In comparison, the Pleasant Valley ranches had more people and a fairly robust social and economic life (Chapters 5, 6).

Two of the major reasons for Kennedy's decline were the difficulty in processing the complex ores and investors finding new and better places to invest their money. The "rebellious" ores at Kennedy had been a problem from the very beginning, and investors and mill owners had found equally rich, if not richer, districts where they could extract the gold and silver more easily and cheaply. At a broader scale, the stock market, rather than risky mining ventures, became the preferred place for investors to put their money starting in the 1910s and especially in the 1920s. That strategy ultimately failed with the stock market crash in 1929, the loss of huge amounts of investment dollars, and the onset of the Depression that lasted until World War II. However, the Depression and the accompanying increase in metal prices in the early 1930s drove a lot of men out into the hills in search of gold and silver. Some of them went to Kennedy to try their luck, which added to the small group of miners that already were there. At a more local scale, the increased popularity of the automobile starting in the early 1910s removed much of the need to live in Kennedy, even though a few men really had no other place to go and stayed there. Mine owners could live in Winnemucca or Reno, drive to Kennedy for a few days or weeks to do some work, and then head back home.

The best way to describe the history of Kennedy from 1910 to the end is to focus on the two mining companies in the 1910s and the individuals or partners that ran the other operations through time. Each person or small group had its own purpose and drama, each carried out in parallel with little substantive influence on the other people or groups, and describing them is the same as describing the district as a whole. The following sections introduce these projects in the general order in which they first appeared. Some lasted for only a few years, and others spanned the entire period. The small town of Kennedy did continue to some degree, with various events and people along the way, and those are described in the last section.

CHARLEY KENNEDY AND THE FOURTH OF JULY MINE

Charley Kennedy had been working on the Fourth of July mine largely by himself since John Benton's death in 1908, as described earlier (see also Fig. 3-5). He periodically shipped a carload of hand-sorted, high-grade ore (up to two hundred dollars per ton) to smelters in California and Salt Lake City once or twice a year, which was enough to support the family and pay for supplies in Kennedy. This mine was the only one in Kennedy that consistently appeared in the U.S. Geological Survey-U.S. Bureau of Mines annual summaries of mining activity. The grade of the hand-sorted ore averaged from a hundred to two hundred dollars per ton, and some select ore had as much as five ounces of gold and fifteen hundred ounces of silver per ton, for a value of about sixteen hundred dollars per ton. The *Humboldt Star* commented in 1918 that "Mr. Kennedy has made a number of shipments from this property and seemingly when he needs a little ready cash he gets it from this estate."

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

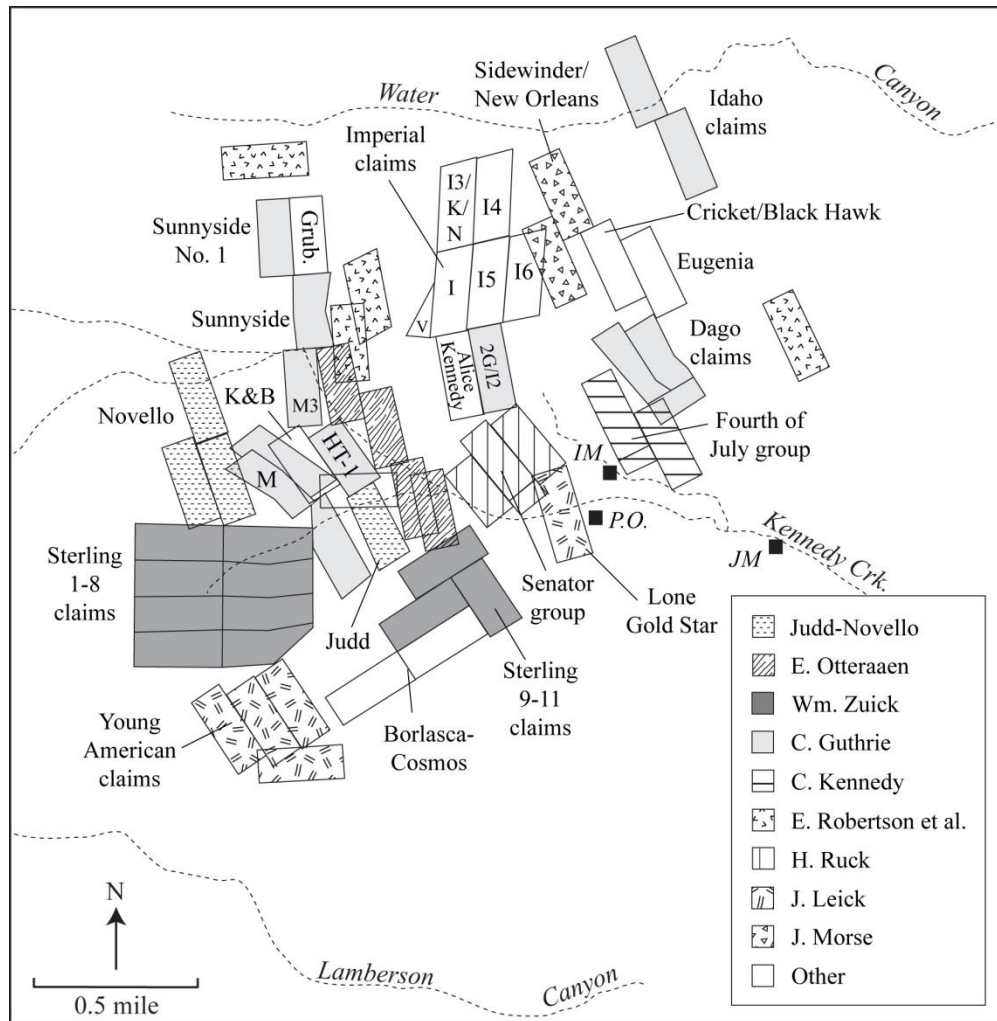


Figure 3-5. Locations of the major claims staked from 1916 into the 1930s. A few other claims are shown but not labeled, and the location information for others was very poor. The Post office (P.O.), Imperial mill (IM), Jenkins (Roylance) mill (JM), and major creeks are shown for reference (see Fig. 4-2). Claims owned by one person or working group are shown with a similar pattern. Abbreviations: Grub., Melvin McCoy's Grubstake claim; I prefix, Joseph Langwith's and Charley Kennedy's various Imperial claims; I3/K/N, the original Kearsarge claim, later restaked as the Kearsarge (Hickok), Imperial No. 3 (Langwith), and Nevada (Leick) claims; HT-1, Hidden Treasure No. 1 claim (patented; Charlie Guthrie and Odie Roberts); K&B, Charley Kennedy's K&B claim (formerly the Hidden Treasure claim); M, Guthrie's and Roberts' four Manhattan claims; 2G, Charlie George's 2G claim, restaked as the Imperial No. 2 by Charley Kennedy.

Charley Kennedy went through a major transition in the 1910s. An August 1913 note in the *Humboldt Star* mentioned that Charley had been "ill at the hospital." He and his wife Ida rented a house in Winnemucca that month and moved all of their belongings into town. Whatever ailed Charley must have been serious because he deeded over all of his property to Ida in August for "the love and affection which he bears towards his wife, and for the purpose

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

of providing for her better support and maintenance and for the purpose of making her a gift." The property included his share of the townsite land, seven claims, and the mill at the K&B mine. However, Charley did not die as feared and was a co-seller when they sold the mill, several of those claims, and some of the townsite land in 1914 and 1916. Ida took some of the proceeds to buy the house in Winnemucca in early 1915. Perhaps notably, Charley's name was not on that deed, and Ida was taxed for all of the Kennedy properties through 1924, so she remained the legal owner and did not transfer them back to Charley after he recovered.

Charley continued to spend much of his time in Kennedy. Besides mining, he continued as the district recorder through 1916 and the postmaster (with his son Marvin's occasional help) through 1917, but he gave up both positions. Ida and the children spent the summers in Kennedy and then lived in Winnemucca during the school year; Charley, who by then had a Ford automobile, went into Winnemucca on weekends. Their daughter Alice went off to nursing school in San Francisco in 1917, their oldest son Marvin enlisted in the U.S. Army Signal Corps the same year, and the youngest child Robert continued in school in Winnemucca. Charley's increasingly continual absence became too much for Ida, who filed for divorce in late 1925 after setting the stage for two years. She already had moved to Reno to work full time as an attendant at the state mental hospital in Reno. It was there that she met Malcolm Johnson, who worked as a cook. She filed the divorce papers in Reno in November 1925, and she and Malcolm were married the next year. Robert began college at the University of Michigan that fall, so Charley was the only family member remaining in the area.

Unburdened by family obligations, Charley lived and worked in Kennedy full time after the divorce because he had no reason and probably desire to be anywhere else. He worked on the Fourth of July mine and staked the Imperial No. 2 claim in 1929 (Fig. 3-5). The claim covered about the same ground as Charlie Guthrie's 2G claim, which Guthrie dropped after 1924. Joseph Langwith also hired Kennedy to do the assessment work on the Imperial claims in the early 1930s, so Kennedy was working for someone else on a mine that he had discovered in 1891. His daughter Alice married Charles Garrett, a Sacramento pharmacist, in 1927, and their daughter Mary Olive was born the next year. Charley began to spend his winters in Sacramento from late spring into the fall in Kennedy. One 1936 newspaper article, when he was seventy-three years old, mentioned that he continued to return to Kennedy because he "finds life too soft in California for an old desert prospector." Charley may have been doing less mining as the years went along. He leased the Fourth of July mine to Stewart Welter of Argenta in late 1935, and Welter spent the winter mining in Kennedy while Charley was in Sacramento. Charley began to ship tailings from the Imperial mine dump in 1934 and sent off two hundred tons in 1936 (Vanderburg, 1936). Nobody owned the metal-laden tailings, so Charley just decided to take advantage of them because it was easier than mining.

Charley died in Sacramento on April 8, 1941, at the age of seventy-seven. His kidneys began to fail, and he spent much of the winter at the Humboldt County hospital. When his condition worsened, he went to Sacramento on April 1 and died a week later. He was buried in Sacramento, leaving Alice and Robert, who lived in Michigan, as his sole survivors. Alice had begun to handle some of Charley's legal affairs in the mid 1930s, and she was the administrator of the estate, which included the claims and Charley's share of the townsite land.

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Alice hired John Russi and Jim Owens to work on the Fourth of July shortly after Charley's death. They also staked the Alice Kennedy claim, which was adjacent to the Langwith's Imperial claims (Fig. 3-5), and put it into Alice's name. Russi was a wealthy rancher and banker from the Sacramento area, with no apparent mining background, but he may have been a friend of the Garretts and agreed to oversee work on the claims so that Alice would not lose them. Russi hired Owens, a miner from Rochester, do the work. They began mining at the Fourth of July and shipped a load of ore that averaged fifty-four dollars per ton. Alice and her family went to Kennedy in August 1941, her first trip back to Kennedy after her father's death, to see how everything was going. She decided to sell the Imperial No. 2 claim to Joseph Langwith but held onto the Fourth of July mine and the Alice Kennedy claim. The government's 1942 order to stop mining gold and silver ended Russi's and Owens' actual mining, but they helped Alice hold onto the claims through war with a combination of assessment work and intent-to-hold notices.

Alice died in June 1947, and her husband Charles became the owner of the Kennedy properties. He continued to pay the property taxes on the townsite land over the years and then deeded the property to his daughter Mary in 1958. Mary, who had become Mary Wheeler, held onto the land until she deeded it over to a relative in 1995. Garrett paid for assessment work on the two claims through 1952 and then abandoned them. That abandonment officially ended more than sixty years of continuous claim ownership by the Kennedy family in the town that bore their name.

THE GOLD NOTE MINING AND MILLING COMPANY

Paul Klopstock moved from New York City to Austin in 1906 to run a mining brokerage, a job that let the young man (he was twenty-two at the time) invest in and open new mines. A San Francisco company hired him in early 1907 to evaluate a mine in northwestern Nye County, and he started a new project south of Austin later the same year and began to develop the property into a mine. Klopstock had no training in geology or mining except for his short experience in Austin and Nye County, but he was a quick learner and his confidence made up for his limited expertise. Klopstock wanted to expand his mining operations, and someone mentioned that the Kennedy district might have possibilities, so he headed to Kennedy for a visit in late 1909.

Klopstock decided that the Kennedy district had promise if the mines were properly developed and the mill remodeled with new equipment and processing methods. He also realized that he would need to control a large number of mines to make sure that enough ore was available for the mill. The varied and extensive claim holdings of the Blossoms, Esther Lake, Abner Lasher, and Charles Wynn definitely were available. All of those people all were eager to sell their mines after more than five years of inactivity, and Klopstock was an equally willing buyer. Some of the good mines were not available, though. Charley Kennedy was not interested in selling his Fourth of July mine, and the Imperial, Cricket, and Victor mines still belonged to the Silverfields Mining Company.

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Klopstock moved quickly. He went to Battle Mountain in late April 1910 and signed a contract with Elvira MacDonald, formerly Elvira Blossom and the trustee of the Blossom & Blossom company, to buy the six claims that comprised the Gold Note mine. The purchase price of \$40,000 was to be paid in four unequal installments from September 1910 to March 1912. On the same day, Klopstock signed a contract with Will Pearce, the rancher on the east side of Pleasant Valley, to use Pearce's water in the creek above the ranch. Klopstock planned to build a dam to generate electricity, which would be sent over power lines to Kennedy and also to Pearce's ranch. Klopstock used his New York City address for the contracts, and he was counted there in the 1910 census, but he obviously spent quite a bit of time in Nevada.

Newspaper articles or other accounts had not mentioned other investors or partners by this point. Klopstock had signed a \$40,000 contract, but the first payment of five thousand dollars was not due until September, which gave him some time to generate the money. The *Humboldt Star* in late April called Klopstock "an engineer representing Eastern people," and that, after signing the contract with MacDonald, he "left the camp a few days ago for New York to perfect the financial arrangements for carrying out his plans for the rejuvenation of Kennedy." Although the ultimate investors were from San Francisco and not the East, Klopstock's involvement with the Paris-funded mine south of Austin undoubtedly introduced him to the world of investors. New York, his home base, was a good place to start.

Klopstock also began negotiations with Esther Lake, Charles Wynn, and Abner Lasher for their claims and the Imperial mill, and with Arthur Lasher for his eight claims. They wanted him to form a corporation to hold all of the properties and oversee all of the mining, and they wanted their payments in company stock. These negotiations stretched into the middle of 1911, but they let him start using the properties in the meantime. Abner Lasher was Lake's on-site manager, and he likely was the one who gave Klopstock approval to use the mill before a formal contract was created. As it turned out, Lasher became the treasurer of the new company and the on-site manager, so he probably decided that the sooner Klopstock started, the sooner he would have a steady job.

Klopstock began work in the district in early August 1910. He hired a "force of men" to clean up and repair the mine workings, and another group started to get the Imperial mill in working order. Klopstock also planned to lease out a number of the mines and claims to other miners, which would ensure a steady stream of ore to the mills and limit the number of miners that the company would need to employ. Klopstock intended to eventually use "truck automobiles" to haul freight to Kennedy and ore to Winnemucca.

Klopstock told the *Humboldt Star* in the middle of August that the Imperial mill would be in operation within a week. He hired miners to "take down ore for shipment and this production will amount to about \$3,000 this month." He planned to make monthly shipments of ore to the smelters "until the mills are in good running order, when the ore will all be reduced in camp." This would pay for the equipment, miners, and other workers, as well as his initial payments to the Blossoms. He paid the required installments by the deadlines in September 1910 and March and September 1911. A similar confirmation was not recorded for the final payment on March 1, 1912, although Klopstock and the company were still involved with Kennedy at the time. The First National Bank sent him a letter in March 1911 confirming the shipment of impure bullion to the Selby smelter (the proceeds from which were used to pay

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

that installment), so the Imperial mill was operating successfully on at least a small scale by that time. Klopstock likely used the machinery left over from the Wynn-Lasher days to create concentrates that he melted into impure bullion (steps 5 through 8, then 11, Fig. 2-15).

Klopstock signed contracts with Lake, Wynn, and the Lashers in July 1911 to buy their claims, the mill, and other property. He then talked to several San Francisco-area investors, and they incorporated the Gold Note Mining and Milling Company, with 1.5 million shares of one-dollar stock on September 11, 1911. He may have had this in mind from the outset because the company name began to appear in the newspapers and lawsuits as early as August 1910. The five directors were F.B. Rosencrans, H.W. Mathews, M.J. Doolin, J.L. Grosdidier, and T.J. Ryan, all of whom were successful businessmen in the San Francisco area and purchased a few hundred shares of the stock apiece. They named Klopstock to be the president and manager; Henry Bredhoff, a high-level manager for the F.W. Woolworth Co. in San Francisco, was the vice president, Mathews was the secretary, and Lasher was the treasurer.

With the company established, Klopstock sold the MacDonald claims and all of the claims and property in the contracts to the company for 790,000 shares of stock. He transferred eighty thousand of those shares to Esther Lake; even though Charles Wynn and Abner Lasher were on the contracts, she in essence owned all of the properties, so her name was put on all of the stock certificates. Arthur Lasher got twenty thousand shares for his separate claims; he staked one more claim and sold it directly to the company in late August 1912 for five hundred dollars in cash, not stock. The deal with MacDonald and the Blossoms was strictly cash payments and did not involve any stock. Thus, Klopstock's company bought and leased all of its claims and did not stake any of its own.

The transition from the previous owners to Klopstock was not seamless. Three men – W.S. Smith, Frank Merrill, and W.S. McHench – filed lawsuits against the Gold Note Mining and Milling Company and the previous owners in late 1910 for unpaid wages, even though the company had not yet been incorporated. The lawsuits said that Klopstock had hired the men on or about August 1, 1910, to work at the Imperial mill and (or) the Gold Note mine for a month or two, and they had not been paid. In addition, the Blossoms had hired Peter Laux in early 1910 to do the annual assessment work their claims. He had not been paid by late November, and he filed suit against only the Blossoms, who had hired him. All four men filed liens against either or both the mines and mill, which threatened the ownership of those properties. For the sellers of the mines and mill, Klopstock represented a rare chance to get rid of unproductive properties; for Klopstock, the mines and mill were his chance at future success. None of them wanted something as trivial as a few hundred dollars of unpaid wages to stand in the way, so the old and new owners paid the wages and made the problems go away.

Except for the lawsuits and a murder, Klopstock and the company's activities at Kennedy were not mentioned in any of the Nevada newspapers between September 1911 and August 1912. Klopstock had hired someone to photograph the mill and make post cards (Fig. 2-14A), and he sent Will Pearce one of the post cards from San Francisco on October 9, 1911, writing "Will shortly start up Kennedy ... Expect to be up shortly." Pearce's stage records show that the company paid for freight transport to Kennedy in late 1911 and early 1912, which indicated activity on Klopstock's part. Klopstock also was generating enough income, either from stock sales or mining and milling, to make the March and September 1911 payments to

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Elvira MacDonald. Klopstock was busy with a variety of other projects in addition to the one at Kennedy: he continued to be involved with the mine south of Austin and was hired as a consultant to inspect asphalt mines in Sicily, Italy, sometime in 1912. Klopstock continued to search for investors or, even better, someone who would buy the Kennedy properties for a good price. The *Humboldt Star* reported in early January 1912 that Josiah H. Trerise, a well-known mining engineer who was developing copper mines in the Sierra Nevada foothills of California, spent a few days in Kennedy to evaluate the mines and mill. He apparently liked what he saw and planned to return for a closer examination. At that point, though, little to no work was being done on the company's mines, although mining typically slowed or stopped in the winter, and Klopstock failed to pay the March 1912 installment to Elvira MacDonald.

The Gold Note mining company, however, received ample and undoubtedly unwanted attention in January 1912 when Peter Laux was shot from ambush on January 23 and died in Winnemucca on February 13. Klopstock had hired Laux to do the 1911 assessment work on the Gold Note group of claims but did not have enough cash to pay all of Laux's wages. Laux refused to take Klopstock's promissory notes and asserted that the lack of payment made the claims available for staking on January 1. He and his wife's uncle, Ben Labigan, restaked them that day in their own names. The Gold Note company had owned the claims, and the company (particularly Paul Klopstock) was understandably furious about Laux's actions. Heated arguments and threats of legal action on the parts of both Klopstock and Laux filled the ensuing days and weeks, but neither side was willing to back down or compromise.

Laux and Labigan went up to one of the claims on January 23 to work on one of the new claims. The two men were eating lunch when two shots rang out from a low cliff of rocks a hundred and fifty feet or so east of them. The second shot hit Laux in the side of head, and he fell motionless to the ground. Labigan jumped for cover behind some nearby rocks and then made a run for it, arriving at John I. Guthrie's ranch (the old Sweeney ranch) in Pleasant Valley near dusk. Guthrie sent someone to Winnemucca for the doctor and sheriff, and a posse of men rode in the dark to Kennedy and then up to the crime scene. Laux was still alive, and they carried him down to his house in Kennedy. The doctor, deputy sheriff, justice of the peace (who doubled as the coroner), and district attorney arrived the next afternoon, the former to tend to Laux and the latter three to interview people and examine the crime scene. Finally, they all, including Laux, went to Winnemucca. The investigation narrowed the potential shooter down to Jake Leick, the long-time Kennedy miner, and George Fronhofer, who was the newly hired watchman at the Gold Note mine. They were arrested and taken to Winnemucca. Leick and Fronhofer were taken to Laux's hospital bed a day or two later, and Laux identified Fronhofer as the man who had shot him. Leick was released and Fronhofer was formally arrested and put in jail. A preliminary grand jury a week later hearing charged him with assault with intent to kill. The charge was changed to murder when Laux finally died on February 13.

Fronhofer's trial began in late December. District Attorney James A. Callahan wanted to prove two points: first, that Fronhofer had murdered Laux, and, second, that his actions were a part of a conspiracy on the part of the Gold Note mining company to have Laux killed. The trial lasted for a week and involved a number of witnesses for the prosecution. Most of the men on the defense's witness list were part of the supposed conspiracy, and the defense was not about to put them on the stand to be grilled by Callahan, so neither they nor their testimonies were

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

part of the trial. Callahan had been counting on using Laux's identification of Fronhofer as the centerpiece of the murder trial. However, Judge Edward A. Ducker ruled that, because Laux lived for more than two weeks after he pointed the finger at Fronhofer, the identification did not fall under the "dying man's testimony" doctrine. With that piece of proof gone, Callahan's remaining evidence was only anecdotes and inferences. His attempt at proving the existence of a conspiracy also was largely circumstantial, especially without the testimony of those who he felt were part of the conspiracy. The two Winnemucca newspapers felt that Callahan had no chance of winning with such slim evidence. However, the jury convicted Fronhofer of murder. Affidavits taken after the trial showed that the jury did not believe that Fronhofer had shot Laux, but that he knew who did. They felt that not identifying that person was just as bad as shooting Laux. As a result, Fronhofer was sentenced to life in prison and sent off to the Nevada State Prison in Carson City, but he was released on appeal in 1915 and freed completely later in the year.

The shooting had a strong effect on the twenty or less people who lived in Kennedy at the time. The Kennedy's, and especially Ida, wondered if the murder and the small size of the town was enough of a reason to move the family to Winnemucca permanently. Peter's wife Ella and their daughter moved in with her sister and her husband Albert Kattenhorn at their mining camp southeast of Battle Mountain. The shooting probably did not adversely affect the six or so miners who lived in Kennedy, and they may have been relieved because most of them were sworn enemies of Laux (and vice versa). Regardless of the conspiracy theory, Paul Klopstock benefitted from Laux's shooting because Laux had not filed his new claim notices on any of the former Gold Note mine claims by the time that he was shot. Laux's death meant that the Gold Note claim block was either newly available or still belonged to Klopstock, depending on one's point of view. The problem for Klopstock was potential negative publicity as he continued to search for investors. Josiah Trerise never returned as promised: whether that was due to economic considerations, lack of interest, or the taint of the murder is best left to speculation.

After an eleven-month hiatus in news about the company's actual mining activities, as compared to the murder, newspaper articles that instead focused on the mill briefly resumed in August 1912. Klopstock and two autos filled with miners and other workers went from Winnemucca to Kennedy to begin overhauling and repairing the mill machinery and to start developing the Gold Note mine. Nobody mentioned why the mill needed to be overhauled, although it had not been mentioned except for the bullion production in March 1911. Lasher had been the mill superintendent, but Roy Brown took over the position for this new round of work, with Marion Foss as his assistant; Lasher remained as company treasurer and Klopstock's main on-site representative. Brown had worked at a mill in the Rawhide district southeast of Fallon and then at a mine on Winnemucca Mountain just before joining Klopstock's group, and Foss was a young mining engineer from Chicago. Brown told the *Humboldt Star* in the middle of September that the mill work was continuing and that it should be ready to start "in a few weeks." The auto stages were kept busy hauling passengers, luggage, and freight to Kennedy, and the newspaper, ever the optimist when it came to new business developments, made it sound like good progress was being made.

Klopstock wrote a paper on the Kennedy district in February 1913 and presented it at the August 1913 meeting of the American Institute of Mining Engineers in Butte, Montana

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

(Klopstock, 1913). He outlined the geology, mines, and mining history of the district, including details about the various attempts to process the ores on site. He particularly focused on the milling method that Wynn and Lasher had used in the early 1900s. Klopstock said that he had tested the sulfide ores "during the last few months," and he concluded that he could successfully extract the gold and silver from the sulfide ores with some additional processing steps and machinery. He planned to expand the capacity of the Imperial mill to a hundred and twenty-five tons per day and build another smaller mill to handle the custom milling. He concluded by saying that "mill construction will be started with the opening of spring [1913]." Much of this sounded nearly identical to what the newspapers reported in August 1910 and again in August 1912, so how much actual progress had been made before early 1913 is unclear. Klopstock's tests were in late 1912 and early 1913, long after the mill supposedly had started. The new round of tests suggested that whatever the mill was doing earlier had not worked all that well and that Klopstock needed to figure out why.

The newspapers wrote nothing more about the company's activities until May 1913, when Roy Brown and Lloyd Gallahan, another mining engineer, went into Winnemucca. Brown told the *Humboldt Star* that "dirt will fly" in about two weeks, and that "great work is planned for production and reduction of the immense bodies of medium grade ores." This corresponded to Klopstock's comments in his paper about expanding the mill. Brown started the Imperial mill in late August and did a test run on thirty-five tons of ore from the Gold Note mine. Brown's progress was short lived, unfortunately: a major rain storm on September 3 produced a major flood, and the *Humboldt Star* wrote that the mill was heavily damaged and that "the precipitating room and other parts of the mill" were washed down the canyon.

When Brown spoke to the *Humboldt Star* in May, he said that Klopstock had been able to find the "necessary financing" in London, Paris, and other cities in Europe. This was Klopstock's third attempt to get the mill and mine in working order, and each was separated by a break of more than half a year. The Gold Note Mining and Milling Company apparently still existed, as evidenced by infrequent mention by name in the paper and continued property tax records, but the original San Francisco investors may have stopped funding the project. For instance, Henry Bredhoff, the vice president of the company, moved to Hawaii in 1912 to oversee a chain of motion picture theatres on the islands. Klopstock had to find new investors, and he may have turned in part to the Paris investors who earlier had funded his Austin mining venture. The episodic but short-lived bursts of activity could have reflected Klopstock's repeated attempts to find new investors, restart the work when funding was promised, and then stop when it did not materialize or ran out. News of the storm and flood was the last time that the newspapers mentioned Klopstock by name, and the U.S. Geological Survey-U.S. Bureau of Mines annual report for 1913 said that Kennedy had "no production of ore or bullion."

The September 1913 flood may have been the last straw for Klopstock, but he apparently had lost interest in the district earlier in the year and money was scarce as far back as the middle of 1912. Roy Brown sued the company in November 1913 for unpaid wages amounting to about twenty-five hundred dollars, dating from August 1912 through November 1913, as well as about eight hundred dollars in expenses that he incurred as superintendent during the same period. The last check from the company's banker was in March 1913, but Brown somehow continued to pay wages to other men through October, when six men worked for him

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

for parts of the month, and he (and the miners) clearly expected to be paid. Brown's lawsuit included a lien on the Imperial mill and mill site, the claims of the Gold Note mine, and other claims owned by the company in Kennedy.

Abner Lasher, as the local and perhaps only remaining representative of the company, responded to the lawsuit in February 1914, saying that much of what Brown alleged was true. On the other hand, he claimed that Brown sold or "permitted to be lost" nine hundred dollars' worth of mining equipment and, through neglect, allowed the September flood waters do six hundred dollars in damage to the mill. Brown immediately responded and said that the company had no evidence for any of their allegations, and he questioned how his supposed negligence was responsible for the flood damage.

Judge Ducker ruled in Brown's favor in May 1915 and ordered that the mill, mill site, and mining claims be sold at a sheriff's sale, with the proceeds – or, in the absence of a buyer, the mill and claims – going to Brown. Nobody bid on the properties at the January 1916 sale, and Brown became the owner of the mill and claims, thus ending the tenure of the Gold Note Mining and Milling Company in Kennedy. Brown had done the annual assessment work on all of the Gold Note company's claims in 1912, but nobody did the work in 1913 and they became available for restaking at the beginning of 1914, more than a year before Brown won the lawsuit. Brown left Kennedy for good in early 1914 and began working in the National district north of Winnemucca; he was living there when he won the lawsuit. He then worked as a mine superintendent in various other Nevada mining districts into the 1920s.

Klopstock, for all intents and purposes, really wanted the Kennedy venture to be a booming enterprise. His repeated dogged efforts to find new funding and restart the work over the course of several years indicate a man who wanted the project to succeed. The newspapers reported good results during the first year of operation, at least during "test runs" of the mill, but the metallurgically difficult ores repeatedly stymied his efforts even after more than two years of trying. Klopstock was caught in a bind: he needed investor money to start (and later remodel) the mill and produce gold and silver, but he could not get funding if he was not producing those metals. He had the initial backing from several investors in the San Francisco area as early as 1910, and he had enough cash flow to pay expenses and debts through September 1911. By late 1911, however, the promissory notes that he tried to use to pay Peter Laux were worthless because the company did not have the funds to back them up. Elvira MacDonald demanded to be paid in cash installments instead of stock, and she may have been the only person who made money on the entire venture, although perhaps not all that she had been promised. Klopstock paid Esther Lake and Arthur Lasher in company stock, which turned out to be as worthless as the promissory notes with little to no production from the mill to back it up. The newspapers reported at least two occasions when an influx of cash from new investors allowed work to restart, and Josiah Trerise had been a possible additional investor or buyer. None produced any tangible results. The project died because of a combination of difficult-to-process ores, the minimal metal production and thus investor support, a company-related murder and related bad publicity, and a damaging flood. Also, Klopstock was only twenty-six years old when the Kennedy project began and only two years older when he was faced with the very difficult Peter Laux situation. He clearly was a bright, talented young man,

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

but a more experienced and "seasoned" person might have been able to get through the financial and personnel problems better than Klopstock.

Klopstock returned to New York City and eventually established Paul Klopstock & Co. in 1916. The company imported and exported goods and had offices in London, Paris, New York, and Italy. He also continued to be involved with various mining ventures, as well as engineering projects in Europe and South America. He eventually died in 1946, and his ashes were scattered over Tonopah. The Lashers – Abner, Sarah, and Arthur – sold what little they had left in Kennedy and moved to Reno in the middle of 1914 after Abner's job vanished. Abner's 1935 obituary in the *Nevada State Journal* emphasized his role as an educator and civic leader, with only a brief general mention of his foray into mining.

THE ROYLANCE REDUCTION WORKS COMPANY

Leon St. D. Roylance had been an electrical engineer for the New Era Gold Mining and Milling Company's venture in Kennedy in 1895 (Fig. 3-6). The company's new electrical amalgamation method failed, and Roylance went on to work for an electrical manufacturing company and then an iron works company that built ships. He finally struck out on his own as a consulting electrical engineer in the early 1900s.



Figure 3-6. Leon St. D. Roylance, founder and president of the Roylance Reduction Works in the mid 1910s. Photograph from the *Journal of Electricity, Power, and Gas*, 1909.

Roylance began to devise a better way of getting the metals out of the Kennedy ore. He told the *Humboldt Star* in 1914 that he "determined that my chief aim in life as an engineer would be to perfect a process that would extract the values from the ores of this district, knowing that in mastering the refractory ore I could handle refractory ores of other districts." After years of tinkering, he applied for a patent on an agitating electric amalgamator in 1913, and he applied for a second patent two years later on a new "ore-reducing process" that included the use of his electric amalgamator. Anticipating that he would be awarded the patents, Roylance decided that it was time to put them to the test and chose Kennedy to see if they would work.

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Roylance went to Kennedy in May 1914 to examine the mines and ores and find out what had transpired in the nearly twenty years since he had been there. He liked what he saw, especially the amount and grade of ore that was available on dumps and in the mines. Roylance returned to San Francisco and began to put his plan into action. He finalized the contract to buy the Jenkins mill, machinery, and adjacent blacksmith shop and boarding house from Edith Jenkins Southward for a mere two hundred and fifty dollars. Edith was the widow of William Jenkins, who built the mill in late 1893. The mill had been idle since it closed in early 1895, and she undoubtedly was happy to get rid of both the mill and the annual tax payments. Two days later, Roylance signed a lease-to-purchase contract with Charley and Ida Kennedy for their Virginia, Hazel Bell, and Ida claims and mines (shown as the Senator group on Fig. 3-5). The contract called for a total purchase price of thirteen thousand dollars: three thousand dollars at the signing and then installments of twenty-five hundred dollars every six months starting in January 1915. The purchase also included the land on which the Jenkins mill sat, which legally was a separate piece of property from the mill itself.

The new mining and milling venture was known as the Roylance Reduction Company, and it was based in downtown San Francisco. Roylance was described as the president in various newspaper articles, and Frank H. Searls was the secretary. The company was incorporated on December 14, 1914, in San Francisco. It had three directors: Walter S. Brann of Piedmont CA; Christena A. Turner of Oakland CA; and K. Van Zante of San Francisco. All three were lawyers. Brann was an attorney, and his legal firm was the legal representative for the new company, with Turner and Van Zante as junior attorneys in the firm.

The company issued only a thousand shares at ten dollars per share, and each director purchased three shares to get the project going. Roylance already had paid or committed to pay more than thirteen thousand dollars to buy the mill and mines in Kennedy, which was more than the entire value of the stock issued by the company. Roylance had done well in consulting and had money of his own, but he also was closely connected the directors of another company, the California Extraction Company, that had various mining, milling, and oil projects in California and elsewhere. Leslie B. McMurtry was the president, and Fred C. Handy and Frank Searls were officers. McMurtry had been president of the New Era Company during its Kennedy venture in 1896 and so had known Roylance for years. After the mid 1890s, he had amassed a fortune in the oil business. Handy was a business manager from Ukiah, California, and San Francisco who had become involved with the financial aspects of mining companies. Searls was an accountant from Berkeley, California, and had served as the treasurer for a number of McMurtry's various oil and mining companies over the years. The Winnemucca newspapers reported that all three of these men visited Kennedy at least once, and they may have been there more often and not mentioned in the newspapers. Because Searls was an officer in both companies, the Roylance company was doing the work and the California Extraction Company probably provided much of the funding.

Roylance returned to Kennedy in early August 1914 with S.L. (Seneca Lucien) Berry, Norman R. Baylor, and Eugene H. Foster, who the *Humboldt Star* called "prominent mining, electrical, and mechanical engineers." Their goal was to install the new milling machinery by the start of 1915. Baylor was an electrician who had most recently worked for the gas and electric company in San Francisco. Foster was a young machinist from San Francisco, and his wife

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Hazel and their two young children soon joined him in Kennedy (Fig. 3-7); their third child was born there. Berry started out designing milling equipment for the Joshua Hendy Iron Works in the Bay Area. He was a prolific inventor, patented a number of mechanisms and processes, and had worked as a metallurgical engineer at a copper mine in Arizona in 1911. He also was working on a new type of mechanical agitator, a machine to mix ore slurry with chemicals. He assigned the rights to the patent to Roylance and Searls, and Roylance hired him to be the superintendent of the Kennedy mill operations. Additions to the mill crew in early 1915 included Charles A. Wagner, a mechanic from San Francisco, and Henry Ruck from Oakland.



Figure 3-7. Kennedy residents in 1915 or 1916. From right to left: Henry Ruck, Jim Armstrong, Hazel Foster, Eugene Foster with his daughter Evelyn in front of him, and Bill Zuick holding the Foster's son Lloyd. Photograph taken by Will Pearce; from the Stanley McCoy collection.

Roylance never described his actual milling process, but his patent descriptions and papers on electrical amalgamation methods (cf. Carey, 1910a, b) painted a good picture. The New Era company's electrical amalgamation process had failed miserably, which led to his and Berry's patents that they hoped would improve the process. Two of the patents (his and Berry's) modified the chemical process and added paddles to stir the mixture, a step that the New Era company did not use. The older method created a very acidic solution that happily devoured any parts of the machinery that it touched. Roylance anticipated this and designed and patented an amalgamating apparatus that could withstand the acidic attack. He also added the ball mills (step 6C in Fig. 2-15) to pulverize the ore more finely; those, combined with the constant stirring, theoretically would enhance the chlorination method.

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Work on the mill began almost immediately. The new machinery went by railroad from San Francisco and then freight wagon to Kennedy in the middle of August. It took a month to install the machinery, and Roylance told the *Humboldt Star* that he would do test runs on some of the low-grade sulfide ores to see if they could be processed profitably. It was this type of ore that had thwarted all of the milling efforts in the past, so successfully extracting the gold and silver would be a major leap forward for the Kennedy district. If the process worked on the small scale of the revamped Jenkins mill, which now was called the Roylance mill, then he would build a larger mill in the spring.

Roylance initially focused his efforts on the mill and less on the mines. If the milling process was not successful, then there was no point in developing the mines. He hired Charley Kennedy in late 1914 to do the annual assessment work on the Hazel Bell, Ida, and Virginia claims, which allowed Roylance to retain ownership. Winter slowed work on the project, but Roylance continued to make improvements on the mill after the test run, which must have been successful enough to warrant continued work. News of his project reached various mining trade journals in the spring. The *Mining and Scientific Press* and the *Engineering & Mining Journal* referred to the plant as an "experimental" mill, in keeping with Roylance's plan to use the mill to test his new ore-processing methods, and said that the estimated cost was \$50,000. Roylance ordered a large Bessemer gas engine from Pennsylvania, and it was delivered by train to Winnemucca, hauled to Kennedy, and installed in August 1915. Period photographs show a fully operational facility (Fig. 2-13B).

The major earthquake on October 2, 1915, described in the next section, damaged the Roylance mill and rendered many of the district's mines unsafe. The big solution tank at the mill (see Fig. 2-13B) partially collapsed and some of the mill equipment was damaged, but Berry assessed the damage to the mill over the following days, called it only "nominal," and had the tank fixed in a day. The main problem was that the intense shaking had damaged the tunnels at the various mines. Berry peered into the portal of one of the mines and saw that the ore-cart tracks were covered with as much to eighteen inches of rock and dirt. The real danger was rock that had been loosened on the tunnel walls and ceilings but had not collapsed. Any mining activity or an aftershock from the main earthquake could send a large chunk of rock onto a miner's head. Roylance began to make repairs and move forward. He finally restarted the mill in late February 1916 and tested the repaired equipment, which "worked perfectly." The regular aftershocks had subsided by April and the mines were deemed safe, so the miners began to haul ore out of the mine. Roylance added new machinery to grind the ore more finely, and the entire operation resumed after the six-month setback.

The Winnemucca newspapers did not mention anything about the Roylance project through the rest of 1916 except for the arrival of McMurtry, who was there in August to see how the mill was working. It was McMurtry's first reported visit since he was president of the New Era mining company in the mid 1890s. Roylance, Berry, Eugene Foster, and other company employees made frequent trips to Winnemucca, and Roylance also went back and forth between Kennedy and San Francisco. The overall activity and continued presence of the main company people undoubtedly reflected good progress at Kennedy. Both Anna Roylance and Annie Berry, the wives of Roylance and Berry, made frequent extended trips to Kennedy from the Bay Area, further indicating a level of permanence.

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Roylance kept tinkering with the milling machinery and ordered more equipment, and two train-car loads of new equipment arrived in Winnemucca in January 1917. One car included a large compressor, and the other was filled with the materials to build a new solution tank. Roylance told the *Humboldt Star* in early June that the mill would start running in the middle of the month, although it ultimately was delayed until late August. McMurtry, Handy, and Searls all arrived in August to see the mill operate at full capacity, and it met their expectations by recovering eighty-seven percent of the assayed values of the ores and "turning out bullion." It had been three years since Roylance started the project, with many tens of thousands of dollars in costs, so he must have been elated to see that his new electrical process could successfully handle the "rebellious" Kennedy ores. If the other three men indeed were the money behind the project, then they too must have felt some relief that everything was going according to plan.

The Roylance Reduction Company apparently had become defunct as a registered corporation in California by early 1918. Walter Brann and Frank Searls applied to the California Secretary of State that January to have the company reinstated using the same name. The document was filed with the state in early April, but the request was not granted until late February 1920. Brann was one of the original directors of the Roylance company, and Searls was the company secretary. The reason why the company became defunct never was mentioned, but Leslie McMurtry and the California Extraction Company had become embroiled in a major federal lawsuit that undoubtedly diminished its funds and thus left little for Roylance's project. The Roylance company, despite producing some bullion, was not even close to covering its own expenses or recovering past costs: a 1928 article in the *Reno Evening Gazette* said that Roylance ultimately put about \$150,000 into the mill. The company failed to pay Eugene Foster, the mill superintendent, after the end of 1917, so the company was having enough cash-flow problems that it could not even pay its employees.

Nevertheless, activity on the project did not appear to decline at any point along the way, and Roylance and his wife even arrived in early July 1918 with a chemist from San Francisco to further test the ores. Foster still ran the mill, but he was not getting paid. Tragedy struck when Roylance was "stricken with paralysis" on July 15, which by all descriptions was a serious stroke. Someone telephoned one of the Winnemucca doctors, who drove to Kennedy to attend to Roylance. The doctor felt that his condition was so critical that he did not want to take him to Winnemucca, and he told the *Humboldt Star* the next day that "his case is a hopeless one." Within a few days, though, Roylance had improved enough to recognize people and talk, and he finally was taken by automobile to the Winnemucca hospital on July 20. Four days later, Roylance, accompanied by his wife Anna and probably a doctor, took the train to San Francisco for further recovery. Unfortunately, he never returned to Kennedy and died in 1920 from the lingering effects of the stroke.

The company's endeavors in Kennedy ended abruptly with Roylance's stroke and departure. He was the driving force and brains behind the project, and nobody could match his zeal for success in Kennedy. He also owned all of the patents on the machinery and processes being used at the mill. The exodus began soon after Roylance was taken to San Francisco. Eugene Foster and his family moved back to San Francisco in late September, and John Abbena, another company engineer, left for Arizona at the same time. S.L. Berry, who had been in Kennedy almost constantly through 1917, was not mentioned in any of the newspapers in 1918,

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

and he moved back to the Bay Area to again work for the Joshua Hendy Iron Works until his death in 1923.

The company still owned the mill, buildings, and the Hazel Bell, Virginia, and Ida claims. The company hired Bill Zuick, who owned the Gold Note mine, to be the caretaker and watchman of the mines and mill starting in mid October. Humboldt County in 1918 and then Pershing County starting in 1919 sent the tax bill for the mill equipment and related buildings to Frank Searls, the company secretary and treasurer, in San Francisco. Searls paid in 1918 and 1919, but not in 1920. Pershing County seized the properties for unpaid taxes in 1920 and sold at least part of the mill to Harry Murrish, a Lovelock attorney, in July 1920.

The tax sale, however, was put on hold because Zuick had filed a lawsuit against the Roylance company in mid March and filed a lien on the mill. The lawsuit agglomerated several debts that the Roylance company owed to various people and companies. Those included wages to Zuick for his work as the watchman from October 1918 until March 1, 1920; wages to Eugene Foster from December 1917 through September 1918; the balance of a promissory note given to the E. Reinhart & Company a few days after Roylance was taken to San Francisco; and money owed to the Busch Manufacturing Company for electrical supplies that they provided in the month before Roylance's stroke. Foster died in an accident in San Francisco in 1919, and his widow Hazel was the administrator of his estate and thus part of the lawsuit. Hazel Foster, the Reinharts, and the Busch company transferred their claims to Zuick so that all of the costs could be recovered in one lawsuit. Frank Searls had remained as the company's secretary and treasurer (and the only remaining officer), and he retained Joseph Langwith of Winnemucca to represent the company. They filed a weak response to the complaint in December and then capitulated entirely.

The court awarded Zuick and the others a total of \$2,303 in March 1921, and the plaintiffs got what they were owed. Searls may have some residual money from the Roylance or California Reduction companies to pay the amount owed. The tax bills for the mill and buildings continued to go to Searls, who paid the taxes, so the company was able to retain at least that part of the property. Harry Murrish may have been able to keep the Huntington mill apparatus: Searls' 1922 tax bill for the first time did not include that piece of equipment, although it did include all of the other mill buildings, machinery, and mill site. Searls abandoned the Virginia, Hazel Bell, and Ida claims, and, as described later, Henry Ruck (the former mill worker) restaked them in his own name four months after the case was settled.

The Reinharts offered Hazel Foster a job in their business office in Winnemucca, and she and her three young children moved back to Humboldt County in January 1920. They stopped in Kennedy before she had to start work to visit with her good friends, Bill Zuick and Jim Armstrong, who were living in the Foster's former home. The census taker arrived in Kennedy the same day that she did and counted the Fosters in Kennedy, even though they were there for only a few days. Hazel, Zuick, and the Reinharts undoubtedly had compared notes about how much money the Roylance company still owed them and others, such as the Busch company. The Reinharts probably offered her the job when they realized how much the company still owed her husband and thus her and the children. Hazel and the children remained in Winnemucca for a few years before moving to El Centro, California, where she

worked as a bookkeeper at a service station. She never remarried and died in the Los Angeles area in 1970.

EARTHQUAKE!

Saturday, October 2, 1915, started out like most days in Kennedy. People went about their daily business, and men were working at the mines and the Roylance mill. Suddenly at 3:40 p.m., a loud explosion likened to a dynamite blast shook the ground violently for about five seconds, followed by more shaking, swaying, and rumbling noises for a couple of hours. Leon St. D. Roylance and S.L. Berry hiked up the hill behind the mill, thinking that the blast and shaking had been caused by a volcanic eruption. Instead of a cloud of ash, they saw a thin line of dust along the entire western base of the Tobin Range just to the east. The shaking settled down over time, and people had just decided that things were returning to normal when another major shock hit the town at 5:45 p.m. Roylance wrote in the *Silver State* on October 5 that, during this second shock, "the earth's surface appeared to be some great monster in the throes of convulsions" (Roylance, 1915). It was almost impossible to stand. The ground continued to shake through the evening, and Roylance said that it was like "occupying a berth in a moving Pullman car." A third large shock, the largest of the three by far, hit at 10:53 p.m., and the shaking lasted for fifteen minutes. Almost everyone bolted out of their houses. Most people used the door, but Berry went straight out his bedroom window. He later wrote that the third earthquake threw books and bottles off shelves, and that the bunk house "jerked ... in an alarming manner" (Berry, 1916). He added that "the sage-brush was good camping-ground for the thirty or forty people of the town during that night and many slept outside for some time." The shaking continued the next day, some at one-minute intervals, and he estimated that more than five hundred earthquakes took place over the ensuing three months, most of them light but some stronger.

All of the shaking was the product of the great earthquake that was centered about ten miles beneath the range front between the Tobin Range and Pleasant Valley (dePolo and Wallace, 2015). It ranks as the largest known earthquake to have occurred in Nevada (dePolo, 2013), and it created a still-visible fault scarp that extends for thirty-seven miles along the bases of the Tobin Range and nearby ranges (Fig. 3-8A). The main earthquake, as Roylance and Berry first reported, occurred at 10:53 p.m., and seismologists later estimated that it had a Richter magnitude of about 7.7 and a moment magnitude (another measure of an earthquake's size) of 7.1 to 7.5 (Slemmons and others 1965; Wallace, 1984; dePolo, 2013). By comparison, the 1906 San Francisco earthquake had a moment magnitude of 7.8 to 7.9. Roylance had lived in San Francisco at the time of the 1906 earthquake and wrote that he thought it was "the king of all until I experienced these disturbances of the 2nd and 3rd" of October in Kennedy. The earthquakes earlier in the day were foreshocks, the first with a magnitude of more than 5.5 and the second of 6.1. They were harbingers of the larger event, and seismic records at the University of Nevada in Reno and newspaper articles showed that aftershocks of various sizes

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

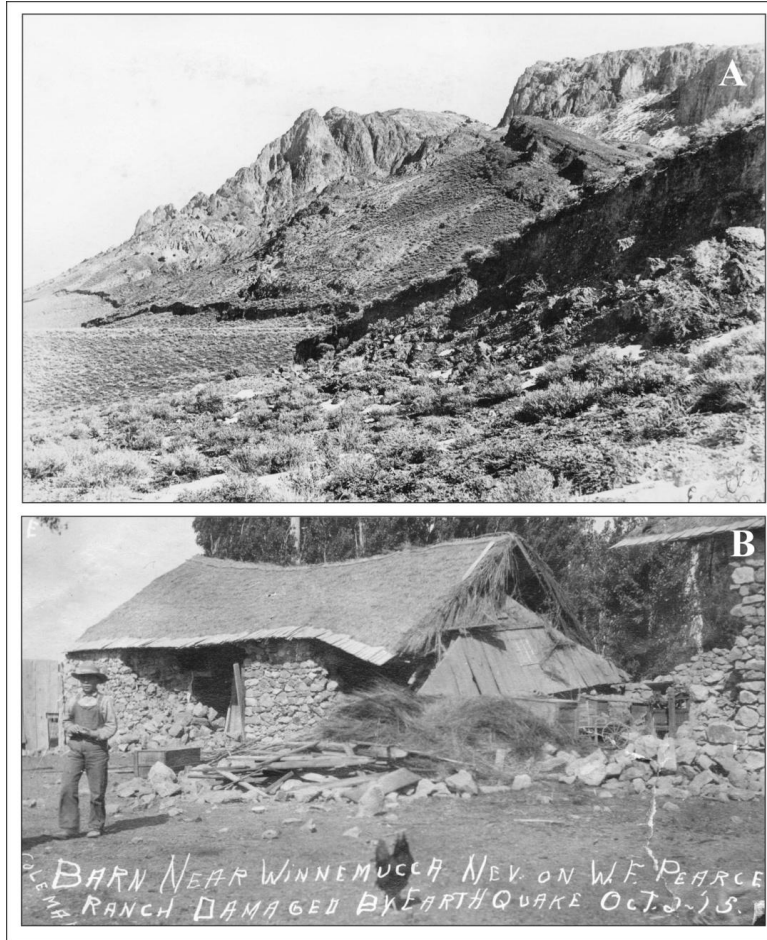


Figure 3-8. Photographs of the October 2, 1915, Pleasant Valley earthquake scarp and damage. (A) The fault scarp – the steep escarpment along the east side of the Tobin Range – taken within a day after the earthquake. Looking north along the range front north of the mouth of Bushee Creek, behind the Pearce ranch. (B) Partially collapsed stone barn at the Pearce ranch (mistakenly labeled as W.F. Pearce instead of W.L. Pearce). From the Stanley McCoy collection. Also see Figure 6-2 and photographs in Folgate (1987).

continued for several months afterward as the earth gradually equilibrated after the main earthquake.

Initially, the *Humboldt Star* reported that "nearly every building [in Kennedy] was wrecked," but reports that made their way to Winnemucca in the ensuing days indicated that the damage actually was not that extensive. Berry surveyed the damage the next day, and he found that ore piles were "flattened out, rocks rolled down hillsides." Berry (as summarized in Jones (1915)) found that the damage largely was limited to the "utter destruction of a couple of adobe houses and the cracking of the cement foundations of the [Jenkins/Roylance] mill." Quite a few of the mine tunnels in Kennedy had caved in, and the shaking had damaged one of the solution tanks at the mill, as described earlier. According to Berry, it only took a day to fix the tank.

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Roylance's letter to the *Silver State* showed that he clearly had a gift for observation (Roylance, 1915). Apparently unable or unwilling to sleep, he and Charley Kennedy's older son Marvin left town shortly after midnight to drive into Winnemucca. They ran into Will Pearce at Mud Springs, at the north end of Pleasant Valley. Pearce had been heading back to his ranch from Winnemucca and decided to stop at 4 p.m. because of the intense shaking from the first foreshock. With each earthquake, he told Roylance that "the water of the spring spurted up in the air." He decided to wait until the next morning to finish his trip home.

The fault movement that produced the earthquakes created a large scarp, essentially a rip in the ground surface, along the western base of the Tobin Range. The fault moved the Tobin Range upward and Pleasant Valley downward, with the amount of offset ranging from a few feet to a maximum of about fifteen feet. These movements and the formation of the scarp produced the line of dust seen by Roylance and Berry. The scarp passed directly behind the Pearce ranch. The shaking toppled several buildings, especially those made of stone (Fig. 3-8B), and the scarp diverted the flow of Bushee Creek behind the ranch. Pearce's wife Jessie was alone with their young children and got one of the men from the nearby Guthrie (Sweeney) ranch to come over to help if needed. Several buildings at the Cooper-Uniacke ranch to the southwest were damaged or destroyed, and the main house shifted off its cement foundation. At Sylvain Siard's ranch to the north (the former Schell ranch), all of the stone buildings collapsed; Siard's house was half stone and half wood, and he was fortunate that his bedroom – where he was sleeping – was in the wooden section (see photograph in Folgate, 1987). Like the house at the Cooper-Uniacke ranch, a frame house at Mud Springs moved twelve inches off its foundation (Jones, 1915).

The earthquake affected a much larger area as well. The shaking in Winnemucca damaged buildings and toppled most of the chimneys in town (Folgate, 1987). The *Humboldt Star* reported in the days after the earthquake that a few buildings were damaged beyond repair. George Fronhofer was locked in his jail cell awaiting his new trial related to the Peter Laux murder. The effect was less in the Rochester district, at the south end of the Humboldt Range to the west, but adobe houses collapsed, merchandise toppled off store shelves, and a tent house burned when a kerosene lamp tipped over and started a fire. Lovelock, Golconda, and Battle Mountain sustained similar damage. One of the more curious results of the earthquakes was the increased flow of many springs and the creation of new ones. Berry (1916) wrote that the State Engineer received more than five hundred applications for new water rights after the earthquake, although many of those springs dried up within a year after the event.

WILLIAM ZUICK AND THE GOLD NOTE MINE

The Gold Note Mining & Milling Company effectively gave up on its project and abandoned all of its claims at the end of 1914, leaving them open for restaking by whoever wanted them. The *Humboldt Star* reported in late December 1914 that three men left for Kennedy to do the "annual work" on the Gold Note mine property. Nathan Haller was the "superintendent," and William (Bill) Zuick and Glenn F. ("Jim") Armstrong went with him (Fig. 3-7). The paper went

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

on to say that "the company" planned to use about twenty men to do the work on all of the claims that had been abandoned.

The new "company" turned out to be Frank Heflebower, the cashier of the Sterling State Bank in Sterling, Illinois. He also owned several businesses in Sterling and was beginning to diversify into other mining investments, such as the Champarado copper mine in Arizona. He probably was looking for other mining properties and learned of Kennedy in early 1914. Nathan Haller was a young barber from a town just east of Sterling, and Heflebower apparently hired him to stake claims and sent him (along with his wife and baby daughter) to Nevada in the early spring. Haller started by staking the Gold Note company's abandoned Borlasca and Cosmos claims just east of the Gold Note mine in April (Fig. 3-5). Abner Lasher, in what probably was his last semi-official duty in Kennedy before moving to Reno, witnessed the entry of the claims into the district claim book. Lasher may have introduced Haller to the other good but abandoned claims in the district, and Haller was able to report back to Heflebower and get the approval to stake more claims and hire more men, including Zuick and Armstrong. What lured Heflebower to Kennedy in the first place is unknown, but Lasher's assistance with at least the first two claims suggests a connection to him.

In late January 1915, a month after arriving in Kennedy, Zuick staked a completely new set of claims in his name that covered the area once occupied by the claims of the Gold Note mine. Zuick's claim block included the Sterling No. 1 through No. 8 claims, named after Heflebower's town. The Sterling claim block had a completely new configuration. The original claim block was a somewhat haphazard collection of claims (Fig. 2-5A). Zuick chose a more regular layout of paired east-west-oriented claims stacked in four rows to form a rough square (Figs. 2-5B, 3-5). Zuick and others continued to call the mine the Gold Note mine despite the new claim names. Zuick also restaked several more claims just east of the Gold Note mine that once belonged to the Gold Note company, and he named them the Sterling No. 9, 10, and 11 (Fig. 3-5). These were adjacent to Haller's two 1914 claims. Zuick went on to restake nine other claims just north and northwest of the Imperial mine; these too had belonged to the Gold Note company, and he renamed them the Last Chance No. 1 through 7 and Last Chance Fraction (these are not shown in Fig. 3-5 due to the poor location descriptions in the claim notices). The witness for all of the Sterling claims was Jim Armstrong, who had gone to Kennedy with Zuick and Haller the month before. Zuick sold all nineteen of his claims to Heflebower in early April for a dollar and "other valuable consideration and gold coin." Haller, however, kept his two claims but abandoned them when he moved to Los Angeles with his family by 1917.

Bill Zuick was born and grew up in Ohio, and the lure of the West called in the mid 1900s. He had learned the butcher trade from his father, and he ran meat markets at Greenwater near Death Valley in 1907 and Beckwourth, California, around 1910. He then opened a butcher shop in the Mason Valley area near Yerington, Nevada, where he married Abigail (Abbie) Strosnider, and they almost immediately had a daughter, Jean. The family moved to Reno in July 1914, and Haller hired Zuick to do the work in Kennedy later in the year. Zuick probably thought that it was a short-time job staking claims, but he never left, and Abbie divorced him within the next year or two. Zuick had very little experience with mining, that coming from some claims at Greenwater, but the chance to get in on the ground floor of a new mining operation at a good property lured him away from being a butcher.

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Zuick, with Heflebower's financial backing and the help of Armstrong and perhaps others, began to work on the Gold Note mine. A September 1917 *Humboldt Star* article on new mining activity in Kennedy mentioned that Zuick was doing "aggressive development" on the mine. He had started a new tunnel a hundred and seventy-five feet lower than the original main tunnel, and he planned to extend it six hundred feet into the side of the hillside to intersect the veins at a greater depth (tunnel 3 on Fig. 2-10). Zuick's work on the Gold Note mine progressed into the early 1920s, and he hired four men in May 1923 to help with the mining.

Zuick also busied himself with other matters. He and Armstrong served as the local school officials when the Kennedy school reopened in 1915, despite the fact that neither man had children at the school. He also applied for and was awarded the weekly mail contract to in late 1917, but that only lasted for about a month until the Post Office Department shut down the entire mail operation. He also was watchman for the Roylance company from late 1918 into 1920 before he sued for unpaid wages. Zuick also took his automobile into Winnemucca on a regular basis: the *Humboldt Star* regularly noted his arrival or his overnight stay at the Overland hotel in 1915 into the 1920s, and his name appeared far more often than that of any other Kennedy resident. He was starting up his new mining operations with a far-removed owner and went through the divorce, and he may have had to be close to a telegraph, lawyers, and suppliers. Will Pearce's journal also mentioned that Zuick frequently took the Pearce children (especially the daughters) and the school teachers into Winnemucca in his automobile, so not all of his trips were for business.

Roy Brown acquired the Imperial mill and mill site, along with John Benton's nearby house and the old Alex Wise stable on Cinnabar Avenue, in his lawsuit against the Gold Note Company. Zuick purchased everything from Brown for a nominal sum in September 1916 and then transferred the titles to Heflebower, who paid the property taxes in 1917 and 1918 but not in 1919. The county seized them – but not the claims, which were not taxable property – in the middle of 1920 and advertised them at the tax sale in the *Lovelock Review-Miner* (the newspaper of record for the new Pershing County). Nobody purchased them, and they never reappeared on the county tax rolls. The Imperial mill machinery was dismantled in the spring of 1919 when Winnemucca freighters Pat and Frank Kelsey hauled away multiple loads of cast iron from February through May 1919. A year later, the *Humboldt Star* wrote that the mill – presumably the building – was being torn down, although the newspaper did not say who dismantled it or where the materials went.

Heflebower still owned the Sterling claims that comprised the Gold Note mine. However, his interest in the district began to wane at about the time that he decided not to pay the 1919 property taxes. Zuick's continued mining indicates that his employer was still providing some funding, but paying taxes on an unused mill may have seemed a waste of money to Heflebower, who also fell in arrears to E. Reinhart & Co. by 1923 to the tune of about twelve hundred dollars. The Reinharts sued the next year and were awarded the Sterling No. 1 through No. 8 claims as compensation in January 1925. Zuick did the 1925 assessment work on the eight Sterling claims for "the owners," which at that point was E. Reinhart & Co.

The end of Heflebower's funding left Zuick in something of a bind because most of his life and income were tied up in the Gold Note mine, and the various legal matters and the possible closure of the mine essentially left him without a job. He had the Dodge automobile in

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

which he first arrived, and he was living for free in John Benton's former house, but that was about it. Zuick spent a lot of time in Winnemucca and got to know Almon Tobey, who ran a "soda parlor" during Prohibition. Federal marshals arrested the two men in 1923 on liquor charges that involved making bootleg liquor or beer. The charges against Zuick were dropped at the end of the year, but Tobey pleaded guilty, probably because the operation was at his establishment. Even so, the incident shows that Zuick was trying anything, even something illegal, to earn some money.

William G. Adamson acquired the Sterling No. 1 through 8 claims from the Reinharts sometime between 1925 and 1928, and he deeded them over to Zuick for ten dollars in 1928, which probably was part of a partnership with Zuick doing the work and getting some of the profits. Adamson had been heavily involved with quicksilver mining at Goldbanks and gold and silver at other mining districts for years, and he later became involved with other gold-silver and mercury properties, notably the Antelope Springs district in the southern Humboldt Range. Adamson undoubtedly knew about Kennedy and the Gold Note mine through his work in the nearby Goldbanks area. Adamson hired H.W. Gould & Co. of San Francisco in 1929 to evaluate the mine and propose a plan of operation, but Adamson never followed through on the costly recommendations. Adamson's son Robert W. ("Bob") Adamson was in the process of getting his mining engineering degree from the University of Nevada, and William's other goal may have been to set his son up with a project for when he graduated in June 1930. Indeed, Bob began work at the Gold Note mine in the late summer of 1930, and he had written a report and surveyed the surface and underground workings of the Gold Note mine by December (Figs. 2-5B, 2-10B). William signed his share of the Sterling claims over to Bob for ten dollars the following June, and Bob Adamson and Bill Zuick became partners in the mine.

Zuick was not making much money with the mine, and he continued to try to put food on the table and supplement his income any way that he could. The *Lovelock Review-Miner* wrote a light-hearted article on the "Mayor of Kennedy" in late 1930 and implied that Zuick lived off the land quite a bit. More seriously, Zuick and Marion York (the husband of Dorothy Riley, daughter of the founder of nearby Rileyville) were arrested at the Steven's Brewery in Winnemucca in August 1931 for having what the *Reno Evening Gazette* called "one of the largest liquor plants ever found in northern Nevada." York received a six-month jail sentence and Zuick a one-year sentence at the trial in October, although the judge reserved the right to shorten the sentences. Zuick was back in Kennedy the following May working on the mine with Bob Adamson, so his sentence was reduced to six months.

The Gold Note mine had several tunnels that intersected the five veins of the ore deposit (Fig. 2-10). Zuick and Adamson leased the upper part of the mine to W.M. Benham and R.E. Reed in early 1934. The two men began mining with the help of two other men and paid royalties to the mine owners. Benham and Reed worked at the Gold Note mine for about a year and then moved over to Rileyville, on the west side of the range, to consider leasing the Henrietta mine (Chapter 7). How much they actually produced in 1934 depended on the source of information. The *Nevada State Journal* reported that they produced \$36,000 worth of ore, and Couch and Carpenter (1943) noted that their 233 tons of ore generated a gross yield of about \$22,000. In contrast, the *Reno Evening Gazette* wrote in 1935 that "two leasers, with very limited

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

resources, took out five or six thousand dollars in a few weeks last summer, shipping the ore to Salt Lake in a small Ford truck."

Of the two owners, Zuick continued to work on the unleased parts of the mine, and Adamson apparently did nothing, although both were receiving royalties from the Benham-Reed lease. Adamson became involved with other mining ventures in northwestern Nevada, and he was the superintendent of the Basque mine north of Winnemucca in 1933. Zuick finally forced Adamson into a contractual agreement in October 1935 that outlined the working arrangement. Both men would own the mine, but Zuick would operate and manage the mine and reap the bulk of the income for his efforts, and Adamson would only receive limited royalties. Adamson's career went in another direction when the Ingersoll-Rand Company mining equipment company hired him to be a sales representative in Phoenix, Arizona, in 1936. He moved to Grass Valley, California, by 1940, where he remained for years.

Zuick had no trouble interesting people and companies in the Gold Note mine. The Goldfield Consolidated mining company sent mining engineers to the East Range to look at the Gold Note mine at Kennedy and the Henrietta mine in Rileyville. The *Nevada State Journal* reported at the end of December 1935 that the company had taken out an option on the Gold Note mine, but the company was not mentioned again. Zuick, in the meantime, shipped ore from the mine and then leased the mine to Oscar Cash and Claude Smith in June 1936 for three years. The lease allowed Cash and Smith to mine from the upper parts of the rich Blossom vein (accessed through tunnels 2 and 3 in Fig. 2-10), and it required them to extend the lowest tunnel (the Zuick or Lower tunnel) another three hundred feet to intersect the veins at greater depth. Cash was the head of the Bradley Mining Company's mercury mine at McDermitt, along the Nevada-Oregon border, and Smith was a long-time Winnemucca resident. Smith and Cash's eighteen-year-old son Robert oversaw the mining, which included several more men. They quickly began producing rich ore from the vein and shipped it to Utah smelters. Their mining continued into the middle of September, and Zuick produced limited amounts of high-grade ore from the unleased parts of the mine at the same time.

The trail of legal documents and newspaper articles over the following years created an obscure picture of who owned or leased what and when, and who was working for whom. Zuick found a possible buyer for the Gold Note mine – or more technically the Sterling No. 1 through No. 8 claims – in late 1936. Frank McGregor and Maurice C. Levinson of Ogden, Utah, entered into a five-year lease-to-buy contract that went into effect on November 1. The purchase price would be sixty thousand dollars, and McGregor and Levinson would pay ten percent of the net royalties for the term of the lease. The lease itself was only for the lower tunnel. Technically, Cash and Smith still could work in the upper parts of the mine, but the *Nevada State Journal* reported that they gave up the lease and sold their equipment to McGregor and Levinson.

Zuick and Adamson remained the principal owners of the Gold Note claims until 1950, and McGregor and Levinson variously worked, leased, and co-owned parts of the Gold Note and nearby claims through 1949. Kendall Garff, an automobile distributor from Salt Lake City, hired Delamar D. Pelton, a mining engineer at a large lead-silver mine south of Butte, Montana, to oversee mining at the Gold Note mine in 1939. Pelton and a geologist inspected and sampled the mine in late 1939, and Garff apparently agreed to lease the mine after reviewing the

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

promising results. However, Pelton had become the superintendent of a manganese mine southwest of Battle Mountain by June 1940, and Garff was not mentioned again.

Paul C. Lyon of Salt Lake City paid for the assessment work on the Sterling No. 1 through No. 8 claims later that June, and the assessment notice said that the work was done "for the owners W.D. Zuick and Robert Adamson." Lyon started out as a life insurance agent and then branched out into mining by the late 1920s. The *Salt Lake Tribune* reported in April 1940 that a new company – Mutual Ventures Syndicate – had been organized to explore for and evaluate mining and other properties, which included a productive oil well in Oklahoma. Lyon was the president of the company. Lyon extended Zuick's lower tunnel, and the miners (who included Zuick) shipped regular but small quantities of ore to Salt Lake City smelters in 1940 and 1941. Various assessment notices and other documents indicated that McGregor and Levinson were part of the Mutual Ventures Syndicate by 1940 (both were listed among the various directors and members of the company's advisory council that year). The company did not exist when they first arrived in Kennedy, so they may have been advance "agents" for Lyon, or they approached Lyon with the project after the company formed. Garff may have been a short-term intermediary in the process. McGregor and Levinson leased the Sterling No. 9 through No. 11 claims to Mutual Ventures Syndicate in late 1941 or early 1942 but retained ownership through the 1940s, and Lyon paid for the annual assessment work.

The newspapers did not mention the Gold Note mine, Lyon, or the syndicate after the fall of 1941. Mining stopped during the war, but Lyon and the syndicate wanted to make sure that the claims remained valid and filed intent-to-hold notices. McGregor and Levinson sold their remaining properties to Mutual Ventures after the war, and Zuick similarly sold the Sterling No. 1 through No. 8 claims to the company in February 1950. Lyon filed assessment notices, in the syndicate's name, on all eleven claims through 1956, but the last mining was in the early 1940s. The claims disappeared from any of the county record books after 1956, and the company likely dropped its interest. Zuick, McGregor, and Levinson were never mentioned again with regard to the Kennedy district. Zuick died in 1958 and was buried in Lovelock.

INDEPENDENCE DAY MINE

Arthur A. Smith and Frank Warning, two miners from the Wonder district in northern Churchill County, headed north in the summer of 1918 to do some prospecting. In early July, they discovered a rich vein in the low hills just south of the mouth of Lamberson Canyon, a few miles south of Kennedy (Fig. 3-9). The vein was exposed on the surface and, surprisingly, had escaped detection until they happened upon it. They staked the Independence Day No. 1 through No. 8 claims on July 4 and began mining. Charley Kennedy, on one of his trips to Winnemucca, mentioned the discovery to the *Humboldt Star*, which began publishing updates on the project, in part due to the lack of other mining news in the region at the time.

The vein trended to the north-northeast and was exposed along most of its 2,500-foot length. Smith and Warning dug a series of shallow holes and trenches along the entire length of the vein, and the assays of some ore sent to San Francisco showed that it contained nearly two hundred and fifty ounces of silver and "several dollars" of gold per ton, as well as up to four

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

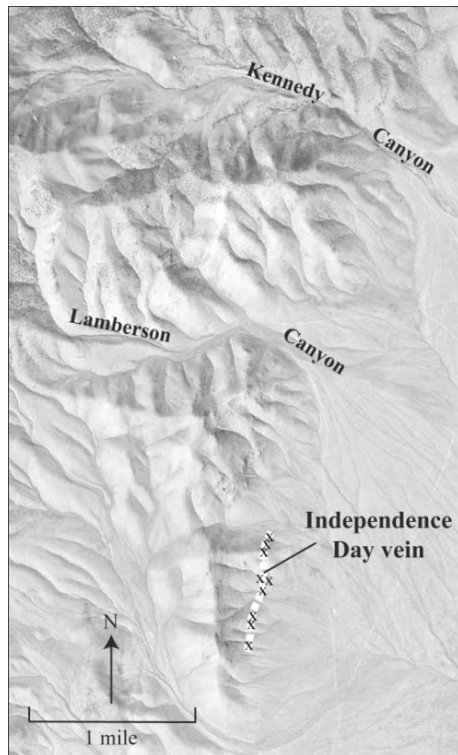


Figure 3-9. Location of the Independence Day vein (white dashed line) and mine workings (x). Arthur A. Smith and Frank Warning staked eight north-trending claims along the vein in 1918, and three other prospectors staked adjacent claims the next year. Smith mined the vein and shipped ore through about 1924.

percent lead. The two men mined through the fall, stopped for the winter, and then returned the following spring with an automobile filled with supplies. They mined and shipped two tons of ore by May, and their renewed mining produced ample shippable ore by August.

The Independence Day mine activity attracted other prospectors in 1919. Angus Stewart staked the Pleasant Valley No. 1 and No. 2 claims along the vein in March, and Lee Campbell and William Sandon staked four claims at the north end of the Independence Day claim group in June. Stewart tried to sue Smith and Warning, saying that his new claims overlapped theirs and that they thus should give him half ownership, but Smith and Warning easily prevailed before the case went to trial. The three new claim stakers abandoned their claims by the end of 1919.

Frank Warning headed south to work in the Goodsprings district southwest of Las Vegas at the end of 1920. He never returned, but Smith continued to work on the mine in Warning's absence and gained full ownership when Warning failed to pay his share of the mining costs. The annual U.S. Geological Survey-U.S. Bureau of Mines mining activity reports mentioned production in 1918 through 1922, with the exception of 1920. Smith continued to work on the mines, either by himself or with his brother and another man, through 1924. He periodically made small shipments of rich ore, which paid for his expenses. Smith optioned the Independence Day mine to Walter S. Crawford, "a prominent mining man of Reno," in June 1922, but the deal fell through.

The last mention of Smith was in September 1925, when the *Humboldt Star* relayed news that he had relocated to Mullen, Idaho, in the Coeur d'Alene mining district. Smith abandoned the claims, and nothing indicates that they were relocated by others in subsequent years. All of

Smith's mining was in the shallow oxide parts of the veins, so he may have mined all that was available and stopped when he reached the less-profitable sulfide zone. The ore in the oxide zone obviously was very rich, but the cost of smelting the sulfide ores would have been too high.

CHARLES GUTHRIE AND THE SUNNYSIDE, MANHATTAN, AND DAGO MINES

Kennedy lost one of its long-time residents on July 2, 1920, with the death of Charles (Charlie) W. George at the age of sixty-three. Charlie was part of the extended Kyle-George-Guthrie family and had been an important fixture in the district since 1893. He staked some of his many claims alone and some with others, many of whom eventually either died or moved elsewhere and left Charlie with the claims. He shipped five loads of hand-sorted ore to a smelter in 1912 and 1913, and the loads ranged from a little more than a hundred to three hundred pounds each. The profits likely were small, but they were enough to keep body and soul together. Charlie joined forces with James O. ("Odie") Roberts in 1915, and they staked several good claims together. Charlie had been suffering from various ailments for several years, but his condition worsened in June 1920. Someone went down to the Cooper (Miller) ranch in the valley to telephone the doctor in Winnemucca. The doctor and Charlie's nephew Charles W. Guthrie (also called Charlie) drove down to Kennedy, and the doctor decided to take Charlie George back to the Winnemucca hospital. He died en route, fittingly near the Guthrie family's Sonoma Ranch in Grass Valley south of Winnemucca.

Charlie George was a life-long bachelor, and he left everything – the claims, water rights in Water Canyon, and a house and lot in Winnemucca – to Guthrie. Guthrie was twenty-nine and grew up on the Sonoma Ranch, and he was working as the district court reporter in Winnemucca when he inherited the properties. His father Will Guthrie had been the Humboldt County assessor, and his mother May George Guthrie was Charlie George's sister. Guthrie inherited George's half share of the claims that he had co-owned with Roberts, and the two men became partners. Roberts was about fifty-four years old and originally from Sierra County, California. He made his way to Humboldt County and began working as a ranch hand at the Floyd ranch in Grass Valley, just southwest of the Guthrie's ranch. That introduced him to the Guthrie family and, thus, Charlie George and Charlie Guthrie.

Charlie George's claims included all of the 2G, Dago, Dago No. 1, and Manhattan claims, and a half share of the Idaho, Idaho No. 1, Idaho No. 2, and Manhattan No. 1 claims (Fig. 3-5); Roberts owned the other half share of the latter claims. The Dago claims were along the northeast side of Charley Kennedy's Fourth of July claims and just north of the Kennedy townsite; the Idaho claims were in Water Canyon to the north and came with the water right; and the Manhattan claims were between the Gold Note mine and the Hidden Treasure No. 1 claim in the southwestern part of the district. All of their claims and mines had been small but decent producers under different names at various times.

Guthrie, who had the full-time job in Winnemucca, probably did not know much about mining, so Roberts continued to live in Kennedy and provided the expertise to keep the claims and mines going. A month after the estate was settled in 1921, they staked the Manhattan No. 2

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

claim, which overlapped the southwest side of the Manhattan No. 1 claim (Fig. 3-10). Guthrie bought the patented Hidden Treasure No. 1 claim from the county at a tax sale the next year for about eleven dollars and began to pay the modest taxes. Charles Vadner patented the claim in 1906, but the county seized it when he stopped paying taxes in 1920. Guthrie served in the State Assembly from 1924 through 1928 and then was the official court reporter for the Nevada Supreme Court in Carson City from 1928 through 1951. Although he was farther removed from Kennedy, he remained involved with his mining properties.

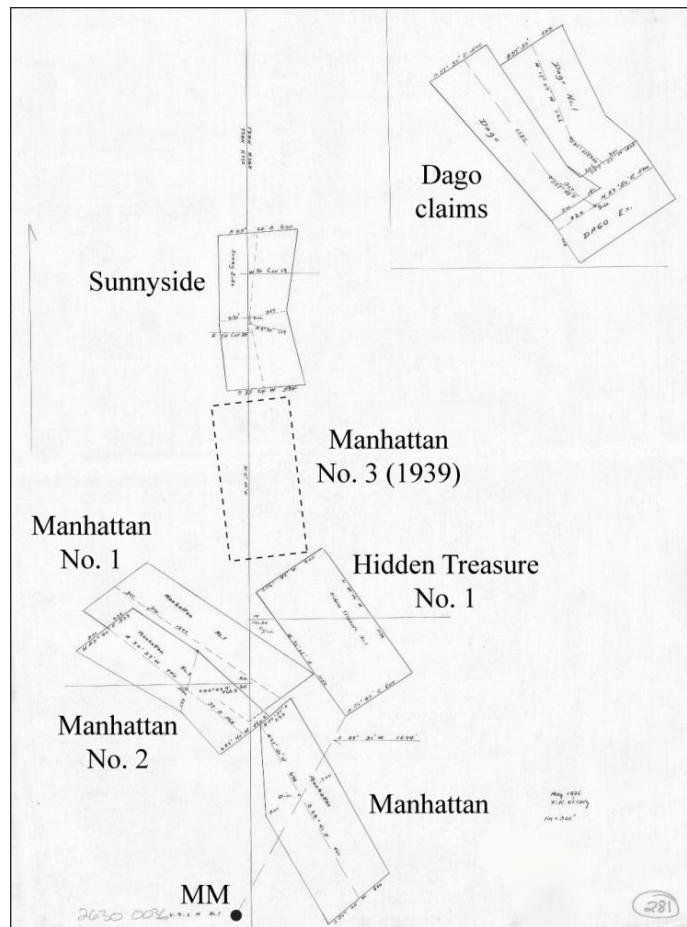


Figure 3-10. Map of the Sunnyside and Hidden Treasure No. 1 claims and the Dago and Manhattan groups of claims, owned by Charlie Guthrie and Odie Roberts. Surveyed in May 1936. The Sunnyside, Hidden Treasure No. 1, and Manhattan claims are shown in their correct positions relative to each other and to the section lines (vertical line and two shorter horizontal lines), with the U.S. Mineral Survey Monument (MM; see also Fig. 2-5) as the reference point. The Dago claims were a mile to the east of the Sunnyside claim and just north of the Kennedy townsite (Fig. 3-5) and were shown in a separate box. Bill Zuick's Sterling claims of the Gold Note mine were in the area where "Manhattan claims" is shown (Fig. 3-5). Also shown is the approximate location of the Manhattan No. 3 claim (dashed line), staked in 1939. The arrow along the left margin points to the north. Survey map from the Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology.

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Guthrie and Roberts staked the Sunnyside mine in the western part of the district in 1931 (Figs. 3-5, 3-10). The claim started out in 1891 as the Crown Point claim and mine, and it turned out to be valuable enough to be restaked and mined under various names until it was abandoned in the early 1910s. Guthrie and Roberts held onto the claim for a few years and just filed the intent-to-hold notices, although Roberts built a small house nearby that later claim notices filed by others called "the Odie Roberts homestead." They leased the Sunnyside to Ed Amonett and Eugene ("Gene") Frank in 1935. Amonett and Frank paid fifty dollars per month and gave Guthrie and Roberts five percent of the smelter returns (Vanderburg, 1936). Amonett was fifty-five years old and had worked in various Elko County, Battle Mountain, and Golconda mines before winding up in Kennedy in 1935; his wife Ethel remained in Elko with their children. Gene Frank was twenty years younger than Amonett and had been a miner in his native Elko County. The two men possibly met while working in one of the Elko County mining districts and then joined forces for the Sunnyside lease.

Amonett and Frank reopened and expanded the Sunnyside mine in the fall of 1935. The men were mining by hand, but they had shipped two carloads of ore to the Utah Ore Sampling Company by the end of 1935, the second of which netted them about sixteen hundred dollars (Vanderburg, 1936). They installed a compressor in the late winter of 1936 and shipped a carload of sulfide ore to Salt Lake City in April that gave them another seven hundred dollars. They were doing very well for two small-scale miners in the middle of the Depression. A *Reno Evening Gazette* article in the spring mentioned that Gene Frank was Ed Amonett's "former partner," and subsequent articles only mentioned Amonett in connection with the mine. The compressor and a new hoist enabled Amonett to access deeper levels and mine more quickly. He added a jackhammer and was working on two levels at twenty and a hundred feet beneath the surface by August; the former was in oxide ore and the latter in the sulfide zone.

Guthrie and Roberts hired Frank R. O'Leary to survey the locations of the Manhattan, Sunnyside, Hidden Treasure No. 1, and Dago claims in May 1936 (Fig. 3-10). With various people staking claims between the Manhattan group and the Sunnyside in 1935 and 1936, described later, Guthrie and Roberts probably wanted to know the exact boundaries of their claims, and minor disputes already may have arisen over the various claim boundaries and who owned what parcel of ground. Guthrie's and Roberts' claims had seniority, so the plat could be used to resolve the conflicts. The two men also had someone map the underground workings of the two levels of the Sunnyside mine (Fig. 2-11A). Modern features at the mine include rails from the portal out to a good-sized dump and a semi-collapsed ore bin at the end of the dump (Fig. 2-11B).

Amonett died of a heart attack in Kennedy in late November 1936 and was buried in Winnemucca a few days later. Amonett's original partner, Gene Frank, had been hired to be the watchman of the idled mine in early October, so Amonett's health may have been failing. His death left the lease in limbo and precipitated a flurry of activity over who would manage his estate. His wife Ethel was the logical candidate to administer the estate settlement, although she was in Elko. Instead, Humboldt County appointed Evelyn Peterman of Winnemucca to administer Amonett's estate. Evelyn's husband, Linus Peterman, reportedly had some interest in Amonett's Sunnyside lease, and Evelyn (not Ethel) provided the vital statistics for Amonett's

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

death certificate. Amonett's estate was valued at nearly four thousand dollars, mostly equity in the mine but also including claims in Golconda and his automobile.

Gene Frank took over Sunnyside lease, which extended into 1939. He shipped sixty tons of ore to the Salt Lake smelter by May 1937 that provided a net profit of about twenty-seven hundred dollars; Amonett may have mined some of that ore but not shipped it before his death. Odie Roberts decided to sell his half of the Sunnyside to Frank in late 1937, and they settled on a price of a thousand dollars, to be paid in full by the middle of May 1938. Unfortunately, Roberts died of miner's consumption on March 1, 1938, before Frank could buy the mine. Evelyn Peterman and Guthrie agreed to continue the lease with Frank as the lessee. Frank soon discovered a wide, rich vein that was worth up two hundred dollars per ton, and he produced a considerable amount of ore by late March.

Frank decided to build a concentrating plant at the mine to reduce shipping costs and thus increase profits. The *Nevada State Journal* reported in late August 1938 that a twenty-five-ton Gibson concentrating mill had been installed and was processing the dump ores twenty-four hours a day. Frank then shipped the concentrates to the smelter. Gibson mills were variations on Huntington mills, and they commonly had an additional Gibson concentrating table (steps 5, 6A, and 8, Fig. 2-15). George G. Glenn of Oakland, California, was the president of the company that made the mills (his father had invented the design). Glenn earlier had installed a small mill to process oxide ores on Earl Otteraaen's property, just south of the Sunnyside mine, the previous May (described below; Fig. 3-5). Glenn then leased the three Manhattan claims and the patented Hidden Treasure No. 1 claim from Guthrie and Roberts in December 1937, giving Guthrie and Roberts ten percent of the gross value of any ore produced. The Gibson mills were designed to be relatively portable, so Glenn probably moved it over to the much more productive Sunnyside mine after he was finished with the other mines.

The original Amonett lease with Guthrie expired in 1939, but Gene Frank left in the fall of 1938. Not coincidentally, Evelyn Peterman was granted a divorce from her husband Linus in September and married Gene Frank soon thereafter. The couple, along with two of the Petermans' children, moved to Grass Valley, California, where Gene was working as a carpenter during the 1940 census. Linus remained in Winnemucca with the other two children, remarried, and died in 1968.

Charles Guthrie needed a new on-site partner because of his full-time job in Carson City. Two men actually filled the role starting in 1939: Frank Prough, an itinerate miner, and Harry Leonard, who was Guthrie's brother-in-law from Winnemucca. Prough, born in 1885 in Missouri, did some mining near Bishop, California, in 1935 and then worked his way to Winnemucca. Leonard was married to Guthrie's sister Vera and became the county recorder when Guthrie's father died in 1908, and he then returned to his former life with the railroad. Like Guthrie, he had a full-time job and one that required travel, so they relied on Prough to do the work in Kennedy. The three men staked the Manhattan No. 3 claim in July 1939, which bridged the gap between the Hidden Treasure No. 1 and Sunnyside claims (Figs. 3-5, 3-10), and Leonard also staked the Vera Louise, Vera Louise No. 1, and Vera Louise Fraction claims; the latter claim locations are unknown. Prough entered into a lease-to-purchase contract with Guthrie for the various Sunnyside and Manhattan claims and did the annual assessment work on all of the claims in 1939 and 1940.

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Prough did not last long, however. In addition to his work at Kennedy, he had discovered some rich placer deposits in Spaulding Canyon along the east side of the East Range northwest of Goldbanks. He transferred the Sunnyside lease with Guthrie to Earl J. Robertson in April 1940, along with all of the mining equipment and even the furniture in the cabin near the Sunnyside mine. He staked the Sunnyside No. 1 claim at the northwest corner of the Sunnyside in late May, and then the Blitzkrieg claim, a sliver of ground that joined the southern end of the Sunnyside, on July 1. He then sold all of his claims and shares of claims to Guthrie in July and September. Notes about Prough and his placer mines began to appear in the newspapers in late September 1940, so he probably found the deposits earlier and then unwound himself from his Kennedy obligations over the ensuing months. Having his own mines probably was preferable to leasing another man's mines.

Earl Robertson was part of a group of family and friends who came from Utah. They included Robertson, his wife Ruby, and their son Ted, as well as Ray Jenkins and Ward Cox. All of them were from the coal-mining communities in central Utah near Price and Orangeville. Ted, Ray, and Ward were in their late teens to early twenties and probably were childhood friends. As described later, Dale Farmer married the Robertsons' daughter La Fonta in Utah in June 1940. They joined the family in Kennedy, where he leased the Imperial mine from Joseph Langwith. Clarence Collett of Salt Lake City also was part of the group.

Earl Robertson wasted no time in mining the Sunnyside veins. The *Humboldt Star* wrote in June 1940 that Robertson "had struck about 18 inches of good ore, assaying up to \$100 per ton," and that he was shipping the ore to a Salt Lake-area smelter. He staked the East Sunnyside claim, along the east side of the Sunnyside claim, in early December (Fig. 3-5). Earl continued mining at the Sunnyside over the winter, and he was mining from the two-hundred-foot level (below ground) in June 1941 and still producing good ore. Members of the group staked five more claims from May into August; some of the claim descriptions were vague, but all but one of them appear to have been near the Sunnyside mine.

The newspapers periodically mentioned Earl Robertson's continued mining at the Sunnyside mine through the middle of September and then again in March 1942, when he shipped ninety tons of ore to the Utah smelter. Some of the other people probably remained in Kennedy as well, although the newspaper reports were infrequent and brief. As with other mines, the Sunnyside probably closed down in late 1942 because of the cessation of gold mining. The Robertsons and the others returned to the Price-Orangeville area, and Guthrie filed intent-to-hold notices on all of his claims and mines from 1942 through the end of the war.

Guthrie also inherited the Dago and Dago No. 1 claims from Charlie George. These were just north of the Kennedy townsite and just northeast of Charley Kennedy's Fourth of July mine; they also appear as an inset on O'Leary's 1936 survey map (Figs. 3-5, 3-10). Guthrie held onto the claims, but there is no evidence that he did anything with them besides have the assessment work done and file intent-to-hold notices in the early to mid 1930s. Guthrie staked the Dago Extension claim in April 1941, which was a partial claim at the south end of the other two claims.

Guthrie leased the Dago mine (which included all three claims) to Walter Cosby and Clifford and Kenneth Fontaine in 1941 a few days after staking the Dago Extension. The three boys were stepbrothers, and the 1940 census listed all three as miners in Wallace, Idaho. The

three young men undoubtedly planned to produce gold and silver for a year or more, but they unfortunately had to stop mining when Congress banned gold and silver mining for the duration of the war. They headed back to Idaho and eastern Washington. Guthrie filed intent-to-hold notices on the three claims during the war and assessment notices thereafter.

Guthrie retired from the Supreme Court position in 1951, and he and his wife Cora moved to Mesa, Arizona. They sold the Dago and Sunnyside claims in 1955 and abandoned the Manhattan claims.

JOSEPH LANGWITH AND THE IMPERIAL MINE

The first claim that Charley Kennedy staked in 1891 was the Cricket, and he soon staked the Imperial claim just to the west. The Imperial mine became the biggest mine in the early days of the district and was the mining centerpiece of James Wardner's mining and milling venture in 1894. Charley Kennedy, his step-father John Benton, and his brother-in-law Walter Wilkinson sold the Cricket, Imperial, and Victor claims to Edward L. Labadie and Alfred Massenet in 1906 (Fig. 3-5). Labadie and Massenet were part of a mining group that ultimately became the Silverfields Mining Company based in Golconda. Silverfields did not produce any ore from the three mines, but they did hire various people, including Charley Kennedy, to do the annual assessment work necessary to keep the claims valid.

Joseph A. Langwith of Golconda became the attorney and legal representative for Silverfields in the 1910s. Langwith, who immigrated from Nova Scotia in 1881 when he was nineteen years old, arrived in Golconda in the early 1890s. He worked for the Central Pacific Railroad, studied law in his off hours and was admitted to the bar in 1896, and later opened his own law practice in Golconda. He also was elected as the Winnemucca city attorney in 1917, a position that he held until 1936. Langwith became involved with mining, with claims of his own near Golconda and Battle Mountain and clients such as Silverfields. He filed an intent to hold notice on the three claims for 1918 during World War I and oversaw the annual assessment work on the claims in 1919 through 1922, all in the name of Silverfields.

Langwith's took ownership of the three claims in 1923 (although how was not recorded) and decided to reconfigure the Imperial holdings. The Imperial claim became the Imperial No. 1, and he and Carl Springmeyer, his son-in-law, staked the Imperial No. 3 at the north end of the Imperial No. 1 in July 1924. (Oddly, Charley Kennedy staked the Imperial No. 2 claim – the next logical number in the sequence – five years later, as described earlier.) On the basis of the meager claim-location description, the Imperial No. 3 claim coincided in part or entirely with the long-abandoned Kearsarge claim (Fig. 3-5). Langwith must have realized that he had to act quickly to claim the area that interested him: Curtis Hickok, described later, took an interest in the district in 1924 and staked the Kearsarge in November but then abandoned it because Langwith had already staked part or all of the claim area. The Victor claim, which was a partial claim adjacent to the original Imperial claim, remained unchanged. Springmeyer and Langwith staked the Imperial No. 4 through 6 claims in the spring of 1935, which expanded the claim block even more (Fig. 3-5). Langwith sold the Victor and his half of the Imperial No. 5 and No. 6 claims to Springmeyer for five hundred dollars in 1936. Langwith also "sold" half of the

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Imperial No. 1 claim the next year to one of his daughters, Mary, who had become his close associate after Langwith's wife Mary died in the 1920s; Springmeyer's wife, Beatrice, was the younger Mary's sister.

Despite an obvious desire to lock up this good piece of mining ground, nothing indicates that the Langwiths and Springmeyer did anything with the claims in the 1920s and 1930s except do the assessment work or file the intent-to-hold notices. The Cricket had disappeared from Langwith's records after 1925, and the Imperial group was idle in March 1936 (Vanderburg, 1936). The Langwiths and Springmeyers filed a notice of non-liability in June 1940 that said that Paul C. Lyon of Salt Lake City was working on all of their claims. Lyon, as described earlier, leased the Sterling claims of the Gold Note mine the same year and then began mining at the Gold Note in 1941. Lyon most likely leased both sets of claims and then dropped the Imperial group in favor of the Gold Note mine. Dale Farmer, Earl Robertson's son-in-law, took over the Imperial lease by January 1941. He shipped four carloads of ore to the smelter by late June 1941 and had four men working for him, some of whom might have been relatives of the Robertsons. He added a hoist, compressor, and jackhammer to the mining operation, and he was still mining in the middle of September. Farmer returned to Utah, and Ole Shumway and Edward Crosby took over the lease. The two men were from Salt Lake City and may have been related to Lyon's group, but they did not last for very long or do very much work: the newspapers did not mention the Imperial mine after Farmer's September 1941 work.

The Springmeyers sold their shares of all of the Imperial group claims to Joseph and Mary Langwith in June 1941, and the Langwiths filed intent-to-hold notices during the war through 1944. Langwith died in Winnemucca in 1947, and Mary moved to the San Francisco Bay Area. She kept many of her father's claims in the region for several years and managed the mining and annual assessment work through occasional trips to northern Nevada. She eventually sold them or, in the case of the Kennedy claims, abandoned them. The Imperial mine in Kennedy effectively ceased operation in 1941, fifty years after Charley Kennedy discovered the vein.

BLACK HAWK (CRICKET) MINE

Joseph Langwith dropped the Cricket claim in about 1925 (Fig. 3-5). It remained abandoned until September 1936, when the Reno and Winnemucca newspapers mentioned that Clark Ringling was mining rich ore from the upper tunnel of the Black Hawk mine, which one paper mentioned had been the Cricket mine. Ringling owned a small ranch in the north-central part of Pleasant Valley (Chapter 6). His most important "crop" was Morgan horses, but the Depression reduced the market for expensive horses. Mining was a good way for Ringling to diversify his income, and the abandoned Cricket mine caught his interest. As the *Reno Evening Gazette* wrote in 1936, "Ringling is a rancher and fancy horse raiser from the nearby Pleasant Valley. He has found mining an excellent combination with ranching and as a result of profitable mine operations has bought a new truck to haul his ore to Winnemucca and is building a house on his ranch and making payments on the principal."

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Ringling's early efforts met with great success: he hit a sixteen-inch-wide vein that assayed thirty-three to ninety-three dollars per ton. He shipped fifty tons of this ore to a smelter in September and used the profits to buy the truck and construction materials. He leased the mine to Ben Morton, a Russian immigrant from San Francisco, in November 1936. Morton and two other men cleaned out the rest of the mine tunnels and laid about four hundred feet of track for ore carts (Fig. 3-11). One of Morton's miners was Melvin McCoy, who had staked the Grubstake and Grubstake No. 1 claims near the Sunnyside mine in 1935 and was Will Pearce's son-in-law, having married Mabel Pearce. He also witnessed the Eugenia claim that Morton's wife had staked and named for herself (or, more likely, that Morton staked on her behalf) in March 1937 on the east side of the main Black Hawk claim (Fig. 3-5).



Figure 3-11. Ore-cart rails leading from the mine to the loading platform in the background, Black Hawk (Cricket) mine. These features likely date back to the 1930s, during Clark Ringling's ownership of the mine. Photograph taken in 2010.

Alex Duba, another Russian from San Francisco, took over Morton's lease in May 1937. The Reno newspapers noted that he was working for the Hygrade Mining Company, of which Ben Morton of the Rochester mining district was the company manager. The company stated that it was formed to acquire Henry Ruck's Kennedy mines, described in the next section, but they clearly were interested in the Black Hawk as well. The company did not register with the Nevada Secretary of State, so it probably was an unincorporated company that Morton put together. Duba, McCoy, and another man continued the mine development, put in two hundred feet of air pipe, and began mining with a compressor-driven jackhammer. Duba probably had worked for Morton with McCoy, and Duba and Morton likely knew each other as Russian immigrants with San Francisco connections. How much ore Morton and then Duba's groups shipped during this period was not reported, but the leases undoubtedly gave Ringling a percentage of the profits from the smelter and left him more time to spend with his horses. The *Reno Evening Gazette* reported in April 1938 that Ringling was hauling ore to Winnemucca to be shipped, but it did not mention if Ringling was doing the mining or if he was hauling it for Duba or possible later lessees.

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Ringling abandoned the Black Hawk mine in the late 1930s, and the newspapers did not mention any additional work at the mine after the 1938 article. McCoy had started to work in the Goldbanks district by 1938 and Morton and Duba moved back to San Francisco. The only later mention of the Black Hawk mine was a 1941 note in the *Humboldt Star* that mentioned that the vein at the Dago mine "is the same as the Ringling mine adjoining," indicating either that Ringling still owned the Black Hawk or that he dropped it but people still called it Ringling's mine. For the most part, the mine had served its purpose – to get Ringling through the Depression and pay for his mortgage, a new house and truck, and supplies for his horses.

HENRY RUCK AND THE ROYLANCE LEGACY

The Roylance Reduction Company effectively pulled out of Kennedy in 1918 when Leon St. D. Roylance had his stroke and was taken to San Francisco. Nobody was around to do the 1919 assessment work on the five claims that the company owned, and the claims were abandoned at the end of the year. Pershing County, though, still had the company on the books as the owner of the mill, buildings, and mill site. Frank Searls, the company secretary, did not pay the 1919 tax bill, which led to the tax sale and lawsuit described earlier. In the aftermath, the company – or possibly just Frank Searls by that point – still owned the mill (minus the essential Huntington mill), the related buildings, and the mill site.

Searls continued to pay the taxes, but the mill was shut down and the 1926 U.S. Geological Survey-U.S. Bureau of Mines mining activity report noted that "the district has no mill." Searls sold the remaining milling machinery to Robert Kavanaugh and I.C. Batman, two mining men from San Francisco, in March 1928. The only information about the sale came from a short article in the *Reno Evening Gazette*, which said that the men planned to move the machinery to their new mine in the Lone Mountain area northwest of Elko. The note added that the mill had operated for only a short time and cost about \$150,000 to build and equip. The tax bills starting in 1929 included only the mill site itself, so the mill building, bunkhouse, store, and assay office buildings may have been moved along with the machinery or were simply torn down for the lumber.

Henry Ruck arrived with Roylance and other mill and mining experts in 1915 to start remodeling the old Jenkins mill. He was not mentioned again in that context, although Will Pearce's photos showed that, like others, he stayed through 1918 and then left town after Roylance's stroke (Fig. 3-7). Ruck was born in 1878 in New York to German parents and had lived in San Francisco and Oakland for years, where he likely met Roylance. He called himself a real estate broker in the 1910 census, but subsequent census records did not list a profession, and there is nothing to indicate why the *Nevada State Journal* called him an "experienced mill man" in 1915. Ruck returned to San Francisco to live with his widowed mother for a few years after the 1918 collapse. He must have either remained in the employ of the company (if it actually existed beyond just a legal name) or kept in close touch with Frank Searls. In July 1921, a year after the company apparently dissolved and Searls failed to pay the taxes, Ruck was back in Kennedy and staked new claims over the abandoned Roylance claims, which formed a tight cluster on the west side of the Kennedy townsite. He renamed them the Senator, Montgomery,

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

and Iroquois Fraction; together, they were called the Senator group of claims and mine (Fig. 3-5).

Ruck periodically filed the annual assessment and intent-to-hold notices for the three claims from 1923 and into the early 1930s, so he probably was not doing anything with the claims or the mine. Ruck bought and ran an apartment house on Sycamore Street in Oakland by 1928 and lived there through the 1930s and 1940s, although he undoubtedly went back and forth to Kennedy. Frank Searls died suddenly in San Francisco in May 1932, and the 1932 and later tax bills for the Roylance mill site were sent to "Roylance Reduction Co., c/o H. Ruck" at Ruck's Sycamore Street address. The county changed the contact information to Ruck immediately, so he had enough legal sway to effect the change. In truth, the company probably had disappeared years before, and Searls and then Ruck never bothered to tell the county of its demise, which would have required more legal paperwork than the mill and mill site deserved. The two men just paid the minimal taxes and kept the property, essentially for themselves, and Ruck probably wanted to keep the mill site along with his own claims after Searls died.

Ruck may have found a partner in what was called the Senator Mining Company. A brief, unsigned summary of the Senator mine was sent to Leonard C. Lundquist, on Lawton Street in San Francisco, as the "co-partner" of the company (Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology mining district database). The note, written in about 1933 or 1934, summarized the mine workings and mentioned that the ore "is submarginal in grade." Whoever evaluated the property and wrote the summary obviously was not trying to promote the property. Lundquist had degrees in geology and mining engineering from Stanford University and then became an engineer for the Pacific Gas and Electricity Company in San Francisco. His location and connection to mining possibly brought him into contact with Ruck, or possibly even Searls before his 1932 death, in the Bay Area. He, Ruck, and possibly others set up a company in the mid 1930s, with the probable purpose of raising funds to finance mining at the Senator mine, but the mine summary was the only mention of the company or Lundquist.

Curtis Hickok of San Francisco signed a lease-to-buy agreement on the Senator mine in September 1934. Hickok and his brother George were the co-owners of San Francisco-based Hickok & Hickok, a major mining-equipment supplier on the West Coast. Curtis visited Nevada mining districts to sell equipment in the early 1920s, and he apparently stopped in Kennedy in 1923, possibly at the suggestion of fellow Bay Area residents Searls and Ruck. He staked the Kearsarge claim in late 1924, but he abandoned or relinquished it within a year because Joseph Langwith already controlled the ground. Regardless, Curtis' interest in the district had been piqued, and he and his brothers Stanley and George all were in Kennedy in the mid 1930s. Stanley and Curtis staked the Empire #2-1 claim somewhere near the Gold Note mine in January 1934.

The 1934 agreement required Hickok to sink a hundred-foot decline and make the initial payment of \$1,250 by March 1, 1935; he also had to pay Ruck a percentage of the net smelter returns from any ore shipped. Curtis, his brothers, and other workers mined ore over the next two months. However, Curtis had to borrow five hundred dollars on November 1 from a glass salesman in San Francisco to cover the expense of shipping and smelting a carload of ore from the mine. Why Curtis needed the money is unclear, but Hickok & Hickok had appeared regularly in the annual San Francisco city directory and then disappeared in 1933. The company

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

may have folded due to the Depression, which may have prompted the Hickok brothers' shift into mining in 1934.

Hickok's cash flow and slow mining progress continued to be a factor into 1935. Ruck was in Oakland in March and served official notice that he was canceling the lease, citing Hickok's failure to complete the initial terms of the agreement by the required date. The cease-work notice was effective ten days after receipt, and Ruck sent it to Hickok's San Francisco address. Hickok, however, was in Kennedy, and he did not receive the notice until April 25. To make matters worse, Hickok had hired Fred Brandel in January and John Novello in April to work in the Senator mine. Both men worked through May, but they had not been paid by early June and filed liens on the Senator mine, naming Ruck as the owner and Hickok as the person who had hired them. Ironically, Hickok would not have been able to hire Novello if he had received the forfeiture notice in time. The cases did not go to trial, so Ruck probably paid the wages (Hickok being broke) to make sure that he could keep the mine.

The Hickok brothers' venture in Kennedy apparently fell apart in spring of 1935, and Ruck filed intent-to-hold notices in 1936. As described earlier, Ben Morton's Hygrade Mining Company ostensibly was set up in 1937 to "acquire" Ruck's properties, but the company never followed through on that plan. That was the last evidence of any type until 1946 that Ruck still owned the claims: he did not file any assessment or intent-to-hold notices from 1937 through 1945. The absence of any notices might indicate that the mine was worked continually over the years, but, more likely, Ruck did not file the notices and the omission escaped anyone's notice. (The underground mine map (Fig. 2-12) shows the location of sample "39R126," which suggests that Ruck (R) collected the sample in 1939.) After the war, however, Ruck filed assessment notices from 1946 through 1948, which indicated that he still owned them. The county continued to send the annual mill-site tax bills to Ruck's Oakland address, and he dutifully paid the taxes every year until his death in Oakland in 1949. The claims became the property of Ethelyn Harrison in 1951. She lived next door to Ruck in Oakland and may have inherited them. For some reason, she continued to have the assessment work done and paid the taxes on the mill site through 1957, and she then dropped everything entirely.

JOHN NOVELLO AND NELLIE JUDD

John Novello worked at the Senator mine in April and May of 1935, and he also managed to stake one claim in each of those months and a third in June. His partner in all three claims was Joe Estrade, who also was from San Francisco and possibly worked with Novello at the Senator mine. The three claims were in the western part of the district just northwest of the Gold Note mine and west of Charlie Guthrie's Hidden Treasure No. 1 claim (Fig. 3-5). One of them had been the No Sabe claim, staked in 1891 and productive off and on over the next twenty years. Novello moved to Reno in June, where he had the aforementioned lien on the Senator mine notarized.

A twenty-six-year-old woman from Reno by the name of Nellie Judd staked the Arkansas claim in late June 1935. This had been the Hidden Treasure No. 2 claim that Charles Vadner staked in 1902 but abandoned in 1906. It was adjacent to Guthrie's Hidden Treasure No.

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

1 claim and thus close to Novello's and Estrade's claims (Fig. 3-5). At first glance, it is hard to fathom why she staked a claim in Kennedy: she was single and living in Reno with her family, and she otherwise had no apparent connection to mining. As it turns out, Novello somehow met Nellie when he first moved to Reno. He then staked the Arkansas claim in her name and did the mining, and they were married in late December.

Articles in the Reno newspapers in the summer and fall of 1935 mentioned that Novello was producing limited but rich ore from his and Nellie's claims. One pocket of ore contained as much as ninety-five ounces of silver and a quarter of an ounce of gold per ton. Novello, however, needed more money, and a late September 1935 article in the *Nevada State Journal* mentioned that he "has been handicapped, like many others, by lack of working funds and is seeking a partner." Novello placed a small advertisement in the paper a couple of weeks later that said "Wanted – Working partner in good gold mine or a stake," using the Judd family's address on Sierra Street in Reno. Novello, however, did not find a partner, or at least one who could provide anything more than a strong back, and that was the last mention of Novello or Nellie in connection with Kennedy. They abandoned the claims in 1936, and Earl Otteraaen, as described below, owned Nellie's Arkansas claim in 1937.

Over the next decade, the Novellos lived in both Reno and San Francisco, and they had a son in 1940. Novello made the Reno news in the mid to late 1930s and early 1940s, but not for his mining exploits. From mid 1935 (after he met Nellie but before they were married) through 1941, he was arrested in Reno five times for disturbing the peace, reckless driving, and stealing gasoline. He paid several fines, served probations, and finally spent time in jail. They moved to San Francisco, where Novello died in 1959. Nellie survived him and died at a later but unknown date.

EARL OTTERAAEN

Earl Otteraaen was a Norwegian poultry and egg farmer from Reno who, possibly because of the Depression and the increase in the prices of gold and silver, decided to try mining. He headed for Kennedy and staked seven claims between the middle of May and early August 1936. The claims that he staked formed a cluster near John Novello's and Nellie Judd's claims (Fig. 3-5), so he might have read Novello's help-wanted notices in the Reno newspapers or simply heard about Kennedy while selling eggs and chicken to the Novellos or Judds in Reno. The areas that he staked were worthwhile; they in part overlapped the Chromo and Baker claims of the 1890s, which produced some good ore, and abutted the east side of Nellie's Arkansas claim. By late August, he had sunk a sixty-five-foot-deep inclined shaft and began what would be a two-hundred-foot-long tunnel along a vein from the base of the shaft. Early assays showed that the ore was worth about five to more than twelve dollars per ton, and the hundred tons of ore that he had mined from the tunnel by late September averaged more than sixteen dollars per ton after he sorted out the better ore by hand. As noted earlier, George Glenn built a small Gibson mill on Otteraaen's property, and the mill produced concentrates that Otteraaen shipped to a smelter. His mining activity apparently was short lived, but he acquired Nellie Judd's Arkansas claim in 1937 and held onto the eight claims through 1949. At a hundred

dollars per claim for the assessment work, the annual costs of the assessment work on the claims equated to a lot of chickens and eggs, so Otteraaen clearly felt as though they were worth keeping. Otteraaen died at home in Reno in April 1949 at the age of sixty-one, and his wife Lena continued to pay for assessment work through 1957 before dropping the claims.

JAKE LEICK'S CLAIMS AND MINES

Jake Leick staked, bought, and otherwise acquired several dozen claims over the years and decades. Most of them were in the central part of the district, and several of them – including the Lone Gold Star claim (Fig. 3-5) – overlapped the Kennedy townsite. That led to a conflict with Charley and Ida Kennedy in 1916 over the proper use of the patented townsite land (Chapter 4). For various reasons, the lawsuit languished until 1922, when Judge Averill of Tonopah ruled in favor of the Kennedys. Leick kept the claims that overlapped the townsite but effectively could not do anything with them. Oddly, Leick owned a one-third share of the townsite through a 1905 deed with the Kennedys, so his claims conflicted with his share of the townsite as well.

Leick acquired and staked a number of other claims in the 1920s. Starting in 1921, Leick staked a collection of claims along the divide between Cinnabar Canyon and Lamberson Canyon to the south, starting with the Young American claims (Fig. 3-5). Leick staked five more claims in 1924 and another in January 1927, all somewhere on the northern side of Lamberson Canyon. His "co-owners" on these various claims were various relatives that lived far from Kennedy, and Leick probably just wanted to include his family members on the claims. Leick staked two other claims the same year, the last that he would stake in the district. One was the old Kearsarge claim, which he renamed the Nevada claim (Fig. 3-5), but Joseph Langwith already owned that ground.

Leick had always been a solitary, somewhat crusty person who largely worked alone. In addition to the claims, he also picked up a number of abandoned houses in town at rock-bottom prices at county tax sales, and he owned a third of the townsite land. Despite the number of holdings, he never made much money from his many claims: an abandoned house or a marginal claim in a nearly dead mining camp did not translate into money. He turned seventy-four in 1934 and was slowing down. His 1938 intent-to-hold notice on his claims included a shakily hand-written note that said "I am getting old and I am afraid that I can not keep up my assessment work. I try and keep six mines as the government allows."

Leick spent the morning of July 22, 1941, raking up dried grass around his cabin at the west end of Cinnabar Avenue. The grass was tinder dry, and Leick was concerned that it could catch fire from an errant spark or lightning strike. He carefully set fire to the piles of grass, a common practice, but a gust of wind pushed the flames onto his wooden house. Leick raced into the house to save some personal papers in a strongbox. He became trapped in the house, which disappeared in seconds when three boxes of blasting powder stored in the root cellar exploded. Other people in town raced to put out the fire, which also burned about twenty acres of the western part of the townsite and Charlie Guthrie's nearby cabin. The *Humboldt Star* reported that "Leick's charred body with only the stumps of the arms and legs" was found in

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

remains of the completely destroyed house. According to the newspaper, the fire was the third time that one of Leick's houses had burned, the other times ten and twenty years earlier, respectively.

Alfred Wiedeman had leased the Lone Gold Star claim from Leick in July 1940, and he began shipping rich ore in small batches in the fall. The mine overlapped the townsite, but the lack of residents made mining possible, and his lease allowed him to continue his mining after Leick's death. Louis Greilich, Leick's estate administrator, hired Wiedeman to do the assessment work on Leick's claims in 1943, and Leick's estate also filed intent-to-hold notices on all of the claims through 1944. The final disposition of Leick's estate was not recorded: his sister Katherine had died in 1928 and the remaining family members had scattered, so all of his Kennedy property and claims probably were abandoned. Charley Kennedy's heirs ultimately acquired Leick's share of the townsite land, which probably was the only property worth keeping. Leick had been in the district since the summer that Charley Kennedy discovered the first veins in 1891, so Kennedy's death in April and Leick's in July ended a major part of the district's fifty-year history.

OTHER MINING-RELATED ACTIVITY

A handful of other miners staked or held onto claims in and near Kennedy. Some were long-time residents, and others were newcomers working for themselves or others. Frank Merrell, a miner from Colorado, arrived in Kennedy in 1910 and staked six claims of the Gold Run group with Albert Kattenhorn, who also restaked the adjacent No Savy claim with the early Kennedy miner (and recent returnee) Hans Bender. Bill Zuick's newly configured Sterling group of claims significantly overlapped the Gold Run group, so Merrell and Kattenhorn abandoned them by early 1915. Merrell did stay in the district to stake two claims in Water Canyon in 1915, but he died of natural causes the next year.

John Morse and Ed Brassington staked five claims at the heads of Ladd and Bob Reid Canyons, on the high southeast side of Granite Mountain, in 1911. Three years later, in 1914, Morse staked two more claims in the same area, and he called the seven claims the Potosi group. The area today has a few prospect pits, but nothing indicates that Morse did anything more than minor claim development. He also staked two claims for Reginald Parsons of Seattle, Washington, in 1914. Parsons started as a mining-stock dealer in Colorado, relocated to Seattle in 1904 to run his wife's family's bag company, and became a prominent businessman and philanthropist in that area. The new claims had been the Gold Note mining company's Klondyke and Christmas claims along the ridge between Kennedy and Water Canyons. The Klondyke had been a small but productive mine dating back to 1891 when it was first staked as the Wall Street claim. Morse restaked them as the Sidewinder and New Orleans claims, respectively, in October 1914 (Fig. 3-5) and then staked the adjacent but poorly described Sultana and Lampasas claims the next year. He called the four claims the Sidewinder Group. He then did the assessment work or filed intent-to-hold notices on his own and Parsons' claims in 1916 through 1918. The two men gave up on the district and abandoned their claims, and Morse was working as an engineer for a water company north of San Francisco in late 1918.

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

As the country became involved with World War I, Congress waived the requirement to do annual assessment work on mining claims in 1917. Claim owners had to file a "Notice of Desire to Hold Mining Claim" form, otherwise known as a mining exemption or intent-to-hold notice, with the county each year to maintain ownership of a claim. Many claims had been staked in Kennedy in the 1910s and earlier, but these forms showed who actually still had enough interest in their claims – and which claims – to file for the exemption. Owners of active mines, such as Charley Kennedy and Bill Zuick, did not have to file notices. Ten Kennedy claim owners filed notices on a total of eighty claims, most of them in Cinnabar Canyon and sixteen in adjacent areas. Jake Leick had twenty-one claims, more than anyone else, but he filed his claim assessment and intent-to-hold notices only sporadically. Leick tended to work alone, so it is doubtful that he was actively mining each claim. Most likely, some people like Leick simply did not file assessment notices and kept the claims anyway, and the county was not about to check on all of the idle claims.

The other people who filed mining exception notices included John Morse for the various claims of the Sidewinder and Potosi groups of claims; Charlie George (eight claims); Joe Miller (five claims); Frank Heflebower for the eight claims of the Last Chance group (with Bill Zuick as the local representative); and Charley and Ida Kennedy for the K&B claim (which Charley had deeded to Ida in 1913). N.C. Johnson apparently was leasing the Olga claim from Jake Leick (which Leick had inherited from Ed Stone) and filed a notice for that claim. Joseph Langwith, the attorney for the Silverfields Mining Company, filed on the Cricket, Imperial, and Victor claims. The Roylance Reduction Company filed for an exemption on the Virginia, Hazel Bell, and Jack Rabbit claims in December 1918. This was six months after Roylance's stroke, but Roylance was still alive, so the company retained the claims.

Not all of the claim activity involved staking new claims, and claim owners leased some of their claims to other miners, such as the various leases on the Sunnyside, Black Hawk, and Gold Note claims described earlier. In September 1916, Jake Leick contracted with Ed Stone, a long-time Kennedy miner, to buy Stone's Alta, Alta No. 2 and Vermont claims for about three hundred and sixty dollars. Stone died in December, and Leick apparently gained the three claims via the contract or inheritance, even though the balance undoubtedly had not been paid.

George Kenney, J.C. Bronlett, and James Presby leased Leick's Lone Gold Star mine in early 1919 for eighteen months (Fig. 3-5), giving Leick part of the proceeds. The three men hauled supplies from Mill City and began working on the claim in March. Kenney made his first shipment in late June and made a second shipment in early July. At least Kenney and Presby were working in other districts in the region well before the lease expired, so they were in Kennedy for only part of 1919 and apparently did not stay through the end of the lease.

The combination of the Depression and the increased metal prices spurred quite a bit of other claim staking and small-scale mining in the Kennedy district and nearby areas. Melvin McCoy, the son-in-law of Pleasant Valley rancher Will Pearce, staked the Grubstake and Grubstake No. 1 at the north end of the Sunnyside mine in 1936 and worked on them for about a year. He dug a seventy-foot-deep shaft into the sulfide zone, but the grades and quantity may not have been enough to warrant continued mining. McCoy filed intent-to-hold notices on the two claims in 1937 and found work at Clark Ringling's Black Hawk mine, as described earlier. The next year, McCoy began mining mercury in the Goldbanks district and did far better there

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

over the next few years than at Kennedy. A few other individuals staked a claim or two apiece in Kennedy, but none of them did any mining or filed assessment or intent-to-hold notices.

The official Kennedy district, as described elsewhere, encompassed the entire southern end of the East Range, although the vast majority of the claim staking and mining activity over the decades were in the Kennedy-Lamberson-Spring Creek area on the east side of the range and French Boy-Say Canyons area on the west side. Until the 1930s, perhaps a dozen or less isolated claims were staked outside of these areas, although the county claim books listed them as being in the Kennedy district for lack of any other district name. The 1930s brought a small surge of claim staking in this broader area. A few of the claims were quite a bit north or south of the town of Kennedy on the east side of the range. The locations given were very general and impossible to plot on a map. The largest cluster of new claims was on the south side of Granite Mountain along Reed and Ladd Canyons. Almost all of these claims, which were variously staked from the mid 1930s to early 1940s, were placer claims along the two creeks. Many of the dozen or more people were from Lovelock. Modern evidence shows that the area near the intersection of the two creeks at the base of the mountain was extensively mined for placers. Will Pearce, the rancher, and his son Lester staked three claims somewhere south of Kennedy in 1927 and held onto them through at least 1939. Over the years, Pearce had staked a few claims in the Tobin, Rochester, and McCoy districts, and he was able to make a small profit by later selling the Rochester and McCoy claims. For the most part, he staked the claims and mined a few of them to diversify his main business of ranching, similar to when he ran the stage line between Winnemucca and Kennedy.

THE TOWN OF KENNEDY: 1910 TO WORLD WAR II

Kennedy itself had an ephemeral population of about thirty-six people in 1912, twenty in 1920, and twenty-five in 1935. Many of the people in the 1930s and early 1940s worked on their mines, but they also spent a lot of time back at home, be it Winnemucca or Reno. In contrast, the Pleasant Valley ranches had a fairly steady year-round population of forty to fifty people, as well as seasonal workers (Chapter 6). Newspaper articles and Will Pearce's episodic journal entries showed that the two groups constantly interacted socially and economically. Even so, what became eastern Pershing County after 1919 evolved into a ranch-based community with a few miners, as compared to the 1890s and 1900s when mining dominated life and the economy. The town itself became a collection of isolated buildings and houses. The few residents occupied some of them at no cost, a few buildings probably were torn down for various other uses, and the rest of the structures sat idle and decayed.

The presence of the Paul Klopstock's Gold Note Mining & Milling Company and then Leon St. D. Roylance's Roylance Reduction company had almost opposing effects on the town. Kennedy, by the time of Klopstock's arrival, was a small, dysfunctional place that had seen several shootings, lawsuits, and similar antagonism in the previous five years. The school had closed for lack of students and thus families save the Kennedys' three children. Many of the twenty or so people who lived there were single men who had been there since the early days of the district, and they had a small clique that begrudged newcomers like Peter Laux who did

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

whatever he felt like doing, legal or not. "Mortal enemies" came up in court testimony, giving a hint of the personal venom. Klopstock's only goal was to make money from the Gold Note mine and the Imperial mill, and he did nothing to make the place a better place to live. He brought in a few experts from San Francisco, ran out of money several times, and then left when he realized that the project would not work. Along the way, a combination of his failure to pay Laux for claim-assessment work and his drive to make the project succeed led to Laux's 1912 murder, which tainted both the town and his project. The situation was one of the reasons why the Kennedys moved to Winnemucca the following year.

Roylance, in contrast, appears to have been a much more benign project leader. Like Klopstock, he brought in various outside mill and mine experts, but they had families that created a very different atmosphere. The school, led by a series of teachers, reopened for a few years (Chapter 4), and the newspapers mentioned parties in Kennedy for the first time since the early 1900s. The town had well-attended Saturday-night dances with local musicians at Ed Williams' former Combination Saloon, which still stood (McCoy, 1987). s were more common by that point, and that led to more visits between ranches and Kennedy and day trips to Winnemucca. The population was small, but it was a much more cohesive group of people, approaching the "community" concept that disappeared years earlier, and Will Pearce's photographs from the time captured these moments. Had Roylance not suffered a major stroke in 1918, his project likely would have continued and, along with it, the small, reborn town of Kennedy.

Roylance's stroke unfortunately ended his project, and all of the associated people left town. Charley Kennedy, after his move to Winnemucca, continued to spend a lot of time in Kennedy. Even so, his dual life made him give up on being the postmaster and the district recorder. The few people who were staking claims (most of them in French Boy Canyon) had to go into Winnemucca and then Lovelock after 1919 to file their claim notices. Nobody wanted to take over the postmaster position, and the U.S. Post Office finally closed down the route (and thus the stage service) because the cost of running the line was much greater than the money that the route generated through postage and express package delivery (Chapter 4).

The Nevada State Legislature created Pershing County out of the southern half of Humboldt County in 1919. The indirect and longer routes to the county seat at Lovelock made the eastern part of the county that included Kennedy and Pleasant Valley even more isolated than when people could make a direct trip to Winnemucca. The new county redrew the voting precincts on the basis of where voters got their mail, which by then was in Lovelock, Winnemucca, Golconda, and Battle Mountain, depending on where they lived in the area (Chapter 4). Kennedy lost its position as the area's polling place, which it had held since 1892, and the men (and then women) voted at ranches in the valley. All county-related business, including recording claims and deeds and filing lawsuits and complaints, required a trip to Lovelock, which was a more difficult journey in the winter when the passes over the East and Humboldt Ranges were covered with snow. It worked both ways: the county sheriff had to deliver the ballots for a recall election in February 1922, and he had to take the train to Winnemucca and then drive through deep snow to deliver the ballots to the polling place at the Cooper ranch. Thus, many of the residents of eastern Pershing County had to go to

CHAPTER 3 – KENNEDY THROUGH TIME

Winnemucca, Golconda, or Battle Mountain to get their mail, and Lovelock to do anything that involved the county.

Most people who wanted an automobile had one by the late 1910s and certainly by the early 1920s (Chapter 4). A few people, such as Jake Leick, held out or could not afford one, but various newspaper articles and Will Pearce's journals revealed that they had no problem catching a ride with someone else to Winnemucca. "Truck automobiles" became more popular for hauling larger loads: the Kelsey brothers used a truck with a trailer to haul away the Imperial mill, and Will Pearce and other ranchers used them for hauling hay and for various ranch chores. The greatest impact of the vehicles was that people and miners were far more mobile: they could drive from Pleasant Valley and Kennedy into town and be back the same day, effectively making the area far less remote in terms of time. In the other direction, many of the mine owners in the 1920s into the 1940s could and did live elsewhere, spend time in Kennedy for whatever length of time was needed, and then go home. They no longer had to uproot their lives like the many people from Humboldt and Lander county did in the 1890s. Even Charley Kennedy, in the period between the family's move to Winnemucca in 1913 and his divorce in 1925, spent a lot of time in Kennedy but could easily get back to Winnemucca on weekends or for other visits in his Ford.

Chapter 4



THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

Cinnabar Canyon was uninhabited when Charley Kennedy ventured up from Pleasant Valley in the spring of 1891. The only man-made feature was a rudimentary corral that Joe Miller used as part of his family's ranch in Pleasant Valley. Otherwise, all that Kennedy saw were rocky hillsides covered with sagebrush and a scattering of juniper trees and a small creek running down the middle of the canyon. The same vista just three years later contained a bustling town of more than five hundred people with more than a hundred wood-framed buildings and numerous businesses, not to mention two mills and hundreds of mine workings in the surrounding hills (Fig. 4-1). The town was laid out fairly neatly (Fig. 4-2), and the residents in the early 1890s planned on being there for a long time. Storekeepers sold a plethora of goods, bartenders poured their liquor, barbers cut hair, and teachers oversaw the basic education of the town's youth. Freighters hauled goods to Kennedy and ore back to the railroad depots. Local and county officials ensured that everyone behaved themselves as much as possible, and Winnemucca lawyers and the courts dealt with those who did not. The active economy was a blessing for both the people who lived there and the county as a whole.

This chapter describes the town of Kennedy, from its start in 1891 through the peak in 1894, and then the various ups and downs of the following decades. The emphasis is on the boom years 1890s, which saw the greatest amount of building, stores and other commerce, and self governance. The population and economy in later years never came close to the 1894 level again (Chapter 5), but the buildings and a semblance of town survived for decades. As mining progressively withered away and eventually died, people dismantled the buildings and hauled away the lumber and fixtures for other uses. Today, all of the buildings are gone in the Kennedy townsite, and only a few scraps of lumber, the collapsed holes of root cellars and outhouses, and a few pieces of broken crockery and bottles remain in what once was a thriving community.

THE KENNEDY TOWNSITE

The early prospectors and miners went to Cinnabar Canyon for the sole purpose of staking claims and mining, but they had no idea of how long they would be there. As the first few months evolved into two to three years, the semblance of a town began to take shape. It was a rudimentary town, to be sure, but a town nevertheless with houses, a few businesses, and even a road that they called "Main Street." The mining district boomed in 1894, and that year ended with a platted townsite, more than a hundred wood-framed buildings, and even more tents.

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

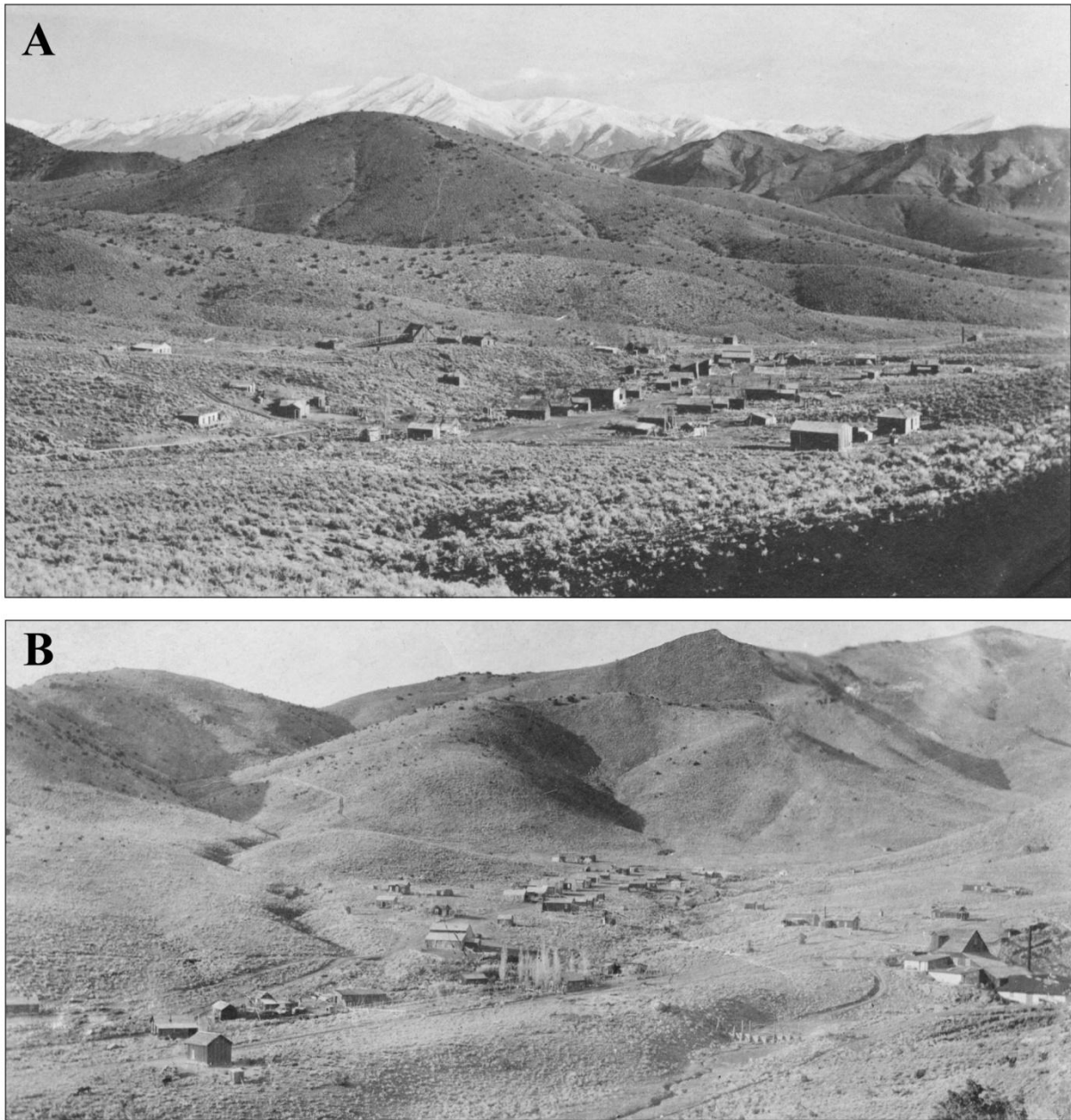


Figure 4-1. Overview photographs of the town of Kennedy. (A) View looking east-northeast. Many of the buildings line Cinnabar Avenue, just right of center. The top of the Imperial mill is visible in the left-center distance, in front of the hump-shaped hill, and the top of the Jenkins mill is visible in the far right distance. (B) View looking southwest, with the main part of town in the distance. The Imperial mill is in the lower right. Alex Wise's stable was the large building with the two-tiered roof along Cinnabar Avenue in both photographs. The school house is in the distance directly beyond the Wise stable in (A) and in the lower-left foreground of (B). Both photographs were taken in the early 1900s before the Imperial mill was torn down in 1919, but the exact dates are unknown. Also see Frontispiece. Photographs from the Humboldt Museum.

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

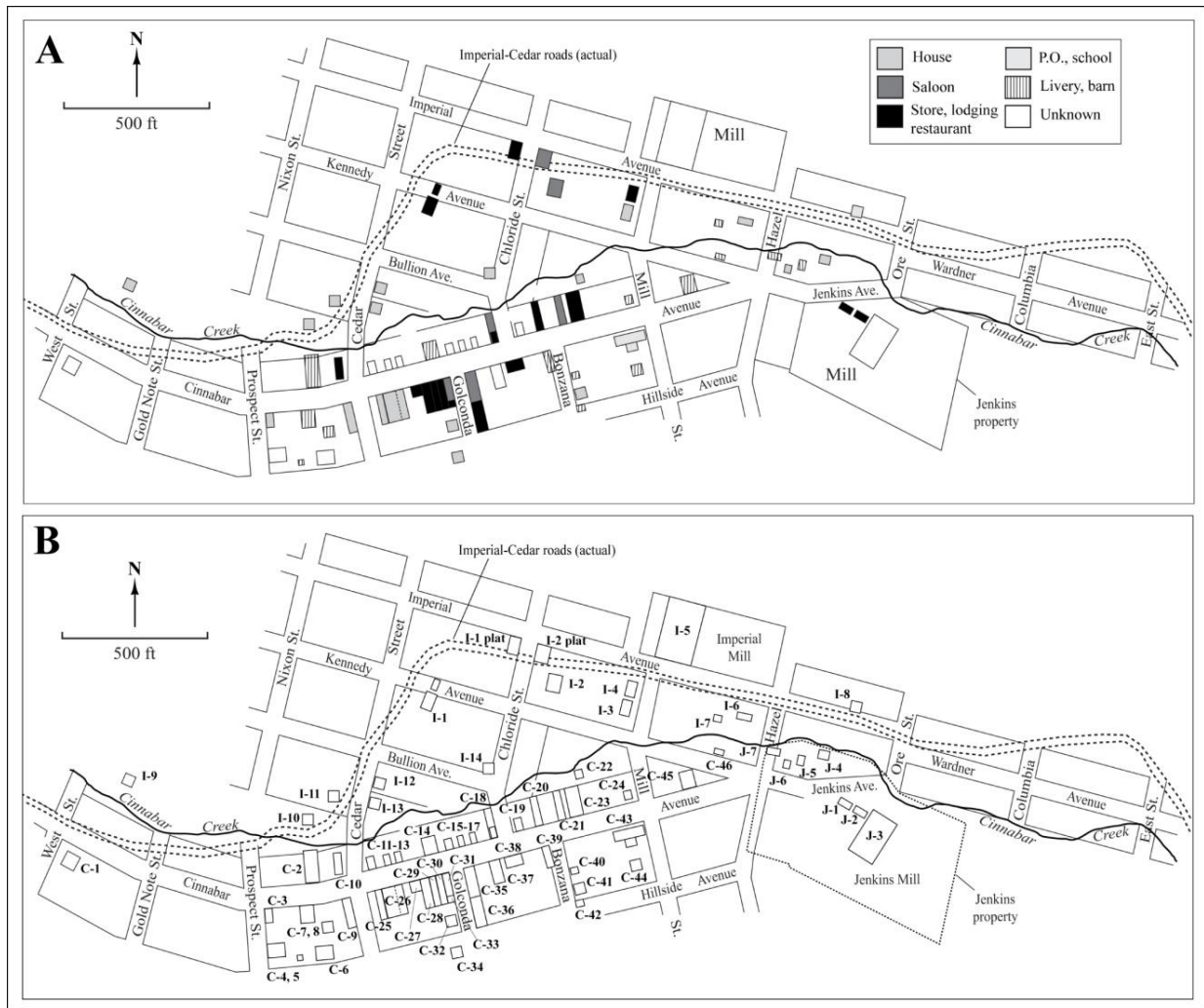


Figure 4-2. Maps of the town of Kennedy. (A) Locations of buildings and their uses. (B) Ownership and use; numbers listed in Table 4-1 (Appendix). Many "Unknown" buildings are those shown on the two photographs in Figure 4-1 and do not have corresponding deed or tax records. The actual locations of the lots shown for the Reinhart store (I-1) and Ed Williams' saloon (I-2), and parts of Imperial Avenue and Cedar Street, were somewhat different than their platted locations; see text for discussion. Original surveyed plat on file at the Humboldt County Recorder's office, Winnemucca, NV.

The first men in the canyon initially erected tents, stone cabins, or tarp-covered dugouts close to their claims or a nearby spring. Most of the early claims were along or near the Imperial and Cricket veins (Figs. 2-2, 2-6), and those areas became the initial "population" centers. The "town" became more diffuse as mining moved into peripheral areas, such as in Water Canyon to the north, the cluster of mines west of the Imperial mine, and the Gold Note mine to the southwest. Charley Kennedy, with claims on two very rich veins, built a house on the north side of Cinnabar Creek by early August (Fig. 2-7B; I-13, Fig. 4-2B). As winter approached, the *Battle Mountain Central Nevadan* wrote "every man in the camp is busy building Winter quarters,

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

some with lumber and others are shaping dug-outs and covering the tops with cedar trees and dirt."

More buildings went up in 1892 and 1893 as the mining camp continued to grow. Kennedy built a six-room house for his step-father John Benton and Kennedy's mother and Benton's wife Virginia in the spring of 1892. The house was east of the first house on the north side of the creek (I-6, Fig. 4-2B; Fig. 4-3). Claim records mentioned several more cabins in 1892 through early 1894, both in the future townsite and in the surrounding hills (Fig. 4-4). Some of them were small wood-frame cabins, and others were stone-walled cabins of various sizes. Farther afield, Frank Northway had a small ranch and water right in "Basin Creek," which was the canyon south of Cinnabar Canyon (Fig. 1-2). He sold it to George Lamberson in 1894, and the canyon became known as Lamberson Canyon. Charlie Kyle similarly started a small homestead Say Canyon on the west side of the East Range in late 1893 (Chapter 7).

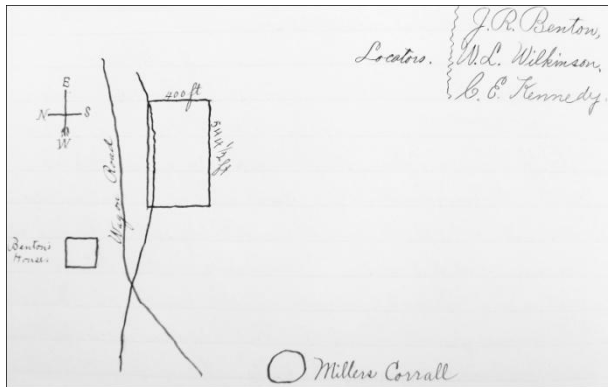


Figure 4-3. Mill-site claim map, filed in September 1893, showing the locations of the Jenkins mill (large rectangle; J-3, Fig. 4-2B), John Benton's house on left (I-6), and Joe Miller's corral (I-2). North is to the left. From the Humboldt County Recorder's claim books.

The construction of the Jenkins mill in the fall of 1893 attracted more people, and, as seen through the lens of the *Silver State*, the town began to grow and evolve rapidly. The town had a "well equipped restaurant, lodging houses, barn and store; all substantial buildings" by January 1894, and the newspaper wrote that "there are probably about twenty frame buildings and quite a number of tents scattered around, while a few primitive dugouts may be seen in ... close proximity to the creek." Most of the businesses and houses were clustered along "Main Street," which was on the south side of Cinnabar Creek. The announced construction of the Imperial mill by James Wardner in May induced an enormous amount of construction and growth. Two hundred people were in Kennedy by June and the number rose to more than five hundred in the fall. One June visitor called Kennedy "the embryo town of rough board shanties and white tents." Other articles mentioned that "buildings are going up in Kennedy," that "tents are giving place to frame buildings," and that "various business houses are in the course of construction." Another correspondent wrote in July that "the village now has about 40 wooden buildings and as many more tents and dugouts. Building is going on very rapidly." He added that the "larger part of the buildings" were along the main street on the south side of Cinnabar Creek. In early September, Kennedy was "quite a lively camp of about 50 houses, cabins and tents." A November visitor wrote that dugouts and "rough board shanties" were spread across

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

the hills. His long article also noted that "over 100 buildings, mostly plain board, frame structures, with some tents and a few adobe huts, constitute the architectural portion. Saloons, hotels, lodging houses, and livery stables are the main business enterprises." He concluded by writing that Kennedy "is in the stage of innocent infancy, for as yet man's blood has not been shed on its virgin soil."

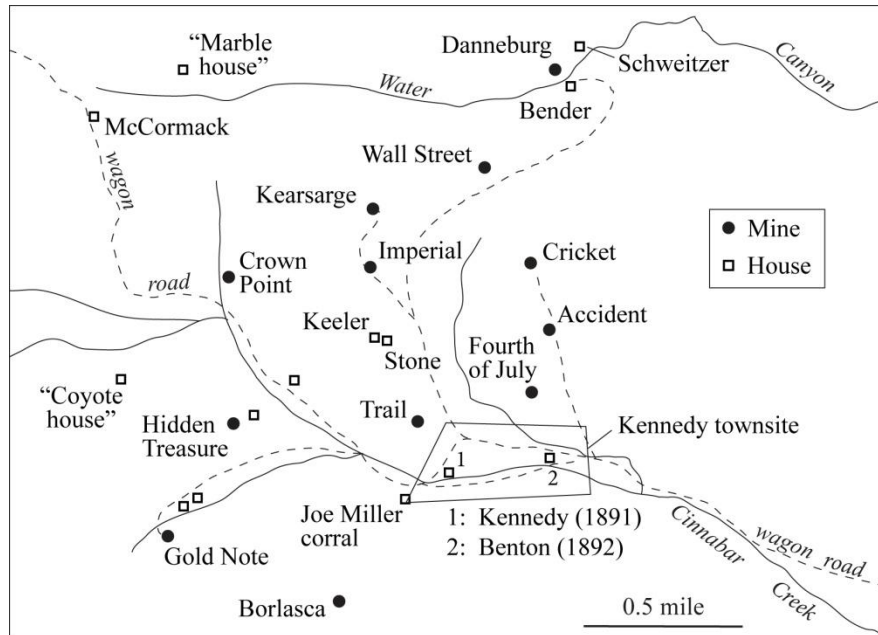


Figure 4-4. Locations of early houses, roads, and major mines in Kennedy. The Kennedy townsite was formalized in 1894 (Fig. 4-2), but it had become the locus of businesses and houses by 1893. Several of the cabin locations outside of the town are general and were based on descriptions in claim records.

THE KENNEDY LAND & IMPROVEMENT COMPANY

The broad, central part of Cinnabar Canyon was the best central place to build houses and stores and erect tents. A semi-orderly array of buildings lined Main Street along the south side of the creek, and a smaller collection of buildings and tents lined Irish Row, the street north of the creek. This arrangement suited everyone until May 1894, when James Wardner arrived and announced plans for the big Imperial mill along Irish Row (Chapter 3). News of a big new mill spurred a rush of people, businesses, and new construction to the canyon. One of Wardner's previous ventures included building the new town of Fairhaven along the north shore of Puget Sound (Wardner, 1900). Wardner saw the growth potential of the camp, and he decided that a formal townsite was needed to accommodate all of the anticipated growth. Plus, having a well-designed town could only enhance his own investments in Kennedy.

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

Wardner discussed his plan with several prominent men in Kennedy and Winnemucca. The Kennedy people were Charley Kennedy, John Benton, and Walter Wilkinson, from whom Wardner was buying the mill site and several of the larger mines. In Winnemucca, George Nixon was the head of the First National Bank of Winnemucca and could provide both financial backing for the land company and loans to people who bought the lots and built structures. Edward Reinhart and his brothers owned the largest store and source of building materials in Winnemucca and northwestern Nevada, and a new town would provide them with a lot of business. M.S. Bonnifield was a prominent attorney in Winnemucca and had worked closely with both Nixon and the Reinharts over the years. He could supply much-needed legal advice for the project. H.D. Andrews and D.V. McBride also were part of the group. The men met sometime in May to plan the new project.

The directors turned to Charles Norcross, a young notary public and state legislator in Reno, to acquire legal ownership of the land and then lay out the townsite plat. Norcross found that the planned townsite coincided almost perfectly (and incredibly fortuitously) with several contiguous parcels of state select land that were available (Chapter 1). Norcross applied to purchase the four parcels from the state in early June, with Bonnifield acting as the legal agent, and made a hundred-dollar down payment. As long as Norcross continued to make the annual interest and principal payments, the land was his.

The men hired William T. Moran, a British civil engineer and surveyor from Virginia City and Reno, to create the townsite plat. Moran later would become the U.S. Deputy Surveyor for Nevada. Moran had staked a claim in Kennedy in 1892, started a district claim map in 1894, and then returned to Virginia City, so he was familiar with the area. The resulting plat showed blocks, lots, and named streets that formed a rough, east-west rectangle, with Cinnabar Creek dividing it into northern and southern halves (Fig. 4-2). The map also showed the two mill sites. Main Street became Cinnabar Avenue, and Irish Row, along which Wardner's Imperial mill would be built, was renamed Imperial Avenue. For the most part, the plat merely formalized what already was there and fleshed it out into a seemingly well-planned townsite. Even though the orderly plat presented some problems on the uneven ground, as described later, it looked great on a piece of paper, which made lots easier to sell. The land company even hired men in July to clean up the streets to improve the town's appearance.

The *Silver State* announced the creation of the Kennedy Land and Improvement Company in its June 21 edition. Even though the company did not formally incorporate until August, it clearly was in business by that point. The paper wrote that the company was "now prepared to sell lots and give warranty deeds to all purchases," with Norcross as the "authorized agent for the company." The company had its office in the school house and began to publish advertisements in Kennedy's new newspaper, the *Nevada New Era*, by July 14 and possibly earlier due to the loss of earlier editions. The advertisements listed the terms of sale of the lots, as follows:

"Until July 1st the price of lots will be as follows: Twenty-five-foot lots having a depth of one hundred feet, situated north of Cinnabar Creek, \$250 for corner lots and \$150 for other lots; lots south of Cinnabar Creek, \$200 for corner lots and \$150 for others."

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

In addition, people who had built a house or other building before the town was surveyed could buy deeds for ten dollars. The company's later articles of incorporation did not describe the existing buildings, but a simple glance around town would have shown which buildings already were there. Those original buildings were erected where it was convenient, and many sites probably did not conform to the lots shown on the new plat.

Norcross began to sell lots under his own name starting June 11, although he clearly was acting on behalf of the still-unincorporated company, as noted in the newspaper. The townsite directors met on August 1 and drew up the articles of incorporation for the Kennedy Land and Improvement Company. Wardner was not a legal part of the company, at least on paper, but he undoubtedly played a role in the company both before and after the company officially formed. At the same meeting, the directors formally elected Norcross to be the authorized sales agent for the company. He sold the state land parcels to the company on August 10 for one dollar, and the deed excluded "those several lots in the Town of Kennedy heretofore sold and deeded to other parties." The company began selling lots in the townsite under its own name on August 16, with Norcross as the sales agent. The company filed its incorporation papers and the plat with Humboldt County and the Nevada Secretary of State on August 22.

As lot sales proceeded, only one person paid the full asking price. Everyone else who bought a lot paid the company ten dollars because they had an existing building at the time of the sale, as stipulated in the sales announcement. However, neither Charley Kennedy nor John Benton purchased a deed for the lots on which their houses stood. The Reinharts paid only one dollar for the three adjoining lots across the street from Williams' lots, even though they built their store later. As trustees, Kennedy, Benton, and the Reinharts may have given themselves free or minimal-cost deeds.

The county began to tax the land company for the land in 1894 and continued to do so through 1898. The legal description of the company's land in the county assessor's record book was the entire plot of land, and it did not exempt lots that had been sold. The tax bills sent to individuals with a building typically read "Real estate – lot and house [or saloon or building]," and nobody who owned a lot without a structure was taxed: the county may have taxed people only for the buildings that they had built on the lots, but not the lots themselves. Some people erected a tent house or business on their lot, and the county may have considered those to be temporary structures and thus not taxable. Whether this was legal or not is debatable, given the various deeds to the land, but nobody argued against it in court.

KENNEDY TOWN MAP. The official town plat, newspaper articles, and various legal records – deeds, claim notices, mortgages, tax records, and lawsuits – were used to create a map showing the locations and uses of buildings and sites in the townsite (Fig. 4-2). Numbers on the map correspond to those in Table 4-1 (see Appendix), which lists the owner(s) and use(s) of each building. Photographs taken of the town in the early 1900s show additional buildings (Figs. 2-13, 2-14A, 4-1), and the approximate locations of those buildings are shown on the map. Seventeen of those do not correspond to deeded lots and blocks. Various legal documents mentioned nineteen buildings – primarily houses – in the townsite ("Small house on Cinnabar Avenue," for example) without giving the block and lot number. Most of the buildings in the photographs probably correspond to those buildings, but it is impossible to match owners with

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

specific buildings. Table 4-1 also lists other buildings in the greater Kennedy area for which exact locations are not known.

The creek, the two mill sites, and the visible remains of Cinnabar Avenue were used to place the townsite in a proper geographic position. The Global Positioning System (GPS) locations of physical features, such as the remnants of streets, foundations, and pits, also were plotted on the new map. Many of the GPS points coincided with and thus confirmed the locations given in other records. Other points did not have any corresponding building records and could have been undeeded and unrecorded buildings (houses, barns, sheds, outhouses); some, but not all, of those buildings are visible in the early-1900s photographs. The overall fit of the original plat on file with the Humboldt County Recorder with the actual landscape was very good south of the creek along Cinnabar Avenue and less so north of the creek. The major discrepancy was along the western part of Imperial Avenue, beyond the Imperial mill and including the E. Reinhart & Co. store (I-1, Fig. 4-2B) and Ed Williams' Saloon (I-2). That area, and possibly much of the layout north of the creek, was offset or compressed to the south by a couple of hundred feet from what was shown on the plat (note the platted versus actual locations of the Reinharts' and Ed Williams' buildings in Fig. 4-2). Nevertheless, the Reinharts and Williams obviously had no problem finding the right places to erect their buildings.

CONFLICTS OVER LAND USE. A visitor to Kennedy wrote to the *Nevada State Journal* in late June 1894 and predicted a potential conflict between the land company and the various buildings, lots, and mining claims that already were there. He reported that "it is feared there will be litigation" and worse because "the arm of the law is weak." People built numerous buildings before Norcross purchased the land and the town was platted. Those pre-townsite people, for all intents and purposes, were squatting on state land with no official ownership except for whatever buildings they had erected.

The plethora of buildings visible in the old photographs and the lack of corresponding deeds show that the land company was not able to convince many people to buy the lot beneath their buildings. The company completely ignored Charlie Kyle and Mark Wiggins, who owned the Arcade (or Kyle) Hotel and Saloon on Cinnabar Avenue. The two men started the business in late 1893, but Kyle had been the long-time Humboldt County sheriff and probably still had a fair amount of clout in the county. Similarly, Henry Schmidt and Cephas Kyle owned the China Wash House at the east end of Cinnabar Avenue, but they never bought a deed. Schmidt was the manager for the Reinhart store in Kennedy and Cephas was Charlie Kyle's brother, so they also may have received preferential treatment.

The company tried to sue Joe Miller in the fall of 1894 for the parcel on which his corral sat (C-2, Fig. 4-2B). The corral was there when Charley Kennedy first arrived in Cinnabar Canyon in May 1891. Miller never bought the lot, and he easily could have documented that he had been using that piece of ground for more than three years prior to the arrival of the land company. His corral also was consistent with the agricultural purposes of state lands. The company also tried to sue Jake Leick for the property on which he had built a house in 1893, and the court ruled in Leick's favor.

The land company, as well as the lot owners, also had to consider mining claims and mines that overlapped the townsite. The state lands by definition were "non-mineral" in nature

and had to be used for agricultural purposes (Chapter 1). Also, claim holders could use the surface area for any *mining-related* activity, as long as they were mining or performed the annual assessment work on the claim. This did not preclude a claim from being staked or even mined later, but the so-called agricultural purpose of the parcel had priority. The land company and the claim owners had differences of opinions on this, but the courts largely sided with the actual lot owners in several lawsuits.

HOUSES AND BUILDINGS

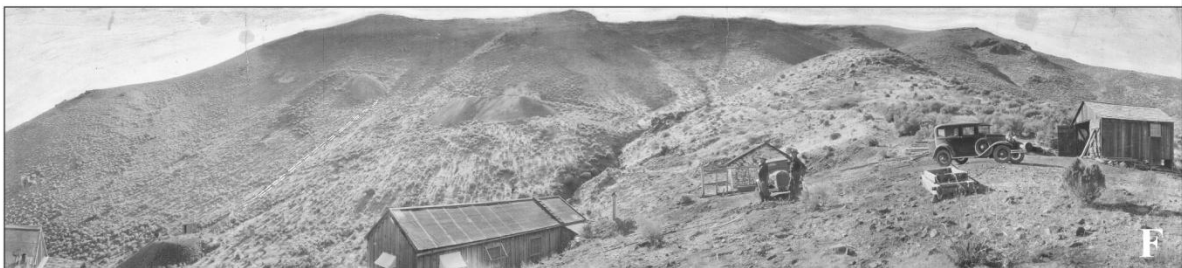
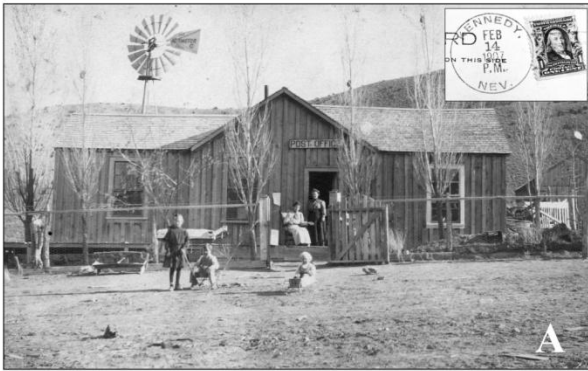
Property descriptions in the tax and deed records confirm that at least ninety wood-frame buildings were built in the Kennedy townsite, of which at least sixty were houses. Sixty houses were not enough to house the several hundred miners and prospectors who were in Kennedy in 1894. Tents and dugouts were popular and probably outnumbered the real buildings. As noted earlier, many men who had claims lived on or near their claims.

Most of the business owners lived in the back of the stores. For example, an early-1895 contract showed that Charles McIntosh's store building on Cinnabar Avenue had two eight-by-eight-foot rooms in the back for his "dwelling apartments." The Kennedys ran the post office in a separate part of their house and later added a small store (Fig. 4-5A). Tom Powell, who ran the Arcade saloon, had a separate small house nearby, and he may have been one of the few business owners who actually had to walk to work. Walter Wilkinson bought the Imperial mill's assay office in late 1896 or early 1897 and turned it into a house, apparently unconcerned about the residual health risk.

Many, if not most, of the houses and buildings in town were well constructed, with glass-paned windows, cast iron cook stoves and ovens, screens on the doors and windows, and even a few cut-glass door knobs (Fig. 4-5). The E. Reinhart & Co. store in Winnemucca was the

Figure 4-5 (following page). Houses in Kennedy. (A) The Kennedy house in about 1907, which also had the post office and later a small store (C-43, Fig. 4-2B). Inset: 1907 Kennedy post office cancellation stamp. (B) Six-room John Benton house built in early 1892 (I-6, Fig. 4-2B). Likely taken in the mid 1910s. (C) The "Foster house" located near the Jenkins mill (J-4, Fig. 4-2B), with the Foster family. Taken in about 1917. (D) John Benton house shown in (B) but taken in the late 1890s, and members of the Kennedy-Benton-Wilkinson families. (E) Bunkhouse (foreground) and store (darker building behind) for the Jenkins mill (J-2 and 1, Fig. 4-2B; Fig. 2-13). The people are unknown. Photograph taken in the mid 1910s. (F) Buildings at the Gold Note mine in the 1930s. The stone house behind the car and the wood-framed bunkhouse (roof in lower left) were built in 1892; the four-room bunkhouse in the middle was built in the early 1900s. The shed on the right was built in the early 1930s. The Gold Note mine dumps are in the background. Sources: (A), (D): Humboldt Museum; (B), (F): Special Collections Department, University of Nevada, Reno, Libraries (images UNRS-P0159-1, UNRS-P2001-01-41); (C), (D): Stanley McCoy collection.

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY



CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

almost exclusive source in 1894 for the lumber, nails, hinges, stoves, and other fixtures, and that was one of the reasons that the company opened a branch store in Kennedy. The boom in 1894 brought tradesmen in the form of contractors, carpenters, painters, and wallpaper hangers, and Kennedy's *Nevada New Era* in July 1894 wrote that "all the carpenters in Kennedy are busy putting up new buildings." Five of these men advertised the *Nevada New Era* (Fig. 4-6), including carpenters Robert Hoy, Peter Ward, and Charles B. McLain, and painters and wallpaper hangers William Day and Ned Stine. The men came from various northern Nevada towns, including Winnemucca, Lovelock, and Elko, and they either returned home after their time in Kennedy or moved to new places that needed their services. Stine painted a sign for Peter Dory's stable in August 1894, and the *Nevada New Era* said that it was "a credit to his profession and an ornament to the Dory livery stable."

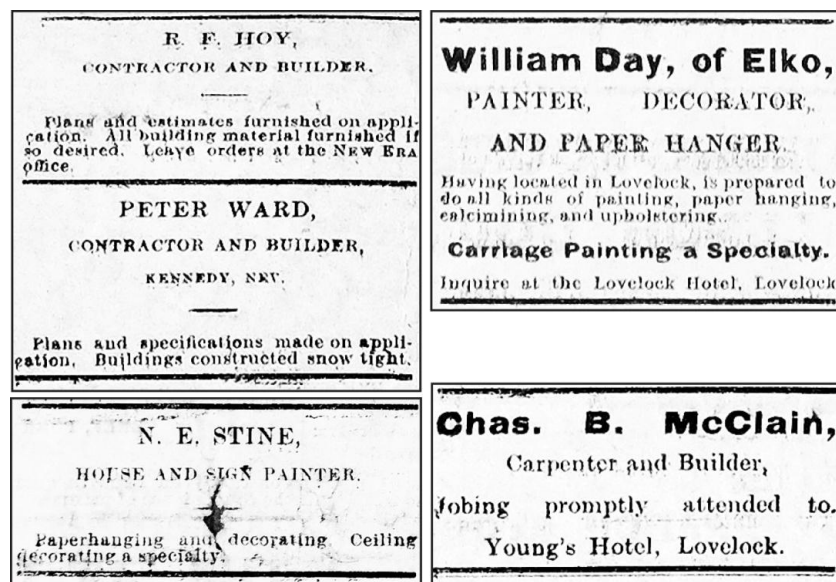


Figure 4-6. Business-card advertisements placed by carpenters, building contractors, and painters in the 1894 *Nevada New Era*. See text for descriptions of the businesses.

Most of the buildings were wood-frame structures, but several houses were made of stone and at least two of adobe. The hillsides of Cinnabar Canyon are littered with small to large blocks of granite: stacking them up into four walls and adding a roof produced a serviceable home. The first building built at the Gold Note mine was a small stone-walled building with a wooden roof that remained standing until after 1976 (Fig. 4-5F). Tax records and one claim map described at least two adobe houses. The materials could have come from the fine-grained playa dirt in Pleasant and Buena Vista Valleys.

Mrs. Elizabeth Pearce's house began life in Austin, and she hired freighters to move it to Kennedy in 1894 and place it in town. She was the mother of Will and Nick Pearce, who in 1900 bought the Bushee ranch in Pleasant Valley. After Nick got married and began to raise a family, he and Will dismantled their mother's house (Elizabeth having moved to Winnemucca) and rebuilt it at the ranch for Nick's family in 1906. Alfred Schell, another rancher in Pleasant Valley, dismantled a house in Kennedy the next year and rebuilt it as a saloon at the new Goldbanks

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

mining camp north of Kennedy. Much later, possibly in the 1950s or 1960s, one building was dismantled and the lumber used to build a house in Winnemucca (Ed Pearce, oral communication, 2015). Although all of the houses in Kennedy eventually were torn down and removed, those are the only three whose destinations are known.

The combination of wooden houses and stoves was a risky proposition. At least three fires severely damaged wooden cabins in Kennedy in the early 1900s. In December 1901, the wall next to a "red-hot stove" caught fire, and the cabin used by four men (who were not at home) was destroyed. The *Silver State* reported that two of the men lost all of their belongings. The second fire, in October 1903, destroyed Lou Folsom's cabin in Say Canyon. Folsom had started a fire in the stove to cook dinner, went outside for a few minutes, and returned to find the house in flames. A third house – Jake Leick's house that started as B.J. Hungenberg's barber shop – caught fire in July 1941. Unfortunately, Leick had stored several boxes of blasting powder in the root cellar, and the cabin exploded while he was inside trying to recover his personal papers. The newspapers reported that this was not the first time that Leick had accidentally set his house on fire.

DOMESTIC WATER AND THE DUMP

Cinnabar Canyon had and still has a small creek and springs at various elevations (Chapter 1). Water Canyon to the north had an ephemeral creek and numerous springs. French Boy Canyon on the west side of the range, the site of Rileyville, and Lamberson Canyon to the south were much drier but had several springs that provided a modest amount of water but little flow in the creek except in the spring and early summer.

The early people in Kennedy used water from the creek and springs for arrastras and domestic purposes. As the population grew and became more focused on the townsite area, and the mill owners claimed the water and ran it through ditches and pipes (Figs. 2-7, 2-8, 2-9), little unclaimed water remained for the rapidly growing population. With the shallow water table, people in town dug wells next to their houses or businesses. How many wells were dug is not known, but a town with several hundred people and a lot of livestock needed quite a bit of water, and nothing was mentioned about water being freighted into the town. The wells were simple to more complex. The more simple wells were deep, hand-dug holes into which a bucket was lowered on a rope (Figs. 4-7A, B). At the other extreme, a windmill was used to lift the water out of the ground, such as at the combined Kennedy house and post office (Fig. 4-5A). Wagon-mounted "Keystone water well machines" were brought into Humboldt County in the early 1910s and eventually to Pleasant Valley and Kennedy in the mid 1910s. Charley Kennedy used one of the machines to drill a well near his house in Kennedy at about that time (Fig. 4-7C).

For a town that once had five hundred people and lasted for fifty years, Kennedy has a remarkable paucity of garbage today, such as bottles, cans, and other waste. "Bottle collectors" undoubtedly removed the better-preserved materials, but even remote mines and cabin sites,



Figure 4-7. Water wells in Kennedy. (A) Bill Zuick doing his laundry in front of a rope-and-bucket well. Zuick lived in the Benton house (1-6, Fig. 4-2B); a deep hole at this general location was the well hole. Taken in the late 1910s or early 1920s. (B) Culvert pipe in gravels next to Kennedy Creek near the Crown Point (Sunnyside) mine (Fig. 4-4). The vertical wooden boards held a cross bar from which a bucket was suspended, similar to (A). The well provided abundant fresh, cold water in 1976. (C) Charley Kennedy (right) and an unidentified man using a wagon-mounted Keystone water drilling machine in Kennedy. Probably taken in the mid 1910s. Abundant water was flowing out of the drill pipe in the left foreground. Sources: (A), (C): the Stanley McCoy collection; (B) photograph by the author.

which would require extensive hiking for collectors even if they knew where to go, have a surprising lack of bottles and cans. Cinnabar Canyon has a few small piles of refuse that were, at one time, short-term dumping places, but the canyon overall does not have an obvious dump.

Kennedy probably had a dump somewhere outside of the canyon. The Kennedy Land and Development Company hired men to clean up the townsite and streets in the summer of 1894 to improve the looks of the townsite. The company possibly had the men remove garbage and create a common dump outside of the town, a practice that continued over the years and decades. Having a common dump would have kept the main townsite cleaner, and it also would have eliminated contamination of the creek on which many depended for water. Regardless, most of the residents in the Kennedy townsite did not discard their garbage near their houses or businesses, which suggests that they had some pride in the appearance of their town.

KENNEDY TOWNSITE IN LATER YEARS

The major collapse of the camp in early 1895 put a halt to all new home and building construction. Kennedy never regained its original population even during the smaller boom in

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

the early 1900s, and the houses that already were there filled the needs of the new people who arrived over the next few decades. The only mentions of a new building in the 1900s were bunkhouses at the Gold Note (Fig. 4-5F) and Hidden Treasure mines in 1901 and 1902. The *Silver State* in early 1902 wrote that "this town ... has been scarcely heard of," which was not a good reflection on the health of the town's economy. Even so, the early-1900s boom did regenerate some of the business activity for at least a few years. New businesses included saloons, restaurants, lodging houses, a store, and even a barber shop, as described earlier. They all occupied buildings that already were standing, and the new owners bought or leased them from the original owners or just moved in if they had been abandoned. One store continued into 1915, but the drop in the population and the ready access to Winnemucca by automobile made almost all of the businesses obsolete.

Over time, some of the houses were sold to continuing or new residents when the original owner decided to leave the camp or failed to pay taxes. As the town declined from more than five hundred people to less than a hundred through the late 1890s and into the early 1900s, many owners left town and abandoned their properties. The county sent out fifty tax bills in 1895, but it taxed only nine houses, the Imperial and Jenkins mills and related buildings, two stables, and one saloon building in 1912. Ben Labigan, in his testimony in George Fronhofer's murder trial that year (Chapter 3), said that Cinnabar Avenue was lined with many buildings, almost all of which had been abandoned. The county took ownership of some houses as people stopped paying their property taxes, and some people, notably Jake Leick, bought them at tax sales on the courthouse steps. However, it was easier to just drop many houses and buildings from the tax books than try to sell them, often unsuccessfully, at tax sales. Nobody wanted to buy a building in a nearly deserted mining camp fifty miles from just about anywhere.

No buildings and only a few remnants of stone foundations remain in the Kennedy townsite today (2016; see photographs in the Frontispiece). The large, sturdy ore bin at the Senator mine is a prominent landmark on the west side of the townsite. The only standing building, and that just barely, is the larger bunkhouse at the Gold Note mine (Fig. 4-5F). As described earlier, several buildings were moved to other locations. The Hidden Treasure mill equipment was sold and moved to the Gold Circle district in 1914, the Kelsey brothers dismantled the Imperial mill for scrap metal and lumber in late 1919 and early 1920, and the Jenkins mill was hauled off to the Lone Mountain mining district north of Carlin in 1928. The few people who still lived in Kennedy in the 1930s and early 1940s used existing houses, so at least some buildings remained standing and were habitable into World War II. The Kennedy house and post office (Fig. 4-5A) remained standing into the late 1950s (1957 Nevada Historical Society photograph, shown in Ashbaugh, 1959). It had collapsed into a scattered pile of lumber by 1976, and only a few vanes from the windmill mark its presence today.

Aerial photographs were taken in 1954, just a decade or so after the last residents left Kennedy. They show only the post office, Birdie Burton's house, and a few Chinese elms in the townsite and a few buildings at some of the mines, so the town essentially had disappeared even by that point. A range fire burned through the northern half of the townsite in the late 1990s, but it did not affect the southern half that included the post office and trees. Kennedy probably did not suddenly disappear, but it rather moved away gradually, just as the lumber and fixtures gradually made their ways to this remote canyon in the 1890s.

BUSINESSES IN KENNEDY

Commerce in Kennedy started with a saloon in 1892 and grew to have a diverse collection of businesses two years later (Table 4-2; see Appendix). The stores, saloons, livery stables, and other establishments catered to the needs of the residents who lived far from the closest large town. The inventories at the stores or the meals at the restaurants were not on a par with those in Winnemucca or other towns, but they were more than adequate and, most importantly, close at hand for the people in Kennedy. Fewer businesses were open in the early 1900s, but those that were open provided the full spectrum of basic needs. After 1905, the only businesses were a small store, possibly a saloon for a couple of years, and the post office. The post office was the last to go, closing in 1917.

SALOONS

Kennedy in the 1890s had no shortage of places where one could get a drink, socialize, play a game of poker or faro, or even get in fight. Charles Huntsman, the son of prominent Battle Mountain business owners Dow and Nancy Huntsman, started a saloon in early 1892 – the first business of any kind in the canyon – to quench the thirsts of the miners. Will Guthrie, the county assessor, visited the camp shortly after the saloon opened and called it a "necessary evil." The saloon probably was in a tent and was not mentioned again, even though the Huntsman family remained active in the district for several years. At least four other saloons had opened their doors or tent flap by June 1894, and two already were in operation by June 1894. The known saloons included the Arcade Saloon, started by Charlie Kyle and Mark Wiggins (C-31, Fig. 4-2B; Fig. 4-8); the Imperial Saloon, run by G.B. Paoletti and Chris Malatesta (C-21; Fig. 4-8); Ed Williams' Combination Saloon (I-2); and Abe Wise's '49 Saloon, which started out in a tent (C-18). Various records show that B.J. Reilly built a hotel and saloon in the fall (C-35). The *Silver State* reported in June 1894 that Cal Mathews was headed for Kennedy with plans to open a saloon. Mathews bought a lot from the townsite company and remained in Kennedy with his wife, but the saloon was not mentioned again. The Combination Saloon was located on Imperial Avenue, and all of the other saloons were on Cinnabar Avenue (Fig. 4-2). Some of the whisky sold in town may have been distilled locally. A November 1894 note in the *Silver State* mentioned that "Kennedy whisky is said to be so strong that men going to bed drunk have awakened during the night and have stolen their own bed, next morning accusing someone else of having committed theft."

The saloons ranged in style from Huntsman's tent to much more elaborate establishments. Several of them offered meals and lodging. The Combination saloon had lodging and an upstairs meeting hall that people used for town meetings, visits by politicians, and dances. At least two of the saloons – the Arcade and the Imperial – had faro and poker tables, and the Imperial Saloon advertised that it had separate "card and club rooms." Two men were shot over card games at saloons in the early 1900s. Malatesta was a professional gambler by trade, moving with his wife and two children from one mining camp to the next. Most of the

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

gambling probably involved low stakes because most of the men did not have enough money to wager higher amounts. Still, for a shrewd card player, gambling could be more lucrative than mining. In late 1894, Bill Haywood, who would go on to become a well-known (and infamous to some) labor organizer in Colorado, was a miner during the day and ran poker games at one of the Kennedy saloons in the evening. He was able to net eight hundred dollars from poker in just a month (Rocha, 1985). To be safe, he sent most of the money to his wife at their ranch near McDermitt.

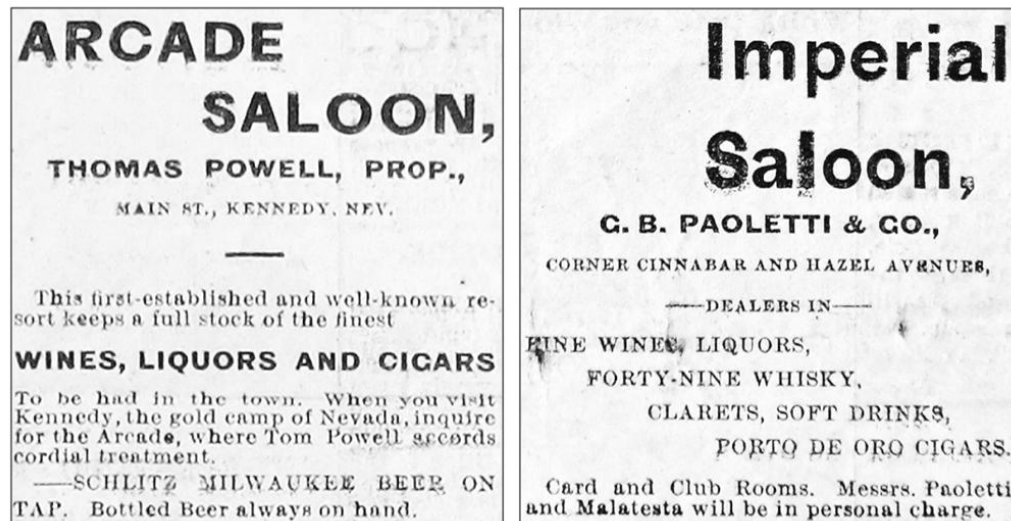


Figure 4-8. Advertisements for the Arcade Saloon and the Imperial Saloon in the 1894 *Nevada New Era*. Charlie Kyle and Mark Wiggins owned the Arcade Saloon and leased it to Thomas Powell, who placed the advertisement. See text for descriptions of the businesses.

Three of the saloons were caught up in unpaid loans or lawsuits. Ed Williams borrowed money from E. Reinhart & Co. to build his saloon. He failed to pay back the loan, and the Reinharts took possession of the property, even though Williams continued to operate the business. Similarly, Paoletti and Malatesta borrowed money from suppliers but could not pay back the loans. Charlie Kyle and Mark Wiggins leased their Arcade saloon for a year to Tom Powell in May 1894. Powell failed to pay any rent after the lease ended but remained open, and the owners sued and eventually regained full control of their saloon in early 1896.

The county sheriff went down to Kennedy to do a full saloon inventory as part of the Arcade and Imperial lawsuits. Each saloon was in a wood-framed building and had a good collection of chairs, gaming tables, lamps, mirrors, and the bar-fronts themselves. The inventories included a fairly extensive supply of furniture, dining and bar-related utensils and fixtures, and gambling-related items. The Arcade saloon had fifteen hundred poker chips and five hundred bar chips, as well as dice and cribbage boards, and the Imperial had a slot machine. Each establishment offered a wide range of liquor and beer, including whiskey, port wine, Italian and French vermouth, sherry, gin, brandy, rum, mixers, non-alcoholic beverages,

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

and hard cider. All of that was poured into a variety of whiskey, wine, and beer glasses, and an ice pick at the Arcade indicates that they had ice at times. The Imperial saloon prided itself in its cigar collection, which included sixteen hundred Old Friends, a thousand La Santanas, and a hundred Porto de Oros from Cuba.

Not surprisingly, the number of saloons ebbed and flowed along with the mining and population. The peak of both was in 1894, and several saloons closed their doors after 1895. The smaller resurgence in the early 1900s produced a similar growth in the number of saloons. Cephas Kyle inherited the Arcade after the deaths of Wiggins and then his brother Charlie, and he either kept it going or reopened it in 1901 after a hiatus of a couple of years. Two additional saloons opened in early 1903, one by Elijah Bingham of Battle Mountain and the other by John Sterling and James Barris. The new saloons may have been in the older, abandoned saloons or in other buildings. Barris died a month after the saloon opened, and Sterling continued the business. Sterling's saloon was the site of a 1903 shooting when Harry Cox, the manager of Kyle's saloon, shot Tom Thompkins over a game of cards. This second boom ended in late 1904, and the Bingham and Sterling saloons closed with the departures of the two men that year. Kyle may have kept the Arcade open on a limited basis. The county taxed only three saloon buildings in 1905, and the owners of two of them – Malatesta and B.J. Reilly – had been living in other parts of the state for several years. Cephas Kyle owned the third saloon building, but the status of the business in that and the ensuing years is unknown. The various newspapers did not mention any saloons in Kennedy after 1904, so the town likely was bereft of a drinking establishment after the mid 1900s. That did not mean that the remaining residents did not drink, just that they did so at home. Mabel Pearce McCoy recounted that people held dances and meetings at the Combination Saloon meeting room when she was a child in the 1910s and 1920s (McCoy, 1987), so the building still stood and was used by anyone who needed a large room.

LODGING

A January 1894 article in the *Silver State* mentioned "lodging houses" in the plural, and a small collection of boarding and lodging houses opened their doors for business as the year progressed and the population grew. Descriptions in the county tax books and newspapers in 1894 and 1895 mentioned only five businesses that offered lodging. A September 1894 visitor to Kennedy wrote to the *Silver State* and mentioned that "our first impression of the needs of the camp was that a large hotel was a necessity, lodging accommodations being limited." Three mine-owned boarding houses and two or three "public" boarding houses were open during the second, smaller boom in the early 1900s, and visitors and miners only had one option in the early 1910s. By that time, however, many buildings in town were empty and were used by whoever needed a roof over their heads.

Little is known about the hotels and lodging, including prices and the types of rooms and beds. Miller's Restaurant in Lovelock advertised in the *Nevada New Era* that a meal and a bed cost twenty-five cents each. Charles McIntosh, a Kennedy store owner, paid fifty cents a night for a room and \$1.50 a day for meals in Battle Mountain in April 1895. Prices may have been higher in Kennedy due to the remoteness, a captive audience, and the lack of competition.

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

None of the hotels or boarding houses needed to advertise in the *Nevada New Era*: if they had a room or a bed, then it was filled quickly. The Kennedy accommodations were not described, but nothing indicates that any of them were palatial. A few places might have had several separate rooms with one or more beds in each room, and the lodging provided by the saloons could have been nothing more than a separate room filled with cots. All of the owners received tax bills for the buildings, so they were at least in frame buildings and not in tents. Tent-based boarding may have been available as well, but they never were mentioned or, because they were in tents, taxed.

The lodging fell into two categories: those owned by mining or mill companies, and those run by private individuals. The companies owned four to, later five, of the boarding houses for their employees. William Jenkins built the first one next to his new mill in late 1893 (J-1, Fig. 4-2B; Fig. 4-5E). It initially housed Jenkins' mill workers, and it then was used episodically into the 1920s as a general boarding house. Mrs. Anna Scott ran the place for Jenkins from late 1893 until 1898 before moving to Golconda, and a sketch map in an 1894 water-claim notice showed it as "Mrs. Scott's" (Fig. 2-9). Mrs. Dora Roberts ran a boarding house in the mid 1890s, the early 1900s, and finally from about 1910 to her death in 1914; she ran another boarding house in Eureka from about 1899 to 1901. Trial testimonies related to Peter Laux's 1912 murder (Chapter 3) indicate that her last boarding house was in the Jenkins building, but her earlier boarding houses were someplace farther west along Cinnabar Avenue. Dorothy Hapgood's grandmother, Emma Brown, ran and cooked for one of the boarding houses in the late 1890s and early 1900s (Hapgood, 1985). The family had a house along Cinnabar Avenue (C-41, Fig. 4-2B), but Dorothy said that she thought that a mining company had built the boarding house and thus was different from their house. The start of Emma Brown's tenure in Kennedy coincided with Anna Scott's move to Golconda, so Emma could have taken over the Jenkins boarding house.

Other mine-owned boarding houses included one that the "Irish boys" built at the Gold Note mine in the early 1890s and another that later owners built in the early 1900s; one at the Hidden Treasure mine; two related to the Imperial mine (Figs. 4-2, 4-4, 4-5F); and a bunkhouse near the Sunnyside mine. A third Gold Note building had three bedrooms lined up in a row with a small kitchen (later wired for electricity) being the last in line. The Imperial mine bunkhouse reportedly was at the mine, but it apparently was built next to the E. Reinhart & Co. store in the northwest part of the townsite (Fig. 4-1B; I-1, Fig. 4-2B). The Gold Note boarding houses were used into at least the late 1930s, but the Hidden Treasure building was torn down sometime between 1908 and 1914. The Imperial bunkhouse dropped off the tax rolls in 1905 but remained standing into the early 1910s. The owners of the Sunnyside mine built a three-room bunkhouse for the mine workers in possibly the late 1920s or early 1930s. It collapsed in the early 1980s.

B.J. Reilly, Ed Williams, Charlie Kyle, and John Benton rented out rooms at the other boarding houses and "hotels." Benton's place is known only through one early claim record that mentioned "Benton's hotel" at the same location as his six-room house. Benton may have taken in a few early boarders who were working for him and Charley Kennedy. Kyle's and Reilly's businesses were saloons that had "hotel" in the name of the business, and lodging was just part of Williams' Combination Saloon. Kyle and possibly Williams provided food for boarders, and

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

other people ate at the restaurants described below. In addition, the 1900 Kennedy census for Kennedy included Elisa J. Brinkman, a sixty-three-year-old widow who ran a lodging house but had no lodgers. Its location is unknown but may have been in her house. Jake Leick began paying taxes on a "house and lot in Kennedy, bought of Mrs. Brinkman" in 1907, which was about the time that she moved back to her original home in Tuscarora.

RESTAURANTS

Kennedy had at least six eating establishments in 1894, at least one of which had opened by January (Table 4-2; see Appendix). The advertisements in the *Nevada New Era* proclaimed that they all offered "the best the market affords" (Fig. 4-9). It was a long way from town, and people were not wealthy, so "the best the market affords" in Kennedy translated into whatever was available at somewhat reasonable prices. The two mills and several of the big mines ran twenty-four hours a day, and several restaurants were open day and night. Two restaurants advertised that they only employed white people, which clearly were responses to the two Chinese-run restaurants in town and the overall anti-Chinese sentiment in Humboldt County at the time (Marden, 1993b). The meals ranged in price from twenty-five to seventy-five cents, which was similar to advertised prices in Lovelock and Battle Mountain, and the weekly cost for meals was five to six dollars. Charles McIntosh noted in his ledger that he paid sixty cents for one meal and \$13.50 a month for meals at an unnamed café.

At least two of the restaurants – the '49 Café and the Arcade dining room – were in or related to a saloon. Ed Runyan and a man named Howard ran the '49 Café, which was in Abe Wise's '49 Tent on Main (Cinnabar) Avenue (C-18, Fig. 4-2B; Fig. 4-9). Louis Potter managed the Arcade dining room and lunch counter adjacent to the Arcade Saloon on Cinnabar Avenue (C-31, Fig. 4-2B). The saloon building also offered lodging, and Potter gave special rates to boarders who lived there. Ed Williams might have offered limited fare at his Combination Saloon considering that he also had lodging in the building.

The other eating places were free-standing restaurants or meals at boarding houses. Henry Oliver from Winnemucca operated the Imperial restaurant, which was on Imperial Avenue near Wardner's Imperial mill and Ed Williams' boarding house (I-3, Fig. 4-2B; Fig. 4-9). Oliver started in a tent (which was carried downhill in one windstorm) and then built a wood-frame building. Oliver's wife Lizzie supervised the cooking, and meals were five dollars per week. Mrs. Anna Scott ran an advertisement in the *Nevada New Era* for "Mrs. Scott's Restaurant" (Fig. 4-9). That year, she was taxed for three cabins in town, and the restaurant could have been in one of those buildings or part of the Jenkins boarding house described earlier. Emma Brown served meals at her boarding house. She cooked the meals on a big wood stove in the kitchen and used it to bake cakes and up to five pies at a time, using dried fruit that she soaked overnight (Hapgood, 1985).

Chinese men ran two of the restaurants in the 1890s. In September 1894, Charley Sing leased a small building from B.J. Hungenberg at the northwest end of Cinnabar Avenue for a restaurant (C-10, Fig. 4-2B). The building sat next to (or was attached to) Hungenberg's barber shop, described later. Charlie Wah (also called Chin Wah Ling and Wah Ling) received a tax bill

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

for a "restaurant building on Cinnabar Avenue" that year, and one tax record placed the building across from Peter Dory's stable (C-20, Fig. 4-2B). Deeds, tax bills, and the racist advertisements by competitors were the only references to these restaurants, which did not advertise in the newspaper. Their patrons were anyone who wanted a good meal and did not care who cooked or served it. In early 1903, unnamed Chinese men opened a "chop house" at the Kyle saloon and a "Chinese restaurant" at the Sterling-Barris saloon. Those eateries probably remained open during that smaller boom period and then closed in 1904 or 1905.



Figure 4-9. Advertisements for Kennedy restaurants in the 1894 *Nevada New Era*. Two of the restaurants announced "white labor," in reference to a Chinese-run restaurant in town that did not advertise in the newspaper. See text for descriptions of the businesses.

Most of the restaurants that were open in 1894 and 1895 closed shortly thereafter as both the owners and the customers moved elsewhere. Several of the buildings that once housed some of the restaurants were sold in 1900 through 1902. They were converted into other businesses, such as a store, used as a house, or just sat empty. No restaurants were mentioned after about 1905, although whatever saloons remained open into the late 1900s may have served limited fare. By 1910 at the latest, all of the restaurants were closed except for the meals provided at Dora Roberts' boarding house.

STORES

Whoever went into Winnemucca with a wagon during the early days of the mining camp probably went with a shopping list and some money from the other prospectors. The weekly stage service that began in late 1891 allowed the residents to give the driver an order, and he would bring the goods back on the next stage. As the town began to boom in early 1894, merchants brought their wares to Kennedy and sold them to ready buyers in town. At least seven people started stores that sold everything from blasting powder to magazine

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

subscriptions in 1894. Then, as customers left town after the crash in late 1894 and early 1895, many of the merchants closed their doors and joined the exodus.

William Jenkins built the first store in a building next to his mill and boarding house, which may have been the single store mentioned in the *Silver State* in January 1894 (J-2, Fig. 4-2B; Figs. 2-13A, 4-5E). E. Reinhart & Co. of Winnemucca rented the building in June 1894, "lay in a stock of goods," and began selling to Kennedy residents. The rental was a temporary measure to establish a toe-hold in the burgeoning market, and the Reinharts soon built a large store building of their own along Imperial Avenue (I-1, Fig. 4-2B, Fig. 4-1). The company's large daily advertisements in the *Silver State* in 1894 included the byline of "Branch Store, Kennedy, Nevada" (Fig. 4-10). With all of the construction and people in town, the Reinharts kept freighters busy hauling supplies and building materials to the store. They had an enormous store in Winnemucca and an extensive network of suppliers, so they could acquire just about anything that a customer could want. The Kennedy store could carry only a fraction of what was available in Winnemucca, but the broader array of goods was only a day or two away by freight wagon. The company's daily advertisement in the *Silver State* for its large Winnemucca store stopped mentioning the "Kennedy Branch Store" in January 1898, and the Reinharts focused instead on their new store in the booming mining camp of Golconda.

Charles McIntosh, a young man from Lovelock, ran a store on Cinnabar Avenue from late 1894 until July 1895, shortly after he was shot and wounded in June (Chapter 3). His father John ran a general store in Lovelock, and he sent his son over to Kennedy to open what in effect was a branch store to capture the Kennedy business. McIntosh rented the building, which was on the southwest end of Cinnabar Avenue, from local contractor Peter Ward (C-29, Fig. 4-2B). McIntosh kept a detailed ledger for the store and his own expenses that extended from December 1, 1894, through the middle of July 1894. The ledger listed all sales, purchases from vendors, loans, and deposits to the First National Bank in Winnemucca, and it included the name of the person or business who was involved in each transaction. The book provides a snapshot of what essentially was a general store in a small, remote town, with people buying a wide variety of fresh meat, tobacco, household items, clothing, hardware, and even two violins (Table 4-3; see Appendix). Most people paid him in cash, usually on the spot but also later on occasion, and he also accepted gold dust worth nine dollars (a little less than half an ounce) from a miner in early 1895.

Like the Reinharts, McIntosh bought his goods from a wide variety of vendors. Some of them were nearby ranchers and even the Reinharts. They also included more far-flung suppliers, including the Gladden & McBean Company in Lincoln, California, which produced ceramic pipes and tiles; the Hass Brothers liquor wholesaler and LeCount Bros. stationery store, both in San Francisco; and a glass company in Sacramento. He made payments to Lewis & Co. and Foster & Co., both of which made and sold organs and pianos, so Kennedy had one or two pianos or organs. One payment of about two hundred dollars went to Schaw, Ingram, Batcher, and Co., a well-known carriage manufacturer in Sacramento. He also purchased insurance, likely for his business, from Clark & Co. for about sixty dollars a year. McIntosh paid for some services and then was paid back later, such as Dr. Brierly's bill of \$9.55 when the doctor treated another man. All of his merchandise had to be hauled to Kennedy, and shipping and freight charges from Lovelock, Winnemucca, Battle Mountain, and more distant locations were

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

common throughout the ledger. Lovelock freighters were listed much more frequently than those from the other towns because McIntosh (and his father) was from Lovelock and wanted to give his friends the business. McIntosh left Kennedy not long after he was shot. He eventually became a lawyer and editor of the Lovelock *Argus*, practiced law in Tonopah, and then had great success in the 1910s as the president of the Original Rochester Mines Company and other companies in the booming silver camp of Rochester (Shamberger, 1973).

THE LITTLE GEM
MRS. M. MICHAEL, PROP.
Notions, Cigars, Tobacco.
—A LIMITED STOCK OF—
Dry Goods and Second-Hand Household Goods for Sale.
Call at the place of business, opposite Smelser & Schmith's livery stable, Kennedy, Nev.

RESERVED FOR THE
KENNEDY BRANCH STORE
—OF THE FIRM OF—
E. Reinhart & Co.
OF WINNEMUCCA, NEV.,
—WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DEALERS IN—
General Merchandise
—AND—
Mining Supplies
OF ALL DESCRIPTIONS.

PIONEER MEAT MARKET,
P. SWEENEY, PROPRIETOR.
Is now open daily for the accommodation of the public. The finest of
MUTTON, VEAL, BEEF, PORK AND SAUSAGE
Constantly on hand in quantities to suit the convenience of patrons.

E. REINHART & CO.
THE OLDEST AND MOST RELIABLE
Mercantile >< House
IN NEVADA.
WHOLESALE GROCERS AND DEALERS IN
GENERAL MERCHANDISE
WINNEMUCCA, NEVADA.
Branch Store, Kennedy, Nevada.

JOHN W. CHENOWETH,
NOTARY PUBLIC, CONVEYANCER, INSURANCE AGENT, NEWS DEALER.
Legal documents drawn with neatness and precision. All kinds of reading matter supplied to customers on short notice, and annual subscriptions for any paper or magazine in Europe or America taken at publishers' rates. A general real estate and commission business will be conducted in a straightforward way, and on terms advantageous to clients. A fair share of public patronage is respectfully solicited. Office in Imperial Restaurant building.

VERDI MILL CO.
VERDI, NEVADA.
WASHOE COUNTY,
O. LONKEY, PRESIDENT.
J. F. CONDON, MANAGER AND SECRETARY.
TRUSTEE:
O. LONKEY, J. F. CONDON, C. C. POWNING
Capital Stock, \$40,000.
Manufactured DRESSED LUMBER, of all kinds, viz: Flooring, ceiling, rustic, beryl siding and surfaced lumber, fruit and packing boxes, pickets, lath and shingles, sawdust for market, kindling wood, etc.
Estimates given on application.
Address all orders:
Verdi Mill Co., Verdi, Nevada.

Figure 4-10. Store advertisements in the 1894 *Nevada New Era* and *Silver State*. See text for descriptions of the businesses. E. Reinhart & Co. ran a placeholder advertisement in the *Nevada New Era* that simply "reserved" the space in company name. The full advertisement is from the *Silver State*; the "Branch Store, Kennedy, Nevada" notice appeared in the daily advertisement from the summer of 1894 into early 1895. The advertisement for the Verdi Mill Co. was in the *Nevada New Era*, but the company headquarters were in Verdi, west of Reno.

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

Various other stores did business in the 1890s. The brothers Sam, Thomas, and Edward Tippet, all originally from Cornwall, England, sequentially ran a general store on Cinnabar Avenue from 1894 through about 1898. The county taxed Anna Scott for a store building on the north side of Cinnabar Avenue from 1895 through 1899 (C-23, Fig. 4-2B). The store, along with her restaurant and boarding house, undoubtedly closed with her 1898 move to Golconda. Al Leach bought the building in 1901 and continued to use it as a dry goods store until about 1904. Peter Ward had a store and adjacent small house on Cinnabar Avenue from late 1894 through 1900 (C-28, Fig. 4-2B). Ward was a contractor and builder (Fig. 4-6) and ran the store in conjunction with his building trade. The *Silver State* noted in August 1894 that Kennedy did not have a drug store or physician, and, in September, that Charles Polkinghorne had opened a dry goods store in Kennedy. Although he was not mentioned again in regard to Kennedy, Polkinghorne ran a store in Austin in 1890 and owned a successful mercantile and shoe-making business in Golconda from 1897 to at least 1907.

Two stores were somewhat different from the general stores in town. Mrs. Margaret Michael owned the Little Gem store across Cinnabar Avenue from Smelser and Schmith's livery stable (C-27, Fig. 4-2B). Her advertisement in the *Nevada New Era* said that she sold notions, cigars, tobacco, and "a limited stock of Dry Goods and Second-Hand Household Goods" (Fig. 4-10). John Chenoweth was a "notary public, conveyancer, insurance agent, and news dealer" whose office was in the Imperial restaurant building (Fig. 4-10). Both Mrs. Michael and Chenoweth were gone by the end of the 1890s.

The local ranchers supplied meat and seasonal produce, and other food supplies came in from Winnemucca or Lovelock, such as the "garden truck wagon" that ran between Winnemucca and Kennedy. Pleasant Valley ranchers Moses Bushee, Patrick Sweeney, and Jake Leick supplied a wide variety of fresh meat and produce, and Sweeney opened his Pioneer Meat Market on Cinnabar Avenue in 1894 (C-25, Fig. 4-2B; Fig. 4-10). Henry Fuss of Lovelock placed an advertisement in the *Nevada New Era* for his Lovelock Meat Market, and Manuel Alvarez went to Kennedy in 1896 to explore the possibility of opening a butcher shop, only to find that the existing shops were more than enough for the declining population. Later, rancher Will Pearce sold meat, produce, and hay to Kennedy residents starting in 1900. The camp obviously had no refrigeration, so everything was fresh for immediate consumption or canned or preserved for later use. Dorothy Hapgood remembered being told that the fresh meat arrived in quarters and was hung in cellars that were protected from air and stayed cool (Hapgood, 1985). Today, deep depressions that line both sides of Cinnabar Avenue undoubtedly were the root cellars beneath the various buildings.

Only one store was open after 1904. Charley Kennedy started a small store in his combined house and post office in about 1905, possibly to fill the hole left by Al Leach's departure. He ran advertisements in the *Humboldt Star* in 1907 and 1908 to attract business from the new Goldbanks district to the north, and he offered groceries, dry goods, mining supplies, liquor, and tobacco. Will Pearce hauled the supplies from Winnemucca to Kennedy, and his journal mentioned that he bought various items such as blasting powder, canned oysters and peas, and macaroni from Kennedy. Kennedy closed the store in about 1915 due to very few customers and his family's desire to live in Winnemucca.

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

Mail order merchandise was becoming more popular in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Will Pearce ordered various tools and harnesses from Sears Roebuck Co. and Montgomery Ward & Co. in the 1910s, and other ranchers and Kennedy residents in the 1890s and later years may have taken advantage of what the catalogs had to offer. Goods could be shipped by rail to Winnemucca and then taken by stage or wagon to the ranch or Kennedy.

LIVERY STABLES AND BLACKSMITHS

People owned a lot of horses and mules and used them for transportation, hauling ore and supplies, and even turning the grinding stones in the arrastras. The town had so much livestock in 1894 that the townspeople used the collective manure to build a bridge across Cinnabar Creek. Kennedy had at least three and possibly four stable and livery businesses in the 1890s and one or two in the 1900s. The liveryies boarded horses for a day to a month, rented horses, wagons, and carriages, and sold hay and grain supplied by the local ranchers and farmers. Two of them also were the Kennedy stations for the stage lines. Automobiles and trucks became more common in the 1910s, but many people still owned horses for local use, and mining companies used the largest barn for their own livestock until 1919.

Peter Dory, Alex Wise, and Jefferson Smelser and John Schmith owned the three major stables in 1894. The newspapers mentioned that one stable – likely Smelser and Schmith's Kennedy Livery and Feed Stables – already was in business in January, and Dory and Wise started their stables and liveryies in the late spring. Smelser and Schmith were young men who had grown up on ranches in the area, and Schmith's uncle was Jake Leick, one of the early claim stakers in the district. Their advertisement in the *Nevada New Era* noted that it was on "Main Street," or Cinnabar Avenue (Fig. 4-11), and photographs of the townsite suggest that it was a two-story building with a hay loft on the north side of the street (Fig. 4-1; C-14, Fig. 4-2B). Their stable was the Kennedy terminus for William F. Pearce's stage from Winnemucca. The two men left town in about 1897, and Leick took over ownership, likely due to his connection to Schmith. However, nothing indicates that he continued the business except perhaps to house his own horses.

Peter Dory was a freighter from Battle Mountain, and he continued that business after starting his Kennedy livery. His Kennedy Feed Stable was on the southwest end of Cinnabar Avenue and was a common landmark in deeds to describe nearby properties (C-39, Fig. 4-2B; Fig. 4-11). Dory also served as the constable and hauled wood and freight for the town and milling companies. He and his wife Jeanette moved to Golconda in 1898, and Charlie George and then Cephas Kyle were the owners in the 1900s. Kyle raised horses and used the stable for his horses and those of others in town, but it probably was not a full-scale business like before. Kyle died in 1909, and rancher Will Pearce (different from William F. Pearce) used the unoccupied stable as the Kennedy terminus of his stage line from 1910 until about 1914, at which point the place was abandoned.

Alex Wise, a prominent Winnemucca stage and livery owner, built a large barn at the northeast end of Cinnabar Avenue in 1894, just west of Jenkins' mill and south of the creek (C-45, Fig. 4-2B). The large, tiered-roof stable building is visible on several photographs of the town

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

(Figs. 2-13A, 2-14A, 4-1). Wise initially used the Imperial Saloon as his stage stop in Kennedy (Fig. 4-11), but he switched to his stable once it was built. Otherwise, very little was mentioned about the stable, and he did not advertise in the *Nevada New Era*. Wise died in early 1895, which ended his stage and freight business to Kennedy. Wise's wife Julia padlocked the barn, but John Benton rented the stable in late 1895 to shelter his two cows for the winter. Patrick Sweeney, the Pleasant Valley rancher, purchased the stable at the estate sale in 1897, and he then sold it to Charles S. Wynn, the new manager of the Imperial mill, in 1903. The stable then passed through two other milling and mining companies before being completely abandoned in 1919. Will Pearce sold hay over the years to the various companies that owned the stable and used it to house their own livestock.


<p>Kennedy Livery and Feed Stables, SMELSER & SCHMITH, Props., Main Street, Kennedy, Nev. Rigs FOR RENT. TEAMS AND saddle horses for hire. Horses given the best of care. Hay and grain for sale. Open day and night. J. SCHMITH, J. SMELSER.</p>	<p>PIERCE'S Kennedy Stage Line, —CARRYING THE— UNITED STATES MAIL Between Winnemucca and Kennedy. Stages leave Kennedy Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays at 6 A. M., arriving in Winnemucca at 7 P. M. Leave Winnemucca Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 6 A. M., arriving in Kennedy at 7 P. M. Passengers given the best accommodations. FARE, : : : \$2 50 Fast freight and express delivered punctually. Freight charges, 25 cents per 100 pounds; small packages, 20 cents. Headquarters in Kennedy—Smelser & Schmitch's stable. Headquarters in Winnemucca—Summerfield's stable. WM. PIERCE, JR., Proprietor.</p>	<p>Lovelock Stage Company. STAGES leave Lovelock Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and leave Kennedy on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. The management has taken every precaution for the safe and rapid transportation of its patrons. HEADQUARTERS AT THE ELKO HOTEL. The route lies up through Limerick canyon and Spring Valley, in the Humboldt range; across Bienna Vista valley, and up Water canyon. TORREY & ALLEN, Proprietors.</p>
<p>Kennedy FEED STABLE, PETER DOREY, Proprietor, KENNEDY, — — — NEVADA  HAVING JUST OPENED THE ABOVE Stable, I am prepared to give serious first-class accommodation for their stock. TEAMS WELL FED. A first-class Job Wagon at hand at all times. All business promptly attended to and the patronage of the community solicited. —GIVE ME A CALL. PETER DOREY.</p>	<p>Pearce's Kennedy Stage Line.   STAGE LEAVES WINNEMUCCA FOR Kennedy Monday, Wednesday and Friday at 6 o'clock a. m. LEAVES KENNEDY FOR WINNEMUCCA Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at 6 o'clock a. m. EXPRESS AND FREIGHT OF ALL KINDS CARRIED AT REASONABLE RATES. PEARCE BROS Proprietors.</p>	<p>NEVADA STAGE LINE ALEX. WISE, Proprietor. WINNEMUCCA —TO— KENNEDY —AND RETURN— Stages leave Winnemucca Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays at 6 a. m., arriving in Kennedy at 7 p. m. Leave Kennedy Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays at 6 a. m., arriving in Winnemucca at 7 p. m. First class four horse Concord coaches are run on this line, and the best of accommodations are afforded passengers. FARE — — \$2.50 All kinds of light freight carried at reasonable rates. Packages given special attention and delivered with promptness. Office in Winnemucca at the Fashion Livery Stable. Office in Kennedy at the Imperial Saloon, 8022H.</p>

Figure 4-11. Advertisements for stage lines and livery stables. The Kennedy Livery and Lovelock Stage advertisements are from the 1894 *Nevada New Era*; Pierce's Kennedy Stage, Pearce's Kennedy Stage, and the Nevada Stage are from the *Silver State*; and the Kennedy Feed Stable is from the 1894 *Battle Mountain Central Nevadan*. The newspapers misspelled two names: William Pierce, Jr., was William F. Pearce, and Peter Dorey was Peter Dory. Dory also ran a less-ornate advertisement (not shown) in the *Nevada New Era*. See text for descriptions of the businesses.

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

With all of the horses to be shod and metalwork to be done for the mines and mills, blacksmiths were a staple in all mining camps. J.M. Terry and Robert Pfluger were in the process of building a blacksmith shop in November 1893 when Terry died of pneumonia (the first death in Kennedy), and Pfluger gave up on the project. Frank Northway, Martin Malmgren, and Cephas Kyle owned blacksmith shops in Kennedy, and the mines had separate shops to repair equipment. The livery stables also might have shod horses and fixed wagons as part of their business. Northway was running his blacksmith shop by September 1893 along the southwest end of Cinnabar Avenue (C-7, C-8, Fig. 4-2B). Martin Malmgren had been a blacksmith in Lovelock and had a good mining claim in Kennedy along with his blacksmith, horseshoeing, and wheelwright shop. He sold the property in 1894, and the deed simply said that it was in Kennedy. Cephas Kyle's blacksmith shop was somewhere along the north side of Cinnabar Avenue. He began paying taxes on the shop in 1895, and he may have acquired the shop when the Malmgren left town. Kyle owned the shop and lot until his death in 1909.

The constant wear and tear on the milling machinery at the mills required blacksmiths, and the Jenkins, Imperial, and, later, the Hidden Treasure and Henrietta mills had their own shops. Those shops were never listed specifically in deeds or taxes and may have been considered a part of the mills themselves. In September 1894, the *Silver State* reported the discovery of a rich ore body in the Blacksmith Shop tunnel at the Gold Note mine, which implied that there was a blacksmith shop there as well. Many of the smaller-scale miners may have used the blacksmiths in town or made their own rudimentary repairs.

NEWSPAPERS

Frank Francis owned and edited Kennedy's newspaper, the *Nevada New Era* (Fig. 4-12). Francis had been the editor of the *Central Nevadan* in Battle Mountain, and he took his printing press to Lovelock in 1892 to start the weekly *Nevada New Era*. Lovelock could not support the paper financially, and Francis moved his press and paper to Kennedy in June 1894 to capture the business of that booming town. Under the guise of the "Kennedy Publishing Co.," Francis published the paper in Kennedy on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Francis filled the two-page (front and back) newspaper with typical small-town news and legal notices placed by residents. The paper was full of advertisements from Kennedy, Winnemucca, and Lovelock merchants, which was a good indication of the amount of business that Kennedy generated both there and in the larger towns. Francis was not taxed for and did not own a building, so he possibly operated out of a tent or in a building owned by someone else. Only four issues of the *Nevada New Era* remain, two of which were published in Lovelock and two in Kennedy. Francis won a seat in the State Assembly in the November 1894 elections, and he moved to Carson City in time for the start of the legislative session on January 21, 1895. He eventually wound up in Ogden, Utah, where he published that town's newspaper from 1904 to 1911 and then was elected as mayor of Ogden. Frank's brother William continued the paper and reportedly sold it to J.B. Wallace in March. However, William told the *Silver State* in April that the paper "has been suspended until the camp recovers from its temporary setback." Other newspapers periodically

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

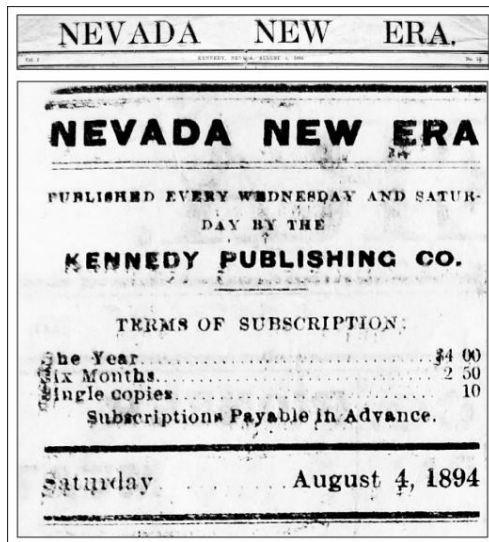


Figure 4-12. Masthead (top) and price information for the *Nevada New Era* published in the August 4, 1894 issue.

had reprinted articles from the *Nevada New Era*, but the last of those appeared in the *Nevada State Journal* on February 22, 1895.

Various other newspapers in Winnemucca, Battle Mountain, Lovelock, and Reno printed regular, at times daily, news about the town and its mining activity. Kennedy residents sent long, newsy articles about Kennedy to the *Silver State* in Winnemucca, especially in 1894 and in the early 1900s, and visitors to Kennedy similarly wrote long articles for the Winnemucca and Reno newspapers. Some of the Kennedy residents subscribed to one or more papers from Winnemucca, and others may have received one of the other papers, especially if they had come from those places. In addition, various Reno newspapers reprinted items from the more local newspapers and published articles of their own. Other Nevada newspapers, some as far away as Goldfield, printed at least one article about Kennedy, and some Kennedy-related items even appeared in the *San Francisco Call*, the *Los Angeles Herald*, and other larger newspapers.

Despite its remote location, Kennedy people kept up on news beyond Humboldt County and were remarkably well informed. Thanks in part to John Chenoweth, they could subscribe to a number of newspapers and magazines. How many people took advantage of the service is unknown, but he probably would not have offered the subscriptions if nobody bought them. According to the *Nevada State Journal*, John Benton had been a long-time subscriber to the *San Francisco Examiner*, but he cancelled his subscription in 1893 because he "would not patronize" the newspaper's stand against silver as a standard for the U.S. currency. Personal expenses in Charles McIntosh's store ledger for late 1894 showed that he subscribed to the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *San Francisco Examiner*. In the 1910s, Will Pearce also subscribed to *Physical Culture* magazine, which promoted men's health and fitness, and the *Denver Weekly*.

OTHER BUSINESSES

A town of five hundred people needed a wide variety of services, and merchants were happy to fill those needs. In 1894, the peak year for the town, Kennedy had barbers, carpenters and

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

painters (described earlier), a Wells Fargo office, a bath house or laundry, and firewood suppliers in addition to the stores and businesses mentioned earlier. Most of the merchants came from towns in north-central Nevada, and they either were expanding their businesses or taking advantage of this rare burst of new business in the region.

Two barbers, W.A. Bird and B. J. ("Joe") Hungenberg, set up business in Kennedy in 1894. Charles McIntosh's ledger shows that he paid twenty-five cents for shaves at one of the barber shops in late 1894 and early 1895. Bird advertised in *Nevada New Era* in the middle of July but not in early August, so he either left town or did not advertise in the later issues. He came from Winnemucca and later plied his trade in San Francisco, Arizona, and New Mexico. He was the only "Black" person known to have been in Kennedy. Hungenberg's Kennedy Barber Shop was at the northwest end of Cinnabar Avenue (C-10, Fig. 4-2B). He did not advertise in the local newspapers, but his business and its name were listed in various legal records for the property. He built a large building in July 1894 that he divided in half, and he used one part for his barber shop and leased the other half for a Chinese restaurant. Hungenberg returned to his original home of Tuscarora by 1897 and opened the Hungenberg Barber Shop. Al Leach acquired the property in 1902, and Jake Leick lived in the building for several decades after that. An unknown person opened up a barber shop in 1902 to capture the business related to the new mining boom. The town declined again in late 1904, and the barber probably left along with everyone else.

Kennedy had a Wells Fargo office, although the only mention of it as a business was when it closed in early January 1895 for lack of customers as the camp began to decline. Money orders also could be purchased at the post office in the fall of 1894. The Wells Fargo office was located on the south-central side of Cinnabar Avenue between B.J. Reilly's saloon and Peter Dory's stable (C-38, Fig. 4-2B). Fred Wilson, a freighter from Tuscarora, acquired the building in 1895. He used it as his house while he was in Kennedy, and it served as the voting place in 1898, 1900, and 1902. The building served as a house into the late 1900s and then was abandoned.

Laundry services were a luxury, and Henry Schmidt and Cephas Kyle owned the "China Wash House" somewhere along the northeast end of Cinnabar Avenue. Nothing is known about the business, including how long it was open and if unnamed Chinese people ran the wash house. Some women offered laundry services as well, and Charles McIntosh's store ledger showed regular payments to an Anna Keenan for laundry in the first half of 1895. The payments ranged from \$1.75 to six dollars depending on the amount of dirty clothes. An unnamed Chinese man arrived to open a "Chinese laundry" in early 1903, which the writer to the *Silver State* said would be "a God-send" and suggested that the China Wash House had closed.

The two mills and the stoves in all of the houses and businesses relied on wood for fuel, and several men went into the wood-cutting business. Both the Jenkins and Imperial mills hired men to cut wood in the surrounding mountains and haul it into Kennedy. James Wardner advertised that he would pay five and a half dollars per cord, and that he needed a thousand cords at the outset and more after that. Several claim notices mentioned a wood-cutting camp along the crest of the East Range south of Kennedy. Individuals undoubtedly also just went higher into the range, cut down some trees, and hauled them back to their house or tent. In later years, Will Pearce went up into the Tobin Range above his ranch to cut firewood, and he routinely sold the wood to Kennedy residents from the 1900s into the 1920s for ten dollars per

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

cord, including delivery. Several accounts in the papers mentioned the abundant juniper and pinyon pine in the hills surrounding Kennedy, and juniper trees are abundant today despite a few range fires in the late 1990s. Far fewer trees are visible in photographs taken in the early 1900s and in aerial photographs of the district taken in 1954 than are present today (Frontispiece; Fig. 4-1). The high demand for wood may have essentially denuded the surrounding hillsides of junipers, which have taken nearly a century to repopulate.

Lumber also was needed for all of the buildings and heavy timbers for the mines and mill buildings. All of this had to be shipped by train to Winnemucca and then hauled by wagon to Kennedy. E. Reinhart & Co. and the Verdi Mill Co. west of Reno were the biggest suppliers. The Verdi Mill Co. had a lumber yard at the corner of Baud and Railroad Streets in Winnemucca, and their advertisement in the *Nevada New Era* offered lumber, fruit and packing boxes, and kindling (Fig. 4-10). Both the president and manager of the lumber company went by train from Reno to Winnemucca and then by stage to Kennedy during 1894 to generate more business and see for themselves what the town and miners needed.

The one type of business that never was mentioned was a brothel, and prostitutes were not mentioned specifically. With several hundred men, though, the market was ripe for some enterprising women. Ashbaugh (1959) wrote that Kennedy had a "thriving" red-light district in 1894 but did not cite a source for the information. Kennedy had several thriving saloons, several of which offered lodging, and some prostitutes may have done business at the saloons. In contrast, the *Nevada New Era* wrote in July 1894 that "this is the only town on the coast that is not supplied with a drug-store blond [sic], and the people are correspondingly elated." ("Drug-store" or "peroxide" blonde was a common euphemism for prostitute at the time (Wood, 2005)) The "people" may have been elated, but perhaps not all of the men. In August 1894, the *Nevada State Journal* reprinted a mid-July note from the *Nevada New Era* that said that there were "100 bachelors in camp and only one lady." Word of this apparently spread to other mining districts and "a general move toward Kennedy set in until ... three or four handsome lassies are daily arriving." These "lassies" could have been prostitutes, or they could have been young, single women drawn by the large number of bachelors. However, most mining districts typically did not have a surplus of single women to share. The county taxed a woman named Bertie (also spelled Birdie) Burton for a house and lot in Kennedy, and she sold it in late 1895. The small house was on the north bank of Cinnabar Creek and was roughly halfway between Cinnabar and Imperial Avenues (I-14, Fig. 4-2B). Bertie/Birdie was not mentioned in any other accounts, and she did not show up in any later census records in Nevada. She may have run a brothel, thus explaining the lack of any other mention of her or the house, but that would have been just one small brothel for several hundred men.

MAIL, TRANSPORTATION, AND FREIGHTING

As the small mining camp began to grow and turn into a town, everything (and everyone) that arrived in Kennedy in the 1890s and early 1900s had to be put on a wagon, horse, or stagecoach and hauled fifty or more miles to Kennedy. People also wanted to get their mail on a regular

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

basis, which spawned mail contracts and stage service to the new camp. Gold and silver were the lures that attracted most of Kennedy's new residents, but the men who hauled everything to Kennedy likely were some of the few who actually made a decent, consistent living. Of course, the main method of travel for years was by horseback or carriage, which kept the livery stables busy.

Winnemucca, Battle Mountain, and Lovelock were the three main sources of the mail, goods, and materials (Fig. 4-13). The Central Pacific and later railroads carried a wide variety of goods and materials to those towns from as far away as Reno and San Francisco, and everything was then put on a wagon to make the long trip to Kennedy. The three towns were roughly equidistant to Kennedy, but the route from Winnemucca, through the flat connecting valleys of Grass and Pleasant Valleys, was the easiest, especially in the winter. The route from Battle Mountain was relatively flat except for Golconda Pass in the Tobin Range. The trip from Lovelock used the first part of the long-lived road to Unionville – over Spring Valley Pass in the Humboldt Range – and then headed east across Buena Vista Valley, went up French Boy Canyon, and crossed the East Range at an elevation of 6,800 feet before descending into Kennedy. Snow could make both of these routes impassible in the winter. Heavily loaded freight wagons had to contend with the steep sides of the pass over the East Range. Freighters began to use a different route in June 1894 that crossed the southern ends of the Humboldt Range and Buena Vista Valley and then went over McKinney Pass between the East and Stillwater Ranges to Pleasant Valley (Fig. 4-13). The pass was about thirteen hundred feet lower than the pass above Kennedy, had more gentle approaches, and was open for more of the winter. The route actually was not new: the miners from the Bernice district to the southeast had been using it since the 1880s, and older regional maps showed a route through there in the 1860s.

The arrival of motorized vehicles in Humboldt County in the early 1900s heralded a completely new approach to transportation and had a profound effect on life in remote southeastern Humboldt County. Automobiles began to appear in Pleasant Valley and Kennedy in 1907. E.A. Smith started his automobile stage from Winnemucca to Goldbanks later that year, and a Schacht runabout was the first automobile to cross the steep pass above Kennedy in March 1909. Automobiles and trucks were the primary means of transport – the stage service, freighting, or personal travel to and from town – by the mid 1910s and certainly by 1920. What once was an arduous journey of at least two days into Winnemucca turned into a relatively easy, commonplace several-hour to day trip. The transition from horses to automobiles was gradual, and ranchers and Kennedy residents used both horses and automobiles on a regular basis, depending on the task at hand. In several cases, an automobile got stuck in the mud or snow, and the driver had to borrow a horse and wagon from a nearby ranch to get pulled out or complete the trip. People commonly ran out of gas, and the automobiles broke down. Will Pearce kept a small supply of extra gasoline at his ranch and fixed many automobiles at his blacksmith shop.

A new type of transportation arrived in Humboldt County in the 1920s in form of airplanes. The air mail service passed through southern Humboldt County, with landing strips for refueling and concrete arrows and beacons that directed the way for the pilots. A landing strip was installed in the lower part of the Pearce ranch in Pleasant Valley in the early 1930s. It

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

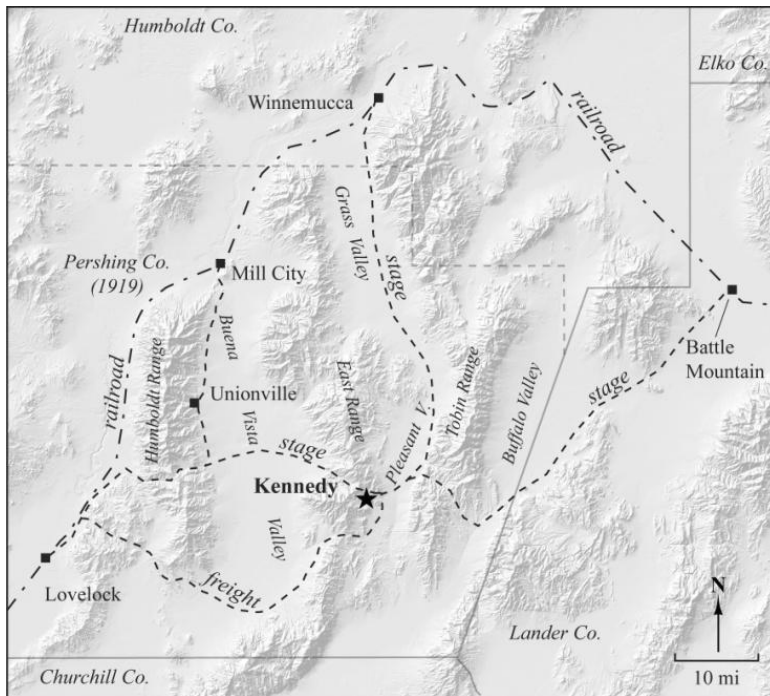


Figure 4-13. Stagecoach, railroad, and freight routes used to transport goods, people, and ore. Locations are based on descriptions from various accounts and known locations, such as the railroad.

was used for five or six years and then abandoned when airplanes became more efficient and could fly longer distances (McCoy, 1987). Frank O'Leary, a civil engineer from Winnemucca, was in charge of the facility and the beacons in the immediate area, and he also did mine surveying in Kennedy in 1936.

STAGE SERVICE AND THE MAIL

The Winnemucca postmaster advertised one- to four-year contracts for carrying the mail to the remote parts of the county, and the person who could do the job for the least expense got the contract. Typically, but not always, those people were the ones who ran the stage lines because they already had the horses, stagecoaches, and drivers, and having the mail contract was a welcome subsidy for the business. The discovery of Kennedy provided a new source of stage business and thus mail carriers. This southeastern part of the county had not had a mail route since the end of a short-lived service in the mid 1870s, but the ranchers and Kennedy miners began to clamor for regular mail service in the fall of 1891. They signed a petition to establish a post office in Kennedy with official, regularly scheduled weekly mail delivery and forwarded it to U.S. Senator William M. Stewart to gain his support. Stewart sent the petition to the U.S. Postmaster General in December 1891 along with a letter of his own that urged the Postmaster General to approve the new post office with Charley Kennedy as the postmaster. Stewart made the point in his letter that "A new mining camp needs mail service more than an old community. A large number of persons immediately congregate and actively engage in

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

business, which requires correspondence. I am very anxious to accommodate these communities."

In the meantime, Winnemucca and Kennedy came up with enough money to pay for a mail contract. The Winnemucca postmaster used the money to award the mail contract to George Summerfield, who owned a major livery and stage service in Winnemucca. Summerfield started a weekly stage and mail service to Kennedy in early December. The post office petition and letters hit their intended mark, and the official Kennedy post office was established on January 15, 1892. Charley Kennedy was named as the postmaster, a position he would hold until he resigned and the post office closed on December 15, 1917. The post office was in his house, and it was the most commonly cited landmark in the many claim records. Kennedy may have had a post office in his first house (I-13, Fig. 4-2B) and then moved it when he later built a new house along Cinnabar Avenue (C-43, Fig. 4-2B; Fig. 4-5A). All outgoing mail was stamped with a Kennedy cancellation mark and the date (Fig. 4-5A inset). The post office had a rack of mail boxes, and Charles McIntosh paid two dollars a month to rent one in late 1894 and early 1895.

Winnemucca and Battle Mountain vied to be the main commercial hub of the new mining districts, and the newspapers in each town ridiculed the opposition's routes and even interest in the mining camp. Thanks to the active involvement in Kennedy of J.A. Blossom, the well-to-do Battle Mountain businessman, and the presence of several Battle Mountain-area miners, an unofficial mail service from that town carried mail to Kennedy once a week by the spring of 1892. However, snow over the pass over the Tobin Range thwarted winter efforts to get to Kennedy. Even with the Postal Department's approval of the post office and mail route, both Kennedy residents and Winnemucca merchants (notably the *Silver State*, which saw potential customers in Kennedy) subsidized the cost into the middle of 1892 to ensure that Winnemucca remained the "official" starting point for the Kennedy mail. Over time, Winnemucca was the primary source of mail, even though mail did arrive from Battle Mountain and, later, Lovelock.

Mail delivery stayed on a one-a-week schedule into early 1894. At that point, the demand for stage services to Kennedy rose along with the population. William F. Pearce, who ran the stages for Summerfield, got the new contract and increased the runs to three times a week. The stage went from Summerfield's Winnemucca Stable to the Smelser & Schmith livery and stable in Kennedy (C-14, Fig. 4-2B; Fig. 4-11). The stage left Winnemucca on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays, and it returned from Kennedy the following days, taking a scheduled eleven hours in each direction. Pearce's advertisements misspelled his name as "Pierce": he was from Unionville and a distant cousin of William L. (Will) Pearce of Pleasant Valley.

The stage route from Winnemucca passed by several "stations" that provided water and feed for the horses and, as needed, a place to stay for the passengers during a winter snowstorm. The southbound route went from Winnemucca to the Guthrie family's lush Sonoma Ranch, about twelve miles south of Winnemucca, then another thirteen miles to a way station at Leach's hot springs in Grass Valley. The next stop was about ten miles away at the Mud Springs station at the divide between Grass and Pleasant Valleys. The final stretch of about eighteen miles took the stage to Kennedy. The route at first was rough, following ranch roads that led

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

south to Pleasant Valley. With increased use and some maintenance, the road became better and the stages could travel faster. The worst part was the stretch from Pleasant Valley up to Kennedy, which traversed a rocky alluvial fan, and a "large force of men" from Kennedy finally went down to make it more passable. Mud Springs also was known, appropriately enough, as Lonesome Station given its isolated location. John Kellock ran the station from 1896 until 1903, when his increased drinking led to his death.

Alex Wise owned the long-lived Fashion Livery in Winnemucca and began a competing thrice-weekly service in May 1894, which he increased to daily in September, to accommodate the booming town (Fig. 4-11). He charged five dollars for a one-way trip, which Pearce soon matched because the demand was so high. Wise also renovated his coaches in what the *Silver State* called "a befitting manner," and the paper noted that "a four horse stage ... is somewhat of a novelty nowadays and reminds one of the good old days which 'Mark Twain' delighted in writing about." Wise also took over the mail delivery from Summerfield and Pearce, but just about any stage or wagon leaving Winnemucca likely took whatever mail was available.

Stage service also became available from Lovelock and Battle Mountain as weather and road conditions permitted (Fig. 4-11). The Lovelock Stage Company went to Kennedy three times a week in 1894, taking nine hours each way (Fig. 4-11). Eb Torrey and Ed Allen, both of Lovelock, owned the company, and the stage picked up passengers at the Elko Hotel in Lovelock. The initial route went up Say Canyon on the west side of the East Range, but that was abandoned for French Boy Canyon just to the north due to the "matted jungle of cherry bush." The attempt at a "private" stagecoach line from Battle Mountain in early 1892 may have run only during the drier months, but routine reports in the *Central Nevadan* and other papers of people going back and forth to Battle Mountain in ensuing years indicated that some sort of regular service did continue. However, a correspondent to the *Silver State* in July 1894 wrote that three stages lines, one from Lovelock and two from Winnemucca, provided service to Kennedy, with no mention of a similar stage line from Battle Mountain. Many people may have taken their own horses and wagons from Battle Mountain to Kennedy or caught a ride on a freight wagon. When Dr. Bert Hood of Battle Mountain went to Kennedy to treat patients, he typically took the train to Winnemucca and then the stage to Kennedy, although he drove his own carriage directly to Kennedy when one patient was gravely ill.

The stage runs and mail delivery declined from three to two times a week and then went down to just once a week in the late 1890s. Wise died in early 1895, and his wife Julia was forced to sell the business. The *Silver State* routinely mentioned that various people took the stage to Kennedy in the mid to late 1890s, but it did not mention who ran the service. William F. Pearce joined two friends on a trip to the new gold fields in Dawson, Alaska, in early 1898 and clearly was not driving the stage. The rest of Summerfield's livery business in Winnemucca was doing well and he probably continued the stage and mail service in the late 1890s with someone else driving. Torrey and Allen apparently discontinued their route from Lovelock when the district waned in 1895.

New mining activity and growth that started in 1901 spurred a need for more frequent stage and mail service. The main stage line mentioned in the newspapers ran between Winnemucca and Kennedy and made three trips a week from 1901 into 1905. Will Guthrie, the county assessor, had the contract for carrying the mail from 1901 to 1905 and subcontracted

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

with a series of stage owners, including Will and Nick Pearce (Fig. 4-11). One peripheral newspaper comment – "A. York departed [from Kennedy] by Friday's stage for Unionville" – suggested that a stage to Lovelock, with a stop in Unionville, was in service to some degree, but a stage line to Battle Mountain still was not mentioned.

Bids for the mail contract in late 1905 were too high, and the Kennedy area went without mail service for a year. The Winnemucca postmaster re-advertised the contract after receiving a petition from the Kennedy and Pleasant Valley residents. Will Pearce, the Pleasant Valley rancher, received the four-year contract in September 1906, and Jake Leick leased the stage and horses from Pearce until 1910. Leick's route also stopped at Goldbanks during its brief boom in 1907 and 1908. His 1941 obituary recounted one stage-related adventure: "While driving a stage one day, the vehicle passed along an overhanging embankment. A rattlesnake was almost ready to jump down into the stage when Leick cracked his leather whip at it and pulled the snake into the stage. The occupants scattered out hurriedly before the intruder was finally killed."

Will Pearce and his other brother Fred got the new contract to carry the mail and run the stage line in 1910. They upgraded from a traditional horse-drawn stage to a Reo automobile in 1912 and made three round trips a week. The postmaster advertised the new mail contract in February 1914 and then readvertised it the next month because the bid was too high. The postmaster again advertised for a weekly, one-year mail service in November, and someone – possibly Will Pearce – got the contract for a year, but the mail service ended at the end of 1915 because either nobody applied for the contract or the bids were too high. Kennedy and Pleasant Valley residents once again were forced to pick up the mail in Winnemucca when they were in town. The *Silver State* commented in March 1916 that Kennedy was "perhaps the most isolated spot in the state, being entirely without public utilities, having neither mail, telephone, or telegraph." Fred Pearce circulated a petition among the Kennedy and Pleasant Valley residents in May 1917 to restart the mail service, but that fell on deaf ears at the postal department. An August article in the *Silver State* explained why: the lowest bid for the mail contract was \$1,554 per year, but postage cancellations along the route only generated sixty-five dollars a year in revenue. The Assistant Postmaster-General acknowledged that mail service was important but wrote that a new contract could be awarded only if a new bid was more in keeping with the revenue generated.

Bill Zuick had an automobile and submitted a bid for the mail contract in late 1917 that met the postmaster's requirements, and he got the new contract for a once-a-week service in November. That new mail service, unfortunately, was short lived because Charley Kennedy officially resigned as postmaster, and the post office closed a month later. That effectively ended all mail service for Pleasant Valley and Kennedy, and the local residents again had to get the mail on their own, as they still do today (Vance Vesco, oral communication, 2015). By that time, however, more people had automobiles and could go to town more often and get the mail along with their supplies. Pearce's ranch was the informal delivery point for mail in the area because it was centrally located, and the few remaining people in Kennedy periodically went down to the ranch to see if they had any mail.

FREIGHTING AND HAULING

Hauling freight from the three towns was a big business, one that started as soon as supplies were needed in Kennedy. Everything had to be put on a wagon and taken to Kennedy, no matter how small or large, and all of the ore went back to the railroad depots the same way. The newspapers in Lovelock, Winnemucca, and Battle Mountain mentioned numerous men who were engaged in hauling freight of some type in 1894. Some owned the freight business and others were the drivers, and basically anyone else who owned a wagon and a team of horses was in demand as the need arose. The *Silver State* wrote that "all of the freight teams that can be pressed into service are hauling lumber and supplies between here and Kennedy," and that men were refitting their old "prairie schooners" to haul heavy loads to Kennedy. The freighters advertised in the papers in the three larger towns but not in the *Nevada New Era* because any wagon that arrived in Kennedy already had been hired. Charles McIntosh patronized Lovelock freighters because he grew up there and knew them, and miners from Battle Mountain similarly hired freighters from that town. People at first were willing to put up with the several days that it took to get materials to Kennedy, but the demand in 1894 was so great that the trip needed to be shortened. Not only did people want their goods more quickly, but a shorter round trip meant more trips and thus income for the freighters. The county paid to improve the roads, and the freighters were able to get some of their trips from Winnemucca to Kennedy down to just a day. Still, the heavier loads took longer: Jake Leick's team took five days to haul five thousand pounds of equipment and supplies to Kennedy in 1903.

Mining equipment, mining timbers, food, and other supplies comprised the majority of the earlier loads. Many wagonloads of lumber were taken to Kennedy as houses and buildings were constructed, along with the fixtures – windows, nails, stoves, wallpaper, and furniture – that went into those buildings. A correspondent to the *Silver State* wrote in July 1894 that "big teams loaded with lumber, mill machinery, and other necessities arrive in town at all hours of the day, while others come in bringing in the household effects of prospective citizens." One eight-horse team loaded with just lumber made the trip to Kennedy in May 1894, and Ed Williams hired George Summerfield's four-horse wagon just to haul the beer for his new saloon. Alex Wise dismantled the Auburn mill in Dun Glen, and his teams took three full weeks to haul it to Kennedy in May and June 1894. Freighters used four to six horses and a wagon for standard loads, and Summerfield and Pearce used as many as twelve horses to pull two large wagons filled with freight. At a smaller scale, the stages also carried groceries, packages, and other supplies that Kennedy residents had ordered, which at times required the addition of a wagon to the back of the stage (Hapgood, 1985). Will Pearce's stage ledgers documented the wide variety of goods that he carried on the stage, including supplies for the mines and Kennedy stores. Pearce regularly used the stage to deliver eggs, produce, and meat that he had raised at his ranch to Kennedy, other ranches, and Winnemucca. Wood cutters use four- to six-horse teams to haul the firewood down to the mills and houses in Kennedy. The stone for the new cyanide vats at the Imperial mill was quarried from Golconda Canyon in the Tobin Range in 1902, and the papers reported that "three six and eight-horse teams are constantly hauling rock from the quarry."

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

Freighters took many wagonloads of ore back to Winnemucca and Battle Mountain for rail shipment to smelters and mills. Many of the larger freight wagons that carried lumber and machinery to Kennedy returned with ore, thus making for a lucrative round trip for the freight owners. The weight of the ore required large teams: in May 1893, the *Silver State* reported that three eight-horse-team wagons filled with ore from Kennedy had arrived in Winnemucca, and similar eight-horse teams were mentioned frequently over the ensuing years as they carried ore to Winnemucca. Men and their wagons also were hired to haul ore from the mines down to the two mills, or they used smaller wagons to get the ore from the mines to Kennedy and then transferred it to larger wagons.

Driving a freight wagon had its perils, thanks to the rough roads, uneven loads, and temperamental horses. Ed McCain was badly injured when timbers from his load slipped and smashed him in the head, and another driver nearly died of exposure when he had to abandon the wagon along the way. One driver from Battle Mountain failed to make it all the way to Kennedy because he drank a lot of the warm beer that he was carrying and became "crazy as a bedbug." Lou Folsom died of suffocation in 1916 when a wagonload of wood collapsed on top of him.

Freight activity picked up again in the early 1900s with the arrival of three mining companies and the reopening of the Imperial mill. As a correspondent to the *Silver State* noted in March 1903, "It is surprising the amount of freight that comes to Kennedy lately." As before, the freight wagons leaving Kennedy were loaded with ore, and they returned from Winnemucca carrying supplies and equipment for the mines and provisions for the town. They were fully loaded on each trip. That spring, H.J. Lorentzen and Jacob Leick each started what was called a fast freight line between Kennedy and Winnemucca. A correspondent to the Winnemucca papers commented that "there will be a hot time over that, too, for each one wants to keep the fastest record." Leick's driver Harry Muma made the round trip in three and a half days, which was fast enough to warrant a comment in the paper. The Wynn-Lasher group that owned the Imperial mill and the Winnemucca Gold Mining Company that had the Gold Note mine had their own freight teams.

Horses and wagons were used until the early 1910s, when Paul Klopstock announced plans to shift from horses to "truck automobiles" as he developed the Imperial mill and his mines. Even so, Klopstock, Leon St. D. Roylance (who took over the Jenkins mill in 1914), and other miners continued to use big horse-drawn wagons to haul heavy machinery, lumber, and supplies to Kennedy into the late 1910s, saving their gasoline-powered vehicles for smaller loads and personal travel. By contrast, the Kelsey brothers, who ran a freight service in Winnemucca, used their truck to haul away the dismantled Imperial mill in 1919. Art Smith used a small truck to haul ore from his small mine south of Kennedy to Winnemucca in the early 1920s. During one February trip, the heavily loaded truck got stuck in the snow, and he had to borrow a horse-drawn wagon from a nearby ranch to continue the trip with the ore. Will Pearce by that time also had a truck and used it to haul ore from the mines and supplies to his ranch, but he also used his freight wagon for hauling hay and other materials on his ranch. Although Kennedy never regained its strength as a mining camp after the 1910s, virtually all of the materials hauled to the district and ore to Winnemucca after the mid 1920s was taken in trucks.

KENNEDY-AREA SCHOOLS

Kennedy and the surrounding ranches had enough children to support one to, at times, two schools from late 1893 through 1939. These included the "Pleasant Valley" school in Kennedy, which was active from late 1893 through 1907 and then from 1915 into late 1918, and the Bushee school at the Pearce (formerly Bushee) ranch that held classes continuously from 1907 to about 1939. County school records mention that a school district in Pleasant Valley had two school trustees and thus a presumed school in at least 1888. Nothing else is known about the students or the school, and neither of the trustees had school-aged children of his own.

The Nevada State Superintendent of Public Instruction oversaw all of the schools in the state, and each county, including Humboldt and later Pershing, had its own superintendent of education who administered the various county school districts. The state sent money for the teacher's salary to the county, and the county paid for operating expenses, such as books, desks, supplies, and repairs. The two districts each had a president and a clerk (both also called trustees), and the clerk oversaw the school activities and funding. The clerk submitted bills to the county superintendent in Winnemucca and, after 1919, Lovelock who had separate "State School Fund" and "County School Fund" accounts for each district. The Kennedy teachers received sixty dollars a month in the early 1890s, and the salary rose to sixty-five dollars in 1899. The salaries at the Bushee school were seventy-five dollars by 1910 and then eight-five dollars in 1916 for both schools. Later salaries were not recorded.

The Kennedy and Bushee schools were typical one-room school houses with students of a variety of ages and one and rarely two teacher(s) (Fig. 4-14A). The state determined the course of study for each grade, and the teacher taught multiple grades with multiple books as needed. High school was a different matter. Two girls who attended the Bushee school, Dorothy Riley Hapgood and Mabel Pearce McCoy, told of their educations in their oral histories (Hapgood, 1985; McCoy, 1987). Mabel reached high-school age in about 1924, and she attended the first two years of high school at the ranch and then continued in Lovelock. Dorothy, whose family lived at the Cooper (formerly Miller) ranch at the south end of the valley during part of her childhood, boarded at and attended the Bushee school for a year. Dorothy attended other schools in the county for elementary school, and she would have started high school in about 1919 at the age of fourteen. Both women remembered that all of the children attended the school in the same small school house, and that the Bushee school had a high-school teacher in addition to the elementary-school teacher. The high school curriculum prepared them for full-fledged high school elsewhere.

With the exception of Clifford Robins, almost all of the teachers who are known to have taught at the two schools were women in their late teens and twenties (Table 4-4; see Appendix). Many of them were still living with their families in the census prior to when they taught at the Kennedy or Bushee school. All of them except for Olena Johnson and Naomi Hursey were single. Naomi's husband, who was a farmer in Fallon, is not listed with her on the 1930 census form, so they were living apart while she was teaching at the Bushee ranch; they had been married two years earlier.

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

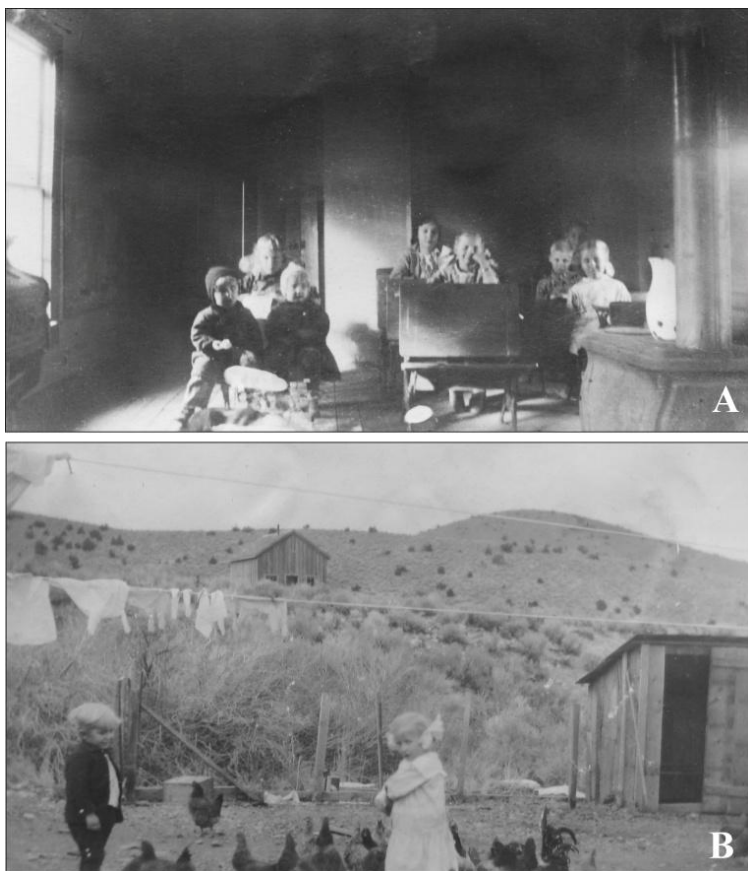


Figure 4-14. (A) Interior of the Kennedy school house, taken in about 1916. The two small children on the front left are the Foster children (Fig. 4-14B). (B) The Kennedy school house in the background (I-8, Fig. 4-2B), taken in 1915. The two children are Lloyd (left) and Evelyn Foster. The family lived in a small house just to the left of where the children were standing (J-4, Fig. 4-2B; Figs. 4-1B,4-5C). From the Stanley McCoy collection.

The teachers came from various places in northern Nevada, including Reno, Fallon, Winnemucca, Churchill County, and Eureka, and several of the teachers at the Bushee ranch came from California. Mae Grandstaff came from and then returned to San Diego, and Minnie Sadicoff was from Los Angeles. Many of the teachers, such as Clara McGonagle, Helen Hanley, Cordelia Wallace, and the Mulcoy sisters, moved from school to school in Humboldt, Lander, Eureka, and Elko counties over the years, and Jennie Mulcoy Smith taught in Winnemucca after she and her husband moved there from Kennedy. Teaching led to two marriages in Kennedy. Susie Mulcoy was a teacher in Eureka and in Grass Valley near Winnemucca. She met Al Leach in 1901 when she was visiting her sister Jennie in Kennedy, and they were married in Kennedy the following spring. The next year, Jennie married Bert Smith, a Kennedy miner and owner of the stage line. All of the teachers at the Bushee school lived with the Pearces and paid for room and board, which, on the basis of Will Pearce's ledger, was twenty to twenty-five dollars in the early 1910s. Lodging for the Kennedy teachers never was reported: the school house itself could have had a separate apartment for the teacher, and the town had plenty of boarding and private houses. Almost certainly, the townspeople made sure that the abundant single men in town respected these young, single women.

The Kennedy school house, along with almost all of the other buildings in town, was torn down for the lumber. Even though the school's location is well known from the old

photographs, absolutely nothing remains at the site to indicate that a school house – or any building for that matter – once stood there (see Frontispiece). The Bushee school house still stands at the former Pearce ranch.

THE KENNEDY (PLEASANT VALLEY) SCHOOL

Enough school-aged children lived in Kennedy and nearby ranches by the middle of 1893 that the town finally hired Rosa Alexander, a twenty-five-year-old woman from Elko, to be the first teacher. School may have been held in one of the houses or other buildings in Kennedy, but the town decided in late 1893 to build a school house. The townspeople chipped in to pay for the materials and labor, and the school opened on January 26, 1894, the same day that the Jenkins mill began operation. The brief article in the *Silver State* about the opening of the new school house noted that the school had fifteen pupils. The *Silver State* wrote that the "neat frame structure" measured sixteen feet by twenty feet. The school was along the north side of Imperial Avenue at the east end of town and north of the Jenkins mill (I-8, Fig. 4-2B; Figs. 4-1, 4-7A, 4-14B).

The school was open from late 1893 until 1908, and it brought a succession of teachers to Kennedy (Table 4-4; see Appendix). All were universally liked except for one teacher. That exception was Olena C. Johnson during the 1895-96 school year. Olena was married and had three young children, and they lived in Lovelock. The town had mixed feelings about her abilities as a teacher. The townspeople held an election for new school trustees in May 1896, and the *Silver State* called it "the most bitter fight ever held in the state for the office of school trustees." Some people apparently had "a great deal of animosity" towards Olena, and the election centered on choosing people who either supported her or did not. Her supporters ("the best citizens of Kennedy," according to the newspaper account) won the election, which ensured that she would be appointed for the following school year. The 1900 census report in Lovelock did not list a profession for her, so she may have returned home to raise her children and left teaching behind.

The Kennedy school president and clerk varied through the years. Patrick Sweeney, a rancher in Pleasant Valley just below Kennedy, was the clerk for the 1893-1895 biennium. Although he and his wife Maria did not have children, they were very supportive and pushed for the new school house in late 1893. Walter Wilkinson was the clerk in 1895-96, and John Benton was the clerk for 1897 through 1906, except when Al Leach, a Kennedy store owner, filled the position from about 1901 into mid 1903. The presidents or other trustees were not listed in any reports. Leach reported to Harry Warren that the Pleasant Valley school district had eighteen "school-age" students in the 1901-1902 school year and thirteen children from the ages of six to eighteen years in both the spring and fall of 1903.

Allen Bragg, the editor of the *Silver State*, visited Kennedy in April 1905. He wrote that Hazel Bell was the school teacher and had only four students – possibly those of the Kennedys and Hillyers – at the time of his visit (Bragg, 1905). A school needed four or five students to remain on active status, and the school either was closed or put on inactive status for the coming school year if the number dropped even more. The Kennedy district began another

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

steep decline in 1905, but a bare minimum of students kept the school open for two more years. The Hillyers moved to Winnemucca, leaving only the Kennedy children, and the state closed the school and put it on inactive status starting in early 1908.

Several Kennedy families had school-aged children in the mid 1910s, thanks largely to husbands who worked for the Roylance Reduction Company, which began operations in 1914 (Chapter 3). Those new children, plus those of Charley and Ida Kennedy, easily pushed the town over the minimum threshold for having a funded school. The Kennedy school was repaired and then reopened in September 1915, and classes continued until December 1918. Agnes Ramsey, Helen M. Hanley, and Anna F. Lucey each taught for a year, and Helen came back for the fall term in 1918 before the school district was abolished. Mabel Pearce McCoy mentioned in her oral history that the Kennedy school "had maybe fifteen kids there going to school" when she was a small child in the 1910s (McCoy, 1987). The known families in Kennedy in the mid 1910s had fifteen school-aged children in 1915, eleven in 1916, and seven in at least some part of 1917. The number dwindled even more, and the school closed for good. This decline coincided with the progressive departure of Roylance-related families. With no hope for more students, the state abolished the Kennedy school district, and the allotted funds were redistributed to other schools in the county, including the Bushee school.

THE BUSHEE SCHOOL

The oldest children of Pleasant Valley ranchers Will Pearce, Frank Wiggins, and John Schell reached school age as the Kennedy district began its 1905 decline. The Schells lived north of the Pearces, and the Wiggins family lived at the Golconda ranch to the southeast (see Chapter 6). The Pearce ranch – informally known as the Bushee ranch after its founder – was centrally located, and the parents decided to build a school house at the Pearce's ranch in the fall of 1906 so that their children did not have to make the long ride to Kennedy every day. The school trustees met in Kennedy two days later and voted to divide the Pleasant Valley school district into the Kennedy and Bushee school districts; the Pleasant Valley name was discontinued. Pearce hauled a load of lumber to the ranch from Winnemucca in late October, and he, Schell, and Wiggins finished construction a few weeks later. Pearce brought school furniture down from Winnemucca, put up wallpaper, and installed the stove. He wrote in his journal on December 18 that "we have the school house completed inside and out. Expect to start school early in January." Will Pearce served as the main trustee of the school throughout its multi-decade existence, and William H. Cooper, the owner of the former Miller ranch to the south, was the district president for many years.

The 1905-1906 state biennial education report listed Bessie Stone teaching at Kennedy and Helen Wright at the Bushee school. Mabel Pearce McCoy mentioned that the teachers from the two schools would visit each other on Sundays (McCoy, 1987). The Bushee school had a steady stream of teachers over the years (Table 4-4; see Appendix). Most of the teachers were there for a full school year, and some stayed for two years. In addition to the teachers listed in Table 4-4, Mabel Pearce McCoy recalled that other teachers included Anna Davis from Modesto, California, and Grace Dalby from Fallon, although she did not say when they were there. The

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

1910, 1920, and 1930 censuses, which were taken in the late spring, recorded Josephine Mulcoy, Grace Mills, and Naomi Hursey, respectively, as the Bushee teachers those years.

The teachers at the Bushee ranch had varied experiences. Will Pearce's ranch photographs showed several of the teachers joining in on horseback riding, taking trips into Winnemucca, and even helping to plow the vegetable garden plot. There was not much else to do outside of school hours. Minnie Sadicoff began at the school in the fall of 1911. She had immigrated from Russia just ten years before, received her teaching degree, and, probably with a strong Russian accent, found herself in remote Humboldt County at the young age of eighteen. Nevertheless, she made it through the entire school year, which undoubtedly was a learning experience for everyone, and she later went to medical school in San Francisco. Not all of the young teachers were happy with the remote location. Mabel Pearce McCoy remembered that one unnamed teacher arrived at the start of the fall semester, took one look around, and left as soon as she could get a ride back to Winnemucca.

Almost all of the children in the area attended the Bushee school after the Kennedy school closed in 1908. The notable exceptions were the three Kennedy children, who were taught at home in Kennedy. The Pearces provided a continual supply of children over the years, and the children of other families attended the school in the years when their families lived in the area. Those families included the Wigginses and Etchegoyhens from the Golconda Ranch, the Schells, the Hornbuckles during their short time in Goldbanks, the McCoy's from the south end of the valley, and the John I. Guthries from the old Sweeney ranch. School census records show that the school had from eleven to three students in 1909 through 1914. The school was below the minimum student threshold in some years, but the number of pre-school children in the area kept the school alive because they eventually would attend the school.

The Bushee school remained active into the late 1930s. The Pearces still had two children of grade-school age in 1930, when Naomi Hursey was teaching, and the census data show that four other children in that age range were in the census precinct. By the mid 1930s, Mabel had married one of the McCoy boys and had her own children. She, her husband Melvin, and their children lived in the bunkhouse at the family ranch, and their children attended school in the mid to late 1930s. The school closed for lack of students after she and her family left the ranch.

GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, AND THE LAW

Kennedy started in 1891 as a small, informal aggregation of miners and prospectors in a remote part of Humboldt County and Nevada. Three years later, Kennedy had more than five hundred people: it was smaller than Winnemucca but on a par with Lovelock. The county had the final say in legal matters, but Kennedy quickly began to take more responsibility for its community, including voting, elected officers, and legal affairs. Political affairs at the state to national levels, especially the gold versus silver currency debate, had a strong effect on the lifeblood of the community. The townspeople were remarkably well informed and vociferous about the world outside of their canyon.

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

Then, more quickly than it started, the Kennedy boom collapsed in 1895. The population plummeted, the town went into survival mode, and with it went Kennedy's influence at all levels. Kennedy remained the center of the voting precinct, but the last election of local officials was in 1898. After that, and despite several smaller booms over the next ten to fifteen years, the county oversaw almost all of the community's governmental and legal functions. By the time that Pershing County split off from Humboldt County in 1919, Kennedy was just a small collection of miners and ranchers in a still-remote part of the new county.

EARLY GOVERNANCE

Southeastern Humboldt County only had a few ranches and miners before Charley Kennedy arrived in 1891. The county handled whatever issues arose in that area, and it periodically appointed men to be a constable, deputy county clerk, and justice of the peace in the area (Table 4-5; see Appendix). The positions lasted only as long as the need: serve on a posse, deliver election returns, or handle other short-term issues in the area. Given the tiny population, those situations were rare.

The early prospectors in 1891 established a formal mining district in the middle of September and named it after Charley Kennedy, the first sign of cohesion in the remote location (Chapter 2). Charley became the district recorder, recorded all of the new claims in the local district books, and periodically took the books to Winnemucca for transcription into the official county books.

The early 1892 creation of the post office was the first outside recognition of the town, as described earlier. The residents petitioned for a voting precinct later that spring, and the county commissioners created the Kennedy township and voting precinct in May. The township/precinct covered much of southeastern Humboldt County and included Kennedy and the ranches scattered throughout the area (Fig. 4-15). The commissioners appointed John Benton to be the township's justice of the peace to handle local legal matters (Table 4-5). Benton resigned in April 1893, and the county appointed his son-in-law, Walter L. Wilkinson, and then W.S. Riley after Wilkinson resigned six months later. The growth of the town and several arrests by Riley forced the county to appoint first Peter Dory as the Kennedy constable in late 1893 and then George Abel a few months later. Thus, as the mining camp was poised to begin its meteoric growth in 1894, the town had its own post office, voting precinct, and local legal representatives.

ELECTIONS AND POLITICS

The only people in southeastern Humboldt County before 1891 were scattered ranchers. Notes in the *Humboldt Register* mentioned a Pleasant Valley voting precinct as early as 1864. People voted at Moses Bushee's ranch, and local ranchers served as the local voting officials. The

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

number of voters ranged from thirteen to twenty-one, small compared to the nearly three hundred votes cast in Winnemucca in 1890.

The first election in the new Kennedy precinct took place in November 1892. The polling place was at John Benton's house in Kennedy, and seventeen men from the precinct cast ballots (Table 4-6; see Appendix). The school house and several private homes in town served as the polling place in the biennial elections through 1918, and various men served as the voter registrar and the polling-place officials. The number of voters mimicked the overall rises and falls in the population, ranging from a high of 216 in 1894 to a low of thirteen in 1912 (Table 4-6). Pershing County, upon its formation in 1919, eliminated the Kennedy precinct and established the Grass Valley and Pleasant Valley precincts, which encompassed the easternmost part of the new county. With the town of Kennedy nearly deserted, elections took place at either the Pearce or Cooper (formerly Miller) ranches, and the election officials were a mix of ranchers and the remaining Kennedy miners. Roughly twenty people cast ballots over the years, and most of the voters were ranchers or ranch hands.

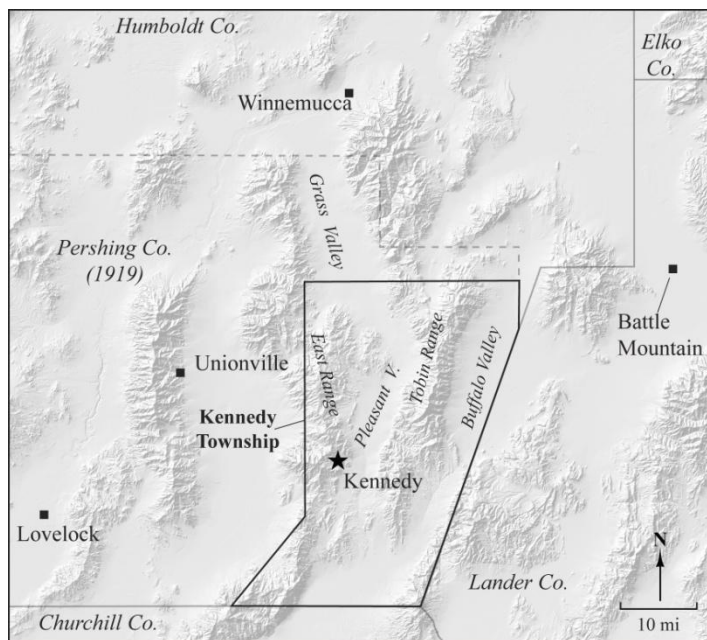


Figure 4-15. Location of the Kennedy township and voting precinct (dark line), established in May 1892 and continued until the 1919 formation of Pershing County. Also shown are major towns and geographic features. Base map from the Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology.

The elections of the 1890s centered on the heated national debate about whether the nation's currency should be based on a gold or a bimetallic (gold and silver) standard (Glass, 1969). Kennedy produced both metals and took a strong bimetallic stand. Silver Clubs formed in most of the counties in early 1892, and the Silver Party soon reached national status. The Humboldt County Silver Club met for the first time in April 1892, and Charley Kennedy represented the mining camp at the meeting in Winnemucca. At the November 1892 election, all of Kennedy's fourteen votes for state to county positions, Nevada's Congressional seat, and the three Silver Party Presidential Electors went to members of the Silver Party.

The bimetallic currency fight grew as the Panic of 1893 began to take hold and debates raged about returning to a gold standard, and Kennedy miners remained resolutely in favor of the bimetallic platform. Charley Kennedy again was the representative at the county Silver

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

League meeting, and John Benton was elected to the county's Bimetallic League meeting in July. Benton even went so far as to cancel his subscription to the *San Francisco Examiner* in August in protest of the paper's anti-silver editorial policy.

Candidates campaigned throughout the state as the November 1894 election approached. Francis Newlands, the candidate for Congressman and several state party officials took the stage to Kennedy on October 11. Newlands and one of the state leaders spoke to the townspeople that night in the meeting hall at Ed Williams' saloon, and Kennedy's *Nevada New Era* came out in support of the Silver Party shortly after the event. Frank Francis, the editor, was running for the State Assembly as a Silver Party candidate, and he clearly was using his newspaper to support his own election campaign as well as that of the party in general.

Some Kennedy miners and a few ranchers were strongly Republican, and they hosted Republican candidates at Ed Williams' meeting hall in late October. The speakers included H.F. Bartine, who was running for Congressman, and A.C. Cleveland, the Republican candidate for Governor. Unfortunately for the Republicans, the Silver Party candidates returned to Kennedy to speak the same evening. The Silver Party had not reserved the hall, but their candidates were in town for only that night and could not postpone their meeting. The Republicans agreed to delay their meeting until the following evening only if the Silver Party people would announce the Republican meeting before their talks began. Not surprisingly, the Silver Party neglected to do so and continued on with its speakers. A letter to the *Silver State* noted that there were sixty or more Republicans in the camp and that they comprised the majority of the audience. However, only thirty Kennedy people ultimately voted for Bartine and thirty-two for Cleveland.

The election on November 6, 1894, was at the height of the district's boom, with the largest number of voters in its short history so far. With the exception of the Congressional race, Kennedy voters overwhelmingly supported Silver Party candidates, including John E. Jones for Governor, Reinhold Sadler for Lieutenant Governor, and candidates for a variety of lesser state offices. *Nevada New Era* editor Frank Francis garnered half of the Kennedy votes and won the overall county election.

The Kennedy votes for Congressman were split, with ninety-seven votes for James C. Doughty of the People's Party, eighty-seven for Francis G. Newlands of the Silver Party, thirty for Horace F. Bartine of the Republican Party, and one for Benjamin Riley, a Democrat. Kennedy voters soundly rejected the various People's Party candidates for other state-wide offices, so the split for Congressman was curious. Doughty originally was an active member of the Silver Party, but he was denied a major role in the party (Glass, 1969). He then jumped to the People's Party but continued to strongly support the silver cause. The silver-supporting miners in Kennedy may have felt that Doughty, despite his shift to the People's Party, more strongly supported the silver cause than did Newlands.

Kennedy began its steep decline shortly after the election, and the remaining residents in 1896 largely continued to support the Silver Party. The People's Party had shifted its stances away from the Silver Party, whereas the Silver Party and the Democrats had begun to forge an alliance that strongly supported the silver issue (Glass, 1969). The thirty-eight Kennedy voters unanimously voted for William Jennings Bryan, the Democratic candidate for President and a strong supporter of the silver movement. For Congressman, Kennedy voters overwhelmingly

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

supported Francis Newlands instead of James Doughty, a marked reversal of the votes cast in 1894 that likely reflected the state-wide shifts in party stances.

The final election of the 1890s in Kennedy was held on November 1, 1898. The election became chaotic when the officials and voters brought beer and hard liquor to the polling place. According to an account in the *Weekly Gazette and Stockman*, the inebriated men began fighting over partisan issues and deterred people from voting. Similar incidents took place in Paradise Valley and in the White River precinct southwest of Ely, which led to a general lawsuit that went to the State Supreme Court. The court, although deploring the actions, ruled that the results of the elections, especially those for Governor, were not compromised and that the election results from these three precincts should not be thrown out.

Kennedy voters also elected their own justice of the peace and constable, which previously had been appointed positions, in 1894 through 1898 (see later section; Table 4-5). As described elsewhere, the precinct was so small by 1900 that the county eliminated those positions and began to handle the duties from Winnemucca, relying on a few appointments to fill needs.

The suffrage movement gave women the right to vote in local elections for the first time in 1915 and then state elections in 1916. The passage of the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution allowed them to vote in national races in 1920. The registered voter lists for the Kennedy and then Grass Valley precincts began to include women, including the wives of men whose names had appeared on earlier voter lists. The eighteen voters in the 1918 election included two women: Kennedy resident Hazel Foster and Bushee school teacher Cordelia Wallace. Will Pearce was on the list of registered voters, but his wife Jessie was not. Jessie and other ranch wives began to register in the 1920s. The fifteen voters in the precinct in 1930 included four women, all of whom were married to ranchers in the valley.

TAXES

Kennedy was remote, but people still had to pay property taxes. Will Guthrie was the Humboldt County assessor from 1890 until his death in early 1908, the period that included much of the major activity in Kennedy. Harry Leonard succeeded Guthrie in 1908, followed by Alfred Organ and then various Pershing County assessors starting in 1919. Guthrie visited Kennedy every year in the 1890s, but how often he or the later assessors made the rounds in the 1900s is unknown. Because nothing new was built in the Kennedy townsite after the mid 1890s and the only changes were in ownership, the assessor could just get a copy of the deed and send the tax bill to a different person.

Guthrie visited Kennedy in 1892 but did not tax anything, and he only taxed John Benton's house in 1893, even though Charley Kennedy's original house stood not far away. Guthrie found a much-changed town when he visited in the middle of 1894: he taxed thirty-eight buildings that year, including the two mills, business buildings, and houses, plus land and some of the livestock. The robust growth shortly after his visit added to the number of properties: forty-seven property owners received tax bills for more than sixty buildings in 1895.

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

The assessed values and taxes in the 1890s varied depending on the size and use of the various properties. The combined state and county tax rate was about 2.2 percent through the 1890s. Most of the houses had assessed values of forty to seventy-five dollars, with taxes of \$0.94 to \$1.76. Business buildings had higher values and thus taxes, depending on their size. Ed Williams' combined saloon, meeting hall, and boarding house had an assessed value of \$750 and a tax of \$17.30 in 1895. The highest-valued and -taxed properties in 1894 and 1895 were the Jenkins and Imperial mills, and their values declined as they sat idle in a shrinking mining camp. The values and taxes on the business buildings similarly dropped after the crash, with some of the "businesses" being nothing more than an abandoned building owned by someone who had moved elsewhere. In contrast, the values of the houses and smaller business buildings, many of which also doubled as the owner's dwelling, remained fairly steady despite the decline. For example, the value of Joe King's house stayed at fifty dollars, as did the tax of \$1.10.

Taxes for the year were due in early December, and the county treasurer then published lists in the *Silver State* of properties for which taxes had not yet been paid. Failure to pay taxes by the third week of January led to the potential sale of a property to anyone who paid the taxes. Several Kennedy properties routinely appeared on the initial and final lists, indicating that the owners always waited until the last minute – or after the last minute – to pay their taxes. The treasurer sold truly delinquent properties on the courthouse steps, and nine houses were sold in this fashion from 1895 through 1906. The new owners invariably were continuing or new Kennedy residents or Pleasant Valley ranchers.

Quite a few people left Kennedy after the mills shut down in early 1895. Many of those people kept their Kennedy property and, for whatever reason, continued to pay the property taxes. Some owners gave the assessor their new addresses and others did not. Guthrie sent out thirty-eight tax bills for about fifty-three properties in 1898, which was near the low in terms of Kennedy's population in the 1890s. Everyone paid their taxes, although three tax payments were late.

A few dedicated Kennedy men, notably Jake Leick, Charley Kennedy, and Cephas Kyle (until his 1909 death) progressively amassed and paid taxes on an increasing number of properties. However, each man's combined tax bill really was not all that much as the assessed values decreased. More buildings were being abandoned each year, and fewer and fewer of them appeared on the tax rolls. Thirty-nine buildings were taxed in 1910 (compared to more than sixty at the peak), eleven in 1920, six in 1930, and four in 1940. Charley Kennedy and Jake Leick essentially were the only property owners in the town after about 1925. All three of the mills – the Imperial, Jenkins, and Hidden Treasure – were dismantled and hauled away by 1928.

The total assessed values of the Kennedy properties from 1894 through 1913 reflected the district's two major mining peaks and the ensuing troughs (Fig. 4-16). The maximum assessed value was in 1894, with a total value of about \$15,400, but that value plunged to \$5,000 in 1899. The peak value in the early 1900s was about \$11,700 in 1905, with a progressively declining total value into the early 1910s. The arrival of Paul Klopstock's venture in 1910 and the remodel of the Imperial mill had no effect on the town's total assessed value. The mining camp was in such decline that his small improvements to the mill could not overcome the declining values of the rest of the town.

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

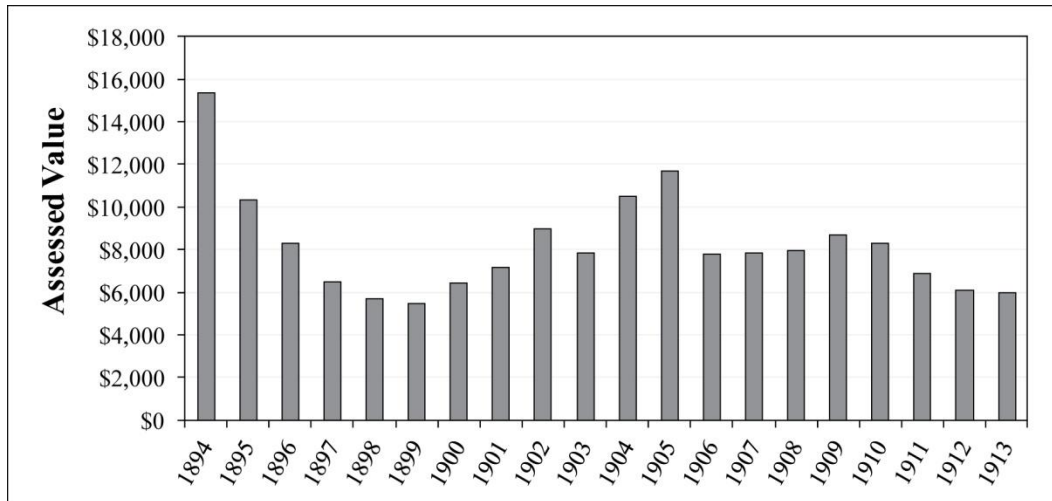


Figure 4-16. Total assessed value of properties in Kennedy from 1894 through 1913. Data from the Humboldt County assessment books, Humboldt County Recorder, Winnemucca, Nevada.

LAW AND ENFORCEMENT

The Kennedy precinct had its own appointed and then elected constable and justice of the peace, the need for which undoubtedly reflected a certain level of disturbances. However, the county jail records and the extensive newspaper coverage of Kennedy included very few items related to Kennedy, which was especially surprising in 1894 when the town had more than five hundred mostly male people. Fights were not uncommon (Hapgood, 1985), and the few recorded instances of criminal behavior in the 1890s involved selling whiskey to "Indians," assault and battery, and even filling up someone else's well. Kennedy residents circulated a petition to the county to build a jail in June 1894, and people may have decided that putting someone in jail for a night or two might cool off some tempers. It also might have been more cost effective, considering that anyone convicted in Kennedy had to be taken to the Winnemucca jail. The petition, however, failed.

Kennedy shrank after the 1894 boom, and Humboldt County finally decided that such a small place was not worth the cost of paying for a constable and justice of the peace. They county commissioners abolished the two offices when William Wilkinson's and John Chenoweth's terms ended in 1900. The county began to oversee almost all of the precinct's legal affairs, although miners continued to file their claims in the district books through 1916. The county probably was a bit surprised with Kennedy's resurgence in 1901, and it appointed a series of justices of the peace and deputy county clerks to handle some of the Kennedy-related legal matters (Table 4-5; see Appendix). Those appointments ended by 1905 when the boom waned, but the county later made various short-term appointments as the need arose. The county sheriff was called in for various shootings and other incidents that demanded an arrest, and townspeople took a few culprits up to the Winnemucca jail. Until automobiles became more common, the response time was two days – a day to get the sheriff and another day for

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

him to arrive. That time dropped to a day with automobiles and just a few hours after a telephone was installed at the Cooper ranch in 1916.

All legal matters were handled through the district court and sheriff's office in Lovelock after the area became part of Pershing County in 1919. Despite the easier access from Lovelock with an automobile, Pleasant Valley and adjoining areas still were far from the county seat. The county commonly appointed one of the local ranchers as a deputy sheriff to provide quicker responses to incidents, a practice that has continued to the present day.

SHOOTINGS AND ASSAULTS

Kennedy for the most part was a fairly peaceful place, at least in comparison to the violence and murders at other mining districts like Pioche and Bodie (Ashbaugh, 1963; Sprague, 2003). Kennedy residents had plenty of guns but were not trigger happy, and shooting victims did not populate the small cemetery. Only one person was wounded in a gunfight in the boom period of the 1890s, when the population and saloons were at their peaks. Four other men were injured in gunfights in the early 1900s, and Peter Laux, a miner who was murdered in 1912, was the only person who died from being shot in Kennedy. Of course, fist fights were fairly common, but they seemed to resolve issues before the arguments escalated into gunfights.

The first shooting occurred when Thomas Jenkins, the watchman for his cousin William Jenkins' mill, shot Charles McIntosh in June 1895 in a dispute over ownership of mill tailings (Chapter 3). The argument escalated, and both Jenkins and McIntosh drew guns and began shooting, with nine shots being fired. McIntosh was seriously wounded in the chest, and Jenkins suffered several less-threatening wounds. Everyone expected McIntosh to die, and the Winnemucca doctor gave him a fifty-fifty chance of surviving a day after the shooting. Jenkins, perhaps not surprisingly, said that he was sorry for the "trouble," but that he was justified in shooting because McIntosh had shot first. Conversely, George Abel, a witness at the later hearings, said that Jenkins fired first after both men had made threats to each other. Nevertheless, as noted in the *Weekly Gazette & Stockman*, both men had brought guns and evidently expected trouble. The county charged Jenkins with felonious assault with intent to kill. McIntosh, curiously, did not press charges, and some of the subpoenaed witnesses for the pre-trial hearing refused to testify, so the judge had to release Jenkins for lack of convincing evidence. The sentiment in Kennedy after the shooting was very much against Jenkins, and, as reported in the *Silver State*, "the opinion is openly expressed there that had the affray occurred anywhere else he would not have left town alive." McIntosh eventually made a full recovery and led a very productive life. Jenkins returned to Battle Mountain to work on his cousin's sheep ranches.

Kennedy avoided any more shootings until the early 1900s, and the people involved in the several shootings were far from angelic. Frank Molinary and Joe Alexander, both local miners, were playing cards in one of the saloons in 1902. People called Alexander "Black Alex" in dubious tribute to his personality, Molinary was known as being "quarrelsome," and the two men were not exactly good friends before that afternoon. Alexander shot Molinary as their argument escalated, and Molinary was taken into Winnemucca to see a doctor. He was able to

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

return to Kennedy and resume mining after a few months. Molinary did not press charges, telling the *Silver State* that "he would settle the score on his own account at some future time." Nevertheless, the judge convicted Alexander and fined him five hundred dollars.

Molinary was involved with another shooting in Kennedy in 1906. Several men were sharing a chicken dinner and wine at Molinary's cabin. An argument ensued, and Molinary grabbed his shotgun and ordered fellow diner Martin Hawley out of the cabin. Hawley grabbed the gun and threw it outside, so Molinary picked up his pistol (which he kept under his pillow) and shot Hawley in the mouth. A doctor was called to Kennedy and took Hawley to Winnemucca, where he made a full recovery. Molinary turned himself in right after the shooting, but Hawley could not tell his side of the story for quite a while due to the injury to his mouth. Molinary was tried and tossed into jail when he did not pay the bond, but he made a brief return to Kennedy in early 1907.

Harry Cox was involved with another shooting and other legal matters. In 1903, Tom Thompkins was interfering in a poker game at one of the saloons, and Harry Cox, one of the players, kept telling him to stop. Cox finally drew his gun and shot at Thompkins, grazing his skull with a bullet. Not content with that, Cox began to beat Thompkins over the head with the gun. The major injury apparently was to Thompkins' pride, and he did not seek medical treatment or press charges. Six years later, Charley Kennedy accused Cox of unlawfully "detaining" personal property and assault. Kennedy eventually dropped the charges, but the matter was not settled for Cox, who sued Kennedy for defamation of character related to the public testimony at the trial, even though he was the one who had asked for a jury trial in the first place. The entire matter was dropped, at least in court. Cox then worked at the Imperial mill for Paul Klopstock, sued in late 1910 after not being paid, and filed a lien on the Imperial mill. He won the judgment, but he also owed Jake Leick money, who in turn sued Cox to get the money that Cox had just been awarded. Finally, Cox was arrested and convicted in 1911 for carrying a concealed weapon in Winnemucca, serving time in jail after not paying the fine. Cox wound up working at one of the local ranches.

Patrick Riley was a miner in French Boy Canyon. As described in Chapter 7, Riley and Con Kennedy had staked several claims in the area, both together and separately. Riley was out hunting and wandered across one of Kennedy's claims one day. An argument ensued, and Kennedy shot Riley, the bullet grazing his chest and penetrating his right arm. Riley was taken into Winnemucca to get patched up by a doctor, and Kennedy was arrested a few days later and put on trial, even though Riley did not press charges. Each man had his own version of the events, but Riley was a known heavy drinker and Kennedy's sanity was something of a question.

Con Kennedy also shot Frank Forvilly in 1911. Kennedy allowed his claims in French Boy Canyon to lapse at the end of 1910, and Frank and his brother Mike restaked one of them in January 1911. The Forvillys were in a saloon in Fitting, on the east side of the Humboldt Range, in early June. Kennedy walked in, accused the two men of jumping his claim, and shot at and wounded Frank in the head. As recounted in the *Lovelock Tribune*, Mike "seized Kennedy, threw him to the ground, taking his gun away from him and beating him over the head with it." Kennedy managed to make it to Lovelock, bloodied and "disfigured," began to drink heavily, and then passed out. The Lovelock doctor sent him up the hospital in Winnemucca. Mike

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

Forvilly filed a formal complaint, and the sheriff arrested Kennedy. Kennedy acted so bizarrely at his first trial that the jury found that he was insane and should be sent to the state mental hospital in Reno. A year at the hospital improved Kennedy's disposition enough for him to return to Winnemucca for the assault-to-kill trial. However, after another strange day in court, the new jury in 1913 sent Kennedy back to the hospital in Reno, never to return.

The last shooting in Kennedy was in January 1912, when Peter Laux, a local miner, was shot through the head from ambush (Chapter 3). The general sentiment was that the major mining company at the time, the Gold Note Mining and Milling Company, hired someone to shoot Laux after he legitimately or not overstaked the claims that comprised the company's major mine. A search party found Laux that night, and he was taken to the Winnemucca hospital and died three weeks later. The murder trial was lengthy and resulted in a conviction, but the Nevada Supreme Court overturned the decision in 1915. Whether the convicted man – George Fronhofer – or someone else shot Laux remains unknown. Laux was not exactly a model citizen himself: he questionably overstaked other claims earlier, had been involved with several claim-related lawsuits, and was hated by most of the people in the small town (Chapter 3).

LAWSUITS

The Kennedy-area residents were not at all shy about suing other people. They filed fifty-eight lawsuits related to various grievances from 1893 through 1924, and the Rileyville people in French Boy Canyon had a few more lawsuits in the late 1920s and 1930s. Most of the legal actions were civil lawsuits that involved non-payment of loans, wages, or other debts. A few others centered on assaults, defamation of character (such as the one filed by Harry Cox), claim ownership, and divorce, and several were based on ranching in Pleasant Valley. A few started out as hearings in front of the Kennedy justice of the peace, and almost all of them that were not settled out of court eventually were tried in the district court in Winnemucca or, after 1919, in Lovelock. Various attorneys from those two towns served as the lawyers for the two sides. In the few cases where companies were being sued, their lawyers, commonly from San Francisco, made the trip to Winnemucca to defend their clients. One mining-related lawsuit was filed and tried in Reno, and Ida Kennedy sued for divorce from Charley in Reno. Surprisingly, disputes over claim ownership generated only four known lawsuits. None of them were in the peak years of the early 1890s, although disputes undoubtedly did arise. As noted earlier, the district claim books and the local justice of the peace probably resolved any potential litigation. In essence, Kennedy policed itself when it came to claims.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the multiple failures of milling and mining companies led to the greatest number of lawsuits. The largest and probably most complex case arose in early 1895 after James Wardner left Kennedy without paying what he owed on the Imperial mill and mine. John Benton, Charley Kennedy, and Walter Wilkinson, who were the original owners of the properties and had a contract with Wardner, sued and eventually won back the properties (Chapter 3). Wardner left behind a mountain of debt and unpaid wages, thanks in large part to him issuing promissory notes that, in theory, would be paid when the mill began to churn out bullion. It never did. At least three mine and mill workers sued the company for unpaid wages,

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

and the E. Reinhart & Co. merchants sued for the more than ten thousand dollars that they had loaned to Wardner. Alex Wise, who had "sold" the mill to Wardner in return for promissory notes, probably would have sued had he not died of a heart attack when the mill failed and left him with a serious debt of his own. George Nixon, both personally and through his First National Bank of Winnemucca, held the greatest amount of debt, and he was one of the directors of Wardner's mining company. Nixon managed to use the bank's assets and the remaining gold in the mill to repay most of the outstanding wages and debts, which undoubtedly thwarted additional lawsuits. The Imperial Gold Mining Company was insolvent even before the mill shut down, so most of the lawsuits were or would have been fruitless anyway.

Similarly, the abrupt departure of the New Era Mining Company in 1896 left a lot of unpaid mine and mill workers. Several of them sued, and all of them apparently were paid, or at least the cases did not go to trial. A couple of mine workers sued the new owners of the Imperial mill in 1904 for unpaid wages, but those owners paid the wages after being sued. The Gold Note mining company managed to induce lawsuits both before and after it started the mill in the early 1910s. Four early lawsuits were for unpaid wages, largely because Paul Klopstock, the company president, tried to use promissory notes that had no financial backing, and the workers wanted cash, not notes. Indeed, disputes over promissory notes likely contributed to Peter Laux's 1912 murder. When Klopstock left abruptly in 1913, he even failed to pay his mill superintendent, Roy Brown, who filed a lawsuit. The company by that time no longer existed, so the court awarded Brown the mill and equipment, the value of which exceeded the unpaid wages. Bill Zuick filed a mill-related lawsuit in 1920 against the Roylance Reduction Company, which owned the old Jenkins mill. He actually filed it on behalf of Eugene Foster's estate, the Reinharts, Busch Manufacturing Company, and himself. The company was barely functional by that point, but Zuick and the others prevailed and appeared to have been paid.

Cash flow was a problem for some of the smaller mine owners. The closure of the two mills by early 1895 cut off their ability to process ore, which led to at least three lawsuits by mine workers over unpaid wages. A decade later, Charlie George worked sporadically at Joe Alexander's Young America mine from late 1905 into the spring of 1906. He sued to get paid for labor and materials, but Alexander had left town for Nye County and never responded to the lawsuit. John Benton and Charley Kennedy were forced to sue Peter Laux and Charlie Daniels in 1907 over ownership of the former Hidden Treasure mine, a case that Benton and Kennedy finally won the next year, the same day that Benton died (Chapter 3). Kennedy also went through the lawsuit with Harry Cox, as described earlier, and Cox himself was involved in at least two other lawsuits.

Grace Blossom Duffy, the daughter of J.A. and Elvira Blossom, and her new husband Dennis Duffy sued the other members of the Blossom family in late 1903. She, along with the family, were the trustees of the extensive holdings of the Blossom & Blossom company, which included the Gold Note mine and other properties in Kennedy (Chapter 3). Grace wanted the cash value of her share of the company's holdings, and she demanded that all of the company's holdings be sold to allow her to receive her money. The sale of the properties would have affected the ongoing lease on the Gold Note mine, and the owners put their work on hold after she filed her lawsuit, never to resume. The suit lingered in 1906, at which point the defendants

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

responded that suing the individuals was pointless because the company, not the trustees (which included Grace), owned the properties. Grace and Dennis dropped the lawsuit in June 1907.

Dora Roberts, who ran a boarding house in Kennedy, sued the Spencer mining company in August 1904 because their mill manager, D.M. Tomblin, failed to repay a loan of nearly two thousand dollars (Chapter 3). The reason for the loan never was stated, but Tomblin died shortly after getting the money. Roberts actually lost the case because the company argued successfully that Tomblin had arranged the loan as a private person, not as a company representative, so the company was not liable. Tomblin obviously was not in a position to defend himself at the trial or repay the loan.

A few cases centered on the town itself. The Kennedy Land & Improvement Company sued two residents because they did not buy a deed to their property. The two men had established their holdings long before the company became a reality, and they both successfully argued that they were there first and did not have to pay for the lots because the townsite was created later. Despite the overlap of the townsite and several mining claims, only one conflict arose over land use. Jake Leick had staked several claims that covered parts of the townsite in the early 1900s, and he and Charley and Ida Kennedy had bought the actual townsite from the state in 1907. Leick felt that his claims had precedence over the townsite land, which included the Kennedy's house, so he sued in 1917 to be able to develop his claims, regardless of its impact on the Kennedy's property. The court finally ruled in the Kennedy's favor in 1922, saying that the townsite originally was state land, which by definition had precedence over claim staking and mining.

Other town-related lawsuits focused on loans made to land owners to build houses or other buildings. Charles McClain, a contractor and carpenter (Fig. 4-6), built houses for three residents in 1894. They did not pay him the full costs, and he had a lien put on all three buildings. One owner paid up, but the other two did not; the county seized and sold the buildings and gave the money to McLain. Similarly, B.J. Hungenberg acquired supplies from E. Reinhart & Co. to build and supply his combined house and barber shop, as well as the adjoining restaurant building. Hungenberg only paid back a third of the cost, so the Reinharts sued and filed a lien on the properties. He must have paid the remaining debt because he retained the land and buildings into the early 1900s.

Smaller business cases between individuals also came before a judge. In 1894, Charles Boskowitz, a salesman for a liquor wholesaler in San Francisco, supplied G.B. Paoletti and Chris Malatesta with the liquor and glassware for their Imperial Saloon in Kennedy. After not getting paid, both Boskowitz and the wholesaler filed separate lawsuits in the fall of 1894 to recover more than a thousand dollars owed to them. At about the same time, E. Reinhart & Co., which had loaned more than six hundred dollars (or provided the equivalent in goods) to Paoletti and Malatesta for the saloon, also sued the two men. The court ruled on all of the cases on the same day, siding with the plaintiffs and ordering the sale of the saloon and its contents to cover the unpaid balances plus legal fees. Boskowitz bought the saloon at the November auction, kept it open, and put Malatesta in charge. Paoletti, both before and after his time in Kennedy, was sued over similar saloon-related issues in Winnemucca, so he appears to have been the problem, not Malatesta. In another saloon-related lawsuit, Charlie Kyle sued Thomas Powell for unpaid rent

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

on Kyle's saloon in 1896 (Fig. 4-8). The hearing for the case went before Kennedy justice of the peace John Chenoweth, but Powell never showed up. Chenoweth attached the saloon, and constable Peter Dory inventoried its contents. The full trial moved up to Winnemucca, and Chenoweth took the depositions of quite a few Kennedy residents regarding Powell and the saloon. To a person, everyone said that Powell had a bad reputation for "truth and veracity." Kyle won the lawsuit and regained his saloon.

Many of the remaining lawsuits centered on ranching and divorces in Pleasant Valley, in one case involving both. The ranch-related lawsuits ranged from complaints about the sheep of one rancher grazing on the land of a neighboring ranch to simply quieting title to land. The dual-track lawsuit took place in 1906 when Lena Leick sued Jake Leick for divorce, citing cruel and inhuman behavior. The Leicks had owned the Golconda ranch until 1902 and still owned ranching land in Humboldt County and Idaho. The details in the lawsuit were fairly lurid, but they were consistent with Jake Leick's rough temperament. The court granted Lena the divorce and forced Jake to buy her share of the lands and pay her within two years. Two other divorce suits appeared before the district court. The one between Ethel and Elmer Salinas was similar to the Leicks' case, with Elmer being abusive and cruel to her and their children and Ethel being allowed to divorce Elmer. The other case was a bit more civil. Patrick Riley, who had discovered the first good veins in French Boy Canyon and was the namesake for the small town of Rileyville, was a "habitual drunkard," in his own words. He finally realized that he was ruining the lives of his wife Elsie and their daughter Dorothy, so he told Elsie to divorce him. She sued for divorce, and she was awarded money and their house. Patrick left the area and never returned (Chapter 7).

THE KENNEDY ECONOMY

The reasons why people went to Kennedy probably were as diverse as the people who were there. Finding a job and earning some money, especially during the financial depressions of the 1890s and 1930s, was foremost on the list. Kennedy's primary industry was mining, and the skilled miners and engineers moved from district to district, stayed for variable amounts of time, and then went to the next district. Many of the men in Kennedy were itinerant workers who went wherever they could find a job, be it just up the hill to Kennedy from one of the ranches or from a different state. Some of these people were the younger men in the region who were striking out on their own for the first time. Quite a few people already had a job or farm in the region, and Kennedy was an opportunity to make additional money or, even better, strike it rich. For the most part, that plan did not work out, and they went back home after a few months. A few, such as Reese River Valley rancher Mark Wiggins, were successful and never left.

For some people, Kennedy presented an opportunity to expand their businesses. The Reinhart brothers of Winnemucca opened a branch store to take advantage of the captive clientele, and they and the freight and stage owners undoubtedly made more money than did most of the miners. Some fairly wealthy people, such as J.A. Blossom and William Jenkins of

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

Battle Mountain, expanded their already successful business empires into Kennedy, some successfully and some not so much. George Nixon, the owner of the First National Bank of Winnemucca, invested in various Kennedy ventures and loaned money to miners and store owners. Unfortunately, he nearly lost everything because of his bank's support of James Wardner in 1894.

The lively business community in and related to Kennedy needed a lot of workers, as did the nearby ranches to a lesser degree. Some people owned their own mine, store, or mill, and the rest were full-time to temporary employees. Still, even in the boom year of 1894, only so many jobs were available. Many people went to Kennedy in the middle of that year, and the newspapers noted several times that the mining camp had more people than there were jobs. Some of those men found temporary work digging ditches or repairing the road into town, and some just staked claims on the periphery of the district just to have a stake in the activity. Of course, everyone expected the camp's growth – and the number of jobs – to continue at a rapid pace, but the sudden collapse at the end of 1894 left many gainfully employed men and women without a job and unemployed people in worse shape. For the most part, they left town and went elsewhere in search of a living. The later but smaller resurgences in mining in the 1900s, 1910s, and 1930s again provided jobs, but nothing on the scale of what was available in 1894.

OCCUPATIONS

Various records and newspaper articles mentioned more than seventy occupations related to the Kennedy district and nearby ranches over the years. Those occupations fell into six broad categories: mines and mills, commerce, legal and civic, medical, community, and ranching (Table 4-7). The majority of the occupations, such as being a miner or teamster, required little education, and most people had gone to school through the eighth grade. Many of the men in Kennedy, especially those in the 1890s and early 1900s, grew up in families where the father did manual labor and the mother kept house, raised the children, and, in the case of farm families, also did quite a bit of manual work. As adults, the men also earned their livings by manual trades of some type. When they arrived in Kennedy, mining, hauling freight, cutting wood, and other similar jobs were a normal part of life for most of the people. Some jobs, such as being a bookkeeper or managing a mill or store, required some specialized experience, if not formal education. Not uncommonly, the people who ran stores in Kennedy, such as Charles McIntosh, had fathers who also had a store of some type in their home town, so they learned how to manage a business earlier in life. The higher-skill engineers, doctors, and lawyers had attended college or received professional training. On the basis of earlier census records, many of these people had fathers who also were well educated or were more than just laborers. Some people were versatile and enterprising enough to hold a variety of jobs over their lives. Charlie Kyle started as a livery owner in Unionville, was elected to be the county assessor and then county sheriff, started a hot-springs resort in Buena Vista Valley, and then owned and ran a saloon in Kennedy.

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

Table 4-7. Occupations mentioned for the Kennedy district and ranches

Mines & mills	Assayer, claim/mine owner, engineer (chemical, electrical, mechanical, mining), geologist, investor, mechanic, metallurgist, mill owner, mill superintendent, mill worker, mine watchman, miner, surveyor.
Commerce	Resident: barber, bartender, blacksmith, bookkeeper, building contractor, butcher, carpenter, cook, driver (auto), farrier, teamster/freight, gambler, hotel owner, insurance agent, laborer, land sales agent, laundry, livery owner, newspaper editor and assistant, painter, restaurant owner, saloon owner, stage driver and owner, store clerk, store manager, waiter, waitress, Wells Fargo officer, wood cutter, Non-resident: accountant, air beacon maintenance, banker, merchandise supplier, traveling salesman. Not mentioned but likely present: prostitute.
Medical	Local: midwife; Non-resident: doctor, dentist, undertaker.
Legal, civic	Local: constable, justice of the peace, notary public, claims recorder, postmaster, voting officers. County: assessor, sheriff, deputy sheriff, coroner, judge, treasurer, commissioner; Other: lawyer, politician.
Community	Home owner, housewife, child, teacher; minister (non-resident).
Ranching	Farm/ranch owner, horse breeder, blacksmith, carpenter, ranch hand, sheepherder, horse buyer, fur trader.

Workers in mining and milling ranged from well-educated specialists (chemical engineer, metallurgist, geologist, surveyor) to miners whose only qualifications were the willingness and fortitude to put in long, hard days working underground or in a noisy, dusty mill. Most of the mine owners were miners as well, but they had the good fortune of finding the vein and developing it into a mine. Investors fell into this mining and milling category as well: they were the men who had the money to invest in the mines and mills. Most of the investors entered the picture in the Twentieth Century and lived in San Francisco or on the East Coast. They had made large amounts of money in other ventures, and Kennedy was just another entry in their portfolios.

The commerce category included anyone who owned or was involved with one of the many businesses or trades. Most of them lived in Kennedy, but others, such as suppliers, bankers, and traveling salesmen, lived in Winnemucca or other towns and as far away as San Francisco. Those people spent quite a bit of time peddling their wares in Kennedy or, in the case of the bankers, checking on the progress of the businessmen or miners to whom they had loaned money. Many of the store owners worked alone or, at best, had one assistant. Saloons employed bartenders, and restaurants had cooks and waiters. At least three of the local ranchers supplied produce, meat, and hay to Kennedy residents and businesses, and Patrick Sweeney even opened a butcher shop where he sold the meat that he raised and butchered on his ranch.

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

Freighters included the owners and employees of established companies, like Alex Wise's Fashion Livery and George Summerfield's Winnemucca Stables, but anyone with a team and a wagon could use them to earn money in Kennedy. Several men spent all of their time cutting wood in the higher parts of the mountains to supply both the mills and the many wood-burning stoves in the houses and businesses. As described earlier, prostitutes were not mentioned, although some almost certainly were there.

Kennedy had two elected positions in the 1890s: constable and justice of the peace. From 1900 onward, people had to rely on the counties for these services. Charley Kennedy was the postmaster for the lifetime of the post office, and John Chenoweth served a term as justice of the peace while also providing a notary public service for legal documents in the 1890s. The rest of the legal system came from Winnemucca and, after the county split in 1919, Lovelock, in the form of the sheriff and assessor; of the various county officials, they had the most regular contact with Kennedy. Lawyers in Winnemucca, Lovelock, and elsewhere provided legal services, and some even advertised in the *Nevada New Era* in 1894. Although not technically an occupation, men from Kennedy and Pleasant Valley did their civic duty and served on juries and acted as election officials for Humboldt and later Pershing Counties.

The medical and community categories each had small numbers of occupations. The only medical people in Kennedy were Ida Kennedy and Christine Hillyer, who were midwives; they were the wives of two local miners and mothers in their own rights. All of the larger towns had physicians who made regular trips to Kennedy to treat patients, and traveling dentists set up shop in Kennedy on occasion. The community category included teachers at the Kennedy and Bushee schools, the occasional minister who arrived to perform a marriage, and housewives (who had full-time jobs in that regard) and their children. Some people owned a house but had no other apparent occupation. They likely did something to earn a living, but their presence is known only through deed and tax records.

In terms of occupations, each ranch had an owner, and he or she employed zero to many ranch hands to do the wide variety of jobs related to a ranch (Chapter 6). On the basis of Will Pearce's journal, a rancher and a ranch hand could herd, brand, and butcher cattle, sheep, and horses, plant and harvest crops, cut hay, deal with ditches to water everything, fix equipment, cut and haul wood, or do any number of small jobs. Pearce's daughters commonly herded the livestock and helped with other chores. Pearce and his wife Jessie also offered lodging and meals for travelers, and Pearce provided blacksmith services for anyone who needed it. Many of the workers were seasonal, such as during haying or branding seasons, and they came from as near as the next ranch to as far as eastern Nevada and even Idaho. The ranchers occasionally would sell hides or coyote pelts to fur buyers who came through periodically. During the lean times in Kennedy, some of the few remaining men in Kennedy went down to the ranches to do whatever work was needed to earn some money. One rancher – Clark Ringling – raised and sold champion Morgan horses for several decades. During the Depression in the 1930s when few people were buying expensive horses, he did the opposite of the Kennedy miners: he reopened a mine in Kennedy and hired several workers to help produce ore.

MONEY AND COMMERCE

Almost everyone who was in Kennedy was there to make some money or was married to or the child of someone who had a job. The business owners sold merchandise, mining equipment, beer, meals, and a place to sleep. Freighters and state owners carried goods and people. Men who had good claims sold parts or all of them to other miners, and men worked in mines and the mills for wages. The ranchers sold meat, hay, and produce to the Kennedy residents. Even the visiting doctors and dentists earned a fee for their services.

The other side of the equation was that people paid for those goods and services, which meant that they had money to do so. Nothing was free, and even goods bought on credit had to be paid for eventually. The wide range of occupations in Kennedy and at the ranches reflected gainful employment that translated into money (Table 4-7). How much money is not known, but it was enough to support a strong business community in at least 1894. Conversely, far less money was circulating during the periodic mining collapses, such as from 1896 into 1900, and that led to the disappearance of many of the businesses.

Some people arrived with money. Certainly, J.A. Blossom, the Huntsmans, William Jenkins, and the Reinharts had enough money to buy claims, build a mill, or erect and stock store buildings. For them, Kennedy was an expansion of an existing business or collection of businesses. Some of the early miners also arrived with a wad of cash in their pockets. William Wilkinson staked claims soon after the district started, but he also bought two claims for a total of \$1,000, which today would be worth about \$25,000. Where he got the money is a mystery, but he had it.

Claims were a commodity, and they were sold, bought, and traded. Claim and mine owners recorded seventy-five deeds for the sale of a part or all of a claim from the start of the district into June 1894, and many more claims changed hands through the rest of the year. Prices ranged from a dollar to a thousand dollars, and the better claims and mines showed up in the deed records multiple times. Some of the deeds might have been actual sales, with real money changing hands, but many of them were in exchange for part of another claim or shared labor. For example, Ed Stone and Mark Wiggins needed help with their mine in 1892, so they enlisted the help of two other men in return for a share of the claim. William Jenkins acquired parts of numerous claims in 1894. Some of those might have been planned purchases to provide ore for his mill, but Jenkins also could have taken a share of a claim in exchange for processing the ore at his mill.

The owners of some of the mines, and certainly the two main mills, hired other men to help out with the work. Newspapers and lawsuits reported that miners typically earned three dollars a day and the mill workers earned from \$3 to \$3.50 a day, depending on their position. Assuming that the miners worked six days a week, with possibly Sunday off, they earned about \$81 a month. How many men worked for wages is not known for certain, but the general statements in the newspapers indicated that more than a hundred miners worked for someone else in the summer and fall of 1894. Thus, 120 men could have earned close to \$10,000 a month (about \$270,000 today). Some of that money likely went back to the families of some of the men, but much of it stayed in Kennedy and was spent on food, supplies, drinks at the saloons, and possibly room and board at a boarding house.

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

The mine owners, be they a one-man operation or someone who hired a few workers, did not earn a wage, but they certainly benefitted from any profits made after paying for any processing and shipping costs. Charley Kennedy occasionally hired someone to help with mining, but he did much of the work by himself or with his step-father John Benton before Benton's 1908 death. In October 1891, the two men netted \$2,250 from one shipment of ore after deducting the shipping and processing charges. The Gold Note mine owners shipped quite a bit of ore in 1894 that averaged about \$150 per ton, and the *Silver State* commented that they earned "a handsome margin after paying the expense of transportation and milling." Other one- and two-man operations in the early 1890s generated similar earnings. As described in Chapter 2, Paul Klopstock estimated that the Kennedy district produced about \$275,000 in gold and silver from 1891 to 1896 (Klopstock, 1913), and the net return after paying for shipping and processing may have been around \$205,000 (about \$5.1 million today). That money went to pay for mine development, mining supplies, wages if men had been hired at the mines, support of families back home, and living expenses.

The merchants in Kennedy and the freighters benefitted directly from that mining-related income. The business owners that sold the food, supplies, and liquor obtained it from suppliers in the surrounding larger towns, such as Winnemucca, Lovelock, and Battle Mountain, as well as the nearby ranches who provided meat and produce. Some of them also hired people to work at their businesses, such as the cooks, bartenders, and store clerks mentioned in advertisements and other documents. Several men were painters and wallpaper hangers; they got their paint and wallpaper from elsewhere and were paid by the store or home owner who had hired them. Traveling salesman – liquor and cigar "drummers" – represented wholesalers in San Francisco and elsewhere, and Charles McIntosh's store ledger showed that he ordered some of his goods from Reno and California, so some of the money went well beyond Humboldt County. Except for goods produced in the immediate region, everything arrived in the larger towns on the Central Pacific Railroad, and that provided jobs for men at the railroad depots in Winnemucca, Lovelock, and Battle Mountain. The Kennedy merchants then paid freighters to haul all of those goods to Kennedy, and the mine owners hired the same freighters to haul ore to the depots on the return trips. All of the heavy machinery for the Jenkins and Imperial mills came by wagon. A correspondent to the *Nevada State Journal* wrote in late 1894 that the cost of hauling freight was twelve dollars a ton, and even a package on the stage cost sixty cents. As a result, the earnings from the gold and silver produced from a mine could travel through several hands and generate income along its path.

The prices listed in Charles McIntosh's store ledger also indicate how much people paid for various items at his store. In many cases, the more locally produced goods – milk, meat, apples – were cheaper than items that came from farther away, such as coffee. A miner earned three dollars a day, so an item can be compared with how much labor was required to buy it. A simple meal at one of the restaurants was reasonable at sixty cents. A pound of cheese was half a day's wages, a sack of potatoes required more than a day's work, and the cost of a doctor's visit took about two days of work. Getting to Kennedy on the stage and then back to Winnemucca was five dollars each way and required more than three days of labor. McIntosh had to keep prices reasonable, but the prices that he did charge indicated how much people were willing and able to pay for various items. He did not offer luxuries except in the cases of

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

special orders (a violin, for example), so what he sold was what people wanted to buy. McIntosh also used his store income to support himself and thus other businesses: his ledger includes entries for haircuts (twenty-five cents), laundry (\$1.50 a month), postage stamps, and newspaper subscriptions (\$16.45 for the *San Francisco Chronicle*).

Credit was a part of the economy. McIntosh's ledger showed several entries for credit, as well as one payment in gold dust. The 1896 inventory of the Arcade saloon included five hundred bar chips, which likely were tokens common at many saloons and used as credit (Holabird, 2008). The Reinharts provided at least Ed Williams and B.J. Hungenberg with building supplies for their stores, and the properties were used as collateral. James Wardner in 1894 and Paul Klopstock and Leon St. D. Roylance in the 1910s used promissory notes as payment for equipment and labor. The notes were drawn on their respective companies, and they supposedly would be payable in cash when the mill began producing gold and silver. Unfortunately, the mills did not work as planned, so the notes essentially were worthless. Peter Laux refused to take more notes from Klopstock and demanded cash in late 1911 because he could not convert them into cash, and George Nixon's First National Bank almost went bankrupt in late 1894 because it had loaned tens of thousands of dollars to Wardner in exchange for Imperial Mining Company notes.

Arriving at anything close to an accurate estimate of the cash flow in Kennedy is impossible. Empirically, however, the robust collection of businesses, the wages earned, and the cash that came directly from the gold and silver all indicate that the collective people were earning a goodly amount of money in at least 1894. Much of that money was spent in Kennedy, and it flowed out into the broader economy, supporting families, freighters, and suppliers in the larger towns. It allowed a mercantile business like E. Reinhart & Co. to expand its business. For a cook or small-time freighter, his Kennedy-related job was his entire business. Thus, although Kennedy was not a large district, the money that flowed from the mines filtered through the local and county economies. With ranching and the railroad struggling in the midst of the Panic of 1893 (Glass, 1969), and with little other mining activity in the region, Kennedy was a rare source of new jobs and income for Humboldt County and nearby areas.

CORPORATIONS AND COMPANIES

Funding for mining and mill operations in the Kennedy district came from a variety of sources. Individuals and partners financed the smaller operations. They started with one to a few claims, produced some ore that provided initial income, and then used that money to pay for continued operations. Some mines, such as the early stages of the Gold Note and Imperial mines, generated enough money to allow the mine owners to form a partnership and hire other men to help with the mining. The few people who already had a successful business – J.A. Blossom, William Jenkins, and the Huntsman family of Battle Mountain, as examples – expanded into Kennedy as a way to diversify their portfolios. George Nixon, head of the First National Bank of Winnemucca, provided funding for several major projects in anticipation of ample rewards when the district and town boomed.

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

Larger projects, such as a large mine or a mill, required more money, especially up front to start operations, and numerous companies and corporations chose to put their money into Kennedy mining and milling ventures over the decades (Table 4-8). Some groups of people set up a company or corporation to specifically handle their Kennedy project. The corporations typically bought or leased claims and mines that others had found and developed, or built new mills or remodeled existing ones. A few corporations did both to ensure a steady source of ore to their mill. The goal of the early miners was to earn money for themselves, but the goal of a corporation was to generate money for its stockholders or, in the case of privately held companies, the owners. Those people had little personal interest in Kennedy beyond the return on their investment.

Individuals or small groups of people paid for most of the mining operations in Kennedy in the 1890s. William Jenkins, a successful sheep rancher from Battle Mountain, built the first mill out of his own pocket. Only two incorporated companies – the Imperial Gold Mining Company in 1894 and the New Era Mine and Milling Company in 1895 and 1896 – had a significant presence in the district during the first decade. A third company was established to sell land in the newly created townsite. In contrast, corporations financed most of the major mining in both Kennedy and French Boy Canyon after 1900. Individuals still staked and mined their own claims, especially in the Depression days of the 1930s, but their contributions to the total metal output of the mines and mills were much smaller than those of the corporations. After about 1920, metal production from the main part of the district as a whole never was very large, regardless of who owned the properties. The people and corporations in French Boy Canyon had better success in the late 1920s and early 1930s, but their endeavors were fairly short lived.

CHAPTER 4 – THE TOWN OF KENNEDY

Table 4-8. Corporations and Companies

Company	Years	Purpose
Shamrock Mining Company	1892-1895	Mining
W.T. Jenkins/W.T. Jenkins & Co.	1893-1928	Milling
Imperial Gold Mining Company	1894-1895	Milling, mining
Kennedy Land & Improvement Company	1894-1898	Land sales
E. Reinhart & Co.	1894-1896	Merchant
New Era Mine & Milling Company	1895-1896	Milling
Blossom & Blossom Company	1900-1920s	Various
Spencer (Keora) Mining Company	1902-1905	Milling, mining
Winnemucca Gold Mining Company	1903-1905	Milling, mining
Golconda Consolidated/Silverfields Mining Co.	1906-1919	Smelter, mining
Humboldt Wonder Company	1907	Mining
Nevada Eastern Mining Company	1907	Mining
Humboldt-Nevada Mining Co.	1909-1910	Mining
Gold Note Mining & Milling Company	1911-1913	Milling, mining
Roylance Reduction Company	1914-1919	Milling, mining
Jayansee Mining Company	1918-1941	Milling, mining
United Metals Mining Company	1928	Milling, mining
Forvilly Metals Corporation	1929	Mining
Senator Mining Company	Mid 1930s	Mining
Hygrade Mining Company	1937	Mining
Edward R. Bacon & Co./Tarantula Mining Co.	1937-1943	Milling, mining
Mutual Ventures Syndicate	1940-1957	Mining
East Humboldt Mines Company	1946-1949	Mining

Chapter 5



THE PEOPLE AND LIFE IN KENNEDY

People make a community, and the history of any town or mining camp is the story about the men, women, and children who lived there. Cinnabar Canyon was deserted when Charley Kennedy found his first veins in 1891. Three years later, more than five hundred people lived in or near the canyon, and a thriving town had arisen from the sagebrush and junipers. The 1890s were, by far, the boom period for Kennedy, and progressively smaller surges took place in the 1900s and 1910s and from 1930 into the early 1940s. The population and the individual people fluctuated along with the cyclic mining activities (Figs. 5-1A, B). In all, more than twelve hundred people were associated with the mining district from 1891 through World War II. Some people were there for a few weeks to months, and some people, such as Charley Kennedy and Jake Leick, remained for fifty years. The blend of people who lived, worked, and ranched in and near Kennedy gave this remote part of northern Nevada its personality over the years and decades. Mining obviously was the main attraction for most of the people, but many people also contributed to the community as suppliers, teachers, storekeepers, financiers, family members, and ranchers.

The following sections provide an overview of the demographics of the people who lived in or were associated with Kennedy. Robust to adequate information could be found on many people and little to no information on others. Data came from a wide variety of sources, some of which were better and more reliable than others. Census records were invaluable, but the lack of an 1890 census database – which burned in a fire in Washington, D.C. – limited searches for people before they went to Kennedy in the 1890s. However, other sources of information filled that gap for many people. As described later, some people seemingly appeared from nowhere and then similarly left for parts unknown. Overall, the resulting database used for the following summaries is imperfect but provides an adequate picture of the types of people who were in Kennedy.

PEOPLE IN THE 1890S

Far more people were in Kennedy in the 1890s than at any other time in the district's history. The first discoveries were made, Kennedy became a well-known mining camp, and people arrived from many locations to try their luck. Later periods attracted other people and generated some attention, but the 1890s had the biggest impact on the largest number of people.

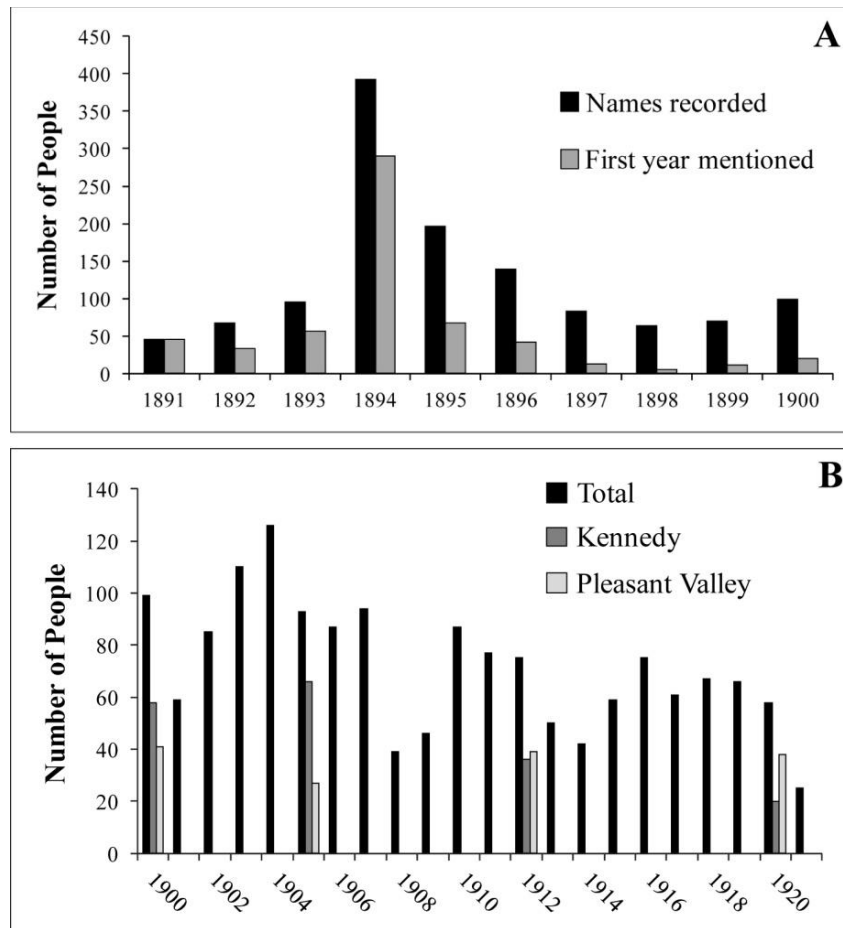


Figure 5-1. Population in the main part of the Kennedy district and Pleasant Valley. (A) Population in the 1890s. Newspaper articles reported five hundred or more people in Kennedy in 1894, but the chart includes only the names that appeared in legal documents, newspaper articles, and other sources of information. (B) Total population of the same area from 1900 through 1920, as named in documents or other accounts. The populations of only Kennedy and Pleasant Valley are shown in lighter gray bars for four years (1900, 1905, 1912, and 1920) to show the changing percentage of people in each group over time. The population from 1921 through 1941 is not shown because of poor records and few newspaper articles for many years; many people had automobiles, worked in Kennedy, but lived elsewhere. See Chapter 7 for a discussion of the people in Rileyville.

AGES

Census records, obituaries, death records, tombstones, and other sources provided the birth dates of 441 people from the 1890s. Because people came and went through the 1890s, the age of each person in 1894, by far the peak year for Kennedy's population, was calculated to allow a comparison. Six children were born in or after that year. Thirty-four people were less than one to eighteen years old, and the oldest person, John Leick, was seventy-four years old. All of the

adults and children combined had an average age of thirty-seven years, and the 401 adults who were nineteen years and older had an average age of forty years (Fig. 5-2).

The life expectancy for a male born in 1900 was forty-eight years, and that number was less for men born in the mid to late 1800s (Pope, 1992; Shrestha, 2006). Many people born in the 1800s died in infancy or childhood, which skewed the average lifespan downward. Charley Kennedy's parents had four children, but only two of them – Charley and his sister Carrie – lived to see their tenth birthday. Thus, if someone survived through childhood, then his or her expected lifespan was higher. For example, a man born in 1860 could expect to live another forty-three years when he turned twenty, for a lifespan of sixty-three years (Pope, 1992), well above the "average" expected lifespan for someone born in 1860.

In Kennedy, 147 of the 401 adults were at least forty-five years old in 1894, and most of them were men. The main occupation in Kennedy was manual labor, be it mining, carpentry, freighting, or digging a trench for a water ditch – jobs that normally might be considered to be the domain of younger men. Yet, some of the most active and successful miners, such as Mark Wiggins, Charlie Kyle, and John Benton, were in their fifties to early sixties in 1894. Wiggins died at the age of sixty-five in 1898, Kyle at age sixty-one in 1901, and Benton at age seventy-two in 1908. Kyle's younger brother Cephas, a rancher and Kennedy miner, was sixty-four when he died in 1909.

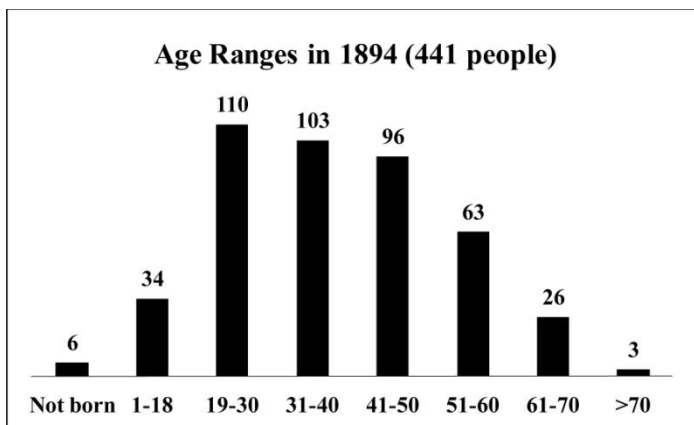


Figure 5-2. Age distribution of people in Kennedy in the 1890s. Chart shows the ages of people in 1894, as described in the text.

POPULATION

The population in Cinnabar Canyon started with one person in June 1891, and it reportedly peaked at more than five hundred people in the fall of 1894. For the first two or three years, almost all of the residents were miners, prospectors, or nearby ranchers, so the names that appeared in legal documents and newspaper accounts represented most of the people who were there (Fig. 5-1A). Ranchers from Pleasant Valley are included in the totals because the mining camp and ranches in essence were one large, interactive community. Many of the ranchers had claims or businesses in Kennedy at some point during the 1890s, and some of their children attended the Kennedy school. Of course, additional unrecorded men might have been there in the first three years, such as miners or laborers hired to work for mine owners, but

CHAPTER 5 – PEOPLE AND LIFE IN KENNEDY

other evidence suggests that most of the early miners did not have enough money to hire other men and did the work themselves.

Several newspaper articles estimated the population at five hundred or more people in the boom year of 1894. Only 392 names were recorded in various documents and newspapers for that year, but 290 of them had not been mentioned before and thus were new arrivals (Fig. 5-1A). Some of the early miners, once they staked their claim and started mining, commonly did not do anything that warranted later legal records or newspaper mentions, even though they still were in Kennedy: they were there but not part of the "recorded" total. In addition, the *Silver State*, *Nevada New Era*, and *Central Nevadan* newspapers routinely mentioned the hiring of a dozen or twenty men to dig a ditch or to help work in the mines ("a force of men"), or the arrival or presence of unnamed people in search of work. Some of those men may have been mentioned by name in other accounts, but only if they owned a claim or property, voted, or did something noteworthy. The majority of them probably remained anonymous in the records. Additional people undoubtedly went to Kennedy and never were mentioned even anonymously, as discussed later.

Also missing from the totals were the names of some of the women and many of the children. As described in the next section, there were far fewer women than men in Kennedy, but husbands, not wives, tended to own property and thus appear in the deed or claim records. Nearly half of the men were married, but how many of their wives and families joined the men in Kennedy is, for the most part, unknown. Mark Wiggins was a mainstay of Kennedy from the start; his wife and children remained at their ranch near Austin, and he presumably went home periodically to see them. The *Silver State* occasionally would report the arrival in Winnemucca of a couple ("Mr. and Mrs. P. Sweeney") or just a wife ("Mrs. Cal Mathews") from Kennedy, indicating that the wife lived in Kennedy, but more wives and children must have been in Kennedy. Even with the small population in the fall of 1893, the townspeople and nearby ranchers hired a teacher, began to build a school house, and had fifteen children attending school in the spring of 1894. The number of student-aged children grew in the fall when the town's population peaked.

The population generally declined from 1895 through 1899 after the failure of the mills and little or no prospects of a job (Fig. 5-1A). Few people went to Kennedy seeking employment. The names that appeared in records and newspapers each year were a mixture of people who remained and those who split time between Kennedy and another place but still owned a claim or property in Cinnabar Canyon. New names did appear over these years, but in steadily declining numbers (Fig. 5-1A). Some of them were people who probably had been there in 1894 but were not recorded, and some people were related to the New Era Gold Mining Company's attempt to reopen the Imperial mill in 1895 and 1896. People continued to own claims and property, but many businesses closed for lack of customers and the town and district were mentioned less and less in the newspapers as the years progressed. Some property owners moved to other places, but they still were taxed for their Kennedy property (Chapter 4). The 1900 census for Kennedy precinct (which included the town and the ranches) showed that ninety-nine people, including twenty-nine children, lived in and near Kennedy, with twenty new names. Most of the new people lived on the ranches. A few of them may have been there in

the late 1890s but were not recorded, but various evidence indicates that most of them arrived in 1900 or late 1899.

DEMOGRAPHICS

Like many mining districts of the time, men greatly outnumbered women, but a little more than half of the men and almost all of the women at Kennedy were or had been married. The names of 551 adults appeared in some context from 1891 through 1899. Of those adults, 495 of them were men and fifty-one of them were women (Table 5-1). Of the 421 people – both men and women – for whom marital information could be found, 205 were married when they arrived in Kennedy, 195 were single, and the rest were widows, widowers, or divorced. Some people got married in the 1890s after they first appeared in the Kennedy records, either during or after their time in Kennedy. Of the women, all but eleven were or had been married when they arrived in Kennedy; three of the single women were young teachers, and two young women got married while they were in Kennedy, including one of the teachers. A few of the women appeared as "Mrs." in the records, but a corresponding husband was not mentioned: they could have been widowed, or their husband was there but did not appear in the records. Eliza Brinkman is a good example. She married John Brinkman in Tuscarora in 1893, and they moved to Kennedy in 1894. She was listed as "Mrs." in several records and a widow in the 1900 census, but nothing was mentioned about John or his death in the 1890s. The 183 men who were or had been married (sixteen were widowers and four were divorced) when they arrived slightly outnumbered the 163 single men. The marital status of 114 people, most of them men, is unknown.

Table 5-1. Gender and Marital Status in Kennedy in the 1890s

551 adults: 495 male, 56 female

421 with marital information:

	Single*	Married	Divorced	Widowed	Unknown
Men	184	163	4	16	112
Women	11	42**	0	1	2
Total	195	205	4	17	114

*Single: marital status at time of arrival in Kennedy.

** Some women appeared as "Mrs." but husband was not mentioned in records and may have been dead.

CHAPTER 5 – PEOPLE AND LIFE IN KENNEDY

The census records for 1900 and later years listed race. For the people whose post-Kennedy locations were found, the census records show that almost all of them were white. This is not surprising given that, as described below, most people or their parents or grandparents came from Europe. William Bird, a barber in 1894, was the only known "Black" in Kennedy. The 1910 census listed him as mulatto, and later censuses listed him as Black or Negro. No other Blacks (the term used on the census records) are reliably known to have been in Kennedy. Any that were there either were not mentioned in some context, or they did get mentioned but could not be identified by race due to their uncertain location during the 1900 or later censuses that listed race. The paucity of blacks was consistent with the state as a whole at the time. Elliott (1987) noted that the 1900 census recorded only one hundred and thirty-four blacks in the entire state, only a third of one percent of the total population.

At least four Kennedy people were Paiutes ("Indian" on the census reports and in all newspaper reports): Captain Lazarus, No Savy (or Savvy) Jim, and Indian Jim and his "squaw." Captain Lazarus owned a ranch in Buffalo Valley, east of the Tobin Range, and an 1892 newspaper article mentioned that he had a claim in Kennedy. No Savy Jim and Indian Jim may or may not have been the same person. No Savy Jim was Paiute and lived in the Pleasant Valley and East Range area for decades (McCoy, 1987). He had worked for rancher Moses Bushee, and he had a son named Patrick Henry, who was not mentioned in any Kennedy-related accounts but possibly was there. No Savy Jim staked and then leased an early claim (the No Savy claim) in Kennedy. The Battle Mountain *Central Nevadan* reported in November 1893 that Indian Jim and his "squaw" went to Battle Mountain from Kennedy, and that she was "crazy" and was arrested for annoying the townspeople. About the same time, George Davidson, a miner, was arrested in Kennedy for selling whisky to "Indians" and sentenced to a hundred days in jail. Mabel Pearce McCoy also described a Paiute camp in the canyon near the family ranch and another one near the Miller ranch farther south in the valley, and the narrative suggests that they were there before her father Will Pearce bought the ranch in 1900 (McCoy, 1987).

The Chinese population in Kennedy was small, although the town probably had a few more people of Chinese heritage than those who appeared in various records. Strong anti-Chinese sentiment in Nevada at the time possibly limited their mention in newspapers (Marden, 1993b; Valentine, 1999). Dorothy Hapgood said in her oral history that Kennedy had very few Chinese residents (Hapgood, 1985). A minimum of four and possibly up to eight Chinese men are known to have lived in Kennedy in the 1890s. Identifying and differentiating them by name is difficult due to the "Americanization" of their names, and one to as many as four men could have owned property. The few newspaper articles that mentioned Chinese people in Kennedy simply called them "Chinese men" or something similar. The *Central Nevadan* wrote in the spring of 1894 that "four Chinamen left for Kennedy to try their luck," and that one Chinaman "came in from Kennedy last Monday to have his pretty mug photographed to comply with the law." No Chinese men staked or owned claims in Kennedy, although several Chinese men owned restaurants and property in Kennedy in the 1890s and early 1900s (Chapter 4). An 1896 lawsuit against the New Era Gold Mining Company listed a Charley Chung as one of the mill workers to whom the company owed wages.

Various documents gave hints of other Chinese people. One of the businesses listed on tax and deed records was the "China Wash House." The owners, Cephas Kyle and Henry

Schmidt, were white, but the business name suggests that it was run by Chinese people, similar to businesses in Winnemucca at the same time. The 1894 advertisements in the *Nevada New Era* for the Imperial Restaurant and Mrs. Scott's Restaurant both boasted that only whites were doing the cooking and serving (Fig. 4-9). This clearly racist sentiment probably was aimed one of the two Chinese-run restaurants, which did not advertise in the paper. J.B. Wallace and "a Chinaman" were arrested in Kennedy for smoking opium in March 1895. Later, in February 1903, a Kennedy correspondent to the *Silver State* wrote that "arrangements have been made to open a Chinese restaurant" and that "Kennedy is also to have a Chinese laundry, which will be a God-send." The names of the proprietors, however, were not mentioned in the newspapers or any other records.

BIRTHPLACES AND IMMIGRATION

Of the 443 people for whom a place of birth could be determined, two thirds of them were born in the United States and one third of them were born in other countries (Fig. 5-3). Of the people born in the United States, a quarter of them (106) were born in Nevada and California. Ten or more people were born in each of seven other north-central or northeastern states, and additional people were born in twenty-four other states. In terms of numbers, the vast majority of the people were born in states that were part of the Union during the Civil War, but only a few of the older Kennedy men fought in the war.

The high number of Nevada-born people (sixty-three) is somewhat deceptive (Fig. 5-3A). With an average age of thirty-seven or older in 1894 and the vast majority of them white, someone of that age would have been born in 1857 or before. Nevada's white population was trivial until the discovery of silver along the Comstock Lode in 1859 and in other mining districts in the next few years. As a result, Nevada had very few potential white parents in 1857 and earlier years. The only two Nevada-born people who were born before 1857 were Captain Lazarus and No Savy Jim, Paiutes who were born in about 1840 and 1850, respectively. The oldest white Nevada-born person was George Summerfield, who entered life in 1862 near the new mining camp of Unionville. With the exception of Summerfield and two other people born in the early 1860s, the white native Nevadans all were in their late twenties or younger, born to parents who had come from somewhere else.

About a third of the Kennedy people were born in other countries (Fig. 5-3B). Sixty-six of the immigrants were born in the British Isles, and Canada contributed twenty-five and Germany nineteen people. The remaining immigrants were born in thirteen other countries, all in Europe except for four from China and one from Mexico. Immigration dates from later census records ranged from 1842 to 1892, but the large majority of the people immigrated in the 1860s through the 1880s and then made their ways to Nevada (Fig. 5-3C). The Canadians crossed the border and continued west or took a boat from eastern Canada to San Francisco. From limited records, most of the Europeans arrived in Eastern ports (both American and Canadian) and then went west, although some possibly immigrated through San Francisco, New Orleans, or other common ports of entry at the time.

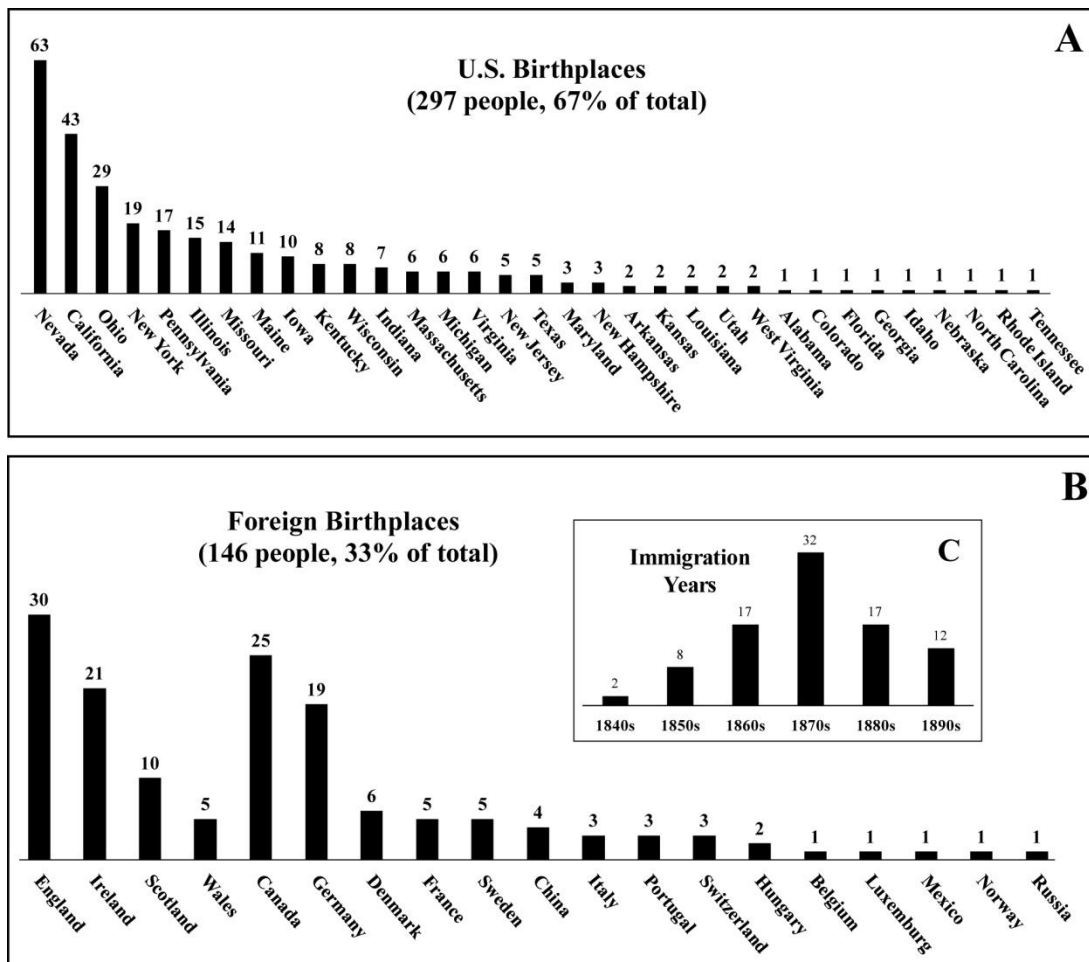


Figure 5-3. Birthplaces and immigration years for people who were in the Kennedy area in the 1890s. The numbers above the bars indicate the total from each state or country. (A) People born in the United States. (B) People born in foreign countries. (C) Known dates of immigration for foreign-born people, taken from 1900 and later census records; some people were not found in those later census records and thus could not be included in the chart.

PRE- AND POST-KENNEDY LOCATIONS

With the exception of a handful of local ranchers who already lived in Pleasant Valley, everyone who was in Kennedy in the 1890s came from someplace else. A few people stayed or died in Kennedy or continued on at the ranches after their time in Kennedy, but everyone else headed off to a different place. Information was found on the pre-Kennedy locations of 422 people and the post-Kennedy locations of 423 people. Although many of the same people populated both lists, each group included people for whom only one location (before or after Kennedy) could be found.

CHAPTER 5 – PEOPLE AND LIFE IN KENNEDY

Prior to going to Kennedy, close to half of the 422 people were in Humboldt County, primarily in Winnemucca but also in Lovelock, Paradise Valley, and various places in the Humboldt Range west of Kennedy (Fig. 5-4A). Lander County, including the mining centers of Austin and Battle Mountain, accounted for another twenty-one percent of those people, and Eureka, Elko, and Churchill Counties were home to another twelve percent. Thus, seventy-six percent of those 422 people who went to Kennedy in the 1890s were living in those five northern Nevada counties. Other Nevada counties accounted for nine percent of the Kennedy people. Thirty-four people came from various places in California, another ten were from other states, and six came almost directly from another county. Some of those people who were in other counties or states actually might have been closer to Kennedy because the most recent location for some of them came from the 1880 census.

Although three quarters of the people were in northern Nevada counties prior to going to Kennedy, the majority of those people were born outside of the state and took various paths before getting to Cinnabar Canyon. Data from various records show that quite a few people went to California first, and many of them were part of the major westward migration related to the Gold Rush. Some were adults, and others were children, some of whom were born along the way: that accounted for the one Nebraska birth and at least one of the two Kansas records (Fig. 5-3A). Charley Kennedy's family is a good example of the westward migration and ensuing California births. His parents, John and Virginia Kennedy, and their young son John, Jr., went west from Illinois by covered wagon in the late 1850s to the placer mines in Yuba County, California. Charley and his older sister Carrie were born next to the Yuba River in 1863 and 1869, respectively. Their brother (and possibly a younger sibling) died and their father left the family, and their mother married John Benton, who had migrated west from Missouri to nearby Grass Valley. The family moved to first Washoe and then Esmeralda Counties in Nevada the 1870s and ultimately wound up in Humboldt County in the late 1880s and Kennedy in the early 1890s. All but one person born in the California region was born after 1851, indicating that the parents arrived there during the major westward migration related to the Gold Rush. The one exception was a man who was born in 1837 to Mexican parents, part of the Mexican-Spanish population in what then was part of Mexico but eleven years later became California in the United States.

Many American adults or children who were not born in California or Nevada went directly from their place of birth to Nevada. They arrived in Nevada at various times in the mid to late 1800s and then began to appear in the local records. Many of those people were living in Humboldt, Lander, and other counties immediately prior to going to Kennedy, but no comprehensive attempt was made to determine when they first arrived in Nevada or where. Mark Wiggins, a well-known Kennedy miner, was born in Maine, fought in the Civil War, and then headed directly to Nevada to start a small farm along the Reese River north of Austin in the late 1860s. He briefly went back to Maine to get married and then returned to the Reese River farm, where the couple had several children. Wiggins did some mining at Bernice in northern Churchill County for a year before hearing about and going to Kennedy in 1891, leaving his family at the ranch.

CHAPTER 5 – PEOPLE AND LIFE IN KENNEDY

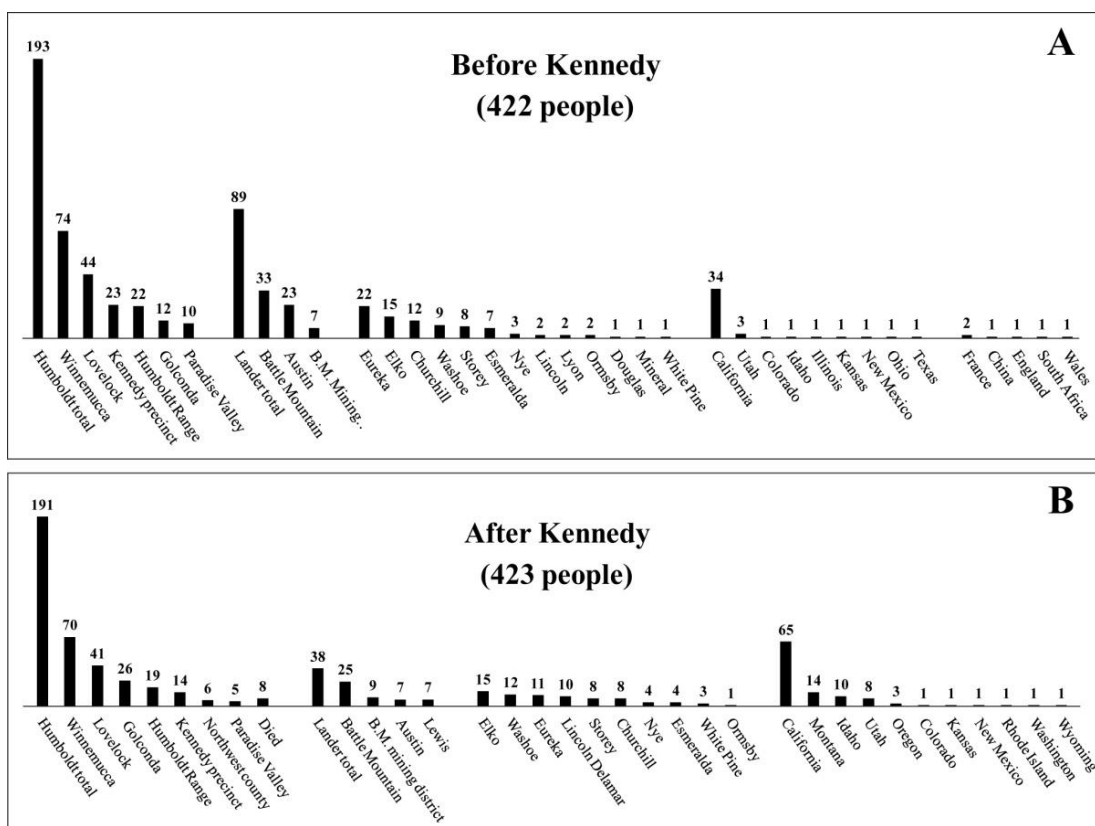


Figure 5-4. Places where people were living before they went to Kennedy and where they went after they were in Kennedy in the 1890s. (A) Pre-Kennedy locations. The twenty-three people in the Kennedy precinct were local ranchers and ranch hands. (B) Destinations of people after they left Kennedy. Some people remained in Kennedy, and eight people died there in the 1890s. Despite the nearly identical total for each chart, only the pre- or post-Kennedy locations could be found for some people. B.M. mining district: several small mining camps in the Battle Mountain mining district southwest of Battle Mountain, principally Galena. Lewis: several mining camps in the northern Shoshone Range southeast of Battle Mountain, including Lewis, Dean, Hilltop, and Maysville.

The hundred and forty-six known foreign-born people entered the United States at various places and at various times and then made their ways to Nevada (Fig. 5-3B). Some, such as Charley Kennedy's brother-in-law Walter Wilkinson, immigrated by boat with his family from Canada to San Francisco in 1868 and went directly to the Grass Valley, California, area. As a young adult, he lived in Paradise Valley north of Winnemucca and Luning in what then was Esmeralda County before moving to Kennedy in 1892 at the age of thirty-four. Six immigrants went almost directly to northern Nevada and Kennedy, but the large majority had been in various parts of the United States, predominantly Nevada, for years. For example, the twenty-one Irishmen in Kennedy immigrated between 1858 and 1875, but almost all of them were working in northern Nevada mining camps by 1880. Three of the Chinese men immigrated in 1862, 1873, and 1890, and they undoubtedly arrived at West Coast ports. Many Chinese men came to the western United States and found work in the mines and for the Central Pacific

CHAPTER 5 – PEOPLE AND LIFE IN KENNEDY

Railroad in the late 1860s and then stayed in northern Nevada (Shepperson, 1970). That might have been the case for the man who arrived in 1862, but not for the other two men.

After people had spent a few months to a few years in Kennedy, they went elsewhere (Fig. 5-4B). Many of them went back to their original locations in roughly the same county proportions as before Kennedy. A little less than half of the people remained in Humboldt County, many again in Winnemucca, but twenty-one people went to the burgeoning mining area around Golconda east of Winnemucca, which had barely existed prior to Kennedy. Similarly, about the same percentage of people went back to Battle Mountain. A few headed for the growing mining districts south of Battle Mountain (Dean, Lewis, and Galena), but very few went back to the waning Austin district. Numerous people, including Charley Kennedy and his family, remained in the Kennedy area, and eight people died there during the 1890s. The former Kennedy residents also scattered to various other counties in northern Nevada, and many of them took up farming in places like the Fallon or Elko areas. A handful headed for the booming Delamar district in Lincoln County, the only other major Nevada mining camp of the 1890s. Sixty-five people headed for various places in California. Oakland and San Francisco were major draws, but some people opted for ranching and farming in the Sacramento Valley. Some of the miners went back to the old gold districts in the Mother Lode in the Sierra Nevada foothills.

Other people followed their professions after Kennedy. Miners headed for the huge copper mining area at Butte, Montana, and the rich gold-silver mines at Silver City in southwestern Idaho attracted twenty-four Kennedy miners. Merchants set up stores elsewhere, and freight drivers took their wagon and teams wherever someone needed to have something hauled. A good example of a migrant businessman was Chris Malatesta. He immigrated from Italy with his parents and siblings in 1865 and was a professional gambler who ran one of the saloons in Kennedy. As an adult, he was a saloon keeper in Eureka and nearby mining camps from the late 1870s into the early 1890s. He was married and had three children, all of whom were born in Nevada. After two or three years in Kennedy, he and his family headed for Delamar, where he was a saloon owner and gambler, and by 1910 he was a gambler in a saloon and mine owner in Tonopah, yet another boom town. He fell ill in Tonopah in 1911 and died in a Reno hospital shortly thereafter.

Overall, the combined "before and after" information indicates that many people lived in nearby areas and went to Kennedy to try their luck with mining or other occupations. After their time in Kennedy, they simply went back home. A lot of those people already had an established life and job. Some owned stores, some were ranchers or teamsters, and others were miners. Many were married and had families, which drew them back home. Kennedy was an opportunity to make some more money by finding a rich vein. Store owners could haul their merchandise to Kennedy and sell it to willing buyers. The Reinhart brothers from Winnemucca and Charles McIntosh's merchant father from Lovelock even opened "branch" stores in Kennedy in mid to late 1894. All of these people could spend time in Kennedy but still return home regularly to tend to their store, farm, or family. Afterwards, many returned to what they were doing before they went to Kennedy.

THE LITTLE-KNOWN AND UNKNOWN PEOPLE

Little to no information could be found on about a third of the people who were known by name to have been in Kennedy in the 1890s, and an untold number of other people passed through Kennedy anonymously. About a hundred and twenty people could not be found reliably in any census before or after their time in Kennedy. Other records show that about thirty-five of those were in the area before they went to Kennedy, and more people likely could have been found had the 1890 census records not burned. Even so, most of the little-known people did not appear on any tax or voter lists or in newspaper articles for northern Nevada counties and thus either were not in the nearby region or had a very small presence. None of those people appeared in any census records for 1900 in the surrounding region, and only four of those people appeared in *any* post-Kennedy records for Humboldt and nearby counties. Thus, although those men and a few women were part of the Kennedy community in the 1890s and did something that caused their names to be recorded in a document or a newspaper article, most of them went to Kennedy from some unknown place, spent a few months or years in Cinnabar Canyon, and then departed for parts just as unknown.

The anonymous people were not unknown because anyone who was in the camp for more than a few days probably was known by name to at least a few people. Yet, they did not even stake a claim, no matter how worthless, and they did not do anything that warranted a mention in one of the newspapers. Many of them possibly accepted short-term jobs doing manual labor: the "several miners" or "a force of men" that the newspapers mentioned in 1894. The names of a handful of laborers are known only because they sued one of the mill owners for unpaid wages or were listed in something like Charles McIntosh's store ledger. The *Silver State* variously wrote in the summer of 1894 that "at present there are too many men there," "there are a number of men there now, who are looking for employment, but not enough to give employment," and "it should be remembered that there are many men now in Kennedy out of employment, who are not practical miners, but capable and waiting to secure work in other avocations." Even by October, when mining and milling – and presumably jobs – were near their peaks, a correspondent to the paper urged people to not head for Kennedy in search of a job because "we have plenty of working men here at present." Some of those articles were reprinted in the Reno newspapers, where unemployed men in Virginia City and Reno could have read them, but people still streamed into Kennedy.

These people, known only by name or not at all, represented a segment of the state's, and perhaps the country's, population that migrated from place to place in search of work in the 1890s. The poor economic situation, coupled with the moribund state of Nevada's mining industry by that time, undoubtedly played significant roles in creating this transient population. Nevada lost about a third of its population from 1880 to 1900, and even Winnemucca, with a small but fairly diverse local economy, lost fifteen percent of its residents in the same period. For Nevada miners and all of the people employed in support occupations, Kennedy in the north and Delamar in the southeast were the only chances at finding a good job. Thus, some to many people may have come from dying mining districts, such as around Virginia City, and then left the state along with many other people when their last hope – Kennedy – failed in the mid 1890s.

PEOPLE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

As described in other chapters, the nature of mining in Kennedy and much of Nevada changed in the early 1900s from small-scale individual miners to wealthy owners and investors from both coasts (see also Elliott, 1987). Almost all of the owners of the major mines and mills in Kennedy and French Boy Canyon through World War II lived elsewhere and hired people to manage their Kennedy properties. This shift in ownership changed the tenor of Kennedy from a place of wide-open opportunity to one of either investing or working for someone else. The state and national economies improved in the first three decades of the new century – at least until the Depression – and fewer people were out scrounging for a job in remote places like Kennedy.

The largest mining surge in the new century started in 1901 and lasted into 1905. Although it was much smaller than the boom in the early 1890s, more people were in Kennedy itself in the early 1900s than just a few years before, and enough families kept the school open into 1908. The typical theme of the 1910s in both Kennedy and French Boy Canyon was an outside mine or mill investor who brought in mining and engineering experts from elsewhere. They hired just a few people – perhaps a total of thirty or less at any one time – from Humboldt County and nearby areas to do the actual work. The final stage of mining activity started in the early 1930s as the Depression took a firm grip on the economy and jobs, and it continued at a low level until the U.S. Government shut down gold and silver mining in late 1942. The collection of people in Kennedy included five or six continuing miners and quite a few people from elsewhere in Nevada and other states. No children and only a couple of wives lived in Kennedy. The new people came from a variety of places: northern Nevada counties, Reno, the San Francisco Bay Area, Oregon, Idaho, Utah, and a few other scattered locations. Most of the people were men ranging from late teens into their sixties, and about half of them were married.

Each spurt of mining in Kennedy in the early 1900s, the early to mid 1910s, and the 1930s attracted new people, but each period had fewer people than the previous one. The local ranching community was the constant throughout, with various ownerships and managements and new faces (Chapter 6). A few people, such as Charley Kennedy and Jake Leick in Kennedy and the Pearce family in Pleasant Valley, stayed for the entire period. Automobiles became common in the early 1910s, so someone could own mines in Kennedy, work on them for a few weeks at a stretch, and live in someplace like Winnemucca the rest of the time. The net effect was that the Kennedy precinct changed from a mining area with a few ranches to a ranching community with a few miners (Fig. 5-1B). More than twice as many people lived in the Kennedy district than in Pleasant Valley in 1905 (Fig. 5-1B). Various documents and newspaper articles mentioned seventy-five people who lived or spent time in the combined area in 1912. Thirty-six of those people were in Kennedy or French Boy Canyon, with the rest in Pleasant Valley and scattered adjacent places. The trial testimony related to Peter Laux's murder described twenty-four people who actually lived in the town of Kennedy proper in January 1912. By 1920, only twenty people spent time in the mining district, and thirty-eight people lived on the ranches in the valley. Only about fifteen people were in Kennedy at some point in 1940, and the census taker only counted four of them, with the rest being counted wherever they lived, such as Winnemucca. The remaining residents of the area were at the ranches.

CHAPTER 5 – PEOPLE AND LIFE IN KENNEDY

Except for the early 1900s in Kennedy, most of the people in the twentieth century were white men with ages ranging from their late teens into their sixties. Women and families were fairly common in the early 1900s, but they became increasingly scarce as the years went on except at the ranches. The last true resident family in Kennedy was the Fosters, who left in 1918 when the Roylance project ended abruptly. A few of the long-time miners – notably Cephas Kyle, Charlie George, and Joe Miller (in 1927) – died of old age.

Almost everyone was of European descent. A small band of Paiutes, including No Savy Jim and his son Patrick Henry, continued to live in the area and helped out on the ranches or fended for themselves. People from the Basque region of Spain and France became more common at the ranches in the early 1900s, initially as sheep herders and then as ranch managers and owners. Jules Sarret and Robert Vital, who had a ranch in Buffalo Valley by 1894 and then bought land from Moses Bushee in 1896, were the harbingers of that immigration, and as many as ten Basque men were working on the ranches by 1910. Sarret immigrated from France in 1891 and was in Humboldt County three years later at the most. He became the manager of the Miller ranch in 1899 and married a Basque woman from France in 1900, and they had several children at the ranch before moving to Idaho and then Reno. Pete Etchegoyhen immigrated from southern France in 1903 and bought the Golconda ranch in 1910. His bride-to-be Uranie immigrated in 1907, and they were married the same year; they and their children owned the ranch before moving to Winnemucca in about 1930. The most prominent Basque in Pleasant Valley was Sylvain Siard. Siard was born in southern France in 1869 and immigrated in 1898. He soon bought several major sheep ranches and grazing areas in Paradise Valley and began looking for more southerly and lower ranches for winter grazing. Siard progressively bought many of the Pleasant Valley ranches, including the original Schell and Sweeney ranches, as well as extensive grazing lands and state parcels for their water; he bought some of the latter from Sarret (Chapter 6). Other Basque sheep ranchers in the area, many of whom married Basque women, included John Eyheralde, Pete and Dan Esparza, August Eyraud, Joe Chabango, Hilario Lecumberry, Lion Liotard, Gil Prida, and Marrus Allard. Most of them immigrated from France or Spain in the 1890s or early 1900s and were in southeastern Humboldt County by the 1910s at the latest, commonly earlier.

LIFE AND DEATH

As with any town, babies were born, people got sick or were injured, and some of them died from various causes. Kennedy never had doctors of its own, and it had to rely on physicians from Winnemucca, Battle Mountain, and Lovelock for the more serious matters. Some people were treated in Kennedy, and the more seriously ill or injured patients were taken into Winnemucca, which had the most easily and "quickly" accessible hospital. The Winnemucca hospital in the early 1890s was rudimentary and crowded, and the town built a somewhat better facility in 1897 and a more modern one in the early 1900s (Marden, 1993a). In the 1890s and very early 1900s, a ride into town to get the doctor, and then the ride back, took at least two days, so local people had to keep the person alive or tend to wounds until the doctor arrived. Even then,

CHAPTER 5 – PEOPLE AND LIFE IN KENNEDY

it could take another day, and possibly more if the roads were bad in winter, for the patient to be transported into Winnemucca. Automobiles became more common in the area in the 1910s and shortened the round trip considerably, but not everyone had one. Telephone service reached the Cooper ranch in Pleasant Valley in 1916: after getting a call, the physician arrived by automobile the same day, which, compared to the delay in the 1890s and 1900s, was seemingly instantaneous.

Births were the happier medical events, if all went well, and Ida Kennedy and Christine Hillyer were midwives in Kennedy. The county did not keep records for many rural births in the 1890s, and only marginally better records in the early 1900s, but other sources show that several babies were born there. Some women went to the hospital in Winnemucca to give birth, and even Ida Kennedy had all three of her children in Winnemucca between 1895 and 1906. Ida delivered Loma Pearce, the new daughter of Will and Jessie Pearce of Pleasant Valley, in early 1916. Jessie went into labor in the middle of winter, with a thick blanket of snow covering the landscape. Going to Winnemucca was out of the question, so Jessie was bundled onto a horse-drawn sled and taken to Kennedy, where Ida delivered the baby girl (Fig. 5-5A).

Life in a remote place like Kennedy was fraught with hazards, especially with most of the men working in underground mines and around milling machinery and livestock. Injuries undoubtedly were a common occurrence in Kennedy, but a simple injury was not newsworthy and thus few were reported in the newspapers. Trial testimony from 1912 revealed that one man in town was crippled with rheumatism and another man had an injured leg; neither malady would have been known were it not for the testimony. People lived with smashed fingers, broken limbs, and gashes until the injuries healed, a doctor came to town, or they could make it into Winnemucca or Lovelock for treatment. A few people were injured simply by accident. Justice of the Peace W.S. Riley was crossing Cinnabar Avenue on a snowy day in January 1895 and was hit by a "coasting party" on a sled. He broke his collar bone and injured one of his feet, but he ultimately recovered.

Respiratory-related illnesses were commonplace and included pneumonia, tuberculosis, and "consumption" or "miner's consumption." They also were the most common causes of death after old age. The majority of the Kennedy residents were men, and many of them worked long hours in dusty, damp, and cold mines. The wood-burning mills produced a large amount of soot, and that and the dust from the rock crushing permeated the mill and floated out over town. Peter Laux's autopsy after being murdered in 1912 showed that his lungs "were studded with specks and colored, and indicated the occupation of a miner, with [black] dust and smoke." If the bullet had not killed him first, then the dirt in his lungs ultimately may have led to his demise. Still, Kennedy was not as bad as the Delamar district, where the pervasive silica dust produced during mining and milling led to widespread silicosis and the deaths of several hundred people (Townley, 1972).

Everyone lived in small buildings and tents that were heated by wood stoves that generated smoke and soot. The buildings and especially the tents were drafty, and cold winter air compounded any respiratory problems. Enough people were ill in April 1903 that a Kennedy correspondent to the *Silver State* reported that "There is an unusual amount of sickness around town at the present writing. Most of the cases are the usual spring colds and sore throats, etc. We trust all will be well soon." Every year from the late spring into the late fall, dust

CHAPTER 5 – PEOPLE AND LIFE IN KENNEDY

billowed up as horses, wagons, and the daily afternoon wind churned up the dry ground and roads. Vast quantities of ragweed pollen released by the ocean of sagebrush and rabbitbrush in the late summer and fall would have aggravated allergies and any other respiratory problems that people may have had.

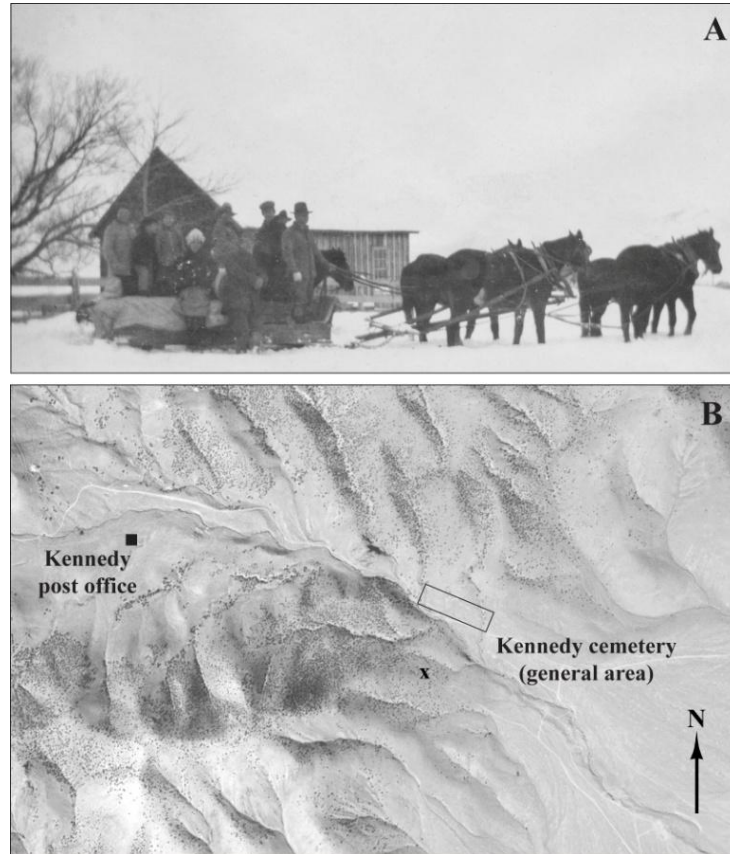


Figure 5-5. Birth and death. (A) Jessie Pearce being taken by horse-drawn sled from the family ranch in Pleasant Valley to Kennedy to give birth to her daughter, Loma, in 1916. From the Stanley McCoy collection. (B) General location of the Kennedy cemetery just outside of the mouth of Cinnabar Canyon and just north of the road to Winnemucca. The notice filed for an 1899 mining claim ("x" on map) mentioned the claim as being "about 800 yds south of grave yard used by the town of Kennedy." Nothing remains to suggest that the area once had a small cemetery. The Kennedy post office in the Kennedy townsite is shown for reference.

Influenza epidemics (also called "la grippe" in the newspapers) raged through northern Nevada towns several times. In a way, the remoteness of Kennedy isolated it from most of the influenza in the larger towns, but doctors were called in on several occasions to treat patients. J.M. Terry, who died in late 1893, was the only Kennedy resident known to have died from influenza, but doctors visited regularly to treat many other patients that year. Terry, unfortunately, had the dubious distinction of being the first person to die in the young mining camp, and his burial marked the start of the Kennedy cemetery.

CHAPTER 5 – PEOPLE AND LIFE IN KENNEDY

Being shot was not a major health risk in Kennedy, unlike some other mining camps (Chapter 4). Peter Laux was the only person who died from being shot, but five others were wounded to various degrees. Doctors went to Kennedy to treat two of the men and then took them to Winnemucca for further medical attention, and the other three victims were taken directly to Winnemucca to see a doctor. All of them recovered and continued their lives in Kennedy, although one man, Frank Molinary, needed several months of recovery before he could resume prospecting. Alcohol fueled at least three of the non-fatal shootings in the early 1900s. Fist fights, by contrast, apparently were fairly common in the boom years of the 1890s and early 1900s, but none of them led to serious injury.

At least twenty adults are known or inferred to have died in or near Kennedy, and children and infants may have died there but were not reported. The county coroner did not record the deaths and burials that took place in remote places like Kennedy in the 1890s and early 1900s. If nobody reported a death to a newspaper, or if the news did not fit in that day's edition, then the death went unrecorded. It was only in the 1900s that the coroner began to keep records of people who died in the remote parts of the county. Several sick or injured Kennedy people died after being taken to Winnemucca, and three additional people died en route. Almost all of those deaths were included in the coroner's death book because the person died in Winnemucca or the body eventually arrived in town.

The various causes of death in Kennedy included respiratory problems, old age, heart disease, stroke, kidney or liver failure, and injury. One person – Patrick Cusick, who had a wife and young daughter in Austin – died in an underground mine collapse in 1894. Three men died when their freight wagon or the freight collapsed on top of them. One of them, Lou Folsom of Say Canyon, suffered internal injuries, shock, and exposure in 1916 when a load of wood collapsed on top of him. He was not found until two days later, and he died after being taken to the Winnemucca hospital. With several saloons and a lot of free time in the evenings, drinking was a popular pastime. Several men died from liver failure or alcohol poisoning, and an unknown number of others suffered from the same ailments but died of something else first. Kennedy had its share of older men, and some of those who stayed in Kennedy began to pass away in the late 1890s, with more in the 1900s. Not surprisingly, the major causes of their deaths were heart and kidney failure and stroke. Eighty-two-year-old George Lamberson developed dry gangrene in one of his legs, a product of age-related poor circulation. He refused to have his leg amputated and died in the Winnemucca hospital.

Some of the people who died in or near Kennedy were buried in the small cemetery, which an 1899 mining claim record indicated was just east of the mouth of the canyon and on the north side of the creek and road to Winnemucca (Fig. 5-5B). At least four and possibly as many as nine adults were buried in the graveyard, which also may contain the remains of a few infants and small children. No trace of the cemetery remains, although ranch families in the area who saw a few faint remnants in the 1960s and 1970s confirmed the general location given in the 1899 claim notice (Mary Ann Hammond, personal communication, 2012). Other bodies were buried in Winnemucca, Lovelock, Battle Mountain, and Austin, and some were sent by train to families as far away as California and the eastern United States. Kennedy did not have a church, so services for those who died in Kennedy were held at the school. When James Barris, a well-liked saloon owner in his mid thirties, died of consumption in April 1903, flowers included

CHAPTER 5 – PEOPLE AND LIFE IN KENNEDY

formal arrangements sent from Winnemucca and early wildflowers collected from the hillsides. Sarah Lasher, the strongly Methodist wife of mill manager Abner Lasher, led the ceremony, and a small choir of Kennedy people "rendered appropriate music." Barris was buried in Kennedy in a coffin made in Winnemucca, and six local men acted as pall bearers. William Wilkinson died in Kennedy a week earlier, and he was buried in the cemetery after similar services at the school house. He also was well liked and had been in Kennedy since nearly the beginning, and all of the miners were given a half-day off to attend the funeral. Because Barris and Wilkinson died and were buried in Kennedy, they never reached the county coroner and were not entered into the county death book. The Winnemucca newspapers mentioned their passing only because Kennedy residents sent in the information and short obituaries.

PHYSICIANS AND NURSES

Dr. William Hood of Battle Mountain and Dr. Henry Hagar of Lovelock were mentioned frequently in the newspapers when they attended Kennedy patients in the 1890s. The two doctors apparently covered much of Humboldt and northern Lander Counties in the 1890s. Hood was in his thirties at the time and had gone to medical school at the University of Michigan; his older brother Charles was a doctor in Elko. He remained in Battle Mountain until about 1903 and then moved to Reno. Hagar was in his forties and from Kentucky, but little is known about his medical background. He spent years as a doctor in Eureka before living in Lovelock, and he moved to the Delamar and Cherry Creek districts in eastern Nevada in the late 1890s. He injured his leg badly in 1887 and had part of it amputated in San Francisco, and he visited Kennedy with a wooden leg. Dr. Conant Brierly, who received his medical degree from the University of California San Francisco in 1866, traveled to Kennedy in the spring of 1895 to treat patients. Hagar and Hood were summoned at other times that year, so Brierly may have filled in as needed from his home in Hawthorne, Nevada, where he was the chief physician for Mineral County. Brierly earlier had served as the chief surgeon for the Sutro Tunnel Company near Virginia City.

Several doctors set up practices in Winnemucca and Lovelock by the early 1900s. They treated Kennedy residents in Winnemucca and Kennedy at various times over the next two decades. The Winnemucca doctors included Edward Giroux, who had grown up in Winnemucca and attended medical school in California; Patrick Mangan, a doctor from Scotland who received his medical degree from Cooper Medical College in San Francisco in the mid 1890s; William Samuels, a young physician from Indiana who was in Winnemucca by 1900; and Charles Swezy, a equally young physician from California who arrived in the mid 1900s. Samuels treated Kennedy patients who were taken to Winnemucca, but trips to Kennedy were never mentioned. The main Lovelock doctor in the early 1900s was John A. Ascher, an Illinois doctor who earlier had practiced in White Pine and Lincoln Counties. He treated patients in Kennedy in the early 1900s and moved to Reno to become the Washoe County physician by 1910. The late winter and spring of 1903 were particularly bad for illness and injuries, and many people of all ages were stricken with colds, sore throats, neuralgia, pleurisy, rheumatism, sprained ankles, pneumonia, consumption, and other problems. Five men – William Wilkinson,

CHAPTER 5 – PEOPLE AND LIFE IN KENNEDY

James Barris, Wallis Van Reed, Edward Archer, and John Kellock – died in or near Kennedy of various illnesses in April of that year. Ascher and Giroux of Winnemucca each made several visits to Kennedy to treat the sick and dying people.

Dentists did not set up practices in Humboldt County until about 1900, when Winnemucca and Lovelock each had one. Traveling dentists from Reno made periodic trips from town to town to treat patients in rural areas. Those trips were sporadic, so anyone with a dental problem had to wait, go to a regular physician, or deal with the problem themselves. Dr. Jewitt Leonard of Reno visited Winnemucca and then went down to treat patients in Kennedy in 1903, the only mention of a dentist visiting the town. A note in the *Silver State* the day after his visit mentioned that "he was kept quite busy while in Kennedy." His 1916 obituary in the *Reno Evening Gazette* mentioned that he traveled extensively through northern Nevada to see patients.

LIFE IN KENNEDY

Kennedy was a rugged mining camp that was a long way from the nearest large town. It was bitterly cold and snowy in the winter and hot and dry in the summer. The men who worked in the mines spent most of their days in the dank, dusty confines lit only by candles and lanterns, and they slept in tents or shacks at night, regardless of the weather. The business owners had it somewhat better, but they had to deal with distant suppliers and the ability (or not) of their customers to pay on time. The residents largely were men who grew up in working-class families and for whom hard work was the norm. The town did have women – mostly wives – and children, but men dominated the culture. Most of them had enough education to read and write, and only a handful – none of whom were miners – had been to a university. Life for most of the men consisted of long hours of work, dinner in the evening, and then sleep, with perhaps a day off on Sunday.

Yet they all came together to form a community. This is not to say that they all got along and were good friends, but they shared a common sense of hard work and a bond that only living in a remote location with few luxuries could create. The only real information about daily life in Kennedy came from items in the *Silver State* and other newspapers, two oral histories, and three letters written by Virginia Benton, Charley Kennedy's mother, to her daughter in Winnemucca. Will Pearce's episodic ranch journals and ledgers focused on the ranch and Pleasant Valley, but they also provided quite a bit of information about Kennedy in the 1900s. Residents occasionally sent longer letters to the Winnemucca newspapers in the early 1890s and early 1900s that described people and various activities along with the mining. The two remaining issues of the *Nevada New Era*, Kennedy's twice-weekly newspaper from June 1894 into early 1895, were filled with newsy items typical of any small-town newspaper. Far more would be known about life in Kennedy in that boom period had the other issues not disappeared.

The majority of the people who were in Kennedy in the early to mid 1890s, and to a lesser extent in the early 1900s, came from Humboldt and nearby counties, as described earlier.

CHAPTER 5 – PEOPLE AND LIFE IN KENNEDY

Many of them undoubtedly knew one another through previous family, friendship, or working relationships, or even as just a familiar name. That familiarity carried over into Kennedy, and it was easier for a person to interact with someone that he or she knew, even just a little, than with a complete stranger. Similarly, it was better to already know that one did not get along with someone, or that the other person had a bad reputation, than to learn it for the first time in remote Kennedy. The large number of extended families in Kennedy added to the familiarity, and all of them were residents of nearby areas before they headed for Kennedy. Among them were the extended Kennedy-Benton-Wilkinson, Kyle-George-Trousdale, Huntsman, Abel, Reid, and Guthrie families. Some families became even more extended through inter-family marriages during their Kennedy days.

Some of these pre-existing relationships translated into working partnerships in claim staking, mining, and businesses. Working a claim was labor intensive, and owners of adjacent claims joined forces to create a larger property that could be mined more efficiently. These partnerships required a fair amount of mutual trust, respect, and likely friendship. Most of the early miners from Bernice paired up at Kennedy and had mines together. Similarly, the Huntsmans and Blossoms from Battle Mountain hired men that they already knew to stake claims and begin the mining, and the extended Kennedy family usually worked together. The Reid family from Lovelock – father Patrick, his sons, and friends of the sons – worked together in Kennedy in 1894.

Just like any town, Kennedy undoubtedly had the full range of personalities. Dorothy Hapgood recounted in her oral history that "most of the men got along pretty good" (Hapgood, 1985), and people probably tried to fit in as best they could. Mark Wiggins, based on a few items in the newspapers, was well liked despite being "bluff" at times. Charley Kennedy was personable and respected by everyone in town, and everyone seemed to like young Charles McIntosh, the young man who was shot in 1895. William Wilkinson, one of the original miners in the district, was so well liked and respected that the miners were given a half day off to attend his 1903 funeral.

Of course, some people were at the other end of the "nice-guy" spectrum. Peter Laux managed to alienate almost all of the remaining people in town in the late 1900s and early 1910s, and court testimony after his 1912 murder said that he and other men in town were "mortal enemies." Joe Alexander first arrived in 1896 and managed to get into several serious fights, at least one involving gunplay and another when he beat someone over the head. That disposition earned him the nickname of "Black Alex." The man that he shot in 1902, Frank Molinary, was "generally regarded as quarrelsome" and shot another man in Kennedy in 1906. Con Kennedy from French Boy Canyon shot first Patrick Riley and then Frank Forvilly in the late 1900s, and the latter shooting earned him two trips to the state mental hospital.

Most of the people were in Kennedy to work, but that did not mean that they did not socialize or just have fun. The six saloons and eight restaurants were easy places to mingle with others in town, and even the post office was a central place to run into friends, as are many small-town post offices today. Comments in the *Nevada New Era* and other sources show that the single men (or those whose families were not there) commonly shared meals in their cabins or tents. The 1912 trial testimony related to Peter Laux's murder recounted several miners who spent time together over dinner in the evenings. The same testimony described a miner with

CHAPTER 5 – PEOPLE AND LIFE IN KENNEDY

bad arthritis who spent his time playing cards with Charley and Ida Kennedy's two older children. Even the completion of a new water well was enough reason for the townspeople to gather for a photograph in the 1910s (Fig. 5-6).



Figure 5-6. The Kennedy townspeople and one dog gathered together upon the completion of a new water well (see flowing water in bottom center). The man with the cap in the upper right center is Charley Kennedy, but the rest of the people are unidentified. The older woman holding the baby on the left reflects the full spectrum of ages. Photograph likely taken in the 1910s; also see Figure 4-7C. From the Stanley McCoy collection.

Just about any event was a good reason to have a dance or party. The town threw a party to celebrate the joint opening of the schoolhouse and the Jenkins mill in early 1894. Everyone brought food for the dinner, and thirty-eight people showed up. The end of the school year also was reason to celebrate: the party at the end of the spring 1895 term included a decorated stage and singing by people in the town. Ed Williams held a "ball" to celebrate the opening of his new saloon and boarding house. Several people played musical instruments and provided entertainment at various gatherings: Frank Northway was a musician in addition to owning a saloon in his earlier days in Unionville. Some of the galas attracted people from as far away as Winnemucca. They took the stage to Kennedy for the party, spent the night, and then returned on the stage the next morning.

The shortage of well-educated people did not mean that people were not literate or did not appreciate education. The town hired a school teacher as soon as there were enough

CHAPTER 5 – PEOPLE AND LIFE IN KENNEDY

children to make it worthwhile, and the townspeople paid for the construction of the new school. Similarly, the ranchers in Pleasant Valley built the Bushee school on their own. Many people subscribed to Winnemucca and Reno newspapers, and at least two people received papers from San Francisco. John Chenoweth was a "news dealer" in addition to his other services, and he supplied "reading matter" and "annual subscriptions for any paper or magazine in Europe or America" (Fig. 4-9). Several of the women in town organized a "Shakespeare Club" in the early 1900s and met regularly. Those clubs were popular throughout the country, and the gatherings offered a combination of reading, learning about other cultures, and dinner (Scheil, 2012). Photographs taken in about 1916 shows Eugene Foster, a milling engineer at the Roycastle mill, sitting and reading a book in his rocking chair at his house, and his wife Hazel reading a newspaper at home.

Only about ten percent of the Kennedy people were women, even in the peak 1890s. Most of them were or had been married, with a handful of single teachers (two of whom got married in Kennedy) and the young-adult daughters of people in town. The women contributed to the town, such as school events, parties, and leading services for those who died. A few women ran successful businesses, notably Mrs. Anna Scott in the 1890s, Mrs. Eliza Brinkman in the late 1890s and early 1900s, and Mrs. Dora Roberts in the mid 1890s, 1900s, and 1910s. They were middle aged and their husbands were not mentioned, so they may have run the businesses to provide for themselves. Mrs. Emma Brown ran a boarding house, in large part because her husband Sydney had been incapacitated by a stroke. Mrs. Anna Keenan owned a house and took in laundry in late 1894 and 1895, but little about her life is known. Washing clothes involved heating water on the stove and then scrubbing with a washboard; Emma Brown made her own soap from fat with a little lye (Hapgood, 1985). The rest of the women were married to Kennedy miners, such as Virginia Benton, Ida Kennedy, and Christine Hillyer, and Ida and Christine also served as midwives when the occasion arose. Several of the women had children, and their lives probably revolved around the family and doing everything that their husbands did not. Virginia Benton's letters mentioned that she cooked fried chicken for supper and that cooking over the wood stove was "awful" in the summer. Even so, Emma Brown baked cakes and as many as five pies at a time in her stove.

Children added another dimension to the town. When they were not in school, they undoubtedly played and entertained themselves just like any other children. They also had to do chores, as shown by a photograph of the Foster children feeding the chickens in the mid 1910s (Fig. 4-13B). They sledged down hills in the winter (unfortunately running into the justice of the peace on one occasion), rode horses, and explored the canyon. The older children in both town and at the ranches took wagons to visit the other young people, and various photographs show that Charley Kennedy's daughter Alice was close friends with the Pearce daughters in Pleasant Valley. Automobiles became more common in the 1910s, and the older children caught rides into Winnemucca.

Kennedy did not have a church. The residents were not without spiritual backgrounds, but the community just did not add a formal church to the town. Having a church would require a minister, and the town never really had enough people over an extended period of time to hire one even if there was a church. More likely, the more religious people probably just worshipped on their own or in small, informal groups. Nevertheless, the *Nevada New Era*

CHAPTER 5 – PEOPLE AND LIFE IN KENNEDY

mentioned that a wood-rat stole Ed Stone's bible in 1894 and commented (likely tongue in cheek) that "we believe it was the only bible in the camp." Kennedy had several marriages over the years, and one of the Methodist ministers from Winnemucca traveled to Kennedy to perform the ceremony. Abner Lasher, who managed the Imperial mill from 1901 until 1914, and his wife Sarah were devout Methodists; Lasher had even taught at several Methodist schools and colleges before arriving in Kennedy. In the early 1900s, Sarah led the ceremonies at the school when two men died, and the couple undoubtedly had at least one bible with them while they were in Kennedy.

Will Pearce, the Pleasant Valley rancher, kept a journal episodically starting in 1903, and he also bought a camera in the early 1910s. With words and photographs, he portrayed the combination of work and social interaction between people in the area, including the ranchers and the Kennedy people. Automobiles turned longer horse or wagon rides between Kennedy and the ranches into shorter, more-frequent jaunts. Pearce had several daughters, and that caught the attention of several of the younger Kennedy men, although the interactions were more social than anything. People visited the Pearce ranch frequently, and Pearce and his various family members went to Kennedy and the other ranches. Some of his photographs captured daily life, such as doing laundry, cutting and raking hay, sitting at home reading or just relaxing, his daughters and their friends going on a trip in the automobile to Winnemucca, and people just getting together to have fun. These all were people who worked hard, but they also had time to enjoy each other's company and enjoy life. If photographs had been taken and journals kept in the 1890s, then they undoubtedly would have shown the same types of daily life and interactions.

Chapter 6



PLEASANT VALLEY RANCHES

Well before and long after mining brought people to the Kennedy district, ranchers raised livestock, hay, and produce at ranches in nearby Pleasant Valley. Regardless of the size of Kennedy, the combined town and ranches formed a close economic and social community. Each had its own reason for being there, but each also provided significant benefits to the other while Kennedy was active. Thus, the history of the Kennedy district would not be complete without an overview of the ranches and the ranchers in the area. The descriptions that follow date back to the origins of the ranches because it was into that world that Charley Kennedy ventured in his 1891 search for gold. As described in Chapter 3, several of those local ranchers were among the first men to stake claims in the new district, thanks in large part to the local sagebrush grapevine that alerted them to the discovery before anyone else in the region knew about it.

Patrick Sweeney, Moses Bushee, and Susan Miller owned the three major ranches in the valley at the time of Charley Kennedy's discovery (Fig. 6-1). Jake Leick owned a fourth major ranch on the west side of the Tobin Range, in Golconda Canyon just above Bushee's ranch, and he also owned a small ranch on the east side of Tobin Range at Posy Springs. Cephas Kyle held a possessory claim to a small ranch – called the "Smith place" – southwest of the Miller ranch in the northern Stillwater Range. As the years passed, a variety of new owners took over the Pleasant Valley ranches or started new ones.

Tax and other records show that several other people owned small to large parcels of ranch and grazing land in and adjacent to the valley from the 1860s into the late 1880s. Those early ranchers largely sold the properties to the ranchers mentioned above. Several of the ranches, notably those owned by Sweeney and Bushee, were so remote that the 1880 census takers missed the ranchers entirely, even though various other records show that they were there. It really was not until the town of Kennedy emerged that the census takers ventured into this part of Humboldt County starting in 1900.

SWEENEY-GUTHRIE-SIARD RANCH

Patrick Sweeney and his wife Maria owned the ranch in Pleasant Valley immediately below Kennedy (Figs. 6-1, 6-2). Patrick was born in 1842 in Ireland and immigrated in 1858, and Maria was born in Illinois in 1852. They were married in about 1880. Sweeney had discovered the Eagle mine in the Lewis district southeast of Battle Mountain in the early 1870s. He sold it shortly thereafter and used the proceeds to purchase the Pleasant Valley property from Michael

CHAPTER 6 – PLEASANT VALLEY RANCHES

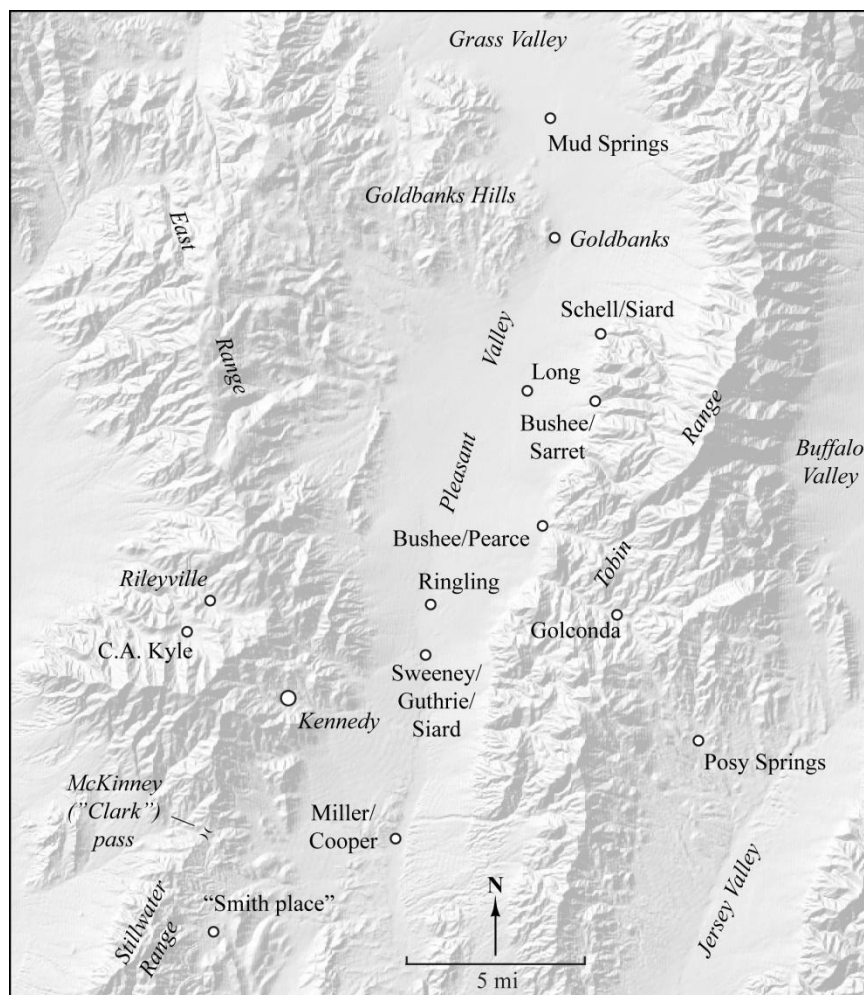


Figure 6-1. Map showing the locations of ranches and the names of the principal owners in the Pleasant Valley-Kennedy area. Geographic features and Kennedy, Rileyville, and Goldbanks are shown for reference. Digital base map from the Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology.

Donley, one of the ranch founders in the 1860s, as well as grazing land in the adjacent mountains. The ranch variously was known as the "M D ranch" (after Donley's initials and brand) or "the old Sweeney place" into at least the 1920s. The Sweeneys were very active members of the Kennedy community in the 1890s. Patrick opened a butcher shop in town and provided meat grown on the ranch, and he later bought Alex Wise's big livery stable after Wise's 1895 death. He undoubtedly also provided hay and alfalfa grown on his ranch. Patrick served on local election boards and as a Humboldt County trial juror several times. Despite not having any children, they were instrumental in soliciting funds for and helping to build the Kennedy school house in late 1893. Unlike some of the other local ranchers, he never staked or owned a mining claim.

The Sweeneys sold their ranch, livestock, land in the East Range, and the M D brand in 1900 to John F. (Frank) Guthrie for about six thousand dollars and moved to Oakland, California. Three years later, they sold the butcher shop and Wise stable in Kennedy to Charles

CHAPTER 6 – PLEASANT VALLEY RANCHES

Wynn, the Kennedy mill manager. Guthrie was part of the extended Guthrie family that had their home at the Sonoma Ranch, south of Winnemucca in Grass Valley; his brother Will was the county assessor, and his father John owned the Sonoma ranch and had owned the Golconda ranch, described below. When Allen Bragg, the editor of the *Silver State*, visited Frank Guthrie's ranch in April 1905 (Bragg, 1905), he wrote that Guthrie was raising cattle, horses, and hay, but not sheep, and that he was growing alfalfa at the ranch land farther north. Guthrie also had a lease on three thousand acres of state contract land for grazing.

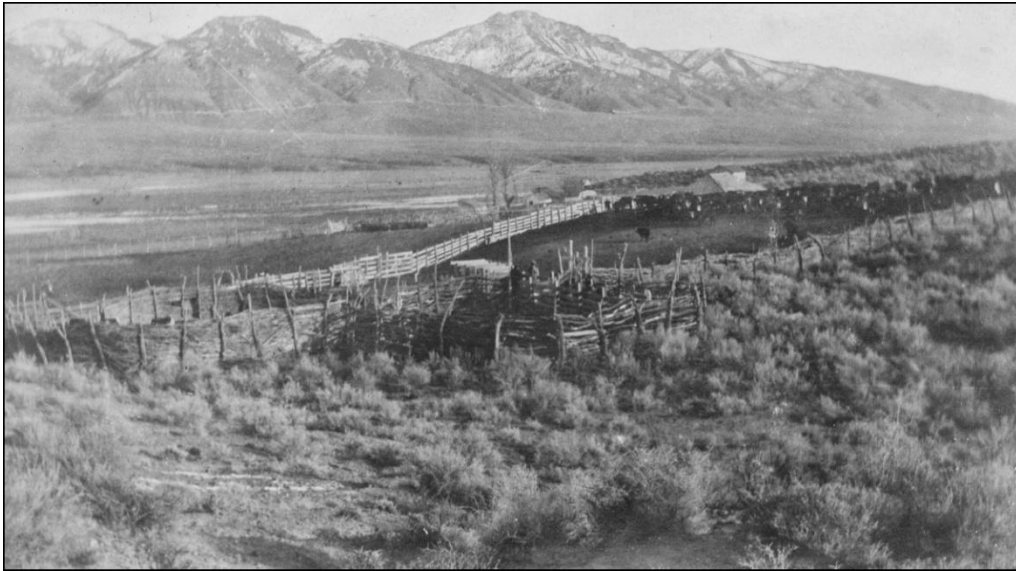


Figure 6-2. The old Sweeney ranch, looking southeast across Pleasant Valley towards the southern Tobin Range. The thin white line along the base of the Tobin Range is the fault scarp produced by the October 1915 earthquake (Chapter 3), so the photograph was taken later. Crofton Uniacke and William Cooper were the owners in this period. From the Stanley McCoy collection.

Guthrie may have borrowed money from the First National Bank of Winnemucca to buy the ranch and other lands. He sold all of his ranches and lands, including the M D brand, to the bank for thirty-five hundred dollars in 1905. Late the same year, the bank sold the land, brand, and livestock to the Pleasant Valley Stock Company for the same amount. The bank apparently decided to set up a separate entity to operate the ranching business, and the articles of incorporation for the company show that F.H. Lee of the bank, Simon Reinhart (one of the Reinhart brothers of E. Reinhart & Co.), and Charles W. McDeid comprised the board of directors and were the only shareholders; and the bank was the official company office. McDeid became the resident ranch manager while also serving as a county commissioner.

John I. Guthrie, Will Guthrie's son and Frank Guthrie's nephew, took over as the ranch manager in 1909, living there with his wife Jane and, eventually, their three children. A March 1909 article in the *Humboldt Star* reported that "all of the holdings of the Pleasant Valley Stock Company were transferred to John Guthrie," and it noted later in the article that Guthrie was the "purchaser." However, the county records show no evidence of a change in ownership, and

the company continued to pay taxes on the ranch through 1914. The company sold all of its land holdings, which by that time were vast and included land in Pleasant and Grass Valleys and areas in the surrounding mountains, to Crofton Uniacke and William H. Cooper of Lovelock in 1915 for twelve thousand dollars. The deed shows that John I. Guthrie was the president of the stock company by that time and that several other members of the Guthrie family were co-owners; Mrs. Elizabeth Floyd, Guthrie's mother-in-law and owner of the large Floyd ranch in Grass Valley, also was a co-owner. The Guthries moved to the Floyd ranch and eventually assumed ownership. As described later, Sylvain Siard later purchased the Sweeney ranch.

BUSHEE-PEARCE RANCH

Moses Bushee was a bachelor who owned several ranch properties along the eastern side of Pleasant Valley. Bushee was born in Rhode Island in 1833 and was living in Unionville by at least 1864. John Emery started the ranch in the mid 1860s, and someone named Lambert also owned it at some point. Bushee somehow acquired the three hundred and twenty-acre possessory claim and other land on the east side of Pleasant Valley in about 1870, and he registered his "XO" cattle brand with the county in 1873. The main ranch was tucked along the range front a mile north of the mouth of Golconda Canyon and northeast of the Donley-Sweeney ranch (Fig. 6-1). Bushee's house was half stone and half lumber (Fig. 6-3), and the corral fences were made out of willow and juniper branches due to the scarcity and cost of lumber. Bushee planted extensive orchards of various fruit trees, and he had large wheat, hay, and alfalfa fields. He was well known throughout Humboldt and Lander Counties for his produce and fruit, which he would take by wagon to Winnemucca, Kennedy, and other ranches. Will Guthrie, the county assessor, called him "that old apple man" in 1892. Bushee also sold produce and hay in Kennedy in the 1890s (McCoy, 1987).

Bushee also became the co-owner of and then sold his share of two other ranches. One was to the north along the range front, and the other was up Golconda Canyon (also known as Watt Canyon). He sold his half share of the Golconda Canyon ranch in 1885. Bushee was taxed for a half interest in a ranch at the mouth of what now is called Siard Canyon, between Bushee's main ranch and what would become the Schell ranch farther north (Fig. 6-1). Bushee sold that land to Jules Sarret and Robert Vital in 1896, and Sarret filed his "JS" horse and cattle brand with the county the next year. Bushee ended his Pleasant Valley ranching career in May 1900, when he sold the main ranch to William L. and Nicholas Pearce, two young brothers from Austin and Battle Mountain. He went back to Rhode Island to see his brother for a few months and then headed for Los Angeles, where he died in December 1900.

The Pearces improved and upgraded the Bushee ranch, as it continued to be known for a number of years. The two brothers also recorded their "LN" horse brand in September 1900. Will expanded Bushee's main house, and he added an additional barn and blacksmith shop. Nick and his family decided to move to Winnemucca in 1903. They moved back in 1906, but then moved to Reno in late 1907. Their mother and sister had a house in Kennedy in the 1890s (which they had moved from Austin), and the Pearce brothers dismantled it in 1906 and rebuilt



Figure 6-3. Moses Bushee's original house, photographed in the early 1900s after Will and Nick Pearce purchased the ranch in 1900. From the Stanley McCoy collection.

it at the ranch for Nick and his family. Later that year, with several of the children at the Pearce, Schell, and Golconda ranches reaching school age, Will Pearce, John Schell, and Frank Wiggins from the Golconda ranch built a one-room school house at the Pearce ranch to avoid the long ride over to the Kennedy school (Chapter 4). The first session began in January 1907. Pearce maintained and improved Bushee's orchards, and he sold ranch-grown lamb, beef, chickens, eggs, potatoes, hay, and grain to various people in Kennedy, other ranches, and Winnemucca. Pearce periodically kept a journal, and he detailed the work involved with the ranch through the seasons. He did the yeoman's share of many of the ranch chores, and various men and especially his older daughters did a lot of the haying, livestock herding, and other labor (Fig. 6-4). The Pearces remained at the ranch into the 1950s. Will's wife Jessie died in 1956, and Will sold the ranch in 1958. He lived with family in the area until he died in 1966.

Over the years, the Pearce children grew up and moved away, although their daughter Mabel, her husband Melvin McCoy (the son of a rancher in Jersey Valley), and their children lived in the bunk house of the ranch in the 1930s. The children attended the school, which finally closed for lack of students when the McCoy family moved away in 1939. Also in the 1930s, the U.S. Postal Service built a landing strip in the valley below the ranch to allow cross-country airmail flights to stop and refuel if necessary. As airplanes became more efficient, the airport was not needed and eventually was abandoned and plowed under for an alfalfa field. The ranch changed hands over the years after 1958, but it has remained active to the present day.

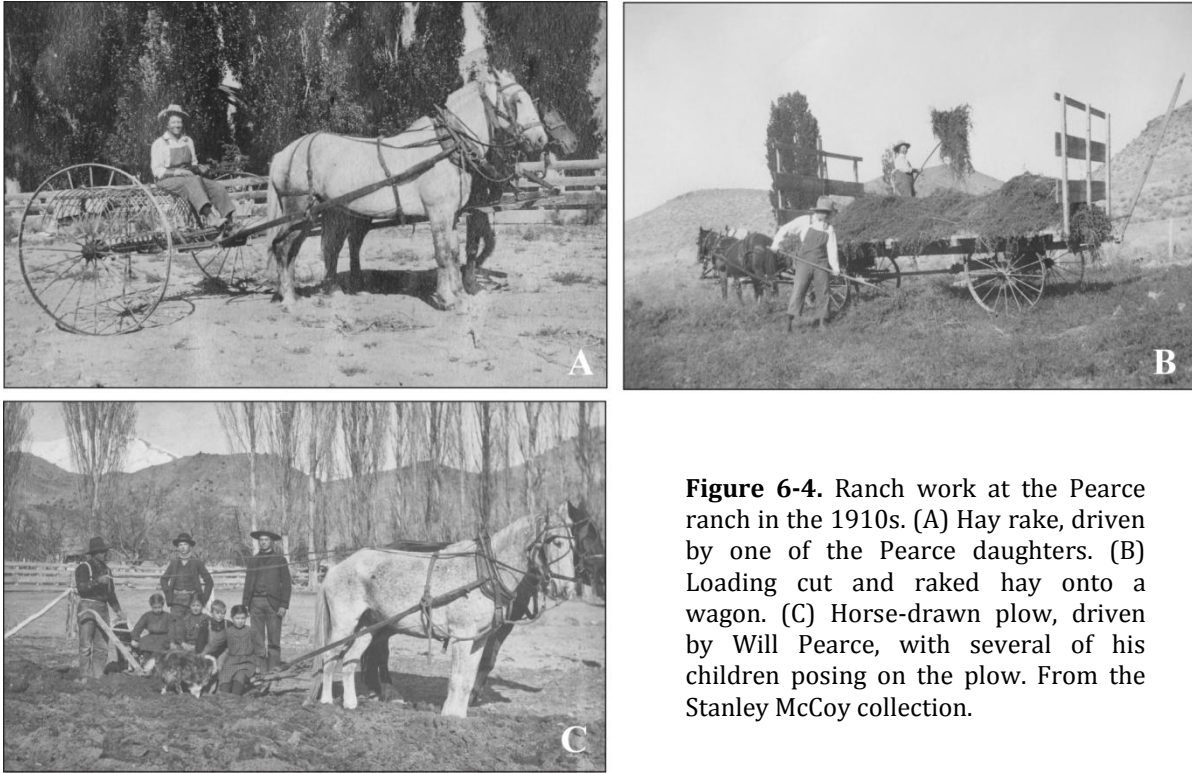


Figure 6-4. Ranch work at the Pearce ranch in the 1910s. (A) Hay rake, driven by one of the Pearce daughters. (B) Loading cut and raked hay onto a wagon. (C) Horse-drawn plow, driven by Will Pearce, with several of his children posing on the plow. From the Stanley McCoy collection.

SHELL RANCHES

C.B. Wood began to be taxed for a hundred and sixty acres of land in 1876, and the 1880 tax record described it as "ranch 6 mi north of Bushee's, known as the Grand View ranch." Richard Kirman of Virginia City and J.B. Rickey of Carson City acquired the ranch and numerous other partial sections of land in northern Pleasant Valley in 1882. Kirman was the future Mayor of Reno and Governor of Nevada; Rickey was a banker. They sold all of the parcels to John and Louisa Schell in May 1893. The deed made no mention of "improvements," such as ranch buildings and fencing, but Wood's 1880 tax bill implied that the place may have had at least a basic ranch house (Fig. 6-1).

The Schells and their children lived in Bridgeport, California, at the time of the sale, and John's younger brother Adam soon joined them from parts unknown. John and Louisa Schell's main ranch property was at the mouth of what now is shown on topographic maps as "Shell" Canyon on the west side of the Tobin Range about six miles north of the Bushee/Pearce ranch (Fig. 6-5). Adam Schell also owned a small ranch and eight partial sections that overlapped and were north of his brother's land on the west side of the Tobin Range, and he filed a separate brand with the county in 1901. That land originally may have belonged to Jacob Moler, who in 1880 was taxed for a ranch two miles north of what would be John Schell's ranch. Combined, the Schells owned or controlled all of the land along the range front between the northern Tobin Range and Pleasant Valley. They also had an additional five partial sections in Peavine,



Figure 6-5. The Schell ranch at the western base of the Tobin Range, now called the "northern Siard Ranch." The "southern Siard Ranch" is the former Sweeney ranch farther south in Pleasant Valley. The faint horizontal lines on the hillside to the right of the ranch are fault scarps that formed during the 1915 earthquake (Chapter 3). Photograph taken by author in 2015.

Sweeney, and Garden Canyons in the East Range to the west. Those all had springs, and the Schells used the surrounding government-owned land for grazing.

John and Louisa Schell raised cattle, grew hay and alfalfa on about seven hundred total acres, and they developed a large fruit orchard with two hundred trees. They also had five children: four were born before the family moved to Pleasant Valley, and the youngest was born in Pleasant Valley in 1895. Alfred, the oldest, owned small amounts of range land, staked a number of claims in the Kennedy and Goldbanks districts in the 1900s, and co-owned a saloon in the Chaffee (Dun Glen) district in the late 1900s. The younger children attended the Kennedy and then Bushee schools through the spring 1910 semester. Allen Bragg noted that "Mr. [John] Schell is prosperous and makes a little money every year" (Bragg, 1905). Bragg also wrote that Adam's place to the north spanned 920 acres that included quite a bit of contract range land and forty acres on which he raised alfalfa.

John Schell sold a partial section of land at Mud Springs to John Kellock in 1896 and more adjacent land in 1902. Two of the younger Schell boys were grantees along with Kellock. They were minors and thus not on the original deed, and a later document filed by their father confirmed that he was the legal guardian for the two boys. Kellock and the two boys registered their "8" horse and cattle brand in August 1898. The land was along the Kennedy-Winnemucca road, just east of the Goldbanks Hills and near the divide between Pleasant and Grass Valleys (Fig. 6-1). Because it was a reliable and plentiful source of water, Mud Springs was one of the way stations for the stage line between Winnemucca and Kennedy, and the nearby present-day

CHAPTER 6 – PLEASANT VALLEY RANCHES

ranch retains that name. Kellock died of alcohol poisoning at his ranch in 1903, and the Schell boys, with their father as guardian, retained ownership of the three parcels through 1911.

Adam Schell moved to Butte County, California, in 1908, and he deeded his land over to his brother John. He also sold his brand and cattle to Lena Leick, her brother Rudolf Hoffman, and their partner Marrus Allard, who owned a ranch in Buffalo Valley. The rest of the Schell family stayed in Pleasant Valley until late 1910 and then joined Adam in Butte County. John and Louisa sold most of their holdings – 1,546 acres of land, buildings, fences, improvements, farming equipment, and water rights – to Sylvain Siard in June 1910 for ten dollars. In October 1911, the two younger Schell boys (who were living in Butte County) sold the three Mud Springs parcels to the Thomas Nelson Company, a large ranching operation that was headquartered just north of Golconda. As described later, Sylvain Siard purchased the ranch from the Thomas Nelson Company the next day.

GOLCONDA RANCH AND POSY SPRINGS

The Golconda ranch was halfway up Golconda Canyon in the Tobin Range (Fig. 6-1). Although the lower half of the canyon is narrow, the middle part opens into a broad valley. In terms of water, it was one of the best ranches around: abundant springs flowed into the middle part of the valley and nourished lush meadows and hay fields. Felix Cooley started the ranch by 1865, and it went through a series of owners through the ensuing decades. Among the owners was the Hillyer family, including their son Warren. Warren later became the ranch manager for another owner, George Watt, and married Watt's niece Christine in 1883. Moses Bushee also had an interest in the property, as described earlier. In 1888, Watt and presumably Bushee sold the Golconda ranch and the possessory claim at Posy Springs, on the east side of Golconda Pass (Fig. 6-1), to Jake Leick and his father John for about five hundred dollars. Jake registered his horse and cattle brand with the county in February 1890 and then bought out his father in 1895.

Jake was born in Germany in 1860 and immigrated with his parents and sister in 1873. The family lived in Battle Mountain for a number of years, but Jake also spent time in Buffalo Valley on the east side of the Tobin Range. He married Lena Hoffman, whose brothers owned the ranch in Buffalo Valley in 1887. Soon after buying the Golconda ranch, Leick leased out the Posy Springs property to Warren Hillyer. Hillyer ran a small farm there and paid taxes on the buildings, equipment, and livestock until 1912. Leick and Hillyer made out a memorandum of understanding in 1889 that, should Leick ever decide to sell the Posy Springs property, Hillyer would have the right of first refusal for buying it for a hundred dollars. However, Jake and Lena Leick sold the Golconda ranch, Posy Springs, and their other properties to Judge George Talbot of Elko and H.J. Lorentzen in 1902 for eight thousand dollars, a hefty profit on their original purchase price. Talbot and Lorentzen filed their "D Heart" brand the same year. Leick also transferred the 1889 option-to-buy agreement with Hillyer to Talbot. Hillyer, however, never exercised the option.

Leick may have spent more time in the Kennedy district than he did at the ranch. He owned claims and town lots and buildings, and he was a fixture in the camp. He also somehow had acquired some ranch property near Caldwell, Idaho. Hillyer similarly split his time

CHAPTER 6 – PLEASANT VALLEY RANCHES

between Posy Springs and Kennedy, spending summers at the ranch and winters in Kennedy. Lena sued for divorce in 1906, citing emotional abuse (Chapter 4). As part of the divorce, Jake bought out her share of their other properties in Nevada and Idaho for \$3,000. Lena returned to the family's ranch in Buffalo Valley, and she eventually sold out to her brothers and Marrus Allard and moved back East.

Talbot, a prominent judge from Elko County and then Carson City, was an absentee landlord. Lorentzen, although his name appeared on the sales deed, was in effect the manager of the ranch for the first year or two. Given the large acreage of the combined ranches, he leased out grazing rights to other horse ranchers, including John Sterling, Jake Leick, and others, with all rights written into contracts. By late 1904 or very early 1905, Lorentzen had moved on to other ventures in Tonopah, and Frank Wiggins became the manager. Wiggins was from Elko County and likely had met Talbot there. Wiggins and his wife had three young daughters when they moved to the ranch. He remained as manager until the summer of 1909, when the family returned to Elko County. By the time that they moved, they had five children, all of whom, as they got old enough, attended first the Kennedy school and then the Bushee school at the Pearce ranch when it started in 1907.

Talbot sold the Golconda Ranch to Pete Etchegoyhen in late December 1910 (Fig. 6-6). Pete and Jeannete Etchegoyhen had immigrated from France in the mid to late 1900s, and they had four children over the next seven years. Pete raised cattle and hay, and the children attended the Bushee school. He sold the lower pasture in the canyon and water rights to Walter ("Si") Hill in 1918, and Hill raised hay there and prospected in the nearby Mount Tobin district until he committed suicide in 1934. Pete took advantage of the remoteness of the ranch to make bootleg liquor in 1928, and he was arrested and briefly held in jail. The family moved to Winnemucca in 1930. Joe Chabango acquired the ranch in 1930 and owned it beyond the mid 1940s. The Esparza brothers (Epifano (also called Tenaro), Dan, and John) purchased land at and around the Posy Springs homestead in the late 1910s and owned it well into the 1940s. The brothers were sheep herders who had immigrated from Spain in the early 1910s. Curiously, the 1938 topographic map of the area called the place the Allard Ranch after Marrus Allard, a partner in the Hoffman's ranch in Buffalo Valley (Fig. 6-7). The Esparzas may have leased the land to Allard in the late 1930s, at least at the time that the place names were given.

MILLER-COOPER RANCH

George Miller bought what was called "Clark and Minor's ranch, also known as the Empire ranch" at a sheriff's tax sale in late 1877. This land was in the southern part of Pleasant Valley, southeast of what later would become Kennedy (Fig. 6-1). Theodore Clark and James Minor (the future Nevada Secretary of State) owned the ranch by 1868; C.B. Wood might have been the original owner with Clark and then sold out to Minor by 1873. The Clarks sold out to Minor in 1874, but Minor failed to pay the taxes the next year, leading to Miller's tax-sale purchase in 1877.

George Miller obtained a state patent on three hundred and twenty acres of the ranch in early 1878. He already owned cattle in the county by the time of the purchase and had recorded

CHAPTER 6 – PLEASANT VALLEY RANCHES

Figure 6-6. Pete Etchegoyhen (left) and Clark Ringling (right). Etchegoyhen owned the Golconda ranch from 1910 through 1930. Ringling bought the Smith place ranch in 1919 and, starting in 1929, owned a small ranch north of the Sweeney ranch. Photograph likely was taken in the 1920s when both men were living in the area. From the Stanley McCoy collection.



Figure 6-7. Marrus Allard (left) and a ranch hand with two horses. Allard was the co-owner of the Hoffman ranch in Buffalo Valley and later leased the Posy Springs homestead. He also did work on ranches in Pleasant Valley. From the Stanley McCoy collection.

his cattle brand in December 1875. Miller, along with his wife Susan, began to operate the ranch, which was known for years as the Miller ranch. The Millers also obtained several small state-land parcels in and near the Kennedy district, and their combined holdings were nearly nine hundred acres. George served as the Humboldt County sheriff during part of that time, and he died in 1882. Joe Miller, George Miller's younger brother, was the on-site ranch manager both before and after his brother's death.

Susan lived in Winnemucca after George's death and continued to own the ranch. When Charley Kennedy discovered the first gold-silver veins in Cinnabar Canyon east of the ranch, Joe Miller almost immediately staked claims and began mining. The *Silver State* mentioned in late 1894 that he had a ranch in Pleasant Valley, but how much time he actually spent at the ranch is unknown. Susan eventually had to hire Jules Sarret to manage the ranch in about 1896, roughly at the same time that Sarret bought the land farther north from Moses Bushee. Sarret married Jeannie in 1900, and they had five children. Sarret intended to stay in the area and

CHAPTER 6 – PLEASANT VALLEY RANCHES

contracted to purchase various state land parcels in Spring and Water Canyons in the northern part of the Kennedy district in 1904 (Chapter 1). The family remained at the ranch until about 1909 and then moved to Winnemucca.

Susan Miller moved to Reno in 1910 and leased the ranch and all of the water and ranching equipment to Louis A. Friedman of Lovelock for five years. Friedman hired Elmer Salinas to be the ranch manager until Friedman sublet the land to William H. Cooper and Zink Russell of Lovelock in 1913 and dropped out of the picture. Cooper's son Don took over as ranch manager (Fig. 6-8). Susan Miller died in 1915, and William Cooper and Crofton Uniacke of Lovelock leased the ranch from her estate and then finally purchased it in 1920. In the meantime, they also had purchased part of the old Sweeney ranch. Cooper, his wife Anita, and their son Don ran the two ranches, and they began to supply meat to William's butcher shops in Lovelock and Winnemucca. The Coopers made quite a few improvements on the ranch, including repairing and rebuilding several buildings that were damaged or destroyed in the major October 1915 earthquake that was centered just a mile east of the ranch (Chapter 3; also Folgate, 1987). The telephone company finally ran a line into Pleasant Valley in 1916, and the valley's only telephone was at the Cooper ranch.

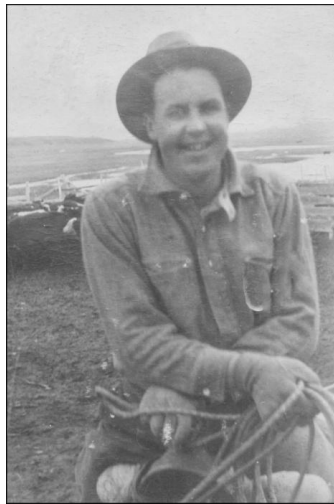


Figure 6-8. Don Cooper, manager of the former Miller and Sweeney ranches for his father William Cooper and Crofton Uniacke. From the Stanley McCoy collection.

Cooper sold his share of the ranch to Uniacke in 1925, and Uniacke sold the ranch to Louis Greilich three years later. Robert B. Stewart purchased the ranch in 1936 and sold it over several years to Walter Polkinghorne in the early to mid 1940s. The Paris brothers purchased the ranch in the 1950s and had a successful ranch there for at least two decades. The ranch, which began with George and Susan Miller in the late 1870s and grew and developed through a series of extremely capable ranchers over more than a century, continues to be a working ranch today.

CEPHAS KYLE AND CLARK RINGLING RANCHES

The "Smith place" ranch was at a major spring tucked in a small valley about three miles due south of McKinney Pass and six miles southwest of Clark's ranch, which soon became the Miller

CHAPTER 6 – PLEASANT VALLEY RANCHES

ranch (Figs. 6-1, 6-9). It had started by at least 1876, when Charlie Kyle was taxed for a "stock ranch" south of Clark's ranch. Kyle had lived in Unionville and served as the county sheriff and assessor. Kyle's younger brother Cephas took ownership in the late 1870s, and his 1880 tax record called it a "possessory claim 6 miles south of Miller's ranch known as Kyle's Mountain Ranch." The tax records began to call it the Smith place ranch in the 1880s, although the connection to the Smith who once owned the Golconda ranch is unknown. Cephas raised horses and had a hundred head of horses by 1887. He used the ranch as his base of operations and leased other grazing land in the area. Cephas was one of the first people to stake claims in Kennedy after Charley Kennedy's discovery, and he split time between there and his ranch until his death in 1909. L.A. Friedman and George Sims of Lovelock bought the ranch from his estate in 1910, paid taxes on it for two years, and then abandoned it at the same time that they stepped away from the Miller ranch lease in 1913.

Clark Ringling was a bachelor from southwestern Montana, where he was an expert horseman by his teens and became familiar with Morgan horses (Fig. 6-6). After a few years of travel, he wound up in central Nevada and then Lovelock by 1917, where he began working for John Taylor, a major Lovelock rancher, at the age of twenty-one. He moved to the Pleasant Valley area the next year, and he acquired various water rights on the west side of McKinney Pass from the Coopers in 1919 and took over the abandoned Smith place ranch. He improved the ranch by adding hay fields and an orchard, and he began to develop what eventually became a nationally renowned herd of Morgan horses that he sold as polo ponies, show horses, and breeding stock; the U.S. Army bought some for its ceremonial cavalry (R. Manley, unpublished manuscript, 2001). He had fourteen horses in 1920, one of which included a prize brood mare named Red Bessie, and he registered a total of fifty horses with the American Morgan Horse Association over the ensuing decades. He purchased a partial section land from Louis Greilich just north of the old Sweeney ranch in 1929 and used it as his main ranch into the early 1960s (Fig. 6-1); he also kept the Smith place ranch and used the water, hay, and pastures for his horses. During the Depression, when few people were buying expensive horses, Ringling operated the Black Hawk mine in Kennedy to pay expenses. Once the economy recovered, he returned to his horses full time, and he expanded by leasing grazing land in various parts of the valley and surrounding hills. He retained both properties until he moved to Colorado to live with relatives in the early 1960s. Ringling died in Adams County, Colorado, in 1969 at the age of 83. Residents of the valley remember him as a somewhat gruff but kindly person who was tall, lean, and smoked a pipe (Mary Ann Hammond, personal communication, 2011).

The Smith place ranch was shown on the 1922 township survey map as "Clark Ringling's House & Barn," the "Ringling Ranch" on the 1932 topographic map of the area, and "Kyle Spring" on the most recent map. The ranch had a house and barn by at least 1922, and Kyle presumably had a small house or cabin there when he owned the place. The Smith place ranch today includes a robustly flowing spring, several dozen fruit trees and Lombard poplars, and a corral (Fig. 6-9). A windmill a few miles north of Ringling's Pleasant Valley property is called the "Ringling Well" on the modern topographic maps. Modern ranchers still produce hay and alfalfa from the Pleasant Valley fields.



Figure 6-9. The "Smith place" ranch owned by Cephas Kyle and then Clark Ringling. Located three miles south of McKinney Pass in a small valley in the northernmost Stillwater Range. The tall trees are Lombard poplars; lower trees are a mixture of apple and other fruit trees. A major spring flows into a small pond just to the left of the poplars, and ditches divert the water into now-abandoned pastures beyond the orchard and to the right of the poplars. A small corral and loading ramp in the left foreground may be more modern. Photograph taken by the author in 2014, looking east.

SYLVAIN SIARD

Sylvain Siard was a sheep rancher who immigrated from France in 1898. He bought his first land in Pleasant Valley in October 1905, when he purchased numerous parcels from George Nixon, head of the First National Bank of Winnemucca, and Jules Sarret. Sarret possibly may have been in debt to the bank for his land, and Siard freed him and the bank of that burden. Siard registered his horse brand with the county in July 1908. When the Schells decided to move to California in 1910, Siard bought all of their combined land along the northeastern margin of the valley and in the East Range to the west. The next year, he bought the Kellock land, which had been sold to the Thomas Nelson Company. Finally, Siard bought parts of the old , ranch and related lands in the East Range from Cooper and Uniacke in the late 1920s or early 1930s. Siard became the largest land owner by far in Pleasant Valley, and the Schell and Sweeney ranches became known as the upper and lower Siard ranches, respectively.

Siard also had major land holdings and grazing rights in the Paradise Valley area north of Winnemucca. He used the Pleasant Valley ranches as the wintering ground for his sheep herds for a number of years, and he drove the herds north to the Paradise Valley area in the late spring for summer grazing. Siard's family – wife Blanche, daughter Yvonne, and sons Cesar and Robert – moved with the herds, although the children largely attended school in Winnemucca.

CHAPTER 6 – PLEASANT VALLEY RANCHES

Sylvain died in 1927, and his family continued to run the ranches. Yvonne got her teaching degree at the University of Nevada and taught at the Bushee school at the Pearce ranch for a year. Blanche, who lived in Winnemucca, died in 1975. As they got older, Cesar and Robert ran the two Pleasant Valley ranches, and they remained there as bachelor ranchers until their deaths in the late 1990s. The ranches have remained in the family.

SAY CANYON RANCH

Four men applied for a possessory claim on two hundred and sixty-five acres of grazing land, water, and juniper woodlands on the north side of Cinnabar (Granite) Mountain in 1864, in what now is Say Canyon (Chapter 1). The land reverted back to the public domain when the men dropped the claim after a few years, and Charlie Kyle began to receive tax bills in 1892 for a possessory claim in the middle of the 1864 claim area (Fig. 6-1). Kyle also owned a saloon and boarding house in Kennedy, and he divided his time between the two places. Several prospectors staked claims in Say Canyon in 1894 and used Kyle's place as a reference point. The claim notices variously called it Kyle's house or ranch, Kyle garden, and the Say house and garden.

Charlie Kyle died in 1901, and Lou Folsom either purchased it from Kyle's estate or simply started to live there. Folsom, a Civil War veteran from Illinois, had been a miner in the Dun Glen district to the north. Folsom paid the nominal taxes on the place and eked out a Spartan living by growing and selling hay and a few cattle. Allen Bragg passed by Folsom's place and described the abode as "a little willow-roofed cabin" (Bragg, 1905). Folsom died in 1916 after a wagonload of wood overturned on top of him, and his estate sold the small holding to Leland Cooper of Lovelock the next year; Cooper's uncle William was leasing the Miller ranch in Pleasant Valley at the same time. The deed mentioned that the sale included "100 acres of partially improved land" and water rights. The 1918 survey map showed "Cooper's House," an adjacent corral, a ditch going to the property from a nearby creek, and several "pole fences." Presumably, much of that was there when Kyle and Folsom owned the property. Cooper paid taxes through 1919, but his name and the Say Canyon possessory claim disappeared from the tax records starting in 1920, the first full year that the area was in Pershing County. Cooper may have kept the land but the county assessor never visited it, or he abandoned the land, which reverted to public ownership. A larger block of land that included the site was purchased several decades later, but nothing remains on the site.

FRANK LONG RANCH

Frank Long was from Battle Mountain and then northern Churchill County. He bought a small house in Kennedy in 1897 and worked as a miner in Kennedy into early 1902. He sold the house that year and bought three small, widely scattered parcels of land in northern Pleasant Valley from Jules Sarret and George Nixon; the sale was part of Sarret's repayment of a loan from

CHAPTER 6 – PLEASANT VALLEY RANCHES

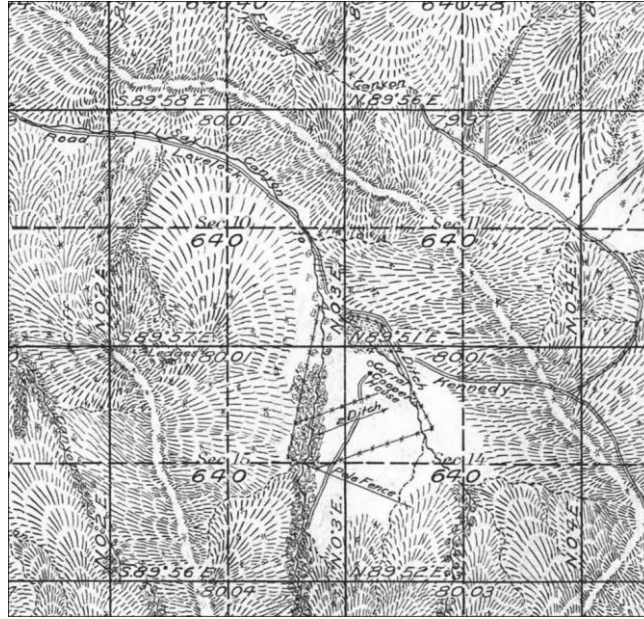


Figure 6-10. Portion of the 1918 survey map of Township 27 N., Range 37 E., showing the Say Canyon homestead owned by Charlie Kyle, Lou Folsom, and Leland Cooper. Cooper owned the homestead at the time, and the surveyor showed the corral, house, ditch, and fences. The Lovelock to Kennedy road ran through the property; French Boy Canyon, site of Rileyville, is visible to the north. The pass into Kennedy is at the far lower-left corner. From the U.S. Bureau of Land Management.

Nixon's First National Bank. One tract was at Sarret's original piece of land along the western base of the Tobin Range, and a second was along the Kennedy-Winnemucca road a mile closer to the middle of Pleasant Valley. The third plot of land was on the southeast margin of the Goldbanks Hills (Fig. 6-1). Long established a small ranch at the place along the road. When Allen Bragg passed through the area in 1905, he reported that the ranch included a hundred and twenty acres of fenced land from which Long produced about ninety tons of hay a year (Bragg, 1905). Long also had a few fruit trees and a one-and-a-half-story house amid some poplar trees. The site now contains an inoperable windmill and the foundations of the house and barn. Bragg noted that Long previously had run as many as 25,000 head of sheep, but he was focusing on cattle in 1905. Bragg added that "Mr. Long is unmarried and does his own cooking, and I will give the girls of Winnemucca a "hunch" – he is a good catch." Long died while on a visit to Reno in 1906, and the *Humboldt Star* reported that he left everything to "a number of nieces and nephews." Sylvain Siard bought the land sometime between 1907 and 1913 and added it to his growing ranch holdings in the valley, as described earlier.

OTHER RANCHING PEOPLE

The various census records from 1900 through 1930 showed that a number of additional people lived in Pleasant Valley at various times, most of them were ranchers or ranch families based on

CHAPTER 6 – PLEASANT VALLEY RANCHES

the occupations that they gave to the census takers. The 1900 and 1910 census records indicated that many of those people rented or leased their houses and farms, and they typically were there for only one census. They did not own the properties, so their names did not appear in the tax books, and the locations of those farms and ranches are unclear. The route of the 1900 census was not direct and did not give any clues about where the people lived relative to other people on the census form. The 1910 census at least listed the valley or place (such as Pleasant Valley) in which people lived, and most of the "heads" of the households also owned property for which the tax records gave a location. Still, several single-man "households" were scattered through the area, and few of them appeared in any other records. Some of those single men listed their professions as miners, but none of them showed up in other records for the Kennedy district.

Newspaper accounts, census records, and other information showed that most of the farms and ranches employed ranch hands. Their numbers varied through the year, with more men needed during the haying, branding, and summer ranching seasons. Will Pearce's diary from 1903 through 1907 routinely mentioned men who were there for a few days to weeks to help with haying, plowing, and other manual labor. Early on, most of the ranch hands were born in the United States, but it became more of a melting pot of nationalities as time went on. As the Basque sheepherders began to buy ranches in the late 1900s and 1910s, their ranch hands almost exclusively were born in France or Spain and thus presumably Basque as well (Chapter 5). Gil Prida, who had a large sheep ranch in northern part of the area, was Basque and employed seventeen men from Spain or France in 1920, as well as eighteen men who listed themselves as mixed or full-blood Indian (the term on the census record), one Mexican, and one man who was born in Colorado but had a Spanish mother.

INTERACTION BETWEEN THE RANCHES AND KENNEDY

Although people like Moses Bushee, the Sweeneys, the Leicks, and Cephas Kyle clearly ran successful, albeit extremely remote, ranches in the Pleasant Valley area prior to 1891, the new Kennedy mining camp provided benefits, and possibly some headaches, that the ranchers had not enjoyed or suffered before. The obvious benefits arrived almost immediately when several of the local ranchers – Jake Leick, Joe Miller, Warren Hillyer, and Cephas Kyle in particular – staked claims within a couple of months of Charley Kennedy's 1891 discovery and became the owners of good veins. The ranchers found themselves with regular mail and stage service and a local voting precinct within the next year. The new town was an eager local market for their locally grown meat, hay, and produce, and Patrick Sweeney even opened up a meat market in Kennedy. As the small camp blossomed into an active town, the ranchers could go to Kennedy to buy merchandise at the various stores, eat in restaurants, and even have a drink at one of the several saloons. Construction of the school house in late 1893 provided the area children with the first formal education that they had ever received, and, not coincidentally, freed the parents from home schooling their children. The Sweeneys, even though they did not have children of their own, were among the major advocates for building a school. Social visits were commonplace, and nobody minded an hour-long horseback or wagon ride to see a friend

CHAPTER 6 – PLEASANT VALLEY RANCHES

because that was normal for the time: it was a welcome break from the routine and a chance to spend time with other people. The ranches and Kennedy essentially were one big community, and everyone interacted in one way or another.

As time went on and Kennedy progressively grew smaller and less influential, the roles between the ranches and Kennedy gradually reversed (Chapter 5). Will Pearce's ranch became something of the central focal point of the area, both geographically and economically. Pearce and other ranchers still provided food and hay to the people in Kennedy as needed, but the Kennedy people and visitors to the area often turned to Pearce for blacksmithing, lodging, supplies, and other services as needed. Pearce also hired some of the Kennedy men for haying and other jobs. Construction of another school at his ranch in late 1906 also made it the educational center after the Kennedy school closed, and having a new teacher every year or so created a small amount of diversity. A telephone line was finally strung down to Pleasant Valley in 1916. The telephone company put the valley's only phone at the Cooper ranch, so anyone wanting to call out went there, and the Coopers relayed messages left by outside callers. The decline in the population also led to a reduction and eventual end to stage and mail service, first in the mid 1900s and then for good in 1918. By that time, however, most of the ranchers and some of the other people had automobiles and could pick up their mail in Winnemucca in just a few hours. Whoever was in town would carry the mail for everyone, and people would stop by that ranch to see if they had any mail. Automobiles also made it easy for a group of young people to pile into a vehicle and take a ride into Winnemucca for a dance or to do some shopping.

The ranchers themselves interacted quite a bit. From 1907 onward, all of the ranch children attended the school at the Pearce ranch, and some of them even boarded there during the school week. Will Pearce's diaries and ledgers documented the large amount of shared labor and equipment between the ranches. If someone needed another plow or wagon, then they could borrow it from another ranch, and ranchers would join forces to put up hay at one ranch and then move to the next one. The land was largely open range, and the various cattle and horse herds intermingled continuously. All of the ranchers pitched in to keep track of the combined herds, even tending to a sick cow belonging to someone else. This was nothing new: a short note in the *Humboldt Register* in 1875 mentioned a similar joint effort at rounding up cattle. The good grazing lands were limited, and some of the ranchers worked out arrangements for grazing shared herds on privately owned or leased lands. For example, H.J. Lorentzen ran the Golconda ranch in 1903, and he and several other horse owners worked out a plan where the owners could graze their livestock on the lush ranch pastures, and Lorentzen got a cut of the profits when the horses were sold.

The people at the Miller ranch over the years figured less in the Kennedy story and the ranch-town interaction than the people at the other ranches. Certainly, not everything about this remote part of the county was reported in the newspapers, and the people at the Miller ranch undoubtedly were not recluses. Yet, with the exception of Joe Miller, who basically abandoned his ranch duties in 1895 or so after he discovered veins in Kennedy, little was mentioned about people from the Miller ranch spending much time in Kennedy, even during the boom years of the early 1890s and smaller boom of the early 1900s when almost every coming and going merited a note in the paper. Will Pearce's journal showed routine and frequent sharing between

CHAPTER 6 – PLEASANT VALLEY RANCHES

his ranch and the Miller-Cooper ranch in the 1900s, and the Miller people also shared livestock duties with the Golconda and other ranches. Part of the reason may have been that the Miller ranch, at least until the mid 1910s, was the only ranch that was run by managers hired by the owner, who was Susan Miller for the first twenty years of Kennedy's existence. Jules Sarret and Elmer Salinas, the managers from the mid 1890s to the mid 1910s, were hired to run the ranch and possibly had less latitude with non-ranch activities. Also, neither man had school-age children during their times at the ranch (Sarret's children were very young), so they were not included in family-related interactions that children almost require. Pearce's journals, by contrast, show that he allowed himself days off to go visiting, and his daughters socialized frequently with similar-age kids in Kennedy and at other ranches, even as they grew to be young adults.

The only apparent (or at least reported) disputes between ranchers took place in 1900 and 1901. In late March 1900, Adam and John Schell were arrested for allegedly beating a sheepherder who worked for Thomas Nelson, a large sheep rancher in the region, but the case was dismissed. In late 1901, Will and Nick Pearce sued Jules Sarret, who ran the Miller ranch, for trespassing. Sarret and his herders apparently were moving their sheep from one area to another, and they passed through the Pearces' land. The Pearces argued that the herd damaged the land. After hearing testimony from both sides – which included testimony from the Basque herders using a French translator – the judge dismissed the suit because "there was barely anything to damage" (alluding to the sparse valley vegetation) and that other sheep herds had moved through the same area before.

Several extended families played prominent roles in the ranching community. The Hoffmans and Hadens owned ranches in Buffalo Valley on the east side of the Tobin Range. Jake Leick married Lena Hoffman, and Lena lived with Jake at their Golconda ranch and then in Kennedy before she divorced him and moved back to become a full partner in the family ranch. The Hadens had a ranch in the northern part of the area, and two Kennedy miners, Peter Laux and Albert Kattenhorn, each married one of the Haden daughters. Ella (Haden) Laux was left a widow when Peter was murdered in 1912, and Leslie (Haden) Kattenhorn remained married to Albert until his 1916 death. John Guthrie started the Sonoma Ranch in Grass Valley south of Winnemucca around 1870, and it became one of the premier ranches in the region. Over time, his son Frank and his grandson John I. Guthrie managed the old Sweeney ranch, as described earlier. Another son, Will, became the county assessor who collected taxes from all of the ranches (as well as everything else), and he married Violet George, the sister of Charlie George and niece of Charlie Kyle and Cephas Kyle, all of Kennedy. John I. Guthrie married into the Floyd family, which had the other large ranch in Grass Valley, and John and his wife eventually took over that ranch from Mrs. Elizabeth Floyd. Joe McCoy owned a ranch in the northern part of Jersey Valley in the early 1900s, and Melvin, one of his sons, married Mabel Pearce, one of Will Pearce's daughters. Melvin, Mabel, and their children lived at the Pearce ranch in the 1930s, and the children were the last ones to attend the school there. Melvin owned or leased mines in Kennedy and Goldbanks while they were living at the ranch.

Chapter 7



RILEYVILLE: FRENCH BOY AND SAY CANYONS

The formal Kennedy mining district spilled over into French Boy and Say Canyons on the far west side of the range (Figs. 1-2, 7-1). Prospectors staked claims on the west side in the 1890s, but they had little success (Chapter 3). That changed in the early 1900s when Patrick Riley and others made good discoveries in French Boy Canyon. The small collection of tents and houses that sprang up in the canyon was named Rileyville and centered on Riley's small arrastra mill and stone cabin. (The spelling of Riley's name had several variations in documents, but Riley was the spelling used by his family.)

Getting to Kennedy from Rileyville involved a relatively short ride or drive over the pass (snow permitting in the winter), and Rileyville residents initially went to Kennedy for basic supplies, mail, and social activities. The French Boy Canyon area effectively became a separate mining center as the decades progressed (Tingley, 1985). All of the claims staked on the west side of the range were recorded in the Kennedy district books until 1916, and miners then went into Winnemucca or, after 1919, Lovelock to record their claims. Trade and shipping increasingly involved Lovelock and Mill City along the railroad (Fig. 4-13). Rileyville at times was bigger than Kennedy at the same moment in time, depending on the peak or trough that each area was experiencing in its separate way. "Bigger" was relative because neither place had all that many people after the early 1900s. People in the two areas knew each other and interacted, but the connections between the two mining centers gradually drifted apart.

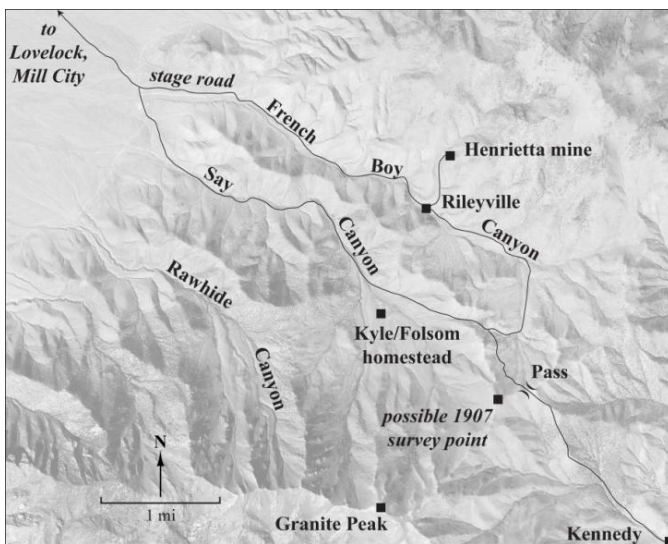


Figure 7-1. Map showing the principal landmarks in the western part of the Kennedy district, including French Boy, Say, and Rawhide Canyons. The stage roads to Kennedy (narrow black lines) were created by 1894, and the road through French Boy Canyon became the preferred route (see also Fig. 4-13). Surveyed claims in the late 1900s referenced a survey point that was just west of the pass into Kennedy. Base image from Microsoft Bing Maps.

CHAPTER 7 – RILEYVILLE

Much of the claim staking and mining in the Rileyville area progressively centered on the rich veins that ultimately became the Henrietta mine (Fig. 7-2). Prospectors staked fifty-eight claims in the overall area in the 1890s (mostly in 1894), a hundred and twenty-eight from 1900 to 1913, twenty-three each in the 1917-1918 and 1926-1929 periods, and four in the 1930s. Miners staked eight additional claims in the 1930s in Rawhide Canyon to the south, which likely led to the several small mines and prospects about a thousand feet south of the mouth of Rawhide Canyon.

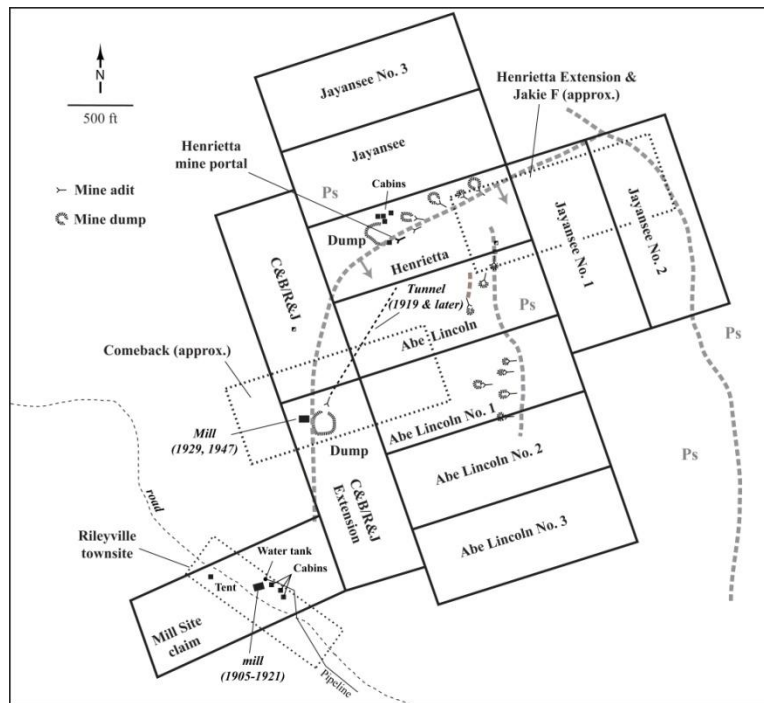


Figure 7-2. Generalized geologic and claim map of the Henrietta mine area at Rileyville. Paleozoic sedimentary rocks of the Havallah Group (Ps) host all of the veins. The wide dashed gray lines are faults. The arcuate, south-plunging fault at the Henrietta mine tilts to the south beneath the ground surface; the arrows show the tilt direction. The straighter north-trending faults are nearly vertical. The claim map was created in 1920 and showed the claims, mine workings, mills, and buildings in the Rileyville townsite at that time; some mine workings and newer buildings were added using aerial imagery and on-site inspection. The positions of the Henrietta Fraction, Jakie F, and Comeback claims are based upon various legal descriptions. The road through Rileyville (short dashed line) ascends from left to right along French Boy Canyon. Another mill was built in about 1947, possibly near the Henrietta mine portal. Geology simplified from Whitebread and Sorensen (1980). Claim map from the Pershing County Recorder, Lovelock, Nevada.

Just like the main part of the Kennedy district, Rileyville had several periods of activity, each followed by a lull of one to several years. Claim staking and mining by Riley and a few others from about 1903 to 1906 started everything off. A Susanville mining company, as well as a number of other prospectors, staked dozens of claims and produced a modest amount of ore from 1907 to 1910. They abandoned everything in 1910 and 1911, which allowed Frank Forvilly to stake the Henrietta claim in 1912. Except for Forvilly and a few other prospectors, the area was nearly deserted for several years before the onset of the next stage of claim staking and

mining by what evolved into the Jayansee Mining Company, which developed the Henrietta mine from 1916 to about 1921. Jayansee kept all of its claims and the mine until it sold or leased everything to a new company, United Metals Mining Company, in 1928. United Metals also staked many claims of its own and expanded the claim block. That company only lasted for three years, and the area was quiet for nearly a decade. The final two mining efforts at the Henrietta mine were small and took place in the years just before and after World War II.

As described in Chapter 2, the veins had a variety of precious and base metals. Newspaper reports about the area over the years variably described the Henrietta mine as a gold-silver, zinc, lead, or base-metal vein, depending on the price of metals and thus what was being mined at any one time.

FRENCH BOY AND SAY CANYONS: 1900 TO 1912

The French Boy and Say Canyons area languished for a decade after the Kennedy 1894 boom. Lou Folsom had taken over Charlie Kyle's small Say Canyon homestead in 1902 but did not do any mining (Fig. 7-1; Chapter 6). Patrick Riley, Phil Constantine, Con Kennedy (unrelated to Charley Kennedy), and Ed Stone staked a total of fourteen claims in French Boy Canyon in 1904. Orrin Sawyer staked a claim with Peter Laux in 1905, and Mortimer Mason and Joe Mitchell staked six more claims in the summer of 1906. One of the Riley-Constantine claims was for a mill site and water ditch along French Boy Creek, as described earlier (Fig. 7-3). The claim notices and later information showed that the seven Riley-Constantine claims (including the mill site), Kennedy's five claims, and additional claims staked individually by Riley and Stone were adjacent or nearly so, so that early stage of prospecting and mining was near what later became the Henrietta mine on the hill just north of town. One of Riley's claims proved to be a good one, and the *Silver State* called it a "big strike of gold" in August 1904. Riley told the paper that the big strike "is proving to be as great a find as at first reported and that Kennedy will have a boom if nothing happens."

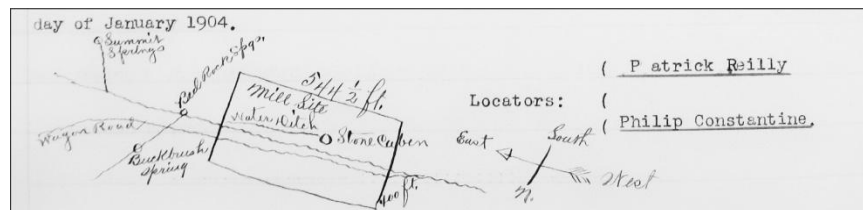


Figure 7-3. Sketch map of the "Mill Site" in a claim notice filed by Patrick Reilly [sic] and Philip Constantine on January 1, 1904. On the basis of other maps and modern features, the mill was a small arrastra on the north side of the creek and wagon road. North is towards the bottom of the sketch.

The small community of Rileyville began to form near the mines and claims in French Boy Canyon in 1904, and it had a few wooden buildings and tents (Fig. 7-4). Riley's mill was a small, concrete arrastra in the center of the townsite. The population of Rileyville in the mid

CHAPTER 7 – RILEYVILLE

1900s probably was a dozen or so people. Residents included Riley, Kennedy, and Ed Stone (who also spent time in Kennedy); Mason, Mitchell, and Sawyer apparently left soon after staking their claims. The Sydney Brown family moved over from Kennedy after Riley married their already-pregnant daughter Elsie; the Rileys' daughter Dorothy was born in 1905 in Rileyville. Riley did the assessment work on the three Riley-Constantine claims for three years. Constantine had moved to Santa Rosa, California, to be with his family, and Riley gained full ownership of their claims after placing a notice of forfeiture in the *Humboldt Star* in early 1907. Both Riley and Con Kennedy continued to work on their claims and stake new ones of their own.

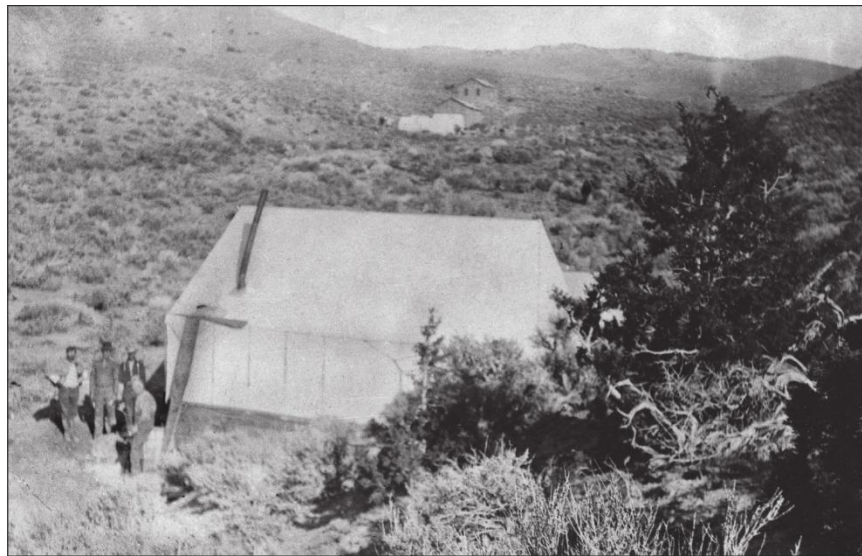


Figure 7-4. Photograph of Rileyville along French Boy Creek, taken in about 1905 looking east-northeast. The white tents in the background are close to where a cement arrastra and various piles of lumber are visible today, which likely were Patrick Riley's mill (Fig. 7-3). Nothing is known about the foreground tent or the names of the people. The future Henrietta mine was up the hill to the left of the photograph. The main part of the Kennedy district was beyond the ridge in the far distance. Photograph used with permission of the Nevada Historical Society.

Rileyville grew to two or three dozen people over the next several years, and miners staked a hundred and ten new claims in French Boy Canyon and parts of adjacent Say Canyon in 1907 alone. Two groups of newcomers staked the majority of the new claims, many of them in April through June. The first group of largely new people staked claims in the first few days of April. Ed Stone of Kennedy had been working for the Spencer mining company in the northeastern Clan Alpine Mountains in late 1906 and early 1907 (Chapter 3). William Gilliland and Imle Coulson had been placer miners in the Coeur d'Alene mining district of northern Idaho in the early 1900s. They and their families (Gilliland's wife Ella, Imle's wife Harriet and their son Charles Coulson, and the Coulson's granddaughter, Effie Downs) were in the Clan Alpine area by late 1906. They met Stone there and then went with him to French Boy Canyon. Stone had staked the Cordelia claim on the north side of French Boy Canyon in 1904. From

CHAPTER 7 – RILEYVILLE

April into June, he and the other people staked five adjacent claims that together comprised the Cordelia group. At the same time and in the same area, Luther Patterson and E.L. Balya staked two claims together, Frank Forvilly staked nine claims with Herman Mueller that abutted the Cordelia group of claims, and Forvilly's younger brother Mike staked a claim next to one of his brother's claims.

Stone's Cordelia claim was a half mile north of Rileyville, so all of the contiguous Cordelia and Forvilly claims were in that area. The *Humboldt Star* wrote about a gold strike on the "Ed Stone property in French Boy canyon," adding that "Goldfield parties have the property under bond" and that their mining had struck a rich gold-bearing vein. Matt Jelinek and Peter Stewart staked ten claims close to the Cordelia group in June. Jelinek was a director of the Hamburg Gold Mining Company near Goldfield in 1906, and he and possibly Stewart may have been the "Goldfield parties" that bonded Ed Stone's claims. None of the people, including Jelinek and Stewart, stayed in French Boy Canyon for more than a few months. Stone and the Coulsons staked some claims in the Goldbanks district north of Kennedy later in 1907. The Coulsons moved from there to the resurgent Chaffee (Dun Glen) district at the north end of the East Range before heading north to Spokane, where they and the Gillillands were next-door neighbors by 1910. Luther Patterson was in Spokane that year as well, and all of those people probably knew each other before their time in Nevada. Despite the strike on one of his claims, Stone abandoned all of his French Boy Canyon claims by 1910 and returned to the main part of Kennedy to focus on his claims there.

Another new group of people began staking claims at the same time that Stone and his colleagues were staking theirs. Jules Alexander, a prominent retail merchant in Susanville, California, was the leader of this group. Alexander, Patrick Riley, George Dobyns, Frank Cady, Henry Swain, and Robert Rankin individually or collectively staked more than sixty new claims in April and May, and they added three more in June and July. Alexander and Dobyns staked the first claims in April, most of them with Patrick Riley, and Alexander, Swain, Rankin, and Cady were back a month later to stake another twenty-eight claims. Almost all of the combined claims were north of Rileyville on the north side of French Boy Canyon, the same area where Stone and the others were working. Riley staked two additional claims in the same area, putting them in Sydney and Emma Brown's name, who by then were his in-laws. Charles R. Bass, J.N. Jones, and Noble S. McKinsey staked two claims apiece next to the other claims in the middle of May.

All of these new men, like Alexander, were from Susanville. Cady managed the Susanville Water Department, Rankin was a lawyer, and Dobyns and Swain were nearby farmers. Other members of the group included Isaac Knoch, Alexander's brother-in-law and the son of Alexander's business partner David Knoch, and Jack Elledge, another Susanville-area farmer. Alexander, Knoch, Rankin, and Cady appear to have been the driving forces and money behind the initial work, and they hired Susanville-area farmers – Dobyns, Swain, Elledge, Bass, McKinsey, and Jones – to do much of the work, with Alexander on site to supervise. Rileyville was a place for the leaders to invest their money, and it was a place for the other men to supplement the farm income. None of them knew anything about mining by 1907, and Riley must have provided the missing expertise. How Alexander learned about French Boy Canyon is

CHAPTER 7 – RILEYVILLE

a mystery: he was a fixture in Susanville and Riley rarely traveled beyond Humboldt County, but they somehow managed to connect.

A short article in the *Reno Evening Gazette* in late May 1907 mentioned that Alexander, Elledge, and Dobyns had incorporated the Nevada Eastern Mining Company, but the company did not file any official paperwork. The article did not mention where the company was working, although Alexander and others were active in both French Boy Canyon and the Rosebud district west of Winnemucca in September 1907. The *Silver State* published two very short articles about the Rileyville area in early 1908. The first one reported that Frank Forvilly had just discovered wide gold-silver veins that had from three to thirty-five dollars per ton in gold. The second article appeared two months later and mentioned that Patrick Riley had a "small force of men" working for him at Rileyville who had sunk a hundred-foot-deep shaft along one of the veins. Neither article mentioned Alexander's group by name. Despite or because of this success, Riley in October sold his share of all of the claims that he had staked with Jules Alexander to Alexander, but he held onto the claims that he had staked with Phil Constantine in 1904. Dobyns sold his share of the claims to Alexander in June 1908, and Alexander eventually owned all of the collective claims.

Frederick Ransome, the U.S. Geological Survey geologist, passed through French Boy Canyon in 1908 and wrote only that "a little prospecting is going on" (Ransome, 1909). After the flurry of claim staking in 1907, Jules Alexander and his group apparently did very little work beyond the minimum needed to keep the claims valid. However, Alexander and four men formed the Humboldt-Nevada Mining Company, Ltd., in March 1909. Besides Alexander, the other directors included Hubert B. Vaile, a "capitalist" from London, England; Edmond Godchaux, a broker from San Francisco; Isaac Knoch of Susanville; and Charles H. Wilson, a lawyer from San Francisco. Alexander's earlier group needed more money, and funding from Vaile would let the project move forward. Edward Stables was the authorized agent for the corporation. Various mining trade journals reported that Stables was a mining engineer who had worked at mines in Australia and Canada. He possibly had heard about Alexander's project through mining circles and interested Vaile in making the investment. Mining trade journals in the spring of 1909 mentioned that "Edward Stables, of London, is examining mines in the Kennedy district of Nevada" and that the Humboldt-Nevada Mining Co., Ltd., "a syndicate of California and European capitalists, have acquired valuable mining interests in the East Mountain range, in Humboldt county," with Stables as the manager.

Alexander staked eleven more claims in March 1909, three of them named after Vaile. The claims staked by Stone, the Coulsons, or Gillillands in 1907 were in the area of Alexander's large claim block. Those people officially abandoned their claims in 1908, and some of Alexander's new 1909 claims probably included the abandoned claims. Alexander sold all of the accumulated claims to the Humboldt-Nevada Mining Company in March and April, all for a nominal sum, and the company started mining.

This new mining venture garnered no mention in the Winnemucca newspapers in 1909 and later years, and few records remain of the company's actual existence in the area. The U.S. Geological Survey-U.S. Bureau of Mines annual report on mining activity noted that "the Humboldt Nevada Mining Company (Limited) made no 1909 shipments," which at least showed that the company was there. The 1910 annual summary reported that the St. Patrick

CHAPTER 7 – RILEYVILLE

mine (one of Riley's claims that he sold to Alexander, who in turn sold it to the company) produced oxidized gold, silver and lead ore, and that the ores were shipped directly to smelters. According to that report, the property had three tunnels that were 700, 478, and 465 feet in length, so the miners clearly had been far more industrious than the very limited newspaper coverage implied.

The company ended its Rileyville project in 1911. Humboldt County taxed the company for "two frame buildings used as a boarding house and office" in Rileyville in 1909 and 1910, but the buildings disappeared from the tax rolls under any ownership after 1910. Neither the mine nor the company appeared in the annual mining activity reports after 1910, and Alexander did not file annual assessment notices on any of the claims in 1911 and apparently abandoned them. Vaile possibly decided that he did not want to fund the project any longer, which effectively ended the operation, and Alexander and Knoch were deeply involved with Susanville politics and business by 1912. Two miners, John Laane and Pete Blanchard, lived at the Rileyville boarding house" in 1910 and 1911, and they periodically bought meat and hay from Pleasant Valley rancher Will Pearce. Pearce paid the company about twenty dollars for pipe and oil in July 1911, and he also hauled four tons of mining supplies from Rileyville to the main part of the Kennedy district for Charley Kennedy the next month. Both actions suggest a defunct project.

Frank and Mike Forvilly stayed in Rileyville and staked one of Con Kennedy's abandoned claims in 1911, which led to a gunfight (Chapter 4). Frank also staked the Henrietta claim on the north side of French Boy Canyon on January 1, 1912, just up the hill from Rileyville and in the center of the earlier claim staking and mining (Fig. 7-2). (The claim notice called it the "Henriettie" claim. Later legal documents variously called it the Henriettie, Henriette, Henreeta, Henrietty, or, most commonly, Henrietta claim and mine; Henrietta is used here.) Alexander's claims were open for restaking at the start of 1912, and Forvilly staked the Henrietta on January 1, the first day that he could do so. The obvious place to stake a claim was across the St. Patrick claims, which already had produced ore from three tunnels. The St. Patrick claims area were oriented to the north, and the Henrietta claim trended about seventy degrees east of north, so Forvilly sited his claim to include the mine adits and the richer parts of the older claims (Fig. 7-2). The Forvilly brothers soon heard about Joe Nenzel's discoveries of rich silver veins in what would become the Rochester district in the southern Humboldt Range (Schrader, 1913; Shamberger, 1973). They headed across the valley to the Humboldt Range and, in the fall, Frank staked several claims on Lincoln Hill in the western part of Rochester. The claims proved to be very valuable, and the Forvillys remained in Rochester for several years to develop the mines, although Frank kept the Henrietta valid and Mike came back in 1913 to restake an abandoned claim in the main part of the Kennedy district.

The French Boy Canyon mining was not newsworthy, but Con Kennedy shooting at and wounding Patrick Riley in September 1907 was big news in Winnemucca and even Reno (Chapter 4). Riley returned to French Boy Canyon and continued with his mining, but he sold almost all of his claims to Jules Alexander later in the year. He and his family, including the Browns, moved west across Buena Vista Valley to Fitting, in Spring Valley. Riley and his wife Elsie sold their nearby homestead for a good sum in October 1911. Unfortunately, Riley's alcoholism began to dominate his life, and he left his wife and daughter in late 1911 (Hapgood,

1985). Riley went to the Dayton area east of Carson City and then to Wyoming, never to be seen again by the family. Dorothy remembered that her father had "a heart of gold" but could not handle the alcohol. Elsie filed for divorce in 1912 and was awarded their house in Spring Valley and the money from the sale of the ranch.

Dorothy Hapgood recalled that Con Kennedy sold his claims and left the area. Deed records show that he sold a quarter of a share of seven claims in January 1908 and then did the annual assessment work on them in early 1909. The Forvilly brothers restaked one of his claims in January 1911, so he probably abandoned them all in 1910 after moving to Lovelock. Kennedy apparently did not see it that way and took a shot at Frank Forvilly in a Fitting saloon. Juries twice sent him to the state mental hospital in Reno because of his bizarre behavior at his trials, and he never returned (Chapter 4).

THE JAYANSEE MINING COMPANY: 1916 TO 1928

French Boy and Say Canyons, with the exception of the Henrietta claim, were wide open for staking in 1913, but the area was ignored until 1916. Frank Forvilly may have realized that the Henrietta claim could be turned into a good mine with proper financial backing. His success at Rochester introduced him to mining investors, which gave him the chance to interest them in the Henrietta project. Alex Hall, Jim Barnes, and Lee Campbell signed an eighteen-month lease with Forvilly in August 1916 to mine the Henrietta claim and then staked four claims called the Abe Lincoln group the following February. The Abe Lincoln claim abutted the south side of the Henrietta claim, and the Abe Lincoln Nos. 1, 2 and 3 stepped progressively to the south above the south-plunging Henrietta vein (Fig. 7-2). Hall, a bond broker from Oakland, California, may have been the money behind the project, and Barnes and Campbell were local miners and prospectors who did the work for a share of the action. However, Hall sold his one-third share in both the lease and the claims in June 1917 to William Borland, a miner from Rye Patch and the son of Robert Borland, one of Kennedy's early prospectors and miners.

Barnes, Borland, and Ray Clemmons, a Lovelock farmer who bought out Campbell, leased all of their claims to Robert Jones of Berkeley, California, in August 1917 for five years. The agreement included the lease on Forvilly's Henrietta claim, which they assigned to Jones. Jones would pay the three men a net royalty on ore extracted from the Abe Lincoln claims, and the royalties from the Henrietta would go to Forvilly as part of the earlier lease. Jones also had to erect a mill that could handle fifty tons of ore a day within ninety days. Barnes and Clemmons staked several new claims over the next few months to round out the claim block, including two – the CB and RJ – along the west side of the other claims. They also staked the mill-site claim for Jones' mill, which was the same location as Patrick Riley's 1904 mill. Jones and John W. Clarke then staked seven adjoining claims, including the four Jayansee claims (also called the J&C, the initials of Jones' and Clarke's last names) along the northern and eastern sides of the combined Henrietta-Abe Lincoln claim block (Fig. 7-2).

Frank Forvilly staked two new claims – the Henrietta Extension and Jakie F claims – in June 1918. Later records indicated that they were partial claims that overlapped the eastern end

CHAPTER 7 – RILEYVILLE

of the Henrietta claim and the Jayansee No. 1 and No. 2 claims (Fig. 7-2). The General Mining Act of 1872 gave miners ownership of a vein exposed on their claim, even if it extended beyond the lateral sides of their claim. The two Jayansee claims had seniority, but Forvilly successfully argued in a 1929 lawsuit that he was only claiming the underground extension of his vein.

The Jayansee Mining Company was incorporated on December 19, 1918, in Alameda County, California. The five directors and initial shareholders included Clarke, Jones, Joseph Blackett and William Stewart of Sausalito, California, and Cameron W. Prud'Homme of Berkeley. Clarke was a mining investor and Jones was a bond broker, and they already had worked together on other mining projects near Grass Valley, California. Blackett and Stewart were well-to-do engineers in the marine shipping business. Prud'Homme was the treasurer for a major automobile company in San Francisco and later became a Tony-nominated actor. Clarke moved to Lovelock to oversee the new operations. He, with ninety thousand shares, was by far the largest shareholder upon incorporation. Jones was second with fifty thousand, and he then received another hundred thousand shares when he transferred the lease and new claims to the company in January 1919.

The exact series of connections is unknown, such as who first met Forvilly in Rochester and then hired Barnes, Borland, Campbell, and Clemmons to stake the claims. Hall, given his Berkeley location and connection to banking, could have been an advance agent for Jones and Clarke, or he could have been a separate investor who later interested Jones and Clarke in the project. Regardless, the end result was a consolidated package of new and old claims that then became the property of (or, in the case of the Henrietta, was leased by) the Jayansee company in early 1919. Jones and Clarke had a good block of claims to mine, with proven past production, and Forvilly and the original claim stakers would get a percentage of the profits from that mining.

Even though the company did not form until late 1918, Jones and Clarke started work in late 1917, almost immediately after Jones leased the claims. The *Lovelock Review-Miner* mentioned the arrival of Clarke in December 1917. It added that Clark and Jones were to open up a silver-lead mine shortly, and that the machinery for a fifty-ton-per-day mill already had been shipped. Clark told the paper in late December that most of the machinery had arrived and that fifteen miners were at work.

The miners quickly began to produce ore for the new mill. The 1917 U.S. Geological Survey-U.S. Bureau of Mines annual report mentioned that "oxidized lead ore with silver and gold came from the Henrietta and Abe Lincoln group." A 1929 property report on the mine noted that three carloads of ore were shipped in 1917 (Hill, 1929), and that smaller shipments were made in subsequent years. The Lovelock newspaper began to run short articles on the new project (Fig. 7-5) and reported that some of the ore contained "several hundred ounces in silver and other minerals of value," including copper, cobalt, and some gold. One sample, although not representative of the whole, had "246 ounces of silver, \$50.15 in lead, and several dollars in gold." The prominent mention of lead in the articles was important: the United States declared war on Germany in April 1917 and Austria and Hungary in December. The government added price supports for lead to ensure that there were enough bullets, which was a boon for anyone who had a lead mine.

The plan that started with the claim staking was to mine the shallower parts of the vein at the Henrietta mine and also dig a tunnel at a lower elevation to intersect the vein at depth beneath the Abe Lincoln claims ("Tunnel" on Fig. 7-2). Mining from the tunnel could proceed upwards along the vein towards the shallower workings of the Henrietta mine and also sideways along the veins. By February 1920, the miners had dug two hundred feet of the planned six-hundred-foot-long lower tunnel to intersect the vein in the sulfide zone at depth and to drain water from the lower parts of the mine workings. Mining by then had also opened up "several hundred feet" of tunnels in the Henrietta mine itself, and it had reached the oxide-sulfide transition at a depth of about a hundred and forty feet. The company told the *Reno Evening Gazette* in February that about twenty thousand tons of ore had been identified in the mine, and that one high-grade segment of the vein had a value of seventy-five to a hundred dollars per ton. Zinc remained a problem and the newspaper noted that it was "the only factor to detract from the otherwise favorable character of the ore from the market standpoint."

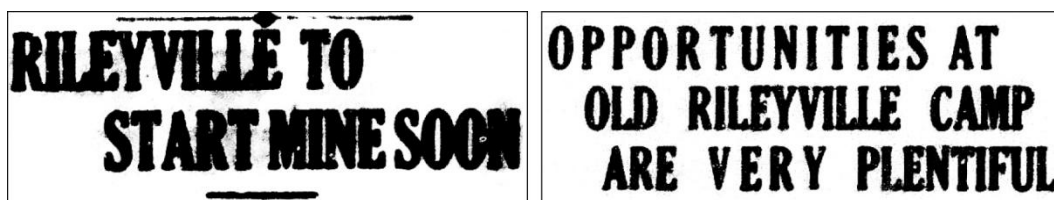


Figure 7-5. Headlines from the *Lovelock Review-Miner* about the start of the Jayansee project in Rileyville. Left, September 7, 1917; right, September 6, 1918.

Despite the active mining and the arrival and supposed installation of the mill equipment in late 1917, it took two more years for the mill to be fully operational. Even then, it only ran sporadically and had to be modified several times; the newspapers described each modification as a new mill. The original mill equipment may have been ordered on the basis of assays of the oxide ore at the Henrietta mine, but a different milling process was needed once the lower tunnel penetrated the deeper sulfide zones. The varying prices of metals during this period – including the price subsidies during the war and then their elimination afterwards – also may have required modifications to maximize the amount of "worthwhile" metals that came out of the mill. Ultimately, Leroy E. Sowers in 1919 installed a Huntington mill, similar to the one used at the Jenkins mill in Kennedy, and two concentrating tables to capture the ore after milling (steps 5, 6A, 8, and 9, Fig. 2-15). The mill could process fifty tons of ore per day, and the resulting concentrates were hauled to the railroad at Mill City for shipment to a smelter.

Jones and Clark bought into the Rileyville properties when the price of silver was eighty-four cents per ounce, and they watched it rise more than thirty percent to \$1.13 in 1919 and then drop to around a dollar per ounce the next two years (Kelly and others, 2013). Gold remained steady at about twenty dollars an ounce, and lead stayed at around seven cents a pound. The big problem was that the price of zinc, which everyone reported was abundant in the mine, dropped by fifty percent to eight cents a pound after the war (Siebenthal and Stoll, 1922), which added to the magnitude of the smelter penalties. Regardless, the healthy early

CHAPTER 7 – RILEYVILLE

increase in the price of silver and the lead subsidies during the war allowed Jones and Clark to find investors, create a company, and pursue the Henrietta mining venture. Unfortunately for the them and the company, the silver price plunged even more to sixty-three cents per ounce in 1921 and remained close to that value or much lower for years after that. As the silver price began its steep decline in mid to late 1920, mining and the mill effectively stopped as Jayansee reassessed its situation, and Jones just did the required annual assessment work on the ten claims and mill site to at least hold onto the properties.

The following summer, Jones and Clarke had their miners search for higher-grade zones in the mine that would increase the average grade and the amount of concentrates shipped. The miners found one zone, twelve feet long and eighteen inches thick, that assayed five hundred dollars per ton in gold and silver, more than five times the earlier average grade. After continued mining showed that this zone was fairly large, Clark and a mining engineer went out in August and made plans to restart the mill. Even with the silver price at half of what it was in 1920, the increased quantity of silver being mined and the ease of mining the pocket made up for the lower price. Unfortunately, that thick zone was finite in size and eventually was mined out. Jones only did the assessment work in 1922 and 1923, indicating that mining had stopped.

The newspapers did not mention the Rileyville area again until June 1924, when the *Humboldt Star* mentioned that "development work has been resumed" on Forvilley's and Jones' properties. According to the article, mining had identified a "large tonnage" of ore in the mine, and that quite a bit of ore already was on the mine dumps. Two of the Reno newspapers mentioned in August that Jones had (again) modified the mill to treat lead-silver ore. New mining activity reportedly was "brisk," and the *Nevada State Journal* noted that the mill had been "making regular shipments of concentrates to Salt Lake smelters."

As a result of this success, Jones began the process of buying Frank Forvilley's three claims (which included the Henrietta mine) in May 1924 on behalf of the Jayansee company. The company would pay the \$50,000 purchase price by August 1926 through a series of installment payments, and Forvilley would get a fifteen percent royalty in the meantime. Despite the erratic success its mine, the company – or at least Jones – apparently was serious about staying in the area. Interest was not the same as continued success, however, and the newspapers did not mention the project for several years; Jones only did the assessment work on the company's claims in 1925 through 1928 to keep them valid. With no mining income, Jones and Jayansee defaulted on the purchase agreement, and Frank Forvilley remained the owner of his three claims.

A 1929 lawsuit filed by Jayansee stated that the company had invested \$70,000 in the mine and \$12,000 in the various mining and milling equipment, mostly from 1917 to 1921. The Jayansee miners dug eleven hundred feet of tunnels in that period, including the main portal and the various underground workings and tunnels along the vein. The 1929 property report (Hill, 1929) indicated that Jayansee completed only two hundred feet of the planned six-hundred-foot lower tunnel before the price of silver plunged. When the value of silver, the company's major commodity, dropped by half, it was impossible for them to continue with the expensive tunnel that, until it hit the hoped-for deep rich vein, was entirely in barren rock that generated no income.

THE FORVILLY BROTHERS AND THE UNITED METALS MINING COMPANY: 1928 TO 1931

Two new mining companies – the Forvilly Metals Corporation and the United Metals Mining Company – joined Jayansee in pursuit of the veins at Rileyville in 1928. Robert Jones remained the driving force behind Jayansee, but John Clarke left the company sometime in the early 1920s. Ralph H. Moore, another wealthy ship-building engineer from Berkeley, replaced him and became the company president in the late 1920s.

Frank Forvilly still owned his three claims and thus the main workings of the Henrietta mine. His brother and partner Mike moved to southern California in the mid 1920s to be with their sister, but two more of the Forvilly brothers joined Frank in Rileyville in 1928. Ernest Forvilly was the first to arrive, heading west from the Forvilly home in Wisconsin. The second brother, George Forvilly, was a mine owner near Butte, Montana, and he, his wife Alice, and their son La Mar moved to French Boy Canyon. Frank and Ernest formed the privately held Forvilly Metals Corporation on September 10, 1929, and deeded the Henrietta, Henrietta Extension, and Jakie F claims to the company. Frank was the president and manager and Ernest was the secretary and treasurer. The two Forvillys enlisted Frank Reber to be the vice president and assistant secretary in charge of finances. Reber, a former newspaper editor, met the Forvillys while he was living in Rochester and writing about mining in the West for the *National Miner*. Reber also purchased mining properties in the area into the 1920s, so he knew a lot about mining.

Gottlieb Ritz started out as a fruit farmer near San Jose, California, and then created the large Sunset Canneries in Modesto, with Gottlieb as president and his son Walter as the treasurer. The two men started the privately held United Metals Mining Company in 1928, again with Gottlieb as the president and Walter as the treasurer, and George Forvilly – Frank's brother – was the vice president and mine superintendent. John Jurgenson, a Lovelock attorney, was one of the directors; the other directors were from California but never named. The company hired Elbert L. Armstrong in early 1929 to be the secretary and general manager. Gottlieb had moved to Sonoma, north of San Francisco, and Armstrong was the cashier of a bank in nearby Napa and probably met Gottlieb there. Armstrong had no background in mining, but he knew about money and financing. The company focused their interest on both Rileyville and the Antelope Springs mercury district at the southern end of the Humboldt Range.

George and La Mar Forvilly staked four new claims in the vicinity of the Henrietta and Jayansee claims in August 1928, and they staked the Alice claim in Alice's name in early December. They sold the five claims to United Metals in late December, which marked the first of the company's several claim purchases. George and La Mar staked ten more claims in early 1929, and Armstrong staked another six, and they all sold their claims to United Metals in the summer. The deeds were for ten dollars apiece, so the "sales" were just transfers to the company. As officers of the company, George Forvilly and Armstrong expected to benefit from the ensuing mining proceeds.

The Forvilly Metals Corporation and the Jayansee Mining Company leased or sold their claims to United Metals in the fall of 1929, thereby consolidating all of the claims into one package. Forvilly Metals leased the Henrietta, Henrietta Extension, and Jakie F claims to United Metals in the middle of October. The lease was for five years, ending in September 1934, and Forvilly Metals would received a fifteen percent net royalty on smelter returns or a hundred dollars per month, whichever was larger. United Metals contracted with Jayansee in October to buy the Abe Lincoln, Jayansee, and related claims for \$85,000. United Metals had to pay \$2,000 up front, \$5,000 by May 1930, and \$500 per month starting in December 1929; the balance had to be paid within five years from the royalties from the ore produced. With this purchase, United Metals controlled thirty-six mining claims, the Jayansee mill site, and ample mining and milling equipment, along with various water rights associated with each set of claims (Fig. 7-6). Given the large outstanding balance on the purchase price, everyone clearly assumed (and hoped) that the mine would produce large quantities of ore in those five years.



Figure 7-6. Headline in the August 16, 1929, *Reno Evening Gazette* announcing United Metals Mining Company's purchase of the mines and claims in and around the Henrietta mine.

The *Reno Evening Gazette* mentioned in September that George Forvilly had "promoted" the original deals. His official role with United Metals strongly suggests that the Forvillys and the Ritzes planned a joint venture as early as 1928, when George and his family left Butte to join his brothers in Rileyville. The connection may have gone back even farther: both the Ritzes and Forvillys had lived in Menominee, Michigan, in the 1890s, and the two families may have known each other there. Three decades later, the Ritzes may have wanted to diversify their business into mining, and the Forvillys had the mine that would allow that to happen. Jayansee saw what was happening and joined in on the action. After their deal to buy Frank Forvilly's claims fell through for lack of money, the company undoubtedly was delighted to potentially make \$85,000 on claims that had sat idle for several years. If the mining produced the hoped-for returns, then everyone could do well even as the national economy was beginning to collapse.

United Metals' new claim block began to catch the attention of newspapers in April 1929. The *Lovelock Review-Miner* wrote that United Metals was establishing a "24-man camp, modern in all particulars," and that the miners would drive a 1,200-foot-long tunnel to intersect the sulfide zone seven hundred feet beneath the surface. They then would mine laterally and up and down along the vein, similar to Jayansee's earlier plan. The company had ordered a large

compressor, and a new mill, "the character of which will be made to conform to the requirements of ores developed," would be erected near the mouth of the portal. This was the second mill in the area. The new mill had a fifty-ton Ellis ball mill with three Gates concentrating tables, so United Metals decided that a ball mill, possibly in combination with the Huntington mill, was needed to pulverize the ore more finely (steps 5, 6C, and 8, Fig. 2-15). Today, the area around the portal includes an extensive tailings pile, an ore bin, mine rails and ramps, and mill foundations (Fig. 7-7A).

The *Review-Miner* wrote six weeks later that the buildings for the workers had been completed (Fig. 7-7B), and twelve miners would work in two shifts to dig the tunnel at a hoped-for rate of ten feet per day. Most of the needed machinery had arrived, including the air compressor, water tanks, fans and blowers, mine rail, machine drills for mining, and various other equipment. Pershing County also agreed to improve the road from the Unionville turnoff to French Boy Canyon. The miners extended the tunnel to six hundred feet long by the middle of August, and they also exposed the vein on the surface for 4,500 feet in a series of open cuts, thus accounting for the string of short adits and mine dumps along the eastern parts of the Abe Lincoln claims (Fig. 7-2). Parts of the vein were seventeen feet wide in some of the underground workings.

United Metals hired H.W. Gould & Co., a San Francisco-based mining company, to evaluate the geology and mining potential of the new mine and claim area in 1929. (The company also evaluated the Gold Note mine the same year; Chapter 3.) Their mining engineer, Roy M. Hill, looked at the property, liked what he saw, and wrote that "this property warrants extensive development and will undoubtedly make a good productive mine" (Hill, 1929). He reported that mining since the 1890s, but largely since 1907, had produced about \$100,000 from ore that averaged \$110 per ton in gold, silver, and lead. After testing the ore, Hill recommended extending the lower tunnel to generate ample amounts of ore, which would be treated with the flotation method in a new or remodeled mill. The Ritzes undoubtedly were delighted with Hill's very positive assessment of their property.

Work continued on the mine in 1930. The 1930 U.S. Geological Survey-U.S. Bureau of Mines mining summary reported that the company shipped twenty-four tons of sulfide ore to a smelter and mined another sixteen tons of largely oxide ore. The sulfide ore contained a half ounce of gold and thirty-five ounces of silver per ton, with about sixteen percent lead and twelve percent zinc. The oxide ore had about the same amount of gold but seventy-five ounces of silver per ton. The company was mining good ore at a depth of 480 feet beneath the surface in January, and the *Mining Journal* wrote that Walter Ritz was in charge of installing a "sintering plant" that would get rid of the problematic zinc and save the sulfur. The residual ore would be treated with a flotation method, as Hill recommended.

Estay Julian and B. Augustus Ogden visited the mine in May 1930 and estimated that it still had \$750,000 in just gold, not to mention the other metals. The two men had extensive backgrounds in mining and property evaluations, and they may have been agents for the Goldfield Consolidated Exploration Company, which was the exploration subsidiary of George Wingfield's Goldfield Consolidated Mines Company. The Ritzes may have approached the



Figure 7-7. Henrietta mine area today. (A) Photograph of the lower tunnel area of the Henrietta mine area, showing the ore bin, mine tailings, and buildings at the mouth of the lower tunnel (Fig. 7-2). The white arrow points to the tunnel portal; ore-cart rails extend to the top of the ore bin. The small light-colored area to the lower left of the ore bin may have been the site of the later mill. The building in the upper left is a mobile home of younger vintage. (B) Buildings constructed for mine workers in the late 1920s. The left and right buildings have small cooking areas; the middle building behind the truck was for sleeping; and the front building was a shed. Taken by the author in May 2013.

company in early 1930 to arrange a sale or lease, but they instead sued United Metals Mining Company a month after Julian's and Ogden's visit for about \$26,000. The lawsuit was for the company's claims, buildings, and equipment, but not the Jayansee, Abe Lincoln, Henrietta, and related claims that were under lease and belonged to others. The case went to trial in the early fall, and the Ritzes won the lawsuit and were awarded the claims and property. The action was odd because the Ritzes effectively *were* the company and, in a sense, were suing themselves. They may have been unhappy with the direction of and income from the mine, and they may have wanted to return all of the claims to private, rather than corporate, ownership. George

Forvilly in effect was ousted during the process. Goldfield Consolidated might have been interested in the mine, but it probably saw problems with the company's operation and backed away from any deals. Julian and Ogden even may have pointed out issues to the Ritzes that led to the lawsuit.

The mine apparently was inactive for a number of months as the company reorganized, found a new mine superintendent, and developed a new plan of action. Mining restarted in August 1931, and the new operator was the United States Mines Company, with the Ritzes in charge, John Jurgenson still a director, and Howard Dils replacing George Forvilly, who moved back to Butte, Montana, with his family. The company announced plans to extend the long, lower tunnel over the coming month, and Jurgenson filed the 1931 assessment notices on all of the claims in the Henrietta mine area; United Metals Ltd. (oddly, not United States Mines Company) paid for all of the work. The revival was short lived, however. Neither United Metals (under any name) nor its project was mentioned after the August 1931 newspaper article. The company did not keep up the installment payments to Jayansee or the lease payments to Forvilly Metals, so those claims reverted back to their original owners in 1932. It also abandoned the nearly twenty claims that George Forvilly and E.L. Armstrong had staked and then were awarded to the Ritzes in the lawsuit. The Forvillys, or at least Frank, retained the Henrietta, Henrietta Extension, and Jakie F claims, and Jayansee still had the Abe Lincoln and Jayansee claim groups and several other adjacent claims, including the mill site.

With the Depression worsening, metal prices dropped severely in 1930. Silver, which stood at fifty-three cents per ounce when the Ritzes bought the property, dropped to thirty-eight cents in 1930 and then twenty-nine cents in 1931, and the *Lovelock Review-Miner* reported in August 1930 that many silver-rich mines had closed as a result. Similarly, lead fell from about eight cents a pound to less than five cents in the same period. Gold stayed at about twenty-one dollars per ounce through 1930 but dropped to only seventeen dollars in 1931. Those steep drops in the metal prices may have precipitated the temporary closure of the Henrietta mine and forced the Ritzes to completely reorganize their mining holdings. The Depression also may have adversely affected their cannery in Modesto, so the Ritzes may have been hit on two fronts by the plunging economy. Regaining the claims for themselves, reorganizing the company structure, and then giving up entirely probably reflected the progressive decline in their fortunes.

MINING IN THE 1930s AND 1940s

The Rileyville community suffered a major loss on July 1, 1932, when Frank Forvilly died. He and his brother Ernest were soaking in the hot water at nearby Kyle hot springs to relieve their aches and pains when Frank suffered a massive heart attack. Several of the other Forvilly siblings had been visiting, and all but brother Mike had just returned to their homes in Glendale, California. They heard the news and headed back to Lovelock, but a major automobile accident near Reno killed one sister and severely injured another. Another brother,

CHAPTER 7 – RILEYVILLE

Henry, was able to continue to Lovelock, where he joined Mike and Ernest, along with Frank's sons Frank, Jr., and Joe, at Frank's burial at the Lone Mountain cemetery in Lovelock.

Frank did not leave a will, and the courts awarded his estate to his two sons seven months later, with their mother and Frank's ex-wife Flora Daly as the administrator. Frank, Jr., was sixteen and Joe was eleven when their father died, and Flora would oversee the estate until Frank, Jr., turned twenty-one in 1937. Despite all of the good mining properties that Frank owned and sold over the years, his personal estate included only the Henrietta, Henrietta Extension, and Jakie F mining claims. The Forvilly Metals Company presumably had dissolved and the claims reverted to Frank, Sr. before his death, but nothing legal was filed in that regard.

Frank, Jr., and his older half-brother Harvey Hunter (Flora's son from a previous relationship) enlisted two former Rochester miners – brothers-in-law Joe Gossi and Arnold Fuller – to help them mine the Henrietta in May 1934. They mined enough ore from the old stopes to make several shipments to the International smelter in Salt Lake City. Flora had filed an intent-to-hold notice on the three claims in 1933 to keep them legal, but Joseph McDermott of Madera, California, restaked the Henrietta claim as the New Deal claim in January 1934. His argument was that the claims had been owned by Forvilly Metals, so Flora's intent-to-hold notices in the name of Frank Forvilly's estate were not valid and made them available for staking. He filed suit against the Forvillys to prevent them from shipping more ore and to give him uncontested ownership of the claim. While the legal process was pending, and just to be safe, Mike Forvilly did the assessment work on all three claims in the name of the Forvilly estate in June 1934 while mining was ongoing. Judge L.O. Hawkins noted the irregularity in the claim ownership at the trial in May 1935, but he ruled in favor of the Forvillys, saying that such a minor legal flaw did not override the fact that Frank, Sr., had staked and owned the Henrietta claim since 1912, and that it passed to his heirs after his death. With their ownership formally established, Gossi, Hunter, and Frank, Jr., continued mining at a small scale into the spring of 1935, and Mike Forvilly again did the assessment work for that year.

The Henrietta claims changed hands several times in the next couple years, although all of the hands may have been related. W.M. Benham and R.R. Reed completed a two-year lease on the Gold Note mine in the main part of the Kennedy district in March 1935 (Chapter 3), and they then went over to Rileyville to take a look at the Henrietta mine. They possibly were working for Goldfield Consolidated Exploration Company, for which Estay Julian and Augustus Ogden had worked earlier. That September, Howard Malaney and Peter Arnott leased the three Henrietta claims from Flora Daly. The two Reno newspapers reported a few weeks later that Goldfield Consolidated had leased the Forvilly and Jayansee claim groups, and the *Lovelock Review-Miner* added that Malaney put the deal together. Nothing directly ties Benham, Reed, Malaney, and Arnott to Goldfield Consolidated, but the chain of events and the people involved strongly suggest something of a cooperative agreement, with Goldfield at the center, to acquire the Henrietta claims and mine. Goldfield may have decided to revisit the mine once the dysfunctional United Metals company was out of the picture.

Malaney, his wife Vera, and Arnott had lived in Palo Alto, California, and the two men had a connection through both automobiles and mining. Malaney had been a mechanic and auto-accessories salesman in Palo Alto in the early 1930s and then began working as a mining engineer for the Pacific Bridge Company in San Francisco in 1934. Arnott owned an automobile

CHAPTER 7 – RILEYVILLE

service station in Palo Alto and had worked at a gold mill in Alaska in the early 1920s. Although both men kept their homes in the Bay Area, they listed Pershing County as their home in 1935 when they signed the lease.

Frank, Jr., was still a minor in 1935, so Malaney and Arnott signed a two-year lease-to-purchase agreement for the three Henrietta claims with Flora Daly in September 1935 and immediately hired three Lovelock miners to begin extending the lower tunnel. The total sales price was \$25,000, which was a major windfall for the Forvilly boys and their mother. Flora Daly filed intent-to-hold notices on the three claims in 1936, which ensured that the claims remained in the estate's name during the purchase period. Similarly, Ralph Moore, the president of Jayansee, arranged to have assessment work or intent-to-hold notices for Jayansee's claims filed with the county every year from 1933 through 1939.

Flora and the two Forvilly boys petitioned the court in early 1937 for permission to sell their three claims to Malaney and Arnott, which was granted with no objections. On the same day that they took ownership, Malaney and Arnott sold the three claims to Edward R. Bacon of San Francisco. Bacon was the president and owner of the Edward R. Bacon Company, a well-known manufacturer of large machinery and mining equipment. Bacon had the 1937 assessment work done on the Henrietta and Jakie F claims, but he apparently dropped the Henrietta Extension claim. To replace that ground, Malaney staked the Vera Fraction claim in his wife's name in 1939. Vera Malaney sold the claim to Bacon a month later, which was the last mention of the Malaneys in Rileyville for a decade.

Whether or not Edward Bacon had been the targeted buyer from the start is unknown, but he became the proud owner of the mine. He initially leased the mine to Joe and Ray Lamb of Oreana, near Lovelock, and they shipped several small batches of ore to a Salt Lake smelter in 1937 and 1938. They netted up to eighty dollars per ton on the shipments, and Bacon probably got a percentage of that income. Bacon hired William J. Moran, the U.S. Mineral Surveyor from Reno, to formally survey the Henrietta claim in May 1939, which allowed him to apply for a mining-claim patent later in the year; that would give him ownership of both the mineral rights and the ground surface. The U.S. Department of Interior sent out a mining geologist in 1940, and the geologist's report confirmed that "a true and valid discovery of ore bearing minerals has been made," based on the mine workings and past production (Van der Veer, 1940). Bacon was granted a patent on the "Henriette" claim on February 20, 1942, as a result.

Jayansee possibly dissolved or went out of business in 1939. Robert Jones, who had been the leader of the company's Rileyville project since the late 1910s, died in Berkeley in early 1937. The company – with Ralph Moore as president and Arthur Angell as secretary – sold the claims to Moore for a nominal fee. Moore hired Clarence Ernst from Unionville to do the 1940 assessment work, and Moore sold all of the claims to Edward Bacon in May 1941 for ten dollars. With this purchase, Bacon effectively owned all of the worthwhile claims at and around the Henrietta mine.

As the Henrietta patent application was proceeding, Bacon set up the Tarantula Mining Company as the mining subsidiary of his machinery company. An anonymous and undated but likely early-1940s property report (on file with the Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology) listed Edward R. Bacon as the president of Tarantula Mining Company, with offices in San Francisco. The brief summary described four adit tunnels at the Henrietta mine: two partially collapsed

CHAPTER 7 – RILEYVILLE

upper tunnels, the main Henrietta tunnel just below the upper two tunnels, and a lower "crosscut adit tunnel 195 feet vertically below the Henrietta adit tunnel" that intersected the main vein, all of which appeared on the 1920 claim map of the area (Fig. 7-2). The report's assessment of the mine was not encouraging: even though some lenses in the veins had "some profitable ore," the total amount was "conjectural." Nevertheless, Bacon began work on the three Henrietta claims in the summer of 1941. He enlisted Frank Forvilly, Jr., who was familiar with the mine, to be the mine foreman. Forvilly hired four men, and they spent the summer and fall cleaning out the tunnels and shafts and extending some of the workings, but nothing was mentioned about ore shipments. They suspended work and removed all of the equipment as the winter snow arrived in December 1941. The *Reno Evening Gazette* reported that they would return in the spring with "larger and more elaborate machinery and equipment."

The 1942 work apparently focused on the original Henrietta mine and not the lower tunnel on the Jayansee properties. Bacon had the 1942 and 1943 assessment work done twice each year on the former Jayansee claims and the Vera Fraction claim in the second half of 1941: in August under his name and in November under Tarantula Mining's name. The Henrietta had received its patent and no longer needed the annual work. With the war under way in 1942, intent-to-hold notices replaced assessment work, and Bacon filed those notices for all of the unpatented claims in 1942 and 1943. They were under his name and not Tarantula's, which did not matter because he owned the company.

The war forced Bacon's machinery company to cease production of mining-related equipment. Norm Silva worked for the company for more than fifty years and knew Bacon in the mid 1940s. He recounted that the war halted all private manufacturing and that the company began repairing military machinery, which limited the company's income and personnel during the war (Norm Silva, personal communication, 2013). Congress also prohibited gold and silver mining in late 1942, and that cut into the company's sales of mining equipment. The Henrietta possibly could have continued producing the much-needed lead and zinc on a limited scale, but trying to run a mining operation at Rileyville and dealing with a downsized company undoubtedly was more than Bacon wanted to handle. It was reminiscent of the Ritzes at the start of the Depression.

Bacon sold the patented Henrietta claim and the unpatented Vera Fraction claim to Peter Arnott in November 1943 for ten dollars. Arnott had been Howard Malaney's partner in the previous claim purchases, but Malaney's name did not appear on the new deed. Jayansee abandoned all of its claims after 1943. Arnott did nothing with his claims for the rest of war except to file intent-to-hold notices on the Vera Fraction and pay the property taxes on the Henrietta claim. After the war, however, Arnott sold the two claims to the East Humboldt Mines Company in September 1946. October 1947 articles in the *Lovelock Review-Miner* and *Nevada State Journal* announced that the company was renewing mining and milling activities at Rileyville. The company was privately held: Howard Malaney (with a Lovelock address) was the mine manager, Arnott was the secretary, and Barney Dennison, who owned Dennison Tractor and Supply Company in Reno, was the treasurer. The company immediately began to build a twenty-ton-per-day concentrating mill with two sets of crushing units, a jig, and a concentrating table, all run by a gasoline-powered electric plant. The owners estimated that the mine contained enough ore to keep the mill running for five years, but the project was not

mentioned again and the mill may not have been completed. Arnott died in Palo Alto in April 1949, and Malaney was arrested in Rileyville a few months later for poaching deer out of season. He gave up on the project and was focused on claims in the El Dorado district southeast of Las Vegas, Nevada, in the spring of 1950. He eventually died in 1969. The patented Henrietta claim changed hands several times over the next few decades, and Frank Forvilly, Jr., eventually bought the claim in 1961 but apparently did not do any mining.

OTHER CLAIMS AND MINING

French Boy Canyon area caught the attention of other independent prospectors and investors in the 1920s and 1930s. Two brothers staked five claims "3/4 of a mile east of Rileyville" in 1926. This was just east of the Jayansee and Henrietta claims, and the brothers possibly hoped that the veins extended onto their property. They did not, and they were working as miners in Mina in Mineral County by 1930. Two more claims were staked near the Henrietta mine in 1937. Ethel Hall Quigley, who was deputy clerk for the district court in Lovelock, staked the Anything claim about three-quarters of a mile northeast of Rileyville. Malaney, Arnott, and Harvey Hunter, Flora Daly's older son, witnessed the claim filing, so Ethel was associated with them to some degree, and the claim may have filled a gap in the Malaney-Arnott claim block. However, she did not sell it to Edward Bacon and abandoned it in 1939. Harvey Hunter and John Herzog, his friend from Lovelock, staked the Blue Bird claim a mile northeast of Rileyville in 1937, but they abandoned it within the year. Both were working in other mines in Pershing County at the time, so this claim might have been more of a lark than a serious endeavor.

Another group of prospectors staked claims in the Rawhide Canyon area in the early 1930s (Fig. 7-1). Two Reno dentists, Drs. Charles F. Watkins and Thomas H. Richmond, decided to invest in mining claims in 1930 and 1931. Watkins hired Walter Mack and Webster Ryan to stake claims on the ridge on the north side of Rawhide Canyon. Mack, with Ryan and La Mar Forvilly as witnesses, staked the Betty Mack and Betty Mack No. 2 and No. 3 in July 1930. Ryan then staked the Betty Mack Fraction and Betty Mack No. 4 in February 1931. Mack and Ryan may have mined the claims in 1931, but Charles Watkins died in 1932, and his wife Alice and their son Kenneth filed intent to hold notices through 1937 before dropping the claims. Thomas Richmond had Ryan and Mack stake the Mabel E. claim in the same area, but Richmond died in 1937. His wife Mabel filed an intent to hold notice that year but then dropped the claim. In addition, three brothers from Lovelock – Floyd, Harry, and Walter Ketcham – also got involved with the Rawhide Canyon staking. Floyd and Harry staked the Winneva lode claim in 1930, and Harry and Walter then moved to the south side of Cinnabar Mountain and staked the Luckey and Dago placer claims in 1937. They might have mined the claims for a year or more, but they eventually abandoned them.

Chapter 8



LESSONS FROM KENNEDY

This is a long story about a small place. It would have been much shorter and simpler to give a brief summary of the geology, touch on the major milestones along the way, mention a few names, and conclude that "this was Kennedy." But any town, no matter how small or large, is not just a set of milestones: it is a community. That community is the sum of all of its parts through time, many of them small and seemingly unimportant but contributing to the whole nevertheless. Kennedy spanned fifty years: many of the parts changed with time, and the community changed as a result. In a way, Kennedy as a whole was a new "part" every five years or so, and the cumulative five-year parts became the fifty-year history of this remote mining camp and town.

Kennedy was just one of hundreds of similar mining districts and towns in Nevada, and one of thousands in the Western United States in the 1800s and early 1900s. The same region had its share of spectacular mining districts: Virginia City and Tonopah in Nevada, Central City and Cripple Creek in Colorado, Bingham Canyon in Utah, and Butte in Montana, to name a few. However, as described in Chapter 1, there were a hundred Kennedys for every Virginia City in just Nevada. What happened at Kennedy happened many times over throughout the state and region. Thus, lessons learned from Kennedy tell us about all of the other similar districts.

Chapter 1 introduced several interrelated themes that wove their ways through the ensuing chapters. This is a good place to revisit those themes and look at them with two concepts in mind, both with regard to Kennedy and to similar districts in the county and state. First, what were the factors that led to Kennedy's success and repeated failures? Second, what was the impact of smaller districts like Kennedy on the broader population and economy?

WHY DID KENNEDY FAIL?

Mining in many smaller Nevada districts ended for several reasons, foremost of which were the lack of good grades, a limited extent of the veins (Goldbanks was a good example), mining out the more easily processed oxide ores, and a lack of money (see Chapter 2). Kennedy had the good fortune of having excellent grades and extensive veins, so those were not limiting factors, and those veins were the focal points of repeated mining and milling efforts for a reason. From a geological perspective, their major flaw was their complex mineralogy in both the oxide and sulfide zones (the "rebellious" ores mentioned in frequent newspaper articles). As described in Chapter 2, and evidenced throughout Chapters 3 and 7, those mineralogies continually stymied

everyone's efforts to extract the gold and silver. Leon St. D. Roylance was obsessed enough about the problem that he spent nearly twenty years trying to figure out a method to successfully process the ores. Others miners and mill owners simply walked away from the problem. This lack of success translated into a lack of continued mining-related income, which severely limited any efforts to build the facilities that were needed to make the district a success.

Fundamentally, getting the gold and silver out of the complex ores came down to three factors: understanding the mineralogies of the ores in both the oxide and sulfide zones; devising a technology that could handle those ores; and paying for it all. Complex ores were not a novelty by the 1890s. Miners and ore processors since Roman times (if not earlier) had devised methods to deal with many types of ore, and Georgius Agricola noted that much of the rudimentary technology was available by the 1500s (Agricola and Hoover, 1912). Even pre-Incan miners in Bolivia smelted silver ore as early as 1000 A.D. (Abbott and Wolfe, 2003). By the mid to late 1800s, miners and mill owners at Eureka, Nevada, Leadville, Colorado, and other districts routinely and successfully dealt with complex lead-zinc-bearing ores and devised successful methods to extract the precious metals. Each mining district had its own type of ore and thus metallurgical problems. That led to the Mexican Patio method for silver ores, which spawned the Washoe pan process in Virginia City and Reese River process in Austin to handle the ores in those districts (Michel, 2005a, b), not to mention new smelting methods. Even remote Humboldt County had smelters in Oreana and Winnemucca as early as the 1860s and 1870s. The advent of chlorination and then cyanide leaching further addressed the complex ores in various districts, leading to better and more efficient metal recovery (Megraw, 1914; Marsden and House, 2006).

Thus, dealing with complex ore was not an insurmountable problem by the time that the Kennedy district started. The accounts of milling attempts in Chapters 2, 3, and 7 indicated that everyone was aware of the metallurgical problems and tried to devise new methods to deal with them. Several owners and companies brought in outside experts to advise on the best approaches, and later owners were aware of what had *not* worked for earlier owners. Where those experts obtained their expertise was important: someone who knew how to successfully process relatively simple ore from another district could not just apply that knowledge to Kennedy's complex ore. Also, complex ore in one district was not necessarily the same as complex ore in another district. The general knowledge was important, but the final method had to be a combination of general steps and those that dealt specifically with the Kennedy ores, both oxide and sulfide.

Not all of the mill owners and operators were created equally. William Jenkins never intended to solve the problem of the sulfides, recognizing early on that he needed a roaster. Even so, and without the counsel of a good metallurgist, he could not even get good metal recovery out of the oxide ores, losing a lot of the gold and silver to the tailings. James Wardner spent about ten days "thoroughly" testing the ore and brought in a collection of experts on various types of milling methods. Combined, they were convinced that their new Imperial mill could successfully process both the oxide and sulfide ores, even though it originally had been designed for relatively simple oxide ore when it was built in the Dun Glen district. As it turned out, they were wrong, although why never was reported. Wardner also may not have cared all that much: his main goal likely was to build a successful mill and then sell his interests before

CHAPTER 8 – LESSONS FROM KENNEDY

anything could go wrong. Unfortunately for him, the mill failed before he had the chance to do that. The New Era mining company had good intentions, but none of the "experts" had a clue about processing ore, much less large quantities of it. Abner Lasher and Charles Wynn managed to make something of a success with the revamped Imperial mill in the early 1900s, but even Lasher admitted that they could not deal with the sulfide ores or pay all of their expenses. Charles Vadner simply bypassed the milling process and sent ore directly to the smelters, a method that worked until the Blossom family lawsuit erupted. Shipping the ore was not an option for the much greater quantities of good ore in the district that could not pay for the shipping and smelting costs but could be profitable if processed in Cinnabar Canyon. Paul Klopstock and Leon St. D. Roylance had the greatest benefit of both hindsight and advancing technology. Klopstock was a young man who really had no background in milling, although he undoubtedly relied on experts (including Abner Lasher and his questionable expertise with the district) to devise a milling process. His 1913 paper (Klopstock, 1913) indicated that he had a good idea of how to process the ores, but his project was an exercise in futility brought on by myriad problems. Roylance's major stroke aborted that project before it could fully succeed. Even so, Roylance's continual tinkering with the process up to the day of his stroke indicated that he still had not achieved his goal of successfully processing the sulfide ores.

The third part of the equation was money. Money was tight in the 1890s during the Panic of 1893. However, tight does not mean that it was not available. Joseph De La Mar took the large sums of money that he had earned from Silver City, Idaho, and used them to build a large, extremely successful mill in Lincoln County in 1894 that sparked a major mining boom (Townley, 1972). Kennedy, unfortunately, was not so blessed. In the 1890s, Jenkins barely had enough money to build his mill, with none left over for the roaster that he knew that he needed. He had to shut down and even borrow money when the mill did not generate the anticipated results. Wardner arrived with a small amount of seed money and a large ego, and he relied on George Nixon's First National Bank and promissory notes to fund his project. That was all well and good if the mill had worked and he could pay everyone back, but the company was deeply in debt and not producing any money just a month or two after the mill started its operations. The New Era "investors" were not exactly wealthy; combined with their lack of expertise, the project was almost doomed before it even started. None of the Kennedy miners, or even Nixon after the Wardner debacle, had any money of their own: they were totally reliant on outside investors to solve the milling problem.

Huge amounts of outside investment money poured into the state in the early 1900s. In theory, that could have led to a successful milling project at Kennedy, and Wynn and Lasher indeed did find an Eastern investor who was willing to fund the project. George Haseltine, the investor, was wealthy, but he expected a good return on his investment. Instead, he saw that the production was not even paying back his initial investments, much less generating the additional income that he had anticipated. He simply sold his holdings at the end of the lease period and left Wynn and Lasher to deal with the aftermath. Charles Vadner had the greatest success in finding Eastern investors, but they did not have to pay for the added expense of a mill. The Gold Note mine did generate money for them, but the lawsuit related to the Blossom family cut the project short. Even so, the project fully acknowledged the milling problem and bypassed it by sending all of the richer ore to the smelter.

CHAPTER 8 – LESSONS FROM KENNEDY

Paul Klopstock appears to have been a "perfect storm" in the making: he continually had to search for funding, deal with a company-related murder, and watch part of his new mill float down the creek in a flood (Chapter 3). He had much better success with his later trading and consulting company. Leon St. D. Roylance had the backing of the California Extraction Company, which provided large sums of money. The company, however, was involved with some questionable and at times illegal activities in its other projects that drained its coffers at about the same time that Roylance needed more money. The project might have failed for lack of funding even had Roylance not been felled by a stroke.

The 1920s and 1930s were not at all good for mining investments. Many investors in the 1920s were putting their money into stocks, which was wonderful for the stock market until it crashed, but bad for the mining community. The Depression of the 1930s left almost no money for anything, which may have been one of the reasons why Gottlieb and Walter Ritz finally gave up on their Henrietta mine project at Rileyville in the early 1930s. The Depression did send individual miners out into the hills to eke out a living, but creating anything bigger, much less building a large mill, was out of the question.

Could the "rebellious" Kennedy ores have been processed successfully? Undoubtedly yes, with the right expertise and the money to pay for the necessary milling system. One of the factors in any mining and milling project, even today, is if the district has enough ore to warrant the expense of a mill. A small amount of rich ore would not pay for the construction of an expensive mill. That was the fate of Goldbanks just to the north in 1907 and 1908. It had two rich but short veins, and the boom was short lived (Dreyer, 1940). However, all of the combined veins and mines in Kennedy could have provided a steady stream of ore for a number of years. Some of the ore from Kennedy and Rileyville was rich enough to pay for shipping and smelting, but a lot of the ore that was below that threshold still had very good grades. In addition, having an on-site, well-designed mill would have spurred even more mining and made sub-economic ore worth mining. That was exactly what Charley Kennedy and the other miners in the 1890s and even into the next century expected from the new mills.

As Chapter 2 concluded, how much more successful could Kennedy have been if the right people with enough money and expertise built an ore-processing facility that was tailored for the district's complex ores? Any new project would have required both good financing and the right experience to both design and run the mill: Joseph De La Mar and the Delamar district is a good example. With enough financing, a mill in Kennedy could have had a roaster or small smelter, similar to earlier ones built in Oreana and Winnemucca. The technology to be successful was readily available, and Kennedy certainly could have had a productive mill even in the 1890s. It was just a matter of finding the money and the right (just not any) expertise. Unfortunately, neither found its way into Cinnabar Canyon.

For the sake of discussion, what if a successful facility had been built in Kennedy in 1894? How much longer would the Kennedy boom have continued, and how would it have impacted later mining and milling operations? Mother Nature endowed each mining district with a finite amount of ore that could be mined at a profit. Some districts, such as Butte in Montana and Bingham Canyon in Utah, were discovered and mined in the 1800s and are still producing ample ore today. The vast majority of districts had far less ore, and, even with the benefit of a good mill and other factors, mining more commonly continued for a couple of years

to perhaps a decade. Humboldt County (which included Pershing County until 1919) had more than sixty active mining districts in the first two decades of the 1900s. Most of them lasted for less than five years (Couch and Carpenter, 1943; Willden, 1964; Johnson, 1977), and many were more typical of Goldbanks, which rose and fell in less than two years. Some of them, like Kennedy, might have had done better with the right expertise and financing, but most of them did not start out as richly endowed places. Even large Nevada districts like Virginia City, Tonopah, and Goldfield eventually ran out of profitable ore.

A good mill in Kennedy would have spurred more mining in the 1890s, similar to the contemporaneous Delamar district in Lincoln County. Ultimately, though, the bounty of gold and silver that could be mined and milled profitably with the technology and metal prices of the day would have been exhausted. Whether that would have been in five years or ten is unknown, but the then-economic ore would have run out nevertheless. Even so, quite a bit of gold and silver likely would have remained in both the known and undiscovered veins, and miners typically go back into old districts to apply new methods and ideas. Thus, Kennedy might have had a longer, more-successful early period, followed by later smaller bursts of activity.

Larger exploration and mining companies have investigated various parts of the district, including both Kennedy and French Boy Canyons, since the 1980s, and the district had valid claims in the 2010s. The allure remains simply because those companies knew that Kennedy once was a focal point for gold and silver mining, and they hoped that they could find more rich ore. Those efforts to date have not found a gold-silver deposit worth mining, but that will not quell the interest. A good case in point is the Midas (Gold Circle) district in western Elko County. It boomed in the late 1900s and 1910s and then languished for decades (Bennett, 2006). Exploration companies began to reinvestigate the district in the 1980s, and geologist Ken Snyder finally hit an incredibly rich vein in 1994 (Goldstrand and Schmidt, 2000). That led to an underground mine that has produced millions of ounces of gold and silver and remains active today (2016).

THE IMPACT OF SMALLER MINING DISTRICTS

Kennedy was one of dozens of smaller mining districts in Humboldt County. Some of them were active in the 1860s and 1870s, such as the Buena Vista (Unionville), Dun Glen, and Star districts. Others gained attention in the early 1900s, including Seven Troughs, National, and Rosebud. A number of districts saw activity in both periods, with a long stretch of inactivity in the late 1800s. Kennedy, as luck would have it, was one of only a handful of districts that were active in the 1890s, and it was far more successful than its contemporaries in the county. Its discovery coincided with the decline in the state and national economies leading up to and during the Panic of 1893 (Glass, 1969; Brands, 1995). That made Kennedy even more attractive, as described elsewhere in this book. It was not on the scale of Virginia City earlier and Tonopah later, but Kennedy, along with its contemporary Delamar in the southeastern part of the state, were rare glimmers of economic hope in the state in the 1890s.

CHAPTER 8 – LESSONS FROM KENNEDY

As shown in Chapters 4 and 5, the gold and silver at Kennedy produced a lively business sector and economy. The store owners, freighters, and cooks were from the surrounding region and went to Kennedy to earn a living and send the money back home. Kennedy was in Cinnabar Canyon, but its effects, both economic and social, extended beyond the canyon to Winnemucca and other towns and provided a much-needed infusion of both money and enthusiasm into the broader community and county. Kennedy, though, was just one moderate-sized mining district in a region that otherwise had little input from other mining districts in the 1890s. Quantifying Kennedy's input and impact is impossible, and the best that can be said was that the district was important to the broader community and economy.

However, what if Humboldt County had twenty or thirty Kennedy-sized districts going at the same time? Would that cumulative contribution be evident in other sectors of the county? Fortunately, one only has to step ahead a decade to find an answer to that question. Starting in 1900, Nevada saw an enormous surge in exploration, discoveries, investment, and mining. The boom was aptly named the Tonopah-Goldfield boom after the two most prominent districts in that period (Tingley and others, 1993). Exploration quickly reached into Humboldt County and led to a number of new discoveries and mining centers. As noted above, some of the discoveries created new districts, and others were in older districts. Instead of just Kennedy in the 1890s, Humboldt County saw mining activity in twelve districts in the 1900-1905 period, twenty-eight from 1906 to 1910, thirty-six from 1911 to 1915, and twenty-seven from 1916 to 1920 (Fig. 8-1; Couch and Carpenter, 1943; Willden, 1964, Johnson, 1977). Some districts spanned two or more periods, such as Kennedy in the 1900-1905 and 1911-1915 periods. Many of the districts were similar to Kennedy in terms of size; a few of them, such as Seven Troughs, National, and Rochester were larger. However, the total annual production of gold and silver in the county paled next to its much larger counterparts: all of the Humboldt County districts, at the peak year of production in 1911, produced about a fifth of what Goldfield generated the same year and a quarter of what Tonopah produced (Couch and Carpenter, 1943; Tingley and others, 1993). Other years were comparatively worse. Nevertheless, mining went from an afterthought in the county to a major part of the economy.

Humboldt County prior to the boom had three major sectors: ranching, the railroad, and the support industry that included stores, saloons, liverys, and hotels. Mining added a fourth component that grew as the years passed. Although mining production reached its peak in the 1911 to 1915 period, much of the infrastructure (mills, new buildings, transportation routes and services) and personnel (miners, assayers, millwrights, engineers) were put into place from 1900 to 1910. As a result, the first decade of the century should have seen the greatest increase in the mining-related impact as the various related parts were assembled.

Two sources provide information on that growth: changes in the number of people working in various sectors in the county, and the value of the county and each of those sectors. The 1900 and 1910 census records for all of the precincts in Humboldt County (including the area that now is Pershing County) listed an occupation for each person counted. About a third of the people during each census were listed as wives and children, with no other occupation (although many of the wives worked as hard as their husbands), and the other two thirds were largely men who held a job (Table 8-1). The county population increased by nearly fifty percent over the decade. In contrast, railroad-related jobs remained steady through the decade,

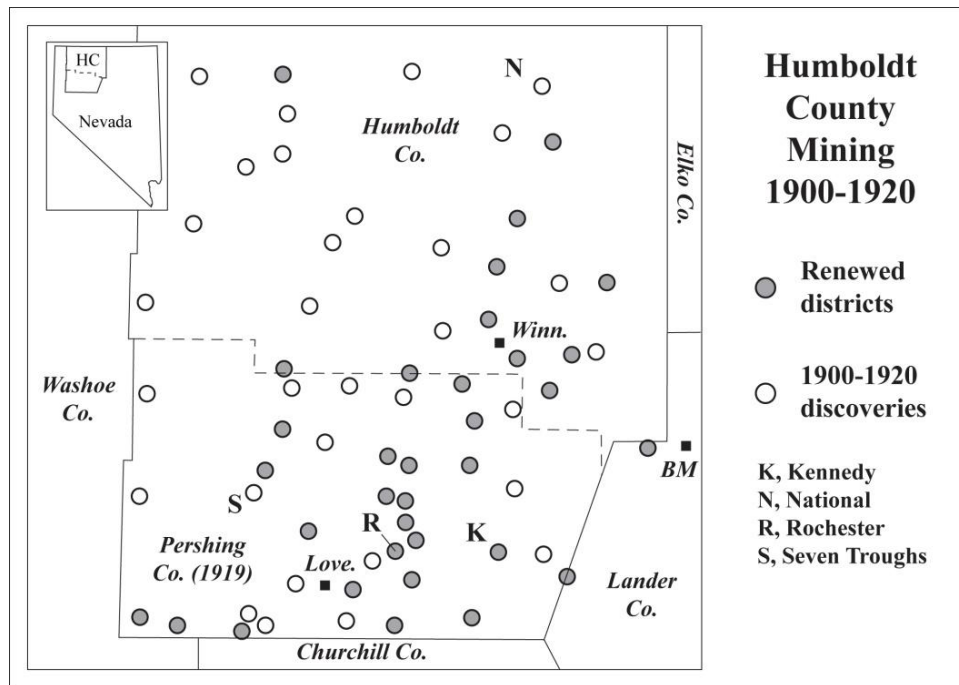


Figure 8-1. Mining districts in Humboldt County from 1900 through 1920. Gray circles, renewed mining activity; open circles, newly discovered districts. The towns of Winnemucca, Lovelock, and Battle Mountain and the three larger districts in this period – National, Rochester, and Seven Troughs – are labeled, as is the Kennedy district. District locations are from Tingley (1992). Pershing County was carved out of southern Humboldt County in 1919. Inset map shows the location of Humboldt County in Nevada.

and ranching and farming jobs increased by only sixteen percent, due in part to the influx of Basque sheepherders. With the increased population, those two job categories fell from about a third to a quarter of the total population, even though their actual numbers did not decline.

Over the same decade, jobs related to mining near tripled and those in the merchant and support businesses nearly doubled (Table 8-1). Not surprisingly, the majority of the mining-related jobs were in the mining camps, both new and old. The number of miners and mining-related engineers nearly quadrupled, the number of men working at mills doubled, and the county had five times the number of assayers in 1910 than it did in 1900. Some districts, such as National and Seven Troughs, did not even exist in 1900, and they quickly became the hubs of mining activity after the first gold and silver veins were discovered.

Ranching and the railroad were the primary customers for the merchant and support businesses, and the 1900 pre-mining census provided the baseline for jobs in that sector (Table 8-1). New jobs were created in the larger towns of Winnemucca and Lovelock and in the mining camps themselves, and the total number of jobs at many types of businesses at least doubled by 1910. The 1910 census records listed many more people who said that they were a clerk at a store or a maid at a hotel than in 1900, so many of the businesses were hiring new employees to help with the increased business. People working at saloons and for lodging establishments nearly tripled, and the number of barbers nearly doubled. Bridge Street was the main business

CHAPTER 8 – LESSONS FROM KENNEDY

district in Winnemucca, and the detailed Sanborn Fire Insurance maps for 1897 and 1912 reveal that the number of businesses along that street increased from forty-eight to eighty-eight.

Table 8-1. Summary of Humboldt County Occupations, 1900 and 1910

Occupation (non-Paiute)	1900	1910	Difference	Change
All "occupations"	4,058	5,969	1,911	47%
Ranching, farming	768	891	123	16%
Railroad	515	506	-9	-2%
Wives, children	1,466	1,926	460	31%
"None"	100	214	114	114%
Ranch/railroad/wife/child/none	2,849	3,537	688	24%
All other occupations	1,209	2,432	1,223	101%
Specific Occupations:				
Mining related	244	919	675	277%
Merchant	55	172	117	213%
Lodging	34	139	105	309%
Saloon	36	99	63	175%
Gambler	7	43	36	514%
Construction (non-mining)	50	118	68	136%
Teamster, livery	45	104	52	116%
Restaurant	16	28	12	75%
Medical	22	32	10	45%
Banking	4	11	7	175%
Occupation (Paiute)				
Total	345	618	273	79%
Child (non-working minor)	142	246	104	73%
Laborer (general)	75	144	69	92%
Ranching, farming (laborer)	26	28	2	8%
Wife (no other occupation listed)	53	92	39	74%
Laundry/washerwoman	21	61	40	190%
None (male)	19	43	24	126%
Other (3 or less)	9	4	-5	--

CHAPTER 8 – LESSONS FROM KENNEDY

The two larger towns had always been the focal points for transportation, thanks to the Central Pacific Railroad (by 1900 a subsidiary of the Southern Pacific Railroad). Prior to the mining boom, the railroad was important for travel, brought in goods for the towns and ranches, and carried away agricultural products, such as livestock, wool, and hay. The addition of mining and new mining camps generated the need for more goods, from whisky to milling machinery, all of which came in on the railroad, and the mines and mining companies shipped all of their ore by railroad to smelters. This in turn increased the need for freight and livery businesses, and the number of jobs at those businesses doubled. Haviland and Hoskins was the largest freight business in Winnemucca. The Humboldt County assessment records show that they started with sixteen horses in 1901 and had ninety-nine in 1912 to pull all of their wagons, many of which required a dozen or more animals to haul heavy loads.

The increased business led to the expansion of the merchants. The best example of this was the E. Reinhart & Co. mercantile business in Winnemucca, which had been the largest merchant in Humboldt County for several decades. After a notable decline during the economic depression of the Panic of 1893, the assessed value of their merchandise rose from about \$19,000 in 1900 to about \$30,000 in 1910 (Fig. 8-2). As a result, they expanded their main store several times, with the property value going from \$5,000 to \$7,200 over the same period, and they bought and added to a warehouse, which nearly tripled in value. They even started a bank. The Reinharts, along with the other merchants, increased their inventory and store size because the area had more people, and they demanded more goods and a greater variety. Similarly, the Lafayette Hotel, across the street from the Winnemucca railroad station, progressively expanded the hotel and added a saloon, a restaurant, and more lodging rooms, all to meet the increased number of passengers on the railroad and the growing town population. As a result, the assessed value of the hotel rose from \$4,300 in 1900 to \$7,500 in 1912. All of merchants had to pay state and county taxes on their property and goods, but those taxes were a small price to pay for the increased business that was walking in their doors.

The total assessed value of the county rose from about \$3.7 million in 1900 to about \$12.8 million in 1912. The state was responsible for setting the tax rates for the railroad and the livestock and land at the ranches. As a result, their assessed values increased through the decade as the state raised its tax rates, even though the job numbers in those two industries remained fairly steady. Overall, the railroads and ranches together accounted for about eighty-five percent of the assessed value of the county through the decade. Those two parts of the economy largely were immune from the mining-related changes: the ranches remained unaffected, and the increased mining-related business on the railroad was trivial compared to the through-going freight traffic.

The remaining fifteen percent included everything else, from houses to stores to mills. On the basis of the job numbers and the increased business at the stores, the mining boom had its greatest effect on this much smaller component of the county's economy. The total county value increased, as noted above, and this "remaining" fifteen percent increased as well, rising from about \$380,000 in 1900 to \$2 million in 1912. That increase came from all of the growth in the merchant and support businesses, the construction of stores, houses in towns and at the various mining camps, and new mills (the number of which doubled in the 1900s), and even the greater number of horses and wagons at the freight companies. The forty new businesses along

CHAPTER 8 – LESSONS FROM KENNEDY

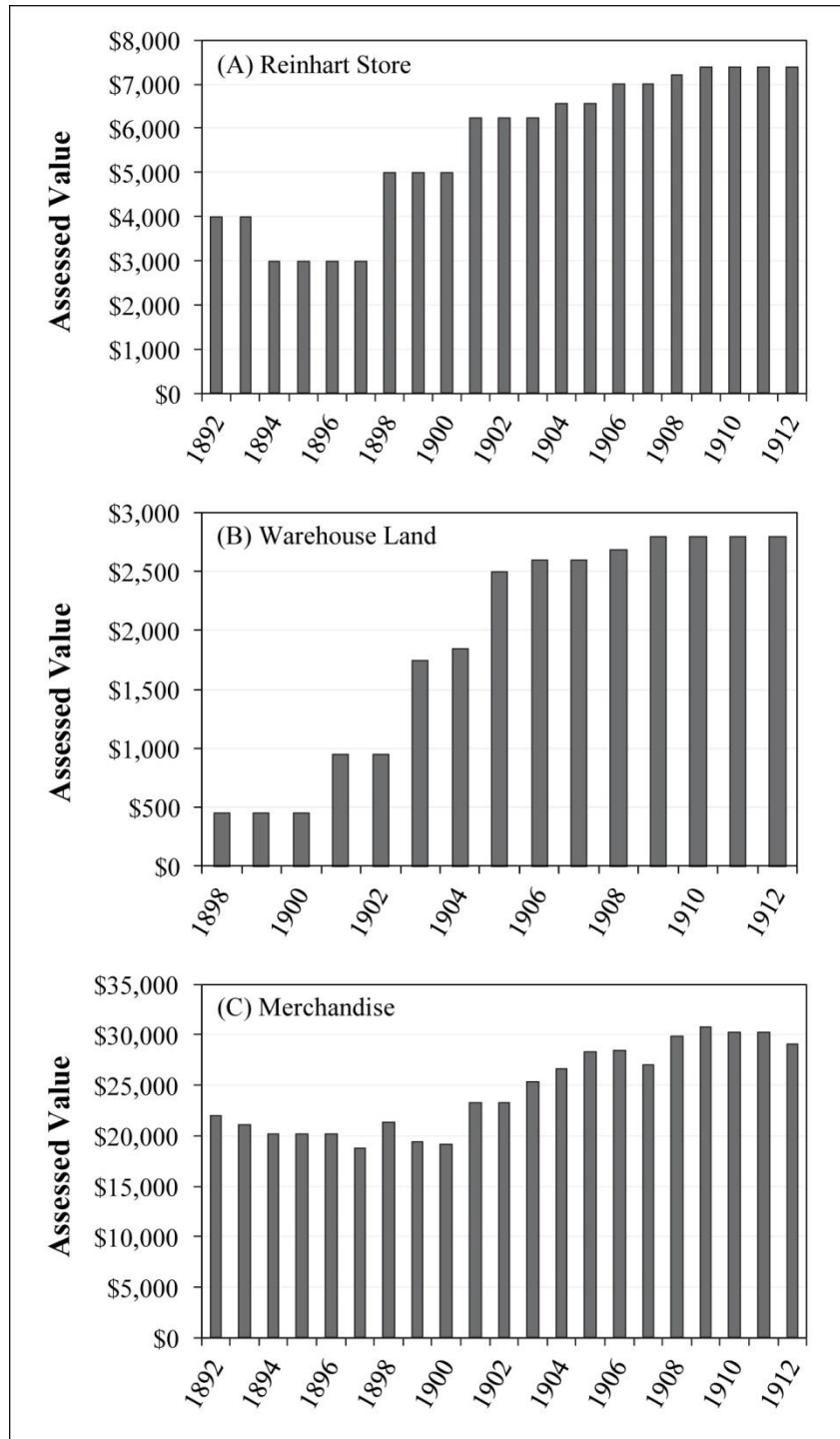


Figure 8-2. Assessed values of the E. Reinhart & Co. (A) store (1892-1912), (B) warehouse land on the northeast side of Bridge Street (1898-1912), and (C) the combined merchandise at both locations (1892-1912). The Reinharts purchased the warehouse property in about 1897 and were first taxed for it in 1898. All values were taken from the Humboldt County annual tax books.

CHAPTER 8 – LESSONS FROM KENNEDY

Bridge Street, mentioned earlier, each produced a value that did not appear in the 1900 county-wide assessment totals, as did all of the new houses that were built in Winnemucca. That was just one street and one town, and Lovelock, Golconda, National, and the new mining towns in the Seven Troughs area added to the total.

The booms at some of the mining districts commonly lasted for only a few years. Kennedy's resurgence extended from 1901 to 1905. The town's assessed value rose from a pre-boom total of \$6,400 in 1900 to a peak of about \$11,700 in 1905 before dropping quickly to below \$8,000 for the remainder of the decade (Fig. 4-16). Goldbanks similarly had a short lifespan; although its values were not determined, it went from nothing to something and then back to nothing in just two or three years. Rosebud began to grow in 1906, but it was a very quiet place by 1910. Seven Troughs started at about the same time as Rosebud but was much more successful, and its value quickly rose from nothing to \$57,000 in 1910 and remained at a fairly high level for several more years.

In conclusion, much has been made of the major impacts of Virginia City, Tonopah, Goldfield, and the few other enormous mining districts on the economic health and people of Nevada. The state has seen more than five hundred mining districts come and go in its history. Individually, the vast majority of them were like Kennedy: they were smaller in terms of production, had shorter life-spans, affected fewer people, and had relatively smaller economic impacts beyond the confines of the district. One understandably might ask "so what?" when thinking of them and their impacts.

Nevertheless, the cumulative effect of the sixty-odd smaller mining districts in Humboldt County in the early 1900s had a very positive effect on the county, its two major towns, and the businesses, something of a strength in numbers concept. That effect never approached the size and scale of a Tonopah or Goldfield, but it was felt strongly at the scale of a rural county, rather than at the scale of a state or nation. With activity at twelve to three dozen mining districts during any five-year period, the smaller districts provided a constant stream of new revenue and jobs for the residents, who otherwise would have had to rely on a fairly unchanging mix of railroads, ranching and farming, and the merchants. The four-fold increase in the value of the "remaining" part of the county's economy was a direct testament to the impact of the mining boom in the early 1900s.

Thus, the "so what?" of these smaller districts was that they were critical for the health and growth of places like Humboldt County. They were not spectacular, but they nevertheless were very important parts of the rural economy. Humboldt County was not alone: every county in Nevada had numerous smaller districts, and the addition of or growth in mining had a positive effect in those rural counties as well. In Winnemucca, the Reinhart brothers, Haviland and Hoskins, and the owners of the Lafayette Hotel undoubtedly were thrilled with the increased business that these "so what?" districts brought through their front doors.

Chapter 9



APPENDICES

- A. Select Tables From Chapter 4
- B. List Of People Named In This Book

Appendix A. Long tables that are part of Chapter 4 (Town of Kennedy). See references therein to these data.

Table 4-1. List of Kennedy buildings and houses and their uses.

No. (Fig. 4-2)	Description	Type
South of Cinnabar Creek		
C-1	Unknown building (house?)	House
C-2	Corral (Joe Miller)	Corral
C-3	House (Anna Scott)	House
C-4	Unknown building	
C-5	Shed	Shed
C-6	Unknown building	
C-7	Blacksmith shop & barn (Northway)	Blacksmith
C-8	Blacksmith shop & barn (Northway)	Blacksmith
C-9	House (J.C. Mathews)	Blacksmith
C-10 (adjoining)	Barber shop (Hungenberg, Leach, Smith, Leick)	Barber, store
C-10 (adjoining)	Chinese restaurant (C. Sing)	Restaurant, store
C-11	Unknown building	
C-12	Unknown building	
C-13	Unknown building	
C-14	Kennedy Livery and Feed Stables (Smelser and Schmith)	Livery
C-15	Unknown building	
C-16	Unknown building	
C-17	Unknown building	
C-18	'49 Tent saloon and café (Abe Wise, Runyan; 2 businesses)	Saloon, restaurant
C-19	Unknown building	
C-20	Chinese restaurant (C. Wah)	Restaurant
C-21	Imperial Saloon (Paoletti-Malatesta)	Saloon
C-22	House (R. Benassini)	House
C-23	Store (Anna Scott)	Store
C-24	China Wash House, C.T. Kyle blacksmith shop	Laundry, blacksmith
C-25	Pioneer Meat Market (Sweeney, Molinary)	Butcher
C-26	Houses (Trousdale, I. Kennedy, Vadner, Roberts)	House, boarding
C-27	Little Gem store (Mrs. Michael)	Store
C-28	Store (Peter Ward)	Store
C-29	Store (McIntosh, Schmidt)	Store
C-30	House (Huntsman)	House
C-31	Arcade Saloon and Boarding House (C.A. Kyle, Wiggins)	Saloon, boarding
C-32	House (Potter/Engstrom/Stone/Hillyer)	House
C-33	Justice of the Peace office	Justice of the Peace

CHAPTER 9 – APPENDIX

No. (Fig. 4-2)	Description	Type
C-34	House (T. Powell)	House
C-35	Saloon, boarding house (B.J. Reilly)	Saloon, boarding
C-36	House (Hacker/McDeid)	House
C-37	House (W.D. Stewart?)	House
C-38	Wells Fargo Express Office; house (Fred Wilson)	Wells Fargo
C-39	Livery, feed stable, house (Peter Dory)	Livery
C-40	Shed	Shed
C-41	House (Meffley, Long, Brown, Hillyer)	House, boarding
C-42	Barn	Barn
C-43	Post office and Kennedy family house (one building)	Post office, house
C-44	Barn (C.E. Kennedy)	Barn
C-45	Wise's livery stable (Alex Wise, Sweeney)	Livery
C-46	Barn	Barn

Jenkins mill

J-1	Jenkins boarding house	Boarding
J-2	Jenkins store	Store
J-3	Jenkins mill	Mill
J-4	House ("Foster house" of 1910s)	House
J-5	Barn, garage	Barn
J-6	House	House
J-7	Barn	Barn

North of Cinnabar Creek (Imperial Avenue area)

I-1	E. Reinhart & Co. store and side building	Store
I-2	Ed Williams Combination Saloon	Saloon
I-3	Imperial Restaurant and house (Oliver); house (Peter Laux)	Restaurant, house
I-4	Assay, mill office, house (Wardner, W.L. Wilkinson)	Assay office
I-5	Imperial mill	Mill
I-6	House (John Benton)	House
I-7	Barn	House
I-8	Kennedy school house	School
I-9	House (stone)	House
I-10	House (adobe)	House
I-11	House	House
I-12	House	House
I-13	House (Charles Kennedy's first)	House
I-14	House (Birdie Burton)	House

Other buildings in townsite, exact location unknown

House	A.V. Souza	Cinnabar Ave.
House	Abe Wise/J. Thies	Cinnabar Ave.

CHAPTER 9 – APPENDIX

No. (Fig. 4-2)	Description	Type
House	H. Schmidt/J.R. Benton/C.E. Kennedy	Cinnabar Ave.
House	T. Powell/C.A. Kyle	Cinnabar Ave.
House	W.F. Pearce	Cinnabar Ave.
House, store	W. Stinson	Cinnabar Ave.
House, store	Tippet bothers	Cinnabar Ave.
Saloon, house	Sam King/A.B. Smith/W.L. Pearce	Cinnabar Ave.
Cabin (2)	Anna Scott	"Guthrie St."
House	E. Pearce/W.L. Pearce	Townsite
Boarding house	E. Brinkman/J. Leick	Townsite
House	A. Buschiazzo/J.A. Blossom	Townsite
House	C. Egbert/J. Alexander	Townsite
House	O.V. Beandin/J.A. Blossom	Townsite
House	S. Nixon/P. Sweeney	Townsite

Additional buildings mentioned in newspapers and legal documents

Type	Owner	General location
Bunkhouse	Hidden Treasure mine	Hidden Treasure mine
Assay office	Hidden Treasure mine	Hidden Treasure mine
Mill	Hidden Treasure mine	Hidden Treasure mine
Stone house	Gold Note mine	Gold Note mine
Bunkhouse #1	Gold Note mine	Gold Note mine
Bunkhouse #2	Gold Note mine	Gold Note mine
Blacksmith shop	Gold Note mine	Gold Note mine
Cabin	Dan Keeler	Imperial mine area
Cabin	Ed Stone	Imperial mine area
Bunkhouse	E. Reinhart & Co.	Imperial mine area
Cabin	John McCormack	Western Kennedy
Stone house	Unknown	Western Kennedy
Cabins (3)	Unknown	Western Kennedy
Bunkhouse	Unknown	Sunnyside mine
Cabin	Frank Northway, George Lamberson	Lamberson Canyon
Cabin	Hans Bender	Water Canyon
Cabin	Otto Schweitzer, D.D. Grannis	Water Canyon
Cabin	John McCarthy	Water Canyon
Cabin, small barn	C.A. Kyle, L.L. Folsom, L. Cooper	Say Canyon
Stone cabin	P. Riley	French Boy Canyon
Saloon (tent)	P. Riley	French Boy Canyon
Bunkhouse (2)	Henrietta mine owners	French Boy Canyon
Mill (2-3)	Henrietta mine owners	French Boy Canyon

Table 4-2. Kennedy Businesses

Years	Owner	Type	Name	Location
Saloons				
1892	Huntsman, C.W.	Saloon	--	Unknown
1894-1900	Riley, B.J.	Mixed use	Riley hotel and saloon	Cinnabar Ave.
1894-1899	Paoletti, C.B., Malatesta, Chris	Saloon	Imperial Saloon	Cinnabar and Hazel
1900	Blossom, J.A.	Saloon	Imperial Saloon	Cinnabar Ave.
1894-1895	Williams, Ed.	Mixed use	Combination Saloon	Imperial Ave
1895-1900	Reinhart, E. & Co.	Saloon	Combination Saloon	Imperial Ave
1894	Wise, Abe	Saloon	'49 Tent	Cinnabar Ave.
1893-1900	Kyle, C.A., Wiggins, Mark	Saloon	Arcade Saloon	Cinnabar Ave.
1900-1905	Kyle, C.T.	Saloon	Arcade Saloon	Cinnabar Ave.
1903-1905	Bingham, Elijah	Saloon	--	Unknown
1903-1905	Sterling, J./Barris, J.	Saloon	--	Unknown
Lodging				
1893	Benton, J.R.	House, lodging	"Benton's Hotel"	Imperial Ave
1894	Reinhart, E. & Co.	Bunk house	Imperial bunkhouse	Imperial Ave
1894	Scott, Anna (Mrs.)	Boarding house	Mrs. Scott's boarding house	Cinnabar Ave.
1894	Riley, B.J.	Mixed use	Riley's hotel	Cinnabar Ave.
1894-1895	Williams, Ed	Mixed use	Combination Saloon	Imperial Ave.
1893-1947	Shamrock Co.; later mine owners	Boarding house	--	Gold Note mine
1893-?	Jenkins, W.T.	Boarding house	Jenkins boarding house	Jenkins mill
1895	Roberts, Mrs. Dora	Lodging house		Cinnabar Ave.
1895	Kyle, C.A.	Mixed use	Kyle's Hotel	Cinnabar Ave.
unknown	Wilson, J.A.	Mixed use	--	Unknown
1900-1904	Brinkman, Eliza	Boarding house	--	Unknown
1900-1904	Brown, Elsie	Boarding house	--	Unknown
1901-1912	Roberts, Mrs. Dora	Boarding house	--	Cinnabar Ave.
Restaurant				
1894	Howard & Runyan (Ed.)	Restaurant	'49 Café	Cinnabar Ave.
1894	Oliver, H.	Restaurant	Imperial Restaurant	Imperial Ave.

CHAPTER 9 – APPENDIX

Years	Owner	Type	Name	Location
1894	Potter, Louis W.	Restaurant	Arcade Dining Rooms	Next to Arcade saloon
1894	Scott, Anna (Mrs.)	Restaurant	Mrs. Scott's Restaurant	Cinnabar Ave.
1894-1895	Sing (Wah), Charlie	Restaurant		Cinnabar Ave.
1894-1895	Williams, Ed.	Mixed use	Combination Saloon	Imperial Ave
1902-1903	Leach, E.A.	Restaurant, store	Kennedy Restaurant	Cinnabar Ave.
1903-1904	Kyle, C.T. (Cox, H.)	Chop house (Chinese cook)	--	Cinnabar Ave.
1903-1904	Sterling, J./Barris, J.	Chop house (Chinese cook)	--	Unknown
Store				
1893-?	Jenkins, W.T.	Store	Jenkins' Store	Jenkins mill
1894	Michael, Mrs. M.	Dry-goods store	Little Gem	Cinnabar Ave.
1894-1896	Reinhart, E. & Co.	Dry-goods store	Reinhart Dry-goods Store	Imperial Ave
1894-1898	Chenoweth, John	Insurance, printed materials	--	Imperial Ave. (Imperial Rest.)
1894	Tippet, Edwin/Sam/Thomas	Store	--	Cinnabar Ave.
1894	Ward, Peter	Store	--	Cinnabar Ave.
1895	Scott, A.	Store building	--	Cinnabar Ave.
1902-1904	Leach, E.A. (Al)	Store	--	Cinnabar Ave.
1905-1913	Kennedy, C.E.	Store	--	Cinnabar Ave.
Butcher				
1894	Leick, Jacob	Butcher shop	--	Cinnabar Ave.
1894	Sweeney, P.	Butcher shop	Pioneer Meat Market	Cinnabar Ave.
1896	Alvarez, Manuel	Butcher shop	--	Unknown
Post Office				
1892-1916	Kennedy, C.E.	Post office	Post Office	Cinnabar Ave.
Newspaper				
1894	Francis, Frank	Newspaper	<i>Nevada New Era</i>	Unknown
Barber				
1894	Bird, W.A.	Barber shop	--	Unknown
1894	Hungenberg, B.J.	Barber shop	--	Cinnabar Ave.
1902-1904	Unknown	Barber shop	--	Unknown

CHAPTER 9 – APPENDIX

Years	Owner	Type	Name	Location
Justice of the Peace				
1892-1893	Benton, J.R.	Justice of the Peace	Justice of the Peace	Imperial Ave.
1894-1898	Riley, W.S.	Justice of the Peace	Justice of the Peace	Cinnabar Ave.
Notary Public				
1894-1896	Chenoweth, John	Notary	--	Imperial Ave. (Imperial Rest.)
Insurance				
1894-1896	Chenoweth, John	Insurance, printed materials	--	Imperial Ave. (Imperial Rest.)
Money orders				
1894	Kennedy, C.E.	Money orders	--	in Post Office
Wells Fargo				
1894	Wells Fargo	Wells Fargo office	Wells Fargo Express	Cinnabar Ave.
Laundry				
1895	Kyle, C.T.	Wash house	China wash house	Cinnabar Ave.
1895	Schmidt, Henry	Wash house	China wash house	Cinnabar Ave.
Land				
1894	Kennedy Land & Improvement Co.	Land sales	Kennedy Land & Improvement Co.	School House
Carpenter, painter				
1894	Hoy, R.F.	Builder	--	--
1894	Ward, Peter	Builder	--	Cinnabar Ave.
1894	Stine, N.E.	Painter	--	Unknown
1894	Day, William	Painter, paper hanger	--	Lovelock
Freight				
1894	McDeid, Charley	Fast freight line	--	--
1894	Wise, Alex	Fast stage route	--	Cinnabar Ave
1894	Pascal, Joe	Freight	--	Winnemucca

CHAPTER 9 – APPENDIX

Years	Owner	Type	Name	Location
1894	Paoletti, G.B.	Freight, wood hauling	--	--
1894	Hoppin, T.L.	Hauling lumber	--	Winnemucca
1894	Rask, Peter	Hauling lumber	--	Winnemucca
1894	Acker, Joe	Ore hauling	--	--
1900-end	Pearce, W.L.	Freight	--	Pleasant Valley
1900s	Laurentzen, H.	Freight	--	--
1900s	Leick, Jacob	Freight	--	--

Livery, stable

1894	Dory, Peter & Janette	Livery and stable		
1894	Schmith & Smelser	Livery and stable	--	Cinnabar Ave.
1894	Leick, Jacob	Livery and stable	--	Cinnabar Ave.
1895	Wise, Alex (and estate)	Stable	--	Cinnabar Ave.
1900	Sweeney, P.	Stable (formerly Alex Wise)	--	
1903-1912	George, Charlie	Stable, stage station	--	Cinnabar Ave.

Stage Line

1891	Summerfield, George	Stage line	--	From Winnemucca
1894	Pierce, Wm. Jr.	Stage line	--	From Winnemucca
1894	Torrey & Allen	Stage line	--	From Lovelock
1900-1902	Guthrie, J.W.	Stage line	--	From Winnemucca
1902	Leach, E.A. (Al)	Stage line	--	From Winnemucca
1902-1903	Pearce, W.L. and N.	Stage line	--	From Winnemucca
1903	Smith, Bert	Stage line	--	From Winnemucca
1903-1905	Guthrie, J.I.	Stage line	--	From Winnemucca
1905-1906	Pearce, W.L.	Stage line	--	From Winnemucca
1907-1910	Leick, Jake	Stage line	--	From Winnemucca
1910-1915	Pearce, W.L.	Stage line	--	From Winnemucca

Blacksmith

1893	Northway, Frank	Blacksmith shop	--	
1894	Malmgren, Martin	Blacksmith shop	--	
1895	Kyle, C.T.	Blacksmith shop	--	Cinnabar Ave.

CHAPTER 9 – APPENDIX

Years	Owner	Type	Name	Location
Wood cutting				
1894	Dies, John	Wood cutting	--	Lamberson Canyon
1895	Potter, L.	Wood camp	--	
Mill, assay				
1894-1918	Various	Mill	Imperial mill	Cinnabar Ave.
1894-1915	Jenkins, W.T. & Edith	Mill	Jenkins mill	
1915-1928	Roylance Reduction Works	Mill	Jenkins mill	Cinnabar Ave.
1894	Wardner, J.F.	Assay office	Imperial Sampling Works	Imperial Ave
1894, 1905-1913	Kennedy, C.E.	Assay office		
1902-1915	Spencer Mining Co., Kennedy, C.E.	Mill	Hidden Treasure mill	Hidden Treasure mine
1902-1957	Various	Mills (2)	Rileyville mills	Rileyville (French Boy Canyon)

Table 4-3. Goods sold at Charles McIntosh store, 1894-1895

Item	Price (\$)	Price (2015 \$)
Miner's wage (day)	3.00	82.71
Stage trip (one way)	2.50-5.00	62.92-137.85
Food		
Apples	0.10	2.76
Bacon, lb	0.14	3.72
Barley	0.50-2.25*	13.78-62.03
Beef	1.25	34.46
Beef extract	0.50	13.79
Bread, loaf	0.10	2.76
Butter, roll	0.50	13.79
Cheese	2.60	71.68
Coffee	3.00-27.00*	82.71-744.39
Dispepsia medicine (doz.)	0.25	6.89
Eggs (varied amts.)	1.75-16.00*	48.25-441.12

CHAPTER 9 – APPENDIX

Item	Price (\$)	Price (2015 \$)
Flour	5.00	137.85
Ham (lb)	0.14	3.86
Milk (per month)	2.00	55.14
Potatoes (sack)	6.00	165.42
Prunes (box)	0.85	23.43
Rabbit	0.25	6.89
Rhubarb	0.25	6.89
Roast	0.60	16.54
Steak	0.25	6.89
Household		
Box of glasses	0.25	6.89
Broom	0.50	13.79
Coal oil	1.20	33.08
Lamp	6.00	165.42
Razor	3.00	82.71
Stamps (@1 cent each)	0.50-3.00*	13.79-82.71
Stove	11.00	303.27
Clothing		
Gloves	1.50	41.36
Overalls	0.75	20.68
Overcoat	5.00	137.85
Mining, hardware		
Assay	0.83-1.00*	22.88-27.57
Cask	10.00	275.70
Cyanide (barrel)	17.60	485.23
Cyanide (pound)	0.25	6.89
Powder	6.00	165.42
Rope	4.00	110.28
Timber	3.00	82.71
Selby smelting fee	15.50	427.34
McIntosh expenses		
Awning for store	8.00	220.56
"Ball ticket" (Dec. 1894)	1.50	41.36
Board in Battle Mtn., 7 days	10.50	289.49
Hay	5.85	161.28
Horse boarding	1.90-3.00*	52.83-82.71
Laundry (month)	1.50	41.36
Mail box rental (month)	2.00	55.14

CHAPTER 9 – APPENDIX

Item	Price (\$)	Price (2015 \$)
Meal at café	0.60	16.54
Meals at café (month)	13.50	372.20
Mortgage (month)	25.00	689.25
S.F. Chronicle	16.45	453.53
S.F. Examiner	12.56	346.28
Shave	0.25	6.89
Suit of clothes	9.00	248.13
Tailings pump	7.00	192.99
Telegram	0.75	20.68
Valise	2.00	55.14
Wood (cord)	4.38	120.76
Miscellaneous		
Brandy (1 pint)	1.00	27.57
Cigars	3.50	96.50
Dr. Brierly (M.D. care)	9.55	263.29
Tobacco	2.30-5.75*	63.41-158.53
Violin	5.00	137.85
Labor paid by McIntosh		
C.O Engstrom--work tailings	3.00	82.71
House, board for two workers	18.00	496.26
John Meffley--work tailings	3.00	82.71
Labor--Al Jenkins	14.00	385.98
Labor--C.B. Hanson (10 days)	40.00	1103.00
Labor--Repairing buggy spring	3.25	89.60
Retort--Ed Stone	13.50	372.20
Tailings moving	67.50	1860.98
Freight		
Small package, stage	0.60	16.54
Freight costs, general*	0.60-124.97*	16.54-3,445

* Varied amounts purchased

CHAPTER 9 – APPENDIX

Table 4-4. Kennedy-Area Schools and Teachers

School year	Teacher	Salary/month	School Clerk
Kennedy ("Pleasant Valley") school:			
1893-1894	Rosa Alexander	--	--
1894 (January)	Schoolhouse completed		
1894-1895	Clara McGonagle	\$60	P. Sweeney
1895-1897	Olena Johnson	\$60	W.L. Wilkinson
1897-1900	Mamie Choate	\$60-65	J.R. Benton
1901-1902	Clifford E. Robins	--	--
1902-1904	Jennie Mulcoy	--	--
1904-1905	Hazel Bell	\$60	J.R. Benton
1905-1906	Alice Langwith	--	--
1905-1907	Bessie E. Stone	\$65	J.R. Benton
1908-1915	School on inactive status	--	--
1915	School reopened	--	--
1915-1916	Agnes Ramsey	--	--
1916-1917	Helen M. Hanley	\$85	W.S. Zuick
1917-1918	Anna F. Lucey	\$85	W.S. Zuick
1918 (fall)	Helen M. Hanley	--	W.S. Zuick
1919 (spring)	School closed permanently		
Bushee (Pearce ranch) school:			
1906-1907	School built by William L. Pearce, John Schell, Frank Wiggins		
1905-1907	Helen E. Wright	\$65	W.L. Pearce
1907-1908	Pauline Wuertele	--	--*
1908-1910	Josephine Mulcoy	\$70	W.L. Pearce
1910-1911	Mae D. Grandstaff	\$75	W.L. Pearce
1911-1912	Minnie E. Sadicoff	\$75	W.L. Pearce
1912-1913	Mary Challis	\$75	W.L. Pearce
1913-1914	Pearl Grandin	\$75	W.L. Pearce
1914-1915	Grace McVicar	--	--*
1916-1917	Marie Mace	\$85	W.L. Pearce
1917-1918	Ethel Creek	\$77	--*
1918-1919	Cordelia Wallace	--	--*
1919-1920	Grace S. Mills	--	--*
1920-1922	Anna M. Davis	--	--*
1922-1923	Bessie Sanders	--	--*
1923-1924	Harriet E. Boyd	--	--*
1924-1925	Myrtle J. Sorensen	--	--*
1929-1930	Naomi Hursey	--	--*
1930-1933	Alma Ives (Polkinghorne)	--	--*

CHAPTER 9 – APPENDIX

School year	Teacher	Salary/month	School Clerk
1933-1934	Yvonne Siard	--	--*
1936-1937	Jessie Buchanan	--	--*
~1939	School closed permanently		

* W.L. Pearce (assumed but not listed)

Table 4-5. Elected and Appointed Officials

Year (month)	Person	Position	Elected/Appointed	Location
1878	Bushee, Moses	Constable	Appointed	Pleasant Valley
1878	Lamberson, George	Deputy County Clerk	Appointed	Pleasant Valley
1884	Wallace, J.B.	Deputy County Clerk	Appointed	Pleasant Valley
1888	Talcott, F.H.	Constable	Appointed	Pleasant Valley
1888	Bushee, Moses	Justice of the Peace	Appointed	Pleasant Valley
1892 (May)	Benton, J.R.	Justice of the Peace	Appointed	Kennedy
1893 (April)	Wilkinson, W.L.	Justice of the Peace	Appointed	Kennedy
1893 (Oct.)	Riley, W.S.	Justice of the Peace	Appointed ¹	Kennedy
1893 (Oct.)	Dory, Peter	Constable	Appointed	Kennedy
1894 (Jan.)	Abel, George W.	Constable	Appointed	Kennedy
1894 (Nov.)	Dory, Peter	Constable	Elected	Kennedy
1894 (Nov.)	Riley, W.S.	Justice of the Peace	Elected	Kennedy
1895 (Jan.)	Dory, Peter	Special Deputy Sheriff	Appointed	Kennedy
1895 (Oct.)	Chenoweth, John W.	Justice of the Peace	Appointed	Kennedy
1896 (Nov.)	Dory, Peter	Constable	Elected	Kennedy
1896 (Nov.)	Darnes, James H.	Justice of the Peace	Elected	Kennedy
1898 (Nov.)	Wilkinson, W.G.	Constable	Elected	Kennedy
1898 (Nov.)	Chenoweth, John W.	Justice of the Peace	Elected	Kennedy
1900	Leach, E.A.	Special Deputy Sheriff	Appointed ²	Kennedy
1901	Barris, James	Deputy County Clerk	Appointed ³	Kennedy
1902	Barris, James	Justice of the Peace	Appointed ⁴	Kennedy
1903 (Jan.)	Pearce, N.J.	Deputy County Clerk	Appointed ³	Kennedy
1903 (Feb.)	Ranney, M.H.	Deputy County Clerk	Appointed ³	Kennedy
1903 (June)	Pearce, W.L.	Deputy County Clerk	Appointed ³	Kennedy
1903 (Dec.)	Blood, Giles	Justice of the Peace	Appointed ⁴	Kennedy
1906 (Feb.)	Muma, Harry	Deputy County Clerk	Appointed ³	Pleasant Valley

CHAPTER 9 – APPENDIX

Year (month)	Person	Position	Elected/Appointed	Location
1907 (May)	Doak, C.A.	Justice of the Peace	Appointed ³	Kennedy
1907	Pearce, F.H.	Special Deputy Sheriff	Appointed ³	Pleasant Valley
1912 (Dec.)	Pearce, F.H.	Deputy County Clerk	Appointed ³	Pleasant Valley

¹ Appointed after W.L. Wilkinson resigned. ² Appointed after W.S. Riley resigned. ³ To deliver election returns from Kennedy and other precincts. ⁴ Short-term appointment to fill an immediate need; term length variable. ⁵ Barris resigned for health reasons; Blood appointed to fill position.

Table 4-6. Kennedy and Pleasant Valley Elections

Year	Polling Place	Registrar	Inspectors	Clerks	Registered	Voted
1890	Bushee Ranch	Cephas Kyle	Judges: M. Bushee, J. Miller, W.L. Guthrie	--	14	NR
1892	Benton's house	John Benton	J. Benton, P. Sweeney, J. Miller	W.G. Wilkinson, C. Kennedy	NR	17
1894*	School House	John Benton	J. Miller, W. Van Reed, F. Northway	C. Mathews, B. McLain	NR	216
1896*	Wilson's house	John Benton	R. Battles, C.A. Kyle, J. Houston	H. Schmidt, C. George	NR	38
1898*	Wilson's house	J. Chenoweth	C.A. Kyle, J. Benton, F. Northway	T. Powell, E. Reid	26	20
1900	Wilson's house	--	J. Miller, C.A. Kyle, J.A. Schell	C. Kennedy, J. Leyson	NR	27
1902	Wilson's house	James Barris	J. Benton, J. Miller, J.A. Schell	W.L. Pearce, J. Edson	44	38
1904	--	NR	NR	NR	NR	23
1906	Benton's house	NR	J. Benton, W.L. Pearce, J.H. Cox	NR	20	16
1908	--	C.E. Kennedy	NR	NR	NR	21
1910	--	C.E. Kennedy	NR	NR	--	19
1912	Leick's house	C.E. Kennedy	J. Miller, J.I. Guthrie, W.L. Pearce	A.F. Lasher, C. George	--	13

CHAPTER 9 – APPENDIX

Year	Polling Place	Registrar	Inspectors	Clerks	Registered	Voted
1914	Leick's house	NR	Z. Russell, J. Miller, C. George	W.L. Pearce, H. Roberts	--	<15
1916	Leick's house	NR	NR	NR	16	NR
1918	--	NR	NR	NR	--	18
1919	Pershing Co. created **				19	--
1920	Pearce's ranch	NR	NR	NR	6	NR
1922	Cooper's ranch	NR	NR	NR	NR	NR
1930	Pearce's ranch	NR	NR	NR	14	NR
1932	Pearce's ranch	NR	Officials: W. Polkinghorne, M.S. McCoy, J.O. Roberts, C. Ringling, W.L. Pearce	NR	NR	NR

NR, not reported; * Local races included Justice of the Peace and Constable (1894-1898); ** Grass Valley precinct: "Winnemucca" and "Lovelock" parts based on voter's P.O. address

Appendix B. List of people whose names appear in this book.

The names below are those that appeared in this book, either as major characters or only as passing mentions. The names of more than 1,200 people appeared in various newspaper, legal, and other documents related to Kennedy and nearby ranches. A database containing all of those names, as well as additional information on each person, is on file with the Humboldt Museum in Winnemucca, Nevada, and the Nevada Historical Society in Reno, Nevada.

Abbena, John	Blackett, Joseph	Chenoweth, John
Abel, George	Blanchard, Pete	Choate, Mamie
Abrogast, George	Blood, Giles	Clark, Theodore
Acker, Joe	Blossom (Duffy), Grace	Clarke, John
Adamson, Robert	Blossom (Macdonald), Elvira	Clemmons, Ray
Adamson, William	Blossom, J.A.	Cleveland, A.C.
Alexander, G.	Blossom, James	Collett, Clarence
Alexander, Joe	Blossom, Robert	Constantine, Phil
Alexander, Jules	Bonnifield, M.S.	Cooley, Felix
Alexander, Rosa	Bonython, Tommy	Cooper, Anita
Allard, Marrus	Borland, William	Cooper, Don
Allen, Ed	Boskowitz, Charles	Cooper, Leland
Alvarez, Manuel	Boyd, Harriet	Cooper, William
Amonett, Ed	Boyer, Alva	Cosby, Walter
Andrews, H.D.	Bragg, Allen	Coulson, Charles
Anker, Peter	Brandel, Fred	Coulson, Harriet
Armstrong, Elbert	Brann, Walter	Coulson, Imle
Armstrong, Jim	Brassington, Ed	Cox, Harry (J.H.)
Ascher, John	Bredhoff, Henry	Cox, Ward
Arnott, Peter	Brierly, Conant	Cramp, William
Bacon, Edward	Brinkman, Elisa	Crawford, Walter
Balya, E.L.	Bronlett, J.C.	Creek, Ethel
Barnes, Jim	Brown (Riley), Elsie	Crosby, Edward
Barris, James	Brown, Emma	Cusick, Patrick
Barron, Fred	Brown, Roy	Dalby, Grace
Bartine, H.F.	Brown, Sydney	Daly, Flora
Bass, Charles	Buchanan, Jessie	Daniels, Charles
Batman, I.C.	Burton, Birdie	Darnes, James
Battles, Reuben	Buschiazzo, Antone	Davidson, George
Baylor, Norman	Bushee, Moses	Davis, Anna
Beandin, O.V.	Cady, Frank	Day, William
Bell, Hazel	Calhoun, Frank	Dennison, Barney
Benassini, R.	Callahan, James	Dies, John
Bender, Hans	Campbell, Lee	Dils, Howard
Benham, W.M.	Captain Lazarus	Doak, C.A.
Benton, John	Casey, Jim	Dobyns, George
Benton, Virginia	Cash, Oscar	Donley, Michael
Berry, Annie	Cash, Robert	Donnelly, Patrick
Berry, Seneca	Chabango, Joe	Doolin, M.J.
Bingham, Elijah	Challis, Mary	Dory, Janette
Bird, William	Chamberlain, Corydon	Dory, Peter

CHAPTER 9 – APPENDIX

Doubleday, Harry	Giles, Blood	Howard, --
Downs, Effie	Gilliland, Ella	Hoy, Robert
Duba, Alex	Gilliland, William	Hungenberg, B.J.
Ducker, Edward	Giroux, Edward	Hunter, Harvey
Duffy, Dennis	Glenn, George	Huntsman, Charles
Dunn, L.F.	Godchaux, Edmond	Huntsman, Denton
Egbert, Chris	Gossi, Joe	Huntsman, Dow
Elledge, Jack	Grandin, Pearl	Huntsman, Nancy
Emery, John	Grandstaff, Mae	Hursey, Naomi
Engstrom, Charles	Grange, John	Hyman, Pressly
Ernst, Clarence	Grannis, D.D.	Ives, Alma
Esparza, Dan	Greilich, Louis	Jelinek, Matt
Esparza, Epifano	Grosdidier, J.L.	Jenkins, Al
Esparza, John	Guthrie, Charles	Jenkins, Edith
Esparza, Pete	Guthrie, Frank	Jenkins, Ray
Estrade, Joe	Guthrie, John	Jenkins, Thomas
Etchegoyhen, Pete	Guthrie, John F.	Jenkins, William
Etchegoyhen, Uranie	Guthrie, John I.	Johnson, Malcolm
Eyheralde, John	Guthrie, Joseph (Will)	Johnson, N.C.
Eyraud, August	Guthrie, May	Johnson, Olena
Faison, L.P.	Hacker, Joe	Jones, J.N.
Farmer, Dale	Haden, Charlie	Jones, Robert
Feige, Al	Hagar, Henry	Judd, Nellie
Floyd, Elizabeth	Hall, Alex	Julian, Estay
Folsom, Lou	Haller, Nathan	Jurgenson, John
Fontaine, Clifford	Handy, Fred	Kattenhorn, Albert
Fontaine, Ken	Hanford, William	Kattenhorn, Otto
Forvilly, Alice	Hanley, Helen	Kavanaugh, Robert
Forvilly, Ernest	Hanson, C.B.	Keeler, Dan
Forvilly, Frank	Harrison, Ethelyn	Keenan, Anna
Forvilly, Frank, Jr.	Haseltine, George	Keith, Frank
Forvilly, George	Hawley, Martin	Kellock, John
Forvilly, Henry	Haywood, Bill	Kelsey, Frank
Forvilly, Joe	Heflebower, Frank	Kelsey, Pat
Forvilly, La Mar	Heintzelman, Sam	Kennedy (Garrett), Alice
Forvilly, Mike	Henry, Patrick	Kennedy, Charles
Foss, Marion	Herzog, John	Kennedy, Con
Foster, Eugene	Hickok, Curtis	Kennedy, Ida
Foster, Hazel	Hickok, George	Kennedy, Marvin
Francis, Frank	Hickok, Stanley	Kennedy, Robert
Francis, William	Hill, Roy	Kenney, George
Frank, Eugene	Hill, Walter	Ketcham, Floyd
Friedman, Louis	Hillyer, Christine	Ketcham, Harry
Fronhofer, George	Hillyer, Warren	Ketcham, Walter
Fuller, Arnold	Hoffman, Rudolf	King, Joe
Gallahan, Lloyd	Holcomb, Charles	King, Sam
Garff, Kendall	Hood, Bert	Kirman, Richard
Garrett, Charles	Hood, William	Klopstock, Paul
Garrett, Mary Olive	Hoppin, Thad	Knoch, Isaac
George, Charlie	Horne, Herman	Knox, Andrew
George, Violet	Houston, J.	Kyle, Cephas

CHAPTER 9 – APPENDIX

Kyle, Charlie	Mathews, H.W.	Ogden, B. Augustus
Kyle, Matthew	Mathews, J.C.	O'Leary, Frank
Laane, John	McBride, D.V.	Oliver, Henry
Labadie, Edward	McCain, Ed	Oliver, Lizzie
Labigan, Ben	McCarthy, John	Organ, Alfred
Lake, Esther	McClain, Charles	Otteraaen, Earl
Lamb, Graham	McCormack, John	Otteraaen, Lena
Lamb, Joe	McCoy, Joe	Owens, Jim
Lamb, Ray	McCoy, Melvin	Paoletti, G.B.
Lamberson, George	McDeid, Charles	Parsons, Reginald
Langwith, Alice	McDermott, John	Pascal, Joe
Langwith, Joseph	McDermott, Joseph	Patterson, Luther
Langwith, Mary	McGonagle, Clara	Pearce (McCoy), Mabel
Larson, Bent	McGregor, Frank	Pearce, Elizabeth
Lasher, Abner	McGuire, John	Pearce, Fred
Lasher, Arthur	McHench, W.S.	Pearce, Harry
Lasher, Elizabeth	McIntosh, Charles	Pearce, Jessie
Lasher, Sarah	McKinsey, Noble	Pearce, Nick
Laux, Ella	McMurtry, Leslie	Pearce, W.L. (Will)
Laux, Helena	McVicar, Grace	Pearce, William F.
Laux, Peter	Meffley, John	Pelton, Delamar
Lawlor, Thomas	Merrill, Frank	Peterman, Evelyn
Leach, E.A. (Al)	Michael, Margaret	Peterman, Linus
Lecumberry, Hilario	Miller, George	Pflugger, Robert
Lee, F.H.	Miller, Joe	Polkinghorne, Charles
Leick, Jake	Miller, Susan	Polkinghorne, Walter
Leick, John	Mills, Grace	Potter, Louis
Leick, Lena	Minor, James	Powell, Thomas
Leonard, Harry	Minor, Sarah	Presby, James
Leonard, Jewitt	Mitchell, Joe	Prida, Gil
Levinson, Maurice	Moler, Jacob	Prough, Frank
Lindsay, Jim	Molinary, Frank	Prud-Homme, Cameron
Liotard, Lion	Moore, Ralph	Quigley, Ethel
Long, Frank	Moran, William J.	Ramsey, Agnes
Lorentzen, H.J.	Moran, William T.	Rankin, Robert
Lucey, Anna	Morse, John	Ranney, Marcus
Lundquist, Leonard	Morton, Ben	Ransome, Frederick
Lyon, Paul	Mulcoy, Jennie	Rask, Peter
Mace, Marie	Mulcoy, Josephine	Reber, Frank
Mack, Walter	Mulcoy, Susie	Reed, R.E.
Malaney, Howard	Muma, Harry	Reed, R.R.
Malaney, Vera	Murphy, Michael	Reilly, B.J.
Malatesta, Chris	Murrish, Harry	Reinhart, Ed
Malmgren, Martin	Newell, William	Reinhart, Simon
Mangan, Patrick	Newlands, Francis	Richmond, Thomas
Martin, Charles	Nixon, George	Rickey, J.B.
Martin, Frank	Nixon, S.	Riebenack, Max
Masenet, Alfred	No Savy Jim	Rickey, J.B.
Mason, George	Norcross, Charles	Riley, Benjamin
Mason, Mortimer	Northway, Frank	Riley (Hapgood), Dorothy
Mathews, Cal	Novello, John	Riley, Patrick

CHAPTER 9 – APPENDIX

Riley, W.S.	Sing, Charley	Uniacke, Crofton
Ringling, Clark	Smelser, Jefferson	Vadner, Agnes
Ritz, Gottlieb	Smith, Albert	Vadner, Charles
Ritz, Walter	Smith, Art	Vaile, Hubert
Roberts, Dora	Smith, Bert	Van Reed, Wallis
Roberts, Odie	Smith, Claude	Van Zante, K.
Robertson (Farmer), La Fonta	Smith, E.A.	Vital, Robert
Robertson, Earl	Smith, W.S.	Wagner, Charles
Robertson, Ruby	Sorensen, Myrtle	Wah, Charlie
Robertson, Ted	Souza, Anton	Wallace, Cordelia
Robins, Clifford	Sowers, Leroy	Wallace, J.B.
Rosencrans, F.B.	Spencer, I.L.	Walrath, Austin
Rowe, George	Spencer, John	Walrath, Margaret
Roylance, Anna	Springmeyer, Beatrice	Walrath, Richard
Roylance, Leon	Springmeyer, Carl	Ward, Peter
Ruck, Harry	Stables, Edward	Wardner, James
Runyan, Ed	Sterling, John	Warning, Frank
Russell, Zink	Stewart, Angus	Warren, Harry
Russi, John	Stewart, Peter	Warwick, Charles
Ryan, T.J.	Stewart, Robert	Watkins, Alice
Ryan, Webster	Stewart, William	Watkins, Charles
Sadicoff, Minnie	Stine, Ned	Watkins, Kenneth
Salinas, Elmer	Stinson, Samuel	Watt, George
Samuels, William	Stionson, William	Welter, Stewart
Sanders, Bessie	Stone, Bessie	Whitman, Bernard
Sandon, William	Stone, Ed	Wiedeman, Alfred
Sarret, Jules	Summerfield, George	Wiggins, Frank
Schell, Adam	Swain, Henry	Wiggins, Mark
Schell, Albert	Sweeney, Maria	Wilkinson, Carrie
Schell, Alfred	Sweeney, Patrick	Wilkinson, Walter L.
Schell, John	Swezy, Charles	Wilkinson, William G.
Schell, Louisa	Talbot, George	Williams, Ed
Schmidt, Henry	Talcott, F.H.	Willis, Harry
Schmith, John	Taylor, John	Wilson, Charles
Schober, George	Taylor, P.S.	Wilson, E.R.
Sholl, Melvin	Terry, J.M.	Wilson, Fred
Schweitzer, Otto	Thies, John	Wilson, James
Scott, Anna	Thompkins, Tom	Winwood, John
Searls, Frank	Thompson, Thomas	Wise, Abe
Shumway, Ole	Tippett, Edward	Wise, Alex
Siard, Blanche	Tippett, Sam	Wise, Julia
Siard, Cesar	Tippett, Thomas	Wood, C.B.
Siard, Robert	Tobey, Almon	Wood, Edwin
Siard, Sylvain	Tomblin, A.C.	Wright, Helen
Siard, Yvonne	Tomblin, Dexter	Wuertele, Pauline
Silve, Frank	Torrey, Eb	Wynn, Charles
Simpson, Francis	Trerise, Josiah	York, Marion
Simpson, Kirk	Trousdale, May	Zuick, Bill
Sims, George	Turner, Christena	Zuick, Jean

Chapter 10



REFERENCE INFORMATION

REFERENCES CITED

- Abbott, M.B., and Wolfe, A.P., 2003, Intensive pre-Incan metallurgy recorded by lake sediments from the Bolivian Andes: *Science*, v. 301 (Sept. 26), p. 1893–1895.
- Agricola, G., and Hoover, H., 1912, *Georgius Agricola De re metallica*; Translated from the 1st Latin edition of 1556, with biographical introduction, annotations and appendices upon the development of mining methods, metallurgical processes, geology, mineralogy & mining law, from the earliest times to the 16th century. London: The Mining magazine.
- Ashbaugh, Don, 1959, Kennedy, Rileyville; Ghost Towns of Nevada, no. 152 of a series. *Las Vegas Review Journal*, December 28, 1959, p. 9-10.
- Ashbaugh, Don, 1963, *Nevada's Turbulent Yesterday: A Study in Ghost Towns*. Los Angeles, Westernlore Press, 346 p.
- Bennett, Dana, 2006, *A Century of Enthusiasm: Midas, Nevada, 1907-2007*. Midas, Friends of Midas, 192 p.
- Bennett, Dana, 2014, *All Roads Lead To Battle Mountain*. Battle Mountain, Lander County Historical Society, 232 p.
- Berry, S.L., 1916, An earthquake in Nevada: *Mining and Scientific Press*, v. 113, p. 52-53.
- Bowes, W.A., Kutina, J., Aaker, S.K., Fredriksson, K., and Golightly, D.W., 1982, Preliminary geology of the Kennedy porphyry molybdenum-copper district, Pershing County, Nevada: *Global Tectonics and Metallogeny*, v. 1, no. 4, p. 402-439.
- Bragg, Allen C., 1905, Letters written to and printed in the *Silver State*, Winnemucca, Nevada. (Also, compiled and reprinted: North Central Nevada Historical Society, 1976, Humboldt County 1905, by Allen C. Bragg. Winnemucca, North Central Nevada Historical Society, 149 p.)
- Brands, H.W., 1995, *The Reckless Decade*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 375 p.
- Carey, E.E., 1910a, Electrolytic cyanidation and amalgamation: *Metallurgical & Chemical Engineering*, v. 8, no. 7, p. 438-439.
- Carey, E.E., 1910b, Methods of electrochemical amalgamation: *Mining and Scientific Press*, v. 100, no. 11 (March 12, 1910), p. 394.
- Couch, B.F., and Carpenter, J.A., 1943, Nevada's metal and mineral production (1859-1940, inclusive): *University of Nevada Bulletin*, v. 37, no. 4, 159 p.
- dePolo, C.M., 2013, Magnitude values used for M₂₆ earthquakes, in *Earthquakes in Nevada: 1840s to 2010: Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology Open-File Report 13-7*, 6 p.
- dePolo, C.M., and Wallace, A.R., 2015, 1915 Pleasant Valley earthquake centennial field trip guidebook: Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology Educational Series E-58, 16 p.

CHAPTER 10 – REFERENCE INFORMATION

- Dreyer, R.M., 1940, Goldbanks mining district, Pershing County, Nevada: University of Nevada Bulletin, v. 34, no. 1, 38 p.
- Elliott, R.R., 1987, History of Nevada. Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 472 p.
- Folgate, Toddy, 1987, Earthquake, 1915: The Humboldt Historian, v. 10, issues 3 and 4, p. 3-42.
- Fosdick, J.C., and Colgan, J.P., 2008, Miocene extension in the East Range, Nevada—A two-stage history of normal faulting in the northern Basin and Range: Geological Society of America Bulletin, v. 120, p. 1198-1213.
- Glass, M.E., 1969, Silver and politics in Nevada, 1892-1902. Reno, University of Nevada Press, 242 p.
- Goldstrand, P.M., and Schmidt, K.W., 2000, Geology, mineralization, and ore controls at the Ken Snyder gold-silver mine, Elko County, Nevada, *in* Cluer, J.K., Price, J.G., Struhsacker, E.M., Hardyman, R.F., and Morris, C.L., eds., Geology and ore deposits 2000: The Great Basin and Beyond, Geological Society of Nevada Symposium Proceedings, May 15-18, 2000, p. 265-287.
- Gomes, J.M., 2007, Golconda's glory days, 1898-1910: Nevada Historical Society Quarterly, v. 50, no. 2, p. 145-167.
- Hapgood, Dorothy, 1985, Oral History [unpublished]. Winnemucca, Humboldt County Library, 34 p.
- Hertzmann, Walter S., 1991, The Reinharts of Nevada: A Genealogy and Family History. Winnemucca, unpublished manuscript, Humboldt County Library.
- Hill, R.M. 1929, Report on property of United Mines, Ltd., Pershing County, Nevada, by the H.W. Gould & Co.: Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology, unpublished file, 5 p.
- Holabird, F.N. (ed.), 2008, Collecting Guide to the Pioneer Minor Coinage of American Saloons. Reno, Sierra Nevada Press, 124 p.
- Johnson, M.G., 1977, Geology and mineral deposits of Pershing County, Nevada: Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology Bulletin 89, 115 p.
- Jones, J.C., 1915, The Pleasant Valley, Nevada, earthquake of October 2, 1915: Bulletin of the Seismological Society of America, v. 5, no. 4, p. 190-205.
- Juhas, A.P., 1982, Preliminary geology of the Kennedy porphyry molybdenum-copper district, Pershing County, Nevada: Global Tectonics and Metallogeny, v. 1, no. 4, pl 356-372.
- Kelly, T.D., Matos, G.R., and many others, 2013, Historical statistics for mineral and material commodities in the United States: U.S. Geological Survey Data Series 140, <http://minerals.usgs.gov/ds/2005/140/#data>.
- Klopstock, Paul, 1913, The Kennedy mining district, Nevada: American Institute of Mining Engineers Bulletin, v. 77, p. 1041-1046.
- Marden, J.P., 1993a, Early Medical Care in Winnemucca. Unpublished manuscript, Humboldt Museum, Winnemucca, Nevada.
- Marden, J.P., 1993b, The Chinese In Winnemucca. Unpublished manuscript, Humboldt Museum, Winnemucca, Nevada, 21 p.
- Marsden, J.O., and House, C.I., 2006, The Chemistry of Gold Extraction, 2nd Edition. Englewood CO, Society for Mining, Metallurgy, and Exploration, Inc., 651 p.
- Megraw, Herbert A., 1914, Details of Cyanide Practice. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 215 p.

CHAPTER 10 – REFERENCE INFORMATION

- Marvel, John W., 2009, An oral history by Dana R. Bennett. Carson City, Nevada, Legislative Counsel Bureau, 49 p.
- McCoy, Mabel, 1987, Oral History [unpublished]. Winnemucca, Humboldt County Library, 93 p.
- Michal, E.J., 2005a, The chemistry of the patio process: Nevada Historical Society Quarterly, v. 48, no. 2, p. 277-288.
- Michal, E.J., 2005b, Win some, lose some: The evolution of milling practice on the Comstock Lode: Nevada Historical Society Quarterly, v. 48, no. 2, p. 255-276.
- Muller, S.W., Ferguson, H.G., and Roberts, R.J., 1951, Geology of the Mount Tobin quadrangle, Nevada: U.S. Geological Survey Geologic Quadrangle Map, scale 1:125,000.
- Patterson, E.B., 1984, Reinhart family: Pioneer Nevada Merchants: Northeastern Nevada Historical Society Quarterly, no. 84-4, p. 121-133.
- Peele, Robert, 1918, Mining Engineer's Handbook. New York, John Wiley & Sons, 2,375 p. in two volumes.
- Polk, R.L., & Co., 1907, Nevada State Gazetteer and Business Directory, 1907-1908. Salt Lake City, R.L. Polk & Co.
- Pope, C.L., 1992, Adult mortality in American before 1900: A view from family histories; *in* Goldin, C., and Rockoff, H., eds., Strategic factors in Nineteenth Century American economic history – A volume to honor Robert W. Fogel. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, p. 267-296.
- Ransome, F.L., 1909, Notes on some mining districts in Humboldt County, Nevada: U.S. Geological Survey Bulletin 414, 75 p.
- Reid, J.T., and Hunter, J.R., 1912, Chapter L–Humboldt County, *in* Davis, S.P. ed., The History of Nevada. vol. II. Reno, Elms Publishing Company, Inc., p. 888-920.
- Rocha, G.L., 1985, "Big Bill" Haywood and Humboldt County: The making of a revolutionary: The Humboldt Historian, v. 7, no. 2 & 3, p. 3-27.
- Roylance, L.S.D., 1915, Letter to the *Silver State*, October 5, 1915, p. 1.
- Schrader, F.C., 1913, The Rochester mining district, Nev., *in* Ransome, F.L., and Gale, H.S., eds., Contributions to Economic Geology: U.S. Geological Survey Bulletin 580, p. 325-372.
- Shamberger, H.A., 1973, The Story of Rochester, Pershing County, Nevada. Carson City, Nevada Historical Press, 65 p.
- Scheil, K.W., 2012, She Hath Been Reading: Women and Shakespeare Clubs in America. Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 256 p.
- Shepperson, W.S., 1970, Restless Strangers. Reno, University of Nevada Press, 287 p.
- Shrestha, L.B., 2006, Life expectancy in the United States: Congressional Research Service Report for Congress, Order Code RL32792, 30 p.
- Siebenthal, C.E., and Stoll, A., 1922, Zinc; *in* Loughlin, G.F., ed., Mineral Resources of the United States, 1920. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, U.S. Geological Survey, p. 221-237.
- Slemmons, D.B., Jones, A.E., and Gimlett, J.I., 1965, Catalog of Nevada earthquakes, 1852-1960: Bulletin of the Seismological Society of America, v. 55, p. 537-583.
- Sprague, M., 2003, Bodie's Gold: Tall Tales And True History From A California Mining Town. Reno, University of Nevada Press, 228 p.

CHAPTER 10 – REFERENCE INFORMATION

- State of Nevada, (Two-year reports from 1891-1892 through 1911-1912), Biennial Report of the Superintendent Public Instruction. Carson City, Nevada State Printing Office.
- Thurber, J.E., 1982, Petrology and Cu-Mo mineralization of the Kennedy stock, East Range, Pershing County, Nevada: Fort Collins, unpublished Master's thesis, Colorado State University, 101 p.
- Tingley, J.V., 1985, Kennedy district, *in* The Paradise-Denio and Sonoma-Gerlach Resource Areas, Winnemucca District, Nevada: Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology Open-File Report 85-3, p. 84-87.
- Tingley, J.V., 1992, Mining districts of Nevada: Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology Report 47, 124 p.
- Tingley, J.V., Horton, R.C., and Lincoln, F.C., 1993, Outline of Nevada mining history: Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology Special Publication 15, 48 p.
- Townley, J.M., 1972, The Delamar boom: Development of a small, one-company mining district in the Great Basin: Nevada Historical Society Quarterly, v. 15, no. 1, p. 3-19.
- U.S. Geological Survey and U.S. Bureau of Mines, various years, Mineral resources of the United States, Part I-Metals. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office. (Kennedy district mentioned in 1905-1911, 1914, 1917-1919, 1921-1924, 1926, 1928, 1931, 1935, and 1937-1939.)
- U.S. Weather Bureau, 1932, Climatic Summary of the United States, Climatic Data to 1930 Inclusive, Section 19: Nevada. Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, U.S. Department of Agriculture Weather Bureau, 34 p.
- Valentine, David, 1999, American Canyon—A Chinese Village, *in* Tchudi, S., ed., Community in the American West. Reno, Nevada Humanities Committee, p. 104-145.
- Vanderburg, W.O., 1936, Reconnaissance of mining districts in Pershing County, Nevada: U.S. Bureau of Mines Information Circular 6902, 57 p.
- Van der Veer, H.J., 1940, Property evaluation of the Henrietta claim as part of E.R. Bacon's application for a patent: Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology, unpublished file, 3 p.
- Vetz, N.Q., 2011, Geochronologic and isotopic investigation of the Koipato Formation, northwestern Great Basin, Nevada: Implications for Late Permian-Early Triassic tectonics along the western U.S. Cordillera: Boise, unpublished Master's thesis, Boise State University, 147 p.
- Vikre, P.G., 1981, Silver mineralization in the Rochester district, Pershing County, Nevada: Economic Geology, v. 76, p. 580-609.
- Wallace, A.R., 1977, Geology and ore deposits, Kennedy mining district, Pershing County, Nevada: Boulder, unpublished Master's thesis, University of Colorado, 87 p.
- Wallace, R.E., 1984, Faulting related to the 1915 earthquakes in Pleasant Valley, Nevada: U.S. Geological Survey Professional Paper 1274-A, 33 p.
- Wardner, J.F., 1900, Jim Wardner of Wardner, Idaho. New York, Anglo-American Publishing Company, 154 p.
- Whitebread, D.H., and Sorensen, M., 1980, Preliminary geologic map of the Granite Mountain quadrangle, Pershing County, Nevada: U.S. Geological Survey Open-File Report 80-715, scale 1:24,000.

CHAPTER 10 – REFERENCE INFORMATION

- Willden, Ronald, 1964, *Geology and mineral deposits of Humboldt County, Nevada*: Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology Bulletin 59, 154 p.
- Wood, S.E., 2005, *The Freedom of the Streets: Work, Citizenship, and Sexuality in a Gilded Age City*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 344 p.

LEGAL AND GOVERNMENT DOCUMENTS

This study relied heavily on a wide variety of legal and government documents. The vast majority of them are held in the County Recorder's offices in Humboldt, Lander, and Pershing Counties, Nevada. These included: claim notices, deeds, mortgages, contracts, liens and sheriff's sales, birth and death records, articles of incorporation, and limited school records, as well as official survey plats of the Kennedy townsite and maps of other locations. The Nevada Historical Society also provided compilations of teachers in northern Nevada schools and elected and appointed officials at the local, county, and state levels.

The original copies of lawsuits reside in the County Clerk's offices of the same counties. Depending on the nature of the case and the trial, the materials available vary from the original complaint, with no additional documentation, to extensive records. One case, related to George Fronhofer's 1912 trial for murdering Peter Laux, was appealed to the Nevada Supreme Court. All of the transcripts from both the original trial and the later appeal are on file with the Nevada State Archives in Carson City; the total package includes more than a thousand pages. Another case was filed in Reno and is in the Washoe County archives.

Various State Archives provided two other important sets of documents. The first were the Biennial Reports of the Nevada State Legislature, which included the reports of, among other agencies, the Superintendent of Schools, the Surveyor-General, the Controller and Treasurer, and the Board of Assessors. Those are on file in Carson City. The second were the articles of incorporation for some of the Kennedy-related corporations that registered with the Secretary of State, also in the Nevada State Archives. Several companies incorporated in another state but did not register (or file paperwork) in Nevada. Some of those articles of incorporation were obtained from the State Archives in California, Delaware, and Arizona.

PERSONAL JOURNALS AND LEDGERS

McIntosh, Charles H.: General store ledger, Kennedy, 1894-1895. Repository at the Humboldt County Clerk, Winnemucca, Nevada.

Pearce, William L.: Personal diaries and account books, Pleasant Valley ranch, 1903-1908 and 1919-1921. Ranch ledger, 1925-1937. Stagecoach ledgers, 1910-1912, including nearly duplicate ledgers kept by Tommy Bonython, Pearce's stage driver, in the same period. These journals are privately held but used with permission by Stanley McCoy.

NEWSPAPERS

The vast majority of the news about events in Kennedy came from newspaper articles. Quoting or footnoting each article would have bogged down the narratives. The newspaper in which an article or short note was published is cited in the text. Specific issues or pages are not listed there, but the text citations mention at least the month and sometimes the specific date, which permits reference back to the original newspaper. The Nevada Historical Society also houses a clipping and index file for articles on various topics.

Newspapers that provided information included: *Carson News* (Carson City, NV), *Central Nevadan* (Battle Mountain, NV), *Goldfield Tribune* (Goldfield, NV), *Humboldt Standard* (Winnemucca, NV), *Humboldt Star* (Winnemucca, NV), *Los Angeles Herald*, *Lovelock Argus*, *Lovelock Review-Miner*, *Lovelock Tribune*, *Nevada State Journal* (Reno; also published as the *Daily Nevada State Journal* and *Weekly Nevada State Journal*), *Nevada New Era* (Lovelock, then Kennedy), *New York Times*, *Ogden Standard* (Ogden, UT), *Reno Evening Gazette*, *Reno Weekly Gazette & Stockman*, *Sacramento Daily Union*, *San Francisco Call*, *Silver State* (Winnemucca, NV), *Territorial Enterprise* (Virginia City, Nevada), and *Tonopah Bonanza*.

TRADE JOURNALS

Weekly to monthly publications of mining-related societies and organizations served as important information sources. As with the newspaper articles, the periodical and the month and year of the publication are implied in the text.

Trade journals used: *Engineering & Mining Journal*, *Explorers Journal*, *Journal of Electricity, Power and Gas*, *The Mines Directory*, *Mining and Scientific Press*, *The Mining Congress Journal*, *The Mining Engineer*, *The Mining Record*, *Northwest Mining & Metallurgy*, *American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, Inc.*, *Directory*.

PHOTOGRAPH SOURCES

The source of each photograph is listed in the caption accompanying the picture. All are used with permission or are public-domain photographs. The major sources included:

- University of Nevada Special Collections Department, Reno, Nevada.
- Nevada Historical Society, Reno, Nevada.
- Humboldt Museum, Winnemucca, Nevada.
- Stanley McCoy personal collection (his grandfather, William L. Pearce, took the photographs, and his mother and son, Mabel Pearce McCoy and Joe McCoy, respectively, annotated them in the 2000s).

ONLINE SOURCES

A plethora of web sites provided a wide variety of extensive to specific information. Some of that information could not be substantiated in other sources and was used with caution or not at all. Other information was much more reliable or could be otherwise confirmed. Listing all of the sources would not be feasible. The primary websites that were used included:

- Ancestry.com.
- Nevada Bureau of Mines and Geology, Nevada Historic Mining District Files. <http://www.nbmng.unr.edu/>.
- Humboldt, Lander, Pershing, Eureka, Churchill, and Elko County Genealogy websites: included in the Nevada section of Genealogytrails.com, and at NVGenWeb (Rootsweb.ancestry.com).
- Northeastern Nevada Death Records (Northeastern Nevada Museum, <http://files.usgwarchives.net/nv/elko/cemeteries/elkocounty.txt>).
- Findagrave.com (cemeteries and graves).

FIELD STUDIES

In addition to several months of field work for my Master's thesis in the summer of 1976, I spent several weeks in the Kennedy district in 2010 through 2014 for this study. I made an informal inventory of all of the mines, prospects, and dumps, as well as building sites and other small to large features. I took Geographical Positioning Satellite (GPS) measurements of many locations and then plotted them on maps. As described in other chapters, combining those measurements with other documents, such as the townsite plat and deed and claim records, allowed me to more accurately know where a building once stood or where a named mine or claim was located.

Chapter 11



INDEX

(The people who appear multiple times in the book or who otherwise had a notable presence are indexed here. See Appendix B for a complete list of people mentioned in the book.)

Abrogast, George 75
Adamson, Robert, 20, 25, 26, 110-112
Adamson, William, 110
African Americans, 159, 198
Ages, 194-195
Airplanes, 161-162
Alcohol: health and deaths, 164, 209, 223, 240-241; at homes, 180; price of, 275; shooting-related, 180, 209. See also Prohibition arrests; Saloons
Alexander, Jules, 239-241, 268
Allard, Marrus, 206, 223-225
Alpine, 40-41
Amalgamation, 35, 46, 49, 51, 53-55, 68; amalgam, 34; electrical, 35, 58, 99, 101. See also Imperial mill; Jenkins mill; Mills, processing
Amonett, Ed, 115-117
Armstrong, Elbert, 246, 250
Armstrong, Glenn (Jim), 101, 104, 107-109
Arnott, Peter, 250-253
Arrastras, 21-23, 29, 31, 34, 37-38, 42, 44, 143, 155, 234, 236. See also Mills, processing; Rileyville (Henrietta mine) mills
Assaying, 30-31, 273; assayers, 49, 64-65, 259-260, 273; assay office, 85, 122, 140, 267-268; cost of, 274
Assessed value of property, 177-178
Austin: location of, 1, 3, 41; mining and ore processing at, 30, 92, 255; people from, 142, 154, 196, 201-203, 209, 219
Automobiles, ease of transportation, 130, 145, 161, 165, 205-206, 214-215, 232; emergency use of, 103, 178-179; first arrival of, 79; freight and work uses, 93, 113, 131, 155, 161, 165, 167; personal ownership of, 91, 109, 117, 131
Bacon, Edward, 11, 251-252
Banks: First National Bank of Winnemucca, 47, 53-56, 63, 93, 137, 152, 182, 185, 190, 218, 228, 230, 256; other banks, 70, 108, 245, 262. See also Nixon, George
Barbers, 76, 145, 159, 266; cost of shave, 275; list of, 270
Barris, James, 77, 148, 151, 209-211, 269, 277-278

CHAPTER 11 – INDEX

Basque ranchers, 206, 231, 233, 260
Battle Mountain, location of, 3, 162, 174. See also Doctors; Freightings; Newspapers; Stage Service
Bender, Hans, 60, 127, 136, 268
Benham, W.M., 110-111, 250
Benton, John, 41, 156, 158, 195, 201; claim staking and mining, 21, 25, 40, 64, 80; Cricket, Imperial, Victor mines, 44-45, 47-48, 60-62, 81; Fourth of July mine, 80-81; Hidden Treasure mine, 83-86, 182; house and buildings, 70, 135-136, 140-141, 144, 174, 176, 267-269, 271, 276-278; Imperial mill and site, 21, 47-48, 53, 58-59, 67, 181; Kennedy townsite, 50, 136, 149; offices held, 44, 170, 173, 175; role in district discovery, 39-40; death, 79. See also Imperial mill; Mines (Imperial)
Benton, Virginia, 70, 86, 135, 211, 214; death, 79; as Virginia Kennedy, 201
Bernice district, 40-42, 161, 201, 212
Berry, Seneca (S.L.), 100-103, 105-107
Bimetallic issues and currency, 37, 45, 158, 172, 174-175
Birthplaces, 199-200
Blacksmiths, 157; list of, 272; locations, 266, 268; mines and mills, 25, 27, 74, 100, 157, 186, 268; horses and general, 157, 161, 187, 218, 232
Blossom, Elvira (MacDonald), 62, 73, 93, 95, 98
Blossom, Grace (Duffy), 62, 75, 182
Blossom, J.A., 36, 42-43, 46, 58-59, 61-63
Blossom, Robert, 62, 84
Blossom & Blossom, 62-63
Bonnifield, M.S., 48, 50, 52, 55, 87, 187
Borland, William, 241-242
Bragg, Allen, 70, 75, 77, 170, 218, 229-230
Brann, Walter, 100, 103
Brown, Roy, 96-98, 109, 182
Buena Vista Valley, 6, 16, 142, 161, 185, 240; location of, 3, 7, 162
Buffalo Valley, 198, 206, 223-225, 233
Burton, Bertie/Birdie, 145, 160, 267
Bushee, Moses, 154, 173, 216, 217, 219, 223, 231, 277
Bushee-Pearce ranch, 219-221, *also* 93, 159, 173, 217; earthquake at, 106-107; landing strip at, 161-162; school at, 165-172. See also Bushee, Moses; Pearce, William L.; Ranching; Schools
Businesses, 146-160; list of, 269-273
Butchers, 108, 154, 186, 217, 226; advertisement for, 153; list of, 270; locations, 266; meat and delivery, 66, 71, 79, 82, 152, 154, 240; meat storage, 154; prices, 274
Butte, MT, 72, 76, 96, 111, 203, 245-246, 249, 254, 257
Calhoun, Frank, 66, 71, 75, 82-84, 83, 85-86
Campbell, Lee, 113, 241-242
Captain Lazarus, 42, 198-199
Carpentry, building, 142, 183, 186; advertisements for, 142; list of, 270
Cash, Oscar, 111
Cemetery, 77, 179, 208-210

CHAPTER 11 – INDEX

Census, birth dates, places, 194, 199-200; Humboldt County, 259-261; Kennedy precinct, 62, 88, 104, 150, 171-172, 196-197, 205, 216, 230-231; other Nevada, 160, 168, 170, 204; immigration dates, 199; race listing, 198, 231

Chamberlain, Corydon, 82-85

Chenoweth, John: Justice of the Peace and notary public, 153-154, 178, 184, 187; store owner, 153-154, 158, 214, 270-271, 277

Chinese, 150-151, 159, 198-199, 202, 266, 270

Chlorination, 35, 49, 53, 101, 255. See also Mills, processing

Churchill County, 3, 41, 112, 169, 174, 201-202, 260

Clarke, John, 241-242, 244-245

Clothing, cost of, 274-275

Combination Saloon: location of, 134, 139, 146, 267; events at, 130, 146, 148; lodging, 146, 149, 269; ownership of, 60, 269; restaurant, 150, 270; saloon, 56, 146, 269. See also Williams, Ed

Commerce, 188-190; impact of small districts on, 258-264

Companies, table of, 192

Constable, 60, 62, 173, 176, 178, 184, 187; list of, 277

Constantine, Phil, 236-237

Cooks and cooking, 91, 149-151, 186, 189, 199, 214, 230, 259, 270; stoves, 140, 143, 150, 214

Cooley, Felix, 223

Cooper, Don, 226

Cooper, Leland, 229-230

Cooper, William, 217, 225

Cosby, Walter, 118

Cottonwood (Table Mountain) district, 40-41, 59, 67

Coulson family (Imle, Harriet, Charles, and Effie Downs), 237-239

Credit, 54, 188, 190; promissory notes, 48, 52-53, 95, 98, 108, 181-182, 190, 256

Crosby, Edward, 120

Cyanide processing, 34-35, 49, 57, 65, 68-69, 71, 82, 255; construction materials for tanks, 68, 166; cyanide cost, 274. See also Mills, processing

Daniels, Charles, 79-80, 84-87, 182

Deaths, 195, 206-210; individuals, 55-56, 62-66, 76-77, 79-80, 82, 91, 95, 99, 103-105, 112, 114, 116-117, 120, 123-128, 149, 157, 203, 206-207, 209, 219-220, 225-230, 249-251, 252-253; major causes of, 209. See also Cemetery; Doctors

Deeds: filing of, 130, 176; land deeds, 11, 90-91, 126, 137-139, 157, 183, 196; mining-related deeds, 48, 67, 86, 90-94, 110, 188, 241, 245, 252; ranch deeds, 219, 221-224, 229

De La Mar, Joseph, 256-257

Delamar district, 61, 203-204, 207, 210, 256-258

Demographics, 193-206

Dentists, 211, 253

Doctors, 206-211, *also* 69, 77, 95, 103, 114, 152, 179-180, 185-186, 188-189

Donnelly, Patrick, 44

Donley, 216-217

Dory, Peter, constable, 173, 184, 277; stable and freight, 58, 142, 155-156, 267, 272

CHAPTER 11 – INDEX

Doubleday, Harry, 44
Duba, Alex, 121-122
Ducker, Edward (Judge), 96, 98
Dump, garbage, 143-144
Dun Glen (Chaffee) district: location of, 3; Auburn mill, 48, 166, 255; mining in, 255, 258; people from, 84, 222, 229, 238
Dust, 8, 207-208; from 1915 earthquake, 105, 107
E. Reinhart & Co.: Kennedy store, 60, 134, 140, 142, 152, 160, 184, 190; lawsuits and loans, 54, 61, 104, 109-110, 147, 182-184, 218; Kennedy Land & Improvement Company, 50, 137-139; impact of mining on, 262-264, 267-270
Earthquake of 1915, 105-107, *also* 102, 218, 222, 226
East Humboldt Mines Company, 192, 252
East Range, 3, 6, 162, 217
Elections, 173-176, *also* 44-45, 60, 62, 79; election officials, list of, 278-279; Kennedy precinct, 44, 173-174; school election, 170; suffrage, 176. See also Bimetallic issues and currency
Elko County, 45, 84, 116, 122, 142, 169-170, 201-203, 210, 223-224, 258, 260
Engineer, 186; mining and milling, 66, 74, 81, 93, 95-97, 101, 103, 111, 214, 239, 244, 247, 250; civil, 64, 137, 162; electrical, 57, 99; maritime, 245; State Engineer, 107
Esparza brothers, 206, 224
Etchegoyhen, Pete (and family), 224-225, *also* 172, 206; arrest during Prohibition, 224
Ethnicity, 197-199
Eureka, 1, 149, 169, 203, 210, 255
Eureka County, 169, 201-202
Farmer, Dale, 118, 120
Fashion Livery, 56, 164, 187,
Feige, Al, 44
Fires, 143, *also* 107, 126-127, 145, 160; 1890 census burned, 193
Folsom, Louis, 143, 229-230, 236, 268; death, 167, 209
Fontaine, Clifford and Kenneth, 118, 120
Foreign investors, 81-82, 93, 97, 239
Forvilly, Ernest, 245, 249-250
Forvilly, Frank: Rileyville, 11, 180, 235, 238-246; Rochester mines, 240; shot, 180; death, 249-250
Forvilly, Frank, Jr., 250-253
Forvilly, George and family (Alice, LaMar), 245-246, 248-249, 253
Forvilly, Joe, 250-251
Forvilly, Mike, 180-181, 212, 239, 241, 250
Forvilly Metals Corporation, 245-246, 249-250
Foster, Eugene, 100-104, 182, 206, 214
Foster, Hazel (and children Lloyd and Evelyn), 101, 104-105, 169, 176, 214
Francis, Frank, 50, 157, 175, 270
Frank, Eugene, 116-117
Freighting, 160-162, 166-167, *also* 152-153, 156, 186, 189, 203, 259, 262; costs, 275; danger related to, 209; list of freighters, 271-272; routes, 41, 162. See also Post office, mail; Stage service

CHAPTER 11 – INDEX

French Boy Canyon: location of, 6-7, 234; claims in, 21, 23, 80, 235; geology, 13-15; road through, 161, 164, 234-235; part of Kennedy district, 6, 129; population, 205, 236-237; shootings in 180; water in, 23, 143. See also Mines (Henrietta); Rileyville

Friedman, Louis, 226-227

Fronhofer, George, 95-96, 107, 145, 181

Galena (town), 40-41, 203

Gambling, 69, 77, 146-148, 179; gamblers, 146, 203, 261; non-gambling card games, 213

Garff, Kendall, 111-112

Garrett, Charles, 91-92

Geologist, 11, 111, 186, 251, 258. See also Ransome, Frederick

George, Charles: election official, 278-279; houses, buildings, 155, 272; mining claims, 62, 80-81, 114, 118, 128, 182; death, 114, 206

Gibson (Sunnyside) mill, 31, 34, 117, 125

Gilliland, William and Ella, 237-239

Glasgow & Western Company, 36, 61, 77

Glenn, George, 117, 125

Golconda ranch, 223-224, *also* 41, 68, 79, 154, 171-172, 184, 206, 217-218, 220, 232, 233

Goldbanks district: mercury mining, 88, 110, 122, 28; gold mining, 78, 87-88, 222, 233, 238, 254, 257-258, 264; Kennedy people in, 88, 143, 154, 172; stage to, 161, 165

Goldbanks Hills, 87, 222, 230; location of, 3

Gold Circle (Midas) district, 78, 145

Golconda district: location of, 3; earthquake damage in, 107; mining and smelters in, 36, 39, 61, 77, 82, 116, 119, 264; people and stores in, 149, 119, 130-131, 149, 152, 154-155, 202-203

Golconda Consolidated (Silverfields Mining) Company, 81-82, 119, 128, 192

Goldfield Consolidated Exploration Company, 247-250

Goldfield district, 1, 38, 61, 78, 158, 238, 258-259, 264

Gold Note Mining & Milling Company, 92-99, *also* 119, 107, 127, 129, 181-182, 192

Government, 172-184

Grass Valley, 84, 169; location of, 3, 217; ranches in, 114, 218, 219, 233; stage route through, 42, 161-163; voting precinct, 174, 176, 279

Greilich, Louis, 127, 226-227

Groceries, cost of, 189-190, 273-274

Guthrie, Charles, 114-118, *also* 11, 76, 91, 124, 126

Guthrie, Frank, 217-218

Guthrie, John I., 95, 218-219

Guthrie, Joseph (Will), 44, 77, 85, 114, 146, 164, 176, 218

Haller, Nathan, 107-108

Hanford, William, 10

Haseltine, George, 67, 69-71, 79, 82, 256

Havallah Group, 13, 15

Haviland & Hoskins, 262, 264

Hawley, Martin, 85, 180

Hay: sale of, 70-71, 79, 154-156, 186, 188, 219, 231-232; price, 274

CHAPTER 11 – INDEX

Haywood, Bill, 147
Heflebower, Frank, 108-109, 128
Heintzelman, Sam, 42-43
Hickok, Curtis (and brothers George, Stanley), 119, 123-124
Hidden Treasure mill, 31, 34, 65-66, 82-86, 145, 273; dismantled, 145; taxes on, 84-86
Hill, Walter (Si), 224
Hillyer, Christine, 187, 207, 214, 223
Hillyer, Warren, 73, 83, 223, 231, 266-267
Horne, Hermon, 20, 74
Horses: boarding and cost, 155-156, 274; manure bridge, 155; Morgan horses, 120, 187, 227; photograph on ranch, 225; wild horses, 80. See also Livery and stables; Blacksmiths; Stage service; Freightage
Hospitals: Winnemucca, 39, 90-91, 95, 103, 114, 180, 206-207, 209; Reno hospital, 203; State mental hospital, 91, 181, 212, 241
Houses and buildings, 134-136, 140-143; early houses, 43, 132, 136; Kennedy Land & Improvement Company, issues related to, 137-140; maps of, 134, 136; photographs of, 133, 140-141, 169, 220, 237; removal of, 88, 132, 142-143, 145, 219; taxes on, 176-177; table of, 266-268
Humboldt County: location of, 1, 3, 41, 161, 174, 260; people from, 200-202. See also Government Humboldt-Nevada Mining Company, 192
Humboldt Wonder Company, 78, 81, 192
Huntington mills, 34, 46, 104, 117, 243, 247. See also Mills, processing; Jenkins mill; Rileyville (Henrietta mine) mills
Huntsman family (Charles, Denton, Dow, Nancy), 42, 44, 79, 146, 190, 212, 266, 269
H.W. Gould & Company, 110, 247
Hygrade Mining Company, 121, 124, 192
Hyman, Pressly, 63-64
Immigrants, 199-200, 202-203
Imperial mill, 2, 4, 31, 33-36; location of, 16, 134; photographs of, Frontispiece, 33; James Wardner era, 48-53, 135-137, 145, 159, 177, 181-182, 189, 255; Schweitzer era, 57-59; Wynn-Lasher era, 66-72, 156, 166-167, 256; Paul Klopstock era, 92-99, 180; later ownership and dismantling, 109, 131, 145, 167
Imperial Gold Mining Company, 48, 54, 182, 191-192
Injuries and illness, 103, 207-208; influenza, 208. See also Deaths; Doctors; Shootings and assaults
Insurance, 152, 154; advertisement for, 153; agent, 271; Sanborn Fire Insurance Maps, 261
Jail: Kennedy, 51, 178; Lovelock and Winnemucca, 85, 95, 107, 110, 178, 180, 198, 224
Jayansee Mining Company, 192, 241-246, 249-252
Jenkins, Edith, 100, 273
Jenkins, Rees (Thomas) 57, 179
Jenkins, William, 45-46, 100, 149, 152, 269-270; finances, 35, 184-185, 190-192, 256; store and boarding house, 140-141, 149, 152, 266-267, 269-270, 273, photographs of, 32, 140-141. See also Jenkins mill

CHAPTER 11 – INDEX

- Jenkins mill, 2, 4, 31-32, 34-36, 145, 177; location of, 16, 134; photographs of, 32; Jenkins era, 45-48, 51, 57; Roylance era, 100-104, 106, 122, 135; dismantled, 145
- Jones, Robert, 241-245, 251
- Judd, Nellie, 124-125
- Justice of the Peace, 44, 60, 62, 95, 176, 178, 181, 184, 186, 207; list of, 271, 277-278; office location, 266
- Kattenhorn, Albert, 87, 96, 127, 233
- Kellock, John, 164, 211, 222-223, 228
- Kennedy, Alice (Garrett), 91-92, 214
- Kennedy, Charles (cited abundantly throughout the book and not indexed in detail): birthplace and background, 39, 195, 201; claim staking and mining, 21, 25, 40, 64, 80, 89-92; Cricket, Imperial, Victor mines, 44-45, 47-48, 60-62, 81; discovery of district, 2, 39; district recorder, 19, 41, 85, 91, 130; Fourth of July mine, 20, 80-81, 89-92; Hidden Treasure mine, 83-87, 182; house and buildings, 43, 134, 136, 140-141; Imperial mill and site, 21, 47-48, 53, 58-59, 67, 181; Kennedy townsite, 10, 50, 78, 91, 136, 183; postmaster, 44, 78, 91, 130, 140-141, 162-163; photograph of, 144, 213; death, 91. See also Imperial Mill; Mines (Fourth of July, Imperial)
- Kennedy, Con, 180-181, 212, 236-237, 240
- Kennedy, Ida, 90-91, 96, 100, 126, 128, 171, 181, 183, 187, 207, 214
- Kennedy, Marvin, 91, 107
- Kennedy, Robert, 91
- Kennedy Land & Improvement Company, 136-140, *also* 10, 50, 144, 192, 271; lawsuits, 139, 183; lot prices, 137-138. See also Kennedy townsite
- Kennedy mining district: location of, 1, 3, 14, 41, 162, 217, 234; discovery of, 39; district books, 18-19, 41; name origin, 41; reasons for failure, 254-258
- Kennedy pluton, 13-16
- Kennedy townsite, 6, 9-11, 50, 70, 79, 91-92, 126-127, 132-145, 183, 266-268; photographs and maps, Frontispiece, 133-134, 138-139. See also Kennedy Land & Improvement Company; Houses and buildings
- Kenney, George, 128
- Kirman, Richard, 221
- Klopstock, Paul, 92-99, 129-130, 167, 177, 256-257; Austin mining project, 92-93, 95, 97; funding problems, 93-95, 97-98, 190, 257; post-Kennedy life, 99; lawsuits, 180, 182; death, 99. See also Imperial mill
- Koipato Group, 14
- Kyle, Cephas: businesses owned, 139, 148, 155, 157, 159, 177, 198, 266, 269-272; election officer, 278; mining claims, 73, 83; death, 79, 195. See also "Smith Place" ranch
- Kyle, Charles: age, 195; background, family, 79, 114, 185, 233; saloon, house, 139, 146-147, 149, 266, 268-269; election officer, 278; lawsuit, 147, 183-184; death, 76-77. See also Say Canyon ranch; "Smith Place" ranch
- Kyle, Matthew, 10-11
- Labadie, Edward, 81-82, 119
- Labigan, Ben, 95, 145
- Lafayette Hotel, 262, 264

CHAPTER 11 – INDEX

Lake, Esther, 70-72, 83, 92-94, 98

Lamberson, George, 42, 135, 209, 268, 277

Lamberson Canyon: location of, 6-7, 113; Northway-Lamberson ranch, 135, 268; claims in, 21-23, 126, 129, 273

Land ownership, 8-11. See also Kennedy townsite

Lander County: location of, 3, 41, 174, 260; people from, 41-42, 200-202. See also Austin; Battle Mountain

Langwith, Joseph, 119-120, *also* 82, 91-92, 104, 118, 120, 123, 126; claims, 90, 91-92, 128

Langwith, Mary, 120

Lasher, Abner: assault against, 71, 83; Gold Note Mining & Milling Company, 93-96, 98, 108; land ownership, 9-10, 70, 79; pre-Kennedy life, 59, 66-67; Methodist, 67, 210, 215; Wynn-Lasher syndicate, 66-72, 76; later life and death, 99. See also Imperial mill

Lasher, Arthur, 68, 93-94, 98-99

Lasher, Sarah, 68, 99, 210, 215

Laundry, 159, 190, 199, 214-215, 266, 271, 274; cost of, 274

Laux, Ella, 84, 96

Laux, Peter: family and background, 84, 233; Gold Note claims, 94-96, 98, 129-130, 190; Hidden Treasure mine, 84-87, 182; house, 267; mining and claims, 80, 87, 236; murder and personality, 95, 179, 181, 207, 212

Law enforcement, See Constables, Sheriff

Lawlor, Thomas, 44

Lawsuits, 181-184

Leases: mines and mills general, 4, 20, 191; Gold Note mine, 61, 65, 72-73, 75, 110-112, 120, 182; Hidden Treasure mine, 63; Imperial mine and mill, 45, 58-59, 67, 70, 81, 120, 256; Senator mine, 123-124; Sunnyside mine, 116-118; other mining and milling property, 42, 62, 91, 93, 100, 117-118, 121, 127-128, 198; property and water, 8, 48, 145, 147, 150, 159, 165; ranches, 8, 218, 223-224, 226-227, 231-233; Rileyville, 236, 241-242, 246, 248-251

Leick, Jake: Golconda ranch, 68, 223-224, 231, 233; Kennedy townsite and houses, 10, 79, 139, 143, 145, 150, 155, 159, 177, 266, 268, 278-279; lawsuits, 180, 183-184; meat and produce sales, 154, 270; mining and claims, 80-81, 87, 90, 126-128; Peter Laux murder, 95; stage and freighting, 88, 165-167, 272; death, 126-127

Levinson, Maurice, 111-112

Livery and stables, 155-157, *also* 60, 136, 161, 163; advertisements for, 156; Alex Wise stable, 32-33, 56, 70, 109, 133, 155-156, 217-218; cost of boarding, 274; list of, 272; locations of, 133-134, 266-267; Winnemucca liveries, 48, 50, 56, 162, 164, 187, 259, 261-262

Loans: mines and mills, 58, 61-63, 123, 190, 256; property, 147, 137, 147, 183; ranches, 218, 229-230; other, 56, 152, 182-183, 185-186; bonds, 70-71, 238

Lodging, boarding, 148-150, *also* 76, 79, 135-136, 145; for teachers, 169; list of, 269; locations of, 134, 266-267; on ranches, 187, 232; Winnemucca, 260-262

Long, Frank, and ranch, 217, 229-230

Lorentzen, H.L., 167, 223-224, 232

Lovelock: location of, 3, 41, 162, 174, 260. See also Doctors; Freighting; Government; Newspapers; Pershing County; Stage Service

CHAPTER 11 – INDEX

- Lovelock Stage Company, 156, 164
- Lumber, building supplies, 50, 140, 142, 153, 160, 166-167, 190, 270, 272; Bushee school, 171; fencing, 219; mining-related, 25, 160, 166; theft of, 87. See also Carpentry, building; E. Reinhart & Co.; Stores; Verdi Mill Company
- Lundquist, Leonard, 123
- Lyon, Paul, 112, 120
- Mail-order merchandise, 155
- Money orders 159
- Malaney, Howard, 250-253; arrest for poaching, 253
- Marital status, 197; divorces, 11, 76, 91, 109, 117, 181, 184, 224, 241; marriages, 187, 215
- Massenet, Alfred, 81-82, 119
- McCoy, Mabel Pearce: childhood, 148, 198; Bushee school and family, 168, 171-172, 220, 233
- McCoy, Melvin, 121-122, 128, 172, 220, 233
- McDermott, John, 10-11
- McGregor, Frank, 111-112
- McGuire, John, 44
- McIntosh, Charles: gunfight, 57, 179; later life, 55, 179; store owner, 152-153, *also* 56, 140, 158, 166, 185, 189-190, 203, 266; store prices, 273-275
- McMurtry, Leslie, 57, 59, 100, 102-103
- Metal prices, 37, 88-89, 128, 249
- Midwives, 186-187, 207, 214
- Miller, George, 217, 224-225
- Miller, Joe: election official, 278; Kennedy corral, 23, 40, 129, 132, 139, 266; Miller ranch, 40-41, 132, 225, 232; mining claims, 46, 81, 128; death, 206
- Miller, Susan, 23, 46, 48, 216-217, 224-226
- Miller-Cooper ranch, 224-227, *also* 79, 232-233; location of, 40-41, 217; elections at, 174; patented land, 10-11; telephone at, 114, 179, 207, 226, 232; water leases, 23, 46, 48. See also Basque ranchers; Cooper, William; Miller, Joe; Miller, Susan
- Mills, processing 29-36; problems with ore processing, 5, 29-30, 34-36, 51, 59, 71-72, 98, 254-258; sequential processing steps, 34; taxes on, 85-86, 176-178 See also Amalgamation; Arrastras; Chlorination; Cyanide processing; Gibson (Sunnyside) mill; Hidden Treasure mill; Huntington mills; Imperial mill; Jenkins mill; Rileyville (Henrietta mine) mills; Smelting, roasting; Stamp mills
- Mines:
- 2G, 90-91, 114; location, 90
 - Accident, 28, 41, 80-81; location, 16, 136
 - Alice Kennedy, 90, 92; location, 90
 - Black Hawk, 120-123, 128, 227; location, 90; *see also* Cricket
 - Borlasca, 90, 69-70, 108; location, 16, 90, 136
 - Chipmunk, 43, 46, 81
 - Chromo, 73, 75, 83, 125; location, 16, 83
 - Cosmos, 69, 90, 108; location, 90
 - Cricket, 22, 28, 39-44, 60-62, 81, 90, 92, 119-120; location, 16, 22, 90, 136; *see also* Black Hawk

CHAPTER 11 – INDEX

Mines (continued):

- Crown Point, 24-25, 29, 43-44; location, 16, 90, 136
- Dago, 81, 90, 114-116, 118-119, 122; location, 90
- Danneburg, 136; location, 16, 136
- Emma, 63-66, 82-83; location, 83
- Eugenia, 90, 121; location, 90
- Fourth of July (Hazel Gale), 20, 28, 80-81, 89-92; location, 16, 90, 136
- Gold Note: location, 16, 90, 136; geology and ore, 14-15, 28, 31, 36, 47; map of (Gold Note and Sterling claims), 19-20, 26; discovery of, 44; claims, 19-20, 25, 44; mining and production, 20, 25, 36, 47, 189, 190, 256; Blossom era, 58-59, 61-63, 81, 182; Vadner era, 72-75; Klopstock era, 93-98; Sterling claims era, 19-20, 107-112, 120, 127, 247, 250; buildings at, 134, 140-142, 145, 149, 157, 268-269. See also Zuick, William
- Grubstake, 90, 121, 128; location, 90
- Henrietta, 235-236, 240-253, *also* 37, 110-111; location, 234; patented, 11, 251; geology, 13, 15, 17. See also French Boy Canyon; Rileyville; Rileyville mills
- Hidden Treasure (Ruby, K&B), 14, 16, 63-66, 73-75, 82-87, 90, 145, 149, 182, 268, 273; location, 16, 83, 90, 136; conflicts over, 82-87
- Hidden Treasure No. 1, 11, 20, 73, 75-76, 83-84, 114-117, 124-125; location, 83, 90, 115
- Hidden Treasure No. 2, 73, 75, 83, 124; location, 83
- Idaho group, 90, 113; location, 90
- Imperial: location, 16, 22, 90, 136; mining and production, 18-19, 22, 24-25, 28, 190; houses near, 134, 136, 149, 268; Kennedy-Benton era, 39-41, 43, 45, 56, 60-62; Wardner era, 47-49, 181; New Era Mining era, 58; Wynn-Lasher era, 67-71; Golconda Consolidated/Silverfields era, 81-82, 128; Langwith era, 91-92, 118-120
- Imperial Nos. 1-6 (Langwith-Kennedy), 90-92, 119-120; location, 90
- Independence Day, 112-114; location, 112-113
- Judd-Novello claims, 90, 124-125; location, 90
- Kearsarge, 18-19, 24, 28, 42-43, 58, 73, 90, 119, 123, 126, 136; location, 16, 136
- Last Chance, 108, 128
- Lone Gold Star, 90, 126-128; location, 90
- Manhattan claims, 90, 114-118; location, 90, 115
- No Savy Jim, 42, 127
- Otteraaen claims, 125-126; location, 90
- Senator group (Senator, Montgomery, Iroquois claims), 25, 28, 80, 90, 100, 122-125; location, 16, 90; *see also* Trail group
- Sidewinder group, 67, 90, 127-128; location, 90; *see also* Wall Street/Klondyke
- Sunnyside, 25, 27, 29, 31, 115-119, 121, 128, 149, 268; location, 16, 90, 115
- Trail group (Robert B., Ida, Virginia, Hazel Bell), 16, 25, 28, 64, 72, 80; location, 16, 136; *see also* Senator group
- Vera Fraction, 251-252
- Vera Louise group, 117
- Victor, 81, 90, 92, 119, 128; location, 90
- Wall Street/Klondyke, 16, 22, 28, 41, 67, 127, 136; location, 16, 136; *see also* Sidewinder group

CHAPTER 11 – INDEX

Mines (continued):

- Wiggins, 19, 43, 58, 136; location, 16
- Young American, 90, 126; location, 90
- Mining, methods, 24-29
- Mining claims: claim maps, 20-24; claim staking, general, 17-24; claim staking over time, 17-18, 21-22; filing, 18-19; mill-site claims, 21-23, 40, 43, 236, 241; patented, 11, 20, 75-76, 83-84, 115, 117, 251-253
- Mining companies, table of, 192. See also individual companies
- Mining districts: Humboldt County, 37, 98, 129, 258-260, 264; Nevada 1-2, 37, 129, 254-258, 264
- Molinary, Frank, 69, 79, 85, 179-180, 209, 212, 266
- Moore, Ralph, 245, 251
- Moran, William J., 251
- Moran, William T., 137
- Morse, John, 127-128
- Morton, Ben, 121-122, 124
- Mud Springs ranch, 107, 163-164, 222-223
- Murrish, Harry, 104
- Music, 152, 190, 213, 275
- Mutual Ventures Syndicate, 112, 192
- National district, 98, 258-260, 264
- Native Americans (Paiutes), 42, 198-199, 206, 261
- Nevada New Era*, 50, 56, 157-158, 175, 211, 270
- New Era Mine & Milling Company, 57-59, *also* 99-102, 182, 191-192, 196, 198, 256
- Newspapers and magazines, 157-158; list of cited, 289; sales of, 153; subscriptions to, 158, 175, 190, 214
- Nixon, George, 47-50, 52-55, 137, 182, 185, 190, 228-229, 256. See also Banks
- No Savy Jim, 42, 198-199, 206; See also Native Americans (Paiutes)
- Norcross, Charles, 10, 52-55, 137-139
- Northway, Frank, 135, 157, 213, 266, 268, 272, 278
- Notary public, 137, 154, 187; advertisement for, 153; agent, 271
- Novello, John, 124-125
- Occupations, jobs, 185-187, 259-262, 264
- Officials, list of, 277-278
- O'Leary, Frank, 116, 118, 162
- Opium, 199
- Ore, grade, 30-31, *also* 35, 44-45, 56, 74-75, 89, 97, 100, 102, 111, 123, 243-244. See also Assaying; Mills, processing; Veins
- Ore production, 36-38, 259
- Otteraaen, Earl, 117, 125-126
- Owens, Jim, 92
- Paiutes, See Native Americans (Paiutes)
- Panic of 1893, 2, 51, 174, 190, 256, 258, 262
- Parsons, Reginald, 127

CHAPTER 11 – INDEX

Pearce, Fred, 165
Pearce, Jessie, 107, 176
Pearce, Nick, 142-143, 165, 219-220, 233
Pearce, William F., 155-156, 163-164, 268
Pearce, William L. 66, 71, 93, 107, 155, 159; at Pearce ranch, 219-221; elections and offices held, 277-279, freight service, 82, 88, 154, 166-167, 240, 272; houses owned, 268; mining claims, 83, 86, 128-129. See also Bushee-Pearce ranch; Freightling; Ranches; Schools; Stages
People locations before and after Kennedy, 199-204
Pershing County: location of, 1, 3, 41, 161, 174, 260; formation, 1, 3, 6, 19, 104, 129-130, 162, 168, 173-174, 176, 179, 181, 187, 234, 258, 279. See also Government
Peterman, Evelyn, 116-117
Placer claims, 20, 40, 42, 44, 46, 67, 118, 129, 253
Pleasant Valley: location of, 3, 6-7, 217. See also Elections; Kennedy township; Population; Ranching; Schools; Telephone; individual ranches
Population, 193-199, *also* 44, 46-47, 60-62, 78-79, 88, 129, 144-145, 173-174, 204-205; at ranches, 79, 194, 232; Humboldt County, 259-261; Rileyville, 236
Post office, mail, 162-165, *also* 50-51, 76, 90, 145-146, 173, 187, 212; early service, 42; cutbacks in service, 60, 77, 79, 109; mailbox rental, cost, 274; post office building, 140-141, 145, 267, 270; post office opening, closing, 44, 91, 130, 162-163, 165; at ranches, 62, 165, 231-232; voting precincts, 130-131. See also Kennedy, Charles; Stage service
Posy Springs ranch, 41, 216-217, 223-225
Prohibition arrests, 109, 224
Prostitutes, brothels, 160, 186
Prough, Frank, 117-118
Quigley, Ethel Hall, 253
Racism, 151, 199
Railroads: Adelaide-Golconda railroads, 77, 82, 119; Central (Southern) Pacific Railroad, 119, 161, 202, 262; impact of mining on, 189, 262; jobs with, 117, 189, 202, 259, 261; machinery and supplies on, 102, 161, 189, 234; Nevada Central Railroad, 51; ore shipments to, 5, 36, 40, 42, 76, 132, 166, 243; taxes on, 262
Ranching, ranchers, 216-233, *also* 4-6, 9, 40-41, 259-260; elections at ranches, 173-174, 176; ethnicities, See Basque ranchers; populations, 60, 79, 129, 193-194, 196; social activities, 103, 109, 129-130, 214, 219, 231-233, 266, 270; supplies sold to Kennedy, 66, 70-71, 79, 82, 153-154, 159-160, 166, 186, 217, 231. See also Schools; specific ranches
Ranney, Marcus, 74-75, 277
Ransome, Frederick, 35-36, 52, 75, 78, 88, 239
Rawhide Canyon, 234-235, 253
Reed, R.E., 110-111, 250
Religion, 214-215; Methodists, 67, 210, 215
Restaurants, 150-151, *also* 60, 76, 87, 135, 145-146, 148, 154, 159, 189, 212, 231; advertisements for, 151; Chinese owned, 150-151, 198-199; Humboldt County, 261-262; jobs at, 186, 199, 261; list of, 269-270; locations of, 266-267; prices at, 148, 150-151, 189, 275
Richmond, Thomas, 253

CHAPTER 11 – INDEX

- Rickey, J.B., 221
- Riley, Dorothy (Hapgood), 77, 110, 154, 168, 184, 198, 212, 237, 241; birth, 237; Bushee school, 168; childhood memories, 77, 154, 166, 178, 198, 212, 214; family, 110, 149-150, 240-241;
- Riley, Patrick: claims and mill, 23, 234-239; discovery of Rileyville, 234; saloon and cabin, 236-237, 268; alcoholism, 180, 184, 240-241; shooting, 180, 240; divorce, 184, 241
- Riley, W.S., 173, 207, 277-278
- Rileyville, 234-253; location of, 7, 14, 234; discovery of, 234; early prospecting, 234. See also French Boy Canyon; Leases; Mines (Henrietta); Riley, Patrick; Rileyville (Henrietta mine) mills
- Rileyville (Henrietta mine) mills, 31, 34, 241-244, 246-249, 252-253
- Ringling, Clark, and ranches, 120-122, 187, 217, 227-228, 279
- Ritz, Gottlieb and Walter, 245-249, 252, 257
- Roberts, Dora, 66, 79, 149, 151, 183, 214, 269
- Roberts, Odie, 114-117
- Robertson, Earl (and family), 118, 120
- Rochester district: earthquake effects, 107; miners in, 92, 121, 129, 153, 240-241, 245, 250; location of, 3, 260; production from, 38, 259
- Roylance, Leon, 99-105, *also* 57, 59, 107, 122, 128, 130, 167, 190, 255-257; stroke and death, 103. See also Imperial mill; Jenkins mill; Roylance Reduction Company
- Roylance Reduction Company, 99-105, *also* 122-123, 128-129, 171, 182, 192, 273
- Ruck, Henry, 121-124, *also* 25, 101, 104
- Russi, John, 92
- Salinas, Elmer, 184, 226, 233
- Saloons, 146-151, *also* 51, 56, 60, 88, 130, 143, 145, 156, 159, 166, 175, 177, 183-185, 190, 203, 209, 213, 229, 241; advertisements for, 147; first saloon, 44, 146; Humboldt County, 261-262; inventories of, 147-148; Kennedy townsite issues, 138-140; list of, 269; locations of, 133-134, 266-170; shootings at, 69, 146, 148, 179-180
- Sandon, William, 113
- Sarret, Jules, and ranches, 9-10, 206, 217, 219, 228-230
- Say Canyon, 21, 129, 164, 234, 241; early land claim, 9; location of, 6-7, 234. See also French Boy Canyon; Rileyville; Say Canyon ranch
- Say Canyon ranch, 229-230, *also* 135, 143, 268; location, 217, 230
- Schell, Adam, 217, 221-223, 217, 230, 233, 236-237
- Schell, Alfred, 81, 88, 143, 276
- Schell, John (and family), 171-172, 221-223, 278
- Schell ranch, 79, 107, 171, 206, 217, 219-223, 228, 233
- Schmidt, Henry, 139, 159, 199, 268, 271, 278
- Schmith, John, 44, 154-156, 163, 266, 272
- Schools, 168-172, 187; Kennedy school 168-171, *also* 46, 60, 76, 79, 109, 129-130, 195, 267, 271; Bushee school 168-172, *also* 79, 220, 222, 224, 231-232; other uses of Kennedy schoolhouse, 77, 137, 174, 209-210, 213, 278; school census, 172; school officials, table of, 276-277; teachers, table of, 276-277
- Schweitzer, Otto, 23, 57-59, 67, 268

CHAPTER 11 – INDEX

Searls, Frank, 100-101, 103-104, 122-123
Senator Mining Company, 123, 192
Seven Troughs district, 78, 258-260, 264
Shakespeare Club, 214
Sheriff: appointments, 277-278; involving property, 54, 87, 98, 147, 224; criminal cases, 85-86, 95, 178-179, 181; other, 130, 139, 187, 225
Sholl, Melvin, 45
Shootings, assaults, 179-181, *also* 57, 69, 85, 95-96, 148, 209, 212, 240-241
Shumway, Ole, 120
Siard, Sylvain, 206, 228-229
Siard ranches, 228-229, *also* 10, 107, 206, 216-217, 219
Silve, Frank, 85
Simpson, Francis and Kirk, 66
Smelting 36-37; costs, 37; Selby Smelting and Lead Company ("Selby's"), 36, 47, 60, 62-64, 93, 274; roasting, 29-30, 35, 46, 51, 60, 255-257. See also Mills, processing
Smith, Arthur, 112-114, 167
Smith, Bert, 79, 169, 266, 272
Smith, Claude, 111
"Smith Place" ranch, 226-228, *also* 41, 79, 120, 223; location of, 217
Social activities, 46, 211-215, 231-233
Sonoma ranch, 114, 163, 218, 233
Sowers, Leroy, 243
Spencer, John, 64-66
Spencer (Keora) Mining Company, 63-66, *also* 82, 85, 183, 192, 237, 273
Springmeyer, Carl, 119-120
Spring Valley (Fitting), 3, 67, 161, 180, 240-241
Stables, Edward, 129
Stage service, 155-156, 160-166, *also* 42, 50, 54, 56, 60, 62, 66, 71, 76, 78-79, 88, 94, 96, 129-130, 184, 186, 213, 222, 231-232; advertisements for, 156; automobile stages, 96, 161, 165; cost of, 78, 156, 163, 189, 273, 275; freight on, 151, 166, 189; list of, 271-272; routes, 162, 234; stations, 163-164, 222. See also Freight and hauling; Pearce, William L.; Post office, mail
Stamp mills, 34. See also Mills, processing; Hidden Treasure mill; Imperial mill
Stewart, Angus, 113
Stillwater Range, 3, 88, 161, 216-217, 228
Stone, Ed: Kennedy claims, 41, 43, 128, 188, 215, 128, 275; Kennedy house, 215, 266, 268; French Boy Canyon claims, 236-239; work in other districts, 64-65, 88; death, 128
Stores, 151-155, *also* 32, 56, 60, 78-79, 134-135, 138-140, 142; advertisements for, 153; Humboldt County, 260-263; mining impact on, 184-186, 189-190, 260-263; jobs at, 260-261; list of, 270; locations of, 266-268; store prices 273-275; suppliers, 152
Summerfield, George, 42, 163-164, 166, 187, 199, 272
Sweeney, Patrick and Maria, 216-217; election official, 278; Kennedy school, 170, 231, 276; stable and butcher shop, 70, 154, 156, 187, 231, 266-268, 270, 272,

CHAPTER 11 – INDEX

Sweeney-Guthrie-Siard ranch, 216-219, *also* 79, 95, 107, 154, 172, 206, 226, 228, 233; location of, 217; photograph of, 218

Talbot, George, 223-224. See also Golconda ranch

Tarantula (Edward R. Bacon) Mining Company, 192, 251-252

Taxes, 176-178; tax sales, 11, 48, 70, 76, 104, 109, 115, 126, 145, 224

Telephone, 114, 165, 179, 207, 217, 226, 232

Tobacco, 148, 152, 154; advertisements for, 147, 153; prices of, 275

Tobin Range: location of, 3, 6, 162, 217; Native Americans (Paiutes) in, 198; earthquake along, 105-107; quarrying in, 68, 166; stage route through, 161-163; wood cutting in, 159. See also Ranching; Golconda, Pearce, Posy Springs, Sarret, Schell ranches

Tomblin, Dexter, 65-66, 183

Tonopah district: impact on economy of, 1, 61, 68, 75, 78, 254, 264; Kennedy people, 99, 126, 153, 203, 224; mining companies, 81; production from, 38, 258-259

Trerise, Josiah, 95-96, 98

Unemployment, 50-51, 185, 204

Uniacke, Crofton, 11, 107, 219, 226, 228

Unionville: location of, 3, 6, 41; mining in, 258; people from, 163, 185, 199, 213, 219, 227, 251; stage and road to, 161-162, 165, 247

United Metals Mining Company, 245-248, *also* 192, 236, 250

U.S. Bureau of Land Management, 8, 11

U.S. Weather Bureau, 7, 43

Vadner, Charles, 72-76, *also* 11, 61, 83-84, 115, 124, 256, 266

Vaile, Hubert, 239-240

Van Reed, Wallis, 67-68, 77, 211, 278

Veins: nature of, 15-16, 28-29; mineralogy, 15, 17; oxide, formation of, 16-17, 29-30; sulfide, formation of, 15-17, 29-30. See also Ore

Verdi Mill Company, 25, 152, 160; advertisement for, 153

Virginia City, 1, 204, 254-255, 258, 264; people from, 10, 137, 210, 221

Wages, income, 188-190, 273, 275; work day length, 69, 74, 82

Walrath, Austin, 63-64

Walrath, Margaret, 64-66

Wardner, James, 48; Imperial mine and mill, 21, 23-24, 47-55, 135, 159, 181-182, 190, 255-256, 267, 273; Kennedy townsite, 136-137; non-Kennedy projects, 47, 53; death, 55

Warning, Frank, 112-113

Water: domestic, 143-144, 213; water claims, 23-24, 40, 43-44, 46, 48; water leases, 46, 48, 93; water shortage, 7-8, 49

Water Canyon: location of, 6-7, 9; claims and mill sites in, 20-23, 43-44, 57, 60, 87, 90, 114, 12; houses in, 57, 134, 136, 268; land claims in, 9-11, 226

Watkins, Charles, 253

Watt, George, 219, 223

Weather and climate, 6-8; effect on people, activities, 42-43, 54, 76, 97, 130, 161, 163, 167, 207, 211, 234, 252

Wells Fargo, 55, 159, 267, 271

CHAPTER 11 – INDEX

- Wiggins, Frank and family, 171-172, 220, 224. See also Golconda ranch
- Wiggins, Mark, 19, 42-44, 58, 63, 139, 146-148, 184, 188, 195-196, 210, 212, 266, 269
- Wildlife, 6, 253
- Wilkinson, Walter G.: background, 202; Kennedy townsite and buildings, 137, 140, 267; Imperial mine and mill, 21, 40, 47-48, 53-54, 56, 58-59, 67, 81, 119, 181; other activities, 170, 173, 276-278; water claims, 23-24. See also Imperial mill
- Wilkinson, William L., 45, 77, 178, 188, 210, 212, 277-278
- Williams, Ed, 51, 66, 147, 166, 213. See also Combination Saloon
- Willis, Harry, 57
- Wilson, Fred, 84, 159, 267, 278
- Wilson, James, 63, 269
- Winnemucca: location of, 3, 162, 174, 260; economic impact on, 257-264. See also Doctors; Banks; Freight; Government; Newspapers; Stage Service
- Winnemucca Gold Mining Company, 63, 73-74, 84, 167
- Winnemucca Stable, See George Summerfield
- Wise, Alex: Auburn mill, 48-49, 52-55; freighting and stage, 50, 156, 166, 187, 271; stable and barn, 70, 109, 155-156, 164, 217, 267, 271, photographs of, 32-33, 133; death, 56
- Wood, Edwin, 65-66, 82, 84, 86
- Wood cutting, firewood, 68-70, 159-160, 166, 185, 187, 273; cost of, 275; list of, 273
- World War I: mining exemptions during, 128; price supports during, 242-244
- World War II: cessation of gold mining during, 88, 91, 112, 118-119; mining exemptions ("intent to hold") during, 92, 112, 116, 118-120, 123-124, 126-127, 252-253
- Wynn, Charles, 66-72, 76, 256; background, 67, 72; claims, 68-69, 72, 92-94; property, 156, 217-218. See also Imperial mill
- Zuick, William: Gold Note mine, 19-20, 107-112, 128; arrests during Prohibition, 110; non-mining life, 108-110, 165, 276; watchman, 104; death, 112. See also Mines (Gold Note)

